

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ADDRESS BY MAJ. CHARLES M. DUKE, JR.

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, on the night of April 30, the Anderson, S.C., Lions Club was honored and privileged to have Maj. Charles M. Duke, Jr., NASA astronaut, to address their family night dinner meeting. Major Duke is a native South Carolinian and is South Carolina's only astronaut.

This was an outstanding occasion for all of us in upper-State South Carolina. Over 500 people attended the meeting to hear Major Duke speak, and among those present were Major Duke's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Charles M. Duke, of Lancaster, S.C., members of a loyal and patriotic South Carolina family. Young patriots were especially evident in the crowd who gathered to listen to the astronaut, and they participated eagerly in the question-and-answer session following the speech.

In his address Major Duke reviews the motivations for and the directions of our entire space program. He speaks of the ideals and objectives of our explorations and gives special emphasis to practical applications of the program which directly benefit all of us. I commend his excellent and timely remarks to the attention of my colleagues:

ADDRESS BY CHARLES M. DUKE, JR.

On the night of April 13th, a little over two weeks ago, an explosion aboard the service module of Apollo 13 set the stage for one of the most spectacular and dramatic rescues of all time. Within minutes after the explosion the seriousness of the situation had been assessed and we were faced with the most critical emergency in the history of American manned space flight.

The most pressing problem was to conserve the remaining electrical power in the command module and get the lunar module powered up so that it could support the crew for the return journey to earth. To guard against future failures, a small rocket burn was performed to place the spacecraft on a free return trajectory. A free return trajectory is one which returns you to earth for re-entry without any further adjustments. Prior to this burn, Apollo 13 was going to miss the earth by nearly 1,000 miles. Once these first critical hours were over, mission control then turned to the task of developing new procedures for the crew to employ to assure a safe return and entry.

By this time the word was out over the world concerning our predicament. From nearly every country came prayers and words of encouragement. Yet there were those in this country who seized upon the moment to renew their attacks on this Nation's space program. Statements such as the risk is not worth it, we are gaining nothing and manned space flight is merely a stunt. These people are identical in character and as shortsighted as those in ages past who derided the efforts of Columbus and other explorers, who laughed at the steam engine, who called the automobile a toy, and who said the airplane will never be of any economic value to the United States.

Vice President Agnew aptly described these people. I quote from his speech before a National Leadership Conference. "The fair weather friends of the space program are quietly disengaging." The clever little pontificators who spoke the language of NASA now solemnly predict the end of our space program. The old politicians are opening the escape hatches and readying the life boats for a quick exit. The social levelers of the New Left are I told you so-ing all over the place and demanding that the space program be sucked down into the nearest slum." He went on to say that "great gains require great risks. To live in monotonous comfort without great dreams realized, or great ambitions fulfilled is to vegetate."

Thank God there are men in this country with visions to see the potential of the space program and who stand behind us as we go forward.

Apollo and its predecessors were successive learning experiences. Man could survive in space. . . . Man could operate there. . . . Man could land on another celestial body, perform scientific experiments, and return safely to earth. In each case, our principal preoccupation was proving that the job could be done at all and in developing the hardware to do it.

With this much learning experience behind us, we must now capitalize on it. We are now in a position to depart from a new plateau of experience and capability . . . and to progress with real confidence and efficiency from the "how to" to the real reason and substance of man's presence in space. The time has come for us to focus on the real objective in our manned space flight program—the exploitation of space for benefits having direct earth applications.

The continuing space exploration program which NASA has outlined will provide us with an opportunity to advance our technology at a steady rate and with sufficient funds to maintain our sights on targets no less significant than Apollo.

Space systems that promise enormous practical benefits to mankind have progressed from the theoretical to the feasible stage and NASA has initiated their development for near-future civil use. That these programs will get the requisite backing is clear from stated administration policy supported by congressional leaders such as Congressman Dorn who has consistently backed our appropriations.

The real payoff is about to begin. The evident benefits are tremendous in potential. They span a broad spectrum ranging from new levels of convenience to direct applications in the most pressing areas of global concern—food shortages in an overpopulated world, public health, air and water pollution, education, transportation safety, law enforcement and urban development. They promise new levels of business efficiency, improved resources management, accelerated discovery of oil and minerals, and reduction of life and property losses from natural disasters. These benefits offer economic returns of a very significant order. Predictions are that by the end of the decade, the direct economic benefits stemming from space originated technology will far exceed the anticipated annual funding for space research.

These systems that NASA is developing include a space shuttle which is a reusable spacecraft capable of landing like a large airliner. This system will lower the cost of orbiting a pound of payload by a factor of 10 and will be used to refurbish and resupply large space stations. From these stations, man can train his eyes on the stars to better study the heavens and more importantly with

the help of new sensing devices can keep watch on this earth's natural resources with the aim of better managing nature's bounty.

Generally, earth resources sensors focus on the earth's surface and subsurface rather than on its atmosphere. An example is a crop-imaging sensor, designed to take advantage of the fact that various types of vegetation reflect light in different bands of the spectrum and in different degrees. This makes it possible to program an imager to "see" one particular kind of vegetation—wheat, for instance. From either a stationary or a "moving" orbit, the sensor can take a picture of a large region in which the total wheat crop is imaged in a given color. This provides the basis for predicting crop yield and planning its distribution, important factors in agricultural management.

The sensor provides an extra bonus in reducing crop losses, because the image would also pinpoint areas where the wheat crop is threatened. A slightly different coloration would indicate plant disease, and it would show up sooner because of constant surveillance. As is the case in human physiology, disease detected early can most readily be treated.

NASA has in orbit or in the development stage many unmanned satellites which have materially improved our way of life. Among these are the weather satellite, the navigation/traffic control satellite, the communication satellite and the broadcast satellite, an example of which will let India transmit educational programs from a central station to the satellite for retransmission to the remote villages of India. Thus providing a cheap reliable method of upgrading the education level in India.

Less dramatic, less sweeping and in some cases practically unknown are space benefits that stem from general technological advances rather than from the application of space systems to earth uses. The primary source of these benefits is the Apollo program.

The space agency is not simply waiting and hoping for technology transfers. Through its technology utilization program, NASA is working hard to achieve maximum return on the space investment by transferring the know-how to nonaerospace applications.

Specialists at our field installations and in the plants of our contractors scrutinize every research and development project, trying to find new applications, and report their "possibles" to NASA headquarters. Working with independent research institutes, our technology utilization staff sorts out the "possibles" and the "probables" and disseminates information on the latter to potential users. So far NASA has identified some 2,800 probables, and about a third of those have already found their way into the civil economy.

NASA has also established six regional data banks. These data banks contain the latest scientific lore in all of the many areas that research encompasses. They are information gold mines to businessmen exploring new markets or looking for answers to operating problems.

For example, a textile manufacturer in North Carolina, skeptical of any relationship between his own business and the exotic research being conducted in space, was persuaded to give the system a try. He went to the center in his area and presented the librarian a quality-control problem. The old equipment he was using could not maintain desired yarn consistency—output varied from too thick to too thin. Was there a solution short of replacing the equipment? The com-

puter search turned up details of an infrared scanner that could be adopted to keep an electronic eye on yarn thickness and warning when it slipped out of tolerance. It is now in service.

I have attempted to show you how your space program is benefiting you directly. Now I'd like to turn to a more exciting side of the program and narrate a film on the flight of Apollo 11, man's first landing on the moon.

In closing, I'd like to leave you with two thoughts. Taking a philosophical look at the space program. Of all its spectacular success, I think its greatest achievement is this: The space program is the clearest proof that a nation can set a difficult goal and carry it out. If it has done nothing else, it has demonstrated how we can, when we want to, marshal our talent, commit our treasure, gain public support and achieve a task. Secondly, let me leave you with these words of Dr. Goddard, who is known as the father of American rocketry:

"It is difficult to say what is impossible, for the dream of yesterday is the hope of today and the reality of tomorrow."

CRITICAL GAS SHORTAGE

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, on April 21 I commented before this body on the critical gas shortages facing this country and my fear that by slowing down the sale of offshore leases in the Gulf of Mexico this Government is actually hampering further exploration.

On April 29, the Honorable Lee A. DuBridge, Science Adviser to the President, wrote me of his concern in this regard. At this time, Mr. Speaker, I would like Dr. DuBridge's letter printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, April 29, 1970.

HON. GEORGE BUSH,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BUSH: This is in reply to your letter of April 16 to me.

We are very much aware of the impending natural gas shortage, as you know from Mr. Freeman's testimony. In the past, we have suggested to Department of the Interior staff that it would be desirable to speed up leasing, and I shall encourage the Secretary to move forward with leasing in gas prone areas as rapidly as other considerations permit. I am also calling his attention to the fact that making more natural gas available, even at some possible environmental risk, may on balance improve the quality of the environment since gas is now much in demand for purposes of reducing air pollution.

Sincerely,

LEE A. DUBRIDGE,
Science Adviser.

Mr. Speaker, a shortage of natural gas has serious consequences for this country. Pollution and ecological considerations must be given top priority because the degradation of our environment has equally serious consequences for this country. But these are not two separate considerations. Conservation and offshore drilling are compatible. Drilling regulations should be strictly enforced. But in the name of "environ-

ment" we should not let this country develop a further deficit in natural gas, a commodity which in itself provides the answer to many of our pollution problems.

AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, the wives of two Navy fliers held captive in North Vietnam have returned to Virginia Beach after an 8-day trip to Geneva, Switzerland. Mrs. Edwin Shuman, and Mrs. Dale Doss met with officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross, the World Council of Churches, and other world organizations.

They made the trip to call attention to the plight of prisoners held by Hanoi. They asked the ICRC and the League of Red Cross Societies to put more pressure on Hanoi to comply with provisions of the Geneva Convention relating to prisoners of war.

The North Vietnamese are signatories to the Geneva Convention, but have refused to permit the ICRC to inspect prison camps, refused to immediately release sick and wounded prisoners, refused to release a list of names of those held, refused to permit regular flow of mail between prisoners and their families, have used the men for propaganda purposes, and have violated other convention rules.

The women received assurances from both Red Cross organizations that the prisoners of war issue would be given top priority. Their husbands were injured when they were shot down over North Vietnam and taken captive March 17, 1968.

Mrs. Shuman and Mrs. Doss recently demonstrated great courage when they stated their refusal to be used as pawns for the purposes of North Vietnamese propaganda. They announced the refusal to accept any further letters from their husbands forwarded by a group known as the Committee of Liaison With Families of Servicemen Detained in North Vietnam. The committee is headed by David Dellinger and Mrs. Cora Weiss.

The two wives said the mental anxiety and apprehension they were undergoing, wondering if the committee would release a piece of mail, was playing into Hanoi's hands. The women were told that if they would demonstrate against the Government or make some overt action against the war the mail processing could be speeded up. They made the extremely difficult decision to forego any mail. In their statement they said they refused to be propaganda pawns of North Vietnam.

Isolating themselves from their loved ones to uphold dignity and principle deserves our highest praise and deepest prayers. May we all be strengthened by their action.

The Justice Department has opened an inquiry whether the committee must register as a foreign agent. California

Representative Bob Wilson provided the Department with evidence that opened the inquiry. He cited the admission by the committee that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam—Hanoi—has decided to use the committee as a channel for communication between the captured airmen in detention camps in North Vietnam and their relatives in the United States. Their safe return was linked with political actions advocated by the Dellinger-Weiss organization.

I believe the inquiry will be a source of reassurance to the distraught families who have been referred by Hanoi to the committee for ward of their loved ones. Instead of receiving helpful information they have been subjected to propaganda, manipulation, and exploitation. I believe the resolution passed by Congress calling for humane treatment of prisoners by Hanoi expresses the concern of Congress. I also believe the resolution passed by the 1970 Virginia General Assembly will be of encouragement to the families, and should convey to Hanoi the sentiment of the oldest law-making body in the Western Hemisphere.

I insert the resolution at this point in the RECORD:

VIRGINIA SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 48—
CONDEMNING THE TREATMENT OF AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR IN NORTH VIETNAM

(Patrons: Messrs. Pearson, Turk, Aldhizer, Barnes, Warren, Howell, Dawbarn, Manns, Hopkins, Campbell, Echols, Fears, Bateman, Andrews, Thompson, Stone, Babalas, Michael, Bird, D. W., Burruss and Robinson.)

Whereas, the Government of North Vietnam, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Pathet Lao have consistently refused to release the names of prisoners of war, have declined to release immediately sick and wounded prisoners, have refused to permit impartial inspection of their prisoner of war camps, have not guaranteed the proper treatment of all prisoners and have not permitted a regular flow of mail between prisoners and their families; and

Whereas, all of such actions are in violation of the Geneva Convention and offend all sense of human decency; and

Whereas, several hundred American servicemen are believed to be prisoners of war in North Vietnam, Viet Cong and Pathet Lao prison camps and some of these men have wives and children in Virginia; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of Virginia, the House of Delegates concurring, That the General Assembly of Virginia, the oldest law making body in the Western Hemisphere, register its condemnation of the government of North Vietnam, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Pathet Lao for their failure to comply with the provisions of the Geneva Convention and for their inhumane treatment of American prisoners of war; that it express its grave concern for the health, safety and welfare of American servicemen imprisoned in North Vietnam, and that it urge such governments to be mindful of the nature of such conduct and to make the humane gesture of compliance with the provisions of the Geneva Convention.

Be it also resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations, the Secretary of State of the United States; to Senators Harry F. Byrd, Jr. and William B. Spong, Jr., of Virginia; to the members of the United States House of Representatives from Virginia; to the Office of the President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Hanoi; to Xuan Thuy,

Viet Nam Delegation, Paris; to Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, Delegate from the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, Paris; to H. S. Nguyen Van Hieu, Ambassador of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the National Liberation Front, Phnom Penh, Cambodia; to M. Sot Petras, Representative of the Pathet Lao, Vientienne, Laos.

Be it further resolved that other State Legislatures be urged to pass similar resolutions, and that civic clubs and other community organizations be urged to join with this effort.

NOTES ON THE LAW

HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, the law is perhaps the noblest of man's creations. Nowhere has it blossomed more fully than in the United States and this is much of the reason for our Nation's greatness.

Today, law in the United States is under attack as never before by extremists from both sides of the political spectrum. The paradox is that the law is the very thing which allows their dissent and protects them from the righteous judgment of the vast majority of our citizens who still believe in the law.

In connection with Law Day last week, one of the West's most distinguished jurists, U.S. District Judge Ewing T. Kerr, of Wyoming, commented on the threats to law. His statement is a most lucid summary and analysis of the crisis.

Editor James M. Flinchum, of the Wyoming State Tribune, commented on Judge Kerr's speech. His assessment of the action law-abiding citizens must take to avert the rule of anarchy and disorder is most valid and timely. I include both articles in the RECORD at this point:

LAW—BRIDGE TO JUSTICE

(By Ewing T. Kerr)

Perhaps more words have been spoken and written during the past five or ten years on the subject of law and order than during the entire history of our republic.

Calvin Coolidge said: "It is the duty of a citizen not only to observe the law but to let it be known that he is opposed to its violation."

An overwhelming majority of present-day Americans obey the law, but far too few indicate that they are seriously concerned with its violation. To some of us the issues are clear. Almost daily we witness the progressive revolutionary steps of anarchy, coercion, intimidation, violence, and unlawful takeover.

If we are to live as civilized men and women, then we must make the law a paramount issue in our daily lives. In short, we must live by the spirit as well as the letter of the law. We must oppose crime with all the means at our command.

It has been stated that only gods and beasts can live outside of civil society. Since we are neither, let us accept the premise without testing it.

The "3-R's" which the school child innocently chanted years ago have taken on a new significance today. "Reading and writing and arithmetic" seem to be supplanted by "Resistance, Riots and Revolt."

I think the latter problems, riots and revolt, are the obvious symptoms of the basic disorder, resistance. If we could diagnose the cause, perhaps the effect could be treated and cured, or at least curbed.

J. Edgar Hoover attributes today's organized resistance to law and authority to the Communist Party. He charges that the Communist Party is conducting a well organized campaign to recruit and agitate our youth by a campus speech program in which "skilled hucksters of atheism and treason appear at scores of colleges and universities from New York to California."

They attract the politically naive and uninformed youth, the liberals or extreme leftists, and the conservatives or extreme rightists. The self-serving, self-appointed leaders of the minority groups are particularly susceptible to Communist propaganda. The Communists capture the imagination and arouse the enthusiasm of the impressionable "agin-ers", and the "do-gooders" as well.

Regarding the demonstrations on the Berkeley campus, the California state superintendent of public instruction said that the demonstrations there "provided a vehicle for infiltration by rabble-rousers, red-hots and Communists." The results were assaults, kidnappings and imprisonment of police officers, and the general breakdown of law and order.

From the newspapers we learn that one of the leaders of the demonstrations at the University of Wisconsin openly espoused that "the students should band together to bring down the government by any means." It is said that many of the leaders there are alumni of the W.E.B. DuBois clubs of America, purportedly a Communist-oriented youth organization.

These rebellious youths are not a product of their 18 or 20 years; they are the product of 3,000 years of civilization. From the beginning of civilization, injustices have always existed and mankind has struggled to eradicate them. These few youths are attempting to attain the solution now.

Triumph over inequities comes slowly and painfully. This war of injustice is the kind of war society has always fought because man is what he is.

The present attitude of this minority is to win today or to burn down tomorrow.

We know we are in trouble with this younger generation, not because we have failed our country, not because of our stupidity, but because we have failed to keep this unruly element in its place. We have the powers, but I think we do not have the will.

Violence, armed or otherwise, the occupation of buildings on campuses, should be cause for expulsion, but seldom does it happen. And, so, it may well be that this Republic faces the gravest challenge it has had since the tragedy of the Civil War, more than a hundred years ago.

Disorder in America should not be tolerated. There are forums available for the manifestation of public opinion and the courts in which redress may be obtained. The new groups of "revolutionaries" have too long been allowed to disrupt the peace of the nation and to impair the safety of society. Our governments, both state and federal, have the power to deal sternly with those who damage public and private property and create a serious disturbance in the life of America.

This is not an easy task, nor can it be done by words alone. The young are skeptical about their heritage. They are too observant and too smart to believe anything they are told.

A graduating student at Brown University addressing his own classmates, as well as their parents, said: "We are the people in the position of power in society; we have all the marbles. We've got to start the trend towards solving the problems which, in the long run, are our problems because it's our society. You must reassess your positions, and yourselves to become peaceful activists. The problems are ours because we represent society, and it is we who must reassert our idealism and our moral values in this country. We cannot expect the oppressed to do it.

They have pointed out the problems, but again it's we who have to work toward the solution."

Disobedience of law is not confined to the younger generation. Only recently we witnessed tens and thousands of letter carriers striking against their government, to be followed by air traffic controllers. Since the statute concerning strikes against the federal government is brief, I will quote a portion of it: "Title 5, Section 7311 of the United States Criminal Code provides, 'An individual may not accept or hold a position in the government of the United States or District of Columbia if he—(3) participates in a strike, or asserts the right to strike, against the government of the United States or the District of Columbia —.'"

Another section further provides: "Whoever violates the provision of Section 7311 of Title 5—shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year and a day, or both."

What punishment was meted out to these government employees? They were not punished at all. They were compensated by having their wages increased.

Don't be misled. There is no such thing as "civil disobedience." Any willful violation of criminal laws is "criminal disobedience." It is a criminal act to assault, to trespass, and to destroy another person's property.

Let us scrutinize what is going on under the guise of freedom. Freedom of speech has been converted into a license to spread bigotry, immorality and disobedience. The traditional concept of civil rights, which kept our nation strong and wholesome, has been warped to encourage citizens to obey only those laws with which they agree. This disrespect for the law and defiance of legal restraint are forms of anarchy. For examples you have only to look at the shameful conduct of students burning their draft cards—citizens refusing to pay income taxes—and teachers balking at the loyalty oath.

We cannot condone the breaking of established laws if we are to be a society of free men. Complacency and apathy will destroy our orderly process of government under the law.

Just what is the situation concerning law and order today? Statistics show that crime is increasing at an alarming rate—both in numbers and in intensity. Since 1958 the national crime rate has risen 50 per cent. In many cities the streets and parks are jungles of fear where nearly half the residents are afraid to walk alone at night. Last year, 2,600,000 serious offenses, the largest total on record, were reported to law enforcement agencies in the United States. Every hour 52 automobiles are stolen.

More than 40 years ago an eminent jurist warned against excessive leniency—saying:

"The demand of the hour in America, above all other countries, is for jurors with conscience, judges with courage, and prisons which are neither country clubs nor health resorts."

These demands are still made by Americans today. They are losing patience with "conveyor belt" justice transporting criminals back and forth between the courtroom and the gutter. Americans must be more articulate than the communist sympathizers, and we must extol patriotism and morality. We must be more persuasive than our enemies and inspire respect for the law instead of revolt against it.

Our political and educational leaders can serve their nation immeasurably if they will just get the message across that equal rights must be earned, not handed out, and that equal rights must be shared with equal responsibilities. Civil rights are not guaranteed criminal offenders only. Those who respect the law have certain privileges too. A balance must be achieved between individual rights and collective public security. Our constitutional rights are not absolute; they are rela-

tive. They must be exercised in consonance with peace and good order.

The breakdown in law and order is the result, not the cause, of the degeneration of the morality of our society, and the ultimate result will be the destruction of our Republic. Historically, every civilization that has failed to enforce its laws properly has perished. Retired Associate Justice Charles E. Whitaker of the United States Supreme Court warned two years ago that "the first evidence of each society's decay appeared in the toleration of disobedience of its laws and the judgments of its courts."

A New York newspaper has coined the phrase—"Turnstile Justice,"—and complains about the slap on the wrist discipline. Lenient treatment through parole, probation and suspended sentences is weak justice; it gives the hoodlums another chance to perfect their criminal techniques and expand their corruption and vice. All this flagrant viciousness at the expense of decency and justice!

Every responsible citizen of the United States must prepare himself to withstand the relentless attack against the freedoms on which this nation is founded. We must be alert to what is happening on our campuses, on the street corners and in our homes. We must be prepared, morally and intelligently, to fight the tyranny that is filtering into our country. We must choose between law and anarchy, freedom and chaos.

I would be discouraging to think that sociologists, criminologists, and public apathy or fear are joining forces to hobble law enforcement and to strangle justice.

You and I are not participants in the mass demonstrations, disorder, and crime. We do, however, bear the responsibility for the survival of our government. Before demanding reason and restraint in others, we must discipline ourselves and deemphasize the material things of life and increase the respect of high moral values.

The annals of history contain no record more illustrious than our own. The accomplishments of our people are near a miracle of material abundance and plentiful endowments in the comforts of a full life. The ancient challenge—the vindication of freedom for mankind—is before us still. The world is gripped in bewilderment and fear. More than half the earth is engulfed by a new and strange philosophy predicated upon absolute authority and armed with new weapons of political warfare. A lost battle does not of itself ring the downfall of civilization. Forces generated from within must first nourish the seeds of decay.

The fate of freedom, as our fathers built it, as we have known it, and as we envision it for posterity, can be lost and can be lost by our generation.

IT NEED NOT HAPPEN HERE

(By James M. Flinchum)

Over 30 years ago the then-famous United Press correspondent Webb Miller wrote a book about the coming of World War II entitled "I Found No Peace." Mr. Miller was killed in the early days of that great conflict in a train accident just outside London, some suspected, and their suspicions never have been allayed, that he was murdered by persons unknown. Had he survived, he would have been appalled—and perhaps moved to write a sequel to "I Found No Peace," possibly to the effect that "There Is No Peace."

On this May 1, May Day to the communist world and Law Day to we of the free nations, it is worth noting that in Washington, Richard Nixon has told the people of this country in effect that he would rather be right than President; and that his Administration now may be prepared to end a long, costly and indecisively-waged war in Southeast Asia by bold and dramatic new moves to crush an intransigent enemy.

And it is also worth noting that here in

our own community, in words barely heard beyond our own environs but which should be pondered throughout this country, a respected judge has said that America cannot continue as a republic that takes its existence from the decisions of free men unless those citizens properly exercise their individual responsibilities, paramount of which is the upholding of the laws that they themselves make, and which are designed to govern them.

And what other more important duty of the individual citizen is there than responsibility—including "responsibility for the survival of our government?" For if the individual citizen fails, how can a republic conceived as this one is, originating with the people at large rather than a select few overlords, continue to exist? It must surely fail and that was what Judge Ewing T. Kerr was talking about in the speech reprinted here today.

Said he: "We (as individual citizens) must be alert to what is happening to our campuses, on the street corners and in our homes. We must be prepared, morally and intelligently, to fight the tyranny that is filtering into our country. We must choose between law and anarchy, freedom and chaos."

Furthermore, "before demanding reason and restraint in others, we must discipline ourselves and deemphasize the material things of life and increase the respect of high moral values."

And, he warned: "The fate of freedom, as our fathers built it, as we have known it, and as we envision it for posterity, can be lost, and lost by our generation."

If all Americans recognize the implications of such a dire prediction, one supported by events of the past six years in America, many show no sign of it, particularly among those who hold high places in government, in other areas of political leadership but outside the governing process; and in the intellectual community. It is particularly in this latter group that a dismaying attitude that may be loosely described as contributory to disorder and outright revolution, so clearly manifests itself.

Not all scholars are deluded by what is happening, however. Karl A. Wittfogel, professor emeritus of Chinese history at the University of Washington, in an article in the current issue of the quarterly review *Modern Age*, points to the curiously ambivalent but marked dominance by both anarchists and communists in today's revolutionary movement which has come to be designated the New Left. It is ambivalent because anarchists—at least the classical anarchists—are opposed to any form of government; whereas the communists represent rigidly structured rule of a type that Judge Kerr in his Law Day speech called a philosophy based on absolute authority and armed with new weapons of political warfare.

One of those weapons, indeed the chief weapon, that is emerging in this country is the anarchist, advocate of violence as a political weapon, who has surged to the fore in the New Left movement, ranging from Berkeley to Harvard Yard; and it is one that is also anti-intellectual, which strangely enough attracts certain types of so-called intellectuals in this country, or more probably pseudo-intellectuals. Dwelling on this subject, Prof. Wittfogel notes that leaders and followers of the New Left "profoundly distrust all integrative thought," and while this does not mean necessarily the rejection of all ideology from their movement, "it does favor a particularly shoddy type of ideology and a particularly shoddy type of ideologists." That, of course, doesn't mean the ideology may not be ineffective to the purposes of the New Left; Hitler's and Mussolini's ideologies were similarly shoddy, he notes, but they were not ineffective.

Wittfogel notes: "From the standpoint of what the New Left radicals are trying to accomplish, their extreme aversion to intellectual clarity is eminently understandable. A movement that fiercely attacks academic military 'establishment' as all-powerful, and non-communist agrarian conditions as unjust, and at the same time invokes Communist China, North Vietnam and Cuba as models, or at least as acceptable allies, has to keep the intellectual level of its followers extremely low.

"How much academic freedom is there in Communist China, North Vietnam and Cuba?" asks Wittfogel. "None. The New Left agitators do not even attempt to prove that such freedom exists under Mao, Ho and Castro (who developed his system of total intolerance with the help of Che Guevara)."

But the mixed bag of anarchists and other revolutionaries serve the purpose of their opposite ideologists, the communists, suggests Professor Wittfogel; who quotes Causidiere, one of the leaders of the French Revolution of 1848, who, remarking on the revolutionary anarchist Bakunin, said: "On the first day of the revolution, he is a perfect treasure; on the second day one ought to shoot him." Thus, up to the victory of the revolution, the anarchists serve the totalitarians; after that, they must be eliminated.

But none of this need happen if the people will, as Judge Kerr urges, exercise their own individual intellectual capacity, see and understand what is happening, and behave as responsible citizens in this now free Republic, including the responsibility not only to think but to act. If they do not, then the revolutionaries will take over, anarchists and communists alike, thus leading to the day after the former have done the dirty work for the latter, they too shall pass away.

CHARLES "O'BIE" O'BRIEN

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, on the evening of May 26, 1970, Charles "O'Bie" O'Brien, a distinguished Philadelphian, will be honored for 36 years of loyal and dedicated service to his community and to LaSalle High School where he served as basketball coach of teams which won an unprecedented seven Catholic league championships and four city titles.

Mr. O'Brien, a great person and a close personal friend of mine, since his son O'Bie, Jr., and I were classmates in grammar school, has become a legendary figure in the world of Philadelphia sports. In addition to his accomplishments as basketball coach, he coached track for 21 years and was the founder of LaSalle's swimming team in 1936.

In the words of former All-American Tom Gola:

O'Bie O'Brien has the ability to instill in the individual the desire and guts to play basketball to the best of the player's ability.

On May 26, many Philadelphians will be paying tribute to Mr. O'Brien. I think it is fitting that his accomplishments be memorialized here because he has indeed been an inspirational leader and a fine example to thousands of young men for nearly four decades.

OUR NATIONAL OBLIGATION TO FEED THE HUNGRY

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to include a very timely and pertinent letter and statement I received, under date May 4, 1970, from the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, concerning our national obligation to feed the hungry, with special concern for children, within our society. The letter and statement merits the most careful reading of the Members and presents a very moving appeal for appropriate, conscientious action to meet our legislative responsibility in this area when the moment for such responsive action occurs in the near future. The letter and statement follow:

COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION,
May 4, 1970.

To the Members of the House of Representatives.

In re food stamp legislation.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Beginning at pages 9632 and 11306, the Congressional Record lists Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation payments of over \$15,000 made to farmers and farm corporations during 1969. If smaller payments were included, they would bring the following totals:

	[In millions]
To idle land formerly used for feed grains	\$830.0
Price support payments for feed grains	740.0
To idle land formerly used to grow wheat	83.0
Marketing certificates for wheat growers	798.0
Price support payments for cotton	823.5
Total	3,274.5

The payment of \$913 million to keep land idle and of \$2,361.5 million to compensate for low prices, plus millions in other subsidies, stands in sharp contrast to the niggardly allowance of \$610 million given last year to the food stamp program.

Payments to hungry people enabling them to buy food and thus vitalizing a genuine market seem much more ethical and sounder economics than payments not to grow food and to provide artificial price props. Demand is the soundest price support. To pay to keep land idle seems unconscionable when there are people wanting to buy the food that could be grown there.

You will soon consider the agriculture bill. We hope you authorize as much money for food stamps as for farm payments. Our enclosed statement, *Feeding the Hungry*, gives our background analysis.

Sincerely yours,

TILFORD E. DUDLEY,
Director, Washington Office.

FEEDING THE HUNGRY

The evidence presented in the last three years to Congress, both informally and in 15 volumes of formal testimony, has made it clear that there is substantial hunger in this country. It is hunger in terms of often not having enough food and especially in not having nutritious food, needed to build healthy bodies and active minds. Such hunger causes people of all ages to suffer but undernutrition for children up to 5 years of age can have a permanently disabling effect and cause uncorrectable mental retardation.

In the United States hunger is an avoidable evil. The productive capacity of our farms in 12% above what the markets can absorb. (U.S. Dept. of Agric. estimate). We spend billions of dollars each year to keep farmland out of production and additional millions or perhaps billions to maintain the prices artificially for what is produced. Agricultural experts state the additional food needed to feed the poor can be obtained easily by the natural increase in productivity. If distribution were handled through commercial retail channels, the annual cost is estimated at from \$3 to \$6 billion, depending on diet standards, and including the costs of processing, transportation and retailing.

The White House Conference on Nutrition held in early December 1969 spotlighted hunger problems and its sense of urgency was a contribution to national understanding. We believe it is essential to press forward at this time without further delay.

The Senate's Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs has played a key role in the exposure of hunger and development of remedial programs. We believe it should be continued at least until the problem is near solution.

The Surplus Commodity program, while useful to institutions able to handle and process such commodities, should not be considered an aid to individuals and families.

In our view the crux of the present issues is the food stamp plan. The Food Stamp Act and its attendant regulations should be oriented primarily to the needs of poor people for nutritious food. The program should be available without being subject to a veto by state or local governmental authorities. The standard for eligibility should be established by the federal government. The schedule should permit a family of four with an income less than \$4,000 to be eligible. A family with income less than \$1,200 should receive free stamps with a retail value of at least the present amount of \$106 per month. Recipients with income above \$1,200 should pay no more than 20% of their income for stamps.

Food stamp plans can be administered best through local agencies. This should be encouraged but flexibility and ease of operation should be sought. Certification procedures should be established with spot checks to catch the dishonest. Stamps should be available at least semimonthly and mailed once eligibility and methods of payment have been established. Purchases should be possible at convenient times, i.e. as money becomes available. We urge the disbursing agencies to stress programs of information for their clients on nutritious foods, and how to buy and prepare them to get maximum health values.

The value of food stamps to be allowed depends largely on the minimum standard of living the nation selects. We suggest that the value be at least one-third of a minimum family income of \$5,500.00 adjusted to changes in the cost of living, as recommended by the White House Conference.

We believe the federal government should authorize food stamp expenditures for fiscal year 1971 of \$2 billion. For fiscal 1972, we recommend the figure suggested by both Pres. Nixon and the Senate Select Committee, namely \$2.5 billion.

And finally, we believe that food should be more easily available at our schools. We recommend that nutritious lunches be supplied free of charge to all children, at kindergarten, elementary and secondary schools, without regard to the income of their families.

We are urgently commending support of these proposals by our churches. For Christians, feeding the hungry is no optional matter. The simplest test of discipleship still binds us: "If you love me, feed my sheep."

NUCLEAR CARGO SHIPBUILDING PROGRAMS

HON. FRANK M. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, the subject I am placing before my colleagues today is whether the United States is ready to commit itself wholeheartedly to a nuclear cargo shipbuilding program.

If there is worldwide race on for leadership in the commercial nuclear shipping field, as there seems to be, the United States could very well lose it before the majority of Americans ever find out that it was run. This is ironic, because we were the ones who fired the starting shot by building the world's first commercial nuclear vessel, the *NS Savannah*.

There is evidence that foreign shipping countries are following our lead more aggressively than we, ourselves, are. Germany's *Otto Hahn*—a nuclear merchant ship whose propulsion system incorporates advanced B. & W. designs, and benefits from experience gained from the *Savannah*—was so successful that West Germany had advanced the schedule for the building of its second nuclear-powered ship.

In England, where experts were originally cool toward nuclear-powered ships, an influential association of marine and aircraft interests has demanded that the British Government immediately start development of nuclear-powered ships.

In Japan, too, a nuclear surface ship is under construction and is expected to be operational by 1972. Named the *Mutsu*, the government-owned ship is earmarked for special use, probably as an oceanographic vessel.

Mr. Speaker, in other shipping countries, such as The Netherlands, Belgium, and Norway, similar efforts for this purpose are being carried on. The goal of each, of course, is to remain abreast of shipping developments in relation to other world competitors.

Among those in this country keeping a watchful eye on the emergence of a nuclear shipping industry is B. & W. The following article tells why:

NUCLEAR SHIPS COULD BE A NEW SIGHT ON THE HORIZON

Icebreakers have traveled the Northwest Passage through the Arctic Circle north of Canada for years. But when the largest U.S. tanker ever built, the *S.S. Manhattan*, accomplished the same feat recently, it created as much or more publicity than any earth-bound pioneering expedition. Not only is the *Manhattan* the first commercial vessel its size to take that ice-jammed route to Point Barrow on Alaska's North Slope, but for the first time there is something for a ship of its type to carry back. The "something" is an estimated 40-billion barrels of crude oil—possibly the largest oil fluid ever made in North America.

The *Manhattan's* success is exciting for another reason as well: It demonstrates a new application for nuclear-powered merchant ships. Conventional cargo ships are currently being built in the 60,000 to 120,000 horsepower range. The more powerful the vessel, the more economical nuclear power becomes, and a ship designed specifically to travel the Northwest Passage (the *Manhattan* was re-

outfitted for the trip) would be a powerful ship, indeed.

There is no doubt that someday nuclear powered merchant ships will be a common sight as they shuttle between the world's major seaports. There is little doubt that when the American merchant marine goes the nuclear route, B&W will figure importantly in this business because of its technical experience and know-how. What is in question is exactly when the development of such ships will become a worthwhile business pursuit for interest companies like B&W.

John MacMillan, manager of the contract section of B&W's nuclear power generation department in Lynchburg, recently outlined for the Maritime Administration what he considers basic requirements for launching a U.S. fleet of advanced nuclear-powered cargo ships. "The three main requirements," he said, "are a firm national commitment; an unspecified sum of money to meet expenses; and a minimum of five years to produce the first ship." He said the prime requirement is leadership at the national level.

"B&W's position," says Charles Wilson, assistant manager of the marine department, "is that we are ready to support such a national commitment with our resources when the time comes. We are waiting for nuclear cargo ships to find their niche," he says. "But a firm commitment must come first."

A worthwhile nuclear program would involve more than a commitment for one or two ships. A program that would lead eventually to large, economical nuclear ships of the future would have to assure the construction of a series of new ships, so that steady improvements and refinements could be made. According to Wilson, nuclear ship operation could be economical by the 80's if ships for the 70's are contracted for soon. Such a program of planned development would be expensive, and the question is: Where are the funds going to come from?

Traditionally, the maritime industry has looked to the Federal government for financial support. Today, an intricate network of subsidies and government-protected routes insures business for American shippers. Still, the American merchant marine is in a severely depressed condition.

The American fleet now totals less than 900 vessels, and many of them are fast approaching un-insurable age. Only six per cent of this country's foreign commerce is being carried in American flag vessels.

In an attempt to revitalize the shipping industry, President Nixon has urged Congress to support a program that would expand the merchant marine's activities and step up construction of commercial vessels in domestic shipyards. The plan, which he hopes will raise the percentage of goods carried by American ships, in turn raises hope that the "firm commitment" MacMillan and other speak of is near.

Nixon has requested about \$300 million, about three times the annual spending over the past several years. Included in the proposal are expenditures of about \$32 million a year over a five-year period for research. The goal is to put advances in technology to work for the maritime industry—and chief among the advances is nuclear power.

UNIQUE EXPERIENCE

Whenever the time does come, B&W will be able to offer nuclear experience unique in the United States. The know-how stems chiefly from the company's role in designing and manufacturing the nuclear propulsion system for the world's first nuclear merchant ship. While envisioned primarily as a sea-going showpiece promoting peaceful uses of the atom, the *N.S. Savannah* has operated successfully for more than three years.

The *Savannah* is propelled by the first mobile nuclear power plant to be built and licensed by the Atomic Energy Commission.

She has traveled more than 300,000 miles on 111 pounds of nuclear fuel (an ordinary ship would have needed 60,000 tons of oil). She opened ports and docks to nuclear ships in 25 countries. Support programs have created nuclear engineers and deck officers licensed as reactor operators. There are those who claim the *Savannah* has proved successful as a commercial venture as well as proving the safety and dependability of nuclear ship propulsion.

In short, the *Savannah* was an unqualified success, and the core of men who made it so are still with B&W. Their work on the *Savannah's* propulsion system started B&W along the road to improvements in nuclear ship power plant design and manufacture. The "spread-out" design of the *Savannah* was later improved upon by B&W engineers. The Consolidated Nuclear Steam Generator (CNSG) which powers Germany's nuclear ship *Otto Hahn* is a design patented by B&W engineers. It is smaller in both size and weight than the *Savannah's*, and offers fuel costs about 40 per cent lower than the *Savannah's*.

In addition to improvements incorporated into the *Otto Hahn*, even greater economies will be possible in future ships. "Fuel costs for future CNSG cores," MacMillan says, "would amount to substantial savings per ship and on long trade routes might reach \$700,000 a year for ships in the 100,000 h.p. class (over equivalent fossil-fueled ships)."

Hope is high for a meaningful nuclear merchant marine program for reasons other than President Nixon's recommendation and the discovery of oil on Alaska's North Slope.

First, there is the trend toward containerization and higher horsepower ships. In the mid-sixties, working with ship architects and engineers, B&W proposed the concept of 120,000 horsepower nuclear vessels to the shipping industry. The ships would have been "containerized"—that is, designed to carry stackable, self-contained van-sized boxes filled with goods, rather than the conventional break-bulk cargo. Among other advantages, the process speeds loading and unloading time. The shippers went to containerization then, but not with nuclear, primarily for lack of Federal funding.

Still, the fact remains that fast port turnaround of containerized vessels makes nuclear ships more attractive economically. The significant difference in cost between a conventional and nuclear ship is primarily due to the expensive nuclear propulsion system. However, the nuclear ship's higher initial cost is offset by lower fuel costs. Thus increased operating time—due to containerization, for example—is more economical for nuclear ships than for conventional.

Another factor in favor of nuclear ships is the chance they offer the United States to narrow the competitive edge now enjoyed by foreign flag ships. Today the wide variation in labor costs throughout the world (American sailors earn \$470 a month; British, \$135; Hong Kong, \$77) puts the United States at a distinct disadvantage. The technology needed to build nuclear ships and the fewer, but highly skilled operators needed to run them have the effect of evening-out operating costs from country to country.

Foreign countries have been quick to see the impact nuclear power will someday have on world trade, and they have acted. In countries where shipping is considered a major and vital industry (unlike in the U.S. where the economy sails along even while shipping remains depressed), nuclear programs have progressed steadily over the years.

Although the United States has not yet committed itself to a hard-and-fast program of nuclear ship construction, it has continued to invest in research. B&W and Westinghouse have been the two main channels through which the Government has

maintained its investigation of marine nuclear power. Currently, B&W is working under one such Government contract, and the company is scheduled to receive an extension on it which could triple that amount.

All these factors combine to make a nuclear program in the U.S. more likely in the near future. With much to offer, and to gain, B&W will be there when the time comes. "The work ahead," Howard Barringer, project manager at Lynchburg, says, "will be exciting and challenging for new engineers as well as for the experienced *Savannah* men." The result could mean the revitalization of America's shipping industry, and the restoration of this country's maritime power.

INTERPRETATION OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my deep disappointment at the manner in which the military assistance program for fiscal year 1970 is being implemented as it relates to the Republic of Korea.

In my judgment, the allocation of funds to Korea under this program represents a serious distortion of the spirit, it not the letter of the language approved by Congress.

As some of my colleagues may remember, I was the originator and sponsor of an amendment added to the Foreign Assistance Act by the House Foreign Affairs Committee last year calling for a special appropriation for Korea of \$50,000,000 over and above funds regularly programmed for maintenance of existing military equipment. It was my intent that the additional \$50,000,000 be earmarked for modernization of the Korean military establishment.

In my view, such an appropriation was in keeping with the basic principles of the Nixon doctrine under which the United States seeks to reinforce and supply our strong Asian allies so that they may provide for their own defense.

This amendment was thoroughly debated in the committee and on the floor of the House last year. It was the only substantial amendment of this sort which the House saw fit to retain in the bill. The House-passed foreign assistance authorization bill was specific in its approval of this amendment. It provided as follows:

There is authorized to be appropriated to the President to carry out for the purpose of this part in Korea, in addition to funds otherwise available for such purpose, not to exceed \$50,000,000 for the fiscal year 1970. . . .

To me, this language is clear and explicit. The Republic of Korea is to receive \$50,000,000 "in addition to funds otherwise available."

The Department of Defense has informed me, however, that the Senate-passed version of this legislation as well as the conference report, while not ruling out this interpretation, seriously clouds the clarity of this intent. As a result, the

Department has added the special \$50,000,000 appropriation intended for Korea to the overall military assistance program and apportioned it amongst its many programs.

While I can understand the dilemma with which the Department was faced in view of Congress' mandate to reduce the program across the board, I cannot help but view this decision as extremely unfortunate.

As one who voted with the majority in favor of a general reduction in the military assistance program, it certainly was not my intent to nullify that action by providing an additional \$50,000,000 to be divided among the program's recipients.

More important, however, is my concern that this action does nothing to improve the seriously underfunded condition of the Korean program.

The Government of South Korea has placed great reliance on the proposed modernization program and advertised it widely among the Korean people and other Asian nations as a practical demonstration of the Nixon doctrine in Asia. Discarding the modernization program now can only be interpreted by some as evidence that reduced U.S. presence in Asia signals a lessening U.S. interest in the welfare of our Asian allies.

I am confident that the Department of Defense, the administration, and a majority of the Members of Congress share my sincere belief that the United States has few more important interests in Asia than in maintaining a strong South Korean counterforce to North Korean aggression both for the short-range and the long-range future. In our preoccupation with Indochina, we have been forced to delay a reasonable military modernization program in Korea. In an area of the world where war by miscalculation is a very real peril, any such delay is an indication of weakness and an invitation to disaster.

If these concerns are shared by the administration, as I feel confident they are, it would seem incumbent upon its leaders to initiate action as quickly as possible to seek additional funds to deal with the threat to the Republic of Korea on a level with its importance and priority.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 4, 1970

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, 1791, Poland adopted one of the first liberal constitutions in Europe. Restating the principle upon which our own Constitution was formulated, the Polish document declared:

All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people, its end and object being the preservation and integrity of the state, the civil liberty and the good order of society, on an equal scale and on a lasting foundation.

Because we concur in the proposition that governmental authority flows from the will of the people, it is particularly appropriate that we in Congress commemorate today the 179th anniversary of that nation's commitment to that principle. I would hope in some small way our remembrance of this event here in the House Chamber will serve to assure our Polish brethren that we have not forgotten this bond between us.

Mr. Speaker, I extend my appreciation to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI) for giving the Members of the House an opportunity to recognize the significance of Polish Constitution Day.

SYMPHONY ORCHESTRAS ABROAD

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the American Symphony Orchestra League, Howard Taubman, critic at large for the New York Times, spent almost 2 months studying symphony orchestras abroad. He visited Israel, Austria, Germany, The Netherlands, and Great Britain. He delved into the structure, operations, and quality of such orchestras as the Israel Philharmonic, the Munich Philharmonic, and the Halle Orchestra of Manchester, among others.

Mr. Taubman's lucid study incorporates findings in a wide area. He discusses the role of government and private support of these orchestras, the effect of politics upon the arts, the growth of symphony audiences throughout the world, the problems and morale of artists, and the future of the symphony.

This study is a valuable contribution to our information on the subject, and for this reason I include a summary of it in the RECORD:

THE SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA ABROAD

(A report of a study by Howard Taubman)

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Howard Taubman, critic-at-large for The New York Times, has been with The Times more than 35 years. He was a general reporter before transferring to the music department. Later he was named music editor, music critic and then succeeded Brooks Atkinson as drama critic.

During his career as a journalist and critic, he has reported on the musical and cultural scene in New York City, throughout the United States and in many countries in Europe and Latin America.

He has contributed numerous articles to The New York Times Magazine and Book Review and to virtually all of America's leading magazines.

His books include *Opera Front and Back*, *Music as a Profession*, *Music Is My Beat*, *The Maestro: The Life of Arturo Toscanini*, *How to Build a Record Library* and *How to Bring Up Your Child to Enjoy Music*.

He has appeared on radio and television and has lectured at many colleges and universities. Honorary degrees of Doctor of Music have been awarded him by Oberlin College, Temple University and the Philadelphia Musical Academy.

ABOUT THE STUDY

The dramatic increase in the number of U.S. orchestras offering year 'round employment created a need for information on the experience of orchestras which have operated on a 12-month basis for many years.

This study is an in-depth report of the administration, financing and artistic control of orchestras that have functioned on full-time schedules. It was commissioned by the American Symphony Orchestra League, Inc., P.O. Box 66, Vienna, Virginia 22180.

At the request of the American Symphony Orchestra League I spent almost two months in a study of orchestras abroad. I visited Israel, Austria, Germany, The Netherlands and Great Britain and delved into the structure, operations and quality of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, the Vienna Philharmonic and the Vienna Symphony, the Munich Symphony and the Munich Philharmonic, the Berlin Philharmonic, the Amsterdam Concertgebouw, the Hague Residentie, the London Symphony, the London Philharmonic, the Royal Philharmonic, the New Philharmonia and the Halle Orchestra of Manchester.

It might have been informative to broaden the range of the study and to include orchestras in other cities and other lands. There surely would have been more data. However, the basic findings, I am certain, would not be much different. I have traveled in other years in East European countries such as the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia, and I know that orchestras in these countries are Government-supported, and, to an extent unknown in the Western world, Government-dominated. I have also been in Japan, the one Asian country with a highly developed Western orchestral culture, and I learned that there are six professional symphony orchestras in Tokyo, all substantially supported by television and radio interests. I did not attempt any special investigation in depth of the Japanese orchestras any more than I did of the East European ensembles, but I did hear some of them and I did speak to Japanese and foreign musicians working in Tokyo and I gathered that even the best Tokyo orchestras are not yet in a class with the best in the West. I also found that standards of pay for workers generally are low in Japan, while living costs in a city like Tokyo are high. I was not surprised, therefore, to discover in my recent travels that a number of Japanese musicians had migrated to The Netherlands and become permanent members of the Amsterdam and Hague orchestras.

Of the Western orchestras I studied I found that they fell into two broad categories: 1. Those that were fundamentally cooperatives; 2. Those that were fundamentally Government-supported—State, City or both.

It should be emphasized, however, that it is not the fact of subsidy that distinguishes one category from the other. I encountered no orchestra without some form of substantial subsidy. The difference is the crucial one of degree of responsibility. In the case of category No. 2, the existence of every orchestra is in effect guaranteed by government. In the case of category No. 1, the orchestra to a large extent must fend for itself. But I believe that government would intervene further if the life of these orchestras were endangered.

In category No. 1 must be included the four London orchestras—the London Symphony, the London Philharmonic, the Royal Philharmonic and the New Philharmonia—the Israel Philharmonic and the Vienna Philharmonic. The Vienna Philharmonic, it should be added, is a distinctly special case. Although it is unmistakably a cooperative as a symphonic ensemble, its foundation and source are the Austrian Government; the

members of the Vienna Philharmonic are all members of the Vienna State Opera Orchestra, and their basic pay, fringe benefits and security stem from that employment. As members of the Vienna Philharmonic, these musicians are largely on their own. But as members of the Vienna State Opera they, like other elements in this institution, can count on the state. And how! Dr. Heinrich Reif-Gintl, the general director of the State Opera, told me that the subsidy to the State Opera comes to \$20,000 a performance. There are 300 performances a year, and the annual subsidy is \$6-million.

I should add another word of explanation. I included the Munich Symphony in the study although it is the orchestra of Bavarian Radio and entirely supported by it. I did so because the Munich Symphony presents a concert series in a concert hall to subscription audiences and, therefore, is in direct competition with the Munich Philharmonic. There are five other major orchestras in Germany entirely supported by State-radio systems, but they do not impinge so strongly on orchestral competitors. In Great Britain, the B.B.C. Symphony is maintained by the British Broadcasting Corporation, which in turn is maintained by funds drawn from taxes on the citizen's television and radio sets, and the B.B.C. Symphony does give a number of public concerts to paying audiences and competes with the other London orchestras to a limited extent. But for the moment it does not seem to impinge on the very existence of these orchestras, though in the long run it may.

SUBSIDIES

To get a sweeping view of the importance of subsidies to orchestras abroad it is useful to list them here side by side, though I go into detail in the separate sections on each orchestra. I must say that some of the figures startled and staggered me. As one who has spent many years in the music field, I knew all along that orchestras abroad were generously supported by government. I must confess, however, that I did not realize how generously.

The smallest proportionate subsidy is the one received by the Israel Philharmonic. It gets \$100,000 a year out of a total budget of \$1,750,000. The Vienna Philharmonic, as I have indicated, gets little or no subsidy, except when it does something special, such as a foreign tour or a film project, but as the orchestra of the Vienna State Opera, the Philharmonic shares significantly in that institution's subsidy. The Vienna Symphony receives about \$500,000 a year from the City of Vienna and about \$125,000 a year from the Austrian Government; the total budget varies according to the orchestra's activities but it comes to more than \$1-million, with a subsidy, as explained, of \$625,000.

The Bavarian Radio underwrites the total cost, about \$1.5-million annually, of the Munich Symphony. The other figures are:

Munich Philharmonic: Out of a total budget of \$1.25-million, the city of Munich provides a subsidy of \$900,000;

Berlin Philharmonic: Out of a total budget of slightly more than \$2-million, the city of Berlin provides a subsidy of \$1.5-million;

Amsterdam Concertgebouw: Out of a total budget of slightly less than \$1.5-million, the Netherlands Government provides a subsidy of \$360,000 and the city of Amsterdam a subsidy of \$540,000; a total subsidy of \$900,000.

Hague Residentie: Out of a total budget of \$1.2-million, the Netherlands Government provides \$300,000 and the city of The Hague provides \$750,000, a total subsidy of \$1,050,000.

London: Each of the four orchestras receives a subsidy of about \$180,000 out of total budgets ranging between \$960,000 and a little over \$1-million. This money comes

from the London Orchestra Concert Board, which derives its funds from the Arts Council and the Greater London Council. The Arts Council is funded nationally by Parliament, and the Greater London Council is the governing agency of Greater London.

Manchester: Out of a total budget of \$840,000, the Arts Council provides \$208,000 and the city of Manchester provides \$53,000, a total subsidy of \$261,000.

The size of the subsidies has been growing in recent years. In Berlin, for example, there is a built-in percentage rise as a response to inflation. The increase last year was 4% for inflation alone. The pressure of rising costs has also led to some modest increases in salaries of musicians and, in the case of conductors and soloists, to added expenditure in keeping with the need to compete for the great stars with orchestras in other parts of the world. Governments naturally resist pressures to raise the amount of subsidies because taxpayers the world over hate to have their taxes increased.

A lot depends, of course, on a nation's priorities. Dr. Theodor Piff-Percevic, Austria's Minister of Education and Culture, told me that his country had built up its arts institutions when it was still a great empire. Although the empire is gone and the country has shrunk in size, the cultural institutions have been retained. The arts are felt to be a great, perhaps the greatest, adornment of the nation's image—for itself and the rest of the world.

Germany is prosperous, and by tradition it has always assumed that arts institutions must be generously supported. Much the same philosophy, for poor as well as rich countries, pervades the Continent. In Great Britain government support has been growing steadily since the end of World War II. The appropriations to the Arts Council have risen steadily; under the leadership of Jennie Lee, the current Minister of Culture, the annual grant went up more sharply than before. There is no doubt that the government will continue its support whichever party, Labor or Conservative, is in power. But I heard cautionary and fearful words from officers of the London Orchestral Concert Board and from executives of the orchestras about the possibility of getting orchestral subsidies increased. The impression I got was that they now were as high as they would get to be—at least for a while. In other countries I had the impression that what was needed to keep a great orchestra not only functioning, but also great, would be provided.

It cannot be too strongly stressed that the main objectives of the subsidies are to keep the orchestras in existence and to insure that their quality will not be diminished. There are other quid pro quos in some instances. Orchestras are expected to play some popular-priced concerts, but they would play them anyhow.

In Munich the Philharmonic is expected to play concerts for clubs, labor unions, school children and other audiences not familiar with a live orchestra. Other orchestras are expected to tour the provinces, and the Israel Philharmonic must play for men and women in uniform near their encampments. But virtually all these additional commitments would, I am sure, be fulfilled anyhow, and I am convinced that nowhere would a subsidy be withheld. Subsidy is an accepted fact of cultural life. One might speculate that there would be no orchestras at all in most countries without it—and certainly not distinguished ones.

Is this true? Probably. Private contributions to the orchestras are minimal everywhere. The Israel Philharmonic receives \$60,000 a year from the America-Israel Cultural Foundation and hardly anything else from any source, though guest conductors and soloists make special arrangements for personal and emotional reasons to accept lower than customary fees or to remit part of fees

to the country's musical purposes. In London some orchestras receive modest annual grants from tobacco companies. In Germany there may be small special gifts, such as funds for buses of famous musicians to go into a new hall such as the Philharmonic Hall in Berlin.

What would happen if subsidies were withheld entirely? I have no doubt that some orchestras could not continue. It may be that Germans would not let a proud ensemble like the Berlin Philharmonic die; it could even be that dedicated musicians would make sacrifices rather than see a great instrument of which they are a part crumble. But I do not believe that some of the other orchestras covered in this study would endure. Indeed, even with subsidies the London orchestras are close to the danger line.

SUBSIDIES AND PRIVATE SUPPORT

There is another side to the subsidy question which must be analyzed because it has immediate pertinence to the situation of orchestras in the United States. I have pointed out that there is little or no private support abroad, by individuals or foundations or corporations. It may well be that a major reason is that there are no provisions for tax deductions for contributors in most countries.

To indicate the difficulties of getting corporate contributions a London orchestra manager described his negotiations with a tobacco company. This company has contributed about \$5,000 a year to the orchestra in recent years. It was pointed out to company executives that under British tax laws the company could, if it wished, sign a covenant to donate \$5,000 a year to the orchestra for a minimum of seven years. If it did so, the amount that it paid in taxes on the \$5,000 would be turned over to the orchestra by the government. Since British taxes are high, the amount paid on the \$5,000 is \$3,000. Thus the company could in effect donate \$8,000 instead of \$5,000 at no further cost to itself. In a sense this is encouragement of a matching device. But the company refused. It said that it did not like to commit itself for seven years, since it had no way of knowing that it would remain in an equally profitable position.

In the United States, of course, orchestras could not exist without donations by individuals, corporations and foundations. Although government subsidies are appearing, even growing in some states and cities, they are far from being the weighty force they are abroad. In view of the situation abroad, the questions that must be analyzed thoroughly are:

Would extensive Government subsidies to the orchestras kill off private support?

Would Government support provide a sounder base for orchestras if it were as unquestioned and assured as it is abroad?

Would assurance of Government support bring a loss of personal commitment and enthusiasm on the part of private citizens, which is so valuable an aspect of the American orchestral scene?

Could some useful combination of Government and private support be worked out in the United States, possibly on a basis of matching formulas, so that the orchestra could have guarantees of continuity and at the same time retain the personal involvement of so many faithful adherents?

Frankly, I don't know the answers to these questions. I do believe, however, that the questions must be pondered, particularly if one is convinced, as I am, that a symphony orchestra is a community asset and that a great symphony orchestra is a great national asset.

ROLE OF UNION

Next to the prevalence of subsidies from Government and the pervasive, undisputed acceptance of the principle of Government subsidies, the most arresting point about orchestras abroad is the nature of the rela-

tionship between musicians and management. Where the orchestra is a cooperative, the players themselves are the basic management, even if they employ a non-playing general manager. For in the end they make policy. Where the orchestra is not a cooperative, the players, through their elected representatives, tend to have a greater voice in policy-making than do the members of American orchestras.

In all the orchestras I studied, the musicians' union plays a far less significant role than does the union of the United States. The members of cooperative orchestras all belong to unions, but the union is almost irrelevant. With whom, after all, would a union bargain about pay and working conditions in a cooperative? Obviously with its own members. All that a union can expect is that the standards and working conditions established for members not in cooperatives will not be breached by the cooperatives. In Israel and Great Britain the cooperatives pay higher minimums than the union standards, which are not very high to begin with.

As to working conditions, such as number of services, hours of rehearsal, overtime and the rest, there is complete flexibility in the cooperatives. After all, it is the players themselves who are setting the standards. Their aim is to get the concert on and to make it go as well as possible. Their economic well-being as well as their artistic pride is at stake. I found it fascinating to sit and talk with members of governing committees of cooperatives. They never forgot that the preponderant portion of their income from the sale of tickets—whether subscriptions in Israel and Austria or single seats in London. They had at their fingertips the statistics of seat sales. They were sensitive to rises and falls in patronage. They studied the impact of programs and guest artists on ticket sales. They were, in short, behaving like management, and as management they had to think about selling their performance as well as preparing it and putting it on. They were preoccupied by the box-office. When you must earn 90% of your budget, as does the Israel Philharmonic, or more than 75%, as do the London orchestras, you have no choice but to be box-office oriented.

Where the orchestras are not cooperatives, the union deals with managements that are, for the most part, government employees. So for that matter are the orchestral players. Generally minimum standards required by the union are surpassed by the leading ensembles. As a result many of these orchestras are working under contracts negotiated as long as 15 years ago. It is true that clauses in these contracts, such as pay scales, are open to renegotiation from time to time, particularly as inflation and competition drive wages up. But it must be remembered that musicians in such orchestras are government employees and are entitled to certain benefits such as pensions, vacations, sick pay, etc. These benefits are set by government for all civil employees. There may be special provisions for members of a great orchestra, but these are not negotiated by unions; they are set by high government officials who take pride in their great cultural institutions and wish to make sure that the musicians will be well rewarded.

Certain standards for working conditions are set by union contract with orchestras that are not cooperatives, but I have the impression that the rules are applied with considerable flexibility. The reason is simple: usually it is in the musicians' best interest that this should be done. Thus there is no rigidity about scheduling of rehearsals and concerts by the Berlin Philharmonic. A week may be left open or may be filled with playing engagements, depending on the exigencies of the moment. Thus if Herbert von Karajan, the Berlin Philharmonic's permanent conductor, wishes to schedule recording sessions of a "Ring" music-drama by Wagner before taking his production with

the orchestra to a special festival in Salzburg, he is cheerfully accommodated. The men make extra money; the conductor is granted maximum artistic maneuverability, which he likes; and the orchestra itself adds to its international repute. The union does not stand in the way of so many advantages for everybody; it cheerfully waives normal rules.

Not unexpectedly, it can be laid down as a rule of thumb that where musicians in orchestras that are not cooperatives fare extremely well financially the union has little impact. Only where there is discontent does the union gain in power. I sensed that such a situation might be developing in The Netherlands. The musicians in that country's leading orchestras are clearly envious of the good treatment their counterparts receive in Berlin and Vienna, and they are disposed to press for improvements, especially in pay scales. But the pressure must be applied on government, and that is difficult to do through normal union procedures.

THE UNIVERSAL SCRAMBLE

The plain fact is that the orchestral musician abroad, like orchestral musicians I have run into everywhere, generally keeps himself on a treadmill of activity. It does not seem to matter whether his orchestra is subsidized or not, whether he is a member of a cooperative or a direct government employee, whether he is generously or poorly compensated. He seems to have a penchant for running, running and playing, playing, playing. Wolfgang Stresemann, artistic administrator of the Berlin Philharmonic, who used to be a music critic and conductor in the United States while he remained in self-exile from Nazi Germany, told me that even the members of the Berlin Philharmonic, the best-paid orchestral musicians in Europe, were seldom content with their Philharmonic duties. In their free time they took on what paying engagements they could get with smaller ensembles, with chamber-music groups, with festivals and with all sorts of pick-up units. Some of these engagements they took, he conceded, for musical reasons, but most of them were seized for the money.

Less fortunate musicians in less affluent ensembles than the Berlin Philharmonic have to scramble endlessly to earn better than a minimal living. The London musicians, I gathered, are constantly on the go, looking for work to supplement their incomes from their orchestra jobs.

I will repeat here the details of minimum salaries that musicians in the various orchestras earn; the figures are to be found in the section on each ensemble. What must be discussed here is what these figures of earnings mean in purchasing power. I have converted the earning figures from the foreign currencies into dollars, but I cannot emphasize too strongly that the dollar figures cannot and should not be equated with the dollar earnings of American orchestral players. I have listed some comparisons in each section, but let us examine some of them in greater detail.

A rank-and-file member of the Berlin Philharmonic, the best-paying orchestra abroad, earns a basic salary of about \$8,500 and almost as much as that in extras. No one, of course, can guess how long he can count on that extra income. If Karajan should depart or slow down, there might be a falling off of extra income. On the other hand, the Berlin Philharmonic might land another glamorous conductor with an equal flair for developing extra, attractive engagements. But at present the rank-and-file is earning something like \$17,000 a year. This is as much as, if not more than, any rank-and-file member of any American orchestra to my knowledge. Of course, some American rank-and-file managers to obtain a lot of extra jobs, and with these extras they may equal or exceed the Berliners. Furthermore, it has to be conceded that the base pay for a rank-and-file

player in a leading American orchestra is much higher than the Berlin rank-and-file's.

WHAT EARNINGS BUY

But now we come to what a man's earnings will buy. In Berlin rent is high, but not so high as in some American cities. Food is a lot cheaper, and so are many services. Public schools are better than in the heart of many American cities. Health services are nationalized.

Automobiles, which are manufactured in Germany, are relatively no higher than in the United States, though gasoline is a lot higher. In countries like Austria and Israel, where automobiles must be imported, they take a much larger bite out of a man's earnings than in the United States. Nevertheless, even rank-and-file musicians can afford them.

In Vienna, for example, where rents in old houses are controlled, the minuscule sums paid are almost impossible to believe. One can get a quite elegant apartment for \$20 a month.

Taxes tend to be at least as stiff as in the United States, and in Britain they are stiffer. But in Israel and Austria the members of the leading orchestras are allowed to have the first 20% of income tax free.

As for pensions, all the orchestras I studied, except the four London cooperatives, have far better arrangements than American ensembles. In all these cases the superiority is attributable to the fact that the musicians share in government-supported pension schemes.

EFFECTS OF POLITICS

Where the governments are involved in the arts, it is likely, if not inevitable, that politics are involved. Politicians can be and have been harmful to the arts, but they need not be. I would say that they have not been where the orchestras in this study are concerned. In fact, the reverse is true. In every case, heads and members of government have been deeply concerned to see to it that the orchestras flourish. Indeed, in Vienna and Munich I found that the support of an orchestra had become a matter of party principle.

Thus the ruling People's (Catholic) Party in Austria proudly supports the Vienna State Opera and by extension the Vienna Philharmonic, while the Social Democratic city government of Vienna has made it a point of honor to keep the Vienna Symphony functioning. Frau Gertrud Sandner, the cultural officer of the city administration, also serves as president of the Vienna Symphony as evidence of the city's official commitment, and she left no doubt in a conversation with me that it was an article of party faith to support this orchestra.

Similarly in Munich where the Bavarian State government is Christian Democrat and the Munich city administration Social Democrat, the Bavarian State supports the Munich Symphony through the Bavarian Radio and the Munich city administration supports the Munich Philharmonic by direct subvention.

One is left in no doubt in Berlin that the Philharmonic would be sustained at its present high artistic level even if the cost to the community were much higher. I believe that an awareness is dawning on Dutch authorities that their once unsurpassed Concertgebouw has gone downhill in recent years, and I would not be surprised if the government took steps to reverse the situation. Such steps would mean inevitably granting more money, and I would guess that this will happen.

And in Great Britain, when at least two of the orchestras—the Royal Philharmonic and the New Philharmonia—were struggling to stay alive, a special committee was formed by the Arts Council to undertake a thoroughgoing study. Under the chairmanship of Arnold Goodman, a solicitor who later became Lord Goodman, and is now chairman

of the Arts Council, the committee turned in a report in the spring of 1965 which has become the basis of government policy toward the London orchestras. As a result of this report, the London Orchestral Concert Board was set up jointly by the Arts Council and Greater London Council. It is through this board that the Arts Council, which receives its money by appropriations from Parliament, and the Greater London Council, the municipality's administrative body, provide the London orchestras with subsidies. The main point to stress here is that the study was made and the Board was set up and provided with wherewithal to function because there was a government determination to keep London's orchestras in being and help them, over the long run, to solve their economic problems.

In Israel, where the Philharmonic's subsidy is the smallest of any orchestra I studied, both in amount and in percentage of total budget, the orchestra depends largely on its incredibly large and faithful public. The orchestra has more than 30,000 subscribers for its various series in and out of Tel Aviv, and as long as it holds this support, it need not fret about the limited extent of its government subsidy. But I am convinced that if anything should happen to that support, the government would not permit the orchestra to falter. I am certain that whatever subsidy is needed will be provided.

PROGRAMS AND AUDIENCES

It is amusing to meet with orchestral musicians serving as directors and therefore policy-makers in cooperative orchestras and to hear them discuss the problems of program-making. They know—as who doesn't?—that a star conductor or soloist in sure-fire pieces is likely to guarantee a standing-room-only turnout, and they do not apologize for arranging as many fool-proof evenings as possible. But they know, as do managers and boards of orchestras everywhere, that there are not enough sure-fire draws to go around in the orchestral field, even in these days of jet travel. There are too many ensembles all over the world competing for the stars.

And what about the music? How often can one play the same big pieces? And what happens if one ventures far afield? Will not the subscribers, whose tastes tend to be conservative nearly everywhere, rebel?

I remember sitting late into the night with three committee members of the Israel Philharmonic as they agonized over this problem. Since their orchestra was so dependent on holding onto its immense subscription list, they were particularly cautious about change.

"After all," said one man, "we have the livelihoods of more than 100 people in our charge. What right have we to play things that will imperil them? But, on the other hand," he added ruminatively, "what if we bore our audience by failing to make changes? What if they start becoming indifferent and slipping away? It's hard to know the answers."

It's hard, indeed. In Munich the Symphony gives a series of five concerts known as *Musica Viva*, devoted entirely to contemporary, often avant-garde music. An effort is made to display the latest trends. Expert and sympathetic conductors and soloists are engaged, and the composers are encouraged to be present at preparations. The idea is to provide the advanced composer with a forum and an audience. I attended such a concert when music by Stockhausen, Zender (he did the conducting) and Boulez was played. The audience, I was told, included an equal division of concertgoers interested only in the new and people who went regularly to the Symphony and Philharmonic's concerts.

It is expensive to mount a series like *Musica Viva*. Wolfgang Fortner, the German composer, who serves as artistic director, told me that Bavarian Radio, which pays the bills, is generous in its support, providing ample funds for as many rehearsals as needed. But

can an orchestra without such sources of support attempt a similar series?

Efforts of this kind were being made in Vienna and London in the spring of 1969. In Vienna the Symphony arranged the programs as part of the annual Vienna Festival with special assistance from the festival authorities and in London the London Symphony Orchestra planned its programs with special help from the London Orchestra Concert Board. In each case the programs stirred to considerable excitement and brought an unexpectedly large public response.

Despite these occasional efforts, the orchestras abroad tend to play it safe in their programs. In Amsterdam there have been violent attacks in print and on the air against the Concertgebouw for its conservatism, but the management firmly believes that its policy is what the public wants. It therefore proceeds along the old, familiar course of program-making. In The Hague there is an effort to bring new men and new music to the fore, because the management there believes in the need for change. It may also be that the management there feels that it must pursue different paths if it is to compete for attention with the Concertgebouw, which for so long has been preeminent in the land. No. 2, as the advertising slogan suggests, must try harder.

Managements everywhere are notably chary about letting an outsider study their exact attendance figures. But it was unmistakable that the sure-fire programs with the sure-fire guests are the ones that sell out. It was also apparent that even in Berlin there are concerts by the Philharmonic that do not sell out—either because the program does not appeal to a fundamentally conservative public or because the conductor or soloist is not sufficiently attractive. The orchestras that do the best consistently in attendance are those with the big, safe subscriptions, like the Israel Philharmonic, the Vienna Philharmonic and the Berlin Philharmonic for the series in which Karajan appears the most often.

GROWTH OF AUDIENCE?

Is there any marked audience growth? No one I talked to would take an oath in the affirmative. There were observations, it is true, bravely affirming progress. But I did not see any statistics to prove it.

Lord Goodman, chairman of the Arts Council, assured me in London that the activities of the four orchestras as well as the performances of the B. B. C. Symphony on the air and occasionally in the concert hall had stimulated the development of a new public. And it is a fact that a good many of the interesting, glamorous programs play to capacity or near-capacity. But an examination of the Second Annual Report of the London Orchestral Concert Board for the year ending March 31, 1968 revealed these figures:

In 46 concerts the London Philharmonic Orchestra averaged 85% capacity; in 47 concerts the London Symphony Orchestra averaged 78% of capacity; in 42 concerts the New Philharmonic averaged 76% of capacity; and in 38 concerts the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra averaged 70% of capacity. The figures for the following year were probably not quite the same, depending on programs, conductors and soloists, but I would guess that the total audience did not change very much in numbers.

In Israel, where the audience is so large and faithful, I thought I detected the appearance of soft spots. I gathered that even for some of the apparently sold-out subscription concerts, tickets were obtainable and that these tickets were not always grabbed up. Here the problem may be that the management is reluctant to admit that a subscription series is not sold-out and that the people seeking single seats do not know they are available. Of course, Israel is a special case. After all, this is a tiny country

with a population of 2.5-million, and the size of the Philharmonic's public is larger in proportion to its country's population than any orchestra in the world.

My estimate of the situation is that in all the countries studied there has been a modest increase in orchestral attendance but no greater in percentage, I suspect, than the growth of the population as a whole. I have no statistics to prove it, but from the comments of managements, musicians and observers and from my own observations at concerts, I would guess that the audience is middle-class and upper-class and substantially middle-aged and older. The long-playing disk and the hi-fi set are everywhere and, though some of this equipment may be costly in some places, people who like orchestral music have their own collections. They go to concerts for reasons similar to those of American concertgoers:

Because it is the thing to do; because they like to hear live music in the hall; because they like to respond to different musical approaches; because they are interested in seeing and hearing celebrities on the stage, whether established or new, in the flesh; because they hope for an occasional fresh musical experience; because they are content to revisit old, familiar and dearly cherished musical landscapes.

PROBLEMS

Wherever I went, I asked managements, musicians, public officials and knowledgeable observers what the special problems of the orchestras in the communities were.

One problem upon which all, without exception, agreed was the question of manpower. The most acute problem in this area is the shortage of string players.

There is no doubt that this shortage is worldwide. While the Dutch orchestras are importing Japanese string players, the Japanese orchestras, as I learned in a visit to Tokyo last year, were a long way from being overstaffed with outstanding string players. There is a lot of conscientious student work going on in Japan, and the country is developing a host of string players, but it takes more than effort and determination to produce the caliber and quantity needed.

In London the Symphony felt it had pulled off a coup when it signed a 23-year-old cellist of great gifts to be the principal of the section. In Munich Rafael Kubelik, conductor of the Symphony, told me that it had required three different auditions to find a suitable double-bass player. There is a good deal of enticement of players through talent raidings. A London orchestra was bereft because an outstanding flutist had been tempted away by a better offer from the Berlin Philharmonic. The orchestras in the West bid for good players in East Europe and succeed in getting them if their country is lenient about granting exit visas. The sad, unalterable fact is that the rich get richer. The more affluent and firmly established orchestras can offer terms that attract men from the poorer ones, who have a desperate need to hold on to their best personnel.

It isn't only money that appeals. Veterans of the Israel Philharmonic said that it was important to make jobs more attractive in their orchestra to young musicians. Swifter promotion and more opportunity for occasional solo display, they felt, would be as valuable as raising starting minimums and reducing the disparity between top and lowest minimums. John De Roo, the manager of the Hague Residentie, was all for breaking up the large orchestra into smaller units for special programs, not only to bring different programming to the public but also to make the work more interesting for more members of the orchestra.

Another problem mentioned nearly everywhere was the one of refreshing the orchestra's personnel. In most of the orchestras I studied the players have, after vary-

ing periods, rights of tenure. Where the musician is in fact a civil employee, the job theoretically and legally is his for life or until he reaches the retirement age, generally 65. What happens if a musician's capacities decline? I gathered that this was a headache in a number of orchestras.

It was agreed that string players were less likely to slip than wind players and that the acutest problems arose with the latter. The most favored procedure to deal with the latter appeared to be tact. If a slipping wind player happened to be a principal, it was up to the conductor and manager to indicate that he ought to retire or step down to a less important spot. Rarely, it was said, would such a player admit to himself that he was slipping, but once in a while he would voluntarily step down a notch. If the slipping player were not a principal, it would be up to his section chief to try to cope with him. In a cooperative orchestra members of the committee might try to deal with the problem. No one had an easy way out of this sort of delicate, human crisis.

OF CONDUCTORS

A third problem, which is constantly on the mind of orchestras, revolves around the relationship with conductors. Is it better to have a permanent conductor and artistic director—generally one and the same—than a series of guests? How permanent should a permanent conductor be? How does the length of his commitment affect the orchestra?

It is clear that for the Berlin Philharmonic having Herbert von Karajan as principal conductor is a pronounced asset. He adds luster to the orchestra's repute. He brings in business—audiences to his concerts and subscription series, and he arranges other engagements. As a subtle, sensitive conductor he helps to raise standards and keep them high. The other side of the coin is that he conducts relatively few concerts each year, and the orchestra is obliged to engage many guest conductors. "Too many," a Berlin critic remarked sourly to me.

On the other hand, the Israel Philharmonic, which has had only guest conductors since its founding in 1936, has decided to engage Zubin Mehta as artistic adviser and chief conductor. As a cooperative this orchestra had the option of making this decision for itself. The fact that it is so decided proves that the musicians felt that they needed a stronger guiding hand than they had had. Some of them privately conceded that discipline might well be improved and that programming, with a brilliant young musician's overall guidance, might also be enhanced.

In London all four cooperative orchestras seek to have not only principal conductors but also permanent guests. In some cases they have opted for two permanent guest conductors. And remember that their schedule is not so heavy as those of other European ensembles.

The Vienna Philharmonic, which enjoys the advantage of access to outstanding guest conductors engaged by the State Opera, and which has in addition the prestige of being a great and venerable ensemble, has seemed to be content in recent years to go along with guest conductors, but there was talk in Vienna that it might be about ready to commit itself to a permanent conductor.

Needless to say, the man on the podium affects the quality of the orchestra profoundly, particularly if he is around for more than a fleeting, guest appearance. A great musician like Klemperer can create a rapport, despite his age and physical infirmities, that will produce remarkable musical results. A Leonard Bernstein, whom orchestras abroad would dearly wish to have in any arrangement, exudes a magnetism and excitement that infects the musicians and, through them, the audience. Orchestras abroad are

well aware of the subtle interrelationships possible between a distinguished conductor and an eager, highly responsive ensemble. They are also aware of the indifference that can be felt instantly if the musicians do not respect the man who seeks to lead them.

The trouble is how to find the right conductor. There are never too many great ones. The pressure to find fine conductors has been increasing because orchestra schedules have been expanded. There is no doubt that the extension of so many American orchestral seasons and the proliferation of summer festivals, with the concomitant demand for more conducting talent, has had an impact on European schedules and engagements.

The truth is that the shortage of great conductors is even acuter than that of string players. I was struck by the number of conductors who, not only in America, accept multiple permanent posts. We know about William Steinberg in Pittsburgh and Boston and George Szell in Cleveland and New York—even for a short interval. We also know about the discontent in Houston with Andre Previn's additional commitment to the London Symphony Orchestra. We know that Georg Solti is coming to Chicago while retaining a connection with the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and that Pierre Boulez is coming to New York while retaining a hand in the programs of the British Broadcasting Corporation Symphony. Mehta has now committed himself to the Israel Philharmonic as well as the Los Angeles Philharmonic. What are we to say about Rudolf Kempe who is permanent conductor of the Royal Philharmonic, Munich Philharmonic and Zurich Tonhalle? What about Vaclav Neumann, who is permanent conductor of the Prague Philharmonic and also taking over the top job at the Stuttgart Opera? What about Karajan, who has top jobs with the Berlin Philharmonic, the Orchestre de Paris, the Salzburg Spring Festival and the Metropolitan Opera? What about Lorin Maazel, who is the chief conductor of the Deutsche Oper in West Berlin as well as the Berlin Radio Symphony? What about Seiji Ozawa, who will be principal conductor of the San Francisco Symphony, artistic adviser of the Tokyo Symphony and a leading guest with the New York Philharmonic?

I have no doubt that for the conductor, if he has the time to reflect and prepare fresh programs and rethink old pieces, there is a charge in conducting different ensembles and that the result may well be musical rewards for the various publics. But I wonder, on the testimony of musicians abroad, whether in this shuttling and doubling of conductors there is not a point of diminishing returns in the end for players and audience, whether after a while players do not put out completely for some guests, whether an excess of guest baton wielders is not, to a certain extent, deleterious to orchestra and music-making.

MORALE

In the end, I think, the quality of an orchestra depends on the morale of its personnel. The highest morale among the orchestras I studied—the Berlin Philharmonic and Vienna Philharmonic, I think deserve to be rated at the top in this regard as well as in their overall distinction as musical ensembles—depended on two prime factors—status and security.

The implications of security are plain enough. The term means year-round employment, annual earnings to compare with this country's highly regarded professionals in other fields; long, paid vacations; pensions sufficiently large to guarantee a reasonably decent standard of living, and paid sick leave. It means an end to scrambling for jobs and to worry over living. In short, all the things that anyone employed in industry in the Western world regards as security.

The implications of status are more subtle. When one hears envious comments by or-

chestral musicians in other countries of the favored lot of the men in the Berlin Philharmonic, one must realize that they are speaking not simply of money. They are thinking of the high regard in which a Berlin Philharmonic man is held socially and professionally in his own community. One finds in Berlin and Vienna that the Philharmonic men are as respected as famous athletes, film stars or statesmen. This means that not merely the first-desk men but all the members of the orchestra have standing. I was amused and touched in Vienna when several committee members of the Vienna Philharmonic arrived at the Sacher Hotel for a meeting with me. They were announced by the hall porter with a flourish that exceeded his normally elaborate pronouncements. After that visit, I noticed my rating apparently went up; my comings and goings produced more respectful salutations and my service improved.

From what I learned in Berlin it is evident that an orchestra can give its members a sense of self-esteem—which is another way of conferring status—by involving them to a certain extent in some decision-making. Thus the Berlin Philharmonic, though not a cooperative, gives every one of its members the right to vote in approval or disapproval of new candidates. It requires a $\frac{2}{3}$ vote to approve a new member. Karajan may exercise a veto, but the members of the orchestra can overrule him by another $\frac{2}{3}$ vote. Presumably his veto would carry weight, and a vote overruling him would be carried out with considerable second thought.

It was clear that De Roo in The Hague was thinking partly of status when he said that he was hoping to give individual members of the orchestra more opportunity to shine in public. Presumably a little glory would go some way toward making up for financial stringency.

Status—or glory or self-esteem—is what all human beings need—at least in some measure. From my observation abroad I would say that it is a gift often withheld from orchestral players in quite a few places—in Britain and the United States. It is a gift that can be bestowed at no great cost. I have watched orchestras on tour abroad and in the United States and have noticed that it is the conductor, the concertmaster and perhaps one or two other first-desk men who are invited to after-concert parties while the other players are left to fend for themselves. As for parties at home, it is equally rare for the rank-and-file to be included. Entertainment, of course, is a minor aspect of what I mean by status. What I am talking about, in the last analysis, is the way a musician is treated by his community, the admiration he receives for his accomplishments as a musician, the acknowledgement that he, too, has claims to being considered an artist. It is these subtle factors that, at least abroad, raise the morale of the individual and, by extension, the morale of the entire ensemble.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE

It is clear, I think, that the symphony orchestra as an institution and the public performance as a way of communicating the sweep of orchestral literature are so firmly established in cultural and community life abroad that they will continue to function well into the foreseeable future. The great orchestras are secure. They are highly valued for their artistic role, and they are also a source of enormous civic and national pride. Berlin and Vienna know that their Philharmonics have achieved international renown in addition to providing outstanding musical experiences at home. The Israel Philharmonic is better known abroad and has easier access to foreign publics than even the famous Habima stage company because music does not require translation by intermediaries. Wherever one goes abroad, one hears of plans to send the leading or-

chestras on tour to other lands, particularly to the United States. It is not only money that is sought. Indeed, in most cases additional investments, usually by government, are needed to pay for transportation. It is not even additional engagements, though the hard-pressed London orchestras are glad to add playing dates to their season. The main desideratum is prestige. This search for international respect is certainly a principal reason for the dispatch of many American orchestras on tours to various parts of the world.

But even if one grants the pride and prestige to be gained from the possession of a great orchestra, one cannot blink at the fact that there are clouds on the horizon for some of the good ones abroad, as there are for some of the good ones in the United States. These clouds abroad are generated by the same forces that throw them up in the United States. They stem in part from rising expectations in standards of living; in other words the members of the orchestra are pressing everywhere for a living as good and comfortable as that achieved by other highly-trained and skilled professionals. Furthermore, it is perilous abroad, as it is in the United States, to price tickets out of the reach of a large segment of the audience. In sum, the deficits abroad grow larger each year, as they appear to do in the United States.

In a prosperous nation like Germany, the government—national, state and city—has been able to increase its contributions. Yet I had the feeling in Munich that one day it may be decided that the city can dispense with one of its orchestras. Were it not for the political factor I mentioned earlier, one of the orchestras might have been dispensed with in recent years.

Austria is nowhere near so prosperous as Germany, but it is well aware that the musical institutions are important not only to its image but also to tourism, one of its important industries. Yet it is possible that in a time of economic stringency the Vienna Symphony might be in danger of curtailment, if not dissolution.

In Holland there are nine professional orchestras, including the Concertgebouw in Amsterdam and the Residentie in the Hague. All are partly supported by the national government and partly by their municipalities. Granted that there are municipal rivalries. But I wondered, as I talked to representatives of the Concertgebouw and Residentie and to other Netherlanders, how long the nation and municipalities would be willing to go along on this basis. After all, Holland is a small country. Any orchestra can play in any city on any night and return home after the concert without difficulty. Wouldn't it be natural to think of mergers as orchestra boards have begun to toy with the idea in the United States?

The notion isn't mentioned out loud, at least not yet, in Holland. But I did hear it discussed in London. In fact, some thoughtful participants in the musical scene, who prefer for the moment to remain nameless, predicted that there will be amalgamations in the not too distant future. I suspect so, too.

The main sticking point in London is, I think, the musicians. How can players who have spent years and decades perfecting their skills in orchestral music be cast aside? And what about the young musicians who are being trained for such careers? I suspect that this human and social problem—and a very real and significant one it is—is a chief reason that authorities are reluctant to talk of mergers and dissolutions.

It is illuminating in this regard to read the 1965 Report of the Committee on London Orchestras. It analyzed the amount of existing work available for orchestral musicians in London, taking into account current concerts and audiences and looking to possible

future audience growth. It listened not only to representatives of the four orchestras but also to people from B. B. C. and Covent Garden Opera, and it found general agreement that "to maintain first-class playing standards, a musician should not ordinarily be called upon to work more than ten sessions in a week or an average of 35-36 sessions in any four-week period," with a session to consist of a concert, rehearsal or recording. And it came to this Solomon-like conclusion:

"So far as the statistics are reliable, they show that present work available justifies the existence of rather more than three but less than four orchestras. The situation has presented us with a very difficult decision. We would, at present, clearly not be justified in recommending the permanent endowment of four orchestras. On the other hand, we were not satisfied that, given some breathing space, the case for four orchestras could not be established. We put the matter in this rather negative way because we regarded the burden of proof as important. To recommend an allocation of subsidies which might lead to the disbanding of any of our world-famous orchestras in a very drastic step. We thought it would be wrong to take such a step unless we were completely satisfied that there could be no justification for an orchestra's continued existence."

Note well the phrase "the permanent endowment of four orchestras." In other words, the jury may still be out. Yet no one in authority is willing to say, "Let's kill one or two orchestras."

John Denison, the manager of Royal Festival Hall, a former orchestral musician himself and a shrewd, intimately informed observer of the London scene, was willing to outline one proposal for change. He thought that the time might come when London would settle for two top symphony orchestras of international stature; that a third could become a general service utility unit, appearing as the supporting ensemble for choruses, playing lighter programs and being available for special events; and that a fourth orchestra could be largely commercial in purpose, taking care of recording and film dates and being half-subsidized.

I talked to officials of the London Orchestral Concert Board, and they felt that changes were in the offing. But, they added quickly, any drastic changes like mergers would be essentially political—in other words, governmental on national and municipal levels. For this reason, one official remarked dryly, the Board was happy to maintain the status quo.

There is no doubt in my mind that the London orchestral situation is an uneasy one. It reminded me of the unease I have noticed in American orchestral quarters. The present situation is a struggle and a scramble for musicians and managements. Under current subsidies and concert attendance figures and other sources of income, the four orchestras are getting by. But what if there should be a drop in patronage? One manager told me that a loss of 10% of patronage by any orchestra would probably push it over the thin line that stands between tolerable health and a wasting disease or, to put it bluntly, between continuation and collapse.

A blessing recently bestowed on the London orchestras, by their own account, is the new contract negotiated by the American Federation of Musicians with the recording companies. This contract has led to an upsurge of recording dates for London musicians in London, where the rates are lower. Said one London orchestral manager, partly in disbelief and partly in relief, "The A.F.M. must have a death wish."

What would happen in London if indeed there were a drop in patronage, a loss of extra recording opportunities or any other falling off of income? Would subsidies be increased? The answer, it is true, would depend on politics. But it would also depend on economics,

and the British economy has been struggling with massive problems. If I were a London orchestral musician, I would be worried. And London orchestral musicians are worried.

The future of orchestras abroad depends to a large extent, as it does in the United States, on money—on the ability and desire of public and private sources to provide the wherewithal to maintain them. It will not surprise anyone, I hope, to hear that the maintenance of the highest standards depends everywhere on money. Whether the requisite funds will be forthcoming—in patronage of concerts, in private gifts, in government subsidies—will depend on a nation's and community's priorities. It is my personal view that no country I visited is incapable of supporting its orchestra or orchestras, if it wishes to. The amount spent on the most modest military establishments in the poorest and least belligerent lands or, in some cases, on elaborate monarchical and diplomatic displays is invariably large, and if only a tiny proportion could be diverted to the arts, the future of orchestras would not be in doubt.

Think of how huge a proportion of Israel's substance is spent on defense. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the never-ending turbulence in the Middle East, it is incontrovertible that peace there could free resources for other pursuits, including, of course, the Israel Philharmonic, which would not have to feel imperiled if its fantastic subscription list fell off a little.

The future of orchestras abroad, like the future of our orchestras, depends on a lot of factors other than musical. Changes, I think, are inevitable in the long run. No one can say in which direction these changes will tend, whether in the structure of the institutional organization or in programming or in audiences or in the nature of support. Whatever the changes, however, I am sure that orchestras abroad will endure. Where and in what number and quality?

It is reasonably safe to assume that the strong will remain strong and the weak may grow weaker. But orchestras are communal as well as artistic institutions. They can flourish or they can decay. Which way they go depends not only on their musical standards but also on their community's support. This is the overriding lesson I learned in my study of orchestra abroad. It would surprise me if this truth did not apply in the United States.

NURSING HOMES

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, nursing homes are coming under more and more scrutiny.

Because of the growing interest in the quality of care which nursing home patients receive, I should like to include in the RECORD some articles from a Milwaukee Sentinel series on conditions in state-licensed nursing homes, plus two editorials, and a followup story indicating the State plans to improve its nursing home inspection staff in the Milwaukee area.

I also include an Associated Press story that appeared in the Stevens Point, Wis., Daily Journal, in which the Associated Press reminds us it has circulated a series of articles about nursing home operations on a national scale.

It will take time and additional investigation to determine how really serious

the situation is, but I think that the Sentinel should be commended for directing its attention to the quality of care given the elderly and infirm.

The articles follow:

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Apr. 9, 1970]

INSIDE OUR NURSING HOMES

(By Gene Cunningham)

"When we arrived at the nursing home, the odor of urine was pronounced.

"The patients had commodes in their rooms and they were being used instead of bathrooms.

"In Room No. — where Mr. — lives, the commode toilet was encrusted with fecal material. The floor was sticky with a jelly-like substance.

"Mr. — was sitting in a wheelchair with a urine-stained hospital type gown on. The urine stain extended to the shoulders.

"I requested that (he) be given a bath and clean clothing."

This is a portion of an official report of a state inspection of a nursing home in Milwaukee.

There are many more homes like it—operating in continuing violation of state regulations, not for days or weeks but for months and even years.

From the report of a state inspection of another Milwaukee nursing home:

"The refrigerators were filthy, spilled food, cracked dirty eggs with liquid in a pan. . . . The nurse could not make up menus because of lack of food, especially no meat, in the home.

"The nurse stated that patients had not been served meat for a week. . . . The personnel in this home are very concerned about the patients and have spent their own money, up to \$13, to buy food for the patients."

This report was of a state inspection made after complaints were received concerning the home. It was later reported that meat had been delivered to the home.

A nursing home in Waukesha County also was inspected after "numerous complaints (were) received by this office concerning sanitation, patient care, nursing personnel and food served."

According to the state inspection report, the complaints "were true on investigation."

A Racine County nursing home was "over-run by flies," an inspection report said.

"They were crawling over tables where patients eat and were in patients' rooms.

"The tables were not clean and the furniture was still tied (together) with wire in the dining room area and had not been repaired since the last survey (inspection).

"There was a strong odor of urine in the facility. Patients appeared to need closer nursing observation and supervision in grooming. . . ."

WIRES REMOVED LATER

On a later inspection, conducted last September, the administrator of the home pointed out that the wires had been removed from the furniture, the inspection report noted.

But the flies were still there, "crawling over Mr. —'s face and arms. The bed frame was rusty and unclean, the same as it had been on our previous survey. The bed was saturated with urine.

"The furnishings in this room were rusty, unclean and in need of repair. The patient appeared extremely weak, emaciated, skin hot and dry to touch.

"He was expectorating large amounts of thick mucus on the floor and bed. No disposable receptacle was available at his bedside. No water at the bedside. No paper tissue at the bedside. . . ."

"We discussed the removal of (the patient) to a hospital. . . ."

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"NO SKILLED CARE"

The inspection report included the statement of a doctor in the area. He noted that although the home was licensed by the state as a skilled care nursing home, there was "no skilled care available" and no nurse on duty for weeks at a time when the doctor made his rounds in the home.

The doctor, the report said, stated that he would not permit his private patients to be admitted to the home.

These homes and many others like them are still in operation, still licensed by the state of Wisconsin.

In some cases, their approval for federal Medicaid funds for care of the indigent disabled has been withdrawn. This does not mean they lose their patients.

They have private or county patients. They have only lost their share of the financial bonanza that is Medicaid—the reason behind the nursing home boom of the late 1960s.

In Milwaukee County, 43 out of 99 nursing homes licensed by the state are operating with anywhere from "many" state code violations to "long lists of flagrant violations," according to two nurse consultants employed by the state to inspect the homes.

The remaining homes range from good to excellent, said Mrs. Dorothy Waggoner, one of the two inspectors.

The homes in the "good to excellent" category are in sharp contrast to those that worry field inspectors with their continuing and often dangerous violations.

Substandard homes commonly reek with the stench of urine.

Floors are dirty, furnishings are shabby, patients unclean and unsmiling, professional personnel scarce and often crude in their handling of patients and visitors.

PATIENT ORIENTED

Contrast these homes with some in Milwaukee County considered by state inspectors as among the best—definitely "patient oriented."

One of these, for example, sparkles with cleanliness and friendliness. Its staff gives first name attention to every patient.

There is no odor in the air.

But the main difference is that patients in this home and others like it are smiling and obviously happy. They are clean, cared for and treated with concern.

Its patient rates? Higher than many and lower than some.

But what this home offers in total services—from therapy and recreational programs to on the premises barber and beauty shops to the privilege of having friends and family in for tasty, tempting meals—makes it a home instead of a dismal institution.

PROBLEM ENOUGH

Substandard conditions in nursing homes are problem enough.

Add to that problem the assorted populations and specializations of some homes and the problem becomes a dilemma.

There are 444 private nursing homes in the state with a total capacity of about 28,700 patients.

Of these, 99 with a capacity of about 7,700 are in Milwaukee County. That number does not include at least two new homes recently opened here.

To these various homes are sent the mentally retarded from the state colonies and training schools and the mentally ill, aged disabled and senile from county institutions and agencies.

PRIVATE PLACEMENTS

In addition, private patients are placed in these homes by their families.

With all of this—the number of homes, diversity of populations and specializations—problems of supervision and questions of operation have multiplied:

What is therapy and proper programing

for the retarded vs. outright labor and exploitation?

What staff training and special services exist in these homes, and are they really available or only on paper?

Are the necessary nursing staffs and medical and professional backups actually available to patients who need and are dependent on them?

The answers to these questions and more like them are left to the state and, to a far lesser extent, the county to determine.

STATE'S RESPONSIBILITY

The state alone bears the responsibility for administering the state nursing home code and regulations and for the licensing of qualified nursing homes—as well as the responsibility for actions against unqualified and substandard homes.

Mrs. Waggoner and Mrs. Ethel Denniston are officially labeled "nurse consultants" employed by the Hospitals and Related Facilities and Services Section of the state Department of Health and Social Services to make periodic "surveys" or inspections of the more than 200 nursing homes in Milwaukee County and four other counties designated as District 2.

Two additional nurse consultants were assigned to inspections in the district last month. One quit after one week.

The nonprofit homes, usually religious affiliated, generally are excellent, said Mrs. Denniston and Mrs. Waggoner.

PROPRIETARY WORST

The worst of the homes are in the proprietary or profit group, they said.

Many proprietary homes are very good, but there are too many bad ones that are allowed to operate despite continuing and sometimes dangerous violations of state regulations, they believe.

The problem is lack of enforcement of the state code, they said.

In the more than two years they have been employed by the licensing agency, there have been no license revocations or suspensions in their district, they said.

They and nurse inspectors who preceded them have frequently recommended to the state that action be taken against specific chronic violators.

Often, their recommendations are ignored and reports detailing long lists of violations are read and filed away.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Apr. 10, 1970]

NURSING HOME VIOLATIONS Go ON, ON

(By Gene Cunningham)

"Can't something be done about this home?" a state nurse inspector pleaded with her superiors in a report filed with them on her inspection of a nursing home in Waukesha County.

The plea was futile.

The report was sent to the Hospitals and Related Facilities and Services Section of the State Department of Health and Social Services in February of 1969.

The following month the home was inspected again and another report went into the section office in Madison and, as always, a copy went to the nursing home administrator. It said:

"Many of the same deficiencies found on this visit have been reported to you previously in letters from this department. You will be expected to correct the deficiencies listed."

The deficiencies ranged from "toilets were filthy, toilet lids taped together" to broken bedside tables, dirty wheelchairs, torn furniture. . . ."

There also were listings related to patient care, general sanitation and safety.

Five months later the home was inspected again by a nurse in the Milwaukee district:

"No sheets available in your nursing

home. . . . Incontinent patients in need of linen changes. Men needed to be shaved. Clothing soiled" . . . and on through a list of violations that included improper handling of medicines and poisons and the fact that patients did not have towels and washcloths. The home apparently had not been inspected since.

It is still in operation and is still licensed by the state of Wisconsin as a skilled care nursing home—the top license category available.

The same is true of a nursing home in Racine County.

Consecutive reports of inspections of the home contain this or a similar statement: "Many of the above listed deficiencies are the same deficiencies found on previous surveys. . . ."

The state's answer to why it has not taken action against some of these nursing homes is tangled in rhetoric, theory, funding and the bureaucracy that is government with its sluggish interagency procedures and communications.

DATED SEPTEMBER

Of a nursing home in Milwaukee, an inspection report dated last September said:

"Many of the deficiencies in this home have gone uncorrected since 1965."

That's nearly five years of state code violations, about which nothing has been done.

The home is still licensed—as skilled care, the highest possible license classification.

An example of its care:

The patient was coughing and "expectorating in a plastic jar filled with newspaper . . . (The administrator) brought out a whisky bottle and gave the patient two 3 ounce glasses of whiskey.

"She (the administrator) said (to the inspector), 'I've got an order for this.'

"The patient had two plastic glasses, and he drank the whisky. A short time later the patient slumped over in his wheelchair, drowsy and sleepy.

"In checking the (patient) chart, I could find no (physician's) order for the whisky."

LICENSE CHANGE ASKED

This is included in the September inspection report. So was a recommendation that the home's license be reduced from skilled care to personal care.

More than three months later, this was done. But the skilled care classification was restored the following month after the administrator hired a 40 hour a week nurse for the home.

These are only three such homes in the Milwaukee area. But there are many more like them, operating in violation of the state code which was designed to insure proper patient care and acceptable, safe procedures and facilities.

Forty-three of the 99 nursing homes in Milwaukee County are operating with from "many" violations to "long lists of flagrant violations" of state code setting minimum standards for nursing homes, said two nurse consultants who inspected them for the state of Wisconsin.

GOOD OR EXCELLENT

The remainder of the homes—56 of them—are good or excellent, said Mrs. Ethel Denniston and Mrs. Dorothy Waggoner, the nurse inspectors.

Substandard homes are reinspected frequently in an effort to get them to improve or, at least, come closer to compliance with the state code.

But the authority of the nurse inspectors includes only inspection and consultation.

The enforcement power rests in Madison.

"We can't go in and say 'Now look, today is it.' We can only recommend," said Mrs. Denniston.

Some homes, they said, ignore the code and get by with it.

And, in too many cases, inspections do not

bring compliance—nor do continued bad inspection reports to the state bring enforcement.

"You're going to have to have more enforcement if you're going to have this type of home (that operates in violation)," Mrs. Denniston said.

EASILY DISCERNIBLE

A casual observer can walk into most of the substandard homes and tell by sight and smell the caliber of home it is.

But the most dangerous violations of nursing home regulations are not visible to the nonprofessional.

They include lack of proper patient care, lack of the required professional nursing staff, carrying out of nursing procedures and treatments by untrained aides and employes, and improper or careless handling of drugs and narcotics.

As long as May of 1965, a nurse inspector employed by the state reported in an inspection of the Milwaukee nursing home cited earlier:

Some patients were in beds which had "dried fecal matter on their top sheets, bottom sheets and draw sheets. These beds were made with soiled sheets and it was apparent that the linen was to be kept that way for another day."

PHYSICIANS' ORDERS

The required professional nursing coverage was not provided in the home although there were physicians' orders calling for intramuscular injections, bladder irrigations, insertion of catheters and application of sterile dressings, she reported.

"One wonders who is administering these medications and treatments requiring knowledge of aseptic technique," she said in the report.

In the state files of some homes there are reports of medications being poured days in advance of distribution to patients, then being distributed by untrained aides; of needed medications being allowed to run out; of insulin being drawn days in advance and stored in syringes or not being administered at all.

There are reports of improper and insufficient food, despite the regulation that "food to meet the nutritional needs of the individual patients shall be provided" from a basic diet of meats, fruits and vegetables, breads and cereals, milk. . . .

EMPLOYEE COMPLAINED

An employe of one Milwaukee nursing home complained to state inspectors that:

"Noodles and macaroni are served frequently for supper. One roll is served to four patients.

"Often one-fourth sandwich, soup and one-half glass of milk is the evening meal, and patients are always hungry."

While government bogs down in theory and procedure, hundreds, if not thousands, of aged, senile, mentally retarded and mentally ill are caught in substandard nursing homes and forced to live with conditions as they exist.

Try telling a sick, frightened elderly man, lying in a nursing home bed with flies crawling over him and in need of medical attention, that, in the near future, the operator of the home will be called in for consultation with licensing officials and given still another chance to "improve" the home—or that his plight will be discovered whenever state inspectors or county social workers visit the home.

2,000 BEDS, 43 HOMES

There are approximately 2,000 beds in the 43 nursing homes in Milwaukee County that inspectors say have code violations ranging from many to long lists of flagrant violations.

Certainly not all of these homes are as bad as those described here, but many are.

Many of the patients in these homes are

there as the result of what amounts to a commitment procedure by the state or the county.

The process, however, is termed "placement."

In many cases, communications back to the placing agency are too poor or the patient mind involved too senile or retarded to make appeal of their plight possible.

CRYING FOR REFORM

The series of articles on nursing homes which began in *The Sentinel* this week is not the most pleasant reading.

The first article Thursday told of flies on the patient's face and a state issued operator's license hanging on the nursing home wall. Distasteful, yes. But we urge you to continue to read the series to its conclusion for the full picture on the services provided our aged, our sick, our retarded and our mentally ill. Some of us now have or will have in the future loved ones in similar facilities, or, we ourselves may become patients dependent on the services of others and their dedication to our needs as human beings.

Reporters Gene Cunningham and H. Carl Mueller found that the majority of the 99 nursing homes in Milwaukee County met state standards but 43 fell short of them in varying and sometimes extreme degrees, while still maintaining their licenses.

We have concluded, from their findings, that the situation is scandalous. The problem, we believe, is rooted in manpower shortages among inspection personnel and outright laxity in enforcement procedures relating to regulations concerning nursing homes. It is also our belief that the place where new initiative should be taken immediately to remedy what is a terrible situation is in the Division of Health of Wisconsin's Department of Health and Social Services.

We recognize that the shortcomings and code violations pointed out in this series might reflect even on the most conscientious nursing home operators and we again remind our readers that our reporting team found that the majority of them were doing a good to excellent job. However, the abuses found were too great to ignore and we believe it our duty to bring them to the attention of the public.

FEW NURSING HOMES NEED CLOSING, STATE CLAIMS

(By Gene Cunningham)

"I think we have a good code, and we're doing a good job," said Louis Remily, deputy chief of the Hospitals and Related Facilities Section of the state Department of Health and Social Services.

"There are few nursing homes in Wisconsin so submarginal that license revocation and suspension is needed," he said.

Remily's section is charged with enforcement of state regulations governing the operation of nursing homes and with the handling of licensing.

Remily conceded that there are substandard homes operating in violation of the state code.

But, he said, "I think more can be done through education, consultation and cooperation in meeting standards than will be done, in the long haul, in taking everyone to court."

However, court actions are not required for license suspension or revocation, according to Le Roy L. Dalton, an assistant attorney general who handles legal matters for the section.

The state Board of Health has the authority to suspend or revoke a license, Dalton said.

The procedure, he said, is administrative and, by state law, does not require action through the courts.

However, in the case of homes operating

without a license, fines are provided and charges are filed in court, Dalton said.

Both Remily and Dale Jennerjohn, section chief, implied on several occasions that court actions are necessary in order to suspend or revoke a violator's license.

"We can start license suspension or revocation proceedings" as an enforcement measure, but these "take a long time under the law," Jennerjohn said at a recent public meeting at which nursing homes were discussed.

License revocation and suspension proceedings are long and involved, Remily said in an interview.

One case taken to court in Madison still had not come before the court for decision five months later, he said. And, he noted, "We have taken cases to court and lost."

Instead of revocation or suspension action, consultations are held with individual home operators after they are called in to discuss state regulations and compliance with them, Jennerjohn said.

TELLS OF CONSULTATION

Representatives of one corporation operating homes in Milwaukee had been called in the preceding week, he said.

These conferences often bring about corrections and improvement, Jennerjohn said. "We know which homes are marginal, where they are and what attention is needed," Remily said.

If enforcement measures are taken, the state's preferred procedure is to withdraw a home's eligibility for Title 19 (Medicaid) funds for patient care, they said.

This gives them an "immediate financial loss" and is effective in bringing code compliance, Remily said.

However, not all nursing homes licensed by the state are Title 19 approved.

As of last February, 235 were approved for Title 19 and 209 were not.

THOSE NOT INCLUDED

Those that were not approved included 125 licensed skilled care nursing homes—the highest state license classification—and 84 homes licensed for limited or personal care.

The withdrawal of federal funds for Title 19 homes has no effect on their license to operate.

Often, when federal funds are withdrawn, the patients who had been in the home on Title 19 simply remain there and the cost of their care is taken over by the county at a lesser fee than Title 19 provides.

While license revocations and suspensions by the state are uncommon, licenses sometimes are reduced from skilled care to limited or personal care.

The latter two classifications do not require that the home employ a registered nurse, and the services available are reduced at this level. Lower fees are charged for patient care.

In Title 19 approved homes, a registered nurse must be on duty 40 hours a week, and licensed nurses, either registered or practical, must be on duty the remainder of the time on a round-the-clock basis.

Failure to have the required nursing staff, not state code violations, has been virtually the only reason for which Title 19 funds have been withdrawn.

ALMOST ONLY REASON

Similarly, the failure to have a registered nurse on duty 40 hours a week seems almost the only reason for which licenses have been reduced to lower classifications.

However, a check sheet of demerits is used in inspections of nursing homes and it, too, can be the basis for withdrawal of federal funding if the home is eligible for such funds.

The check sheet covers 10 areas of inspection—patient care, nursing staff, patient

safety, administration, medical records, medical policies, food service, sanitation, plant maintenance and construction.

In each of the 10 areas, up to 10 demerits can be given for noncompliance with state regulations, making a possible maximum of 100 demerits.

If, in an inspection, a home gets 60 or more demerits out of a possible 100, a letter is sent to the home giving it notice that it does not "fully" comply with state regulations and setting a date at which time federal funds will be withheld unless corrections are made to bring the home within acceptable limits.

Licensing officials admit there are problems in administering and enforcing the nursing home code. And they blame most of the problems on the boom that came in the nursing home business with the arrival of Medicare and Medicaid.

Fifty to 60% of the patients in nursing homes are on federal medical assistance, Remily said.

"FIELD EXPLODED"

"The field exploded, and we tried to keep up," he said.

"I'm not offering this as an excuse for why we have the —s," he said, naming and making plural one of the worst of the bad homes in Milwaukee.

But, he said, this is what happened with the coming of Medicare and Medicaid:

With Medicare, started in January of 1967 under a contract between the state and the Social Security Administration, federal money was provided to hire additional state personnel to handle the program.

But under Medicaid, started in 1966, there was no money for additional personnel, and the state Legislature did not provide the additional staff positions needed to handle the program.

"We couldn't keep up . . . We were always short of people."

In addition to nursing homes, the staff in Remily's section also handles hospitals and residential care homes.

"We have to sit here and establish priorities."

Medicare approved homes have to be inspected every 9 to 12 months. This inspection also is used as the state license inspection which normally is done annually.

The inspections required by federal programs, plus the boom in the building of nursing homes that the federal programs brought on, left the state short staffed and left homes not meeting these higher federal requirements without much attention, Remily said.

The boom in the nursing home industry has resulted in overbuilding, empty beds and competition for patients, Remily said.

Eventually, he said, this could bring about cuts in the quality of care, in food service and other areas of operation.

If that happens, "Then what do we do to keep up with it?" he asked.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Apr. 13, 1970]

POLICY OF PLACING RETARDED IN NURSING HOMES ASSAILED

(By Gene Cunningham)

More than 4,900 of the 7,700 patients in nursing homes in Milwaukee County have been placed there by the state or the county under Title 19 (Medicaid) of the Social Security Act.

Of this number, approximately 150 are mentally retarded patients placed by Southern State Colony and Training School at Union Grove.

In the last few years, more than 800 retarded persons have been placed in private nursing homes by the three state colonies.

The placement of the mentally retarded in nursing homes is the subject of a growing

battle between the Wisconsin Association for Retarded Children (WARC), the United Association for Retarded Children (UARC) and the state Department of Health and Social Services.

The two associations recently demanded that the state declare a moratorium on placement of the retarded in both private nursing homes and foster homes.

The moratorium, the associations said, should continue until assurances are received that all such facilities licensed by the state "are in full compliance with state and federal regulations, and that there are no inadequacies or irregularities in the program which work to the detriment of the welfare of the retarded who may be involved."

The state rejected the demand for the moratorium.

But, it said, the state nursing home code is now being revised, and requirements for special care and programs for the retarded will be included in the revised code.

In addition, department officials said, a uniform evaluation system is being worked out to be used by all three state colonies in selecting nursing homes for placement of the retarded.

But the two associations remain skeptical. The present nursing home code is not being enforced, they maintain, so what is the good of a revised version that also may not be enforced?

What is "on paper" is one thing, and what actually exists is another, the associations say.

At present, each state colony has its own evaluation system for choosing homes in which to place its retarded patients.

"There are a lot of things to be worked out in the utilizing of nursing homes" in the care of the retarded and mentally ill, said Dr. L. J. Ganser, administrator of the Department of Health and Social Services' Division of Mental Hygiene.

MET LAST MONTH

Ganser and other division officials met last month with representatives of the two associations for the retarded.

The retarded from the state colonies are placed in nursing homes in cases in which "nursing homes are the appropriate type of service," Ganser told the group.

The individual placed in a nursing home is only on a temporary discharge from the colony, which continues to be responsible for the care that he receives, Ganser said.

The colony can take a person back if it is not satisfied with the care he is getting, he said.

Colony social workers are responsible for seeing that patients placed in nursing homes are getting the type of program they need, said Harvey A. Stevens, director of the department's Division of Mental Retardation.

QUESTION ON CARE

"Then you like what you see, and all the patients you have placed in nursing homes are getting the type of program they need," replied George O'Donnell, president of WARC.

"That's an overgeneralization," Stevens responded.

Last year, the Mental Health Planning Committee of Milwaukee County issued a report on its study of problems in the placing of the mentally handicapped in nursing homes and residential care facilities and the licensing and maintenance of program standards in such facilities.

The study was done at the request of the United Association for Retarded Children.

In his letter requesting the study, Harold Haskins, president of UARC, said that although general state standards exist for the facilities in which the mentally retarded

are being placed, "some of the facilities are meeting the standards only on paper.

"This paper compliance also applies to some skilled care facilities and child care institutions for the emotionally disturbed.

"The return of patients to the community from institutions is a praiseworthy goal if qualitative services are provided.

"However, if patients are discharged to holding services where lesser standards prevail and community services are not utilized, this is a regressive step."

COMMITTEE'S REPORT

In its resulting report, the county committee said:

"Licensing of these facilities is diffuse, code enforcement is not stringent and efforts to upgrade programing are not very successful . . .

"There is a need to protect the interests of patients in such facilities whose rights to adequate service are being abused."

One section of the report dealt with licensing and program evaluation.

It noted that only two nurse inspectors were employed by the state to inspect nursing homes and investigate complaints in the five county district that includes Milwaukee County.

"When notice is given of code violations or complaints are registered, enforcement capacity is limited," the report said. It added: "Complaints from patients or families are referred to the state licensing authorities with little results."

SAYS FEW HELD

Few, if any, license hearings are held by the state, it said.

And, if they are to be held, "money payments (to the home) continue until after the hearings . . ."

"Communications between licensing staff and placement staff are almost nonexistent. Consequently, patients are being placed in the facilities while violations and complaints are being registered," the report said.

The homes, it noted, "feel little pressure to comply" with state regulations.

The report suggested that halting the placement of patients in substandard facilities "would rapidly change the situation."

"But that requires good communication and co-operation of licensing authorities, placement officials and purchasers of care," it added.

NOT IN CODES

Placement team members try to be selective in choosing homes that best meet a patient's individual needs, "but they have little to say about ongoing care given to the patient once released," the report said.

Licensing codes, it noted, do not require that homes provide any special programs or care for the retarded.

The mentally handicapped patient "is dependent upon others—the nursing home staff, the welfare worker, the attending physician, or the family—all of whom have a variety of interests and concern which may not take into account the best interests of the patient.

"The tragedy is that the whole system was supposed to have provided the mental patient with improved care," the report said.

It drew two major conclusions in its review of the nursing home and residential care placement system:

"Responsibility for maintaining and upgrading standards and quality of care in nursing homes and residential care facilities is diffuse."

The enforcement of existing regulations "is not exercised to the fullest extent possible and needed to remedy abuses and maintain standards."

There is no system or agency to "effectively protect the interests of patients in nursing homes and residential care facilities whose rights to adequate service are being abused."

COMPLAINTS BACKED UP

The report substantiated many of the complaints and claims of the two associations for the retarded:

The state nursing home code contains no regulations prescribing the special treatment or programs needed by the retarded, but, instead, is aimed at the care of the aged and physically ill.

Placement of the retarded and mentally ill in nursing homes has come before the state has established the necessary regulations to provide for their proper care.

Existing nursing home regulations are not being enforced.

While no program or care is prescribed for the mentally retarded in the state nursing home code, some homes voluntarily have set up their own programs for them, state officials said.

Placements, they said, are made into these homes on the basis of the programs they provide.

NURSING HOME PROBE PLANNED

A committee from the Milwaukee County Association of Nursing Homes plans to go to Madison to go through state nursing home inspection records and discuss with state officials the operation of substandard homes, an association official said Sunday.

"We feel we owe it to the community to do this," said Miss Marian Reible, president of one of the two districts included in the county association.

The association, she said, "did not realize that this (substandard operations reported in The Milwaukee Sentinel) was going on and, if what is alleged is true, it should be ended."

"If the state has found that these homes exist, they should be stopped," she said.

Nursing homes that are allowed to operate in continuing violation of state regulations give a bad name to the many good homes, she said.

"We do not want them dragging our good name down," Miss Reible said. She said the association committee would talk to Dale Jennerjohn and Louis Remily, chief and deputy chief, respectively, of the licensing division, and possibly to other state officials.

The committee will try to determine "why and how this (situation) happened," she said.

The association, she said, has held meetings and symposiums periodically to discuss nursing home standards and operations in an effort to maintain high standards.

Approximately 46 nursing homes in Milwaukee County belong to the association, a local branch of the Wisconsin Nursing Home Association.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Apr. 15, 1970]

PROFIT MOTIVE BEHIND PATIENT CARE

(By H. Carl Mueller)

"It's disgusting," said a former social worker for one of the larger nursing homes in the Milwaukee area. "The word is always cut down, cut down.

"They are always short staffed," she complained. "Patient programs are not carried out and never have been—they look good on paper only."

If you want to know what's happening in our nursing homes, talk to the people who are in them daily—the employees, social workers and government inspectors.

THEY HAVE GROWN

You'll find that nursing homes are no longer small residential facilities operated by a single owner or family.

They have grown in the last five years into multi-million-dollar corporations fighting for business in a highly competitive market.

As the quest for the dollar became tougher, corners had to be cut and budgets tightened—sometimes at the expense of patient care.

The impetus for this rapid growth was a wealth of public funds made available under Medicaid—over 60% of patients in nursing homes in Milwaukee County are on public assistance—and a desire by public institutions to place patients in the community.

And rapid growth, both in size and type of care provided by private homes, has caused a rash of problems beyond the control of existing codes or enforcement personnel.

SHORTAGE DEVELOPMENT

As nursing homes expanded their programs to care for the mentally ill, mentally retarded and the disabled, as well as the elderly, a severe shortage of trained personnel developed.

The profit motive and a highly competitive market led to such economic measures as cutbacks in rehabilitation programs, low paid and inadequately trained staff and elimination of recreational and other special facilities so there could be space for added beds.

Patient care sometimes suffered, as documented by the complaints of nursing home employees, physicians, social workers and private citizens.

At least one doctor at the Milwaukee County Institutions is boycotting an entire nursing home chain because of its record of patient neglect.

HIRED AT \$1.50 HOUR

Medical residents at County General Hospital complain about patients repeatedly returning to the hospital from certain homes showing obvious neglect.

"They hire nurse's aides at \$1.50 an hour, so what kind of help do they expect to get?" one said. "One woman aide had just been in court for child neglect when she was hired—how could she be expected to care for an adult with a child's mentality?"

"They are very interested in getting patients, but are not very concerned about them once they are in the nursing home," she added.

A county welfare department social worker complained that many patients removed from the same chain-owned home (which is paid one of the highest rates in the county) suffered from gangrene and bedsores—the most obvious signs of patient neglect.

She said patients were allowed to sit around in soiled clothing. One old woman, she said, broke her leg trying to reach for a bedpan after aides failed to answer her cries for aid.

A former social worker at another nursing home operated by the same corporation complained that medical care at the home was "grossly inadequate."

She said that the home's doctors refused to respond to night calls—even to declare a patient dead—and that dead patients often lay in their beds for hours before the arrival of a doctor or a vehicle to transport the body.

"There is no program to keep the patients active or even to get them out of their beds," she said. "There is no psychiatric care provided even though many patients are listed as paranoid or schizophrenic.

"The place is cleaned up only before the announced inspections by the state, otherwise the stench on some floors is terrible and the kitchen is filthy," she said.

Another employe of the corporation said that most of its homes were marked by a rapid turnover in personnel, low wages, job insecurity, lack of qualified administrators and other professional staff and generally an operation that looked good on paper only.

TOLD TO GET BUSINESS

"The staff is intimidated, told to ignore code violations and to keep complaints to themselves," she said. "The administrators (of the nursing homes) refuse to allow complaints to go past them."

She complained that social workers hired by the homes to help patients were ordered

to spend most of their time soliciting business from the county.

Why aren't such problems regulated?

"It's not a matter of regulation—it's a matter of each nursing home selling itself on the basis of what it can offer," said Eugene Paykel, supervisor of the Welfare Department's medical division.

"A home might go to extreme lengths to sell itself, but its selling points are not based on any code or regulation," said Paykel, whose division is in charge of patients receiving public assistance who are in county nursing homes.

"While a great deal of specialization has occurred, there are no requirements for such specialization," he said. "There is no regulation on what they offer in terms of rehabilitation programs, specially trained personnel or equipment."

Licensing of homes by the state is "still aimed at geriatric-custodial care—that's all the code is concerned with—insuring a minimum of that type of service," said Paykel.

HOPEFUL OF COMPETITION

He feels that the recent construction of several nursing homes and increased competition will improve the quality of care as his department selects from the best.

"The placement situation has changed radically in the past six months," he said.

"There's been a dramatic shift from a time when we were lucky to find 10 empty skilled care beds in the county to the very competitive situation that exists today," Paykel said.

Social workers in his division complain about daily calls and repeated visits by nursing home personnel soliciting business.

"A strange competitiveness has developed because the majority of persons are under public assistance and money is not the major concern," he explained. "The average person knows very little about nursing homes and is pretty shook up about committing a relative to one—most rely on the advice or decision of others."

"The homes, as a result, must sell themselves to the key placement people—physicians, placement personnel and social workers," Paykel said.

DEFINITE LAG SEEN

"There is a definite lag here in legislation and codes to keep pace with developments in what has become a big business," he added.

A person may be placed in a nursing home by a private physician, or through such public institutions as the County Mental Health Center, the Veterans Administration, the County Institutions or the Southern Wisconsin Colony and Training School.

The Welfare Department rates nursing homes according to the quality of care provided and lists what it considers to be the better ones, but it has no absolute control over placement.

The department can only offer advice on placements and "it's department policy to go along with the patient's doctor on the selection of a home," Paykel said.

Several thousand patients have been placed in nursing homes from the County Mental Health Center's South Division under a pilot program financed by \$233,000 in federal grants.

EXTENSION SOUGHT

"We feel that this program has accomplished so much—that the results have been so dramatic in the type of good care in these facilities and the reduction of the census at the county hospital—that we are asking for an extension of our program," said Dr. Leonard Lieberman, medical director of South Division.

"Eight years ago we had 3,150 patients here and on Feb. 1, 1965, when our placement service began operation, we had 2,247," he said. "Today we have 1,340."

"The basic philosophy behind these place-

ments is that many patients don't need the intensive services or physical security of a mental hospital," Lieberman explained: "The purpose is to get them more integrated into the community and become part of the recreational and work services available to them there."

"We expect that every patient's medical, psychological and vocational needs will be met and his capabilities worked with and brought out to the maximum so that eventually they can become independent and live out in the community," he added.

Lieberman admitted that some homes have been black-listed by his placement team because of inadequate care and that patients have been removed from homes for the same reason.

Although Lieberman felt that Milwaukee had an excellent placement program, he agreed that an updating of nursing home regulations was needed—especially those concerned with specialized programs.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Apr. 15, 1970]

ENFORCE CODE

Comments by Wisconsin officials relating to The Sentinel's probe of conditions in state licensed nursing homes have a familiar and disturbing ring.

Although there is authority in the statutes to suspend or revoke licenses of state nursing home code violators, the officials speak of "education, consultation and co-operation."

This approach is good—if it works. But usually it doesn't, unless the violators know the law enforcement authority is ready to act.

Nursing home operators who violate the code seem fairly secure in the knowledge that the prospect of enforcement action is remote. It takes too long and is too cumbersome for state officials, although a look at the statutes would suggest suspension or revocation of a license is a relatively simple matter. The officials prefer, instead, more education, consultation and co-operation.

As stated by Harold Haskins, president of the United Association for Retarded Children, the homes feel little pressure to comply with state regulations.

Hasn't this situation had a parallel in the way we have been treating water polluters for decades? Didn't we have a state water pollution committee which waited for the co-operation of offenders and held off enforcement until we had to go into a crash antipollution effort? Our reading of recent history says this is the case.

There are also similarities in action taken to enforce building codes and to protect consumers.

We don't condone this benevolent patience in any case but it is most objectionable when applied to nursing homes where helpless individuals are involved.

State officials point to the enormity of the problem but it won't get any smaller if complaints against nursing homes are ignored and action is not taken to require compliance with codes. It is our opinion that, if the state started to get tough with as many operators as it could at a given time, the mere knowledge that action might be taken against them would set state nursing home operators scurrying to get their houses in order, where necessary.

No matter how large an inspection team the state employs, it will, for the most part, have to rely on an honor system to insure that the code requirements are met. Cracking down on the dishonorable operators will certainly develop some respect for that honor system.

[From the Milwaukee Sentinel, Apr. 23, 1970]

STATE TO IMPROVE NURSING HOME STAFF

(By Neil H. Shively)

MADISON, Wis.—The state plans to improve its nursing home inspection staff in the Mil-

waukee area partly as a result of a Milwaukee Sentinel series on deficiencies in a number of homes.

In a 68 page report to the Board of Health and Social Services Wednesday, officials in charge of nursing home supervision said some of the below standard or "marginal" facilities were not uncovered because of a lack of staff and in some cases the use of improper reporting procedures.

But the report to the board was at the same time critical of The Sentinel's stories, especially in the use of descriptive quotes from inspection reports in state files on four homes made by a state team.

Dale Jennerjohn, chief of the Hospitals and Related Facilities and Services Section, said that some of the articles "branded all 43 homes (referred to) with quotes on the memos of four."

[The Sentinel stories noted after quoting from state inspectors' reports on several nursing homes that, "certainly not all of these (43) nursing homes are as bad as those described here, but many are."]

The stories failed to point out, Jennerjohn said, that state action to disqualify the four homes as certified Medicare or Medicaid facilities had been taken.

[The Sentinel stories pointed out that Medicaid and Medicare approval is sometimes withdrawn for failure to have the round the clock nursing staff that these programs require.

[The stories also pointed out that withdrawal of eligibility for these federal funds has no effect on a home's state license to continue to operate as a "skilled care" home—the highest license category granted by the state.]

The section's subsequent review of the list of 43 homes referred to in The Sentinel stories turned up 13 that needed attention, with five of those having been acted upon. The eight others were reviewed and called "marginal," he said.

Jennerjohn said the staff of three nurses and two sanitarians were pressed to adequately inspect all the 143 nursing homes and a number of other facilities in the five county Milwaukee area.

"This is almost impossible," said Dr. E. H. Jorris, Division of Health administrator, of the task.

THREE PERCENT ARE MARGINAL

"I'm not saying we don't have problems," he said, "but in the state as a whole, 3% are marginal homes that are not providing the nursing care they should provide."

Jorris said he had "no idea" that the number of mentally retarded being placed in nursing homes was as great as it is, and said an advisory committee has been asked to make recommendations for new rules in this area.

Board member Albert M. Davis, admitting that his comment was somewhat tongue in cheek, told Jennerjohn, "Your nice report pales the stories in The Milwaukee Sentinel."

The board talked at length on how it could be sure the nursing homes were meeting the standards of the state and federal government, and Davis asked, "How many people can we possibly have to make sure we get good care?"

Both Jennerjohn and Health and Social Services Secretary Wilbur J. Schmidt said "police" type action will never be the whole answer.

"If you used the police force system to do this you would have to have an army," said Jennerjohn, adding that people in the industry have to be motivated to make the care acceptable.

"We can't make any of these health services work without the providers (the nursing home operators in this case) going in with us," said Schmidt.

"We can't force the hand of the licensee with police practices," he said.

Later, indicating some disenchantment

with the nursing home industry, Schmidt said that the 'keystone' of the Medicare and Medicaid services had been at the start that the state could depend on the providers.

But when mistakes crop up, more reports are required, leading to more paper work, and more frustration with the system without really eliminating all poor practices.

"You could have review on top of review if you wanted to make sure nothing goes wrong," Schmidt said. "But that would cost money."

Jennerjohn said, apparently in response to a statement in The Sentinel series that there had been no revocations in Milwaukee in a year, that revocation of a nursing home license is a cumbersome and time consuming method of dealing with deficiencies.

Instead, the state simply notifies the home—without warning—that its certification is being pulled. This is done after proper surveys have been made, he said, and not on the basis of a short visit to the home.

Visits sometimes lead to more extensive surveys which take about six and one-half man days, involving three persons.

The report's recommendations included assignment of nurses and sanitarians from other districts to the Milwaukee district until the staff is adequate there.

They would help survey not only the eight facilities mentioned, but continue until current surveys have been made on all nursing homes in the district, the report said.

Help had been assigned to the district a year ago and the section was unaware that there were workload problems, Jennerjohn said.

[Jennerjohn said in a Sentinel interview last month that there are only two nurses to do inspections in the five county district that includes Milwaukee County.

[His deputy, Louis Remily, said in an in-

terview, "We couldn't keep up. We're always short of people."]

Another recommendation is to seek "additional consultant nurse positions" by action of the Board on Government Operations. It also calls for strengthening "the supervisory function to insure that at least annual surveys are conducted in each nursing home."

PROBE OF HOMES RECEIVES SUPPORT

The United Association for Retarded Children has offered its assistance to Gov. Knowles and to the Milwaukee County Welfare Board in their investigations of conditions in state licensed nursing homes.

The association "has been concerned for some years about nursing homes in relationship to residential care for the mentally retarded.

"We have tried repeatedly to convince public officials of the need for greater enforcement of standards and, in some instances, more standards," the association said in letters to the governor and the Welfare Board.

Association representatives and representatives of the Wisconsin Association for Retarded Children are scheduled to meet at 9 a.m. Friday with officials from the state Department of Health and Social Services for further discussions of the state's program of placing the retarded in private nursing homes and foster homes.

The meeting will be held at Heritage House in Madison.

A similar meeting was held last month in Hartland.

In letters to Knowles and the Welfare Board, UARC President Harold E. Haskin said, "We read with interest of your intention to study the nursing home situation. . . ."

The association, Haskin wrote, "would be happy to add its experience and thinking to any study" that the governor or the board is undertaking.

STATE WILL CHECK NURSING HOME SITUATION

MADISON.—Gov. Warren P. Knowles was reported Tuesday willing to have his administration take another look at Wisconsin's nursing home operations as a result of a series of newspaper articles.

Bruce Bishop, special aide to the governor, said Knowles assigned him to "monitor the investigation" of conditions, expenses and administrative operations of the state's private nursing homes.

"We have had previous indications of problems and complaints," Bishop said.

He said the Department of Health and Social Services recently looked into a complaint filed by an employe, and that Knowles' interest in the matter dates to last August.

The Associated Press recently circulated a series of articles about nursing home operations on a national scale, and the Milwaukee Sentinel said it questioned Bishop Tuesday about a series now appearing in that newspaper.

Bishop said it isn't immediately certain whether the state attorney general's office or other departments would be involved in studies of the matter.

Various articles have noted private patient care has blossomed recently into high-level business, especially with the new availability of funds under Medicaid and other government programs.

The articles have reported signs that the expansion of the nursing home business has outraced the available reservoir of personnel trained to handle patients who may need special physical or mental treatment.

There also have been some questions as to whether rehabilitation programs are operating as efficiently as they should.

WORLD MILITARY EXPENDITURES

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has issued a report entitled "World Military Expenditures 1969." I think we should all take a moment to look at it.

The ACDA report tells us that the world spent \$200 billion in 1969 on military matters. The United States accounted for \$82 billion or 41 percent of all military spending on this planet.

One table, which I included below, reveals that U.S. military spending was increasing at a rate three times that of Russia's during the period of 1964-67. Here are the figures:

MILITARY EXPENDITURES					
[Dollars in billions]					
	1964	1965	1966	1967	Percent change 1964-67
U.S.S.R.....	\$45	\$46	\$49	\$52	15.6
United States....	51	52	63	75	47.1

Chart V of the report, on the relative burden of military expenditures, is also worth noting. It again shows our lending position, in this analysis by percentage of GNP, as a purchaser of military goods. That table follows:

RELATIVE BURDEN OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES

Gross national product per capita

	Under 100	100 to 199	200 to 299	300 to 499	500 to 999	1,000 to 1,999	2,000 to 2,999	Over 3,000
Military expenditures as a percent of gross national product:								
Over 10 percent.....	Laos.....	United Arab Republic, Vietnam, North, Vietnam Republic of.....	China, Republic of, Iraq, Jordan, Korea, North, Syrian Arab Republic.....	Saudi Arabia.....		Israel.....		
5 to 10 percent.....	Burma; Somali Republic.....	Cambodia; China, Mainland.....	Albania, Iran.....	Mongolia, Portugal.....	Cuba.....	Poland, U.S.S.R.....	France, United Kingdom.....	United States, Kuwait, Sweden.....
2 to 5 percent.....	Chad; Congo; Kinshasa; Dahomey; Ethiopia; Guinea; Haiti; India; Uganda; Upper Volta.....	Bolivia; Cameroon; Congo, Brazzaville; Korea, Republic of; Mauritania; Morocco; Pakistan; Sudan; Thailand; Yemen.....	Algeria, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ghana, Paraguay.....	Malaysia, Turkey, Yugoslavia.....	Bulgaria; Chile; Greece; Libya; Romania; Spain; South Africa; Republic of; Venezuela.....	Austria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Germany, East, Italy, Netherlands.....	Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Germany, West, Norway, Switzerland.....	
1 to 2 percent.....	Afghanistan, Indonesia, Mali, Niger, Tanzania.....	Central African Republic, Ceylon, Kenya, Malagasy Republic, Nigeria, Philippines, Togo.....	Colombia; El Salvador; Guatemala; Honduras; Ivory Coast; Liberia; Rhodesia; Southern; Senegal; Tunisia; Zambia.....	Brazil, Gabon, Guyana, Nicaragua.....	Argentina, Cyprus, Lebanon, Uruguay.....	Hungary, Ireland.....	Luxembourg, New Zealand.....	
Under 1 percent.....	Malawi, Nepal.....	Sierra Leone.....		Costa Rica, Peru.....	Jamaica, Mexico, Panama, Trinidad and Tobago.....	Japan.....		Iceland.....

EFFORT TO CREATE A SYSTEMATIC AND RESPONSIBLE WAY FOR STATES TO MANAGE AND DEVELOP THEIR LAND

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, on April 23 I introduced into this Congress the Comprehensive Land Use Act of 1970. A good deal of work, time, and effort went into this bill. I am very proud of it. The bill reflects the work of professionals from many disciplines and vocations. I particularly want to thank my Action Committee on Environment Quality for its work and in particular the Scientific Advisory Subcommittee whose efforts by the following members must be publicly acknowledged: Dr. Ira M. Robinson—professor and director, graduate program of urban and regional planning, University of Southern California; Alan Kreditor—associate professor of urban and regional planning, University of Southern California; Ralph Knowles—associate professor of architecture, University of Southern California; Dr. Lowell G. Wayne—sector head, Air Pollution Control Institute; and Frank Tysen—ecology consultant and lecturer, urban and regional planning, University of Southern California.

The bill is modeled after S. 354; legislation introduced by the distinguished Senator from the State of Washington, Senator HENRY JACKSON. My bill has kept a good deal of its language, deleting provisions, amending others, and adding new ones. Senator JACKSON should be lauded for his pioneering efforts in this area. His speech on September 15, 1969, before the Seattle Planning and Development Council was very instrumental in my own legislative efforts. I insert that speech into the RECORD.

It is a great pleasure to be with you today and to have an opportunity to discuss with you some of my views on environmental management and land use planning.

During my service as Chairman of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee I have devoted a great deal of time to recreational land use planning. Since 1964, my Committee has approved and the Congress has enacted legislation to set aside 13 million acres of land and water for the use and enjoyment of the American people.

These were "national" land use policy decisions. They were made in the belief that the dedication of a part of America's land base for recreational, scenic, historic, cultural and wilderness purposes is a high priority national goal.

Since 1960 we have established a new National Park; 8 new National Recreation areas; 9 new National Seashores and Lakeshores; almost one-hundred new Wilderness Areas, National Monuments, and Historic Sites; a system of Wild, Scenic and Recreational Rivers; and a National System of Trails.

In our State, the national land use policy decisions of the past few years have given us the magnificent North Cascades National Park, many new Wilderness areas, the San Juan National Historical Park, the Pacific Crest Trail, and a host of local projects—city parks, boat ramps, and state parks—made

possible by revenues from the Land and Water Conservation Fund.

I am proud to have sponsored much of this legislation. I would, however, be less than honest if I did not clearly state that I am not optimistic that the Nation is winning, or will win, the war for "inner space;" the battle to have an ordered environment in which society can achieve its aspirations.

One of the most difficult problems we face is the almost impossible task of acquiring new lands for public outdoor recreation and for parks within and near our urban areas. And yet, it is in the cities where the greatest need exists for relief from boredom, tension, and the constant pressures of crowding.

Recreation and relaxation contribute to the quality of life and enhance human dignity. Improvement of the environment can mean most to those who are now most deprived.

Because I believe in the relevance of parks and recreation programs to our urban crisis, I recently sponsored the "Federal Lands for Parks and Recreation Act of 1969." This measure passed the Senate in June. If enacted it will make surplus Federal property available to major metropolitan areas for park and recreational use without cost or at a small percent of the market value.

This bill is, of course, of special importance to the City of Seattle because a major portion of Fort Lawton's 1,107 acres of prime recreational land may soon be declared surplus to military needs. This marvelous facility is within the city limits and offers one of the last opportunities available for a major city park.

The need for a more orderly, systematic program of national, state, and local land-use planning is clear. The need may be seen in virtually every community and certainly in every major city, every State, and every region of the country. The continued growth of the nation in terms of population; expanding urban areas; proliferating transportation systems; conflicts in emerging pattern of land-use; the increasing number of governmental entities; and the increased size, scale, and impact of private sector actions, have created a situation in which many land-use management decisions are not being rationally made. Instead, they are made on the basis of expediency, tradition, short-term economic considerations, and other factors which are often unrelated to what the real concerns of land-use management should be.

It is important that the Congress continue to set aside and acquire parks and seashores and other specific areas of national significance. But, in my judgment, it is now even more important that we establish general policies, and general programs on national land use planning and management; programs which have the potential of preserving, protecting and improving the environment of every state, every county, and every city, every day of the year.

The Land and Water Conservation Fund Act of 1965 was one of the first, and in my view, one of the most important general acts designed to promote a national land use policy. This act has provided State and Federal government with \$502 million for recreational land acquisition for the past five years.

And we have built upon this strong foundation. Last year the Congress adopted my amendment to enlarge the Fund to \$1 billion over five years by dedicating revenues received from mineral development on the Outer Continental Shelf.

The landmark conservation measures of the past ten years are very important to our Nation's future. But, for the most part, they were not designed to deal with many of the most pressing and most critical land use planning and management questions the Nation faces.

Here are some of the problems I see.

At the federal level, a whole host of agencies are deeply involved in land use planning.

For example, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, in conjunction with state government, is currently preparing a "Nationwide Recreation Plan." Other agencies are preparing "Highway Plans," "Airport Plans," and "Navigation Plans." The Department of Housing and Urban Development is deeply involved in regional and urban planning. Other departments of the Federal government are also actively engaged in land use planning related to their areas of responsibility.

Most of these plans are necessary and desirable. The problem is this however: To date, no one has ever put these plans together to see if they are consistent, to see if they make sense, and, to see if they are compatible with local goals and aspirations.

As a result, there are needless and costly conflicts between agencies and departments of the Federal government, between State and Federal government, and between State and local government.

Let me cite one example. In 1934 Congress established the Everglades National Park. This represented a land-use decision that the Everglades should be preserved for all time for the enjoyment of future generations. In 1948, the State of Florida and the Corps of Engineers initiated construction of a flood control project. Today this flood control project imposes artificial controls upon the historic flow of water to the Park and threatens its existence. Last year the Dade County Port Authority, with Department of Transportation involvement, initiated construction of a super jet airport within 6 miles of the Park. The airport would create a noise problem and encourage residential, commercial, and industrial development.

The basic problem at the Federal level is that many agencies and departments of the Federal Government are pursuing separate, single purpose missions—highway building, dam construction, urban redevelopment, and a host of others—without adequate coordination and without proper environmental and land use guidelines.

My bill to establish a National Environmental Policy which was recently passed by the Senate would go far towards providing many of the needed guidelines at the Federal level. That bill makes a concern for environmental values and amenities a part of the charter of every agency of the Federal Government. It enhances coordination and better planning by establishing new planning procedures and by creating an overview agency—a Board of Environmental Advisors in the Office of the President.

At the State level a different, and in my view, a more difficult set of land-use problems are faced. Under our system of government the States have the basic constitutional authority for land use management. Federal powers in this area are very circumscribed and, in a real sense, limited to Federally owned lands.

Historically the States have delegated their land use management authority to units of local government—to counties, to cities, to port authorities and to a whole host of special purpose units of government. The State of Washington alone, for example, has more than 1600 local governmental entities of which nearly 1400 have property taxing powers. All of these, and many public and private utilities as well, influence land-use decisions.

This broad delegation of power to local government is in keeping with the sound philosophy of control by the people at the local level. But, it has also created some very important problems.

For example, the super jet airport which now threatens the destruction of the Everglades National Park was planned, financed, and is now being constructed by the Dade County Port Authority. This raises the following question: Should decisions such as this which clearly involve the life or death

of a great national park owned by all of the people be left to the Commissioners of a local port authority.

Similar problems come up time and time again. Many small cities or counties all across the Nation do not have land use management plans. They have not inventoried their land resources or zoned to protect them. When major industries move into these areas, they locate where it is cheapest and most convenient. And often, this means they locate in areas which, with the benefit of planning and foresight, should have been reserved for other uses such as recreation, parks, or low density housing.

Industrial development is not, of course, the only problem. A similar situation exists with respect to land developers, the construction of large buildings, commercial development, and the siting of public facilities such as thermal power plants.

Most local instances of poor land use management and planning do not present a national, regional, or state-wide problem. But sometimes, as in the Everglades, they do. It then becomes a problem of broad public concern when a lack of planning or poor planning causes irreparable damage to assets of state-wide, regional, or national importance.

The Nation's ocean beaches, for example, are such an asset. The American public has a valid interest in how they are developed and managed. The areas adjoining and on the periphery of four national parks greatly affect the value of large national investments in unique national assets. Should such areas be developed according to the decisions or the lack of decisions of local jurisdictions? Or should these decisions be shared with the State?

How should sites for nuclear power plants be selected? By the power companies in conjunction with county or municipal governments, or in a larger forum which reflects regional needs and problems and regional concerns for safety and the environment?

By the same token, there are many land use decisions made by the Federal government which require greater participation by State and local government. Often the Federal government is seeking the use of a local community's most valuable asset: its land and environment. We must guarantee not only that the use of this asset is necessary, but that it is made in accord with the highest and best standards of land-use and environmental management.

In light of these and many other land use problems, I am considering the introduction of legislation to establish a "National Land Use Policy."

When introduced, this legislation will not be in final form. It will, however, provide a starting point. It will be a working draft on which competent attorneys, planners, architects and officials of State and local government can comment and refine. I look forward to having the views of the Seattle Planning and Redevelopment Council as to how this important problem can be resolved.

As presently contemplated, the legislation will have three major aspects. First, it would establish a grant-in-aid program to assist State and local government in hiring and training the personnel, and developing the competence necessary to improve State and local land use planning and management.

Second, a provision which would create incentives to encourage every State to develop, within a reasonable period of time, a "State-wide Environmental, Recreational and Industrial Land Use Plan" would appear to be desirable. Under such a provision the States could be encouraged to assume appropriate land use management powers over

those assets which are of Statewide or national significance. These might include undeveloped ocean beaches; portions of major river systems; buffer zones around existing State and National parks; areas involving multicounty and interstate environmental problems such as air, water and noise pollution; and areas which are compatible for heavy industries such as refineries, major metal processing plants, and nuclear and fossil-fired thermal power plants.

Development and implementation of a Statewide land use plan might involve the creation of a new governmental agency in some States, and a restructuring of existing institutions in other States. The legislation might also set forth certain minimal standards on environmental, recreational, and industrial land use planning which the State plan would have to meet to qualify for continued grant-in-aid eligibility. In addition, it may be necessary to consider a provision to the effect that if a State should fail to enact an acceptable land use plan, certain other Federal funds would be reduced or denied. A possible approach here could be to condition revenues under the proposed State revenue sharing plan on State enactment of an appropriate land-use management plan.

Third, the establishment of a National Land-Use Planning Council is being carefully considered. The Council would be a relatively independent body with provision for representation by officials of Federal, State, and local government. The Council could be charged with the responsibility of administering the grant-in-aid program, working with State and local government, and reviewing State land use plans.

In addition, the Council could have important responsibilities for coordinating Federal land use planning and for improving Federal-State relations in this area.

Meeting the challenge of the land and the needs and aspirations of the public promises to be a difficult task. It will not be resolved by one act in one legislative session. It will require experimentation and refinement of programs over a long period of time. Meeting the challenge of the land will cost money. It will require hard decisions about what is to be conserved and what is to be lost in the tides of social and technological change.

Fortunately, in Washington—unlike many other parts of the Nation—we still have time. We still have a choice. Our land, air and water have not, for the most part, been despoiled. We have a land and water base—beaches, wild rivers and forests—worthy and capable of preservation and proper development.

The responsibility for the policies which determine whether we have a better tomorrow rests with you, with me, and with all people who are concerned about the quality of life. Our actions over the next few years will determine whether future needs will be met; and whether the generations that follow us will enjoy quality lives in quality surroundings.

The Comprehensive Land Use Act of 1970 attempts to solve the most pressing problem of our day—the proper use and allocation of our Nation's resources. The following is a summary of the bill:

SUMMARY OF THE BILL ENTITLED "THE COMPREHENSIVE LAND USE ACT OF 1970"

SECTION 2. FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

Urban sprawl, metropolitan decay, rural exodus, etc., are all related to the lack of sensible planning, use, development and management of our nation's lands. While the primary responsibility and constitutional authority for land use planning and management of non-federal lands rests with the state and local government under our system

of government, it is becoming increasingly evident that the manner in which this responsibility is exercised within each locality affects all Americans. Planning or the lack of planning affects all of us. It affects population densities, economic growth, the convenience in which we travel to work, the quality of the air we breathe, the safety of our children, the utility and value of our federal—commonly owned parks and lands—it affects virtually everything relating to our general state of happiness. Too often when a locality does plan its land use it does so without regard to the needs of the abutting jurisdictions and to the needs of the region or the nation, but rather decisions are made on the basis of expediency, tradition, political motivation, short-term considerations and other factors unrelated to relevant ecological and environmental land use considerations of the nation. Thus, land in America should be developed and used with regard to the needs of all the American people—with regard to the needs of all the states and regions—in order to assure the highest and best use and management of our most precious natural resource. In this regard, the Congress declares that it is a continuing responsibility of the Federal Government to undertake the development of a national policy which shall incorporate ecological, environmental, esthetic, economic, social, regional and other appropriate factors. Such policy shall serve as a guide in making specific decisions at the national, regional and state level. The bill sets forth guidelines and standards for such a national policy of land planning and use.

SECTION 3. PURPOSE OF THE ACT

It is the purpose of this legislation to create a systematic and responsible way for states to manage and develop their land. To further this overall objective a grant-in-aid program is created to assist state and local government to hire and train the personnel to develop, implement and administer state-wide land use plans created by this Act. In addition, the Act will utilize the federal-state revenue sharing concept to implement the state-wide land use plans.

SECTION 4. NATIONAL LAND USE AND COORDINATION COUNCIL

There is established a National Land Use and Coordination Council composed of five well qualified professionals chosen by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate.

SECTION 5. FUNCTION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

The Council shall develop general land-use policies in accordance with the findings and purposes stated in the Act. It shall divide the nation into such number of ecologically based regional planning areas as it deems appropriate for the purpose of implementing its national land policy. Guidelines and standards are set forth in the Act for such a division. For instance, the Council shall take into consideration such factors as topographical continuity, population, climate and other environmental, sociological and economic indices. Within each area the Council shall develop planning policies in accord with the national land-use policies set forth above and it shall oversee the development and administration of said policies. The Council shall provide any necessary technical assistance to any eligible State Planning Agency created in Section 7 of this Act. It shall also make available to said Agency studies and information relating to local-land use planning. The Council shall submit annual reports to the Congress with respect to its progress and its recommendations for the next fiscal year on land-use policies for each regional planning area and priorities for land use within each such area and for the nation as a whole.

SECTION 6. REGIONAL LAND USE COUNCILS

There is established for each regional planning area created in Section 5 a Regional Land Use Council consisting of representatives from the State Planning Agencies created in Section 7. Each Regional Council shall develop comprehensive land use policies for the regional planning area which are consistent with the policies developed by the National Council. It shall review all applications for State planning grants and certify to the National Council those applications which meet the requirements of the Act. Each Regional Council shall maintain continual collection and exchange of land use planning information with other Regional Land Use Councils and among state agencies within its region.

SECTION 7. STATEWIDE ENVIRONMENTAL RECREATIONAL, AND INDUSTRIAL LAND USE PLANNING GRANTS—THE CREATION OF STATE AGENCIES

The National Council is authorized to make land use planning grants to an appropriate single State agency which meets the criteria and guidelines set forth in Section 9 of this Act. The Act sets forth those categories in which the Council can grant money to the State Agency. For instance it can grant the Agency money to prepare an inventory of the State's land and related resources; to collect and analyze information relating to the many areas and subject matters which are relevant to sound and sensible management and use of land and to provide technical assistance and training programs for personnel for the development, implementation and management of the State Land Use Plan.

SECTION 8. PROPOSALS FOR GRANTS

In order to receive a State land use planning grant a state shall submit to the appropriate Regional Land Use Council a proposal indicating the program of land planning it proposes to undertake, the planning assistance that it will require, the period during which such activities will be conducted and their estimated costs. Upon approval by the Regional Council, the National Council is authorized to make a grant not to exceed two-thirds of the estimated cost of the planning for the three fiscal years; thereafter, grants may be made in an amount not to exceed one-half of the new planning costs and one-fourth of the state agencies operating costs.

SECTION 9. FEDERAL GUIDELINES AND REQUIREMENTS

No State agency is eligible to receive a planning grant unless the agency is certified by the National Council as meeting certain enumerated requirements. Among the requisites is the requirement that the State Agency have primary authority and responsibility for the development and administration of State land use plans and other appropriate State agencies will assist, where appropriate, in the development of the plans. During the first three fiscal years following enactment of the Act, State land use planning policy must as a condition of continued grant eligibility, meet additional enumerated requirements. It must contain, in general, identification of areas subject to the land use plan, identification of those areas of the State which are most suited to certain types of development and uses, provisions designated to insure that environmental and ecological factors will be considered, etc. To retain eligibility after the end of the three fiscal years, the State Agency must meet the following additional requirements: the agency must have the authority necessary to implement all State Land Use Plans and establish the necessary machinery to conduct public hearings pursuant to the adoption of the State Land Use Plans. The National Council shall have authority to

terminate any financial assistance if among other things, the state agency has failed to comply with provisions of this Act.

SECTION 10. OTHER GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS

If any State fails to qualify under this Act or its eligibility is terminated, it will still be entitled to some benefits and Federal assistance until it again qualifies or meets the stated requirements.

SECTION 11. LAND ACQUISITION FUND

A Land Acquisition Trust Fund is established to assist the states in implementing their state-wide land use plans. The fund is composed of a proportion of federal personal and corporate income tax revenue derived from each state. The National Council is authorized to give to that State Agency whose Land Use Plan is consistent with policy of the National Council and the Regional policies, money to assist the orderly and systematic implementation of the Plan.

SECTION 12. APPROPRIATIONS

There shall be such sums appropriated as is needed to carry out the purposes of this Act.

The problem is complex as evidenced by the statement of Ralph Knowles, a member of the scientific subcommittee considering this legislation. His comments were as follows:

SUBMITTED BY RALPH KNOWLES TO THE SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTRODUCTION OF THE BILL, "THE COMPREHENSIVE LAND USE OF 1970"

Questions of human settlement today seem to require always larger references. As questions are posed in this discipline or that, the tendency of the problem posers is to shift to larger and larger references as one problem seems always to expand into many. The ultimate reference in this expansion is the biosphere. That is to say, it seems impossible to isolate the problem of community from the question of its resources and for all practical purposes the only limit upon the realm of resources for the urban system is the entire earth. In this regard community cannot finally be defined with reference to anything less than the entire earth. Taking this to be the ultimate limit for a functioning whole in nature our working model becomes a complex of ecological community and environment, that is, an eco-system.

In regarding man's attempts to make arrangements in relation to this eco-system, there arise fundamental problems of control. Such problems can be raised at two levels. The first is a general level and is concerned with the trajectory of control. From the conception of an idea until that time when action can be taken based upon the idea, there seems to be a principal at work that may roughly be described in terms of diminishing control. So that the most general question that can be raised with regard to control systems may rightly deal with the maintenance of approximately equal degrees of control throughout a process which spans from idea to action.

With reference to man-made arrangements on the earth, two of the most evident and effective control systems lie in the areas of politics and economics and yet there remains today the fundamental question of their adequacy in dealing with man's accelerating tendency to use the resources of the entire globe and in the process leave no part untouched, unaffected, unmodified, and as it seems because of ever vaster energy exchanges, retain the earth as a whole and man's built arrangements, unpolluted.

Since man's arrangements on the earth may evidently not be taken as an end state but must be considered in some incremental terms as a process, there is the question of the general and specific control mecha-

nisms which may insure a sufficient and continuing, that is to say, a continuity of control over time. It seems evident that such control must be maintained with reference to nature.

In this regard, it is useful to refer to the work of such men as Eugene P. Odum who have suggested a natural model for the development of our own communities. In describing a strategy for such development, Odum makes the case that an understanding of ecological succession provides a basis for resolving man's conflict with nature.

Succession is a process of maturation in natural systems. Two of its primary attributes are increasing diversity and increasing stability, both attributes of fundamental importance to us in the consideration of human settlement. Other attributes of ecological succession are based on a progressive change in the relative amounts of energy (generally known from an approximately fixed energy source) that are used for growth and for maintenance of the community. Unless energy is artificially added into the community, it tends to successively and continuously adapt to that energy source with progressively less energy given to growth and more to maintenance over time.

One of the primary problems facing us today is the relatively uncontrolled input of additional resources into urban centers which retards the natural successional or maturation process. The result is a constant state of instability which demonstrates itself sociologically, economically, geographically, and so on. This constant input of greater energies than would normally be necessary to maintain the system at a steady state, goes principally into uncontrolled growth. The significance of this uncontrolled growth, in addition to the obvious offenses to our institutions, our land and our sensibilities, shows up as a low grade of maintenance of the existing urban system. Natural eco-systems or communities employ their energies to do two things, first to grow and second to maintain themselves. Our inputs of energy have gone almost entirely to growth and very little to maintenance. The results have occasionally shown themselves violently.

The energy input, this huge resource input into our cities, in addition to the anti-successional tendencies or anti-maturation tendencies, has a profound effect upon the regions from which the resources are drawn. A good example is water withdrawn or removed or relocated from one region to another. Not only is there a change in the ecology of the region that receives the water but there is a change in the ecology of those regions being deprived. This change has sometimes been dramatic and has stopped growth. Some areas have even reversed their development and impaired their economic health.

The important point here is that we may not take the short-run view of such regional deprivation. In fact we are reducing our future settlement options by removing resources from regions that we may some day badly need as places for the redistribution of people. We are denying future planning options.

The time is well upon us when human rights will be thought of as synonymous with environmental rights, when schools will institute programs in "landscape law" and successional economy, and when a grammar school primer will deal with the motions of energy balance in ecologically viable, successional controlled communities as a basis for organizing settlement, its institutions and its human interactions. It should be the objective of legislation now to pioneer a framework for such actions.

A first and reasonable step is the establishment of a National Council whose responsibility is to provide for an initial inventory of our national resources with the object of establishing ecologically based re-

gions as a framework for future decisions at all levels of government regarding land use.

A second step must provide for the continued monitoring of changes in that ecological structure so that future uncertainty as to its essential diversity and stability may be reduced with regard to changes brought about by man's own arrangements upon the land.

We are at the end of our unconcerned dominion over the earth. We may no longer elude the laws of dynamic balance in the natural environment. We must learn a living conservation, a dynamic equilibrium among all life and the resources that provide for its continuance and development. The basic structure for all problems dealing with society, its institutions and the freedom of the individual to function within those institutions must be made with reference to some dynamically balanced response to nature. Man-made arrangements that lie in some balanced response to nature would necessarily have the combined benefit of greater stability or a trajectory toward stability over the long term and will provide man with a situation rich in natural diversity, adding to his freedom of choice. In the end such diversity and subsequent choice for all people is fundamental, for to choose is to create and to create is to exercise what provides man's unique condition.

There are basically three separate problems in land development which this bill attempts to solve. The first is the problem of the increasing amount of Federal development and maintenance of land. So often one arm of the Federal Government is not anchored to the other.

We see too often Federal funds expended to preserve land, create parks and national recreation areas and subsequently the same tribunal and Government will appropriate money for projects such as airports, highways, national defense facilities, water resource development, and so forth, which contravene the original objectives. The need for a systematic national land use policy is apparent on the Federal level. These incompatible uses are created not intentionally but from the lack of planning.

Look at the various Federal grant programs which in some way relate to land:

TITLE 23—HIGHWAYS

(NOTE.—Not included are those provisions appearing in sections 1701-1750 of Title 12 of the United States Code for the reason that though such provisions may affect land use, they appear to do so only indirectly as they are primarily concerned with insuring or guaranteeing mortgages and loans made by banks to agencies participating in the various Federal-grant-in-aid programs.)

Section 103(e).—Provides that no Federal aid system (primary, secondary or interstate, and consisting of routes selected by the State, State and local, or State highway departments of each State and the adjoining States) shall be eligible for projects in which Federal funds participate until approved by the Secretary of Commerce.

Section 109.—Sets out the standards for project approval. (These include: existing and future traffic needs, geometric and construction standards, safety, protective and maintenance standards.) Note: functions transferred to Secretary of Transportation by P.L. 89-670.

Section 128.—Provides that prior to the submission of plans for a Federal aid highway project, the States must hold public hearings wherein the economic effects of its proposed highway locations must be considered.

Section 133(b).—Declares that prior to ap-

proval (either for right-of-way acquisitions or actual construction) the State highway department is required to give satisfactory assurance that relocation advisory assistance shall be provided for the relocation of families displaced by acquisition or clearance of right-of-way for any Federal aid highway. (Repealed, effective July 1, 1970).

Section 134.—Provides for the development, in urban areas of more than 50,000 population, of transportation systems embracing the various modes of transport in a manner that will serve the States and local communities efficiently and effectively. In urban areas of less than 50,000 population, such programs shall not be approved unless they are based on a continuing comprehensive transportation planning process carried on cooperatively by the States and local communities.

Section 135.—Authorizes the funding of certain urban area traffic operations programs in relief of traffic congestion if such projects are based on a continuing comprehensive transportation planning process carried on in accordance with Section 134 above.

Section 138.—Requires cooperation between the Secretaries of Commerce, Transportation, Interior, Housing and Urban Development, Agriculture, and the various States in developing transportation plans and programs that include measures to maintain or enhance the natural beauty of the lands traversed. Prohibits the use of any publicly owned land from a public park, recreation area, wildlife and waterfowl refuge, or historic site, of national, State or local significance (unless 1) there is no feasible and prudent alternative to the use of such land, and 2) such program includes all possible planning to minimize the harm to such park, recreational area, wildlife and waterfowl refuge, or historic site resulting from such use.

Section 204.—Provides that in the location, construction and maintenance of forest highways, the Secretary of Commerce may seek and accept the cooperation of the States, counties or other local subdivisions, but he is not required to do so.

Section 205.—Same as above but applies to forest development roads and trails.

Section 207(c).—Requires the Secretary of Interior and the appropriate jurisdictional department of the Federal government to agree on the location of parkways on public lands, national forests or other Federal reservations.

Section 208.—Same as section 204 above but applicable to Indian reservation roads.

Section 209.—Authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to cooperate with State highway departments, and with the Secretary of the Department having jurisdiction over the particular lands, in the construction and maintenance of public lands highways.

Section 212.—Provides for cooperation between the United States and named Central American Republics in connection with the Inter-American Highway.

Section 307(c).—Authorizes the apportionment of funds to State highway departments. "... for the planning of future highway programs ... for studies of the economy, safety and convenience of highway usage ... and for research and development, necessary in connection with the planning, design, construction and maintenance of highways and highway systems. ...

Section 308.—Authorizes cooperation of Federal and State agencies and foreign countries in connection with the survey, construction, maintenance, or improvement of highways for other Government agencies, cooperating foreign countries, and cooperating State agencies.

Section 309.—Authorizes cooperation with several governments and organization of American State members in connection with the survey and construction of the Inter-American Highway.

Section 318.—Requires the Secretary of

Commerce, State highway departments and airport officials to concur in the reconstruction and relocation of airport access roads, and permits such relocation and reconstruction only when the same shall be in public interest.

Section 320.—Requires the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of the executive department, agency, office, etc., having jurisdiction, and State and local officials to cooperate in the construction of public highway bridges over dams and the necessary access roads thereto.

Section 502.—Prohibits approval of Federal aid highway projects until: (1) assurances are given by State highway departments that fair and reasonable relocation and other payments shall be afforded to displaced persons, (2) relocation assistance programs are afforded, and (3) within a reasonable period of time, there will be available, to the extent that can reasonably be accomplished, decent, safe and sanitary dwellings in comparable areas, and reasonably accessible to such displaced persons' employment and within their financial means.

(NOTE.—The Highway Relocation Assistance Act also applies to displaced businesses and to Federal agencies which acquire real property for use in connection with highway projects).

TITLE 40—PUBLIC BUILDINGS, PROPERTY AND WORK

Sections 201-224.—Authorizes grants or grant supplements to Federal grant-in-aid programs for the development of a highway system, construction of adequate health facilities, establishment of land stabilization, conservation and erosion control, timber control, and mining area restoration in the Appalachian region.

TITLE 42—PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE

Section 280b-3.—Authorizes the Surgeon General to make grants to public or private nonprofit agencies or institutions toward the cost of construction of medical libraries.

Section 280b-8.—Authorizes the Surgeon General to make grants to existing medical libraries so as to enable them to serve as a regional medical library. Grants may be used for construction, renovation or rehabilitation or expansion of the existing physical plant.

Section 291a-d.—Authorizes grants to the States for hospital construction purposes, and requires the Surgeon General to approve State plans submitted in support of an application for a grant.

Section 292.—Authorizes grants to public and nonprofit institutions for construction and remodeling of facilities and buildings for health research and teaching purposes.

Section 293.—Authorizes grants for construction of teaching facilities for medical, dental and other health personnel.

Section 295h.—Authorizes grants for construction of facilities for training centers for allied health professions.

Section 296.—Authorizes grants to assist in construction of new facilities for collegiate, associate degree, or diploma schools of nursing.

Section 299d.—Authorizes grants for construction of facilities for the operation of regional medical programs.

Section 1409.—Authorizes loans to public housing agencies to assist the development, acquisition, or administration of low rent housing or slum clearance projects.

Section 1411. As an alternative method of assistance, capital grants are authorized to public housing agencies for any low rent or slum clearance project.

Section 1411d.—Requires the submission of specifications with respect to construction and land acquisition prior to authorizations for construction or land acquisition.

Section 1415(7).—Requires local governing bodies to approve loan applications of public housing authorities, and to enter into

agreements with such authority providing for the local cooperation required by this chapter.

Section 1415(8).—Authorizes relocation payments to individuals, families, and business concerns displaced by low rent and slum clearance projects.

Section 1450.—Establishes an "Urban Renewal Fund" for advances, loans and grants to public agencies for urban renewal projects.

Section 1451(a).—As a condition precedent to loans and grants for preliminary work on projects, or for grants pursuant to § 1453(d), consideration is to be given to the extent to which appropriate local bodies have undertaken positive programs (through the adoption, modernization, administration and enforcement of housing, zoning, building and other local laws, codes, and regulations relating to land use . . .) for 1) preventing the spread or recurrence in the community of slum and blighted areas, and 2) encouraging housing cost reductions through the use of appropriate new materials, techniques and methods in land and residential planning, design and construction, the increase of efficiency in residential construction, and the elimination of restrictive practices which unnecessarily increase housing costs.

Section 1451(c).—Provides that contracts and commitments respecting loans, grants, mortgages or mortgage insurance shall not be entered into until a workable local program for community improvement—through effective dealing with the problem of urban slums and blight—has been developed, presented and approved by the Federal officials.

Section 1452(a).—Authorizes temporary and definitive loans and grants to local communities to eliminate slums and blighted or deteriorating areas and in preventing their spread. The following preconditions are imposed: 1) the local governing body must, by resolution or ordinance, approve the acquisition of real property in the urban renewal area, 2) the loan must be secured by a first mortgage or other prior lien upon such real property, or the governing body assumes responsibility for any loss that might arise by reason of such acquisition.

Section 1452(b).—Authorizes Secretary of Housing and Urban Development to make rehabilitation loans for properties in urban renewal areas or areas in which the properties are in substantial need of rehabilitation.

Section 1453(a).—Authorizes capital grants to local public agencies for urban renewal projects.

Section 1455.—Declares that the following requirements must be satisfied before any contract for a loan or capital grant shall be made with a duly authorized public agency: 1) a locally approved urban renewal plan, 2) a feasible method has been developed for the temporary location of individuals and families displaced from the urban renewal area, 3) that public hearings preceded necessary land acquisitions, and 4) a majority of the housing units provided in approved urban renewal projects, designed for predominantly residential uses, shall be standard housing units for low and moderate income families and individuals.

Section 1462.—Authorizes financial assistance to urban areas in need of rehabilitation or redevelopment or a result of a major disaster, riot or civil disorder. Workable programs, relocation assistance, and general plan requirements of preceding sections apply to such assistance.

Section 1463.—Authorizes financial assistance in urban renewal projects in areas involving colleges, hospitals and universities. Such aid may be given without regard to the requirements with respect to predominantly residential character or predominantly residential reuse of urban renewal areas.

Section 1464.—Authorizes financial assistance to a local public agency when Secretary

of Commerce certifies to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development that any city, county or other municipality designated (under the Area Redevelopment Act) as a redevelopment area has a reasonable probability to achieve more than a temporary improvement in its economy. Predominantly residential uses and predominantly nonresidential uses requirements and limitations shall not apply.

Section 1466.—Authorizes rehabilitation grants to families and individuals owning and occupying property in urban renewal areas.

Section 1467.—Authorizes grants for demolition of unsafe structures in urban renewal areas. Grants for demolition of such buildings outside an urban renewal area must meet the following requirements: 1) an approved workable program for community improvement in accordance with requirements of § 1451(c), 2) demolition to be assisted will be on a planned neighborhood basis and will further the overall renewal objectives of the locality, 3) such locality has a program of enforcement of existing local housing and related codes, 4) the structures to be demolished constitute a public nuisance, and 5) all legal means to secure remedial action by the owners has been exhausted.

Section 1468.—Authorizes grants for the purpose of assisting localities in carrying out programs of concentrated code enforcement.

Section 1469.—Authorizes grants for neighborhood development programs in urban renewal areas.

Section 1469(c).—Conditions neighborhood development grants on development of a workable program, relocation assistance, and demolition requirements.

Sections 1471-1490.—Authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture, through the Farmers Home Administration, to render financial assistance to farmers to enable them to construct, improve, alter, repair or replace dwellings and other structures on their farms for their own housing and operational needs, and those needs of elderly persons in rural areas, and housing for rural trainees and their families who are residents of a rural area and have a rural background.

Section 1492.—Authorizes financial assistance to certain municipalities and other political subdivisions and instrumentalities and public corporations, boards and commissions, to finance the acquisition, construction and improvement of facilities and equipment for use in mass transportation service in urban areas, and for use in coordinating highway, bus, surface-rail, underground, parking and other transportation facilities in such areas.

Section 1500a.—Authorizes grants to States and local public bodies to finance the acquisition of land to be used as permanent open-space land.

Section 1500b.—Provides the open-space grants shall be made only when there is a unified or officially coordinated program meeting criteria established by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Section 1500c.—Prohibits conversion of open-space land to other uses unless the Secretary finds that such conversion is essential to the orderly development and growth of the urban area involved and is in accord with the then applicable comprehensive plan, meeting criteria established by him.

Section 1500c-1.—Authorizes grants to States and local public bodies to help finance the acquisition of developed land in built-up portions of urban areas to be cleared and used as permanent open-space land. Such grants are conditioned upon a local finding that adequate open-space land cannot effectively be provided through the use of existing undeveloped or predominantly undeveloped land.

Section 1501.—Requires cooperation between the Departments of Army, Navy, Air

Force and Housing and Urban Development in making housing available to persons engaged in national defense activities.

Section 1502(b).—Authorizes the acquisition of real or personal property, by purchase, lease, gift, eminent domain, or otherwise, for the purposes of such defense housing, by the military departments concerned.

Section 1521.—Same as Section 1502(b), but authority is vested in Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Section 1532.—Authorizes the Secretary to acquire lands to plan, design, construct, remodel or extend public works necessary to the national defense.

Section 1533.—Provides that in carrying out Section 1532, the Secretary shall utilize existing facilities, both public and private, and extend, enlarge or equip such facilities in lieu of constructing new facilities.

Section 1545.—So far as practicable, projects constructed under the provisions of subchapters II-VII of this chapter (§§ 1521-1590) shall conform in location and design to local planning and tradition.

Sections 1561-1562.—Authorizes defense housing and the acquisition of defense public works in the District of Columbia.

Section 1571.—Provides for construction and disposition of temporary housing facilities for distressed families of servicemen and veterans when there is an acute shortage of housing, or because of war restrictions, and permanent housing cannot be provided in sufficient quantities.

Sections 1581-1590.—Sets out the criteria for the disposal of national defense housing and vacant lands acquired pursuant to the defense housing provisions.

Section 1591.—Provides that the provisions relating to defense housing and defense public works shall not be exercised until the area in which such housing and public works are proposed are: 1) determined to be a critical defense housing area by the President. Also sets out the criteria for determining a critical defense housing area.

Sections 1592-1952c.—Authorizes loans or grants for community services or facilities and housing in defense areas. Sets out the conditions and limitations respecting such facilities and housing.

Section 1594.—Authorizes the Secretary of Defense to contract for the construction of housing for military personnel on land owned or leased by the United States on or near a military reservation or installation.

Section 2505.—Authorizes loans to aid in financing projects under the Area Redevelopment Program. Such loans may be used to purchase land and facilities for industrial or commercial usage, including the construction of new buildings and enlargement or alteration of existing buildings. Among other conditions, loans hereunder may not be granted unless there is an approved overall program for the economic development of the area, and there is a finding by State and local authorities that the financially assisted project is consistent with such program.

Section 2506.—Authorizes financial assistance to purchase or develop land for public facility usage in a redevelopment area.

Section 2507.—Authorizes grants for land acquisition or development for public facility usage.

Section 2661.—Authorizes grants for the construction of public or other nonprofit facilities for the mentally retarded.

Section 2671.—Authorizes grants to the States for construction of public and other nonprofit facilities for the mentally retarded.

Section 2681.—Authorizes grants for the construction of public and other nonprofit community mental health centers.

Section 2717.—Authorizes agreements for establishment of Job Corps centers which may be residential and/or nonresidential in character, and in rural and urban areas.

Section 2726.—Provides that the program Director shall take necessary action to facilitate the effective participation of the States in the Jobs Corps Program.

Section 3071.—Provides for compensation and relocation payments to condemnees in development programs.

Section 3101.—Authorizes grants to communities for: 1) the construction of adequate basic water and sewer facilities needed to promote the efficient and orderly growth and development of the communities, 2) to construct neighborhood facilities to enable communities to carry out programs of necessary social services, and 3) to acquire, in a planned and orderly fashion, land to be utilized in the future for public purposes. Such grants are conditioned, among other things, on their projects being consistent with comprehensive planning for the development of the community.

Section 3131.—Authorizes grants for the acquisition or development of land and improvements for public works, public service, or development facility usage, and the acquisition, construction, rehabilitation, expansion or improvement of such facilities, if the area, among other things, has an approved overall economic development program and such project is consistent with such program.

Section 3141.—Same as section 3131 above but relates to loans and purchase of indebtedness incurred for the development of such projects provided by agencies of the Federal government pursuant to legislation requiring non-Federal entities to bear some part of the cost thereof.

Section 3142.—Authorizes loans and the purchase of indebtedness to aid in financing any project within a redevelopment area for the purchase or development of land and facilities for industrial or commercial usage including the construction of new buildings and the alteration, conversion or enlargement of existing buildings. Such loans, etc., are conditioned upon the existence of an approved overall program for the economic development of the area and a finding by State or local authorities that the financially assisted project is consistent with that program.

Section 3171.—Sets forth the various requirements for designation as an "Economic Development District" among which are: 1) a district overall development program which includes adequate land use and transportation planning and district cooperation, and 2) the proposed project is consistent with and will further the objectives of the overall economic development program of the district in which it is located.

Section 3253.—Authorizes grants for construction of facilities in connection with research, training, surveys, and demonstrations relating to the operation and financing of solid-waste disposal programs.

Section 3304.—Authorizes grants to city demonstration agencies to plan and develop comprehensive city demonstration programs. Conditions such grants upon, among other things, evidence that the necessary cooperation of agencies engaged in related local planning can be obtained, and an approved comprehensive city demonstration program exists.

Section 3335.—Authorizes grants to State and local public bodies and agencies carrying out, or for carrying out areawide development projects. Conditions such grants on: 1) existence of areawide comprehensive planning and programming adequate for evaluating a) the location, financing and scheduling of individual public facility projects and other proposed land development or uses, 2) existence of adequate areawide institutional or other arrangements for coordinating local public policies and activities affecting the development of the area, and on 3) the fact that public facility projects and other land development or uses having a major impact on the development of the area are, in fact,

being carried out in accord with such areawide comprehensive planning and programming.

Section 3731.—Authorizes grants for construction of facilities necessary to effectuation of approved comprehensive law-enforcement plans developed by State planning agencies.

Section 3843.—Authorizes grants for construction of community based, unusual, and special purpose or innovative types of facilities which are necessary in carrying out an approved State plan respecting juvenile delinquency prevention and control. Such facilities may include: 1) diagnostic facilities, 2) detention facilities, 3) half-way houses for youths who have a high risk for becoming delinquent, 4) rehabilitation and training schools, etc.

Section 3902.—Authorizes a loan guarantee program to new community developers to help finance new community development projects. Conditions such guarantees upon the existence of a practicable plan for financing the land acquisition and land development costs, and the existence of a sound internal development plan for the new community which has received all governmental approvals and is approved as meeting, among other things, sound land use patterns.

Section 4012(c).—Conditions Federal participation in flood insurance programs to States which have given satisfactory assurance that by June 30, 1970, permanent land use and control measures will have been adopted for the State or area (or subdivision) which are consistent with the comprehensive criteria for land management and use developed under section 4102 hereof. (Note: section 4102(c) provides for the development of criteria designed to encourage, where necessary, the adoption of permanent State and local measures which, to the maximum extent feasible, will: 1) constrict the development of land which is exposed to flood damage where appropriate, 2) guide the development of proposed construction away from locations which are threatened by flood hazards, 3) assist in reducing damage caused by floods, and 4) otherwise improve the long-range land management and use of flood-prone areas.

TITLE 49—TRANSPORTATION

Section 1102.—Directs the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency to develop a national plan for the development of public airports in the United States, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. To the extent feasible in such development, the Administrator is required to consult and give consideration to the views of the Civil Aeronautics Board, the States, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, and their political subdivisions. Also to the extent feasible, he shall consider the views and considerations of: the Federal Communications Commission (to prevent, minimize and eliminate hazards caused by construction or operation of any radio station), the Department of Defense (in re the usefulness of a planned airport for military use), and the Department of Interior (with respect to the need for development of airports in or near national parks, national monuments, and national recreation areas).

Section 1103.—Authorizes the Administrator, within the limits of the obligation authority in section 1104, to make money grants to airport development sponsors.

Sections 1104-1108.—Sets forth appropriation authorizations, details the apportionment of funds authorized to be obligated, and sets forth the Administrator's authority respecting grants for advance planning and engineering of "airport layout plans" designed to lead to project applications and the conditions precedent for their approval (i.e., the project must be one that will contribute to the accomplishment of the purposes of this chapter, it must include provisions for installation of specified landing aids, and fair consideration must have been

given to the interest of communities in or near which the project may be located.)

Section 1110.—Sets forth the following pertinent conditions precedent to approvals of a project: 1) that appropriate action, including the adoption of zoning laws, has or will be taken to restrict the use of land adjacent or in the immediate vicinity of the airport to activities and purposes compatible with normal airport operations, including landing and take-offs.

Section 1111.—Authorizes the Administrator to submit grant agreements to airport sponsors upon approval of a project plan. Such agreement shall, among other things, contain such terms and conditions as are necessary to meet the requirements of this chapter.

Section 1602.—Authorizes Federal financial assistance (in the form of loans or grants) to States and local public agencies to assist them in financing the acquisition, construction, reconstruction, and improvement of facilities and equipment for use in urban mass transportation service. Eligible facilities and equipment may include land (but not public highways), buses and other rolling stock, and other real or personal property needed for an efficient and coordinated mass transportation system.

Section 1603.—Requires the Secretary of Transportation to establish criteria for a unified or officially coordinated urban transportation system as a part of the comprehensively planned development of the urban area. Financial assistance is dependent, in part, on adherence to such criteria, or planning requirements.

Section 1606.—Prohibits financial assistance unless the Secretary is satisfied that an adequate relocation program is being carried on for families displaced by a project. Such relocation programs must show that there are or will be, in other areas generally not less desirable in regard to public and commercial utilities, an equal number of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings available to those displaced families and reasonably accessible to their places of employment. Also authorizes relocation payments to persons and business concerns for their reasonable and necessary moving expenses upon their displacement. Limits such payments to \$200 in cases of an individual or family, and \$3,000 in the case of business concerns (or the total certified expenses, if greater).

Section 1653(f).—Provides that after August 23, 1968, the Secretary of Transportation shall not approve any projects (where his approval is required) which requires the use of any publicly owned land from a public park, recreation area, or wildlife and waterfowl refuge of national, State, or local significance as determined by the Federal, State or local officials having jurisdiction thereof, or any land from a historic site of national, State, or local significance as so determined by such officials unless 1) there is no reasonable and prudent alternative to the use of such land, and 2) such program includes all possible planning to minimize harm to such park, recreational area, wildlife and waterfowl refuge, or historic site resulting from such use.

Section 1653(g).—Requires the Secretaries of Transportation and Housing and Urban Development to consult and exchange information regarding their respective policies and activities, and carry on joint planning, research and other activities.

What agency or person in the Federal Government assures that all Federal programs are implemented in such a way that they do not conflict with one another or contravene the intentions of the other. At the present time a whole host of agencies are deeply involved in land-use planning. For example the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, in conjunction with State government, is cur-

rely preparing a nationwide recreation plan. Other agencies of the Federal Government are preparing highway plans, airport plans, water resource plans, and navigation plans. The Department of Housing and Urban Development is deeply involved in urban planning. The Department of Commerce is involved in regional planning. Other departments are actively engaged in various aspects of land-use planning related to their areas of program responsibility.

Most of these plans are necessary and desirable. The problem is this however: To date, no one in the Federal Government has ever put these plans together to see if they are consistent, to see if they make sense, and to see if they are compatible.

The second problem is that efforts of the Federal Government often conflict with the planning and intentions of the State and visa versa—what the State does conflicts with the objectives of the Federal Government. The third problem is the problem of the local government developing plans without considering the needs of the State, the region, and the Nation.

Let me cite you one example—a classic one—to illustrate how these provincial attitudes and lack of unified planning operate unintentionally to the detriment of all. This illustration of the problem was brought to my attention by Senator JACKSON in his introductory remarks to this land-use bill.

In 1934, the Congress established the Everglades National Park. This represented a national land-use decision that the Everglades should be preserved for all time for the enjoyment of all future generations. In 1948, the State of Florida and the Corps of Engineers, pursuant to a congressional authorization, initiated construction of a flood control project. Today this flood control project imposes artificial controls upon the historic flow of water to the park and, to a major extent, threatens the park's very life and existence. In 1968, the Dade County Port Authority, with Department of Transportation funding and assistance, initiated construction of a super jet airport within 6 miles of the park. This jet airport also threatens the life of the park and all of the values for which it was preserved in 1934 by the Congress. If the jet airport were to be constructed as planned it would create a serious noise problem, it would cause grave water pollution problems, and, finally, it would encourage and greatly accelerate residential, commercial, and industrial developments which are in direct conflict and totally incompatible with maintenance of the park as a great national recreation and scientific asset.

There were no villains in this conflict and controversy. There were different groups of public officials, representing different constituencies, seeking to attain and maximize different public goals which had been institutionalized and given legitimacy in a series of authorization and appropriation acts of Federal, State, and local government.

The Congress and the Park Service sought to preserve the Everglades. The Corps of Engineers sought to enhance flood control, to conserve and to make available for municipal, commercial, and recreational uses the water which the wildlife and the ecology the Everglades had for years depended upon. The Dade County Port Authority sought to relieve pressure on the existing Miami International Airport and to develop a transportation facility which would be adequate for local needs for the foreseeable future. The Department of Transportation sought to and did fund a transportation demonstration project involving rapid transit systems and a new concept in airport design—away from the cities, but convenient and accessible. The position of the State of Florida, like that of many States today in the face of Federal programs which bypass State government and treat directly with agencies of local government, was, at best, ambivalent.

The Everglades jet airport controversy is a classic study in the deficiencies of present land-use policy at the State and national levels. Hearings on this situation revealed the following:

Three departments of the Federal Government pursuing programs which are in direct conflict.

Three counties of the State of Florida seeking to conduct planning and made decisions which are of statewide and national significance.

A State whose greatest industry is tourism, but which has not exercised the land-use planning and management powers to protect one of its greatest tourist attractions.

Important conflicts and breakdowns in communication between State and local government and between the Federal Government and agencies of State government.

One of the most important lessons to be gained from the Everglades controversy, and one of the reasons it is a classic case, is that millions of dollars were authorized by different committees of the Congress, and spent by different agencies of the Federal Government, and by State and local agencies in the pursuit of separate goals and objectives, totally without any recognition that success, that attainment of the goals sought at the same point in time and place by these different groups would involve serious and, in many cases, irreconcilable land-use conflicts.

In this case a satisfactory resolution has apparently been achieved if the recently announced intentions of Federal, State, and local government are effectuated. But the victory is a minor one when it is considered against the magnitude, the depth, and the pervasiveness of the Nation's pending and future land-use problems.

The fact that the lack of national planning in land development has caused serious damage to the orderly development and use of our land has been recognized for some time. In July of 1969 the National Governors' Conference issued its report by their Committee on

Community Development and Urban Relations. On page 2 they recognized the lack of orderly planning and national guidance:

NATIONAL GROWTH POLICY

There has been much discussion of the need for establishing a national growth policy; in fact, the President's Council for Urban Affairs is charged specifically with assisting the President in this regard. Such a policy will require the commitment of extensive resources at the national level to foster and guide balanced urban and rural growth and development. Development of such a growth policy must rest upon a base of extensive state and local involvement. Factors, which must be carefully considered, include the location patterns of business and industry, the distribution and mobility of population and the development of new communities.

Uncoordinated and unguided urban and rural development, much of it stimulated and supported by existing governmental programs, has contributed to both the "crisis of the cities" and to rural poverty and decay; it has created requirements for expensive patterns of public service, restricted equality of opportunity and increased the social and economic disparities between states and within states. To continue with "no policy" in the coordination and guidance of urban and rural growth and development is no longer acceptable if we are to substantially reverse the accelerating process of urban-suburban and rural blight that wastes our material and human resources. Governments at all levels—federal, state and local—must assume leadership and cooperate together to encourage and guide the development of balanced patterns of urban and rural growth.

The economic and social development of the Nation and the achievement of satisfactory levels of living depend upon the sound, orderly and more balanced development of all areas. Successful implementation of a national urban growth policy will require the creation of improved mechanisms of coordination, the redirection, in some instances, of existing programs development programs through the vehicles of (a) a state-wide development plan; (b) appropriate state administrative machinery, and (c) block grants to the state, to be matched by state appropriations. Among the advantages of this approach will be a reduction of federal responsibility for detailed project review, an increase in state flexibility for packaging of programs consistent with national housing and development goals, and the strengthening of local planning through the merging of individual program plans. The implementation of a plan to provide block grants to the states is a way to increase both flexibility and efficiency in tailoring programs to meet the specific needs of a local area.

This bill gives the States opportunity to make responsible planning with the Federal Government allocating money to carry out the plans and planning grants to assist in the making of the plans. The responsible State government will welcome the program.

If not for this program who will guarantee the public that they will have open spaces in 50 years—for recreation, parks, et cetera. By this plan the States will have money to buy land to fulfill an adopted land use plan—thus preserving the open spaces for generations.

In my State of California a study was done in the San Francisco Bay area on

how to best preserve open spaces. In their report "A Case for Open Spaces," January 1969, page 7, the possibility of the State buying up open spaces to guarantee future utility was considered:

BUYING ALL OPEN SPACE LAND

The study devoted a great deal of attention to the potential costs of buying all the permanent open space proposed in the ABAG plan. Would the costs be prohibitively high? Many people assume that the answer is yes, and therefore dismiss open space purchase as impractical and visionary.

The study found, however, that the costs would be much lower than is popularly supposed—and the rewards for the future would be great indeed.

If the public were to buy all of the permanent open space proposed in the ABAG plan, the cost would be about \$2 billion at today's prices. As a comparison, during only the last 10 years \$1 billion has been spent in the Bay Area on state highway right-of-way and construction; and the 75-mile Bay Area Rapid Transit system will cost at least \$1.2 billion by the time it is completed. To repay a \$2 billion bond issue over 30 years would cost only \$10 per person in the Bay Area each year. But the actual net cost would be much lower than this: some of the open space lands could be leased to farmers for agricultural use, and the agricultural income could help finance the land purchase. In addition, the public would save large sums of money on water, sewers, and other urban services through limitation of sprawl and compaction of urban development produced by the open space program. With these two savings taken into account, the net annual cost for the open space purchase program might be as little as \$2-\$3 per person each year—about the cost of a good bottle of California wine and a loaf of sourdough French bread.

Looking back from the year 2000, a purchase at this price in 1969 would appear comparable to the 1826 purchase of Manhattan Island for \$24. Are we as bold in our day as the Dutch settlers were when they bought Manhattan? No American metropolitan region has yet embarked on a full-scale open space program, but in other parts of the world excellent examples have been provided by Stockholm, London, and Ottawa.

Another excellent discussion of State ownership of certain parcels of land appeared in the December 1969 issue of *Nation's Cities*:

[From the *Nation's Cities*, December 1969]

PUBLIC ACQUISITION OF LAND IS VITAL FOR ORDERLY GROWTH

(By Marion Clawson)

Public acquisition, development, and disposal by sale or lease to private owners of land within metropolitan areas, particularly in suburban areas, is a prime field for cooperative intergovernmental action.

As a result of my studies into urbanization processes, I am convinced that no really significant change can be made in the process of urban and suburban growth, as it has existed since the war with all of its ramifications, unless there is a major program of public acquisition of land and a major intrusion of public agencies into the land conversion process. Unless this is done, sprawl in suburban growth, or the by-passing of some areas while more distant ones are developed, will continue.

While it is difficult to get really hard data, I am convinced that sprawl imposes significant continuing costs to the residents of the suburban counties. Unless there is major public acquisition of suburban land, there cannot be new housing for lower-middle and low-income groups without major public subsidization; high land prices inevitably mean high-priced houses. Unless there is

major public acquisition of suburban land, efforts to influence population distribution will be largely ineffectual, open space preservation will be difficult, and public services unnecessarily costly.

"Public" acquisition might mean acquisition by a unit of government, federal, state, or local; or by a public corporation, representing one or more such units of government; or by mixed, public-private corporations; or by special districts. The funds would presumably be primarily federal, but this could be either equity capital or loans, or both. The federal government has made non-recourse loans to farmers under which the farmer's corn or wheat was placed in storage and a "loan" made at essentially market price. If the price went up, the farmer paid off the loan and reaped a gain; if the price went down, the gain was the property of the federal government.

In the future, the logic of such rural loans will be increasingly in doubt; might they reasonably be replaced or supplemented with similar loans for urban purposes? We need not push the analogy too closely to point out that federal funds might be made available for purchase of prospective urban land, under a variety of arrangements that have not been available in the past.

The public agency might, or might not, have the power of eminent domain to acquire suburban land from owners unwilling to sell. The legal power of eminent domain is very powerful, but the political obstacles to its use are often more formidable; its major advantage to a public agency is that it makes purposeful and serious bargaining easier. But this might be achieved, at least to a degree, in other ways. The public land buying agency might make public offers to landowners, which, if refused, could be directly translated into assessed values for local real estate taxes; one reason many speculative landowners are able to hang on so long, hoping for a price rise, is that taxes and other holding costs are so low. If the federal government could be induced to treat capital gains from raw land speculation less tenderly than does the present capital gains tax, this would remove some of the other major inducements to hold such land for speculative gain.

In any case, the public land-acquiring agency should seek to build a large inventory of presently and future suburban land. A monopoly is neither possible nor desirable, but enough land should be acquired to provide a substantial proportion of the development needs during any future period. Land acquisition should stay many years ahead of land development.

Development of such land should be carefully coordinated with the extension of public services such as sewers, water lines, highways, schools, and the like. To the extent that this was done, the prices paid by the agency for land would turn out to be good bargains. Present asking prices for raw land always reflect a consensus of expectations and hopes of private investors about date and price of future land conversion; the public agency would have to pay such prices, whether it bought by voluntary agreement or by use of power of eminent domain.

But present asking prices always reflect an uncertainty about such conversions, and about public services to the lands in question. To the extent that the public agency could operate to make its own projections less risky, by influencing such public actions, it could afford to pay going prices for prospective development land and still make a profit. To the extent that it could operate on a lower interest rate than private land speculators, it could also afford to hold land longer.

With extensive suburban land holdings, a public agency would be in a position to guide the geographic location of new development, the type of buildings and the income class of the buyers, and otherwise greatly influence the nature of urban growth and development. Actual development could be carried out by

private developers, either under contract to the public agency or on land sold by it and on terms established by it. Since the public agency would not have a monopoly of all potential development land, its role could not become bureaucratically domineering.

It would be possible to build new housing for lower and middle income classes if land prices could be held to a minimum; it would be possible drastically to reduce the amount of idle land within the sprawled outlands and thus the costs associated with such sprawl; it would be possible to establish major new communities—whether one called them new towns or only thought of them as large and semi-independent suburbs; it would be possible to reduce the piling up of certain income and racial classes in central cities; and, in general, it would be possible to gain a major degree of public control over urban growth and development. In fact, as stated above, I see no other way.

The concepts of public guarantee of private mortgages on privately built and privately owned residences, and of publicly financed and directed urban renewal, were great institutional breakthroughs in the urban field for the 1930s. Public acquisition of development land on a major scale must become the great institutional breakthrough in the urban field for the latter part of the 20th century. It will undoubtedly produce controversy and criticism; no new development escapes that. It could fail, either because of conceptual flaws or because it was mangled in administration—many institutional innovations fail. But it might also succeed, with truly major consequences.

This is a matter on which early decision is unlikely, although some small steps might be undertaken within a decade, such as a program of federal loans to large private developers, or to local governments, for land acquisition. The issue will not die. It is difficult to see how it can be handled except on an intergovernmental basis. Local governments have neither the capital, the breadth of outlook, nor the geographic scope necessary to carry out such a program. It is doubtful if states possess these qualities adequately, and neither state nor federal government is likely to move into a county to buy land without active support and help from the local government.

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations as of December 22, 1970, has recommended a land acquisition program in its legislative proposal. Their proposal incorporates the idea of public acquisition of land. I urge my colleagues to look at their proposal.

The writing is on the wall—all have spoken. We must act to preserve our environment. Every thing relates to poor land planning, urban sprawl, crime, pollution, disease, and so forth. There is no greater national priority than the preservation of human lives, human dignity, and the human environment.

I welcome cosponsors to my bill.

The following is H.R. 17190:

H.R. 17190

A bill to establish means for developing comprehensive national, regional, and State land use planning policies and to provide financial assistance to States for the purpose of supporting and implementing such policies, 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 "Comprehensive Land Use Act of 1970".

FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

SEC. 2. (a) The Congress hereby finds that there is a national interest in a more efficient and comprehensive system of national, re-

gional, and statewide land-use planning and decisionmaking and that the rapid and continued growth of the Nation's population, expanding urban development, proliferating transportation systems, large scale industrial and economic growth, conflicts in emerging patterns of land use, the fragmentation of governmental entities exercising land-use planning powers, and the increased size, scale, and impact of private actions, have created a situation in which land-use management decisions of national, regional, and statewide concern are being made on the basis of expediency, tradition, short-term economic considerations, and other factors which are often unrelated to the real concerns of all the States and to sound national land-use policy.

(b) The Congress further finds that all across the Nation a failure to conduct competent, ecologically sound land-use planning has required public and private enterprise to delay, litigate, and cancel proposed public utility and industrial and commercial developments because of unresolved land use questions, thereby causing an unnecessary waste of human and economic resources and a threat to public services and often resulting in decisions to locate utilities and industrial and commercial activities in the area of least public and political resistance, but without regard to relevant ecological and environmental land use considerations.

(c) The Congress further finds that many Federal agencies are deeply involved in national, regional, and State land-use planning and management activities which because of the lack of consistent policy often result in needless, undesirable, and costly conflicts between agencies of Federal, State, and local government; that existing Federal land-use planning programs have a significant effect upon the location of population, economic growth, and on the character of industrial, urban, and rural development; that the purposes of such programs are frequently in conflict, thereby subsidizing undesirable and costly patterns of land-use development; and that a concerted effort is necessary to interrelate and coordinate existing and future Federal, regional, State, and private decision-making within a system of planned development and established priorities that is in accordance with a national land-use planning policy.

(d) The Congress further finds that while the primary responsibility and constitutional authority for land use planning and management of non-Federal land rests with State and local government under our system of government, it is increasingly evident that the manner in which this responsibility is exercised within each locality and State has a tremendous influence upon the utility, the value, and the future of the public domain lands, the national parks, forests, seashores, lakeshores, recreation and wilderness areas and other Federal lands in addition to non-Federal land in all our States; that the interest of the public in regional, State, and local decisions affecting these areas extends to the citizens of all States; and that the failure to plan and, in some cases, poor land-use planning at the regional, State, and local level pose serious problems of broad national, regional, and public concern and often result in irreparable damage to commonly owned assets of great national importance such as estuaries, ocean beaches, and other areas in public ownership.

(e) The Congress further finds that the land-use decisions of the Federal Government often have a tremendous impact upon the ecology, the environment, and the patterns of development in local communities; that the substance and the nature of a national land-use planning policy ought to be formulated upon an expression of the needs and interests of regional, State, and local government as well as those of the Federal Government, private groups, and indi-

viduals; and the Federal land-use decisions require greater participation by State and local government to insure that they are in accord with the highest and best standards of land-use management and the desires and aspirations of regional, State, and local government.

(f) In order to promote the general welfare and to provide full and wise application of the resources of the Federal Government in strengthening the environmental, recreational, economic and social well-being of the people of the United States, the Congress declares that it is a continuing responsibility of the Federal Government, consistent with the responsibility of State and local government for land-use planning and management, to undertake the development of a national policy, to be known as the national land-use planning policy, which shall incorporate ecological, environmental, esthetic, economic, social and other appropriate factors. Such policy shall serve as a guide in making specific decisions at the national, regional, and State level which affect the pattern of environmental, recreational, and industrial growth and development on the Federal lands, and shall provide a framework for development of regional, State, and local land-use policy.

(g) The Congress further declares that the national land-use planning policy should—

(1) favor patterns of land-use planning, management and development which are in accord with sound ecological principles and which offer a range of alternative locations for specific activities and encourage the wise and balanced use of the Nation's land and water resources;

(2) provide for future economic health of the United States;

(3) favorably influence patterns of population distribution in a manner such that a wild range of scenic, environmental, and cultural amenities are available to all the American people;

(4) contribute to carrying out the Federal responsibility for revitalizing existing rural communities and encourage, where appropriate, new communities which offer diverse opportunities and a diversity of living styles;

(5) assist State government to assume responsibility for major land-use planning and management decisions which are of regional, interstate, and national concern;

(6) facilitate increased coordination in the administration of Federal programs so as to encourage rational and desirable policies affecting the environment, as well as recreational and industrial land-use planning; and

(7) systematize methods for the continuing collection and exchange of land-use, environmental, and ecological information in order to assist all levels of government in the implementation and further development of the national land-use planning policy.

(h) The Congress further declares that intelligent land-use planning and management provides the single most important institutional device for preserving and enhancing the environment, for ecologically sound development, and for improving conditions capable of supporting the highest quality of life for all Americans.

PURPOSE

Sec. 3. It is the purpose of this title—

(a) to establish a national policy to encourage and assist the several States to exercise more effectively their constitutional responsibilities for the planning, management, and administration of the Nation's land and related resources through the development and implementation of comprehensive national, regional, and State land-use policies and management programs designed to achieve an ecologically and environmentally sound use of the Nation's land resources;

(b) to establish a grant-in-aid program

to assist State and local government to hire and train the personnel, and gain the competence necessary to develop, implement, and administer State land-use plans which meet Federal and regional policies and guidelines and which will be responsive and effective in dealing with the growing pressures of conflicting demands on a finite land resource base;

(c) to establish reasonable and flexible Federal and regional policies criteria and requirements to give individual States guidance in the development of comprehensive land-use planning policies and to condition the distribution of certain Federal funds on the establishment of adequate land-use policies; and

(d) to exercise the Federal Government's responsibility to maintain, develop, and refine a coherent national land use policy with respect to the planning, management, and administration of all federally owned lands.

NATIONAL LAND USE AND COORDINATION COUNCIL

Sec. 4. (a) There is established the National Land Use and Coordination Council (hereafter referred to in this Act as the "National Council").

(b) The National Council shall be composed of five individuals well qualified by professional experience in areas relevant to the mission of the National Council and shall be appointed for staggered terms of four years by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Any such member is eligible for reappointment.

(c) A vacancy in the National Council shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment was made. Any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed only for the remainder of such term. A member may serve after the expiration of his term until his successor has taken office.

(d) (1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), members of the National Council shall each be entitled to receive \$100 for each day (including traveltime) during which they are engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the National Council.

(2) Members of the National Council who are full-time officers or employees of the United States shall receive no additional compensation on account of their service on the National Council.

(3) While away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the National Council, members of the National Council shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same manner as the expenses authorized by section 5703(b) of title 5, United States Code, for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

(e) The President shall designate the Chairman of the National Council from among the members. The National Council shall meet at the call of the Chairman or a majority of its members.

(f) (1) The National Council shall have a director who shall be appointed by the National Council.

(2) The National Council may appoint such personnel as it deems advisable.

(3) The Director and staff of the National Council shall be appointed subject to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and shall be paid in accordance with the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

FUNCTIONS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Sec. 5. The National Council shall—

(1) develop national general land-use policies in accordance with the findings and

purposes stated in sections 2 and 3 of this Act;

(2) divide the area of the United States into such number of ecologically based regional planning areas as it deems appropriate for the purpose of implementing the national land-use policies developed by it under clause (1). In establishing such regional planning areas the National Council shall take into account such factors as topographical continuity, population density, commercial, industrial, and agricultural characteristics, transportation facilities, climate, historical land use patterns, as well as other relevant environmental, sociological, and economical indices, and the National Council shall give priority to such factors in establishing such regional planning areas rather than to the integrity of the boundaries of State and local government subdivisions;

(3) develop for each regional planning area established under clause (2) general land-use policies in accord with the national land-use policies;

(4) oversee the development and administration of the land use plan policies of each Regional Land Use Council established pursuant to section 6 and establish and promulgate the guidelines to assure fair and adequate representation of the public interests on each such Regional Land Use Council and each State agency eligible for planning assistance under this Act;

(5) coordinate all comprehensive land use plans and policies developed by such Regional Land Use Councils;

(6) make advance, progress, or other payments pursuant to any State land use planning grant made under this title with regard to the provisions of section 3648 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (31 U.S.C. 529);

(7) provide technical assistance, including personnel, to any eligible State planning agency;

(8) by contract or otherwise, make studies and publish information on problems related to regional, State, and local land-use planning;

(9) consult with other officials of the Federal Government responsible for the administration of Federal land-use planning assistance programs to States, their political subdivisions, and other regional agencies in order to enhance coordination;

(10) provide rules and regulations to administer the provisions of this Act, including the terms and conditions under which the State land-use planning grants may be made; and

(11) submit annual reports to Congress with respect to—

(A) its progress in carrying out assigned duties and responsibilities, and

(B) its recommendations for the next fiscal year on land-use policies for each regional planning area and priorities for land use within each such area and for the Nation as a whole.

REGIONAL LAND USE COUNCILS

SEC. 6. (a) There shall be established for each regional planning area created by the National Council pursuant to section 4(2) of this Act a Regional Land Use Council.

(b) Each Regional Land Use Council shall consist of an equal number of representatives from the State agency eligible for planning assistance under this Act of each State or portion thereof included within the regional planning area but no Regional Land Use Council may have less than three members.

(c) Each Regional Land Use Council shall—

(1) develop comprehensive land use policies for the regional planning area over which it has jurisdiction which are consistent with the policies developed by the National Council for such area;

(2) review all applications for State land use planning grants made with respect to areas within the regional planning area;

(3) certify to the National Council those applications for State land use planning grants which meet the requirements of this title and provide such assistance as may be necessary to any State agency with respect to preparing appropriate applications;

(4) maintain continual collection and exchange of land use planning information with other Regional Land Use Councils and among State agencies within its jurisdiction; and

(5) perform such other functions necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act as may be required by the National Council.

STATEWIDE ENVIRONMENTAL, RECREATIONAL, AND INDUSTRIAL LAND USE PLANNING GRANTS

SEC. 7. (a) In order to carry out the purposes of sections 2 and 3, the National Council is authorized to make land use planning grants to an appropriate single State agency, designated by the Governor of the State, which has statewide land use planning responsibilities and which meets the criteria and guidelines set forth in section 9 of this Act.

(b) The National Council is authorized to make land use planning grants in accordance with the provisions of this Act to assist and enable each eligible State agency, with respect to each regional planning area applicable to the State—

(1) to prepare an inventory of the State's land and related resources;

(2) to collect and analyze information and data related to—

(A) population characteristics, migration, trends, and densities;

(B) economic trends, distribution and projections;

(C) directions and extent of urban and rural growth and changes;

(D) public works, public capital improvements, land acquisitions, and economic development programs, projects, and associated activities;

(E) natural ecological conditions which are of relevance to decisions concerning the location of new communities, the expansion of existing communities including commercial development, heavy industries, transportation and utility corridors, and other land uses;

(F) the desirable future land use requirements of the State for recreation, urban growth, commerce, transportation, the generation of energy, and other important anticipated uses;

(G) governmental organization and financial resources available for land use planning and management within the State and the political subdivisions thereof; and

(H) other information necessary to conduct State land use planning with respect to each applicable regional planning area in accord with the provisions of this Act.

(3) to provide technical assistance and training programs for appropriate personnel on the development, implementation and management of State land use planning programs;

(4) to continually develop, use, and encourage common information and data bases for Federal, regional, State, and local land use planning;

(5) to establish arrangements for the continuing exchange of land use planning information among the various governments within the State and their agencies; and with interstate compact agencies, river basin commissions and regional commissions established pursuant to Federal law;

(6) to conduct such other related planning and coordination functions as may be approved by the National Council and the appropriate Regional Land Use Councils.

PROPOSALS FOR GRANTS

SEC. 8. (a) To receive a State land use planning grant a State shall submit to the appropriate Regional Land Use Council a proposal in such form and in accordance with such procedures as the National Council may specify, indicating with respect to the regional planning area concerned the program of State land use planning it proposes to undertake, the planning assistance that it will require, the period during which such activities will be conducted, and their estimated costs, and designating those functions which qualify for Federal assistance pursuant to this Act.

(b) From the sum appropriated pursuant to section 11 the National Council is authorized to make State land use planning grants to agencies whose proposals are approved by the appropriate Regional Land Use Councils in an amount not to exceed two-thirds of the estimated cost of the planning for the three fiscal years after the date of enactment of this Act. Thereafter, grants may be made in an amount not to exceed one-half of the new planning costs and one-fourth of the State agencies operating costs.

(c) Planning grants shall be allocated to the States with approved programs based on regulations of the National Council which shall take into account the amount and nature of the State's land resource base, all regional planning area requirements, population, pressures resulting from growth, and other relevant factors.

(d) Any grant made for the purpose of this Act shall increase, and not replace State funds presently available for State land use planning activities. Any grant made pursuant to this title shall be in addition to, and may be used jointly with, grants or other funds available for land use planning surveys, studies, and investigations under other federally assisted programs.

FEDERAL GUIDELINES AND REQUIREMENTS

SEC. 9. (a) No State agency is eligible to receive a land use planning grant under section 7 of this Act unless such State agency is certified by the National Council as meeting the following requirements in addition to such other requirements as may be established by the National Council—

(1) the State agency shall be designated by the Governor, and shall have primary authority and responsibility for the development and administration of State land use plans and other appropriate State agencies will assist, where appropriate, in the development of the plans;

(2) a competent and adequate interdisciplinary professional and technical staff as well as special consultants, in addition to such personnel as may be provided by the National Council, will be available to the State agency to develop the State land use plans;

(3) pertinent Federal and regional policies, plans, studies, information, and data on land use planning already available shall be utilized in order to avoid unnecessary repetition of effort and expense; and

(4) the designated agency's records shall be kept and made available along with such reports and evaluations as the National Council may require regarding the status and application of Federal funds made available under the provisions of this Act.

(b) During the three fiscal year period following the date of enactment of this Act, State land use planning policy must, as a condition of continued grant eligibility for the State agency administering them, meet or be designed to meet, as additional information is developed, the following guidelines and requirements—

(1) identification of the boundaries of the portions of the State subject to each State land use plan;

(2) identification of the areas of the State which are not subject to any State land planning policies;

(3) identification of those areas of the State—

(A) where ecological, environmental, geological, and physical conditions dictate that certain types of land use activities are incompatible and undesirable,

(B) whose highest and best use, based upon projected regional, State, and National needs, on the Statewide Outdoor Recreation Plan required under the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act, and upon other studies, is recreational oriented use,

(C) which are best suited for natural resource, heavy industrial, and commercial development,

(D) where transportation and utility corridors are or should, in the future, be located, and

(E) which furnish the amenities and the basic essentials to the development of new towns and the revitalization of existing communities;

(4) appropriate provisions designed to insure that regional requirements for material goods, natural resources, energy, recreation, and environmental and esthetic amenities be given consideration;

(5) provisions and procedures designed to insure that the plan is consistent with local, State, regional, and Federal standards relating to the maintenance and enhancement of the quality of the environment and the conservation of public resources;

(6) provisions to insure that transportation and utility corridors do not damage Federal lands dedicated to the maximization of declared public values, and are established in compliance with regional and State needs, State policies, and policies and goals set forth in other Federal legislation;

(7) measures such as buffer zones, scenic easements, prohibitions against nonconforming uses, and esthetic standards to insure that federally designated, financed, and acquired areas, or any of such areas, including, but not limited to elements of the national park system, wilderness areas, and game and wildlife refuges are not damaged or degraded as a result of inconsistent or incompatible land use development in the same immediate geographical region.

(c) To retain eligibility for State land use planning grants after the end of three fiscal years from the beginning of the first fiscal year after the date of enactment of this Act, the State agency must meet the following Federal guidelines and requirements—

(1) the agency must have the authority necessary to implement all State land use plans;

(2) the agency's authority shall include but need not be limited to—

(A) authority to acquire interests in real property if deemed to be necessary under any State land use plan;

(B) authority, under the State police powers, to place restrictions on the type of land use activities which may take place in areas designated for a special use under any State land use plan; and

(C) authority to conduct public hearings, allowing full public participation and granting the right of appeal to aggrieved parties, in connection with the dedication of any area of the State as an area subject to restricted or special uses under any State land use planning;

(3) the agency must have procedures for continuous evaluation and modification of approved State land-use policies and change in each State land-use plan, including public notice and hearing, to meet changed future conditions and requirements; and

(4) the agency shall hold, or require any other duly authorized public agency to hold, a public hearing before any lands which are contiguous to undeveloped public lands which may be developed, and such hearing

shall be held in the vicinity of the area involved.

(d) The National Council shall have authority to terminate any financial assistance extended under this Act if, after the State has been given notice of a proposed termination and an opportunity to present relevant evidence, the National Council finds that—

(1) the State agency has failed to comply with any of the directives and guidelines set forth by the National Council;

(2) the State agency has failed to adhere to the guidelines and requirements of this Act in the development of the land-use policy; or

(3) the State has not enacted State legislation which meets the requirements of subsection (c) of this section.

OTHER GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS

SEC. 10. Any State whose entitlement to State land-use planning funds under the provisions of this Act has been terminated pursuant to section 8(d), or who fails to develop an acceptable State land-use planning policy for any regional planning area which applies to such State by the beginning of the fourth fiscal year after the date of enactment of this Act, shall—

(1) have its entitlement to certain additional Federal assistance programs, which shall be designated by the President, reduced at the rate of 20 per centum per year until such time as the provisions of this Act are complied with; and

(2) be denied the issuance of any right-of-way permits or other permits available under the public land laws and other Federal laws to use or to cross the public domain or other Federal lands until such time as the provisions of this Act are complied with.

LAND ACQUISITION FUND

SEC. 11. (a) (1) There is hereby established in the Treasury of the United States a trust fund to be known as the "Land Acquisition Trust Fund" (hereafter referred to in this section as the "trust fund"). The trust fund shall consist of the amounts appropriated to it under paragraph (2).

(2) There is hereby appropriated to the trust fund, out of money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, an amount, as determined by the Secretary of the Treasury (hereafter referred to in this section as the "Secretary") under paragraph (4) for the most recent calendar year for which satisfactory data are available from the Internal Revenue Service, equal to—

(A) one-fourth of 1 per centum of the individual and corporate Federal income tax base for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1973;

(B) one-half of 1 per centum of the individual and corporate Federal income tax base for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1974; and

(C) 1 per centum of the individual and corporate Federal income tax base for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1975, and for each fiscal year thereafter.

(3) The Secretary shall, during each fiscal year, determine the amount described in paragraph (2), and transfer the amount so determined from the general fund of the Treasury to the trust fund. Such transfer may be made on the basis of estimates made by the Secretary. Proper adjustment shall be made as soon as possible after the close of each fiscal year, to the extent the amount transferred was in excess of or less than the amount which should have been transferred, by the transfer of additional amounts from the general fund to the trust fund or by the transfer of amounts from the trust fund to the general fund.

(4) For purposes of paragraph (2), the individual Federal income tax base for any fiscal year is the aggregate of the taxable incomes as disclosed by returns of the tax imposed by chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 made during such fiscal year. For purposes of the preceding sentence,

if during a fiscal year a taxpayer files more than one return for the same taxable year, only the last return so filed shall be taken into account.

(5) Determinations by the Secretary under this subsection shall be final and conclusive.

(6) At the beginning of each fiscal year beginning with fiscal year 1974, the National Council shall, taking into account the progress made in each regional planning area with respect to the implementation of the purposes of this Act, by regulation prescribe those categories of land uses in each regional planning area for which acquisition of real property by the States, with funds available to them from the trust fund, is authorized.

(7) A State shall apply for funds with which to purchase real property under this section in such manner and amount as the National Council shall be rules and regulations determine. If the National Council finds that any proposed land acquisition by a State is consonant with the State land use plan established in this Act, for the regional planning area concerned, is within the current category of land uses for which acquisition is authorized, and is within the spirit, finding, and purposes of this Act, the National Council shall notify the Secretary to transfer to the State from the trust fund such amount as is determined by the National Council to be appropriate with respect to such acquisition. The receipt by any State of funds from the trust fund under this section shall be subject to such terms, conditions, and limitations as the National Council deems necessary and appropriate to project the interests of the United States.

SEC. 12. Except for the purposes of section 10 of this Act, there are hereby authorized to be appropriated such funds as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

"OF BOSTON THEN AND SANTA BARBARA NOW"

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, for some time, now, various spokesmen for the "new left," assorted ultraliberals, and other apologists for the rowdy element which continues to threaten our country have drawn a tenuous parallel between their activities and those of the leaders of the American War for Independence.

While anyone blessed with even the most basic knowledge of history and sense of reality has no trouble seeing through such an absurdity, I invite attention to a fine treatment of this subject in a column by James J. Kilpatrick. I hope it will put an end to this tactic once and for all.

Mr. President, it sickens me to see the patriots of the American Revolution, who stood and fought for all that is important and dear to this country, compared with those ruffians of today who stand for nothing and seek only to destroy.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Kilpatrick's column, "Of Boston Then and Santa Barbara Now," published in the Evening Star of May 3, be printed in the RECORD.

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

OF BOSTON THEN AND SANTA BARBARA NOW
(By James J. Kilpatrick)

SAN FRANCISCO—Nearly 200 years have passed since the December day that Sam Adams urged his militants down the cobbled streets of Boston, but William Kunstler still is sipping today on their example. As an advocate of non-violence, up to a point, I wish him no harm; but all the same, I hope he chokes on this bogus cup of tea.

Kunstler trotted out the Tea Party parallel in a recent debate at Vanderbilt, and I see by press accounts that he is harping on the same theme elsewhere. As chief counsel to the purported revolutionaries of today, he is entitled to seize any defenses he can lay his hands on. Yet some distinctions ought to be drawn before the notion takes hold that the Boston Tea Party and the Santa Barbara bank-burning are cousins across the years.

Superficially, it is true, some plausible points—even frivolous points—can be made. Thus it is remarked that today's militants wear their hair long; so, too, with Tom Jefferson two centuries ago. Today's demonstrators look at life through granny glasses; they go garbed in odd costumes. But behold the benign visage of bespectacled Ben Franklin and recall that Adams' men were painted up as Mohawk Indians.

Further analogies are pressed upon us. Kunstler's rebellious clients are mostly men under 30. Some of the greatest figures of the Revolution were as young. Hamilton was a fiery pamphleteer at 19; Henry took the Parson's cause at 23. Marshall, Madison, Jefferson, Gouverneur Morris were no older than some of the firebrands of Berkeley. It is recalled that the revolutionary leaders of 1770 are often honor students, class presidents, and student editors.

Still more: The most shining document in American history clearly asserts the right to throw off oppressive authority, once repeated petitions have resulted only in repeated injuries. This is precisely the cry of the Haydens and Rubins of today. The parallel that Kunstler draws between yesterday's Crown and today's Establishment—Justice Douglas draws the analogy also—has a splendid rhinestone appeal.

Yet it is sham. The American Revolution was a true revolution. Washington, Adams and Jefferson proposed to transform the colonies into free and independent states; they envisioned an entirely new form of government. They had a deeper vision also—of a new freedom for men. Their ideals and concepts were clearly defined, first in the Declaration, then in the Articles of Confederation, still later in the Constitution and Bill of Rights.

The revolutionaries of 1776 proclaimed their intention out of a decent respect to the opinions of mankind. They placed their reliance upon Divine Providence, and they committed to their cause their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor.

No such parallels exist today. Most of today's destruction has no rational purpose. Respect is a word with three letters too many: It does not fit in the four mouths of today's pamphleteers. You will find no prayers in the underground press. And it is a curious balancing that equates Boston then with Boston now. Today's destroyers are the only marchers in history, as someone has said, who demand at the outset that they be thrown, if at all, to toothless lions.

And what of freedom? The very word dies underfoot in the howls of today's campus despots. Oh, they are very full of free speech for themselves, but they would deny free speech to others. These are not young Jeffersons. Some of them are cradle Hitlers, whose sandaled feet are waiting to be shod.

Well, the reputation of Adams, Washington and Jefferson will survive today's brazen

effort to rub respectability off their bones. What they built has endured. And so long as Americans are willing to fight for the structure of freedom they created, no Jacobins—come-lately—are likely to tear it down.

MORAL DILEMMA

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, since involvement in Vietnam, my office has received thousands of letters. Letters expressing anger, frustration, and confusion. Recently a family wrote to me concerning their son. The letter is a poignant reminder of the moral dilemma young men must face as long as we are involved in Southeast Asia. This young man whose name appeared in "Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities," 1967-68, decided he loved his country too much to run away, valued his integrity too much to hide in school and has the courage to face 2- to 5-year prison sentence.

Following is an excerpt:

Kim is 23 years old. He has a degree in Sociology. During college days he worked one summer living in and working out of a church in a ghetto area in Chicago. His assignment was to relate to black youth in the area. He was changed by this experience to become a person deeply concerned with the needs of the black and the poor. Later he worked, as a Sociology assignment, in the Minneapolis ghetto area. He related to the black youth there well enough that he was asked to teach Black History at Red Wing Training School for Boys in the summer of 1968. After graduation he went to Luther Seminary to further prepare himself to work with inner city people. When he found the Seminary was not preparing him for this kind of work, he finished the semester and then left school. Immediately he was reclassified 1A.

He was called for his physical in July, 1969, at which time he turned in his papers and draft card, feeling strongly that he could not be a part of the "industrial-military complex." He feels that the draft is unfair to force young men to do what they in good conscience do not feel is right. He says, "How can I kill those Vietnamese people?" Yet he does not plead C.O. status as he says he would defend his country if it were invaded.

This has been a lengthy account and I appreciate your taking your time to read it. I think this young man's convictions represent that of a growing number of our young men. These are serious, thinking men who have courage enough to face prison terms for a principle. But what a waste to fill our penitentiaries with men like these. Our supposedly corrections institutions—what would they correct in Kim and those like him, except to insist that they can no longer think except as their government dictates that they think. However if given the opportunity these men, could do some very constructive work in the communities from which they come.

Isn't it ironic that men who bomb a village in Vietnam, killing many people, receive a hero's medal while young men with a conscience and courage enough to stand up for their convictions are sent to prison

as traitors? Can't something be done on their behalf?

The F.B.I. on April 16 formally booked Kim, whose name also appears in "Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities," (1967-68 edition). Now we wait in sinking suspense for a judgment and sentence on a young man who has thought through the draft issue for four years, deciding he loved his country too much to run away, values his integrity too much to hide in school, and has courage enough to stand up for his convictions.

Is there anything to be done to make use of his heart for people without being sent to a federal prison for from two to five years?

UNITED STATES FACING FINANCIAL CRISIS

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, leaders, if I may say, of the United States: I believe that our country is in a crisis which far outstrips the crisis in Indochina. I am talking about the financial crisis of this country.

It has been said that a man can choke to death as well as starve to death and be just as dead. This can be said about a country, too.

Unfortunately, the present economic programs and policies we are pursuing are strangling the United States. In these remarks I hope to bring to the attention of the Members some of the very disturbing readings within the financial structure and the economy of this country. I will show that interest rates have climbed 1½ to 2½ percent in the last year and a half, that the cost of living is now running approximately 36 percent higher than in 1968, and that Federal expenditures have risen more rapidly during this first year of the Republican administration than they were during the last year of the Johnson administration.

The 1970 first quarter corporation earnings are down. And if we subtract the earnings of the utility companies and the financial institutions, the drop in corporate earnings is quite dramatic.

Unemployment has increased 0.7 percent since the first quarter of 1968, and is primarily hurting our youngest people, our scientists—our best brains. The policies causing unemployment are doing just the things the United States can ill afford to do to itself.

The stock market industrial average has lost more than 181 points since May 1, 1968.

The liquidity of this country has never been worse, especially when we consider what we owe as against the assets we have, assets, which anyone who owns stock can tell you, are diminishing.

Today the alarming fact is that our gross national product is in a negative posture.

I say that this country is moving toward strangulation, and we have to

change the policies we are now pursuing. We have to find policies that will galvanize the people, so that we can offset events which are polarizing our people.

Mr. Speaker, I include pertinent material, as follows:

WHAT ARE CONDITIONS IN THE ECONOMY RIGHT NOW?

This statistical study compares some economic indicators for the first quarter of 1968, the last year when a Democratic Administration was in office, in relation to the first

quarter of 1970, a year after a Republican Administration has been in office.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Interest rates have climbed from 1½ to 2½ percent higher.
2. Cost of living is now running at approximately a 36% higher rate than 1968.
3. Federal expenditures have risen more rapidly in the first year of the Republican Administration than during the last year of the Democratic Administration.
4. First quarter corporation earnings are down.

WHERE IS THE ECONOMY?

[The figures below are the latest statistics available. Sources: U.S. Treasury Department, Securities and Exchange Commission, Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Wall Street Journal]

INFLATIONARY INDICATORS

Indicator: Interest rates (percent)	Now, May 4, 1970	May 1969	May 1968	Increase since 1968
(1) Treasury bills, (6 to 12 months).....	7.3	6.02	5.66	1.64
(2) Corporate bonds.....	9.30	7.44	6.90	2.40
(3) Municipal bonds.....	6.82	5.17	4.44	2.38
(4) Conventional home mortgage interest, effective rates:				
(a) New homes.....	8.51	7.47	6.64	1.87
(b) Existing homes.....	8.48	7.39	6.72	1.76

Indicator: Cost of living index	At end of 1st quarter 1970	At end of 1st quarter 1969	At end of 1st quarter 1968	Increase since 1968
(1) Living costs, all indicators (100=Base year 1958).....	133.2	125.6	119.5	13.7
(2) Percentage rise over previous quarters (adjusted annual rate).....	7	6.1	4½	4 2½

Indicator: Federal budget	Fiscal 1971	Fiscal 1970	Fiscal 1969	Fiscal 1968	Increase since 1968
(1) Expenditures (in billions).....	\$200.8	\$197.9	\$814.6	\$178.8	\$19.1
¹ March 1970.					
² March 1969.					
³ March 1968.					
⁴ Approximately 36 percent above the 1968 annual rate.					
⁵ The difference between fiscal 1968 and 1970.					

RECESSION INDICATORS

	1st quarter, 1970	1st quarter, 1969	1st quarter, 1968
Corporate earnings.....	8.9% less than the 1st quarter of 1969 (Wall Street Journal survey—actual dollar figure will be available May 11).	\$13,900,000,000	\$12,500,000,000
Unemployment rate.....	March 1970—4.4 percent.....	March 1969—3.4 percent.	March 1968—3.7 percent.
Stock market (Dow-Jones industrial).	May 1, 1970—732.11.....	May 1, 1969—949.22.	May 1, 1968—913.20.

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 4, 1970] **FIRST PERIOD PROFITS SLID: AUTO, OIL RESULTS MAY IMPROVE IN CURRENT QUARTER, BUT STEEL, HOME BUILDING EARNINGS COULD FALL FURTHER**

Buffeted by consumer reluctance to spend and inflation's swollen costs, corporate profits sagged in the first quarter, extending a decline that began in the final three months of last year.

There is a faint glimmer of hope, though, for an improvement in the current period. Auto makers say their sales may turn upward, and oil companies look for higher gasoline prices to help offset a reduction in their depletion allowance which increased their tax bills. But steel mill shipments are heading lower, and home construction, may be in for some more bad months.

The first quarter decline was the sharpest in three years. Total earnings of 605 early reporting companies, as compiled by The Wall Street Journal, dropped 8.9% in the first three months from a year earlier. This came on the basis of a 2% earnings lag posted in the final quarter of 1969 from the year before.

POOREST SINCE 1967

It was the weakest earnings performance since 1967, when profits dropped 9% in the first quarter, 8.1% in the second and 1.8% in the third from the previous year's levels.

This past quarter's 8.9% decline, furthermore, was somewhat steeper than the 7% drop measured by First National City Bank in the preliminary tabulation, released April 24, of the first quarter earnings of 692 nonfinancial corporations.

Hard times knocked at many doors. Airlines collectively posted a deficit. Auto profits slumped 38.5%. Electrical-equipment and electronics concerns were hit with a 56.7% drop. Steel mills, building materials makers and publishers also posted declines.

But the gloom was far from universal. Nonferrous-metal companies, notably copper miners, boosted earnings 27.3%. Finance companies and farm-equipment producers also lifted earnings despite, the general economic slide. So, too, did tobacco companies, distillers and drug manufacturers.

TROUBLED AUTO MAKERS

For the auto industry, it was the worst first quarter earnings performance since the 1958 recession. General Motors Corp. profit plunged 33.4%. At Ford Motor Co., earnings dropped 25.8%. Chrysler Corp. came in with its second consecutive quarterly loss.

The auto makers have little trouble labeling the fundamental source of their distress. Chrysler, for example, bemoans that "public concern over inflation and general economic conditions, including some pressure upon real disposable income," was largely responsible for the 12% decline in industry car sales in the first quarter. And more of the cars that the makers did sell were lower-priced models, with fewer of the options that reap juicy profit returns.

Moreover, costs were rising, both for labor and material, gripping the auto makers even tighter in a profit squeeze.

The Labor Department says labor costs throughout all industry increased during the quarter at an annual rate of 8.4%, the largest gain for any quarter in 14 years. What's more, productivity per man-hour declined, largely because production was curtailed faster than men could be laid off.

At GM, the lagging sales and increased expenses dragged profit down to 6.2% of sales in the first quarter from 8% a year before. It was the lowest profit margin since 1953. Ford's margin slumped to 3.8% from 4.8% a year before, its lowest since 1958.

This quarter, though, could see some improvement, with results showing less of a drop from last year's second period than the dramatic first period plunge. The auto men

5. Unemployment has increased .7% of one percent since the first quarter of 1968.

6. The Stock Market industrial average has lost more than 181 points since May 1, of 1968.

In general, since the Republicans have taken office it has cost more to accomplish less. In less than 18 months, the Republicans have managed to damage the economy to the point where every important indicator suggests a recession while inflation continues at a rate 36% higher than when the Democrats were in office.

figure their sales slump has hit bottom, and demand has firmed a bit. But the expected improvement, they add quickly, won't bring operating results up to the level of the second quarter last year. Industry production in the current quarter is expected to be about 2.1 million cars in the U.S., company sources say, off about 5% from 1969's second period.

PRESSURE SEEN CONTINUING

The pressure on profits also is likely to continue intense, what with costly sales incentive contests to hypo sales and with the introduction of still lower-priced, sparsely equipped smaller cars.

In one analysts view, both GM and Ford could emerge from the second quarter with earnings higher than those of the first period, but lower than second quarter 1969 profits. Chrysler's outlook is less clear, but company officials indicated at a news conference recently that the No. 3 auto maker at the moment was operating in the black. The officials didn't say, however, where the company would be by the time the second quarter wound up.

For the nation's steelmakers, any improvement may be out of reach this quarter. Even before the start of the current truck strike, steel-company economists were expecting shipments to decline in the current quarter to between 22 million and 23 million tons from 23.7 million tons in the first quarter and 24.4 million tons in the second quarter a year ago.

Now with the strike, the economists don't know how far shipments will plunge. One industry official estimates the steel-haulers' stoppage shaved 600,000 to 800,000 tons off April shipments, and he says the impact will grow worse.

"I've just talked to three steel-company presidents and they are really down-in-the-mouth about the second quarter," comments one brokerage-house specialist in steel-industry stocks.

The first quarter performance certainly left little room to maneuver. At U.S. Steel Corp., for instance, earnings plunged 30.1% despite an 8.8% increase in sales (much of it in low-profit transactions with foreign buyers). The profit margin there slipped to 3% of sales from 4.7% a year before.

The 4.7% price increase on sheet products initiated last week by Bethlehem Steel Corp. may do little to sweeten the sour outlook for the second quarter. Even if competitors follow with the boost, which is likely though uncertain, the increase won't go into effect until June 1, after the quarter is two-thirds done. Should the haulers' strike end soon, furthermore, some buyers may bunch orders this month to avoid June's higher quotes, thereby minimizing any improvement in profit rates.

Here's how some other industries were faring:

Electrical equipment: General Electric Co.'s 14-week strike combined with slow demand for color-television sets and other appliances to depress earnings of major electrical-equipment producers in the first quarter. A notable exception was Westinghouse Electric Corp., which boosted first quarter net 11%. GE's strike, however, ended in February, and the company posted a profit in March, further improvement in April and certainly will be profitable for the full quarter, a sharp turnaround from the \$42.6 million loss posted in the initial three months. Industry leaders, too, are predicting new life for their appliance operations. Robert W. Sarnoff, chairman and president of RCA Corp., says, for one. "We can anticipate a modest turnaround in the consumer durable goods market by late spring or early summer, with the upturn accelerating moderately into the fourth quarter."

Oil: An increase in gasoline prices at the close of the first quarter should ease the impact of higher taxes and operating costs—factors that depressed earnings of most oil companies in the first period. Shell Oil Co. says the gasoline price rise, if sustained for the year, would largely offset the cut in the

oil-depletion tax allowance to 23% from 27½%. A similar price raise withered away last year, but oil-industry officials don't look for any such erosion in the current quarter. They are hoping it will hold for the year.

Copper: Soaring prices and strong demand gave U.S. copper producers record results in the first quarter, and they are eyeing continued gains in the current three months. The metal currently is sold for 60 cents a pound by U.S. producers, up from 56 cents in the first period and 44 cents during most of the 1969 first quarter. "A sharp break in the copper price isn't likely soon," says Simon Strauss, a vice president of American Smelting & Refining Co. For fabricators, however, the scarcity and the price rises have brought only woe. Many users unable to buy from primary U.S. sources have been forced to turn to foreign suppliers, who have been selling their stores for more than 75 cents a pound.

Aluminum: Aluminum producers seem to have escaped the general earnings decline that afflicted much of industry last quarter, but some analysts contend the performance was illusory. Aluminum Co. of America, the field's leader, posted a bare 1% earnings gain from the 1969 period. Reynolds Metals Co. and Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., the next two in line, showed hefty advances, but they had depressed periods to compare with the year before. Industry pricing, these analysts contend, also may be deceiving. They argue that real selling prices in the industry have been declining since early in the year, even though the companies put through increases in their list prices last month. "They'll need a pronounced pickup in autos and construction before anything begins to look more cheerful," declares one Wall Street student of the aluminum field.

Building materials: Slow housing construction depressed earnings of building materials makers in the first quarter, and Karl R. Bendetsen, chairman of U.S. Plywood-Champion Papers Inc., says he doesn't think the decline has bottomed out yet. National Gypsum Co. says an upswing in new construction may come sometime this year.

Rubber: A strike against Goodyear Tire &

Rubber Co., the industry leader, clouds the outlook for the rubber industry, which has already been hurt by declining car sales. The industry is also being forced to bear heavy costs in converting to bias-belted tires.

Airlines: U.S. airlines continue to be hurt by a slower growth in traffic, soaring labor costs and a high level of expenditures for new planes and ground equipment. United Air Lines, for instance, is reducing flight schedules and trimming its work force. F. C. Wiser Jr., president of Trans World Airlines, says, "We see the recession continuing longer than anticipated." George W. James, vice president of economics and finance at the Air Transport Association, concludes the outlook for airline traffic "isn't encouraging."

Farm equipment: At farm-equipment manufacturers, most every aspect of their business improved in the first quarter—but not farm equipment. Sales of trucks, industrial equipment, lawn and garden tractors and other items all showed moderate to good gains. Demand for farm equipment, however, grows ever weaker, and the companies are tapering output to meet the reduced sales.

Tobacco: Despite years of adverse publicity, tobacco industry profits continued to grow in the first quarter, and officials are predicting further gains for the months ahead. Diversification into food and other fields is contributing substantially to the earnings improvements. Cigarette sales, nonetheless, continue important. Joseph F. Cullman III, chairman of Philip Morris, Inc., told the annual meeting last week that worldwide cigarette sales of our company are continuing their strong upward trend."

FIRST QUARTER PROFITS OF 665 CONCERNS FELL 8.9 PERCENT FROM LEVEL OF LIKE 1969 PERIOD

The columns below show by industries earnings reported for the first quarter of 1970 and those for the like quarter of 1969, with percentage changes. Where individual company reports cover three-month periods other than calendar quarters, the nearest comparable periods have been used.

	1st quarter 1970	1st quarter 1969	Percent change		1st quarter 1970	1st quarter 1969	Percent change
12 Aircraft makers.....	\$76,513,000	\$100,310,000	-23.7	24 Mining and metals.....	\$325,049,000	\$255,326,000	+27.3
14 Airlines.....	-45,466,000	5,006,000		6 Aluminum companies.....	84,484,000	75,853,000	+11.4
18 Autos and equipment.....	493,021,000	801,041,000	-38.5	18 Copper and other metals.....	240,565,000	179,473,000	+34.0
7 Broadcasting companies.....	25,817,000	25,191,000	+2.5	12 Office equipment.....	304,858,000	272,654,000	+11.8
24 Building materials.....	73,204,000	105,079,000	-30.3	24 Petroleum products.....	1,388,146,000	1,480,355,000	-6.2
12 Building supplies.....	70,377,000	99,733,000	-29.4	13 Publishing companies.....	19,086,000	24,774,000	-23.0
12 Cement companies.....	2,827,000	5,346,000	-47.1	21 Pulp and paper products.....	150,381,000	154,752,000	-2.8
26 Chainstores.....	129,240,000	124,011,000	+4.2	11 Railway equipment.....	21,092,000	24,919,000	-15.4
22 Chemicals.....	315,768,000	332,156,000	-4.9	11 Rubber companies.....	69,978,000	73,640,000	-5.0
18 Department stores.....	357,999,000	355,233,000	+8	23 Steel manufacturers.....	145,631,000	193,305,000	-24.7
6 Distillers.....	33,515,000	31,132,000	+7.7	14 Textiles.....	45,495,000	52,636,000	-13.6
20 Drug manufacturers.....	278,022,000	253,213,000	+9.8	6 Tobaccos.....	80,722,000	67,691,000	+19.3
35 Elec equipment/electronics.....	127,746,000	294,918,000	-56.7	33 Tools and machinery.....	88,214,000	91,818,000	-3.9
17 Broad-line companies.....	98,346,000	256,053,000	-61.6	144 Other industrials.....	790,267,000	792,791,000	-0.3
18 Specialty companies.....	29,400,000	38,865,000	-24.7				
4 Farm equipment.....	23,880,000	20,399,000	+17.1	Total 588 industrial companies.....	5,551,705,000	6,152,526,000	-9.8
9 Finance companies.....	53,367,000	44,442,000	+20.1	18 Railroads.....	62,244,000	96,901,000	-35.8
4 Floor coverings.....	8,184,000	13,243,000	-38.2	59 Utilities.....	646,085,000	619,413,000	+4.3
33 Food products.....	171,986,000	162,491,000	+5.8				
7 Bakery products.....	18,085,000	17,596,000	+2.8	Total, 665 concerns.....	6,260,034,000	6,868,840,000	-8.9
5 Dairy products.....	34,015,000	34,217,000	-6				
21 General food products.....	119,876,000	110,678,000	+8.3				

RUMANIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, on May 10 people of Rumanian origin join together to celebrate the independence which that nation once knew and the historic events which symbolized that independence.

The importance of our participation in

this national holiday for our Rumanian friends is to demonstrate that we share the hopes of the Rumanian people for renewed independence from oppression and tyranny. We can only demonstrate our concern for their present plight and announce our willingness to stand with them in their hopes for freedom. Based on the history of the Rumanian people, we can continue to have faith in the achievement of freedom once again for they are a determined people and will not give up in the face of oppression.

Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to join with my colleagues in the House in cele-

brating this May 10 holiday with our Rumanian friends.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks "Where is daddy?" A mother asks:

"How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,400 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND DIRECTOR ROSSANT IMPLEMENTING FOUNDATION REFORM

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, foundations are being watched very closely these days as the result of the work done by the House Ways and Means Committee, on which I am privileged to serve, and I am pleased that there is some constructive response on the part of some funds and foundations.

M. J. Rossant, the director of the 20th Century Fund, has pioneered in updating and reforming foundation practices. A sample of this is the recently issued interim report 1969 of the 20th Century Fund. Instead of just issuing an annual report, it is a healthy discipline for foundations to get in the practice of reporting two or three times throughout the year. Mr. Rossant, the text of whose remarks follow below, is very frank about the internal improvements, honest auditing, and forward-looking planning that foundations must do in order to implement both the law as it is now written and the inevitable followup by the House Ways and Means Committee, Senate Finance Committee, and agencies of the Federal Government, such as the IRS and the Attorney General's office.

As one who believes in private organizations and the private sector cleaning up its own situation before even stronger legislation is needed, I hope that Mr. Rossant's very candid warnings and actual follow through of congressional intent will be adopted by other foundations. I also hope that the trustees and officers of our major funds and foundations will get the message and voluntarily do themselves, while there is still time, the updating in foundation operations which those of us who believe in their work know is necessary.

The Ways and Means Committee has taken constructive actions. Now it is up to the foundations in the next year or so to practice what we have urged them to do. Hopefully the staffs and officers of all foundations will move very strongly, publicly, and candidly in 1970 to strengthen their work both in content and in internal operations.

Director Rossant's report on "The Future of Foundations" follows below:

THE FUTURE OF FOUNDATIONS

(By M. J. Rossant)

Now that the congressional hearings on foundations are over and legislation affecting foundations is on the statute books, it is tempting to carry on pretty much as

usual. The law may have its faults, but foundations are not going to be taxed out of existence or forced to expire after a definite number of years or compelled to restrict their activities unduly. On the contrary, the newly imposed tax on foundations is relatively modest and the new proposals affecting pay out of a proportion of income and/or assets are not only graduated but eminently reasonable. Many foundations, the Twentieth Century Fund among them, are already complying with the 6 per cent goal set for 1975. It is clear that Congress spurned all overt attempts to cripple foundation operations and, in doing so, served to reaffirm that this peculiarly American institution plays a useful role and merits a permanent place in our social structure.

Yet it would be a mistake for foundations to return to their old—and often complacent—behavior. In an era when almost all our institutions and institutional arrangements have had to become more adaptable, "relevant," and responsive, foundations serving the public interest must also demonstrate a heightened sense of awareness and responsibility. If there is a revival of complacency reflected in a refusal to raise standards, it is doubtful that Congress or the executive branch or the press will continue to take a generally permissive and positive attitude toward foundations.

Fortunately, the philanthropic fraternity seems aware of the need for continued reform and self-improvement. The work of both the Commission on Foundations and Public Philanthropy and the temporary Committee on Foundation Standards, although undertaken only after Congress began its publicized investigation, promises to bring about a health and heartening rise in foundation efficiency and effectiveness. Certainly, the committee's proposed code for proper management, along with the recommendation for a continuing agency to enforce it, represents encouraging and necessary progress. For, as Alan Pifer of the Carnegie Corporation observed about the recent congressional action, "I have an uneasy feeling that it all may happen again unless we get some administration of the law that really does weed out the wrongdoers. The foundations themselves have to do a much better job in this regard."

It may be that the proposed code and an agency to enforce it will prove a sufficient safeguard for all foundations. But because there are so many foundations with such vast differences in composition, purpose and resources, there may be a need for different codes tailored to specific types of nonprofit institutions. All of us should endorse and practice the principle of full disclosure. Every form of cronyism and self-dealing should be banned. In addition, as a research foundation, the Twentieth Century Fund recognizes that the standards for its activities and operations must differ from those applied to a grant-making institution or one engaged in action programs. Perhaps it is time for all research-oriented foundations to develop their own criteria for selecting staff, projects, and trustees, and appoint an agency to enforce them.

It is not enough to possess resources and independence; we must also act independently and manage our resources with maximum effectiveness. As I see it, the standards applicable to the Fund's staff, our research directors, and research projects should insure that the work we sponsor is designed to increase intelligence about our society and its problems and to extend the options for dealing with them. I continue to believe that such work calls for a high degree of professionalism which, far from deterring or limiting intellectual risk-taking, will enable us to invest more broadly and more boldly with greater prospect of producing successful re-

sults. The building up of a thoroughly professional research capability for appraising both research proposals and prospective research directors as well as for superintending studies under way has made it possible to be more pertinent and responsive in our chosen work.

Just as most foundations have been making long-overdue reforms, so has the Fund continued its own critical self-examination of its procedures and objectives. This ongoing exercise has taught us many things about the manifold risks involved in speculating on thinkers and ideas. It has led to sizable expansion in the number of projects we are sponsoring and enabled us to embark on wholly new ventures in films and other forms of research under the direction of people who are relatively unknown. For the most part, the Fund is continuing its concentration on objective studies of institutions—including foundations—that we feel require balanced but critical examination. In addition, we are devoting efforts to timely studies of current problems where the Fund's independence and the weight of expert thinkers can prove valuable.

After the tumultuous decade of the 1960's and the publicity given foundations in the last year, all of the nation's institutions must be more open and representative than they have been in the past. But while most institutions possess organized constituencies—students, faculties, stockholders, voters, unions, etc.—which can apply leverage or pressure for reform, foundations must depend primarily on the public-spiritedness of their trustees and the alertness of press and public authorities. As a result of the new legislation, most of the financial abuses once indulged in by a minority of foundations should now be eliminated. The establishment of codes of operation is needed. Legitimate foundations can no longer bask in the reflected glory of past achievements. We have to insure that the work that foundations are now doing is worth doing and is being done well. A major task of foundation professionals in the decade ahead is to meet this admittedly stern and perhaps subjective test. The way we meet it will decide the future of foundations in our society.

A DAY OF PRAYER

HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, Sunday Americans everywhere will honor their mothers. It is a day of happiness when we gather with our families and show our love and respect for the most important person in our lives.

Many Americans, however, will not be able to be home on this day. They are our soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen around the world who are standing guard for our way of life and the fundamental human values it represents.

There is no way we can bring them home, but the president of the Wyoming Farm Bureau, Herb Livingston, has thought of a special way in which we can reaffirm our faith in them. The idea is to set aside 5 minutes on Mother's Day to offer prayers for our servicemen and women around the world.

I think it an idea well worth the time and effort of every citizen, so, I include a news release outlining the idea in the RECORD:

A DAY OF PRAYER

The President of the state's largest farm organization, Farm Bureau, called on all the Wyoming citizens to give Mother's Day greater meaning this year in special prayer. Herbert D. Livingston, Wyoming Farm Bureau President from Newcastle, urged all Farm Bureau members and other Wyoming residents to set aside 5 minutes on Mother's Day to offer prayers to honor and respect the sacrifices of our servicemen and women who are bound together in defense of freedom around the world. Livingston said his organization is asking the prayers be offered between 12:30 and 12:35 P.M., Sunday, May 10. If persons are unable to set aside that particular 5-minute period, Livingston encouraged them to use any other period during the day for special prayers.

"Our Nation's great progress is based on its most precious possession—freedom—and this is sustained by basic moral and religious concepts. It is this freedom, which our military personnel defends around the globe today, just as the many generations before them did. I can think of no more fitting occasion than Mother's Day to express our appreciation," the WFB President concluded.

ILLINOIS TOWN HAS MIDWEST CHARM

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I take pleasure in calling the Members' attention to the attached article detailing some of the history of Rockford, Ill., and one of its leading industries W. F. & John Barnes.

As a resident of Rockford, I am delighted to have this opportunity to acquaint my colleagues with this the second largest city in Illinois, its history, its industries, and its outstanding educational and cultural advantages.

The article follows:

ILLINOIS' SECOND LARGEST CITY—ROCKFORD—HAS RURAL MIDWEST CHARM

During the 19th century westward bound pioneers found one spot along a rocky river in Illinois that was especially suited to fording their oxen-drawn covered wagons. Years later, this was to give the young trading colony its name—Rockford.

Rock river continued to play major role in Rockford's growth as industry settled along its banks to exploit its water power. Today, Rockford is Illinois' second largest city—an industrially healthy town which, from the air appears to sprout from the surrounding fertile countryside. On the long list of companies located there is W. F. & John Barnes, a unit of B&W's Automated Machine division.

The Rockford area was first opened up for settlement on a large scale after Chief Black Hawk's Indian revolt failed in 1832. For years settlers passed through or established residences nearby, but it was in 1834 that Germanicus Kent and Thatcher Blake founded the town officially. Its central location remains one of Rockford's primary assets today.

Rockford is about 70 miles west of Chicago, and other large cities—Madison and Milwaukee, Wis.; Peoria and Champaign-Urbana (home of the University of Illinois)—are equally accessible. Rockford residents like to say that, although theirs is the second largest city in Illinois and is close to other ur-

ban areas, it "lacks the harsh, impersonal atmosphere of the typical big city." Because Rockford is bounded on all sides by rolling farms and forests, it has in fact retained much of the charm of the smaller mid-western town.

Fur trade first brought settlers to the Rockford area, but today no single industry dominates the city's industrial picture. Rockford historians admit to only one generalization regarding their city: "The example of the early settlers, who demonstrated a willingness to work . . . attracted like-minded people," one chronicler wrote. "Their descendants and immigrants who flocked to Rockford . . . added more skills and trade plus managerial and financial talent that built a strong foundation."

W. F. & John Barnes, itself, is evidence of this spirit. Following the Civil War John Barnes struck out on his own after deciding that there was a market for models of harvesting machinery. At a time when such models were being hand-carved out of wood, young Barnes developed his own foot-powered equipment for woodworking. In a few years, other manufacturers learned of this new equipment and wanted some just like it. Soon Barnes needed better metal working machines on which to build his woodworking equipment. He designed and built his own, and again industrialists who saw these metal working machines wanted them. The machinery business, begun in cramped quarters more than 100 years ago, continued to expand by meeting new, growing demands. Today it serves a variety of fields, including the automotive, farm machinery, construction, nuclear power and machine tool industries.

Rockford-ites also readily admit that there are drawbacks that have had to be overcome. Rockford lacks the raw materials for its primary industries. While centrally located, it is without low-cost waterways, transportation available to many of its Midwest rivals.

Despite these things, Rockford has grown and prospered, perhaps because of the willing and inventive "like-minded people" who were attracted to the town from earliest times. Most of Rockford's leading industries and business establishments like W. F. & John Barnes, had humble beginnings in basement shops, rented garages, back stores and shop rooms.

Rockford ranks as one of the leading machine tool centers of the United States. Based on this and similar successes, it might well have been called "the Machine Tool City," "the Furniture City," or "The Reaper City" instead of the "Forest City" as it is officially designated. Today more than 600 factories turn out thousands of different types of products, and Rockford can confidently boast of being one of the most diversified industrial communities in the nation.

The high per capita income has made Rockford 12th in the nation in retail expenditures per person, and has established the city as a community of homeowners. Nearly 70 percent of the city's homes are owned by the residents living in them. Rockford College, Rock Valley Junior College—and the nearness of Northern Illinois University, Beloit College and an extension program of the University of Illinois meet the community's educational needs.

During leisure hours, Rockford's 137,000 citizens can enjoy nationally known musical artists brought to the city by the Rockford Community Concert Association. The Rockford Symphony Orchestra offers concerts throughout the year. The Rockford Mendelssohn Club rounds out the musical scene with recitals, operas and lecturers year round.

For outdoor enthusiasts there is an abundance of parks, playgrounds, forest preserves and golf courses. Nearby Pierce Lake and the Wisconsin lakes offer boating, water skiing, swimming and fishing.

All of these factors steadily attract people to fast-growing Rockford—and it doesn't take a closer look to see why they consider it a good place to live and work.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

HON. WALTER FLOWERS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. FLOWERS. Mr. Speaker, today, a group of elementary school children from Northport, Ala., representing the Tuscaloosa County schools safety patrols were in Washington on their annual tour. In connection with this trip, the Northport Pilot Club promoted an oratorical contest in the elementary schools. This contest was among fifth graders who are studying our country, the lives of great Americans and basic documents of democracy in their social studies classes. We were privileged to hear the three winners of this contest, Robert H. Kuehner, Crestmont Elementary School; Jon Elmore, Northport Elementary School; and Van James, Vestavia Elementary School, address various Congressman and Senators today in Washington. I am honored to present remarks made by these students for the benefit of my colleagues:

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

(By Robert H. Kuehner)

I believe in the United States of America as a government for the people, by the people, and of the people, whose just powers are derived by the consent of the governed. A democracy is a republic. One sovereign nation of many sovereign states. A perfect union, one and inseparable, established upon the principles of freedom: Equality, Justice, and Humanity, for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes. We call it a democracy, but the form of our government is a federal republic. It is a federal republic because the government acts through elected representatives of the people. It is a federal republic because we are a union or federation of self-governing states.

When we refer to the term "democracy", we usually refer to a form of government, but democracy is also a way of life.

Democratic laws and institutions do not guarantee that democracy will succeed. People must work constantly for democratic freedom. Many countries have lost democracy because the people did not help govern themselves by taking part in public affairs. Two conditions must exist if a person is to take part intelligently in his government: First, he must be informed, and second, he must act on his knowledge at all times.

The most important obligation of a public official is to look upon public office as a trust.

I, therefore, believe that it is important for myself, and every other citizen to respect the laws and flags of the United States of America.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

(By Jon Elmore)

All of us love and enjoy our freedom. We take the American way of life for granted. It is good for us to stop and examine our feelings toward liberty and to count our blessings. Before we can talk about Democracy in Action, we must know what democracy is.

What is democracy? In the opening lines of the second paragraph of the Declaration

of Independence, Thomas Jefferson clearly and simply stated the basic principles of what we call democracy. "All men are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights—among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Unalienable rights are those rights which cannot be taken away from the people—not by the government, not even by the people themselves.

The pages of American History are filled with accounts of brave men fighting and dying to preserve this same democracy. Courageous men have led in battles where victory seemed impossible. Our national anthem was written as Francis Scott Key peered through gunsmoke at Old Glory. *Knowing* about the past is not enough. We must work hard to be *worthy* of our heritage.

What part can young Americans play in this struggle? Yes, it is a struggle, for we read about young people refusing the privilege of defending our country. On television we have seen the American flag torn and trampled. We know that a person no longer has the right to protect what is his without endangering his own life. Young people on our college campuses take advantage of others, rebelling against truth. Yes, on every hand we see forces at work, determined to destroy democracy. We must be more determined to become *better* citizens in heart, mind and body.

The members of our Safety Patrol have many opportunities to practice democracy. We encourage good safety rules, better behavior and citizenship in and outside of school. Respecting the rights of others and sharing are the secrets of the American way of life being the greatest life on earth.

Young Americans should strive for the best education possible. We need to keep up with progress being made in the fields of science, health and education and adapt to these changes in our environment. Learning about other people's needs makes us more aware of how fortunate we are to be proud Americans. Our boys are fighting in Viet Nam this *very moment* to show the people of the world that our country *does* care about them—that our country wants all people to be free. *This is Democracy in Action!*

Living in America is a precious privilege! But our forefathers sweated *blood* and tears and suffered even *death* for democracy. We, the young people of this school, this town, this state and this nation have a great responsibility! We must run the race and be willing to pay the price of freedom. We must *fight* to defend what we know is right. Yes, our world is changing! But the changes may be for our good if we have *dreams* like the late Robert F. Kennedy, who said: "Men look at things the way they *are* and say why? I dream of things that never *were* and say, *why not?* This is Democracy in Action. Thank you."

WHY I LIKE AMERICA

(By Van James)

I stand before you today to tell you why I like America, in spite of the difficulties and problems of this great country. I am sure all of you are familiar with these problems so I will not attempt to elaborate on them because I still like America. Why do I like America? Here are some of the reasons. In America we have many freedoms and rights which include freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of choice. Also the freedom of question where there is a doubt. You might wonder what I mean by doubt. As you know, we believe in the inalienable rights of every citizen, regardless of race, creed or color. In the past there has been much hatred and prejudice against others in the hearts of some people. What is America doing to correct this in order to make it a more desirable place in which to live? I feel that some young and older

people also are rebelling against many things and perhaps this is right in some cases. Who am I to judge? This goes back to our freedom of religion and only God can judge. However, I can say to you that I do not believe this is the way to correct our problems, which are varied. I firmly believe that when we learn to love and work with our fellow man as Christ has taught us to do, then and only then will America's problems begin to cease.

In spite of these, America is still a beautiful and wonderful country in which to live and I would choose none other to live in. America—America with its beautiful parks, lovely scenery and great Christian heritage is my Country!

Aren't you glad you live in *America the Beautiful* also? Thank you.

UNIVERSAL AND COMPULSORY HEALTH INSURANCE: FULL SPEED AHEAD AND DAMN THE CONSEQUENCES

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, Odin W. Anderson, Ph. D., recently delivered a most profound speech before the annual congress of the American College of Hospital Administrators, in Chicago, Ill.

Professor Anderson is an associate director of the Center for Health Administration, in Chicago, Ill.

The information he has set forth in his remarks are conclusions drawn from a lifetime of teaching and study.

I was particularly intrigued by Professor Anderson's recognition of the need for long-term, or catastrophic type assistance in health care planning. This is the predominant feature in a new concept of health care that I plan to offer in the form of legislation for the approval of Congress in the near future.

I offer this most timely and interesting speech to all those interested in what could easily become this Nation's greatest area of concern for the 1970's.

The speech follows:

UNIVERSAL AND COMPULSORY HEALTH INSURANCE: FULL SPEED AHEAD AND DAMN THE CONSEQUENCES

(By Odin W. Anderson, Ph. D.)

I. THE BACKGROUND

The re-emergence of universal and compulsory health insurance as a viable political issue—and in a Republican administration—after being quiescent since 1952 bears some examination. This issue is for the first time cutting across parties, one of the early signs of consensus creation in our political process. Many of us in this audience are old enough to remember the proposed universal health insurance legislation which was left simmering on the back burner of the Congressional kitchen stove from 1939 to 1952. It is also of more than passing political interest that none of this legislation—the usual triumvirate of sponsors being the euphonious combination of Democrats Wagner-Murray-Dingell—was ever brought to the floor.

There were probably two main reasons, not to mention many lesser ones, for this political coyness. First, the Social Security Act (its public health sector notwithstanding) was primarily concerned with income maintenance and transfer payments, i.e., the income redistribution aspects to mitigate and pre-

vent destitution. The second major reason was that Congress was frightened about raising taxes in a country where politicians are so directly and quickly responsive to the moods of the electorate—silent or noisy. As all politicians in democracies know, the tax issue is the exposed nerve of the political process, the painful balancing point between the private and public sectors or, if you will, between "private affluence and public squalor". Otherwise, in our recently passed tax bill there would not have been a reduction for everybody, rich and poor alike; to paraphrase Orwell, all reductions were unequal but some were more unequal than others.

Americans continue to have the reasonable belief that the chief problem of people is an adequate income; assure people money and they can in turn buy the goods and services they think they need and want—including personal health services through voluntary insurance. The usual and reasonable theory would have it that if people have the money, they can express choice within a range of goods and services, and supply will then rise to meet this choice, given no artificial restrictions on supply. The opposite of this is the willingness of people to have a restricted supply and accept rationing, queuing, and directed planning so as to restrain rising costs and expenditures of the health system. This would seem to be a reason why, so far, the various levels of government in the United States own and operate so little of the health services enterprise and intervene gently in the operation of the enterprise. When government has been given a mandate—notably Titles 18 and 19, better known as Medicare and Medicaid—it has had to buy services from the private sector, competing for scarce resources and thereby stimulating rising prices. Except for the Hospital Survey and Construction Act in 1946 (Hill-Burton), the Federal Government has been given little financial and legal resources to increase the supply commensurate with recent legislative mandates.

Nevertheless, in the face of impending universal health insurance legislation, the private sector will be plugged into a financial mechanism which inherently—certainly historically—sets quite arbitrary limits to funding much sooner than the private sector. Further, it is undoubtedly hoped not only that universal health insurance will set limits to funds but also that those who distribute the funds can have a large part in determining the restructuring of the delivery methods. Current prevailing judgment among the proponents of universal health insurance is that the present system (or nonsystem) is in a shambles and needs to be restructured. This is quite an undertaking in a society which still fundamentally uses the carrot rather than the stick in getting things done. The difficulties of this undertaking are compounded even more when there is legitimate disagreement about organizational structures, range of services to be covered and methods of paying vendors. Of if one wishes to take an even less sanguine view, there is no monopoly on confusion as to how to solve the problems in the health field. Several commission reports—with a proper mix of citizen and professional representatives—testify to that, and more recently the brand new experts on medical care in *Fortune* and *Business Week*, to whom the solutions are self-evident. Universal and compulsory health insurance is the last untried alternative in this country; and it appears to be believed that such an alternative will make it easier to solve the problems that are now besetting us—certainly it cannot possibly make us worse off.

I believe what is novel about the current

interest in universal health insurance in this country in comparison with enactments of such insurance in other countries and previous justifications in this country is that the stimulus seems to stem from concern with rapidly rising expenditures, rather than the usual stimulus of sharing the risk of costly episodes of illness or to assist the low-income classes. Undoubtedly the stimulus of sharing risk is present in view of rather inadequate health insurance benefit levels, but there seems to be a belief that, once the government gets control of the funding, expenditures will be contained within whatever may be regarded as tolerable limits, in this context politically tolerable limits. By making a primary issue of rising costs, the support of the broad middle class is enlisted, the so-called vital center and the ultimate agent of political change. There are legitimate social and moral reasons for some form of universal and compulsory health insurance in keeping with the value of health care as a right rather than as a privilege. Rationalization of the system, i.e., according to some set of scientifically determined specifications, is not one of them, and to imply that universal health insurance can solve the problem of rising expenditures in any rational way is political mischief. It smacks of the continuing propensity of Americans to simplistic solutions for complicated problems.

The democratic political process—particularly the American variety—is a wonder to behold because of the tremendous range of interest groups and the very open nature of political and public policy debate. It is what an English economist called "riotous pluralism,"¹ in comparison with his own country and Sweden where respective parliaments are chiefly ratifying instruments after all parties at interest have had their day in closed sessions. Although royal commission reports and parliamentary debates are well publicized in the newspapers, it is virtually too late for unbridled pressure groups to have an effect. In our system, however—and I make no value judgment here—complicated issues become political tradeoffs right on the floor of Congress resulting in shooting-from-the-hip-policy making, and delicate enterprises such as health services go through a severe mangling. What I am simply pointing out is that our political process is responsive to the issues once enough people and pressure groups convince Congress that there is political pay-dirt in being for or against something. Both Medicare and Medicaid are illustrations of this process of exquisite political maneuvering resulting in medical administrative complexities. But I guess this is the way we like it; we are willing to live with the consequences of this political process. It would seem to be expensive both in terms of money and effort, but we are willing to endure such consequences rather than have no legislation at all. As observed picturesquely by the late Professor Morton Grodzins, Political Science, University of Chicago, access to the politicians and political interest groups in this country is so open that our system is a system of "multiple cracks" and legislation results in a "marble cake."²

The political bargaining will be particularly intense because whenever Congress faces an issue of redistribution of resources, taking from one segment of society to give to others, as an egalitarian health insurance act does, the question then becomes who shares what with whom? Who contributes more than they get in return? Is there enough for everybody according to self-determined standards as to what is regarded as enough? Or will a large enough segment of the population buy services outside of the universal health insurance system as to vitiate the whole principle of "to each according to his need and from each according to his ability". As I hope I am making

clear, I believe in the American political process—a process which is exceedingly well established, in any case—but my concern is rather directed to how this process can be manipulated for the improvement and expansion of the health services. In this respect, the emerging political strategies worry me.

After this rather long introduction, I wish to move in some detail on specific problems and issues which I believe universal and compulsory health insurance will solve completely, solve only in part or not solve at all. This means I must separate generic problems in any health service system from those which can be mitigated by some form of government intervention.

II. IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES

A. Compulsion

During the Forties the issue of compulsion, i.e., compulsory taxation of one kind or another for the financing of universal health insurance, seemed to be the keystone issue overarching all others, and, in fact, confusing them. Government was interfering with the freedom of the individual to spend his income as he wished; the patient would be compelled to go to a certain doctor; the doctor would be compelled to take all patients and compelled to practice for arbitrarily set fees, or possibly even a salary. Currently, this issue of compulsion seems not to be a politically viable one for a complex set of reasons.

First, foreign experience has shown that it is possible to have free choice of doctor, various methods of paying doctors, and some variety of practice, and doctors remain in strong bargaining positions regarding professional and financial prerogatives. Then there has been a rather complete acceptance of the method of compulsory taxation for collective purposes. The social security pensions, the Medicare Act for the Aged—Title 18, and the withholding system for personal income taxes have resolved this issue in practice. Further, enrollment in voluntary health insurance is so frequently a condition of employment that an employee has in many cases no choice of whether or not to join. For a while, the controversy seemed to be centered on good compulsion or bad compulsion, but now even this distinction has disappeared.

B. Sources of funds

I believe, however, that there are more important issues than that of compulsion, and they related mainly to sources and amount of funds and sources and methods of controls on quantity, quality, and organization. It is the power of the purse rather than the power over citizen financial participation which bears on the enormous influence that a source of funding has on the general operation of a health service when the amount of funds is increasingly centralized and becomes subject to political tradeoffs. In this connection, the term political is not a dirty word but rather a process of policy formulation and bargaining where many interests have high stakes. Historically, however, I have not been impressed with our government's generosity in financing health and welfare services—Medicare to the contrary because the honeymoon is over, but Medicaid not to the contrary, because the honeymoon did not even start in that program: the bride with her relatively small dowry from general tax revenue was found too demanding right from the start. I see government as an important and for certain purposes a strategic source of funds, but I do not see it as an ample source of funds if it becomes the main source.

C. Equalizing access

I place equalizing access regardless of income and residence under ideology because this is a value which does not lend itself to rational discussion. When society raises a

certain value to a moral and now apparently legal right, the impact on implementation is incalculable. It means, in effect, that the possibility of legal recourse on the part of disaffected citizens is increased. The right to health services becomes a civil right parallel to the right to justice. I do not disagree with this noble principle, but I do wish to point out that, as in the case of justice, provision of health care becomes a utopian principle, and the necessary myth of equality is created without the compensatory mechanism of some sort of a tax-supported health confessional when we fall short of utopian objectives, as we always do. The people in the health field are very masochistic; they writhe with pleasure when they are scolded for not attaining utopian goals, and the only outlet for guilt is to get mad at other doctors, patients, and hospitals, and themselves.

You either accept the principle of equal access as part of a humane society or you don't. I gather, however, the principle is now generally accepted in this country. The controversy centers on level of attainment—i.e., short of perfection. I do not see universal and compulsory health insurance, in itself, necessarily equalizing access if all it does is help people pay for services when the supply is not assured. Any system I can conceive of or have seen can only approximate equalization of access. Further, currently underserved areas must be given priority as target areas for planned introduction of services like health centers. An important aspect of equal access is that of access to services of at least certain standards, and an attempt to spread a certain standard more evenly over the population. Universal and compulsory health insurance, therefore, will no more assure the supply of services at a minimum quality than does our current voluntary health insurance and Medicare. Equalization of access will require a lot more than a mere financing mechanism. It will require a policy of what the British now call "positive discrimination," the government doing more for one segment of the population than another segment, as a form of over-compensation for past deprivations. Otherwise, the health services will gravitate toward a double standard, one for the poor and one for the well-to-do.

III. ISSUES OF IMPLEMENTATION

I now wish to deal with the practical issue of implementation and administration. It is at this stage that the technical experts move in and put together a plan to carry out the mandate. This is the stage of social engineering and, in the health services particularly, a stage which is characterized as one of drawing on informed opinion and best estimates and hoping for a minimum of inevitable unintended consequences. This is a charitable description; usually it is one mad scramble to meet legislative deadlines.

Once universal and compulsory health insurance is agreed to be the chief financing mechanism for health services and as a means of inducing organizational changes, there are a number of major policy issues which must be faced. In order to deal with them adequately there must be built into the legislation the power and the means to do so. The extent to which such power will be given, and, if given, to what degree major issues can be resolved even then, will be examined.

A. Supply

Even though the demand has increased tremendously since the Thirties—admission rates to general hospitals have more than doubled and the proportion of the population who see a physician at least once in a year has also almost doubled—the ratio of hospital beds and physicians to population has remained almost constant. In other words these resources relative to population have absorbed a tremendous increase in demand with only a slight increase in re-

Footnotes at end of article.

sources. Predictions are that this balance will not continue because of the increasing and shifting age-composition of the population and ever increasing demand. Resources will fall behind, necessitating a much tighter operation of the health services. There will be more people, more disease, more technology, and more money. Obviously, universal and compulsory health insurance will stimulate further demand without a commensurate increase—at least according to present plans—in the supply. The magic word is reorganization.

To those who say that we cannot increase the number of physicians and supporting personnel, but particularly physicians, fast enough, I can only say that we can do so if we want to. If there is anything this country is good at, it is production, from automobiles to babies, and a crash program to increase health personnel seems possible given the acceptance of the policy. Sweden, for example, is increasing its physician supply by 50 per cent in less than ten years through a deliberate public policy, and medical students are already in the pipeline.

B. The poor

Supply, obviously, has some bearing on our ability to equalize access, because the more generous the supply, the easier it should be to distribute resources to people in poverty and rural areas. The current thinking seems to be one of sharing the present resources with the poor and people in rural areas through universal health insurance. It would seem to me that universal health insurance would make it even worse for the poverty areas unless there is a policy of increasing the number of physicians and supporting personnel and of establishing many health centers as outreaches of the large hospitals and medical centers. It is unlikely that the self-supporting elements of the population—by far the larger segment—will tolerate a substantial sharing of the resources without an increase in these resources.

C. Sources of funds

Sources and methods of funding are to some degree a political issue and to some degree a matter of rational tax policy. Invariably, the two become intertwined with political considerations becoming dominant, i.e., a matter of national priorities. Already, as in the case of health services, there are two schools of thought: pay-roll deductions by means of the Social Security Act and/or general taxes. Of the two, the progressive income tax is quite obviously the more equitable from an egalitarian standpoint while the pay-roll tax is actually moderately regressive. Egalitarianism, however, must be balanced with the kind of sources of funds which are most responsive to the constantly changing and expanding needs of the health services. Of these two types, neither would be very responsive, for an act of Congress is required to change the rates of taxation. My own position in case of universal health insurance would favor the pay-roll tax because it is highly visible, can be easily earmarked, and is less likely to compete directly with other national priorities as would be true of the general tax funds. I believe it is plausible to assume that a diversity of sources of funds will result in more funds than will a highly centralized source. There is some evidence for this as well. A British health economist, Brian Abel-Smith, made such observation in a study of the expenditures for health services in 29 countries with a variety of taxing methods.³ A pay-roll tax shared by employer and employees could still be a stimulus for collective bargaining between labor and management as to relative shares to be collected from each. The ultimate authority, of course, would be Congress. It is also conceivable that, no matter how the money is raised, there will still be employees who want better health insurance

coverage than a universal health insurance program is prepared to provide, certainly at the beginning, and, as for the poor, they need a subsidized comprehensive health service. This leads me to the consideration of what is descriptively called the benefit-package in voluntary health insurance.

D. The Benefit package

The benefit-package is, of course, closely related to the total cost of health insurance. This country, more than others, seems to accept the concept of health insurance as the risk of incurring costs for unpredictable contingencies of medical care episodes. At the same time the concept of financial risk becomes diluted by the opposite concept of a health service. These polar concepts imply quite different philosophies of how people are to buy and receive health services, and, in turn, how services are to be organized and delivered. In the risk concept, the underlying philosophy is one of giving people the money so that they can pay for services as contingencies arise. In the health service concept, the philosophy is one of providing services to people in a highly structured and organized system.

It is highly unlikely that a universal health insurance program will move immediately into paying for the whole range of personal health services and with no deductible or co-insurance. The cost of such a benefit-package would be much greater than Congress is likely to authorize either through payroll deduction or general taxation, i.e., the personal income tax. Nor do I see the possibility of reorganizing substantially our current delivery methods into group-practice and salaried units. Group practice-salaried units are also costly in absolute terms, even though their proponents claim they cost less than the prevailing method of delivering services. Nor do I see Congress willing to harness the medical profession against its collective will.

The inherently high costs will dictate fragmentation of the total range of health services by limitations on length of stay, leaving out certain types of services, and the application of deductibles and co-insurance. Medicare is certainly a precedent here. All the limitations built into the Medicare program undoubtedly reflect the fear of costs, and the patient is asked to share part of them. As long as government does not own the facilities or hire the personnel, it has to think of benefit-packages in the terms described.

It is unlikely, however, that this will be done rationally under the best of circumstances. Short of a comprehensive health service—which I do not think is in the cards now—a relatively low-cost health insurance program in terms of an acceptable tax increase would be a major medical type of benefit-package to cover the now quite frequent high cost episodes, after the first \$100 or whatever threshold is accepted and with arbitrary ceilings. Still the lure of first dollar coverage is always there and must be contended with because the public has become accustomed to it and seems to want it.

The term episode, however, suggests a short-term, acute and expensive illness. Health insurance to date has been geared to this limited concept. But there is also the long episode, if I may stretch a term, of long-term and, on average, more expensive care which is a heavy and constant drain on family finances. The first priority, then, should be expensive episodes or an intelligent application of the major medical concept. It would seem that is the major medical concept which is the most rational one in our affluent society for, say, 80 per cent of the population. For the other 20 per cent, other arrangements need to be made for fully-paid comprehensive health services.

E. Methods of payment

Universal health insurance does not solve the chronic problems of methods of paying providers of services.⁴ Presumably, the nego-

tiations between hospitals and the government take place within a narrower range of alternatives than in a voluntary context because the government becomes the primary source of funds, rather than one among several others. Perhaps a primarily governmental source of funds can hasten the standardization of reimbursement to hospitals, and the grouping of hospitals into some sort of logical categories as to size, equipment, and patient mix, but the problem of inherently high cost will remain. Workable concepts of efficiency are no more likely in a governmental system than in a voluntary system because a workable and systematic reimbursement method involving quantity, quality, and internal efficiency of arrangements and purchasing has not been invented yet. I even venture to guess that the nature of health services is such that it will never be invented in a sense satisfactory to those who have the responsibility for public accountability if I can judge from foreign experience. In this connection I read with some sympathetic amusement the remarks of the economist Victor Fuchs in an issue of *Hospitals* about devising incentives for hospital efficiency in order to reduce costs: "Well", he said, "it is difficult", but with muted optimism, he continued "I would contend that it is not impossible." And only two paragraphs later he really gets himself into a bind by expressing the fear: "If the hospital management had an incentive to keep costs down, they might be tempted to compromise on the quality of care." So, there is the dilemma—on which side should we err, on tightness or looseness, toward suspicion or trust? In the same issue of *Hospitals* Ray Brown took an aggressive administrator's viewpoint (and one with which I have a great deal of sympathy) about efficiency by saying: "People may talk about his cost, but he knows that providing too much care never got an administrator fired. He has to overcommit his resources."⁷

And, as for the medical profession, the long-term evolution is generally toward salaries, but the short-term and exclusive alternative—with some, but relatively minor exceptions in terms of the whole—is fee-for-service. In this country the fee-for-service concept is deeply entrenched. Even in Europe, however, the fee-for-service method has an awesome persistence outside of hospitals. For hospital-based physicians, the usual method is salary related to some sort of hierarchy. The salary method in Europe is largely based on historical conditions, since no European country could afford to sustain most physicians on a fee-for-service method of payment, as has been true in the United States since the beginning of modern medicine. The alternative in this country is either a fee system or relatively high salaries (\$40,000 and up?) or more likely a mixture of both. There is no cheap way out, even in Great Britain and Scandinavia. The salary method provides an ostensible control over short-range cost increases, but in the long run salaries must eventually fall in line with an expanding economy and other occupations. The fee system would seem to be more responsive to short-range changes. Perhaps the best that can be expected in this country is some form of negotiated fee schedule for the segment of the population under, say, \$10,000 a year and a cash indemnity for those above this income.

A realization I came to some time ago was that the American medical profession (and apparently the Canadian also) does not limit the concept of professional freedom to the freedom to diagnose and treat but also includes the prerogative to determine the method and amount of payment. It is not long ago that the profession believed it should be able to determine its source of payment as well—the individual instead of an insurance agency. When the insurance concept is accepted, it begins with the cash indemnity method of payment where there is no contractual arrangement between the in-

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insurance agency and the physician. This, incidentally, is still true in Sweden for physicians practicing outside of the hospital. I point out this concept of professional freedom in the American medical profession because there is going to be some tough bargaining ahead. I believe that because of the monopoly of skills accorded the physicians, their relative supply, and the mandate placed on the government to deliver in the event of a universal health insurance system, the medical profession is in an exceedingly strong position. There will be no simple way to hold down costs in this most important component of personal health services. It is more likely that the hospital facilities and capital funding will be squeezed. Physicians can react immediately. A deteriorating hospital physical plant will take longer to show. Great Britain is a good example of this.

F. Methods of organization and delivery

It is assumed that the government, through its control of the funds, can exercise enough leverage to move the health services toward a form which is "closer to the heart's desire". This will take a great deal of finesse considering the many parties at interest that need to be placated and accommodated, not the least of which is the general public. Referring again to an issue of *Hospitals* Alanson W. Wilcox said: "It may be that it (the private sector) can persuade Congress and the public that it has better answers than the government has. This doesn't seem very likely to me. On the other hand, the government has no magic formula for doing things either."⁸

I would assume that the leverage will be financial rather than by legislative directives, because this country has not taken kindly to directives (even in time of war). Given the use of financial incentives, it would then seem that universal health insurance must necessarily be quite expensive so that the incentives can really induce change. It is conceivable, for example, that most physicians might respond much less reluctantly to a salaried service if the salaries were high enough, i.e., comparable to those for currently high income specialists. It is conceivable that in a fee system the fees need to be high enough to encourage physicians, particularly the best ones, to participate in the universal health insurance plan rather than opt out exclusively for the potentially lucrative upper middle class clientele who also carry private health insurance. I believe proponents of universal health insurance who think that they can rationalize health services by this means underestimate the middle and upper middle class desire for options and the effect this can have on the overall health services financed by such insurance. Unless financing is generous both as to supply and as to a relatively loose structure, and apparently wasteful according to some standards, the upper middle class may bypass the government system.

By means of reorganizing the methods of organization and delivery, there is hope of managing both volume of services and quality of services, not to mention price. The issue of quality is an interesting one because the moment a country enacts universal health insurance it can hardly exclude any licensed practitioners in good standing from practicing. Except for practitioners who are obviously and grossly inadequate or border on the unethical and fraudulent, a universal health insurance plan must deal with the facilities and personnel as they are at the moment. There is, then, a long hard road to overall improvement of the entire system, improvements which depend more on "inner-directed" professional standards nurtured by medical schools, the profession, and society at large than on direct regulation by a central authority with the power of the purse. Again, incentives rather than directives for continual improve-

ment must be built into the system, and, again, an incentive system is expensive; it assumes a flush economy.

G. Fiscal and administrative intermediaries

Our form of government has too much respect for autonomous interest groups to ignore or abolish them if they can serve a purpose in carrying out a public mandate rapidly and with a minimum of inter-group friction. Private for-profit nursing homes are already a political force. They responded to demand much faster than did government or the non-profit sector. Universal health insurance will in all likelihood use current health insurance agencies, hospital associations, and medical associations as fiscal and administrative intermediaries in a pattern very similar to Medicare. Congress will conceivably not authorize the funds to set up the tremendous bureaucracy which would be necessary for the day-to-day operation of a service where physicians treat two-thirds of the people in this country annually. The government will, as usual, be a buyer rather than an owner and will prefer not to deal directly with the providers of service. Hence, the pluralism of sources of funds will be reduced but a form of organizational pluralism will persist. The current parties at interest in the health services will continue to have great countervailing leverage, since the spot light will then also be on the government to assure reasonable access to services.

IV. OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

After this rapid review—despite a long speech—of the implications of universal and compulsory health insurance, do I appear opposed in principle to the government intervening in the health services? I am less concerned with the principle; in fact, it is a noble principle given its humane objectives. But I am concerned with the promises that universal health insurance will necessarily contain costs, reorganize services, and assure equality of access to services. Since the primary emphasis seems to be on containing costs and reorganizing the services through some sort of financial leverage, these objectives will not be attained. My own concept—which, I might add, is not easy to specify either—is to expect the need for continuous expansion in money, facilities and personnel within which a variety of delivery methods can keep on evolving. A universal health insurance system will not afford this type of dynamism, but perhaps a combination of private and public effort will do so. It would seem that the current big buyers of services—labor, management, government—can bargain for certain delivery methods. If these big buyers feel they need a government monopoly of funds to contain costs and bring the health services to heel, then, I believe, they will be disappointed. Let me tell you briefly what has happened in countries since 1950; specifically this country, Great Britain (England and Wales) and Sweden.⁹

Recall that the sources of funds are very diversified in this country, almost completely centralized in Great Britain where the government owns all the facilities, and in Sweden somewhat diversified through the counties which own and finance the facilities.

From 1950 through 1966 the per capita increase in expenditures for all personal health services in the United States, Great Britain (England and Wales) and Sweden has been as follows:

Country	1950-66	
	Percent increase per capita	Percent increase in Consumer Price Index
United States.....	174	35
Great Britain.....	137	68
Sweden.....	614	100

It is apparent that central government ownership and financing can slow the pace of cost increases as seen in the figure from Great Britain; but we do not want the British problem of underfinancing either (despite Britain's disclaimers of being too poor to allocate resources to the health services adequately in view of other priorities). Sweden, on the other hand, with decentralized government funding and apparently with a policy of generous financing, has increased expenditures by 614 per cent. This startling increase compared with the American increase of 174 is not the result of a planned policy but the result of a loose concept of expansion. The Swedes are now alarmed, however, and are wondering how to slow the pace of increase by planning. At the same time they are in a quandary because they are increasing their physician supply by 50 per cent within ten years, a sure fire way to increase total expenditures. When I break out expenditures for hospital and physician services, the same magnitude of increases occurs. It does seem, however, that in Great Britain physicians have been less successful in maintaining their relative position in the increases than the other health service components. In view of the capitation and salary methods of payment this would seem to be reasonable, but still the profession has hardly been supine. Everywhere the profession is in a strong bargaining position both for money and to control their destiny in any organized setting.

As a per cent of gross national income the United States proportion spent for health services moved from 5.3 per cent in 1950 to 7.4 per cent in 1966; Great Britain remained at 5 per cent, and Sweden doubled its proportion from 3.2 to 6.1 per cent. Now for a final set of figures from these countries indicating the relationship of expenditure for health services to the national income from 1950 to 1966. In the United States expenditures for health services increased 1.6 times as fast as did the national income; in Great Britain 0.9 times as fast, and in Sweden 2.2 times as fast.

The increase in hospital expenditure from a neighbor, Canada, which has had compulsory hospital insurance since 1956 (British Columbia and Saskatchewan earlier) further emphasizes that such insurance is not a universal answer to cost control. Per diem hospital expenditures rose 213 per cent in Canada from 1950 to 1967 and in the United States 148 per cent.¹⁰ There is obviously no easy road to cost controls.

It seems to me that universal and compulsory health insurance not only overpromises what it can deliver but it is also the wrong way to set priorities in the current context. In fact, its inauguration may well evade the severe problems, one of which is the poor, which I have mentioned earlier, a second of which is care for the long-term patient, most of them old, and, third, high cost episodes. Drawing on experienced and compassionate observers from Great Britain and Sweden, the present chief medical officer for Scotland wrote regarding the aged:

"Nothing will really flow smoothly in the (National) Health Service unless we reach an adequate stage of provision in our society for the elderly."¹¹

Health authorities in Great Britain pride themselves on their observation that the National Health Service always finds hospital beds for real emergencies, a rather elementary achievement it would seem for any system. From Sweden in the person of a Professor of Medicine, Karolinska Institute, comes a related observation, which divides patients into privileged and underprivileged:

"Privileged . . . will become anyone suffering from a sufficiently interesting disease to warrant special investigation and the assemblage of technical experts for diagnosis or treatment. The underprivileged will be the aged, the worn out, the deteriorated and,

perhaps still more, the psychologically maladapted—in short, the useless, the uninteresting, and the nuisance."¹²

Will the impending move toward universal and compulsory health insurance set priorities and allocate resources to cope with these needs adequately? The current drive stems, as in the voluntary health insurance movement, from a broad middle class consensus to contain costs and spread risk of acute episodes. These are worthy goals in themselves, but they risk overlooking less tractable problems unless our policies are clear in that respect.

What then seems to be emerging as a public policy recommendation from my attempt to think out loud is: increase the supply, allocate increasing resources of this increasing supply to the poor, the aged, and long-term illness and rehabilitation, induce voluntary health insurance and the self-sustaining element of the public to offer and pay for better health insurance benefits in the direction of high cost episodes, and the big buyers of services should bargain hard with the providers for certain types of delivery methods. If access becomes tight and care parsimonious, we will have a plush private system of medical care and a continuation of "private affluence and public squalor" in health services.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Andrew Shonfield, *Modern Capitalism: The Changing Balance of Public and Private Power*, London, Oxford University Press, 1969 (Reprinted with corrections, paper) p. 323.

² Morton Grodzins, *The American System: A New View of Government in the United States*, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966, (edited by Daniel J. Elazar).

³ Brian Abel-Smith, *An International Study of Health Expenditure and Its Relevance for Health Planning*, Public Health Papers No. 32, Geneva: World Health Organization, 1967.

⁴ See William A. Glaser, *Paying the Doctor: Systems of Remuneration and Their Effects*, Baltimore, Md., Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970.

⁵ Victor Fuchs, "The Economics of Health Care in the 70's", *Hospitals* 44: 70, Jan. 1, 1970.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Ray Brown, "Changing Management and Corporate Structure," *Hospitals* 44: 70, Jan. 1, 1970.

⁸ Alanson W. Willcox, "Public Vs. Private Sectors: A Further Shift in Power?" *Hospitals* 44: 67, Jan. 1, 1970.

⁹ Unpublished data from the Center for Health Administration Studies in preparation for a book by Odin W. Anderson comparing the health services in the three countries.

¹⁰ Ronald Andersen and John T. Hull, "Hospital Utilization and Cost Trends in Canada and the United States," *Health Services Research*, Fall, 1969.

¹¹ J. H. F. Brotherston, "Change and the National Health Service," *Scottish Medical Journal* 14: 131, 1969. (Reprint.)

¹² Gunnar Björck, "The Next Ten Years in Medicine: Attempts at Analysis of Factors Determining Medical and Social Development," *British Medical Journal* 2: 10, July 3, 1965. (Reprint.)

THE SACRIFICE OF THE GHETTO

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, 27 years ago the Jews of the Warsaw ghetto rose up against the Nazi behemoth. It was one of the milestones in the history of man's eternal quest for freedom.

On April 19, 1943, the Jewish organization in the ghetto under the leadership of Mordecai Anielewicz thrilled the entire world and revolted against the Nazis, and insurmountable odds.

Those who believe that the Jews in the ghetto were defeated are wrong; they were killed but they were not defeated. Death cannot overcome faith. Faith in God, faith in freedom, faith in the future. One does not really die if he lives in the minds of others.

It was faith that made children of 12 and 13 attack Nazi tanks with nothing but a gasoline filled bottle, and it was faith that made the Jews of the ghetto die without fear.

In recalling the sacrifice of the ghetto Jews we should not forget that the fight for religious and personal freedom is still being fought around the world. Jews in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are still seeking freedom.

In the Middle East the tiny state of Israel composed of many survivors of the Nazi terror is at the present also faced with annihilation by the surrounding Arab States. If the world has any conscience whatsoever, it must not allow the Arabs the opportunity to destroy the homeland of Israel.

The sacrifice of the ghetto is now only memory. But to many of us it is a living memory. The epitaph of the Jewish martyrs will be man's continued struggle for freedom against tyranny. It is this thought that I leave to my distinguished colleagues.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT ON NATIONAL HOUSING GOALS

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, more than a year ago I introduced a resolution calling for an investigation by the House Banking and Currency Committee of the high prices of lumber and plywood. That investigation was conducted and the committee recommended certain long-range solutions to the problem.

Among those recommendations was a legislative means to increase timber growing and harvesting on the national forests. After thorough hearings in the Subcommittee on Forests of the House Agriculture Committee, and substantial amendment of the original bills cosponsored by 63 Members on both sides of the aisle, the full Agriculture Committee voted out H.R. 12025, the National Forest Timber Supply and Conservation Act. There was only one dissenting vote on that committee. The Rules Committee granted a rule.

But, in the face of emotional opposition based upon earlier versions of the bill and with the erroneous conception that the Nation did not actually face serious problems in softwood lumber and plywood supply, the House voted 228 to 150 on February 26 not even to debate the legislation.

On April 2, President Nixon, in accordance with statutory obligations, submitted the "Second Annual Report on National Housing Goals." Printed as House Document No. 91-292, it became available last Friday. I list below for your attention pages 36 and 37 of that House document:

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT ON NATIONAL HOUSING GOALS
BUILDING MATERIALS

The studies conducted during the past year conclude that the Nation's suppliers of building materials probably can meet without difficulty most of the demands stemming from an expansion of housing production in line with the 10-year goals. In most materials supplying industries there is either ample unused capacity and/or evidence of sustained growth that would meet increased demand resulting from the projected levels of housing production. One major problem area is apparent, namely, the projected increase in the need for lumber and wood products. Only through substantial efforts to increase the supply of softwood timber and to develop adequate lumber substitutes will the threatened "lumber barrier" be overcome. Supplies of finished materials that depend upon copper or alloys of copper, and of some fabricated metals products may also present problems at times—though not so serious as to become major impediments to expanded housing activity.

Lumber

The problem of softwood lumber and plywood was underscored by the spectacular rise of lumber and plywood prices in the winter of 1968-69 when housing production temporarily expanded. By April 1969, a broad index of lumber prices was up to a level more than 60 percent above the 1962-67 average. This spectacular price rise partly reflected supply shortages caused by unusually severe weather conditions that hindered both logging and shipping. Also, freight cars were not available in adequate numbers to transport lumber, and imports of plywood had been delayed by the longshoreman's strike. The price trend was finally reversed by a series of effective actions by the administration to release additional amounts of stumpage, cut back Government purchases of lumber plywood, and improve the availability of freight cars for shipping. Meanwhile, housing production was also declining sharply, which contributed to the reversal in the rise of lumber and plywood prices. As a result, by the end of the summer of 1969, lumber prices were down 21.6 percent from their earlier peak. The ratio of lumber prices to the overall wholesale price index remained, however, about 11 percent above its 1962-27 average.

This volatility of softwood lumber and plywood prices made imperative a careful special examination of the impact on these prices that was likely to result from efforts to achieve the housing goals. The analysis undertaken considered probable demands for softwood lumber and plywood stemming both from the housing industry and from the remainder of the economy. The study showed that only through an accelerated management program in both public and private forests could there be any reasonable expectation of adequate supplies of such lumber over the decade to meet all the likely needs at reasonable prices.

Projections of lumber supply and expected demand indicate that sufficient softwood lumber and plywood should be forthcoming approximately at current price levels during fiscal 1970 and 1971. Beginning in 1972, however, supply probably will not keep up with likely demand at current prices, as shown in table XV. The estimated deficit rises from 1 billion to 8.5 billion board feet a year by 1976.

TABLE XV.—ESTIMATED SUPPLY AND DEMAND FOR SOFTWOOD LUMBER AND PLYWOOD¹

Fiscal year	Demand ²			Present management		Accelerated management	
	Total	Housing	Other	Supply	Surplus or deficit	Supply	Surplus or deficit
Average of:							
1968-69	50.0	15.5	34.5	50.0			
1970	49.0	13.6	35.4	51.0	+2.0	52.4	+3.7
1971	50.3	14.5	35.8	52.4	+2.1	54.8	+5.0
1972	54.1	17.6	36.5	53.1	-1.0	56.6	+3.0
1973	57.6	20.6	37.0	53.7	-3.9	58.6	+2.0
1974	60.9	23.3	37.6	54.1	-6.8	59.9	+2.0
1975	63.1	24.8	38.3	54.7	-8.4	61.5	-0.2
1976	63.8	24.7	39.1	55.3	-8.5	63.2	-1.0
1977	64.4	24.4	40.0	55.9	-8.5	64.9	-2.1
1978	65.0	24.0	41.0	56.5	-8.5	66.5	+3.3

¹ Assumes that prices shown are 113 percent of the 1962-67 average wholesale prices for all lumber and plywood. This is the level reached after the severe pressure on lumber prices in 1968-69 had abated.

² This table is based on a moderately different composition of new and rehabilitated units over the decade than shown in the projected production schedule for the national housing goal.

To head off likely pressure on lumber prices, there is a need for a well-conceived program of accelerated forest management, which would permit an increase in the rate of growth of timber and utilization of mature timber, while preserving the multiple use and sustained yield characteristics of the national forests. Steps along lines proposed in the National Forest Timber Conservation and Management Act will help solve this potential lumber shortage while preserving the essential natural character of our forests. There must be a comprehensive effort at timber planning and harvesting; reforestation; construction of additional access roads for increased lumber, recreation, park lands, and other uses, and resource protection from fire, pests, and other improvements. A research program to increase softwood saw-timber growth potential and productivity and to improve utilization of forest products should also be undertaken.

If a program of accelerated management of our forests is initiated, the yield of lumber—particularly from our national forests—can be increased while preserving the principle of sustained yield and the character of these forests as multiple-use resources as presently required by law. Without such a program, unless we have major changes in our technology, we can anticipate rapidly rising lumber prices coupled with a shortage in supply. It must be emphasized that even with an accelerated management program, softwood lumber and plywood prices will rise somewhat in the years ahead. This will, of course, encourage the development and use of substitutes for softwood lumber.

They deal with building materials generally and softwood and lumber particularly. I urge your careful reading of the harsh realities facing our accomplishment of the national housing goals set, not by the administration, but by the Congress.

The President's report states:

To head off likely pressure on lumber prices, there is a need for a well-conceived program of accelerated forest management, which would permit an increase in the rate of growth of timber and utilization of mature timber, while preserving the multiple use and sustained yield characteristics of the national forests. Steps along lines proposed in the National Forest Timber Conservation and Management Act will help solve this potential lumber shortage while preserving the essential natural character of our forests.

The facts of wood construction materials are clearly apparent in table XV of the President's report. Without sound timber management programs on national forests the Nation can anticipate

a deficit of 1 billion board feet of softwood construction materials as early as 1972 which will increase to 8.5 billion board feet in 6 years and be sustained at that depressing level. With sound timber management on the national forests we will be able to meet all of our wood products needs, including building the homes our people require, and suffer only one supply deficit year through 1978. Even the year when our demand exceeds our supply, 1975, will find us with a deficit of only 200 million feet.

I bring these facts to your attention so that when the House next has the opportunity to take forthright action to convert our national forest timber programs from wastefulness and neglect to true conservation and wise utilization there will be none among us who will fail to understand the direct correlation between national housing goals and sound forest management.

GUSTAV A. LOFSTROM

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, it is not unusual for fraternal organizations to honor one of their own for outstanding service and dedication. It has been done many times by many such organizations.

But, recently in McKeesport, Pa., in my 20th Congressional District, Lodge 136, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks honored one man in memory of all deceased members of the lodge. The lodge dedicated a ritual clock to Gustav A. Lofstrom, a brother who was shot and killed last year attempting to prevent an armed robbery at the premises. The clock which will chime each evening at 11 o'clock when Elks throughout the world pause in prayer for all deceased brethren, was unveiled by two of Mr. Lofstrom's brothers: Walter T. Lofstrom, former McKeesport police chief, and Ernest Lofstrom, a trustee of the lodge.

The solemn dedication ceremonies were conducted by George Kerecman, exalted ruler of the lodge; Clifford W. Flegal, Sr., a trustee; Stanley Sieracki, chaplain; Samuel A. Weitzner, Thomas E. Vasilich, Edward Macko, John E. Wil-

liams, Robert Herr, Edward Silec, Walter J. Will, and McKeesport mayor, Zoran Popovich.

I would like to commend the McKeesport Elks for their tribute to Mr. Lofstrom and their remembrance of all their departed brethren.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues a resolution which was adopted by the Polish American Congress, Eastern Pennsylvania District, at the May 3 Polish Constitution Day observance held at the Shrine of Our Lady of Czestochowa, Doylestown, Pa., on Sunday, May 3, 1970.

The eastern Pennsylvania district of the Polish American Congress represents a five-county metropolitan area comprised of over a quarter million Americans of Polish descent whose ties of affection to this Nation have been especially strong for over 200 years.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS,
EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA DISTRICT

Adopted at the May 3rd Constitution Observance in the National Shrine of Our Lady of Czestochowa, Doylestown, Pennsylvania, on May 3, 1970, under the Sponsorship of the Polish American Congress, Eastern Pennsylvania District.

Assembled on this 3rd day of May, 1970, at the Shrine of Our Lady of Czestochowa, Doylestown, Pennsylvania, to commemorate the 179th Anniversary of the adoption of the May 3rd, 1791, Constitution by the Republic of Poland, we pay tribute to the authors of that noble document whose principles of the dignity of man, of freedom, justice and democracy have been inspired by our American Declaration of Independence. Appraising the current in the area of the United States commitments abroad, we resolve:

1. To support the United States Government in its search for an honorable, permanent and just solution to the Southeast Asian crisis that involved us in the present struggle against the conspiratorial and aggressive forces of communism, and President Nixon's quest for world peace and American security through meaningful and safeguarded accommodations instead of confrontation with our ideological and political adversaries. We realize that the expansionist policy of red tyranny must be stopped now, for the safety of the free world and for sustaining promise to the enslaved nations longing for freedom and deliverance from oppressive tyranny.

2. To make a qualifying statement to our support of the policy of "building bridges to the East." It is our considered opinion that promising results can be gained through such a policy,—namely, lessening the international tensions and increasing cultural and economic exchanges, for the mutual benefit of the United States and of the peoples economic ills and shortcomings under the inept communist planning. However, we strongly feel, that economic co-operation and concessions should be arranged in such a way, as to assure maximum benefits to the peoples of the satellite countries, and not to their red regimes.

3. We submit that the time is ripe for the United States to follow the examples of France, Norway, Belgium, Israel and other countries of the free world, and declare that the United States considers the Odra-Nysa boundary between Germany and Poland as permanent and inviolable, subject only to final ratification by a peace treaty as provided in the Potsdam Agreement of 1945.

4. We dedicate our spiritual strength and all our worldly goods to the defense and perpetuation of the American Way of Life.

5. According to press reports, confirmed by the State Department, NATO has worked out a strategic plan which provides for a nuclear attack on Poland and Czechoslovakia in case of Soviet aggression against Western Europe. We strongly protest against this possible plan to genocide innocent people who thru centuries adhered to western culture. In case of Soviet aggression, we believe that nuclear attack should be a direct retaliation against the aggressors.

HENRY J. WYSZYNSKI, *President.*
MICHAEL J. BEDNAREK, *Esq.,*
Chairman of Resolution Committee.

LET THIS MADNESS CEASE

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, this editorial from today's Christian Science Monitor needs no additional comment:

LET THIS MADNESS CEASE

Let this madness cease.

By some evil alchemy of events the United States has increasingly found itself to be an embittered, sundered, hatred-ridden nation. And now it has found itself with a supreme tragedy on its hands: two young men and two young women killed because of youth's passionate clash with society.

It is crucially important that this tragedy bring all Americans to their senses, to a realization of the perilous path they are treading, to a determination to reexamine the needs and the methods which have brought the country to this tragic situation. For this is less and less the "blest America" of two centuries of vision. It is more and more like a snarling jungle.

No sector of society, no center of power, no area of leadership is free from the responsibility which attaches itself to these national circumstances. Its weight lies upon public leadership which has often not been sensitive or constructive enough. It involves the failure of the American public as a whole to move fast enough to do away with racial, social, economic injustices. It involves an intellectual community which has too frequently failed to distinguish between constructive open-mindedness and irresponsible permissiveness. It has been fed by a failure on the part of too many young people to distinguish between the rightness of objectives and the wrongness of methods.

If the nation as a whole does not see and recognize such truths, and bend its will to seek a greater degree of progressive consensus, it may have many sad lessons to learn.

Yet we are confident that the right lesson will be learned. Indeed, we can foresee how the tragedy at Kent State University can serve as a warning bell in the ear of every sincere thoughtful American, calling him to a reassessment of current attitudes, objectives, and methods.

We urge President Nixon to greater efforts to achieve that "bringing together" which America so clearly hoped would be the hallmark of his administration. While there can be no disagreement with the basic truth of his statement that "when dissent turns to violence, it invites tragedy," a more uniting touch is what is now called for.

And we urge all Americans to remember that America's great strength and progress have come from an essential unity in diversity. It is a land of many peoples and many concepts. But it has, throughout its history, held to certain unifying principles and certain universally benefiting goals. A return to this state of thought will open new paths of progress in which all can join.

GOOD FOR YOU, DAD!

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I suspect there are more than a few parents who will applaud the recent action of a father in Waterloo, Iowa.

His son was among 11 students released after spending 7 days in jail for violating a court injunction in connection with disturbances at a student disciplinary hearing at the University of Northern Iowa in Cedar Falls. They were greeted by some 50 fellow students with kisses and embraces, but for the one boy it was not an enjoyable "coming-out party"—thanks to his no-nonsense father.

The man, with crewcut hair, firmly escorted his half-bawling son with shoulder-length hair to a car and shoved him in the back seat. When the boy rolled down the car window and shouted to his friends, his father turned and pushed him down on the seat and the car sped away.

What we badly need in this country, Mr. Speaker, is much more parental discipline such as this, including an old-fashioned session in the woodshed.

For a more complete account of the incident, I call the attention of my colleagues to the following article which appeared in the Des Moines Register:

SON GREETED BY IRATE DAD

(By Jack Hovelson)

WATERLOO, IOWA.—There was a "coming-out party" Friday morning outside the back door of the Black Hawk County Courthouse, but it wasn't enjoyed by all.

Fifty University of Northern Iowa students—and one irate father—met 11 students who were being released after spending seven days in jail for violating a court injunction.

KISSES, CAKE

Those who were released were greeted with kisses, embraces and a birthday cake. The latter was in honor of one of the 11 who celebrated his twenty-first birthday on Wednesday—in the jail.

It was a far different greeting, however, for the one book-laden youth who walked out of the courthouse into the arms of his father.

The man grabbed the boy's arm, guided him through the courthouse parking lot, across a street, through another block-long parking area, and then along a sidewalk until they were out of sight.

CAME BACK

Minutes later they came back to the courthouse lot. All the time, it appeared that the man was looking for his car.

At one point, the half-sobbing boy with shoulder-length hair cried out to his friends, "Call the police! I'm being kidnaped!"

His father, with crewcut hair, finally found the car he was looking for. Another man was in the driver's seat.

PUSHED DOWN

The boy, after being pushed into the back seat, rolled down a window and shouted out to his friends. His father turned from the front seat and pushed him down. The car drove off.

In all, 28 young people—all but two of them U.N.I. students—have been jailed here for contempt of court in connection with disturbances at a student disciplinary hearing April 20-21 in the U.N.I. administration building.

THE TRACTOR ACCIDENT PROBLEM

HON. NEAL SMITH

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, on May 5 the House of Representatives adopted the conference report on H.R. 10105, which would extend and improve the auto safety law passed by Congress in 1966. In spite of the progress made under this law, traffic accidents on our Nation's streets and highways continue to claim a tragic number of deaths and injuries each year and I believe most Members agree that we should maintain and improve our auto safety program.

I want to comment on section 8 of the bill, which provides that the Department of Transportation prepare a report on the agricultural tractor accident problem and submit it to the Congress by January 1, 1971. This provision, except for the date of submission, is the same as the amendment which I offered on the floor of the House last year and I want to thank the members of the committee for their efforts in retaining it in the bill as originally adopted.

Assuming that H.R. 10105 clears Congress fairly promptly and is signed into law without any undue delay, the Department of Transportation will have about 8 months to prepare the report before the required deadline. I believe this will give the Department adequate time and, as author of this amendment, I want to state that section 8 does not contemplate an exhaustive or highly technical report requiring extensive research and testing.

Instead, it was drafted with the idea that the Department would draw together and evaluate the information already available, both inside and outside the Federal Government, and present it to the Congress in a single document together with whatever legislative recommendations the Department feels are needed. In this connection, the amendment specifically provides, in the final paragraph, that other Federal officials

shall provide the Department upon request with any information they possess concerning agriculture tractor accidents and otherwise provide assistance.

The U.S. Public Health Service, under its injury control program, has already financed a number of studies on agricultural tractor accidents. The National Safety Council also has gathered some information on the problem. I also assume the Department will want to consult with farm tractor manufacturers and draw on their knowledge and experience in preparing the report.

I do think that agricultural tractor accidents constitute a serious safety problem that has been ignored for too long by the Federal Government. According to the best information available, the fatality rate for agricultural tractors is one death for each 7.3 million miles traveled, as compared with one death for each 14.9 million miles traveled by automobile. In other words, the fatality rate for tractors is double that for automobiles.

Actually, the fatality rate for tractors is probably even higher than these figures reflect. One of the problems in this area is that there is presently no accurate reporting system for agricultural tractor accidents and the statistics now available are gathered almost entirely from newspaper clippings.

I believe the Department of Transportation is the logical Federal agency to prepare this report. According to one survey covering 13 States, about 30 percent of the tractor fatalities studied occurred on roads or highways. The basic cause of tractor accidents, both on roads or on farms, appears to be that the vehicle's center of gravity is high and that it overturns when on a slope. Any solution to this problem should reduce the number of deaths and injuries on both roads and farms.

I want to make clear that I have not formed a definite opinion as to what kind of Federal legislation is needed to deal with the tractor safety problem. I do not think the Congress can really act intelligently in this area until after it has received the Department's report. I do think, however, that a large number of persons are killed or injured needlessly every year as the result of tractor accidents. In authorizing this report, the Congress for the first time is officially recognizing the seriousness of the tractor safety problem and I am hopeful that the Department of Transportation will prepare the report and its recommendations in the same spirit.

As I mentioned earlier, our present statistical information on tractor accidents is based almost entirely upon newspaper clippings. One of my constituents, Mrs. Phyllis Brierty, of Boone, Iowa, who shares my concern over this problem, has been faithfully collecting newspaper reports of tractor accidents and mailing them to me. As an indication of the gravity of the problem, I am including in the RECORD clippings Mrs. Brierty has collected from August 1969 through March 1970.

The clippings, which I am sure represent only a portion of the tractor accidents in Iowa during that time, follow:

TRACTOR TIPS OVER ON RUSSELL WILLIAMS

A Crawfordville man, Russell Williams, was injured in a tractor accident this morning. Reports indicate the accident occurred about one-half mile northeast of Crawfordville. Williams was mowing grass, along a gravel road, when the tractor tipped over. Although injured, he was able to turn off the tractor.

Williams was found, along the road, by a passing motorist, Randy Davis, about 7:30 a.m. He was taken to Washington County Hospital, where he was transferred to University Hospital, Iowa City.

The extent of his injuries or his condition is unknown.

Highway patrolman Lyle Hansen who investigated the mishap, said Williams was pulling a mulcher behind his tractor up a slight incline when the tractor flipped over backward, pinning the driver underneath.

Preliminary reports on X-rays showed he suffered a badly crushed knee and a fractured right arm and possible other injuries.

The accident occurred on land owned by Mr. Williams, near the Jim Edgar farm.

TRACTOR KILLS CRESCO YOUTH

CRESCO, IOWA.—Steven Teetshorn, 16, of rural Cresco was killed Wednesday evening when a tractor he was driving overturned in a pasture about seven miles northeast of here, authorities said.

They said the tractor apparently tipped into a shallow hole, pinning the boy's head under the seat.

The accident occurred about 7:30 p.m. on the Clarence Bronner farm, where the youth lived and worked.

Surviving are his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Teetshorn, two sisters and a brother. Services will be at 2 p.m. Saturday in the First Lutheran Church in Cresco.

TRACTOR UPSETS, KILLS IOWAN, 62

AVOCA, IOWA.—Herbert L. Sievers, 62, of rural Walnut was killed Wednesday when a tractor he was driving upset on a Pottawattamie County gravel road about two miles southwest of here, officers said.

They said the tractor toppled, pinning him, as he was driving onto the shoulder of the road to let another tractor driven by a neighbor, Paul Simonsen, pass.

Surviving Mr. Sievers are his wife, his mother, two brothers and a sister.

TRACTOR ACCIDENT FATAL TO IOWAN, 74

MASON CITY, IOWA.—Martin J. Bartacek, 74, of rural Bradford, died Thursday in a Mason City hospital of injuries suffered Sept. 6 in a tractor accident near his home.

Driving the tractor pulling a plow on a Franklin County gravel road about 1 1/4 miles north of Bradford, he was run over when the rig went off the road about 5:15 p.m.

TRACTOR KILLS NEWTON BOY, 10

NEWTON, IOWA.—Terrance David Wormley, 10, son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Wormley of rural Newton, was killed about 5:30 p.m. Monday when the tractor he was driving overturned and pinned him in a ditch.

Jasper County Deputy Sheriff Wayne Rorabaugh said the tractor upset at the foot of a hill at a gravel road T-intersection when the boy was unable to negotiate a turn.

The accident occurred about five miles north of Newton, about 1/2-mile from the Wormley farm.

LOSES ARM AFTER TRACTOR ACCIDENT

OTTUMWA, IOWA.—Mrs. Betty Hindman, 21, of rural Albia was reported in good condition Monday in the Ottumwa Hospital following amputation of her right arm, injured in a farm tractor accident.

Her unborn child, expected in about a month, apparently was not injured, hospital attendants said.

Her arm was crushed beneath the tractor about 6:15 p.m. Sunday when it overturned as she and her husband, Charles, were packing silage at their farm about four miles east of Albia.

TRACTOR DEATH

BANKSTON.—A rural Bankston man was killed Monday night when his tractor backed into a large tree limb.

Authorities said Thomas Duggan, 63, was crushed between the tractor steering wheel and the limb. They said Duggan had left home about 6:30 p.m., and neighbors found his body about 8 p.m.

TRACTOR MISHAP FATAL TO BOY

COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA.—Steven Craig Hogue, 14, of rural Council Bluffs died Sunday in a hospital here from injuries suffered a short time earlier in an accident on the family farm.

He was helping his stepfather, Harry Foote, start the tractor when the accident occurred, authorities said.

The boy was disconnecting a tow chain between a truck and the tractor when the tractor started, pinning him between the vehicles, they said.

Services will be at 2 p.m. Wednesday at Meyer Funeral Home here. Surviving are his parents, five brothers, a half-brother and two stepsisters.

INJURED IN ACCIDENT

Earl Moore of Madrid, who was injured in a tractor accident, Thursday, Oct. 9, was transferred from the Boone County Hospital to the Iowa Methodist Hospital in Des Moines, where he underwent emergency surgery.

BOY, 14, KILLED IN TRACTOR UPSET

WALKER, IOWA.—Michael Sackett, 14, son of Mr. and Mrs. Willard Sackett of rural Walker, was killed Tuesday morning when a farm tractor he was driving overturned off a Linn County road about two miles west of here, Sheriff Walter Grant said.

Grant said the accident occurred when the boy apparently lost control of the tractor as he was turning a corner. He was pinned by the vehicle and his body was found about an hour later by a mailman, the sheriff said.

MOTHER KILLED IN TRACTOR MISHAP

NEVADA, IOWA.—Mrs. Arthur Borton, 27-year-old mother of two, was killed when the tractor she was driving overturned and crushed her at about 2:30 p.m. Saturday on a country road about a mile from her home.

The Bortons live on a farm about seven miles northwest of Nevada. She was pulling two empty wagons with the tractor when the accident occurred, authorities said.

ELKHART MAN DIES IN TRACTOR MISHAP

Ed Mason, 77, of Elkhart, died Monday of injuries suffered in a tractor accident near Elkhart, authorities said. Mason was dead on arrival at Iowa Lutheran Hospital about 3:15 p.m.

DIES AS TRACTOR IS OVERTURNED

ELWOOD, IOWA.—John C. Gohlmann, 28, of Lost Nation was killed Friday when the tractor he was operating overturned while removing snow from a driveway.

The accident occurred at the home of his brother-in-law, Raymond Burke, who lives two miles west of here.

IOWA TOT KILLED IN TRACTOR MISHAP

LEWIS, IOWA.—Patrick Netzt, about 4, son of Mr. and Mrs. Roger Netzt of rural Lewis, was killed Wednesday afternoon when he was run over by a tractor in the driveway of his farm home about eight miles southeast of here, Cass County sheriff's officers said. Offi-

cers said the boy apparently fell off the tractor, driven by his father.

TRACTOR FLIPS—BOY, 7, KILLED

OAKLAND, IOWA.—Kendell Bates, seven-year-old son of Mr. and Mrs. Dean Bates of rural Griswold, was killed Saturday when a farm tractor overturned on him seven miles east, 1¼ miles south of here.

Authorities said his brother, Randall, 15, was operating the tractor which apparently got too close to the shoulder of the road and upset.

The boy was dead on arrival at the Cass County Memorial Hospital in Atlantic.

DRIVING TRACTOR, WOMAN IS KILLED

AUDUBON, IOWA.—An Audubon County woman was killed Wednesday when the tractor she was driving veered off a bridge and crushed her.

Dead is Joyce Irlmeier, 22, of rural Gray. Authorities said the accident happened about eight miles northeast of here.

TRACTOR MISHAP KILLS IOWAN, 54

KNOXVILLE, IOWA.—Lloyd Vroegh, 54, of rural Knoxville was killed Saturday evening in a tractor accident on his farm.

Authorities said Vroegh's clothing became entangled in the power takeoff of his tractor. They said he was dragged with the machine, which overturned in a ditch.

Vroegh was found by his wife.

Services will be at 2 p.m. Tuesday at the First Reformed Church here, with burial at Graceland Cemetery. Besides his wife, he is survived by three daughters, a son, a sister, and three brothers.

TRACTOR KILLS SUTHERLAND MAN

SUTHERLAND, IOWA.—John Edward Giese, 54, of rural Sutherland, was killed Monday afternoon when a tractor he was driving overturned on him on a county gravel road about four miles north of here.

Authorities said Giese's tractor was pulling a truck when the accident occurred. The occupant of the truck, Thomas Triplett, 45, of Sutherland, was not injured.

CYLINDER YOUTH DIES IN MISHAP

EMMETTSBURG, IOWA.—John H. DePue, 14, of Cylinder, was killed Saturday when the tractor he was driving left a Palo Alto county road about eight miles east of here.

Authorities said DePue, son of Mr. and Mrs. Henry DePue, was hauling a load of hay when the accident occurred.

FLOYD MOORE, 14, DIES OF INJURIES

CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA.—Floyd Moore, 14, foster son of Mr. and Mrs. Richard Allbones of rural Center Point, died Friday night at St. Luke's Methodist Hospital of injuries he suffered Mar. 7, when he fell off a tractor in Center Point.

Police said the tractor was driven by the youth's older foster brother. The boy apparently was run over by a wagon hitched to the tractor, officers said.

TRACTOR ACCIDENT KILLS OSAGE MAN

OSAGE, IOWA.—John Klemesrud, 37, of rural Osage, was killed in a tractor accident about seven miles west of here Wednesday morning.

The Mitchell County sheriff's office said the tractor, pulling wagons loaded with slage, went off the gravel road and turned over, pinning Klemesrud under it.

Services will be at 2 p.m. Saturday at the Rock Creek Lutheran Church in rural Osage. Surviving are his wife, three sons and four daughters.

TRACTOR ACCIDENT KILLS DUNLAP BOY

DUNLAP, IOWA.—A rural Dunlap farm youth, Joseph Benedict, 18, was killed

Wednesday when the tractor he was driving ran off a Harrison County road and overturned on him.

Harrison County Deputy Sheriff Gerald Matheny said the youth, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Martin Benedict, was killed when the rear wheels of the tractor slipped off the road and the vehicle overturned.

WAR VICTIMS

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I would like to think that the overwhelming majority of our people share a sense of almost overwhelming sadness at the deaths of the four young students who were shot down on the campus of Kent State University. Surely, this will go down as one of the more deplorable incidents in our history. It is not my purpose now to assess blame for the shooting to individuals. Such an assessment must await the results of an official investigation. But in a larger sense, it is an inescapable fact that this terrible event would not have occurred were it not for the recent assault launched upon Cambodia by the United States. It is impossible to overestimate the atmosphere of dismay and frustration which this assault has engendered among our young people. I think the situation has been placed in proper perspective by the enclosed editorial which appeared in the Easton Express on May 5, 1970. The editorial requires no further comment from me:

WAR VICTIMS

The ugly countenance of violence and official overresponse was shown again in our nation yesterday when four of our young people were shot to death and several others injured by Ohio National Guardsmen on the Kent State University campus.

Provocation appears to have been great, and, in the face of it, the guardsmen exercised what their commander said is a military man's "option"—to fire if his life is in danger.

The guardsmen were confronting about 500 students demonstrating against President Nixon's escalation of the war in Southeast Asia. A few of those students evidently were armed—at least according to the guardsmen's report that they were fired upon.

Nevertheless the military unit opened fire at close range into the entire gathering of young demonstrators, and two young men and two young women died, none of whom, according to accounts of the tragic incident, possessed guns.

The guardsmen's reaction was wholly senseless, unnecessary and unpardonable. No justification is possible for firing into the ranks of hundreds of young people, killing and maiming, to repress a few radicals among them. But it is the kind of overresponse that has diminished respect for the forces of law and order.

And it was the sort of agony which can be expected to burgeon so long as the tragic divisions fostered by the war continue to plague the American society. Violence begets violence, and it is no more tolerable in a helpless Cambodian hamlet than it is on the campus of a midwestern university.

The administration's election promise to

put an end to American involvement in the Southeast Asian war appears to have been forsaken. And the tragic incident at Kent State does not reflect responsible official policy—a sane approach to "law and order."

We cannot regard the young people who were slain and wounded by the guardsmen as "bums," effete snobs or extremists. They, too, are victims of the war, the monumental irrationality of power politics and war and what they do to men's minds. We all ought to be wearing black armbands today to express moral outrage as well as mourning.

NAZI CONCENTRATION CAMPS

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the 20th century unfolded the most horrible chapters against mankind, and such names as Auschwitz, Dachau, and Babi Yar became known to the world as places where genocide was practiced against millions of human beings.

Most of these who perished in the gas chambers set up by the Nazis died in terror, fear, and confusion, as mass graves and crematoriums of Chelmo, Treblinka, Majdanek, and Sachsenhausen filled with awful swiftness.

In humanity's struggle for dignity, justice, and brotherhood and in terms of the world's progress for reverence of life, these Nazi concentration camps stand out in bold and terrifying detail as the greatest crime of mankind against a fellow human.

Mr. Speaker, much has been said and written about these terrible concentration camps and what went on behind these fenced in enclosures. At this time I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article from the Polish American, a weekly newspaper widely circulated among the Americans of Polish extraction. This is an eloquent real account of what happened at one of these Nazi camps and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

[From Polish American, Apr. 11, 1970]

THE ROAD TO MAJDANEK AND BACK

(By Kazimierz Wdziezny)

(NOTE.—The following story is a real account of a few days in the infamous Majdanek concentration camp which the Nazis set up. We reprint it here from *Poland* magazine in tribute to all those who were shamelessly murdered by the joint enemies and executors of Poland, the Nazis and the Soviets.)

That night, we slept on the bare ground in a barrack. In the morning, beating us with sticks, they drove us like cattle to the roll-call grounds. We were ordered to take along with us the first corpse, a certain Gajewski from Warsaw in order to add one more person to the total in our block. This was our first encounter with the concentration camp and of what went on there. This was the concentration camp of which we had heard whispered reports and of which we had read in the underground newspapers.

Barracks 17 and 19 in Sector III were full of people with typhus and typhoid fever. Regular quotas were taken from these barracks for the gas chambers. Standing idly in

rows lined up for the roll call, we observed emaciated prisoners being driven up in huge wagons and then saw two of the stronger prisoners tossing in the living and the dead. This was a horrible sight. Some of the sick caught at the edge of the wagon or poked their heads out from under a pile of corpses begging for mercy or shouting incoherently in various languages. They were shoved back and covered by another pile of bodies. We were transfixed with horror. This was cold reality, even if it did seem like a terrible nightmare which could not last.

Choked sobs escaped from the youngsters who were lined up with us. Stasio Nadert, who had been arrested for singing in trains wept the hardest. That was our first roll call and our first impression of the concentration camp.

After the evening roll call, at which a few of us were beaten, our hopes began to revive. We were given a taste of coffee and a small slice of bread. Then blankets were brought in. They were crawling with lice although we could not see them in the dark. We felt them as soon as we lay down on the ground. Some men tossed away the blankets. These were caught up by men who had nothing but their thin clothing to protect them against the cold. After a while two older prisoners came in to take away the coffee kettles. We asked them about conditions here. "This is death. This is your end," they replied. "You saw this morning. That's your fate, that's all you can expect of life here." One of our group rushed at them shouting "Shut up!"

"We're going," one of the older prisoners replied, "tomorrow you'll see who'll be loaded on the wagons." They left. The rest of us fell silent as if struck dumb with terror at the fate that awaited us. The following morning confirmed their evil predictions. Among the sick men stripped naked and writhing in the snow were many Poles and prisoners of other nationalities.

DISEASE STRIKES

The blankets issued to us began to have their effect. In the course of a single week typhus and pneumonia broke out in every barrack. We were starved but everything was still fine because we still had our own clothing and many of us had warm winter underwear. But even this was taken away from us. Two weeks after our arrival in the concentration camp, we were marched to the bath. We saw our prison bundles with our underwear and the things given us by our families being carried out of the barracks we had just left.

In groups of fifty we were herded into the *Effektenkammer* barrack (Dressing Room Barrack) where we were stripped to the bare skin and our clothing checked. It was so cold that our mustaches and beards were covered with icicles. We ran to the baths across high drifts of snow but had to wait at the door until the first group finished its bath.

After washing, running on the double, we quickly caught the striped prison uniforms issued to us and, hurrying outside, pulled on the thin shirts and the lice-infested prison rags. The day I was sent to the bath was freezing. Our wet hair turned into a cap of ice which we tried to melt by rubbing it with our stiff frozen hands. Directly after the bath, we reported for the roll call in nothing but our thin clothes. The roll call lasted three and a half hours. That was when our companion Dunin-Wasowicz, an old man of 67, died.

We were taken to Sector IV which we called death row. Typhus fever raged in all the barracks. There were about 200 dead and from 200 to 300 taken sick in the sector each day. The sick were dragged to barracks 7 and 9, which we used to call the *Gamelblock* (Stinkers' block). Once every week those who had survived were disposed of by being taken to the gas chambers.

One day I had such a terrible headache and my legs felt so weak that I could not

stand up to the end of the roll call. I knelt down and although a *Kapo* kicked me, I just didn't have the strength to rise or to crawl to my *Kommando* (work detail). The others marched out to their duties. The sick who remained in the yard—there were about 150 of us—were pushed and prodded or dragged by their feet to the *Gamelblock*. Some of the others who went there with me were: Jozef Marszalek, director of the Agricultural Bank of Warsaw, Lecki—a young composer from Warsaw, Ilowiecki—president of the Warsaw division of the RGO. They all died.

The barrack was filthy, the bare ground covered with mud, snow and feces. Scores of still-living prisoners were writhing in this awful mess.

Under the wall, arranged neatly in roll-call order, lay last night's crop: four rows of corpses. After a while they were loaded onto wagons. Weak as I was, I crawled among prisoners, looking for a clean place to die like an animal. My tongue felt as dry as a stick. But there was no water available in Sector IV, not even for those who were able to work.

The most carefully scooped up snow was mixed with excrement. Even one's last hour here was a struggle. I felt cold although the snowflakes immediately melted as they fell on me. I snuggled up to my third prisoner, but he soon grew cold like the previous two. I couldn't understand why I suffered this punishment. Why couldn't I die? Death seemed to come so easily to others. Wednesday. Was I to capture the record and survive until Saturday so that they could kill me by gas? I didn't want that. Saturday was still too far off. But there was a chance I might die before then. I wished for death.

DEATH HOVERS

Everything else in this world seemed unreal. I no longer thought about it. I thought and hoped for death. Yet death refused to come.

Amidst the moans I groped at night for the living in order to warm my trembling body. The prayers I had learned from my mother would not pass my lips. It was not my suffering that was unbearable but the tragic cries of the dying.

Thursday morning. They dragged in a new batch of sick prisoners. I greeted my comrades with silence. They too remained silent. No one talked or spoke here. Half-crazed thoughts assaulted our minds. One conversed in one's mind with those who were far away. I was still alive and waiting. The thought occurred to me that Dante's fantasy was nothing compared to my reality. He had no source to draw on for his hell. He had not seen Majdanek.

This could not go on much longer. "Luck" must finally smile on me—I too must find my paradise in death. Only then would I be free of my oppressors and of all those hideous atrocities that made the world unacceptable and repulsive. Curses even against my mother forced themselves to my lips even though she was sacred to me. Unfortunately, I began to feel better. I was not so sick any more. My agony would continue until Saturday. Why did everything seem so clear to me? Why could I not be like a dumb animal mutely awaiting the decrees of Providence?

I collected the last vestiges of strength and began to search among the corpses for something I could use. I found a belt which I tied to mine. Swaying and falling to the ground several times but fully conscious of my purpose, I climbed onto the latrine and calmly and without any emotion I carefully made a noose which would bring release from life and from being thrown alive into the gas chamber.

Thinking of my mother, I jumped off the latrine. But as luck would have it, one of the belts snapped. I set out to look for another.

All the corpses I searched looked as if they were unhappy in the other world as well.

LIFE RETURNS

I was overwhelmed by emotion and by a sudden rush of desire to live. No, that was weakness. I found a length of strong wire and tied it to my belt. This time I would surely escape from life. A star lit up before my eyes, there was a burst of flame and a loud hum in my ears, something like the hissing sound of the surf. That is all I remember.

When I opened my eyes again, I was back in the *Gamelblock*. Stefan Frydeberg from Warsaw, a companion of mine from Pawlak, was standing over me. He asked, "Have you gone mad? You can't give up so easily. Don't be a weakling. I've been trying to bring you back from the other world for the past half hour."

My gaze was wild. I felt a deep resentment against him. "Stefan, why did you do it? I've got typhus. I'd be at peace now. And you shove me to the gas chamber!"

"You've got typhus? I didn't know. I thought you were crazy. What a pity! Go ahead, hang yourself again. See if I care. The gas chamber isn't so terrible. For cowards maybe. Sooner or later we all have to go there. Hold out a few more hours until they come to take you. Are you thirsty? Maybe I'll give you some coffee tomorrow. Say, don't tell me you can't walk if you try Jerzy Norton has typhus but he goes to work every day. Try it. I'll get you out of here. If you can't walk you'll come back here again. Tomorrow is Friday and Saturday will be the end for you. I'll do the best I can for you. You can take the bucket and come with me as my aide. I'll give them a couple of cigarettes and they'll let you out. There are plenty of sick men out in the Sector. They'll come here themselves because they won't have the strength to go on working. They won't even notice your absence. One thing, don't lie down during the roll call. Have your companions hold you up. You'll be lucky if the roll call doesn't last long. Besides, you might feel better tomorrow."

With Stefan's help, I got out of the *Gamelblock*. The following day was very strange. The *Kommandos* were turned back from the gates. There was a rumor that a transport (of prisoners) was to leave the camp. The rumor, started by the SS, spread quickly through the sector. The transport was to be taken to free labor. This was said so that the prisoners would not try to escape. The whole farce of looking for specialists then began. The first call was dairymen. Nearly everybody in the sector claimed to be a dairyman. I saw an SS functionary beating and driving away from the group of dairymen, old Konecki from Warsaw who for many years had been director of the Institute of Meteorology at Yokohama, Japan. One by one they formed groups of all the specialists. Finally they called for tilestove builders. Swaying on my feet, I stepped forward. Frydeberg and *Lageraelt-ester* Jozef Kowalski recommended me as an expert in my trade.

One of the SS functionaries, nicknamed Hawk, sniffing a corpse in me, shouted "*Du bist krank, zum Gamelblock.*" Another one told me to run a number of steps. I gathered the last remnants of my strength and ran stumbling. Hawks rushed at me but, noticing a prisoner without a number, he began to beat him. I took advantage of the opportunity and joined the group picked out for the transport. We left Sector IV and, prodded by blows and shouts, we went to the bath. I sank into a tub of water with Kuprex dissolved in it. Feeling thirsty I sipped the hideous water. The *Kapo* noticed this and kicked me twice in the stomach. I threw up all its contents. But when I was under the shower,

I let the water pour into my mouth. Other prisoners did the same. I am sure that even people in the Sahara are not as thirsty as we were in the concentration camp.

THE TRANSPORT

From the bath we were taken to Sector III. The transport was to leave from there. The sick, including myself, were rejected. They herded us into Barrack 6, which was empty, and stripped us. I was in a barrack with the dying again. But this time I wanted to live even though my body was burning with fever. It was the end of March 1943. Sector III consisted of *Kommandos* working on the construction of the Guard House. I knew that in order to raise production, they did not take the sick to the gas chamber from here. They died in the sick ward. I began to fight for life. The thing that I had wanted to do a few days ago could not happen again. My party comrade, Stefan Zaborowski, who worked in the kitchen, appeared in the morning during the roll call and brought me a blanket and then ran to fetch some coffee. I kissed his hands.

After three days in Sector III all those who had typhus (about 280 persons) were transferred to Sector I. We went barefoot, dressed only in our shirts. The road was strewn with the dying. The sick men dragged each other along. From those who collapsed in the snow, they took away the blankets.

Upon reaching Sector I, we lined up in front of the ambulance and waited until the *Leichentraeger* (body bearers), brought along all the dead and the living who had dropped on the road so that the number of arrivals in Section I would check with the number of departures from Sector III. The operation took about four hours. Out of the original 280 persons only 70 remained.

In Barrack 8 of Sector I, I came in contact with Paul Hoffmann and Muhsfeldt, the chief of the crematorium. They showed up every week with Thumann to make the selection. Those of us could walk lined up, the others were rounded up. Thumann always had his German police dog with him. We called the dog the "head doctor" because it was he who very often decided the fate of a prisoner. If the dog happened to snarl at a man for no reason at all, Thumann would promptly sentence the man to death.

Thumann walked between the ranks of prisoners without uttering a word. He just pointed his crop at the prisoners he selected for the gas chamber. At times he would select five in a row, all other times he picked out a single man from every rank. One never knew where to stand in order to avoid his pointing crop. During the selection conducted on May 15, 1943 he pointed at Hering, a political activist from Warsaw, and killed him with his crop.

In the *Revier* (hospital barrack) I met a civilian worker named Wiktor Betlewski from Warsaw (he died later in Oranienburg). Through him I got in touch with my family and received assistance. Thanks to his help, my weight, which had been 59 pounds after typhus rose to 121 pounds. Still feeling weak and wobbly I was put on the *Leichentraeger-Kommando* whose duty it was to carry the corpses to the old crematorium. We also helped unload the gas chambers when there was an extra large number of gassed victims. I worked in the *Kommando* for six weeks. There I had a chance to come into direct contact with the cruelest atrocities committed by the SS. One day at the end of May, as I was carrying a corpse to the old crematorium, I saw just ahead of us two prisoners escorted by Groffmann, an SS functionary, and carrying a weeping, blood-covered woman on a litter used for carrying grass. They were coming from the "field of roses."

I was struck by the unusual beauty of the woman. She was all smeared with blood because just a short while before she had

given birth to a child which she was holding in her arms. The child had not been washed and had bloody cloths sticking to it. Sobbing, the mother held the child close to her. It was still fairly early in the day and there was no movement in front of the crematorium. The litter with its burden was placed near the window of the crematorium. It was a beautiful morning. The fields glistened with silver dew. The sun cast a golden light on the woman's face. She looked like the Virgin Mary. Despite the pain she had suffered, her face glowed with joy. She did not know what lay in store for her. She had just come with the new arrivals and had not yet been taken through the camp admissions. She had given birth to the child in the "field of roses" where the arrivals spent the night. We practically ran as we passed her with the corpse. She looked at us as if expecting to see a doctor. When we went inside, Groffmann and *Kapo* Hoffmann came out. The *Kapo* grabbed the child from her and threw it into the crematorium through the open window. The anguished cry of the woman was drowned out by the blows of the stick. The day was still beautiful.

LOW-EMISSION VEHICLE ACT OF 1970

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, air pollution continues to darken our cities' skies and threatens our total environment with its poisonous chemical mixtures.

The primary contributor to this pollution is the automobile, which accounts for 85 percent of the pollution in some of our urban areas. The automobile is responsible for dumping into the atmosphere each year more than 90 million tons of pollutants—this is twice as much as any other single contributor.

Twentieth century man can point proudly to a partial mastery of his environment, but 20th century man has not yet confronted his potential for self-destruction. Air pollution—an attendant detriment of modern technology—must be attacked at its source.

Presently, there are regulations in the law books which are designed to meet the problem of vehicular air pollution. Yet, the present standards will not stabilize, much less reduce, vehicular air pollution. Studies indicate that, under existing controls, automobile air pollution in the United States will more than double in the next 30 years because of the projected increase in both the number of vehicles and miles driven by each vehicle.

Mr. Speaker, in light of the evidence, and in light of need for action, I am today introducing a bill which will ban pollution-causing internal combustion engines in motor vehicles after January 1, 1975. This legislation is modeled after California's Low Emission Motor Vehicle Act which defines a low-emission vehicle as one which "does not have exhaust emissions of more than 0.5 grams per mile of hydrocarbons, 11 grams per mile of carbon monoxide, and 0.75 grams per mile of oxides of nitrogen."

It must be noted that this measure applies only to new cars, and does not apply to used cars. Used cars present a special problem, but I am encouraged by an announcement by the Chrysler Corp. stating that they have developed an inexpensive package which will be made available for nearly 100 percent of its domestic Chrysler cars in California for the 1955 through 1965 model years.

Mr. Speaker, the time for rhetoric is over—we must take positive action to clean up our environment and prevent further ruination of the air we breathe.

PRAISE FOR CONGRESSMAN MASTON E. O'NEAL OF GEORGIA'S SECOND DISTRICT

HON. ROBERT G. STEPHENS, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. STEPHENS. Mr. Speaker, when my friend MASTON O'NEAL announced his intention to give up his seat in Congress because of a recurring heart ailment, I knew it was the best thing for him personally to do. I also knew it was a loss to Georgia and to the United States. The Georgia delegation over the past 6 years has appreciated MASTON's levelheaded approach to every problem and his candor and intellectual honesty. I think MASTON knows how we feel. In addition, I believe he has felt the warmth and confidence which has come from people in his district whom he has represented well. Until circumstances forced him to retire, these thoughts and sentiments were hardly expressed. They were gathered from just a few words spoken, by a nice letter or from an introduction at a speech. However, now that MASTON is terminating his long years of public service, many of his friends have put their feelings into words. Some of the comments are so well done and MASTON deserves them so much, I ask to set a few out in the RECORD so MASTON's congressional friends can enjoy them, too:

[From the Bainbridge (Ga.) Post-Searchlight, Apr. 23, 1970]

O'NEAL WILL NOT SEEK REELECTION TO HOUSE

Maston E. O'Neal, a native Decatur County, who has represented the Second Congressional District in Congress for the past six years, has declined to offer for reelection, and will retire after this term due to a heart condition which he states "has worsened during the past several months".

O'Neal made his statement not to run Tuesday, and his announcement came as complete surprise to his constituents in the 20 counties of the district.

He was elected in 1964, and followed Congressman J. L. Pilcher of Meigs, who retired after 12 years service in the House.

Congressman O'Neal's telegram to the Post-Searchlight was received here 1:15 p.m. Tuesday, and is as follows:

"I have decided not to seek reelection to Congress this year. A heart condition which developed recently is gradually worsening and is specifically affected by tensions, anxieties, frustrations and excitements. For nearly twenty-four years as District Attorney and nearly six years as Congressman, these

pressures and problems have been considerable. After consulting with doctors and my family, I have decided that it would be a big personal mistake to serve two more years. Since the Georgia deadline for qualifying is June 10th, all prospective candidates have adequate notice with this announcement and all have the same notice at the same time. The law makes no provision for an appointment to fill a vacancy in the U.S. House of Representatives, therefore, I will continue to service this term although with limited activity. My fine staff will continue to function with undiminished ability and activity in the interest of individuals and communities of the second district. My appreciation to the people of the second district of Georgia for trusting me with the responsibility of serving them and for supporting me during that service is unbounded.

[From the Camilla Enterprise, Apr. 24, 1970]

A SALUTE TO A STATESMAN

We salute Congressman Maston O'Neal this week for the Statesman that he is—Dedicated to his country and service in its government.

Congressman O'Neal gives his job as Representative of the Citizens of the Second Congressional District every ounce of his devotion and every minute of his attention. In recent months feeling a little under par, he has not shirked his duties and has actually pushed himself to be present and accounted for on all matters which effected the lives of the people of Southwest Georgia.

Maston loves Southwest Georgia and not Washington. He serves at a personal sacrifice to his likes—but he felt a deep compulsion to aid his fellow man in these times when the going for those of us who believe in some of the basic virtues and values of life finds few friends in public office.

It was with regret that we learned of his decision to retire at the end of this term. We admire the forthright statement and the timeliness to be fair to all concerned. It is the outstanding part of his character to want to be fair to all concerned—even in politics where fairness often is regarded as weakness.

We hope that the easing of the tensions and time will restore Congressman O'Neal's health and that he will enjoy a retirement in his dearly loved Sowega, who in all sincerity dearly loves him.

[From the Albany Herald, Apr. 23, 1970]

WELL DONE, CONGRESSMAN O'NEAL

If there is one word which would characterize the 30 years of service which Maston O'Neal has rendered as a public officer to the people of South Georgia, that would be conscientiousness.

As solicitor-general of the old Albany Judicial Circuit for one year lacking a full quarter of a century, and as the Second Congressional District Representative in Washington, the Bainbridge attorney has never given less than his optimum to the task at hand, whether that has been prosecuting a criminal or shepherding a peanut bill or an Albany Post Office project through the House.

The stress which accompanies the discharge of these duties by those who feel a keen responsibility to their constituents, as well as the uncertainties of the political life, inevitably take their toll. Unfortunately, in the case of Congressman O'Neal, he has developed a heart condition which, in his own words, "is gradually worsening and is specifically affected by tension, anxieties, frustrations and excitements." To himself, and to his family, patently, Mr. O'Neal owes the obligation not to tempt fate and to step down at the end of this, his third term on Capitol Hill.

His thousands of friends and admirers in the district might wish it were otherwise, but they will not hesitate to endorse his decision as being a prudent act. He will retire from the public service full of honors, to be sure, but even more significantly with that degree of self-satisfaction which is of greater importance than public plaudits. In his diverse capacities, he has left his mark upon this region which he loves so well. As he prepares for retirement, the Second District will wish him improving health as he lessens his public responsibilities—as well as a Lake Seminole full of fighting bass in which to pitch a lure.

[From the Thomasville-Times Enterprise, Apr. 22, 1970]

REPRESENTATIVE O'NEAL TO RETIRE

The decision of Rep. Maston O'Neal of Bainbridge, not to offer for reelection as Congressman from the Second District of Georgia, will be known with sincere regret by many warm friends throughout the District and elsewhere.

Rep. O'Neal is now serving his sixth year in Congress, where he has made a good record as a Representative. A Conservative, he has found himself in a Congress dominated by Liberals and as a Georgian has found himself in difficult positions at times.

As in the case of Judge Harold G. Carswell, of Florida, who was rejected by the U.S. Senate for a seat on the Supreme Court bench, Rep. O'Neal has found that being a Southerner and a Conservative has resulted in frustrations and disappointments.

O'Neal says he is suffering from a worsening heart condition, and he is affected specifically by tensions, anxieties, frustrations and excitements. On the advice of his physician he is stepping down.

In announcing plans for retirement he expresses appreciation to the people of the Second District "for trusting me with the responsibility of serving them, and for supporting me during that service."

His decision not to offer for reelection leaves the field open to those who would like to succeed him. He has made his decision in ample time to allow prospective candidates to qualify for the race by the June 10th deadline.

His thoughtful consideration of his constituents and those who may enter the race is a fine gesture and one which should be generally appreciated. It is typical of the man.

The Times-Enterprise has long been a friend and supporter of Rep. O'Neal, who likewise has been a loyal friend and sincere public servant, a friend of the people of Thomas County and the District.

In his retirement the public will lose a very capable, dedicated official.

[From the Donalsonville News]

It's bad news to hear about Hon. Maston O'Neal's decision that he'll not be our congressman, after this year.

Mr. O'Neal has done an outstanding job in Washington, and has managed to make it there without losing his sense of values, his character, integrity, honor, wisdom, and the congress needs all of those virtues it can get. So this district and the nation will be losers when O'Neal pulls out.

Congressman O'Neal kept in close touch with the people he represented. He kept informed of how they thought and felt, and he didn't fall for the practice of forgetting his calling, like so many in the national government do.

Let's hope a few weeks or months of rest from the dizzy capitol will make O'Neal cool and strong again, and we'll just get up a mob and force him to go back to Washington for us.

[From the Ashburn (Ga.) Wiregrass Farmer, Apr. 30, 1970]

REPRESENTATIVE O'NEAL HAS SERVED US WELL

Strong men in government are hard to come by these days.

The tremendous task of representing a segment of the population in the halls of Congress has more burdens than rewards, we would guess. Men of stature more and more are being over-shadowed by politicians.

For these reasons, the announcement last week by Cong. Maston O'Neal that he will not seek reelection brings with it some keen regrets.

Certainly, his reasons are both sufficient and understandable. To continue in the difficult assignment that is now his would be inviting physical ruination for Mr. O'Neal who has never appeared to us to take his job lightly. We welcome his return to the Second District and "home" and wish him peace, contentment and long days.

Cong. O'Neal was a stranger to most of us in Turner County when he first appeared on the political scene at the time Turner County was transferred by re-apportionment from the Third District to the Second District.

But in the years in which he has represented us so devotedly, we have come to respect him and to hold him in a place of special esteem, a little apart from other men of the political parade.

We have enjoyed enormously the determination he has shown so vividly with articulate expression and a set of the jaw that has been entirely convincing that he is not a man to be shoved and pushed around even in the stormy halls of our nation's capitol.

Holding a place on the important House Committee on Agriculture, Rep. O'Neal has had the farmer's interest at heart, and rightfully so since he represents a district where farming is the major investment of men's time and talents.

The attacks upon this well-informed and dedicated congressman by men of more liberal bend who see him as an "arch segregationist" or an "ultra conservative" or a half-dozen other labels only make us more aware of his many strengths.

When he leaves his place in Congress, Rep. O'Neal will be sorely missed. And choosing a man to succeed him demands careful and thoughtful consideration because we will not be choosing just another "politician" but a man to follow in the footsteps of a congressman who was destined to become a statesman.

[From the Dawson News, Apr. 23, 1970]

Congressman Maston O'Neal announced from Washington Tuesday that he will not be a candidate for reelection because of ill health. We recall that Mr. O'Neal recently was hospitalized but it never occurred to us, and probably thousands of other constituents in the Second District, that it would prompt this decision. Of course, we regret he is leaving the Congress. He has ably represented his district and so far as we were concerned could have had the office as long as he wanted it. A Southern conservative in the Congress today is subjected to frustrations which would try the patience of Job and surely Mr. O'Neal has experienced his share of them. We wish to thank him for the splendid work he has done for us and hope that his health will improve and that he can enjoy the remaining years in the ease, comfort and happiness of Southern living.

[From the Thomaston Times, Apr. 23, 1970]

CONGRESS TAKES TOLL

Georgia's Second Congressional District isn't the only loser in news from Washington that Congressman Maston O'Neal is retiring. Congressman O'Neal has been a friend of the Flint River development and has con-

cerned himself with federal interest in Highway 19.

Moreover, Congressman O'Neal has close family ties to Upson, his mother having been a native of this county.

The extreme pressures on a member of the U.S. Congress have exacted their toll in Congressman O'Neal's health and as much as we'd like to see him remain there it is only human that we accept his decision to come home voluntarily rather than be brought home for burial.

[From the Miller County Liberal,
Apr. 30, 1970]

Congressman O'Neal has served capably, efficiently, conscientiously, devotedly, and outstandingly both as district attorney for Albany Judicial Circuit and as Second Congressional District Representative in Washington.

He has been dedicated and has never given less than his very best to the tasks at hand.

His thousands of friends and admirers in the district regret to see him leave the important seat but they will not hesitate to endorse his decision as a prudent act.

Hosts of friends will wish for Mr. O'Neal's improving health, much happiness and many more years of usefulness, as he lessens public pressures and responsibilities.

[From the Moultrie Observer, April 1970]
O'NEAL OPENS THE GATE

Politics have been heating up all over Georgia for sometime as the result of governor and lieutenant governor races, combined with other statehouse contests and selection of state representatives and county commissioners. But Congressman Maston O'Neal of the Second Congressional District has thrown the gate wide open in a 20-county area of southwest Georgia by announcing he will not seek reelection.

Rep. O'Neal, who was elected to Congress some six years ago when Rep. J. L. Pilcher decided to retire from the Washington scene, says he will return to his home county of Decatur and leave the field open to others. He gives ill health as the reason for his decision not to run again.

Rep. O'Neal has given long, dedicated service to the people of Georgia, first as district attorney of the Albany circuit for many years and more recently as a conservative Democrat in the U.S. House of Representatives.

It is with regret that citizens of the second Congressional District accept the decision of Rep. O'Neal to retire from office, but a man's health is something over which he has limited control. So we join with his countless other friends and constituents in wishing for him a long, satisfactory life away from the pressures and worries of Washington.

Meanwhile, we in the Second District must look forward to the election of a successor who is worthy of the district's support and who will present the citizens' wishes before the Congress of these United States. It is, for the moment, a wide open race—making more imperative than ever the need for examining candidates and their platforms.

We Georgians of the Second District want none but the best. Let's see that we get him at the ballot box.

TROOPS IN CAMBODIA

HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States, as Com-

mander in Chief, has ordered American troops into Cambodia, a country whose neutrality and sovereignty were specifically recognized in the Geneva accords of 1954.

In the process of this invasion of Cambodia, it is clear that Cambodian villages are being destroyed and Cambodian men, women, and children killed by American firepower.

I do not challenge the President's power to make the decision he has made, inasmuch as the Gulf of Tonkin resolution enacted by Congress on August 10, 1964, gives him that power, but I do think we should now move promptly to rescind the Gulf of Tonkin resolution and to cut off the funds for war in Southeast Asia beyond the end of this next fiscal year. That would be June 30, 1971.

It takes three things to fight a war, military strength, the willingness of our people to pay the cost, and the willingness of our young people to fight.

No business, professional firm, church, or organization in America can remain strong unless it can compete for and attract the finest of our young people.

When a nation's policy no longer commands the idealism and confidence of its youth, its leaders should carefully review that policy.

The vote yesterday was just a beginning; 132 Members voted to cut off funds for war in Cambodia. I hope we will have a majority next month who will vote to cut the fiscal 1971 Defense appropriation to a point which will require us to withdraw all troops from Vietnam by the end of that year.

RUMANIANS MARK INDEPENDENCE—BUT NOT IN RUMANIA

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, May 10 will mark Rumania's Independence Day; but, as it is in most of the captive nations, this day will not be celebrated within the country itself.

Instead, it will be the Rumanians in other nations who will celebrate this holiday overtly; their brothers in the old country will be forced to mark it silently, fearful of angering the Communist government which rules them.

Actually, May 10 is a triple holiday for the Rumanian people. On May 10, 1866, Rumania defied both the Austrian and Russian Empires—both of which had designs of expansionism upon her—and named Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, of the Prussian royal family, as its prince.

The next significant May 10 was in 1877, when Rumania, taking advantage of the Russo-Turkish War, cast off its nominal vassalage to the Ottoman Empire, declared its independence, and joined the war as an ally of Russia.

This independence was confirmed by the Congress of Berlin, but in the process Rumania lost Bessarabia, seized by the Russian czar from his ally.

Four years later, on May 10, 1881, the Rumanians raised their nation to a kingdom and crowned Charles I as king. This royal family reigned in Rumania until the Second World War.

I think we all hope that the day may come when all Rumanians—everywhere—will be free to celebrate their independence.

POLLUTION: CHALLENGE TO GOVERNMENT

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the Nation is becoming increasingly concerned about the future of our society as we know it, the subject of environmental quality is becoming more and more important. I am sure we have all received considerable correspondence from people in our own districts who want to know what the Government is doing to try and control the hazards of pollution. Our colleague, the Honorable JOHN ERLBORN of Illinois, presented some remarks on this particular topic when he spoke at an educational seminar at the First United Methodist Church in Glen Ellyn, Ill., recently and I think that his speech "Pollution: Challenge to Government" is well worth our taking the time to read.

The speech follows:

POLLUTION: CHALLENGE TO GOVERNMENT

When one endeavors to predict—or to suggest—what the United States Government will do about pollution, he can paint himself into a corner in a hurry.

This holds true in other areas of governmental concern, as well—in foreign affairs; in war and peace; in Indian affairs; in race relations between white and blacks; in the control—or the non-control—of inflation; in the passing or the veto of education measures—and I could go on and on.

Until recently, this unpredictability applied also to matters of pollution. Until recently, "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes," was a song. All of a sudden, people decided it's an environmental problem; and all of a sudden, they're concerned about it.

We have a problem with the environment because we haven't paid enough attention to what the doctors call side effects.

Every time a manufacturer produces a new pharmaceutical, the law requires that he be extremely careful about the drug's side effects. All drugs have them.

Morphine is great for deadening pain, but it is habit-forming; Penicillin is a wonder drug against infection, but some are allergic to it; anti-histamines kill the sniffles, but they are hard on some people's hearts.

We have been increasingly careful of late about these side effects, but not careful at all about the side effects of increasing population and increasing industrialization.

We have allowed our factories to smoke up the sky, not only with unburned carbon but also with sulphur and other chemicals. We have allowed our industrial plants to flush away their waste products into our streams, killing the fish and making the waters unfit for swimming or other pleasures.

We have permitted our cities and villages to discharge the effluent of our sewers into rivers with only the most cursory purification.

We have been so intent upon getting the products of our factories, so eager for fac-

tory payrolls and taxes, so proud of our indoor plumbing, and so desirous of a pest-free back yard that we have not considered the side effects.

We haven't been concerned about the beaches where people can't swim. We haven't cared about streams where fish can't live. We haven't been apprehensive about the chemicals or the smoke which float through the air from the chimneys of our homes and factories.

These were the side effects.

At the end of 1968, these were of only minor interest to the American public. Rachel Carson had written a book entitled "Silent Spring." Some people claimed that DDT was doing us more harm than the pests had ever done. Here and there, a newspaper pontificated editorially against despoiling our planet.

As excitement goes in our country, however, the quality of the environment didn't amount to much. A year ago right now, a Congressman could get bigger headlines by declaring that some census questions are an invasion of privacy.

By last summer, a few people were faulting the Army Corps of Engineers for dredging the harbors at the south end of Lake Michigan and dumping the dredgings out in the lake. A few were beginning to complain to their Congressmen about this.

My reply was different from the others. I said that the Corps of Engineers was doing what Congress had ordered—dredge those harbors and dispose of the refuse as cheaply as possible. I told these complaining people that I, for one, would be happy to see the waste dumped somewhere else, even at greater cost—perhaps \$10 a cubic yard instead of \$1 a yard.

But it seemed that most people weren't ready for anything as radical as that—not then. They are ready now.

Sometime during the late summer and fall of 1969, people got mad about dirty streams and dying lakes, about smoking smokestacks and smoking jet planes, and about foul smelling garbage dumps and all the other malodorous symbols of our industrialized society.

Sometime in the latter part of 1969, the fellow changed his mind about objecting to \$10 a yard for dumping the wastes of harbor dredgings. Suddenly, if that extra \$9 was what was required to save Lake Michigan, he was willing to pay it.

Almost overnight, people who had been demanding economy in government changed their minds. Not all the way, of course. These are people who don't like foreign aid, or the race to the moon, or welfare, or Federal aid to education, or any of the other programs which have helped to expand the federal budget in recent years.

Suddenly, they were saying, "Damn the expense! Full speed ahead in the fight against pollution!" And their temper was such that they did mean fight!

Now, a lot of people in these United States have complained from time to time—and I have joined them occasionally—that Washington is out of touch with Main Street, U.S.A. The Federal Government has gotten so big that the opinions of the people just don't register.

There is merit to this point of view.

Let the record show, however, that President Nixon and 535 members of the Senate and the House of Representatives got the anti-pollution message, loud and clear.

President Nixon can hear as well as anybody when he wants to. And he was listening to the people on pollution. As a result, on February 10, he sent a message to Congress on the State of the Environment.

In talking about this, I promise not to tell you *everything* that's happening in Washington in regard to ecology and environment. I have no desire to keep you here all day.

We have bills to prevent collisions with

oil barges; bills to permit recovery of damages for crops injured by pollution; bills to regulate detergents; bills to prevent dumping of anything detrimental into any navigable water; bills to offer tax incentives to industry for installing anti-pollution devices; bills for new commissions, bureaus and conferences to lead us into the war on pollution; and a few hundred others.

If you're interested in discouraging pollution—and I assume you are or you wouldn't be here—crank up your imagination and let it run wild for a week. Jot down every anti-pollution idea which comes to mind.

I'll wager there's a bill in Congress to cover it. We have bills to forbid doing most anything except find oil in the back yard of a Congressman's house.

In his State of the Environment message last February 10, President Nixon was somewhat less diverse than Congress has been. He touched upon a mere 37 points; and the legislative part of his plan has been encompassed in seven bills. I am one of the numerous co-sponsors in the House of Representatives.

They deal with air, water, and solid waste pollution. They deal with open space and recreation. And they are realistic.

The President proposed a \$10 billion program to build sewage treatment plants in the next five years—60 percent local money, 40 percent Federal.

He asked for creation of EFA, the Environmental Financing Authority, to make sure that every municipality can finance its 60 percent share. He wants a strengthening of Federal-State water quality standards, setting precise limits on effluents which may be discharged into any body of water.

The bills also extend Federal authority to all navigable waters, to interstate underground waters—meaning deep wells—to the United States portion of boundary waters, and the neighboring oceans.

One bill would give the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare authority to regulate the composition of gasoline. He now is limited to setting standards for automobile exhausts.

Air quality standards are now established by the States, but are not uniformly enforced, partly because the States fear losing taxable industries. The item which caught the eye of industry and the headline writers is the penalty—\$10,000 per day for violators, contrasted to the present maximum of \$2,500.

If severe pollution threatens health, the Federal Government could ask for an injunction. There are provisions for the immediate elimination of air pollutants which are imminent threats to health.

The Solid Waste Disposal Act of 1965 will expire this year. We have a bill to renew it and, at the same time, to stress the uses of substances impervious to rot, such as glass and aluminum. The bill also would encourage use of packaging which will decay.

Finally, there is a bill to encourage parks near large urban centers.

Those are the President's proposals, and I can summarize them in legislative form. They indicate the direction of the present Federal effort. I believe they are likely to pass, but I must add a warning: Don't be surprised if they turn out to be minimums. There is a tendency on the part of the Democratic majority in Congress to take any Presidential suggestion, multiply its cost by two or more, and claim the program as a Democratic invention.

As an example, Senator Muskie would replace the Nixon \$10 billion plan with a Muskie \$25 billion plan.

I already have mentioned that we have been careless of the side effects of our growing population and our rapid industrialization. Now, let me suggest that we not continue that sort of carelessness.

We now have embarked upon a conserving of our natural resources and also—we hope—upon a restoring of our environment to what it used to be. In this connection, let me read you three sentences from the President's message on pollution:

"The task of cleaning up our environment calls for total mobilization by all of us. It involves government at every level. It requires the help of every citizen."—And I want to emphasize this next: "It cannot be a matter of simply sitting back and blaming somebody else."

There will be little profit for us in trying to find villains on whom to blame our situation. We can only blame almost all of us. We have come to where we are together.

Let me tell you the experience of a friend. He was driving from White Sulphur Springs to Charleston, along the beautiful Kanawha River in West Virginia. The day was perfect until he spied some smoke in a distance; and it soon became apparent he was driving toward it.

Rounding a bend, he came upon the source of the smoke, a factory owned by one of the largest corporations. He was quite angry at the firm for despoiling that beautiful valley.

Later, at lunch in Charleston, a West Virginia friend assured him that the pollution was illegal; but the law was not being enforced.

Why not?

"Because," he was told, "we are afraid the company would simply shut down its plant and move the operation to some more tolerant state. West Virginia needs those taxes and, more important, West Virginia people need those jobs."

I have told you this story because it illustrates several facets of the pollution problem.

First, our laws until now have assumed state primacy. We will have to come to a degree of national primacy. The government in Washington must come to grips with the problem because *some* states can't. Perhaps *all* states can't. In some states, the people do, indeed, need the jobs more than they need the beauty of a sparkling river.

Additionally, it illustrates the point I made a moment ago about finding villains on whom to blame our condition.

The corporation which owned the plant is big. It makes many products which are sold to the public. My friend, when he told me this story, added that, for a long time afterward, he refused to buy any of its products.

He patronized the company's competitors for several years until, one day, he found he could save a dollar on a five dollar purchase. For 20 per cent, he told me, he could no longer be that angry about smoke he had seen several years earlier.

And the company *does* make good products.

And his wife spoke well of the attractive package.

And my friend had no complaint about the attractive package of the girl in the company's TV commercials.

Obviously, the man who told me this is not one of the new breed of activists. And, just as obviously, whatever militancy he harbored had gotten quite feeble over the years. And so, by patronizing the corporation, he became a partner to its pollution of the air of West Virginia.

The burning of any fossil fuel causes some pollution. Hence, people have been critical of electric utility companies which burn coal to generate electricity; but would they defend the company next summer if there wasn't enough electric power for their air conditioners?

Suits have been filed against motor car manufacturers because car engines emit carbon monoxide and other noxious gases; but the manufacturers' real sin has been making cars which will go as far and as fast as a rich and restless people want them to go.

I don't think the automobile manufacturers are any more to blame for pollution than the people who drive their cars; nor do I believe the utility companies are any more to blame than the people who own electric refrigerators.

All of us—or at least almost all of us—have been in this business of polluting our air and water together. Now we must all be in the business of trying to save our environment. We must all get out of this mess together, or we are likely not to get out at all. If we waste our energies on recriminations and back-biting, we will assure ourselves of some unwanted side effects which will delay solution of our common problem.

In Utopia, of course, we would have no recriminations; but in the United States that may be asking too much. Some have been telling us about pollution for a long time, but they have been as voices crying in the wilderness. It seems only fair that we, who were deaf to their warnings for so long, should now permit them an occasional "I told you so."

For myself, I promise to make every effort at tolerance.

For me, forbearance will be more difficult toward another group. I speak of those who almost make me wish we hadn't sent a man to the moon. They are the ones who have been telling us ever since last July that, if we can put a man on the moon, we can clean up our air and water, we can teach our children to read, build houses for all poor people, break down the barriers between the races, put an end to poverty and ignorance; and then the next day open the gate to a thousand years of peace.

It was Apollo 11 which landed Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin on the moon last July; but it was Apollo 8 which, six months earlier, sent Frank Borman, James Lovell and William Anders on the first moon orbiting mission. They were the first men to get a close look at the moon.

After their return, they were questioned about their deepest emotions during their journey.

Their reply was that they had been overwhelmed by the beauty of Earth, contrasted to the bleakness of space and the grayness of the moon. This observation may have made the whole space program worthwhile, in the opinion of Dr. Rene Dubos. A distinguished micro-biologist at Rockefeller University in New York. Dr. Dubos had previously been less than enthusiastic about space exploration.

I'm quoting him now:

"The incredible beauty of the earth as seen from space results largely from the fact that our planet is covered with living things. What gives vibrant colors and exciting variety to the surface of the earth is the fact that it is—literally—a living organism.

"The earth is living by the very fact that the microbe, the plants, the animals and man have generated on its surface conditions which occur nowhere else, as far as we know, in that part of the universe which we can hope to reach." That's the end of the quotation.

My friends, I believe we must quit abusing the air and the water which are necessary to our continued living on this small but beautiful speck of dust and rock which we call Earth.

All animals must destroy something in order to live. That is a law of nature. Let not man, who was made in the image of God, be the one animal who so befools this world that all living things must die and our earth become as bleak and gray as the moon.

I hope, rather, that man will live up to the famous declaration of the founder of Methodism: "Cleanliness is, indeed, next to godliness."

John Wesley had something else in mind when he said it; but it makes an admirable text for a talk on pollution.

BEST HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS USE NO DRUGS

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, an interesting article was published regarding characteristics of high school drug users. The Dallas Morning News on April 30 quoted an intensive interview conducted at the David W. Carter High School in Dallas.

This high school had reported that 72 percent of the students had used alcohol at some time; 41 percent had used tobacco; 17 percent had used marihuana; 11 percent had tried drug pills; 10 percent had tried glue; another 10 percent had tried solvents, such as paint thinner and ether; another 10 percent had tried amphetamines; and 4 percent had tried heroin.

Since these youngsters have tried different types of drugs from as far back as their freshman year in high school, it was interesting to see what background and what mental outlook was predominant. The students not using drugs were also the best mentally balanced and had the happiest and most stable family backgrounds. This proves the importance of well adjusted family life with strong love and respect for the mother and father. The following is the article written on drug usage.

Characteristics of student drug users are "significantly different" from those of their abstaining classmates, the school board's drug committee reported Wednesday.

The committee described the results of interviews held with 100 students at David W. Carter High School.

The interview subjects were divided into groups—those who had used only alcohol or tobacco, those who had used illicit drugs and those who abstained completely.

The drug users were found to have "distinctly lower" grades and to be "much less active" in extra-curricular activities. Few of them attend church regularly and few report their religious beliefs to be very important to them.

Most of the drug users considered their parents "average to somewhat permissive" on discipline.

The committee reported:

While most of the alcohol and tobacco users would turn to a parent or other adult in time of crisis, most drug users report that they would turn to a peer or sibling rather than a parent.

Most of the drug users said they began their illicit drug use with marihuana and gave "curiosity" as the main motivation. The minority of those students interviewed who said they still use illicit drugs said they continue because "they like it, it feels good and it is fun."

More than half of the alcohol and tobacco-using group have good grades, hold at least one elective office at school, attend church and consider religious beliefs important to them.

They see their fathers as "somewhat

strict" in discipline and say their parents get along better than most married couples.

Abstainers, on the other hand, have the highest academic rating of the three groups, are more involved in outside activities and consider religion very important.

They generally characterize parental discipline as "average" and say they would turn to their parents in serious trouble.

Most abstainers reported that neither parent drinks and that their fathers are happy in their work.

The report noted:

These young people describe themselves as feeling definitely that they are in control of their own lives and, as a group have strongly-held values, norms and political opinions which are even more firmly allied with traditional adult values than those of the other two groups.

Asked why they had never used drugs, most abstainers said they had never felt a need for them.

They felt their problems were not that serious or that they had better ways to solve them. Several mentioned fear of the potential harmful effects of the drugs and a few mentioned religious, moral, or parental objections. Only one abstainer mentioned the possibility of legal difficulty as a reason for not using drugs.

THE CITY AND THE LEAA—SOME NEW FACTS

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, these past months many of us have been considering the effectiveness of the grant program under the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration—LEAA.

There are four major programs administered by the agency: planning grants, action grants, academic assistance, and funding of the National Institute of Law Enforcement. My discussion will be limited to the action grants—the grants, as its name implies—devoted directly to fight crime.

The law provides that 15 percent of the action grant moneys be retained for discretionary allocation on the basis of need. The remaining 85 percent of the funds go directly to the States with a provision that 75 percent be applied to the cities.

In fiscal 1969 appropriations for the LEAA was \$63 million of which \$29 million was distributed as action grant funds. The 1970 fiscal year appropriations was \$268 million of which \$215 million were designated action money. Thus in fiscal year 1969 action grants accounted for 47 percent of the total appropriations and in fiscal year 1970 that percentage climbed to 80. The administration is now requesting an appropriation of \$480 million with \$286 million—more than the total appropriation of the previous year—requested for action money and discretionary funds.

Action grants thus comprise the bulk and the heart of the LEAA appropriations and program. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that these funds be properly allocated and utilized.

Crime is an urban problem. In 1968 approximately 3.8 million index crimes—85 percent of the national total—were committed within the Nation's metropolitan areas. There are over 2,800 crimes

per hundred thousand population in metropolitan areas compared to less than 800 per hundred thousand population in rural areas. Thus to see whether the program is responding to the problem we must examine those cities with the biggest crime problem and the LEAA money allocated to these cities.

My staff has created the following chart for such a study. It enumerates for

fiscal year 1969 the 56 cities of population over 250,000 with the highest rate of crime per 100,000 inhabitants. Along with this figure the chart illustrates the action and discretionary funds received by that city which is broken down into a per capita distribution based upon estimated population. In addition, the volume of the crime reported in each city is listed:

CITY CRIME AND FEDERAL INVOLVEMENT¹
CRIME INDEX OFFENSES² IN CITIES WITH POPULATIONS OVER 250,000: 1969

City (with estimated population) ³	Projected yearly total crime index offenses ⁴	Rate per ⁵ 100,000 inhabitants	Action funds received ⁶ (approximate dollars)	Per capita estimate of action funds received (cents)	City (with estimated population) ¹	Projected yearly total crime index offenses ⁴	Rate per ⁵ 100,000 inhabitants	Action funds received ⁶ (approximate dollars)	Per capita estimate of action funds received (cents)
Oakland, Calif. (360,000)	30,265	8,406.9	14,750	0.04	Charlotte, N.C. (264,000)	11,009	4,170.1	20,945	0.08
Newark, N.J. (390,000)	31,251	8,013.1	126,000	.32	Tampa, Fla. (295,000)	12,207	4,104.1	36,189	.12
San Francisco, Calif. (705,000)	52,843	7,481.3	120,000	.17	Norfolk, Va. (300,000)	12,283	4,094.3	67,000	.22
Washington, D.C. (815,000)	59,505	7,301.2	99,882	.12	Indianapolis, Ind. (510,000)	20,780	4,074.5	21,000	.04
Baltimore, Md. (905,000)	64,293	7,104.2	108,946	.12	Sacramento, Calif. (265,000)	10,737	4,051.7	5,500	.02
St. Louis, Mo. (665,000)	46,957	7,061.2	208,178	.31	Jacksonville, Fla. (490,000)	19,720	4,024.5	67,000	.14
Detroit, Mich. (1,570,000)	105,896	6,745.0	247,438	.16	Columbus, Ohio (535,000)	21,278	3,977.4	46,000	.09
Miami, Fla. (320,000)	20,637	6,449.1	25,000	.08	Atlanta, Ga. (515,000)	20,101	3,903.1	83,034	.16
Cleveland, Ohio (770,000)	48,092	6,245.7	58,044	.08	San Antonio, Tex. (695,000)	26,859	3,864.6	37,986	.05
Seattle, Wash. (550,000)	34,216	6,221.1	120,529	.22	Long Beach, Calif. (378,000)	14,585	3,858.5	6,000	.02
Pittsburgh, Pa. (530,000)	32,777	6,184.3	52,186	.10	Fort Worth, Tex. (355,000)	13,305	3,747.9	108,750	.31
Nashville, Tenn. (270,000)	16,684	6,179.3	30,826	.11	Birmingham, Ala. (325,000)	11,945	3,675.4	(?)	.00
Denver, Colo. (480,000)	29,279	6,099.8	69,606	.15	Chicago, Ill. (3,460,000)	123,927	3,581.7	166,624	.05
Boston, Mass. (570,000)	34,565	6,064.0	177,030	.31	Buffalo, N.Y. (450,000)	11,504	3,408.7	110,408	.25
New York, N.Y. (7,975,000)	482,356	6,048.4	777,786	.10	Tulsa, Okla. (325,000)	10,913	3,357.8	22,987	.07
Los Angeles, Calif. (2,810,000)	168,147	5,983.9	248,100	.09	Memphis, Tenn. (545,000)	18,235	3,345.9	37,451	.07
Kansas City, Mo. (555,000)	31,595	5,692.8	124,457	.22	Rochester, N.Y. (295,000)	9,489	3,216.6	30,218	.10
Louisville, Ky. (380,000)	19,555	5,146.1	110,712	.29	Omaha, Nebr. (362,000)	10,637	2,938.4	23,286	.06
Portland, Ore. (375,000)	19,271	5,138.9	8,938	.02	San Jose, Calif. (425,000)	12,061	2,837.9	9,221	.02
Minneapolis, Minn. (440,000)	21,953	4,989.3	82,594	.19	Wichita, Kans. (292,000)	8,129	2,783.9	30,665	.11
St. Paul, Minn. (300,000)	14,924	4,974.7	68,500	.23	San Diego, Calif. (680,000)	18,795	2,764.0	(?)	.00
Dallas, Tex. (815,000)	39,268	4,818.2	107,469	.13	Oklahoma City, Okla. (380,000)	10,183	2,679.7	28,250	.07
Houston, Tex. (1,165,000)	55,977	4,804.9	127,000	.11	El Paso, Tex. (315,000)	8,371	2,657.5	9,000	.03
Phoenix, Ariz. (515,000)	24,563	4,769.5	24,719	.05	Toledo, Ohio (385,000)	10,057	2,612.2	24,827	.06
Dayton, Ohio (255,000)	11,509	4,513.3	46,802	.18	Cincinnati, Ohio (495,000)	12,875	2,601.0	71,627	.14
Akron, Ohio (285,000)	12,856	4,510.9	19,986	.07	Milwaukee, Wis. (750,000)	17,884	2,384.5	112,500	.15
Honolulu, Hawaii (335,000)	14,492	4,326.0	38,865	.12	Jersey City, N.J. (269,000)	6,361	2,364.7	65,309	.24
New Orleans, La. (660,000)	27,949	4,234.7	46,418	.07	Philadelphia, Pa. (2,015,000)	35,782	1,780.2	287,123	.14

¹ Source of basic data is the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, uniform crime reports for the United States, January through September 1969.

² "Crime index" offenses are those serious offenses reported to the police which are considered by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to afford the best indication, when taken as a whole, of the degree of significant lawlessness in the community. Index crimes include: murder and nonnegligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny \$50 and over, and auto theft.

³ Estimates obtained from Rand McNally's Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide (1969 edition) are as of Jan. 1, 1969.

⁴ These projected totals are based on the assumption that the volume of offenses, in the 4th

quarter of 1969 will be equivalent to the average of the 1st 3 quarters as given in the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation's uniform crime reports, January through September 1969.

⁵ Crime rate or that amount of crime per a State population is said by criminologists and statisticians to be the most effective way of reporting crime. In other words, it is submitted that to know the number of crimes per 100,000 is more useful than knowing the volume of crime in cities of varying populations.

⁶ Money allocated according to the LCAA directly to the States for local governments in fiscal 1969.

⁷ Amount includes \$100,000 in discretionary funds.

⁸ No money.

Oakland, Calif.—the city with highest crime rate—received only 4 cents per capita, the fourth lowest allocation among the 56 cities listed. California according to the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports had the highest incident of crime among the States with Los Angeles County—if considered a State—ranking fourth. Of the 56, California cities numbered six—almost 10 percent. Sacramento and Long Beach only received \$5,500 and \$6,000, respectively. San Diego received nothing. San Jose got \$9,221. The city of Los Angeles received only 9 cents per capita.

The only conclusion to be drawn from this chart is that the money has not gone in fiscal 1969 where it is needed the most. And California in particular is not getting its fair share. The reasons given by the cities and the administration are many. My concern is that the money is not being utilized to the benefit of the crime-ridden cities.

I have cosponsored legislation to appropriate \$700 million to LEAA for fiscal 1971; I would favor a \$1 billion authorization. We all need the LEAA; they merely have to give more money—unfettered by State politics and bureaucracy—to the cities. I was among those who voted against the Cahill amend-

ment—which changed the direct block approach to the cities to the present funneling of funds through the State planning agency. The above chart and testimony recently before the Judiciary Committee submitted by the mayors of cities throughout the United States, complaining about the program has reaffirmed that vote.

Crime is one of our most pressing national problems—it must be solved. I hope this analysis will provoke further study into the present program in order that money appropriated will be better spent. I invite and urge my colleagues to make similar studies of their States and districts in order to determine whether a fair and proper allocation of LEAA money has been made. We all must be involved in this most important area.

WALKING "AIN'T" CROWDED

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

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

WALKING AIN'T CROWDED

The United Nations is planning to spend \$300,000,000 for improvements and additions to its headquarters building complex in New York City. The new structures will contain both offices and living quarters. The organization expects to get \$80,000,000 from the United States government, with the balance coming from the City of New York and various instrumentalities of the United Nations apparatus.

If the people of New York City, including the 700 families who will be driven from their homes as a result of the proposed expansion, are silly enough to help pay for the construction, that is their affair, but I for one will not vote one red cent for it.

The waste of taxpayers' money is bad enough, but what fascinates me about this latest shenanigan is the fact that the United Nations bureaucrats want to work and live in the same building. Only pampered parasites could insist on working and living in the same place.

How many people live in the same building, or even in the same neighborhood where they work? Practically every member of this body maintains a home in Maryland or Virginia, at least during the sessions of Congress.

One of the major problems in large cities is the daily movement of hundreds of thousands of people, who spend substantial sums every week in order to get to work and back either by automobile or public transportation. Let us stop taking the money of these people, our own constituents, to squander on

the United Nations. If its employees cannot afford automobiles, it should not be beneath their dignity to ride the subways. If, like many New Yorkers, they are afraid to ride the subways, well, walking ain't crowded!

THE CAMBODIAN DECISION AND
AMERICAN STATESMANSHIP

HON. ED FOREMAN

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, one of New Mexico's leading daily newspapers, the Farmington Daily Times, on Sunday, May 3, 1970, published a responsible, timely editorial aptly describing the circumstances of President Nixon's decision and action in Cambodia. I include it for the study and review of my colleagues:

AMERICAN STATESMANSHIP

President Nixon has displayed a degree of Statesmanship which has been too long absent from some circles of American leadership.

In a forthright manner Thursday night he explained to the citizens of this nation and to the rest of the world the U.S. position in Southeast Asia.

The President, with simple candor, put to shame so-called leaders representing his own Republican party and the opposition Democratic party who have succumbed to a vociferous minority's demands that the U.S., in effect, abandon Asia to World Communism.

As the President explained, he could be politically expedient and refused to accept the U.S. commitments to those Asian nations struggling against communist aggression. By a stroke of a pen he could order the immediate withdrawal of all Americans from Southeast Asia.

But the President recognizes—as do most Americans—that failure to stop communism in Southeast Asia would only mean a future confrontation somewhere else and eventually within our own boundaries.

We can expect the President's decision to remain firm in Southeast Asia will be met by much-publicized opposition both within the U.S. and elsewhere.

The protestors will not be objecting to North Vietnam's invasion of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. They will not be objecting to Hanoi's refusal to respond to innumerable efforts by the U.S. to sit down at the Paris peace table and talk sensibly—with the communist delegations.

President Nixon clearly indicated where the blame should be placed for the continuation of the Southeast Asia conflict. He reviewed the fact that the U.S. has attempted to de-escalate the conflict by curtailment of bombings and by American troop withdrawals. That these attempts have not been matched by North Vietnam is no secret—even to the most avid anti-war protestor.

And while the protestors grab most of the newspaper headlines and prime television news spots, the vast majority of Americans who support the President will be going about their everyday activities—in comparative silence.

The silent majority will continue to work for a living . . . will continue to earn salaries . . . and continue to pay their taxes. And when Americans are asked to express themselves at the polls, we suspect that silent majority will reiterate a desire that this nation's government be comprised of statesmen—not politicians.

BILL GOLD FOR EDITOR OF
WASHINGTON POST

HON. MASTON O'NEAL

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. O'NEAL of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the publishers of the Washington Post apparently do not realize what a valuable asset they have in pure gold. He is Bill Gold who provides us daily with the most inescapable logic in the whole publication.

Mr. Speaker, they print this column in the comic section when most of the time it should be the lead editorial. As a matter of fact, Bill, with all of his plain commonsense, should be setting the editorial policy.

The column this morning on violence is offered for all readers of the RECORD. It ought to be required reading on all campuses and in the editorial rooms of the Post.

The article follows:

SOME ADDED THOUGHTS ABOUT VIOLENCE

(By Bill Gold)

On campus and off, violence is escalating. Violence always escalates.

It doesn't settle much—only things like who will suffer the greatest hurt. The real issues always remain to be settled through peaceful negotiation.

I wrote about these things, again, the last time students at the University of Maryland engaged in violence. Many undergraduates wrote back, again, to "explain" things to me. Among these letters was one from New York University signed by Paul Miller. It ended with these words:

"When the university fails to respond to students' opinions and needs, the students are then compelled to such other types of uprisings as sit-ins, student strikes and building takeovers. By using such tactics students hope to make their views heard by those who normally close their ears to student opinion . . . Until those who control the universities realize that the prime responsibility of those institutions is to the students who attend them, then such undesirable uprisings shall continue."

Let's test that language and "reasoning" with a few substitutions. Let us pretend that I am the dean of the university, and that I say to the students: "When students fail to respond to the opinions and needs of the dean, the dean is compelled to use such tactics as ordering all your heads shaved, the compulsory wearing of ties, jackets, bras, girdles and long dresses, and a 9:30 p.m. curfew. Also 10 lashes with a bullwhip, just as a reminder. These things may be slightly irrational or illegal, but by using such tactics I hope to make my views heard by those who normally close their ears to the opinions of deans. Until those who want to use the services of this university realize that its prime responsibility is to the adult community that built it and pays for it, these repressive measures will have to continue. You have compelled me to do these things."

Students who become outraged at this turnabout can congratulate themselves on having just bridged the communications gap. Now they know how adults feel when students use this kind of tortured reasoning in an attempt to justify illegal or irrational acts.

Students who have "demanded" the right to be heard and the right to make changes could benefit from listening to an adult viewpoint with regard to their demands.

They might keep in mind that the Constitution gives us a right to speak, not a guar-

antee that anybody will listen. Or that we'll get our way.

People have a right to advocate, not a license to jam their views down the throats of others.

One who fails to get his own way does not, if he values the respect of adults, throw a tantrum or consider himself compelled to resort to violence. He simply recognizes that there are many disappointments, delays and defeats in life, and that one must learn to live with them as he continues to work toward the goals he believes in.

Young people are understandably preoccupied with their own problems, but if they took a broader view of education they would realize that almost everybody shares their concern about it.

When student days are finished, we marry and begin raising students of our own. Then, long after the last of the brood is through college, adults continue to pay for schools. Everybody pays property taxes (albeit sometimes in the form of rent). Some contribute extra money and effort to universities out of personal gratitude for their own educations, some because they see education as man's best hope for a better life.

Whatever our status, most of us are concerned. And involved. The student who understands that he has no under-30 monopoly on these qualities is far more likely to contribute to the solution than to the problem.

Such a student might even develop a degree of sympathy for adults who cheerfully accept the burden of providing good schools for their children. He might see them as people of good conscience who do the best they can to formulate sound policies and select respected professionals to serve as their administrators.

This is not to say that an understanding student would always agree with the adult community. But surely he would be less likely to ascribe base motives and stupidity to adults, or to force violent confrontations—or to challenge the Establishment to a battle unto death and then scream "Pigs!" when blood flows.

Violence always escalates. It doesn't settle much, just things like who will suffer the greatest hurt. The real issues always remain to be settled through peaceful negotiation.

A SALUTE TO FORT POLK

HON. SPEEDY O. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I have just received copies of a magazine entitled "Toledo Bend Country Salutes Fort Polk," a privately printed publication which gives the most complete account of both military and civilian sectors of the economy surrounding that Louisiana installation. The text of the magazine is brief and concise, an adequate means of informing Members of Congress of the history and development of this important Army post. I am therefore offering it for insertion in the RECORD. The text follows:

Fort Polk, the largest military installation in Louisiana, containing 311 square miles, is located in the western part of the state, in picturesque Kisatchie National Forest. The post is seven miles south of Leesville and 20 miles north of DeRidder, La.

This Army post, originally called Camp Polk, was established in 1941 and named in honor of the Right Reverend Leonidas

Polk, the first Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Louisiana, known as the "Fighting Bishop." He was killed in action in 1864 at Marietta, Ga.

During World War II, former President Eisenhower, Generals Mark Clark, Omar Bradley, Alfred Gruenther, George S. Patton, Jr., and Walter Krueger were among the famous leaders who directed the training of more than eight million soldiers at Fort Polk.

After the war, Camp Polk was deactivated and put on a standby basis until September 1950 when it became the home of the 45th Infantry Division in response to the needs of the Korean War.

The post was closed in 1954, reopened and designated a fort the following year, and deactivated again in June 1959. In September 1961 the post was reactivated to support another national emergency—the Berlin crisis. The 49th Armored Division and several Reserve support units served here until August 1962.

On June 1, 1962, Fort Polk was designated an Infantry training center and began receiving trainees in July. In December 1965, the post was selected to provide Vietnam-oriented advanced individual training. Fort Polk became a permanent installation October 23, 1968.

Numerous improvement programs have beautified the post since 1962. A new honor gate, magnolia and cypress trees, verdant lawns, and widened post roads provide a scenic welcome to newly assigned personnel and visitors. Construction of new buildings began in 1967. Among those completed are brigade classrooms, a bowling alley, a 1,000-seat theater, and a large post exchange complex.

With the declaration of permanency a total of 260 sets of on-post housing is planned for the initial housing construction effort during fiscal year 1970. Other projects include the main post chapel with a religious education facility, a 60-man bachelor officers quarters, a dental clinic, and a new noncommissioned officers club. Planning for future construction to afford permanent facilities in all areas throughout the post is nearing completion.

The ranges and training areas, which include modern electrically controlled target systems, all-weather access roads, and many varieties of ideal terrain, make available to Fort Polk trainees the finest area and facilities in the Army for Infantry training. A closed-circuit educational television system is included among the newest training methods and used in the modern 1,000-man brigade classrooms.

Fort Polk's climate, location, and terrain help make it an outstanding training area. Except for an occasional cold spell, temperatures during the winter months range between 35 and 45 degrees with considerable precipitation during January through May. Summers are hot and dry, with temperatures often exceeding 95 degrees.

Cities in the surrounding area offer a wide range of business, educational, recreational, cultural, and religious facilities. New Orleans, Houston, Galveston, Dallas, Biloxi and Little Rock are all within 300 miles of the post. Baton Rouge, the state capitol and home of Louisiana State University is 160 miles southeast with Alexandria 60 miles northeast and Lake Charles 70 miles south.

A dynamic training philosophy has been developed at this Infantry training post. It is best expressed by General Creighton Abrams' comment made during his visit to the command in 1965. "At Polk they don't recognize that there is anything they can't do." Its worth has been proved. Trainees have matched and topped qualification scores in physical training, combat proficiency tests, and marksmanship.

By early 1970, more than 770,000 men had been graduated from training courses here.

LEESVILLE

Leesville was designated the parish seat of Vernon Parish when the parish was established in 1871. By early 1970, the population of Leesville was about 20,000.

Forestry products, agriculture, and the supporting military installation are the principal sources of income for this area. Many civilians residing in Leesville and the surrounding communities are employed at Fort Polk.

The modern schools in Vernon Parish are accredited by the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges. There is one high school, one junior high school, three elementary schools, one kindergarten, and a day care center for retarded children. Leesville High School is equipped with an electronic language laboratory which has been used for language training by Fort Polk personnel.

There are fifteen Protestant Churches and one Roman Catholic Church in Leesville. Most of the Churches have active youth programs.

Recreational facilities include two motion picture theaters, a drive-in theater between Fort Polk and Leesville, and a skating rink. The municipal golf and recreational park consists of a nine-hole golf course, club house, tennis courts, barbecue pits, playground and pavilion. The club house and pavilion can be reserved for private parties. Other area facilities are Fullerton Lake, Anacoco Lake, Lake Vernon, Toledo Bend reservoir, and Hodges Gardens.

The Vernon Parish Library, located on Courthouse Square, contains about 30,000 volumes.

The USO in Leesville, on Third Street across from the Vernon Theater, features a game room, a music room, recording facilities, and a writing area.

DE RIDDER

DeRidder, the seat of Beauregard Parish, has a population of approximately 9,500 people.

The parish leads Louisiana in the production of wool and boasts formidable forestry and dairy industries. Fort Polk also provides a large source of income for the area.

There are 24 Protestant Churches and one Roman Catholic Church in DeRidder. Most of the churches have active youth programs.

The two high schools, junior high school, and three grammar schools are accredited by the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges.

DeRidder has two motion picture theaters and one drive-in theater. Military personnel are welcome to play at the nine-hole golf course on Highway 190, about three miles west of DeRidder. Other recreational facilities include a ten-lane bowling alley, a swimming pool, and city park with two tennis courts. The War Memorial Civic Center has eight meeting rooms, an auditorium, and two tennis courts. Lakes and streams in all directions offer consistently good fishing. Bundick's Lake, 1,840 acres of spring-fed water, and Longville Lake have public parks, skiing areas, boat launching ramps, and camping areas.

The Beauregard Museum is located at 110 North Pine St. The Beauregard Parish Library, on Washington Street, contains about 52,000 volumes.

DeRidder, using the slogan "DeLitter DeRidder," has been honored by being recognized as the number one community of over 7,000 entries in a nationwide community clean-up campaign.

FACILITIES AND SERVICES

Reporting in

Officers assigned or attached to Fort Polk sign in on the officers' register maintained in

the Post Housing Office, Bldg. 1712, across from Post Headquarters. Enlisted personnel sign in at the register maintained in HHC Special Troops, Bldg. 221, on Third Street.

All permanent party personnel should report to the Post Housing Office for confirmation of assignment and in-processing.

Household goods and baggage

Members anticipating arrival of personal property shipments should immediately contact the Transportation Office, Bldg. 4513, and advise of temporary addresses and telephone numbers.

Outbound shipment applications and counseling services are also available, in Bldg. 4513.

Housing activities division

There are 350 FHA Homes in the community of New Llano, five miles north of Fort Polk, available for rent to military families. To move into this development, the service members must contact the Post Housing Office in Bldg. 1712, located on the corner of Mississippi Avenue and Twelfth Street.

The nearby cities of Leesville and DeRidder have hundreds of modern air conditioned houses and apartments available for occupancy by military and civilian personnel stationed at Fort Polk. More than a thousand new homes have been built in the Leesville area alone since the fort was reactivated in 1961.

Fort Polk Trailer Park 1 has 70 spaces and Trailer Park 2 has 146 spaces. Numerous privately owned trailer parks are near Fort Polk.

Post Housing Office personnel keep current with the local housing situation and provide assistance to incoming military families in locating suitable community housing.

Billeting

The Billeting Office provides a variety of services to include assignment and termination of BOQ, BEQ, transient quarters and VIP facilities. A limited number of transient family quarters are available to incoming and departing families. These on-post facilities are available to officers and enlisted families.

Guest houses are located in South Fort, Bldg. 1731, on Louisiana Avenue near Mississippi Avenue and in North Fort, Bldgs. 7829 and 7830, at the corner of Entrance Road and Avenue G. These facilities are available as temporary accommodations for families visiting personnel assigned to the post.

Duty hours and holidays

Duty hours in the staff sections are from 0730 to 1630 with one hour off for lunch. Staff sections maintain minimum operable strength during the lunch hour, which is normally 1130 to 1230. Saturday office hours are 0730 to 1130.

Training schedules of units follow appropriate Army training programs. Normal training hours are from 0730 to 1630. Whenever additional instruction is necessary, an hour will be added to the normal day.

The following legal holidays are observed by military and civilian personnel, military duties permitting: New Year's Day; Washington's Birthday, February 22; Memorial Day, May 30; Independence Day, July 4; Labor Day, first Monday in September; Veteran's Day, November 11; Thanksgiving, fourth Thursday in November; and Christmas.

Exchange service station

The service station furnishes gas and oil to military personnel and their dependents. The station, located on Alabama Avenue between 12th and 13th Streets, provides such other services as chassis lubrications, oil changes, tire repairs, tune-ups, brake service and wheel balancing. In addition, numerous auto accessories may be purchased.

The station operates from 0700 to 2000, Monday through Friday; 0700 to 1800, Saturday; and 0900 to 1600, Sunday.

Commissary

The commissary, Virginia Avenue, Bldg. 4310, has complete lines of groceries and meats, as well as household items, available for purchase. Identification cards are needed for admittance.

Hours of operation are as follows: Monday through Friday, 0900 to 1900; Saturday, 0900 to 1500; closed Sundays and Holidays.

Tri-community relations advisory council

The Tri-Community Relations Advisory Council is chaired by Fort Polk's Deputy Commanding General and is comprised of military and civilian leaders from the De-Ridder-Fort Polk-Leesville community. The Council is most effective in identifying and solving potential and actual problems of mutual concern and in developing projects which benefit the community.

Theaters

There are four theaters (three air-conditioned) at Fort Polk, two at South Fort and two at North Fort.

Evangeline: Bldg. 1456, Mississippi Avenue and Ninth Street.

Bayou: Bldg. 1911, Mississippi Avenue near 14th Street.

Magnolia: Bldg. 7658, North Fort Polk, Avenue G and Seventh Street.

Pelican: Bldg. 8233, North Fort Polk, Avenue G between 12th and 14th.

The Evangeline and Magnolia Theaters have two showings Monday through Friday, 1830 and 2030 hours (box office opens at 1800). The Bayou has one showing Monday through Friday, 1900 (box office opens at 1830). All theaters have continuous showings on Saturday, Sunday and Holidays. Saturday and Sunday showings begin at 1300. Continuous showings run through 2200. The Evangeline and Magnolia theaters have Saturday late shows beginning at 2230.

Post exchange

There are 13 exchanges on post that provide facilities for everyday services for the military man and his family. In addition to providing sundry items for everyday consumption, other services are available, such as snack bars; a service station; and civilian concessions, including barber shops, laundries and a photographer's studio.

The Main Post Exchange is on Ninth Street between Alabama and Mississippi avenues in Bldg. 1455, phone 578-2051.

Entertainment

The Entertainment Division offers three programs to serve the military community.

Professional entertainment is provided in the Kisatchie Theater, Bldg. 1228, Alabama Avenue between Sixth and Seventh Streets, and the Field House, Bldg. 1411, Ninth Street and Mississippi Avenue.

The Entertainment Workshop, Bldg. 1228, Alabama Avenue, offers participation in dramatic plays, comedies and stage musicals.

Brigade entertainment activity centers provide musical and variety entertainment to training brigades. Activities now open are:

Building and Location

2210: 17th St. between Mississippi and Alabama

1824: 14th and Mississippi Ave.

1309: 8th St. between Mississippi and Alabama

8276: North Fort, 14th St. and Ave. H

4705: North Service Command Circle

7319: North Fort, 3d AIT Brigade

Unit level entertainment headquarters is in Bldg. 903, Mississippi Avenue and 16th Street.

Brigade entertainment activity centers are open from 1800 to 2130 on weekdays and 1300 to 2130 on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.

Officers' open mess

The Officers' Club is open to officers and their families and guests. Regularly scheduled activities such as the booking of dance bands and international menu nights are features of the club. Food, beverages, and recreational activities are available. Hours of operation and dress rules are established in the House Rules. Upon arrival at Fort Polk you will receive an application for membership. The Officers' Club is located in Bldg. 3, on Louisiana Avenue.

A beauty shop is located in the Officers' Club. Hours of operation are: 0800 to 1630, Monday through Friday; 0800 to 1200, Saturday.

Meals are available as follows:
Monday through Saturday: 0600-0800, 1130-1300, 1800-2100.

Short Order: 1630-2200.
Sunday and Holidays: 0800-1400, 1800-2100.

Short Order: 1130-2200.

Western Union

Western Union is in the South Fort Guest House, Bldg. 1731. Hours of operation are 0800 to 2000, Monday through Friday; 0800 to 1800, Saturday; and 0800 to 1600, Sunday.

NCO open mess facilities

Food and beverages are available at reasonable prices at NCOOM, Bldg. 315, South Fort, on Corps Rd., and at Annex 1, Bldg. 7214, North Fort, on 11th Street near Avenue D, for all members in pay grades E4 through E9, their dependents, and authorized guests. Scheduled entertainment is announced in appropriate media. Hours of operation are: Monday through Friday, 1100-2300; Friday, 1130-2400; Saturday, 0930-0200; Sunday, 0930-2400. Happy Hour at all clubs and annexes is 1700-2000, Friday.

Package sales outlets: Hours of operation are Monday through Friday, 1130-1330 and 1630-2000; Saturday, 1000-2200. Closed Sunday.

Light snacks, beverages, and entertainment are available for permanent party personnel in grades of SP4 and below at Annex 2, Bldg. 7301, North Fort, on Fourth Street, between Avenues E and F, and Annex 3, Bldg. 4608, on Louisiana Avenue at Ohio Avenue, South Fort. Hours of operation are Monday through Friday 1700-2200; Saturday, 1200-2400; Sunday, 1200-2200.

Photo study

A photographic studio operates in Bldg. 1901, Alabama Avenue at 14th Street, 1200 to 1700, Tuesday through Saturday. The photo studio at North Fort is in Bldg. 7836, Eighth Street at Avenue H. Hours of operation are 1500 to 1900, Tuesday through Friday; 1000 to 1400, Saturday. Services such as portrait studies and developing are offered.

Medical services

United States Army Hospital provides in-patient and outpatient care for military personnel and their dependents.

An information desk is located in the Hospital Headquarters, Bldg. 734, on Utah Avenue. Information is available daily from 0730 to 2200 hours.

Visiting hours for most clinics are from 1400 to 1600, and 1800 to 2000 daily. Children under the age of 14 years are not permitted to visit in the hospital. Exceptions to the visiting regulations may be requested by calling Hospital Headquarters.

The Emergency Room and Dependent Outpatient Clinic are located in Bldg. 735, on Utah Avenue. The Emergency Room is open 24 hours a day, and a medical officer is on duty at all times. Emergency ambulance service is available around the clock for calls on post and in adjacent areas.

In addition to the Dependent Outpatient Clinic, various specialty treatment clinics

are in operation. Patients are seen in all clinics, by appointment during duty hours for evaluation and treatment.

Immunizations are administered in the emergency room from 0800 to 1100 and 1300 to 1600, Monday through Friday, without appointment, and from 0800 to 1100 Saturdays by appointment only.

Routine sick call for dependents is held at the Dependent Outpatient Clinic from 1300 to 1600 Monday through Friday on an appointment basis.

A Post Nursery is located in the hospital area, Bldg. 658, on Utah Avenue. Parents are encouraged to place their children in the nursery during calls at the hospital clinics or to make arrangements for them to be cared for outside the Dependent Clinic waiting rooms.

ID cards

The Identification Section, located in Bldg. 317 on Corps Road, issues identification cards for military personnel and civilians.

The Uniformed Services Identification and Privilege Card is issued to eligible dependents of retired personnel, lawful dependents (10 years of age or older) of military personnel on active duty, and unremarried widow's of deceased military personnel.

Processing of permanent party and dependent personnel is from 0730 to 1630, Monday through Friday, and 0730 to 1130, Saturday.

ID cards processing activity for trainee personnel is located in Bldg. 4749, south of Service Command Circle in the Reception Station area.

Postal service

The U.S. Post Office, Bldg. 1804, on Louisiana Avenue between Mississippi and Alabama Avenues, is open from 0800 to 1600, Monday through Saturday. Postal finance services, including stamps, money orders, and parcel post, are available.

A post office is also operated at North Fort Polk in Bldg. 7804, on G Avenue between Seventh and Eighth Streets, from 0900 to 1900, Monday through Friday and 1200 to 1600 Saturday.

Dental service

Dental Service is provided for military personnel and their dependents, although care provided for dependents is limited in some cases by the needs of active duty personnel. Emergency treatment is available for anyone at any time. After normal duty hours it is available at Dental Clinic 3.

Permanent party personnel report for sick call at Dental Clinic 1 if stationed at South Fort, at Dental Clinic 4 if stationed at North Fort. Hours are 0730 to 0930 Monday through Saturday and 1230 to 1430 Monday through Friday. Dependents report to Dental Clinic 3 for their first routine examination during these same hours. Trainees report to the clinic designated by their organization.

Dental clinic	Building	Location
1	1814	Alabama Ave. near Louisiana Ave.
2	1734	Louisiana Ave. near Alabama Ave.
3	628	Intersection of Colorado and Wyoming Aves.
4	8001	Intersection of 9th St. and G Ave., North Fort Polk.
5	501	Colorado Ave. near Louisiana Ave.
6	8409	G Ave. near 15th St., North Fort Polk.

Shoe shop

A shoe repair shop is in Bldg. 1627, 12th Street. Hours are 1000 to 1800, Monday through Friday; 0900 to 1400, Saturday.

Religious services

Facilities—There are 25 chaplains and 15 chapels at Fort Polk to serve the religious needs of the post. Times and places of

religious services are published in the weekly edition of the Daily Bulletin.

Denominational services—Besides general Protestant and Catholic services, denominational services for Episcopal, Lutheran, Latter Day Saints and Christian Science are available every Sunday.

Jewish services—Although there is no Jewish military chaplain assigned to Fort Polk, a Rabbi from the civilian community visits the post for services each Friday evening and Saturday morning.

Religious education—Sunday school is located at South Fort, on Washington Circle. Transportation from Leesville and the surrounding trailer parks is provided.

Catholic services—Religious instruction for Catholic dependents is provided at St. Michael's Church in Leesville. Military bus transportation from the post to the church is available.

Inquiries regarding the religious program may be directed to the Office of the Post Chaplain, Bldg. 2010, on Mississippi Avenue, phone 578-2428 or 578-2327.

During non-duty hours a chaplain may be reached at 578-4357.

Service clubs

Service clubs are directed by professional recreation personnel and offer a wide variety of activities such as: parties, shows, dances, musical programs, tournaments, exhibits, tours and special interest groups.

These are facilities and equipment for individual or group use in such activities as: pool, table tennis, shuffleboard, table games, musical instruments, phonographs and recordings, reading and writing.

A daily calendar of events for each service club is published on the first of every month.

The schedule and locations of the four service clubs is as follows:

Sunday and holidays	0900-2200
Monday-Friday	1700-2200
Saturday	1300-2200

No. 1—Bldg. 1733 (La Louisiane) on Louisiana Avenue between Mississippi and Alabama Avenues.

No. 2—Bldg. 2313 (Cajun) on 20th Street near Mississippi Avenue.

No. 3—Bldg. 1137 (Fairview) on Mississippi Avenue between Fifth and Sixth Streets.

No. 4—Bldg. 7831 (Whispering Pines) North Fort on Entrance Road between Avenues G and H.

AUSA

The Leonidas Polk Chapter of the Association of the U.S. Army was organized in 1963. Events sponsored by the chapter include a Fourth of July picnic (largest annual event in the area), an annual spring social and quarterly meetings. The chapter also offers four scholarships amounting to \$6,000 to young men interested in a career in the U.S. Army. Membership is comprised of active and retired military personnel and the area civilians interested in supporting the U.S. Army.

Hunting and fishing

Prior to hunting and fishing on post, all personnel over the age of 16 years must be in possession of the following:

A valid hunting or fishing license issued by the State of Louisiana. Licenses are available at the Sheriff's office in Leesville and local sporting goods stores.

A season permit, obtainable free at the Provost Marshal's Office, Bldg. 1, Louisiana and Mississippi avenues.

A daily clearance, Fort Polk Form 766 (Hunting and Fishing Permit), obtainable at the Provost Marshal's Office. This clearance is provided on a daily basis to insure that all appropriate personnel are informed of the firing danger areas. The clearance may be obtained on the day prior to anticipated use or on Fridays for use on weekends.

Pet care on post

A pet off the premises of its owner should be on a leash and attended by a responsible

individual. The registration tag of the pet should be worn on its collar or harness whenever the pet is out of doors. Pets at large will be impounded by the military police. Pets are registered and immunized in accordance with Fort Polk regulations.

The Veterinarian Clinic is located in Bldg. 601 on Colorado and Wyoming avenues. Hours are Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, 0800 to 1100; Tuesday and Thursday, 1300 to 1400; open anytime for emergencies. The clinic has a small charge for services.

Sports facilities

The Field House (Bldg. 1411) is on Ninth Street near Mississippi Avenue. Boxing, basketball, handball, squash, volleyball, wrestling, tennis, trampolines, and weightlifting facilities are available from 0900 to 2130, Monday through Friday, and from 1300 to 2030, Saturday, Sunday and holidays. A sauna bath is also available.

Ladies' hours at the Field House, sauna bath, and other athletic facilities are announced through the Daily Bulletin, The Outpost and other media.

The South Fort Swimming Pool, in the 200 block on Mississippi Avenue between Third and Fourth Streets, operates from 1930 to 2000 daily, April through October.

The North Fort Swimming Pool, located in the 7400 block on Avenue H, between Second and Third Streets, operates from 1130 to 1930, Tuesday through Saturday; and from 0900 to 1930 on Sundays and holidays, April through October.

The 18-hole Fort Polk Special Services Golf Course operates from 0730 until dark daily. The course also has a driving range.

The two air-conditioned bowling facilities at Fort Polk, Bldg. 1940, Alabama Avenue near 15th Street, Bldg. 7841, Artillery Road, North Fort, operate from 1130 to 2330, Monday through Saturday, and 1000 to 2330, Sundays and Holidays.

Other athletic facilities are as follows: 4 brigade athletic gymnasiums, 6 lighted softball fields, 13 hardsurface tennis courts, 2 lighted tennis courts (700), 2 multipurpose courts.

Arts and crafts shops

There are eight crafts facilities open to serve you. Individual shops are open five days a week on an alternating schedule.

Craft Shop 1, Bldg. 2201, Alabama Avenue and 17th Street, offers leather, ceramics, graphic arts, oil painting, drawing, metal enameling, water color, painting, ceramic sculpture, mobile making, jewelry and other activities.

Craft Shop 2, Bldg. 7834, North Fort, Eighth Street between Avenues G and H, offers the same as above, plus lapidary, silver smithing, art metal, a small photography lab and a resale store.

Craft Shop 3, Bldg. 1424, South Fort, Alabama Avenue between 9th and 10th Streets, offers color and black and white photography, electronics, leather and other minor crafts. It also has a resale store.

Craft Shop 4, Bldg. 2504, South Fort, offers model airplane construction and flying meets, archery equipment construction, leather work, ceramic and lapidary. The shop has a resale store.

Wood Craft Shop 1, Bldg. 1437, Mississippi Avenue, between 9th and 10th Streets, and Wood Craft Shop 2, Bldg. 8007, North Fort, Avenue G between 10th and 11th Streets, offer all types of wood work such as boat building, furniture construction, finishing, carving, turning, prefabrication, cabinet making and wood sculpture. Wood Shop 2 also offers upholstery.

Some materials are stocked for sale.

Hours of operation are as follows:

Craft Shop 1:	
Monday-Wednesday	1300-2200
Saturday, Sunday, holidays	0900-1700

Craft Shop 2:	
Wednesday-Friday	1300-2200
Saturday, Sunday, holidays	0900-1700

Craft Shop 3:

Wednesday-Friday	1300-2200
Saturday, Sunday, holidays	0900-1700

Craft Shop 4:

Monday-Wednesday	1300-2200
Saturday, Sunday, holidays	0900-1700

Wood Craft Shop 1: (South Fort)

Monday-Wednesday	1300-2200
Saturday, Sunday, holidays	0900-1700

Wood Craft Shop 2: (North Fort)

Wednesday-Friday	1300-2200
Saturday, Sunday, holidays	0900-1700

The Auto Craft Shop 1, Bldg. 211, Third Street and Auto Craft Shop 2, Bldg. 8509, North Fort, Avenue J and 13th Street, offer complete facilities for repair, tune-ups, washing, greasing, steam cleaning, undercoating, body work and new construction. Parts are stocked for resale. Hours of operation are as follows:

Auto Shop 1:

Monday-Wednesday	1300-2200
Saturday, Sunday, holidays	0900-1700

Auto Shop 2:

Wednesday-Friday	1300-2200
Saturday, Sunday, holidays	0900-1700

Vehicle registration

Private vehicles may be brought on post and are subject to post regulations established by the commanding general.

Private cars kept on post by assigned personnel or vehicles driven to and from post regularly must be registered with the Provost Marshal's Office within 72 hours of arrival on post.

A temporary registration permit, valid for up to 30 days or longer (depending on the individual's status), may be obtained from Vehicle Registration, Bldg. 3330, on Georgia Avenue.

Permanent registration decals are issued by Vehicle Registration when each applicant presents:

1. Proof of ownership or written permission of the owner to operate.
2. Proof of \$5,000, \$10,000, and \$5,000 liability insurance.
3. A valid operator's license.
4. A valid state safety inspection sticker.
5. A valid state license plate.

Uniforms

Wearing of uniforms is prescribed in AR 670-5 and Fort Polk Directives, 670 series.

Seasonal change over dates are: Summer uniforms, second Monday in March; winter uniforms, first Monday in December.

Youth activities advisory council

YAAC provides recreational activities and programs for dependents of military and civilian personnel at Fort Polk. A teen center is located in Bldg. 200 on the corner of Mississippi Avenue and Third Street.

Food services

The main cafeteria on Tennessee Avenue, Bldg. 4320, operates from 0630 to 1700, Monday through Friday.

Service Club Cafeteria, Bldg., 1733 Louisiana Avenue, is open from 0630 to 2200, and closed daily from 1300 to 1500 for cleaning.

North Fort Snack Bar, Bldg. 7803, off Entrance Road on Avenue G, is open from 0700 to 2100 daily and closed daily from 1300 to 1500.

The Bowling Alley Snack Bar, South Fort, Bldg. 1940, on Alabama Avenue and 15th Street, operates from 1130 to 2100, Monday through Friday; 1230 to 2200 Saturday; and 1030 to 2000, Sunday and holidays.

The Golf Course Snack Bar, Bldg. 324, operates from 1100 to 1900, Monday through Saturday; 0900 to 1900, Sunday. It is closed during inclement weather.

There are 14 mobile snack units carrying snack items throughout the installation to troops in areas not served by an established food activity.

A dairy bar in South Fort at Bldg. 1725A, Alabama Avenue, is open 1000 to 2100, Monday through Friday, and 0900 to 2100, Satur-

day and Sunday. Ice cream, soft drinks and snacks are available.

Quick Stop Snack Bar 2, Bldg. 2375, Alabama Avenue and 21st Street is open from 1100 to 2100 daily.

A Pizza House is in Bldg. 1627, on 12th Street and Alabama Avenue and is open daily from 1000 to 2200. Delivery service is available from 1700 to 2100. The North Fort Pizza Stand, Bldg. 5659, is open Monday through Friday from 1000 to 2230 and Saturday and Sunday from 1000 to 2330. Delivery service is available from 1630 to 2100.

Optometrist

An optical clinic is in Bldg. 742. Hours of operation are 0730 to 1630, Monday through Friday.

Federal civilian employment

Applicants for Civil Service employment at Fort Polk have to file applications with the Interagency Board of United States Civil Service Examiners for the State of Louisiana, 600 South St., New Orleans.

The Interagency Board has recently opened an examination point in the Standard Bldg., 104 Second St., DeRidder. Applicants with prior Federal Civil Service may apply to the Civilian Personnel Office, Bldg. 502, on Colorado Avenue.

Loan service

Emergency loan services to military personnel are available through two agencies on post. The Red Cross Field Office, Bldg. 1711, on 12th Street between Mississippi and Alabama Avenues, and the Army Emergency Relief Fund, Post Adjutant General's Office, render financial assistance to military personnel in emergencies. AER, Bldg. 317, is located on Corps Road between Mississippi Avenue and Louisiana Highway 467.

Banking

Complete banking services are available through the Fort Polk Branch of the Rapides Bank and Trust Company of Alexandria. The facility, open from 1030 to 1400, Monday through Friday, is in Bldg. 1815, on Alabama Avenue, between Louisiana Avenue and 14th Street.

Federal credit union

The Fort Polk Federal Credit Union operates in Bldg. 1908, 14th Street, between Mississippi and Alabama Avenues. Membership is open to all military and civilian personnel assigned to or employed at Fort Polk. Hours are 0930 to 1500, Monday through Friday.

Post libraries

A variety of fiction, technical and reference books, magazines, newspapers, pamphlets and records are available to active and retired military personnel, their dependents and civilian employees.

Research, reference, readers' advisory services, interlibrary loans and field collections in support of staff functions are offered by professional librarians. The Hospital library gives ward service to patients and Branch 2 Library houses a children's collection. Post Library—Building 1802, Louisiana Avenue near Alabama Avenue:

Monday-Friday 1200-2100
Saturday, Sunday, holidays... 1200-2100

Hospital Branch—Building 639, Utah Avenue
Monday-Friday 1200-2100
Saturday, Sunday, holidays... 1200-2100

Branch No. 1—Building 2106, 16th Street between Mississippi and Alabama Avenues:
Monday-Friday 1730-2100
Saturday, Sunday and
holidays 1200-2100

Branch No. 2—Building 1331, Mississippi Avenue between 8th and 9th Streets:
Monday-Friday 1200-2100
Saturday, Sunday, and
holidays 1200-2100

North Fort—Building 7801, F Avenue between Entrance Road and 8th Street:
Monday-Friday 1200-2100
Saturday, Sunday, and
holidays 1200-2100

Clothing sales

Directorate of Supply conducts clothing sales in Bldg. 1615, on 12th Street and Mississippi Avenue. Hours of operation are 1100 to 1730, Tuesday through Saturday.

Officers' wives club

Membership in the OWC of Fort Polk is open to wives of all members of the Officers' Open Mess. Dues are \$2 per year. Meetings are held on the first Wednesday of each month.

Some of the activities offered by OWC are bridge lessons, party bridge, ceramics, golf, gourmet cooking, oil and water painting and bowling.

Noncommissioned officers wives club

Membership in the NCO's Wives Club is open to all NCO wives. Dues are \$1 per month. Business meetings are held the first Thursday of the month in the NCO Club Bldg. 315, on Corps Road. There is a luncheon every third Wednesday of the month and bingo every Sunday afternoon and Tuesday night.

Legal assistance

Advice on legal problems is available to military personnel and their dependents from the office of the Staff Judge Advocate, Legal Assistance Section, Bldg. 914. Legal assistance is a professional service under the supervision of the Staff Judge Advocate and is rendered within the purview of AR 608-50.

American Red Cross

The American Red Cross is the agency designated by Congress and the Defense Department to serve as a medium of communication between the serviceman and his home. It assists the serviceman and his immediate family with emergency communication and other problems. The Red Cross does not have a command function, and therefore, does not approve or disapprove leave, but does assist the man and his family in getting appropriate information to military authorities so a leave decision can be made by the military.

In the event of serious illness, death, or other emergencies, your dependents or immediate family should contact their local Red Cross chapter. The chapter will send a factual report to the post Red Cross Office, and this information will be used by the military in making leave decisions.

The Red Cross staff, located in the hospital, furnishes reporting, counseling, and recreation services for patients and staff of the hospital. The field office staff is available for counseling and assistance in problems relating to financial assistance, emergency needs, hardship and dependency discharges, reassignments, and family financial problems.

Financial assistance to men and families is based on needs brought about by circumstances beyond the control of the individual. Dependents residing in the Fort Polk area are serviced by the local community Red Cross Chapter rather than by the South Fort Field Office.

The South Fort Field Office is located in Bldg. 1711, on 12th Street between Mississippi and Alabama avenues. The North Fort Field Office is located in Bldg. 7835, on Artillery Road. Office hours are 0800 to 1600, Monday through Friday. At other times contact the telephone operator for name and number of duty worker.

Passenger travel

Air Service: Scheduled commercial air travel is available from Fort Polk Army Airfield on a daily basis. Flights connect with all major airlines through Houston, New Orleans and Dallas gateways. Transportation requests, reservations and other travel information are available during normal duty hours, Monday through Friday, at Bldg. 4513. Tickets may be purchased at the Joint Army Military Ticket Office (JAMTO), Bldg. 4622 or the Texas International Airline ticket counter, Fort Polk Army Airfield.

Bus Service: Scheduled commercial bus service is available at the Trailways Bus Station, Leesville, with connecting service to all points in the United States. Bus schedules, fares and transportation requests can be obtained from the Transportation Office. Tickets may be purchased at the JAMTO Office or direct from bus representatives in the Leesville bus terminal.

The Fort Polk Transit Company provides bus service between the installation and Leesville. Buses originate at all post Service Clubs. Schedules are available at the Transportation Office, Service Clubs or the Fort Polk Transit Company.

Post Military Bus Service is also provided on free shuttle schedules throughout the installation. Pickup points are clearly marked. Operating schedules are available from the Transportation Motor Pool.

Taxi Service: Commercial taxi firms provide on-post taxi service and transportation from the installation to local communities and return. Current transportation licenses do not provide for long distance travel of members and/or their dependents via this mode of travel except for bona-fide emergencies. Violations should be reported to the PMO or Transportation Officer.

Military taxi service for official use is provided by the Transportation Motor Pool upon request. This service is not authorized for off-post travel of persons in a temporary duty status.

Army education center

Fort Polk's Army Education Center fulfills the vital role of affording educational opportunities to military and civilian personnel and their dependents. An equally important role is its civilian occupational training for many who are soon to be discharged.

Through its testing program for Project 100,000 inductees, the post identifies men who cannot read at a fifth-grade level or better, and enters these on Army Preparatory Training to improve their reading skill. Most are brought to fifth-grade proficiency in three weeks through advanced teaching techniques used here.

An aggressive Project Transition program offers many soon to be discharged soldiers an opportunity to learn a marketable civilian skill during their last six months of military service. More than 30 civilian trades may be studied, and the post maintains nationwide contact with 1,000 prospective employers to help the veteran get a job referral.

Education at Fort Polk extends to the U.S. Army Hospital where an education annex assists many patients to improve their education while undergoing lengthy convalescence.

Weapons registration

All privately owned weapons maintained on Fort Polk must be registered at the Provost Marshal's Office, Bldg. 1, on Louisiana and Mississippi avenues. Arms must then be turned in to unit arms (supply) rooms where security is maintained.

Army community service (family services)

Army Community Service (ACS) assists active duty and retired personnel and their dependents, as well as next of kin of deceased active or retired Army personnel residing in this area. ACS aids by counseling, referring to other assistance agencies, and offering programs designed to meet various needs in the military community.

ACS activities deal with problems such as securing transportation, helping coordinate emergency financial assistance, obtaining identification cards, medical care and legal assistance.

ACS programs include Big Brother (to meet the needs of boys whose fathers are not at home), Waiting Wives, Drivers Training, Emergency Child Care, Future Citizens Classes, Emergency Assistance in cases where homes are destroyed and coordination of dependent medical care benefits.

Recognizing the fact that Army families

with handicapped children have unusual problems in securing education, training therapy, and diagnostic services for these children, ACS has developed a program to aid these families.

Volunteers from the military and civilian community are utilized in all of these programs and are instrumental in helping ACS accomplish its mission—to provide answers to questions from troubled personnel.

BURKE ANNOUNCES 1970 QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I wish to announce that once again I am sending to the constituents in my district, my fourth annual questionnaire requesting their views on some of the vital issues confronting this Congress and our Nation.

More than 240,000 residents of my district will receive this poll and I hope that this year I will receive an even greater response than the 40,000 plus returns, which I received in 1969.

The following is a copy of my 1970 questionnaire with my message to the citizens of the 10th Congressional District. I intend to publish in the RECORD later in this session, a comprehensive tabulation of the questionnaire results for the purpose of giving my fellow colleagues an insight into South Florida's views on national issues.

BURKE QUESTIONNAIRE

During the next few months there will be many controversial matters brought to the House floor for decisions which will vitally affect the future of our Nation.

In the past, I sent questionnaires to determine your views and am doing so once again because your thinking will be of great help to me if I am to properly exercise the privilege you granted me to vote your proxy as your representative in the U.S. Congress in resolving these vital issues.

I appreciate that many of the questions will be difficult to resolve by a simple yes or no answer. But so too, is it sometimes difficult for me to cast a strict yes or no vote when I am faced, as I often am, with a bill of many pages and titles . . . but must nevertheless cast a single vote for or against the entire package.

I want you to know that I am grateful for the time and consideration you give in responding to my questionnaire, and where perhaps my vote may not coincide with your opinion, you may be sure that I will strive to cast my vote as directed by the majority of the people of the Tenth Congressional District, honestly, fairly and impartially.

Questions

- | | Yes | No |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| In order to combat inflation, would you favor wage and price controls? _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| In the Israeli-Arab controversy, which of the following do you favor: | | |
| Reduction of U.S. assistance to Israel? _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Increase U.S. military assistance to Israel? _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| A neutral position concerning both Israel and the Arab bloc? _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Face to face negotiations between Israelis and Arabs? _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

- Negotiations for a peace settlement under the direction of the four powers, U.S., France, Britain and Russia? _____
- Do you think school children should be bussed to achieve racial balance in our schools? _____
- To further help retired citizens, do you favor my bill, H.R. 2068 which would remove all earning limitations for social security recipients? _____
- Do you favor continued automatic social security increases based on the cost of living index? _____
- Do you believe public employees should have the right to strike? _____
- Do you favor a system of national health insurance for all citizens? _____
- Should the power of the President to commit American troops to combat without the approval of the Congress be curbed? _____
- Do you favor the creation of a postal corporation as proposed by the administration? _____
- In order to fight the War on Crime, which one of the following do you feel is most important: (please check one)
 - More effort to reduce the social causes of crime? _____
 - More federal funds to states and cities? _____
 - Tough sentences by judges? _____
 - More authority to police? _____
 - Reintroduction of capital punishment? _____
- With respect to raising an army to defend the nation which one of the following do you favor: (please check one)
 - Continuing the lottery in its present form? _____
 - Replacing the draft system with an all-volunteer army? _____
- Do you believe the voting age should be lowered to: (please check one)
 - 18? _____
 - 19? _____
 - 20? _____
- Left to the states to decide in accordance with the intent on the Constitution? _____

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY SENIOR SHOWS REAL COURAGE IN PROTECTING THE AMERICAN FLAG FROM MINDLESS MOB

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, an article appearing in yesterday's issue of the Washington Daily News, and nowhere else to my knowledge, tells of the courage and patriotism of a 21-year-old American University senior, Mr. David Shapiro. His protection of the American flag on campus is in refreshing contrast to what has become a nightly feature on the television news programs depicting mindless mobs burning and otherwise desecrating the flag. I salute Mr. Shapiro and offer his example as one that his fellow students might consider emulating.

I include the article from the Washington Daily News in the RECORD at this point:

FLAG SAVER

David Shapiro, a 21-year-old American University senior yesterday guarded the American flag on campus against student demonstrators.

He prevented students from turning the flag upside down and running it at half staff. They surrounded him at the flagpole and demanded he let them have the flag. He wouldn't.

"We're the people of the university and the flag has to come down," said one. "That's the sign of the people who are killing people," said another. When the crowd saw it would take a fight to get Mr. Shapiro to leave they backed off.

"The flag has no place in any issue," said Mr. Shapiro, who leaned against the iron flagstaff while the students swarmed to Ward Circle for a demonstration.

"I'm going to stay here till I'm sure the flag won't come down," he said and did until the flag was lowered at its usual time—dusk.

ESCALATION IN CAMBODIA

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the President's actions in authorizing the escalation of the Vietnam war is a tragic and misguided step. Not only did the President act without the approval of Congress, but he also signaled his repudiation of attempting to achieve a political settlement to the conflict in favor of an illusory military victory. Joseph Kraft's column which appeared in the May 7 edition of the Washington Post very accurately analyzes this folly, and I commend it to my colleagues for their most careful consideration. The column follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 7, 1940] **DAMAGE TO RED SUPPLY LINES COULD BE OF FLEETING VALUE**
(By Joseph Kraft)

American troops entered Cambodia in search of the main enemy headquarters. They end up burning a bunch of dusty native villages.

Presumably some damage will be done to Communist supply lines, stores, and plans. But for how long? The White House estimates it will take eight or nine months for the Communists to build back to where they were. President Nguyen van Thieu of South Vietnam told Osborne Elliott of Newsweek magazine that the effects would last "two, three months—five, six months."

Then what? The White House has not yet figured out how to do an encore. President Thieu is not so reticent. He laughingly told Newsweek: "We will go in again when it is necessary."

What this teaches—once again—is that there is no way to end the Vietnamese war by conventional military force, that the only good way out is to negotiate out. But what does the latest set of strikes do for the negotiating possibility?

Well, the Russians and those leaders of Hanoi who favor a negotiated settlement are plainly on the defensive. That is the meaning of the Communist boycott of the Paris peace talks this week. That is why Le Duc Tho, Hanoi's chief negotiator, has left Paris, backtracking from early indications of sympathy with the idea of a new Geneva conference. That is why Premier Alexei Kosygin

of Russia, when asked about a Geneva meeting at his press conference the other day, replied: "At this point it is necessary to stop their allies in Hanoi have had a new boost."

Similarly, the Communist Chinese and the aggressor—not to hold conferences." for their theory of maintaining a perpetual guerrilla war in Indochina. That is why Peking is plugging as never before the insurgent liberation movements of Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam. That is why Hanoi is making such a big deal about the presence of Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai at a recent meeting in South China of all the Communist parties to the Vietnam war.

No doubt a temporary clouding of the negotiating prospect would be justifiable if the great center of the Communist power was being put on notice to behave by the show of strength in Cambodia. But the Russians are not getting that message at all.

On the contrary, at his press conference, Mr. Kosygin was confident to the point of joking about western speculation on inner Kremlin politics. He spoke of a new burst of activity by Soviet pilots in Egypt with bland impunity. For the fact is that the United States is not exactly in good position to complain about potential Soviet threats while the Cambodian invasion is going forward. Indeed, the deeper fact is that the Nixon administration is too obsessed by Cambodia even to focus serious attention on the grave challenge in the Near East.

In the same confident vein, Mr. Kosygin announced that Cambodia might cause the Russians to reconsider their position in the arms control talks now underway in Vienna. At best, that means that Moscow, far from being scared, is applying against the United States the administration's famous policy of linkage—the policy of saying you behave or we won't play ball in the arms control talks.

At worst, there could be genuine harm done to the prospects for arms control. For the Soviets are negotiating on the assumption that agreement will register rough parity between the Big Two. They have finally begun to believe former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's assurances that neither side could gain from an increase in strategic weaponry. But if they begin to get the wind up, if they are convinced that this country is creating a climate of confrontation in order to go one up, then they could easily back away from any agreement.

So far, most of these bleak developments are potential. They could be undone by a reversal of American policy. But that would mean finally rejecting the contention of the American military that they can win decisive advantages in Vietnam. It would mean understanding that President Thieu is advocating a policy of perpetual war. It would mean moving to negotiate by changing the ambassador and the commander in Vietnam in order to pave the way for a new government ready to compromise with the other side. And doing all those things takes courage—the moral courage of convictions, not the kind given to men who think they have to prove they are tough.

**JOSEPH C. MAZUR, POLISH ARTIST,
FAMED FOR CHURCH ARTWORK**

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, there are churches throughout the Nation—and particularly in western New York State—which contain the artwork of a real artist, Joseph C. Mazur.

A lifelong resident of my home city of Buffalo, N.Y., Mr. Mazur had been in ill health for several years. He died 2 weeks ago in Buffalo's Veterans' Administration Hospital.

His many works over the years are widely appreciated although many, unfortunately, never had the pleasure of knowing this exceptional artist personally.

Mr. Speaker, the Buffalo Evening News has related many of Mr. Mazur's accomplishments and I include the article as a part of my remarks:

JOSEPH MAZUR DIES; HIS ART WAS A RELIGION

Joseph C. Mazur, Buffalo-born Polish artist whose work adorns countless churches in Western New York and throughout the country, died Thursday (April 23, 1970) in the Veterans Administration Hospital. He had been in ill health for several years.

One of a handful of artists in America still able to work in stained glass, he was 73 and lived at 2 Virginia Pl.

Mr. Mazur was internationally known for his stained-glass windows and church decoration before he was 30. He was skilled at mural paintings, portraits, landscapes, sculpture, wood carving, etching, batik and interior and exterior design as well as architecture.

He was the designer of several Buffalo homes.

He was the sculptor of the celebrated Chopin Monument in front of the Buffalo Museum of Science, unveiled in 1925.

He executed the city's official portrait of the late Mayor Mruk. He did the murals and designed the interior and much of the exterior of the Polish Village. He designed and contributed to the holdings of the Polish Books Room at Lockwood Memorial Library, State University of Buffalo.

RECEIVED ART SCHOLARSHIPS

He was a talented pianist and gave lectures on Polish music, art and literature.

He was the son of Alois Mazur and Anna Bernecka, who came here from Poland. He was a graduate of Masten Park High School, attended the Albright Art School (then Buffalo Fine Arts School) on scholarships and studied at the Art Students League in New York City, also on scholarship, before starting work on his own.

Mr. Mazur became known as a successful church painter and decorator in several cities before returning to Buffalo, where he maintained studios for about 50 years.

He was a World War I naval veteran, and one of the first chapels he decorated and executed murals for the Chapel of the 16th Regiment in Great Lakes, Ill.

COUNTLESS FRIENDS

Although termed a Renaissance painter Mr. Mazur felt that church painting must appeal to the emotions of the people and frequently used brighter colors than the Europeans of that era. He even "bobbed" the hair on some of his church-window angels, causing a small liturgical flurry in Buffalo during the 20s and 30s.

His wife, the former Stefa Kluczycka of Buffalo was a frequent model for his painting and sculpture.

Although not a "joiner," Mr. Mazur was the first president of the Polish-American artists society here. He did the frontispiece for "Micklewicz and the West," a volume of five essays on the Polish poet, patriot and exile, published in 1956.

ROLE AT CANISIUS

He was a frequent anonymous giver to charity and also donated his bas-relief facial sculpture of the Polish poet Juliusz Slowacki to UB's Lockwood, Library in 1960.

Able to work until 1964, even after the loss of a leg four years earlier, the penalty of long

years on a scaffold, Mr. Mazur was the architectural sculptor for the Science Building at Canisius College.

He was the sculptor of the Dean Pitass Memorial at Fillmore Ave. and Peckham St. here, as well as the Christ the King statue at St. Aloysius Church in Springville. His church decoration, much of it unlike decoration found in any other American churches, is found here, in New York, New Jersey, Michigan and through New England.

Mr. Mazur maintained studios at several Buffalo locations. He and his wife also ran a book store, antique shop and game room called "Light & Shadow," and an antique shop.

DECORATED MANY CHURCHES

The executor of the tympanum over the main entrance to the Villa Maria Academy, Mr. Mazur decorated and/or redecorated these local churches:

St. Stanislaus, St. Adalbert Basilica, Precious Blood, Blessed Trinity, Queen of Peace, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Barbara in Lackawanna, Assumption in Albion, St. Valentine, St. John Gualbert in Cheektowaga, St. John Kanty, St. Michael in Lackawanna, Our Lady of Czestochowa in North Tonawanda, St. Stanislaus in Niagara Falls, Transfiguration in Olean, Transfiguration in Buffalo, Mary Queen of Peace, St. Mary's, St. Matthew's and St. Gerard's.

He designed and executed stained glass windows in many of these, as well as in Grace Episcopal, Oakwood Community, Humboldt Reform, St. Josaphat's in Cheektowaga, St. Rita's, St. Margaret's (all windows), Immaculate Conception in Attica, Trinity Episcopal in Lancaster, SS. Peter & Paul in Hamburg, and Bethel Evangelical Lutheran.

Surviving besides his wife are a brother, Alois Mazur of Buffalo and two sisters, Mrs. Anna Rybak and Mrs. Victoria Osinski of Buffalo.

A Requiem High Mass will be celebrated at 11 a.m. Monday in St. Stanislaus Church, Peckham and Wilson Sts., following prayers at 10:30 a.m. in the Pacer Funeral Home, 1275 Sycamore St. Burial will be in St. Adalbert's Cemetery, Cheektowaga.

POLISH CONSTITUTION DAY

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, this month Americans of Polish origin join with citizens of Polish descent in other countries of the world in commemorating the 179th anniversary of the Polish Constitution of 1791.

That Constitution, adopted only 2 years after the American Constitution, pioneered the principles of democracy in Europe. Like our Constitution it proclaimed that "all power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people." It guaranteed civil liberties which we in America now take for granted.

Unfortunately, Poland has had little opportunity to enjoy the rights and freedoms proclaimed by this Constitution. Shortly after its adoption, Poland was invaded by Russia in order to destroy the new Constitution and eventually the country was partitioned among Russia, Prussia and Austria. In the following years, Poland has had full independence for only a few years as, during this cen-

tury, the totalitarian system of nazism and communism have invaded and suppressed the Polish nation.

Despite this tragic history the Polish people have not forgotten the noble ideals and principles espoused in that Constitution. Even today as the Polish nation suffers under the cruel yoke of the Communist tyranny, the Constitution of 1791 continues to inspire Polish people everywhere that someday the concept of liberty and democracy will once again be the basis of government in their homeland, and that the citizens of Poland will again be able to exercise their right of self-determination.

I share the hope of freedom-loving people everywhere that that day will come soon for the brave nation of Poland.

SMITHSONIAN CALENDAR OF EVENTS

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the schedule of events for the month of May 1970 of the Smithsonian Institution.

The Smithsonian Institution offers a variety of programs and exhibits, as well as special programs for young children. I am sure that Americans of all ages will find many things of interest in the many events currently scheduled at the Smithsonian Institution:

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

AMERICAN COLLEGE THEATRE FESTIVAL

The second American College Theatre Festival continues through May 12 at Ford's Theatre and the new University Center Theatre of George Washington University.

Presented jointly by the Smithsonian Institution and the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and sponsored by American Airlines, the Festival will offer ten of the nation's best university and college theatre companies in plays emphasizing the theatre of the present and the theatre of tomorrow.

The schedule for May is:

1—*Birthday Party* by Ohio University, 7:30 Ford's Theatre.

2—*Birthday Party*, 2:00 and 7:30 p.m., Ford's Theatre.

Peer Gynt by Hanover College, 7:30 p.m., University Center Theatre.

3—*Peer Gynt*, 2:00 and 7:30 p.m., University Center Theatre.

4—*Celebration* by Los Angeles Harbor College, 7:30 p.m., Ford's Theatre.

5—*Celebration*, 2:00 and 7:30 p.m., Ford's Theatre.

The Royal Hunt of the Sun by Georgetown University, 7:30 p.m., University Center Theatre.

6—*The Royal Hunt of the Sun*, 2:00 and 7:30 p.m., University Center Theatre.

7—*The Ghost Sonata* by Dartmouth College, 7:30 p.m., Ford's Theatre.

8—*The Ghost Sonata*, 2:00 and 7:30 p.m., Ford's Theatre.

A Raisin in the Sun by Grambling College, 7:30 p.m., University Center Theatre.

9—*Unfinished Song* by Howard University, 7:30 p.m., Ford's Theatre.

A Raisin in the Sun, 2:00 and 7:30 p.m., University Center Theatre.

10—*Unfinished Song*, 2:00 and 7:30 p.m., Ford's Theatre.

11—*Rites II* by Boston University, 7:30 p.m., University Center Theatre.

12—*Rites II*, 2:00 and 7:30 p.m., University Center Theatre

Ticket prices for evening performances Sunday through Thursday will be \$2.50 and \$3.50 with Friday and Saturday evening performance prices at \$3.00 and \$4.50. All seats for matinee performances will be priced at \$2.00. A 25 percent reduction on all tickets will be offered to students, with a further reduction for groups of 25 or more.

For further information call 343-8893.

FRIDAY, MAY 1

Art of the U.S. Air Force. Recent paintings by some forty American artists will show Air Force personnel, places, and equipment. About 50 works will be displayed in the Arts and Industries Building through July 5.

SATURDAY, MAY 2

Children's day at the national Collection of Fine Arts. Performances by the American Indian Society Dancers, the Living Stage, and the Potomac Recorder Group; also special improvisational tours, Films for Fun, a calliope, fire engine visit, Ambiguity Society Parades, and more for ages 6-12 accompanied by an adult.

Recreation of Claes Oldenburg Happening, "Movie House," by the Art Information Guides, NCFCA, directed by Deborah Haynes. Originally produced by Oldenburg in 1965, the performance will be unrehearsed and will involve the participants and spectators, who will follow instructions given to them a few minutes before the play begins. 4 p.m., National Collection of Fine Arts.

SUNDAY, MAY 3

Folksong concert: *Ewan MacCall and Peggy Seeger*. Original and traditional material from Britain and the U.S., with guitar banjo and autoharp settings. National Museum of Natural History auditorium, 8:00 p.m. Tickets: \$3.00, sold at the door. Co-sponsored by the Smithsonian Division of Performing Arts and the Folklore Society of Greater Washington. For further information call 332-5050 or 381-6252.

MONDAY, MAY 4

Women and politics. A special exhibition commemorating the 50th anniversary of woman suffrage. Show traces of women's participation in politics from the American revolution up to the present. National Museum of History and Technology. Closing indefinite.

Concert: *The Camerata Chorus of Washington* with chamber ensemble, presenting the works of Charpentier, Haydn, Frederick the Great, and Mozart, Hall of Musical Instruments. National Museum of History and Technology, 8:30 p.m.

Audubon lecture: *Our Unique Water Wilderness—The Everglades*, by William Andrew Anderson. 5:15 p.m. and 8:30 p.m., auditorium, National Museum of Natural History.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6

Smithsonian film theatre: *Water Famine and The Majestic, Polluted Hudson*. 2 p.m., auditorium, Museum of History and Technology; 8 p.m., auditorium, National Museum of Natural History.

Informal concert: A 45-minute performance using instruments from the collection of the division of musical instruments. 4:30 p.m., Hall of Musical Instruments, National Museum of History and Technology.

THURSDAY, MAY 7

Lecture: *Plant Growth Under Controlled Environmental Conditions*, by Dr. R. J. Downs, Smithsonian Radiation Biology Lab, 12441 Parklawn Drive, Rockville, Md. 3:00 p.m., conference room.

Smithsonian film theatre: *Water Famine and The Majestic, Polluted Hudson*. Noon

and 1:30 p.m., auditorium, National Museum of History and Technology.

SATURDAY, MAY 9

Sky event. A celebration of the sky by Charles Frazier, Otto Piene, and Vera Simons. With the help of several volunteers, Otto Piene will "Launch" flying helium sculptures, Charles Frazier will create a "Sky Poem," and Vera Simons will produce a "Flower Drop" from the sky. Afternoon and evening (outdoors), National Collection of Fine Arts.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 13

Smithsonian film theatre: *The Wild River*, 2 p.m., auditorium, Museum of History and Technology; 8 p.m., auditorium, National Museum of Natural History.

THURSDAY, MAY 14

Smithsonian film theatre: *The Wild River*. Noon and 1:30 p.m., auditorium, National Museum of History and Technology.

SUNDAY, MAY 17

Language of African sculpture. During expansion and renovation of the Museum of African Art in the Frederick Douglass townhouse on Capitol Hill, the Museum will be temporarily exhibiting 200 works of the sculpture of black Africa at the National Portrait Gallery, through September 7. Included in the exhibition are 100 masterpiece works on loan from private collections as well as examples of modern Western art showing African derivation. Guided lecture tours for school classes and other groups may be arranged by calling LI 7-7524.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 20

Informal concert: A 45-minute performance by the Washington Consort, 4:30 p.m. Hall of Musical Instruments, National Museum of History and Technology.

Smithsonian film theatre: *The Colorado River*, 2 p.m., auditorium, Museum of History and Technology; 8:00 p.m., auditorium, National Museum of Natural History.

THURSDAY, MAY 21

Encounter: *Man and Our Troubled Earth*. Panel discussion with audience participation. Program Chairman: Dr. Clifford Evans, Smithsonian Office of Anthropology. 8:30 p.m., auditorium, National Museum of Natural History.

Smithsonian film theatre: *The Colorado River*. Noon and 1:30 p.m., auditorium, National Museum of History and Technology.

Lecture: *Tools and Tactics for Reconstruction of Recent Environmental Change*, by Dr. J. Gordon Ogdin III. 3:00 p.m., conference room, Smithsonian Radiation Biology Laboratory.

FRIDAY, MAY 22

The Capitol Ballet Company featuring Lloyd McNeil, John Jones, and James Weaver, under the artistic direction of Doris Jones and Claire Haywood. 8:30 p.m., auditorium, National Museum of Natural History. Tickets: \$3.00. Sponsored by the Smithsonian Associates and the Division of Performing Arts.

SATURDAY, MAY 23

The Capitol Ballet Company. See May 22 entry for details.

SUNDAY, MAY 24

The Capitol Ballet Company. See May 22 entry for details.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 27

Smithsonian film theatre: *Our Man On The Mississippi*. 2 p.m., auditorium, Museum of History and Technology; 8:00 p.m., auditorium, National Museum of Natural History.

Studies of South African Costumes. Exhibition, Hall 10, National Museum of Natural History. More than 50 paintings, illustrating the people and life in Southwest Africa, by Verda V. Peters and Olemara Peters. Closing indefinite.

THURSDAY, MAY 28

Smithsonian Film Theatre: Our Man On The Mississippi. Noon and 1:30 p.m., auditorium, National Museum of History and Technology.

SATURDAY, MAY 30

The National Symphony Orchestra. 7:30 p.m., Mall Steps, National Museum of Natural History. Presented in cooperation with the D.C. Department of Recreation and the Smithsonian. In case of inclement weather, the concert will be held in the Departmental Auditorium, 14th and Constitution Avenue, N.W.

SMITHSONIAN RESIDENT PUPPET THEATRE

Peter and the Wolf, presented by Bob Brown Marionettes. This third production of the 1969-1970 season is an entirely new offering of the Theatre to the Washington public. Accompanied by the music of Sergei Prokofiev, the characters will tell their own story through the use of almost life-size puppets. The proscenium, or picture frame of the theatre will be removed and allow the audience the possibility of watching the puppeteers manipulate the puppets. All tickets can be purchased in advance, for individuals as well as groups. Admission: \$1.25 adult, \$1.00 child, special 75 cents rate for groups of 25 or more. For reservations either phone in your request (381-5241), or come down to the Theatre box office. Performances are at 10:30 and 12:30 Wednesday, Thursday and Friday; and at 10:30, 12:30 a. and 2:30 Saturday, Sunday and holidays. The Theatre is located in the Third Floor of the National Museum of History and Technology. The Smithsonian Resident Puppet Theatre is produced by the Division of Performing Arts.

FOREIGN STUDY TOURS

The Smithsonian has organized several special tours concerned with archaeology, architectural history, art museums, private collections, and natural history.

Classical Greece: July 6-27; a tour designed for first-time visitors to Greece. (Itinerary available, but waiting list only.)

Medieval Greece: July 6-27. Dr. Howland will accompany a group of 22; Byzantine churches, Salonica, Mt. Athos, and Patmos are included; 7 day cruise on private yacht "Blue Horizon," \$1,575, of which \$350 is tax-deductible. (Itinerary available.)

Decorative Arts & Textile Tour: England, centering in Oxford and Cotswolds; emphasis on needlework, weaving, etc., with lectures and visits to public and private collections, under the direction of Mrs. W. L. Markrich. Leaving September 10th, for two weeks, with a third week free for members' arrangements at will in Europe. (Itinerary available.)

Northern Italy: Palladian Tour of Venice, Vicenza and Verona. Leaving September 14th for two weeks, with a third week free for members' arrangements at will in Europe. \$1,300, of which 30 is tax-deductible. (Itinerary available.)

For reservations and details contact Miss Kennedy, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560, or call 202-381-5520.

MUSEUM TOURS

National collection of fine arts

Weekday tours 11 a.m. and 1 p.m. For advance reservations and full information, call 381-4188 or 381-6100; messages 381-5180.

National portrait gallery

Adult tours, Thursday and Friday, 11 a.m. and 12 noon.

Student tours, Monday-Wednesday, 10 and 11 a.m.

A Presidential Portrait tour is available by appointment.

To arrange for special tours call 381-5380 (adult) or 381-5680 (children).

Museum of History and Technology

Highlight Tours of the Building—Meet at the Pendulum—MAY

1:00 p.m. weekdays
10:30, 12:00, 1:30, 3:00—Saturdays
1:30, 3:00—Sundays

Weekday tours arranged through Office of Academic Programs call 381-5680, 381-5019

Early American Furnishings—Monday through Friday

First Ladies Gowns—Monday through Friday

Ceramics—mornings by request

RADIO SMITHSONIAN

You can listen to the Smithsonian every Sunday night from 7:30 to 8:00 p.m., on radio station WGMS (570 AM & 103.5 FM). The weekly Radio Smithsonian program presents music and conversation growing out of the institution's exhibits, research, and other activities and interests. Program schedule for May:

3. Music at the Smithsonian

10. *The Concept of Honour; American Seacoast Fortifications*

17. *Paleolithic-era Burial Remains: The First Clues; The Behavior of Primitive Peoples: The Kalihari Bushmen*

24. The Smithsonian Puppet Theatre

31. *Women's Liberation—From Suffrage to Careers; Tektite II: An Undersea Experiment*
Radio Smithsonian is also heard on WAMU-FM (88.5) Tuesdays at 4:30 p.m.

DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND TECHNOLOGY

A printing demonstration of the 19th-Century Columbian Printing Press where: Graphic Arts Hall 3rd floor; when: Thursday from 2:00 to 4:00.

Spinning: where: Special Exhibits 1st floor; when: Tuesday and Thursday 10:00 to 12:00.

Power Machinery—steam engines and pumping engines—where: Power Machinery Hall 1st floor; when: Wednesday, Thursday and Friday 2:00 to 3:30; Saturday and Sunday 10:30 to 12:00 and 1:00 to 3:30.

Musical Instruments—harpichord, clavichord, virginal and sometimes the brass instruments, where: Musical Instruments Hall 3rd floor when: Wednesday, Friday and Sunday 3:00.

HOURS AT NATIONAL ZOO

Gates open 6 a.m. Close 7:00 p.m.

Buildings open 9 a.m. Close 6:00 p.m.

YOUTH CAMP SAFETY SURVEY ACT

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, next month millions of youngsters will be enrolling in summer camps across this country. Hearings before my Select Subcommittee on Labor in the last session of Congress revealed that the States have few regulations or supervisory personnel concerned with the safety of summer camps. Statistics on accidents and deaths in youth camps are woefully inadequate, but our subcommittee learned that with effective safety legislation, as in the State of Michigan, the accident rate is definitely reduced. Before Michigan revised its safety statutes, it had two to four drowning deaths annually. Since enactment of new camp regulations in 1963, the State has had only one drowning death in 7 years.

Last year, the youth camp safety survey bill, reported unanimously from both the Select Subcommittee on Labor and the Education and Labor Committee, was brought before this body on the suspension calendar but failed to receive the two-thirds majority necessary for passage. This bill, which I intend to bring before the Rules Committee, authorizes the modest sum of \$175,000 to be used for a nationwide study of over 11,500 youth camps and of State statutes to determine the extent of camping laws and regulations and the effectiveness of their enforcement.

Mr. Speaker, nothing is more precious to us than the lives of our children. Parents today have little knowledge of the nature of the camps to which they send their youngsters. A recent edition of "Changing Times," the Kiplinger Magazine, reported on both the youth camp safety survey bill and the nature of camp safety. The magazine specifically discussed the tragedy of the Mitch Kurman family of Westport, Conn., and Mr. Kurman's efforts in behalf of youth camp safety legislation.

[From the Kiplinger Magazine, "Changing Times," May 1970]

ONE FAMILY'S TRAGEDY AND A BILL IN CONGRESS

Five years ago this spring, Mitch Kurman of Westport, Conn., waded his 15-year-old son, David, off to a camp in New York State.

Early in August of 1965 the Kurmans were asked to send money to replace some clothes David had lost overboard while canoeing on the Montreal River in Ontario—the first hint of trouble. Later the same month Kurman and his wife got a phone call. David was lost on the Penobscot River.

The Kurmans flew to Maine and looked with dismay at the west branch of the Penobscot, a churning, white-water rapids used by a paper company to shoot logs downstream. State police and townspeople agreed it was no place for canoes.

"In this stretch where the boy lost his life, below the Ripagne Dam, logs actually tumble end over end. They don't float," Kurman says.

After the recovery of David's body and a memorial service, Kurman began poking into laws governing the qualifications of camp personnel like the counselor who led the fatal canoeing trip in Maine. To his amazement, he learned that most states neither license youth camps nor set training standards for counselors.

Kurman took his findings to Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff (D-Conn.), who introduced a bill, called the Youth Camp Safety Act.

The bill would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to set minimum camp-safety standards and reimburse each state adopting the standards, half of the administrative costs.

Ribicoff declares: "The bill is aimed at fly-by-night operations and those camps which are unaffiliated and unaccredited by responsible camping organizations."

"I have no desire to take the adventure out of camping, but I see no reason why the benefits of camping cannot be rendered in a safe and healthy atmosphere. Many camps already measure up to the highest safety standards. Others will be given the incentive to improve. Those that fail to provide a safe environment do not belong in business."

The bill was drafted four years ago. Although it has the support of a dozen co-sponsors from both parties and the backing of a majority of members of the American

Camping Association, it has never been approved.

Some objectors argue that the need for federal legislation has not shown, ignoring the fact that the only complete survey of camp safety is one done 40 years ago. Yet last summer when the House of Representatives had a chance to order a realistic, modern study, it rejected a bill by Rep. Dominick V. Daniel (D-N.J.) that would simply have authorized a survey of the extent and effectiveness of state camping laws, such as they are.

The publication further advised parents of the injuries that occur most often at summer camps:

THE MOST LIKELY MISHAPS

When a camper gets hurt, the injury is most likely to be a cut, bump or bruise from a collision with a tree, a post or another camper or from getting bopped with a ball. Next in order are falls from trees, buildings or horses.

These accidents accounted for nearly 60% of 1,134 camp injuries analyzed by Dr. Arthur E. Gjersten of the State University of New York and reported in *Camping* magazine.

He also found that an accident is most likely to happen on the camper's fifth day, either in the game area or on the waterfront. As you might suspect, boys 10 to 14 ranked at the top of the injury list, having 35% of the injuries, compared with 23% for girls of the same age.

Although most injuries were not serious enough to bar kids from camp activities, Dr. Gjersten says, "there is still a great deal to learn about camping accidents, and a study done on a nationwide scale would go a long way toward providing the answers camp directors and others need."

I am also including the entire body of the article because I feel that my colleagues should be aware of the dangers that may befall our youngsters this very summer as well as some of the methods by which parents can assess the safety standards of camps for their children:

CHECK THE KIDS' SUMMER CAMP FOR SAFETY

Two years ago in California, four children were killed and 58 others were injured when a flatbed truck driven by a camp counselor overturned on an expressway.

At a camp in Michigan a child learning to scuba dive went down too deep and came up too fast. Surfacing, he forgot to exhale and his lungs burst.

An earlier tragedy that filled the papers still haunts the memories of the families involved. One warm day in July a group of touring American boys paused on their way up an 11,000-foot mountain in Canada's snowcapped Rockies. At 8,600 feet their adult leader dropped out of the climb, but he gave the boys permission to scale the peak that is shunned even by skilled alpinists in warm weather.

Clad lightly, 11 of the 16 youths had struggled to 9,500 feet when sun-softened snow rumbled above them for an instant and then swept seven boys to their deaths 1,000 feet down the mountain.

This year more than 7,000,000 boys and girls will troop off to spend part of their summer at camp. For the vast majority, camping in cabins, cottages and tents alongside lakes and rivers or in forests will be a pleasant adventure, fondly remembered. For a few others it may well mean injury or death, and for survivors like those in the accidents described above, a lifelong memory of tragedy.

True, there is risk in nearly everything we do. Kids properly supervised in a reputable summer camp are probably safer than their friends running around the streets at home. But how can a parent considering summer

camp for his youngster tell the good one from the loosely run outfit that entrusts kids' safety to staffers scarcely older or wiser than the campers themselves?

WHAT LAWS, WHERE?

A glance at the camp-safety record of many states proves that the decision is not one to be left to chance.

Most states provide little or no supervision to protect children from the kind of accidents that can cripple or kill. Based on the best information available, the leading cause of camp fatalities is drowning, which kills an estimated 40 youngsters each summer. Yet 40 states have no requirements for counselors who oversee water activities.

In 46 states there simply are no rules governing either the qualifications of vehicle drivers at camps or the types of vehicles that tote campers to and fro.

Nineteen states neither inspect nor regulate children's camps in any way. Although states demand reports on fires, highway accidents and industrial injuries, only a couple require children's camps even to keep medical records of severe illnesses or bad accidents.

Luckily for some campers a few states, such as Michigan and Colorado, have pioneered safety legislation that saves lives. And the American Camping Association (ACA) has developed over the years a set of health and safety standards that camps must meet in order to display the association's emblem. After a camp requests membership, a couple of inspectors trained in ACA standards check the camp's facilities and equipment, leadership, health and safety precautions, and note in writing how well activities are supervised.

Between 14% and 16% of camps applying for accreditation by ACA fall on the first try. Usually, the camp owner or director corrects the deficiency in a jiffy. Still, recommendations by the touring inspectors are just that. If a camp owner balks, all the ACA can do is deny him accreditation.

Only a little over a quarter of the 11,000 or so youth camps belong to the ACA. Most youth agency camps have their own standards or use the ACA's. This leaves the safety of thousands of others strictly up to the owners, directors and managers or to state officials, who often do little more than inspect routinely for adequate sanitation and water purity.

Of course, there are camps that could meet ACA's standards but have never applied, and there are good camps even in states with feeble laws.

But picking one worthy of your trust is not to be done by thumbing through fancy brochures picturing campfire songfests and canoeing on placid lakes.

HOW TO DECIDE ABOUT A CAMP

The best way to judge a camp is to visit the place yourself. Talk to the counselors and director. Notice whether facilities and equipment are well cared for. If a visit is impossible, try to find someone who knows the camp and ask for an appraisal. You might talk to youngsters who've been there; ask the camp to mail you a list of some campers from your area.

You would also be well advised to find out how long the camp has been in business, whether it is ACA-accredited and just what your state camping laws do cover.

Satisfy yourself on as many of the following points as you can, most of which are ACA recommendations. Observations during a visit will take care of many of them.

Personnel.—Is the director 25 or over and does he have a college degree related to camping? Has he taken a refresher course within the past three years?

Counselors should be at least 18 years old in day camps, 19 in resident camps. How many counselors for each camper? Be wary on this point. Some camps pad ratios merely by calling every staff member a counselor,

even if he doesn't work directly with campers. For a day camp with 8-year-olds a good ratio is one counselor to ten campers. The ratio should be one to eight where the kids range from 6 to 8, and one to six if they are younger.

Campsite, facilities, equipment.—The camp should be well back from highways, and foot trails should be as far as possible from traffic. Inspect for such hazards as rocks, hunks of metal and poison ivy. If sleeping accommodations are not all at ground level, are fire escapes and protective devices provided for all other floors? Is the swimming area roped off and is there lifesaving equipment?

Be sure that the waterfront program is always under the direction of an experienced person over 21 years who holds a current American Red Cross water safety instructor's certificate. A certified senior lifesaver should be available for every 25 swimmers.

Can all watercraft be locked up when not in use? If there is a pool, it ought to be fenced. Any potential hazards—rifle and archery ranges, cliffs and the like—should be properly marked off and shooting equipment stored in locked cabinets.

Ask whether the camp is covered by proper accident and liability insurance.

Health.—A good camp requires a physical exam for each camper before he checks in, as well as proof of inoculations and vaccinations and a medical history. It has a doctor or registered nurse on the staff or a physician on call.

Be particularly careful here. Some camps rely on the town doctor. If the camp is near a crowded summer resort, the doctor may be too busy when he's needed most.

Sanitation.—You want to be certain that the camp complies with state and local health laws, has water that has recently been certified as safe, and stores its milk and food supplies away from obvious sources of contamination.

Transportation.—Notice whether transportation equipment appears to be in good shape. Do vehicles provide safe seating for all passengers? Is there a safety-education program for personnel and campers who will use the vehicles?

Don't shy away from asking questions. Remember that a well-run camp should be eager to show you that it measures up to the very best health and safety standards.

NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, 200 years ago, "No Taxation Without Representation" sounded the battle cry for America's struggle for independence. Having realized that independence, however, America has yet to extend representation to all of its own citizens. I am speaking of the District of Columbia, where 850,000 citizens are taxed without being represented. Can this be equal justice under law, when some of our citizens are denied the rights of others?

I think not. The spirit of both the revolution and the Constitution require that the Congress enact legislation to allow the citizens of Washington, D.C., to elect representatives to both the House and the Senate.

Since the beginning of the 91st Congress, at least 19 Members of the House have introduced legislation to provide for

voting representation in Congress for the District of Columbia. Similar interest has been shown by the other body, in which 22 Senators have demonstrated support for voting representation for the District. Moreover, the 1968 platforms of both the Democratic and Republican Parties contained a plank supporting representation for the District. The President himself has affirmed his support in his message to Congress on the District of Columbia.

In light of this widespread support, I fail to see how we can delay the enactment of legislation for representation for the District. Last October, I affirmed my support for action on the pending legislation in a letter to the distinguished chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. The committee did report a bill, only to have it buried in the Rules Committee.

Since the District remains unrepresented, though still taxed, I today am introducing an amendment to the Constitution to provide that the District of Columbia shall elect two Senators and the number of Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State. That this should be done is only just.

New Hampshire, with a population of 699,000, is represented in both Houses of Congress. Yet Washington, D.C., with a population of 850,000 has no representative in either House. Similarly, Nevada, with annual revenues of only \$200 million is entitled to representation in both bodies, while the District, whose annual revenues total \$578 million, continues to be unrepresented. The only way to end this injustice is to amend the Constitution so that the Nation's Capital, a financial, cultural, and business center, is represented in a manner like any other State.

CONGRESS' ROLE IN ISSUE OF WAR AND PEACE

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a concurrent resolution to reaffirm Congress' constitutional responsibility of consultation with the President on matters affecting grave national issues of war and peace.

For many years I have been greatly concerned by the accretion of governmental power to the executive branch of the Government at the expense of the legislative branch. I believe our Founding Fathers showed tremendous wisdom when they created a government of three separate branches, each to serve as a check and balance on the others.

Because of the growing complexity of Government domestically, and the need for quick action internationally, Congress has deferred to the President, the executive agencies, and the independent regulatory bodies more and more of the

responsibility it was delegated by the Constitution.

This has been especially the case in the matter of foreign policy. While the Constitution leaves the President a relatively free hand in determining foreign policy, Congress is given an important role to play. In addition to its power to appropriate or withhold the funds necessary to implement a foreign policy, Congress has the constitutional responsibility of declaring war and regulating the Nation's land and naval forces. As the representatives of the people Congress cannot shrink from this constitutional mandate.

The resolution I am introducing provides for a congressional declaration of policy that the American troop withdrawals from South Vietnam shall continue in line with the expressed intention of the President. It also declares a national policy of avoiding an enlargement of the present conflict into Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, or North Vietnam. Finally, the resolution reaffirms Congress' constitutional responsibility of consultation with the President on all matters affecting grave national decisions of war and peace.

In introducing an identical resolution yesterday, the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ANDERSON) noted that Congress must begin to reassert its constitutional mandate in a systematic way. I believe the resolution I am introducing provides a viable starting point for this necessary reassertion, and I urge its favorable consideration by the distinguished members of the Foreign Affairs Committee at an early date.

THE 1971 QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, each year for the past several years I have directed a questionnaire to the registered voters of my district covering a number of important current issues. I want to report the results of this year's survey to my colleagues in the Congress and other interested readers of the RECORD.

I am pleased to say that, as far as I am able to estimate, more responses were received to this year's questionnaire than any of my previous questionnaires. More than 40,000 citizens took the time to answer this questionnaire, covering questions concerning the economy, crime, and draft reform. I am most inspired by this show of active concern by the people of my district. It provides me with clear and very helpful evidence of the interests and priorities of the people of the 23d District of New York, and I hope that other Members of the House will find these results informative and interesting.

The tabulated 1970 questionnaire results from the 23d District of New York follow:

THE 1971 QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS, 23D DISTRICT, BRONX-MANHATTAN, N.Y.

[Percentage "Yes"]

Q. In the effort to control inflation, do you favor:

Prompt withdrawal from Vietnam?	63
Government regulations to restrict nonessential credit?	59
Government control of wages and prices?	54
Cutting back on highway construction	39
Continuation of 5% income tax surcharge	28
Maintaining high interest rates	21
Cutting back on federal spending for education?	14

[Percentage ranked most important]

Q. If additional federal funds become available for crime control, how would you rank the following in order of importance?

Narcotics control	43
Court reform and improvement	22
Police assistance	20
Correction and rehabilitation facilities	13

[Percentage "Favor"]

Q. Do you favor or oppose continuation of the present system of draft deferments for—

Individuals facing severe personal hardships?	80
Individuals in essential occupations?	52
College students?	51

Q. Would you oppose or favor a new system that—without reducing our ability to raise and maintain adequate military forces—would allow all young men to choose either military service or non-military public service, or take their chances on being drafted?

Percent

Favor	72
Oppose	20
No opinion	8

Q. Has anyone in your immediate family called upon the police because he or she was the victim of a crime in the past 12 months?

Current 23d District, Manhattan section:	
------------------------------------------	--

Percent

Yes	20
No	80

Current 23d District, Bronx:

Yes	21
No	79

New 23d District, Bronx (Southwest):

Yes	34
No	66

SUPPORT FOR SCHOOL GUIDANCE AND COUNSELING

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, a resident of my congressional district, Mrs. Daisy K. Shaw, is president of the Directors of Guidance of Large Cities of the American Personnel & Guidance Association and is also the director of the Bureau of Educational and Vocational Guidance of New York. She recently testified before the Senate Com-

mittee on Appropriations in her capacity mentioned above. Under permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent, and by request, I include Mrs. Shaw's statement at this point:

STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE DIRECTORS OF GUIDANCE OF LARGE CITIES

(By Mrs. Daisy K. Shaw)

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Members of the Committee. It is a privilege and an honor for me to appear before you today to ask your support for increased appropriations for guidance and counseling in our nation's schools under Title III of H.R. 16916.

I am here to testify as President (1969-1970) of the Directors of Guidance of Large Cities, a section of the American Personnel and Guidance Association. Our members represent the Directors of Guidance of 161 cities with populations of over 100,000. These cities contain the areas of "social dynamite," which James Conant described so eloquently more than a decade ago, and which today present ever-increasing problems of deprivation and alienation among youth in our inner cities.

In past years, funds allocated under NDEA Title V-A provided "seed money" for numerous innovative programs in guidance and counseling. In these programs we demonstrated over and over again that, when adequate counseling service is provided, pupils do overcome environmental handicaps. I should like to cite only one of many programs which provided intensive counseling, as well as other services, to disadvantaged students in New York City—the College Discovery and Development Program. In this program, in which one counselor was provided for every hundred students, 95% of the class graduating in June 1968 and 93% of the class graduating in June 1969 were admitted to degree-granting institutions. These disadvantaged students, most of whom would have become high school dropouts without this special help, were able to overcome their academic lacks because of the individual attention which they received in this program.

We could cite examples of this type by the dozen from every state in the union. Unfortunately, only a small minority of our students can benefit from this low pupil-counselor ratio. In New York City, except for pupils in this and other federally funded programs, the ratio of full-time counselors to pupils averages 1 to 1,000. (In some schools, it is much higher.)

There is great interest in the development of innovative programs in education. The greatest innovation of all would be to provide enough counselors to enable us to reach our young people, so that we could help them cope with the multiple problems which they encounter today. The pupil who comes from a disadvantaged environment, plagued by discrimination, marginal subsistence, and disruption of normal family relationships, is least prepared to take advantage of cultural and educational opportunities. He is frequently handicapped by inadequate preparation for school and a poor self-image. The professionally trained counselor is uniquely qualified to work with the individual child to meet his needs, further his progress and maximize his educational and career potential. To do this, the counselor must have a realistic caseload.

In a recently completed survey conducted by our association, we found the following average counselor-pupil ratios:

City population:	Average C-P ratio
100,000-250,000	1-751
250,000-500,000	1-857
500,000-1,000,000	1-815
1,000,000 and over	1-750

However, in many cities, the average was substantially higher (up to 1-2600).

We are asking you to approve a vastly increased appropriation for guidance and

counseling in depressed urban areas. Although 550 million dollars has been authorized for Title III, it is our understanding that the House Appropriations Committee has appropriated only 137 million thus far. Of this sum, only 17 million has been earmarked for programs previously included under NDEA Title V-A.

What we are requesting is an additional appropriation of \$217,500,000 under Title III for guidance and counseling in large cities and depressed urban areas. We ask that these funds be allocated to the states according to the number of congressional districts within each state, with a provision for a guaranteed "pass-through" of funds to the cities. The total sum requested is based upon the allocation of \$500,000 for each of the 435 Congressional districts. Factors to be considered in establishing need would include geographical distribution, poverty, problems of crime and delinquency, dropout rates and similar considerations. Such an appropriation would have the effect of doubling the number of counselors in our large cities, thereby reducing the average caseload of each counselor to a more realistic number.

When a committee representing the American Personnel and Guidance Association met with Mr. Emerson Elliott in September 1969 to discuss funding for NDEA Title V-A, we pointed out that every large city in the country is suffering from budgetary pressures. The source of municipal funds to provide for expansion of urgently needed guidance services has dried up. That is why we are again appealing to the federal government for help in this period of crisis. The funds which are being sought may seem to represent an enormous sum, but the problems which face us in the seventies are truly staggering—student alienation, drug addiction, under employment and a host of other ills.

When we consider the future cost to society of neglecting to take preventive measures, we may well find that any commitment of funds to education will prove to be the soundest possible investment. We implore you to give the highest priority to the guidance of our youth.

At this very moment the world awaits the return to earth of 3 astronauts on the Apollo 13 mission. Their craft is being monitored by the most elaborate guidance system ever devised. The purpose of space guidance is similar to that of educational guidance, namely to bring the individual to the target. Can we do less for the children in our cities than for our astronauts in outer space? They too, need the help of an adequate, functioning guidance system if they are to reach their targets of self-fulfillment and constructive citizenship.

THE "McKEESPORT SEVEN"

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, some weeks ago the entire Nation became almost unavoidably familiar with a group of individuals who, while they reflected an unsavory segment of our population, brought shame and revulsion to most Americans. The antics and conduct of this group, the "Chicago Seven," were spread throughout the length and breadth of the Nation.

In contrast, another group of seven individuals were honored recently in McKeesport, Pa., located in my 20th Con-

gressional District. These men reflected qualities of courage and dedication to their fellow men, their city, and their Nation. These men, the "McKeesport Seven," were retiring police officers with a combined service of 303 years.

I am proud to say I know these gentlemen: Walter T. Lofstrom, former police chief and one of the most capable and well-trained law officers in the State of Pennsylvania; Stephen Vadas, former assistant chief; John J. O'Hara, Anthony Lesniewski, August Heveker, Frank B. McKee, and Harry Ferry.

They were commended by the Daily News of McKeesport in a recent editorial. I would like to add my personal appreciation for what they have done over the years, and I invite the attention of my colleagues to the following article:

THE "McKEESPORT SEVEN"

What a list of well-known names!

Seven of them were in the news report on the Police Department dinner in honor of retiring officers—men with a total of 303 years service to the city.

There was the name of Walter T. Lofstrom, the retired chief. And that of former assistant chief, Stephen Vadas. And those of John J. (Duke) O'Hara, and Anthony Lesniewski, and August Heveker. And of Frank B. McKee and Harry Ferry.

These men—all of them—have been through the police mill. Together, they've given dedication and courage to our protection. They've helped keep our streets safe and our traffic running. They've battled the criminal.

And now they've left the department for well-earned retirements, leaving behind enough memories which if written out would fill a seven-foot shelf of books. In many ways, the "McKeesport Seven," the complete contrast to that infamous "Chicago Seven," can be looked upon as the core—the cadre—of this city's Police Department for an entire generation that now has passed on, handing the job over to younger men.

Will they, as policemen, ever be equalled? Such a question can't be answered. But this can be said. As officers of the law, they've set high standards of public service which will challenge the department to maintain from this day onward.

EDUCATION ABOUT DRUGS

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in this day and age, when drug abuse and addiction is such a threat to our youth and to the adults of our society, it is important that we be properly educated to understand the problem and to be aware of the efforts being made to provide a solution.

On Sunday, April 19, 1970, the Green Bay, Wis., Press-Gazette printed a special tabloid-sized supplement of 32 pages which dramatically pointed out the drug problem in the Green Bay area and attempted, successfully I think, to educate its readers to just what the term "drugs" means scientifically and socially.

In the introduction to this supplement Mr. Larry A. Belonger, managing editor of the Press-Gazette, forcefully and ef-

fectively indicated our need for education about drugs. He wrote:

Some of the articles in this section will surprise you.

Some will shock you.

Some will make you angry.

We hope all will help you better to understand the puzzling world of the use of pot and hard drugs, inhalants, alcohol.

We don't think anyone can understand the problem without knowing why drugs are used. . . .

We don't think anyone can understand the problem without knowing what young people think they know about drugs and what their opinions are. . . .

We don't think anyone will understand the scope of the problem without hearing the evidence from law enforcement people, educators, psychiatrists, clergymen and mental institution staff members. . . .

We don't think anyone will understand the problem and its scope if he thinks the problem is mainly one for "other cities", not the Green Bays, Wausaus, Ocontos, Kewaunees. . . .

The Press-Gazette investigated all those aspects in detail and in so doing performed a great public service. I compliment the editors and staff of the Press-Gazette on an excellent job.

I would also like to congratulate the Community Council on Drug Abuse of Green Bay on the comprehensive steps they have taken in their attempt to educate the adults and young people of Brown County to the drug problem. As a matter of fact, it is my understanding that it was this group which first suggested the idea for the supplement.

The drug education efforts of this organization have already included a 2½-hour television program, procurement of films and pamphlets for various groups, and presentations on drug abuse by the police and district attorney. They are now having 26,300 additional copies of the Press-Gazette supplement printed and distributed to every high school student in the county in the hope that through education they may be able to prevent some of the tragedy which inevitably accompanies drug addiction.

The Press-Gazette supplement included an article on the community council on drug abuse which I include as part of my remarks to demonstrate what a group of concerned citizens can do to combat the drug problem:

DRUG ABUSE COUNCIL STRESSES PREVENTION, EDUCATION

How do people react when they realize that there is a serious drug abuse problem in their community?

They can ignore the problem, hoping that it will eventually lessen.

They can also tell themselves that it is "someone else's" problem, that their children would never become involved with drugs.

Or, the citizens of a community can do as many in Green Bay have done—stand up and confront the problem, openly, frankly, objectively.

Realizing that the illegal use of drugs was prevalent in Green Bay, a group of concerned citizens have banded together to form the Community Council on Drug Abuse.

The group of 35 meets monthly to discuss ways of approaching the drug topic and methods of keeping the public informed about the problem.

The council has selected a low-key approach to drugs, past chairman Fred Dorband said, stressing prevention and educa-

tion, rather than enforcement and rehabilitation.

"We don't feel that asking police to stage crackdowns in the form of drug raids is the best way to handle the problem. The police can enforce the law, but we thought it would be better to try and prevent the problem," Dorband said.

An attempt to reach both students and their parents was made through a two and one-half hour television presentation last October, "The Drug Turn-On," with local high school students participating.

The program consisted of a panel presentation with two officials of the Haight-Ashbury Drug Clinic in San Francisco and two members of Encounter, a New York organization which treats those with drug problems and is run by reformed drug addicts.

Some students found flaws in the program, saying that it was too lengthy and that it didn't answer some of the right questions.

However, Dorband said, the council thought the program led to a general awareness of the drug problem.

"It was not designed to solve the drug problem, but to be a springboard to prompt parents and youths to start talking and communicating about drugs," he said.

When the community council was formed last March, an attempt was made to involve a "broad cross-section of individuals." It apparently succeeded as members include high school and college students, interested parents, school officials, lawyers, clergymen, physicians, psychologists, businessmen, members of civic groups and the news media and trained experts in drug problems.

A steering committee was established to set policies and guidelines for the group. Members include:

Dr. Robert Schmidt—chairman of the council, past president of the Brown County Medical Society and chairman of the society's drug abuse committee.

John Gower—Brown County district attorney who had urged formation of the council.

Dr. Daniel Mathias—director of special education for the Green Bay Public Schools.

The Rev. Mark Schommer—director of the Green Bay Catholic Diocesan Schools.

Charles Leonard—Local TV newsman who serves as public information and public relations officer for the council.

Lyn Ward—Sophomore at the University of Wisconsin-Green Bay, past secretary of the council.

Fred Dorband—local businessman and civic leader, past chairman of the council.

Dorband said there are many other persons in the Green Bay area who have become involved with the council on different projects. Members of the council work on it as "interested citizens and parents" and not as civic leaders, Dorband stressed.

Dorband said that when the council began its work most people in the area were unaware of the growing abuse of drugs locally.

"It was common for parents to be unaware of the problem," he said. "Almost everyone believed that drugs were a problem in Madison, Milwaukee and Chicago, but not here."

The council is attempting to bridge the "generation gap" on drug information by educating both parents and youth.

The district attorney, lawyers and members of local police departments involved with the council—Lt. Donald Van Straten, Lt. Milton Steeno, Sgt. Donald Rommel and Sgt. Richard Rice—have given over 200 talks in the past year to various area groups.

The police officers, who have received extensive training at the Federal Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs School—exhibit samples of drugs confiscated in the area. They point out the enormity of the problem and how the lines of communication can and should remain open.

Drug pamphlets, movies and films have been made available to area schools through the efforts of the council. A drug information center was set up at the Brown County Library.

Three major projects hoped to be realized by the council in the future are the establishment of "self-help groups" for drug users, having drugs discussed as a part of school curriculum and the establishment of a drug "hot line."

Youths with a drug problem could be helped by people their own age through a self-help program, Dorband said.

"Eventually, if the need persists, the council would like to have drug abuse treated as part of the regular school curriculum on the elementary, secondary and college levels," he said.

"Ingrain it as a relevant part of various courses now on the curriculum. Let's face it, it's a part of life," he said.

Following the airing of the drug program last October, students and parents were given a telephone number they could call to discuss any aspect of the drug situation.

About 160 calls were received in two days. Although it was just meant as a temporary thing, Dorband said "we are still getting calls on it."

If a permanent hot line is set up, staffed by qualified people, it could meet a great need among young people to discuss drugs anonymously with a knowledgeable person, he said.

Dorband said that members of the council are careful not to ignore ideas suggested by younger members.

"The advice and counsel of our young people we have had been of great assistance. They keep things in balance, telling us what appeals to young people.

"They tell us, quite frankly, that sometimes we (adults) are too overprotective," Dorband admitted.

The council continuously stresses keeping lines of communication open between parents and their children.

"People should realize that they shouldn't be blaming anyone for it (drug problem), but realize that it is a deep-rooted problem of our society," Dorband said.

MIKE BLECHA.

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, on May 10, the Rumanian people will be commemorating their traditional national holiday at the Carnegie Endowment International Center in New York. Since the Rumanian people can no longer commemorate the day that honors the achievement of Rumania's independence in their own country, it falls to those of their people in the United States to bring the day the honor it is due. The following message was sent to the Rumanian National Committee, to be read on this occasion:

RUMANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

The Rumanians are a sturdy, stout-hearted, and freedom-loving people. In their fertile and historic homeland in the southeastern part of the Balkan Peninsula, they have worked hard and struggled even harder to maintain their independence. By the beginning of the modern times, however, their more numerous foes proved too powerful for them, and they could not stave off the

threats to their freedom. Early in the 15th century their country was overrun by the Ottoman Turks, and the luckless Rumanians became subjected to the ruthless regime of sultans.

This unhappy period of involuntary servitude lasted about 400 years. During that time Rumanians tried hard to regain their freedom, but all their efforts proved of no avail. In 1877, however, the situation was different and favored the Rumanian cause. The other peoples of the Balkan Peninsula were fighting alongside the Rumanians against their common oppressors, the Turks, and the Russians also helped their cause. On May 10, 1877, the Rumanian people unfurled the flag of revolt against the Turks and proclaimed their national independence. Thus was born the free Rumania, and its independence was recognized by the subsequent Congress of Berlin in June 1878.

On the occasion of the observance of Rumania's 93d Independence Day we find the Rumanian people not fully free in their homeland. Their leaders, though of their own nationality, are thoroughgoing Communists and govern their compatriots with an iron hand. Under such conditions the people do not and cannot celebrate their independence day as their national holiday, but Rumanians in the free world join hands in observing the anniversary of that historic event and cherish the hope that soon Rumanians in their homeland will have the freedom to do likewise.

INFLAMMATORY REMARKS OF THE CHICAGO SEVEN AND REQUEST TO ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR REVOCATION OF BAIL OR LIMITATION OF MOVEMENT OF CHICAGO SEVEN

HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, I have asked Attorney General John Mitchell to initiate measures that would result in the return of those members of the so-called "Chicago Seven" who are in apparent violation of their bail stipulations to show cause why their bonds should not be revoked.

I have taken this action in view of the volatile—and deteriorating—situation on the college campuses of this Nation, perhaps best exemplified by the recent tragedy at Kent State in Ohio.

Five of these seven persons have been convicted of crossing State lines to incite riot, specifically the violent mob scenes in Chicago in 1968, and all seven were cited for contempt of court. They were convicted, you will recall, despite their frantic efforts to disrupt the trial in Federal court, to turn the courtroom into a circus. Now they are free on bond pending appeal.

Nevertheless they continue to move about the country, speaking at rallies and demonstrations, exhorting their audiences to liberate this country. Mr. Speaker, those they propose to liberate it from are the representatives of this country elected by the people at local, State, and national levels. What they

seem to desire is a tyranny of the minority. They say they are dissatisfied with America as it is today, but the only alternative they propose is mob rule.

Inflammatory remarks by members of this group include these made by Jerry Rubin at Kent State on April 11 as reported in press dispatches:

We have to disrupt every institution, break every law, we've got to become criminals. Work is a dirty word. I don't work. You are not a real revolutionary until you are prepared to kill your parents. The first oppressors are your parents.

Monday night, Mr. Speaker, another of the "Chicago Seven," Rennie Davis, told an audience at George Washington University here in Washington to form "national liberation brigades to come to Washington this summer to liberate this country."

They obviously intend to be in Washington this weekend for what is billed as an antiwar rally, but which could have more ominous purposes and results.

I believe that Federal authorities in Chicago should review the conduct of these individuals and the conditions of bond and either limit their movements or, if warranted, revoke the bond.

My letter to the Attorney General asks him to seek the remedies afforded by the Rules of Criminal Procedure and section 3043 of title 18, United States Code, to return those involved in breaches of the peace following conviction to show cause why bail should not be revoked or increased or why other limitations of movement should not be imposed on them. The text of my letter follows:

MAY 5, 1970.

HON. JOHN N. MITCHELL,
U.S. Attorney General,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: I am writing to urge that the Department of Justice take immediate measures to review the conditions under which the Chicago 7 were admitted to bail in the light of activities in which they are engaging, and have engaged, since their admission to bail.

In recent days members of the so-called Chicago 7, free under bond following trial and conviction and pending appeal, have appeared in various places across the country, apparently inciting mob action of a character which led to their original arrest and trial. I think you will agree with me that it is no less than a mockery of our judicial system that persons who stand convicted of crossing State lines to incite to riot should be permitted to continue to play active roles in organizing disruptions of the same character for which they were so recently convicted.

The Rules of Criminal Procedure, and Section 3043 of Title 18, U.S. Code, appear to afford adequate remedy to return those involved in such breaches of the peace following conviction, to show cause why bail should not be revoked or increased, or other security and limitations placed upon their movement and appearance as may be necessary.

Your efforts in this respect, I am certain, will be applauded by the vast majority of the citizens of this country, and particularly by those whose property and person are endangered by the activities of such individuals. Prompt action in this respect will, moreover, in some degree not only serve to restore public confidence and respect for law, but also

to reduce the increasing violations of law with which our country is plagued.

Sincerely yours,

RICHARD H. ICHORD,
Chairman.

WORK ON RESTORING HISTORIC WILCOX HOUSE PROCEEDS

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, several years ago, Congress approved legislation I sponsored to preserve the historic Ansley Wilcox home in Buffalo, N.Y.

It was in the Wilcox mansion that Theodore Roosevelt took the oath of office as President following the assassination of President William McKinley in 1901.

Congress appropriated \$250,000 toward acquisition of the site and an additional \$50,000 toward restoration.

Work on the restoration is proceeding nicely and sponsors now hope to have the building restored and refurbished so it can be opened to the public next year.

Mr. Speaker, as a part of my remarks I include a progress report from the May 3 edition of the Buffalo Courier-Express:

1971 OPENING IN SIGHT FOR ANSLEY WILCOX MANSION AS U.S. LANDMARK

(By Betty J. Ott)

If all goes well in the next few months, the Ansley Wilcox Mansion will open sometime in 1971 as a national landmark, according to Walter S. Dunn, director of the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society.

The necessary historic writings of the mansion were approved last week by the federal government. Plans for the restoration and rehabilitation are being worked on under the auspices of the Theodore Roosevelt Inaugural Site Foundation.

The Theodore Roosevelt Inaugural Site Foundation, created in March of 1967 to help preserve the Wilcox Mansion on Delaware Ave. as a national shrine, now feels that plans can go full speed ahead toward completion of the restoration.

Of the \$80,000 required to be raised by local and private contributors, a total of \$52,867.74 has been realized, according to Frank D. Leavers, treasurer of the foundation. Mr. Leavers is confident that there will be no difficulty in raising the \$27,000 balance.

The rehabilitation and restoration of the Wilcox Mansion, a Greek revival-type home built in 1832, is a pilot program. It marks the first time the federal, state and local governments have contributed funds for the preservation of a national landmark.

DONATIONS HELP

The Federal government has authorized \$50,000 for the restoration, contingent on local financial aid. The New York State Historic Trust appropriated \$87,000 for restoration in April of 1968. The Junior League of Buffalo Inc. has pledged \$50,000 for the mansion's restoration.

The league also formed the Wilcox Committee to research and help with acquisitions of authentic interior furnishing of the home. Mrs. John M. Mondfort is committee chair-

man and Mrs. Edward A. Rath Jr. is publicity chairman.

When the mansion is ready for visitors, league members will serve as guides wearing period costumes. The library of the mansion will be the only room restored to its original state at this time.

Another area of the home will be used for orientation and another will be equipped with exhibits planned and executed by the Historical Society.

Mr. Montfort, secretary of the Inaugural Site Foundation, has assisted with the legal matters of the Wilcox Mansion since 1967. His original involvement was stimulated by the late Owen B. Augspurger, then president of the Historical Society. Mr. Augspurger was one of the major promoters in the pushing of the purchase of the site by the federal government.

EARLIER EFFORT FAILED

The Liberty National Bank and Trust Co. had acquired title to the mansion and property in 1964. Mr. Montfort assisted in the sale of the property to the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior for \$250,000 on Dec. 1, 1969.

An earlier campaign to preserve the property in 1935 failed. Oliver and Kathryn Lawrence, who were living in the Wilcox home at the time, purchased the property from the Dexter P. Rumsey estate in 1947 for \$62,000 and operated it as the Kathryn Lawrence Tea Room until 1961 when it was leased to the Benderson Development Co.

Dexter P. Rumsey had purchased the mansion in 1883 from Alfred and Juliet Bell for \$36,500 as a wedding gift for his daughter, Mary Grace Rumsey, who was the bride of Ansley Wilcox, a young local attorney.

When Mr. Rumsey died, on April 5, 1906, the property was bequeathed to Mary Grace Rumsey Wilcox for her lifetime use. When Mrs. Wilcox died Nov. 9, 1910, the property was deeded back to the Dexter P. Rumsey estate until the Lawrence family purchased it * * * show there have been 13 owners of the landsite since 1809. The first deed for the property sold for \$232.50.

FITTING ORIGINAL SHUTTERS

O. W. Shelgren Jr., a local architect was appointed architect for the rebuilding and rehabilitation of the mansion by the foundation.

Mr. Shelgren is anxious to fit some of the original shutters from the home that were recently returned to friends in Amherst by Oliver Poppenberg of Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mr. Poppenberg, related to the former owner, Oliver Lawrence, had taken the shutters as a sentimental reminder of the landmark. When he heard about the restoration he decided to return them.

O. Rundle Gilbert, a well known New York auctioneer, formerly of Buffalo, was in Buffalo recently with Mrs. Gilbert to handle the Studio Arena auction. The Gilberts were guests of their long-time friends, Mr. and Mrs. Laurance L. Hurd at "Shaker House" in East Aurora.

Mr. Gilbert had not only handled the auction of the estates of Ansley Wilcox and Truman Avery in 1935, but was auctioneer for the Albright estate in 1934—Mrs. Hurd is the daughter of the late J. J. Albright.

DEVELOP PERIOD DISPLAYS

An 18 karat gold engraved key-wind watch that belonged to Mr. Albright—a gift from the Canadian company of Niagara Mohawk Power Corp. in 1901—has been given by Mrs. Hurd to the Historical Society. The watch may be used as a period piece in the mansion exhibit.

The Hurds are also donating a blue and white Staffordshire plate designed with eight scenes depicting the highlights of Theodore Roosevelt's life.

Mr. Gilbert, while he was in Buffalo, mean-

while, recalled the 1935 auction and remembered that Mrs. Leona Dworzanowski of Hamburg had purchased a bronze lamp base that had been in the Wilcox library. Mrs. Dworzanowski bought the lamp without a shade. But Mr. Gilbert says the lamp probably was from the Tiffany Studio and the shade should be of pierced brass over either pale green or yellow glass.

Mrs. Dworzanowski has sold the lamp to the Allentown Village Society and has donated to the Historical Society two pictures of Dexter P. Rumsey, one of which will be used in the library of the Wilcox Mansion.

The Allentown Village Society is assisting with the restoration of the original furnishings of the Wilcox site. Finley R. Green, Jr., treasurer of the Village Society, purchased the lamp from Mrs. Dworzanowski to help with the restoration.

SOCIETY AIDS RESTORATION

Mr. Green's grandfather, the late Finley H. Greene, was the public relations secretary of the Pan American Exposition. It was at this event that President McKinley was assassinated. On Sept. 14, 1901, Theodore Roosevelt was inaugurated as president in the library of the Wilcox Mansion. Roosevelt, a close friend of Ansley Wilcox, borrowed the owner's frock coat to take the oath of office as president. The coat later was given to the Historical Society.

Perhaps when Buffalonians are doing their spring cleaning they will think of spring face-lifting for the Wilcox Mansion. Keep in mind when cleaning attics, cellars, old chests or trunks, that there might be something of historic value hidden among the treasures.

The Historical Society, the site Foundation and the Wilcox Committee are anxious to work with any club, organization or individual who wants to help with funds or services in the awakening of a historic home that has weathered and won a battle to survive.

HELPING THE HANDICAPPED

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, a flight of stairs may be nothing to a fortunate person but it is higher than Mount Everest to someone in a wheelchair. Because we have knowingly practiced a form of discrimination in the construction of our private and public buildings many millions of Americans are unable to fully contribute their talents and energies to society.

Our buildings are full of these architectural barriers—out-of-reach drinking fountains and telephones, narrow doorways, high curbs—and they say "Disabled or Handicapped Not Welcome"; not welcome to pursue a normal life in business, vocation, education, social, and recreational activities.

Across the Nation, there are groups which have attempted to attack this problem; in many cities there are architectural barrier committees. But there has never been a national attack. This December, at the national convention of Alpha Phi Omega National Service Fraternity, there will be a proposal which would make architectural barriers a project for all of their 527 chapters. The goals would be to find, eliminate, and prevent such barriers in campus buildings. This would at least enable all Americans to receive the same consideration for ad-

mission to college. Hopefully this will spread to the cities in which these campuses are located. With sufficient citizen involvement and prodding from local and state officials this problem can be significantly reduced.

The project was originated by Phi Chapter of APO which is located at Syracuse University. They will soon publish both a guide to the Syracuse University campus telling people exactly what to expect and also a handbook showing how such a project can be run and the extent of the problem. When they started this, they had only great hopes. Today, with the backing of many public officials, there is a chance for success. The millions of handicapped people may well owe these students a great debt of gratitude.

HANNA POLL SHOWS VERY FEW SUPPORT PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC POLICY

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I am including in the RECORD today a summary of a mail poll I conducted in my congressional district during March and April. The poll dealt with five issues—Vietnam, the environment, education financing, inflation, and drug abuse.

Since I am attaching a summary of the results, it is not necessary for me to go into extensive elaboration on how a substantial segment of my constituency feels on these five issues. There is one item, however, which does deserve special notice.

The poll clearly shows tremendous dissatisfaction with the present administration's economic policies. Approximately 35,000 residents of my district responded to the questionnaire, with only 12 percent favoring the present high-interest, tight-money policies designed to control inflation. Most of the respondents either favored voluntary or formal wage, credit, and price controls. Interestingly enough only a small percentage thought cuts in Federal expenditures would substantially control inflation. The people want more decisive action on inflation. They are tired of the present policies and the hollow rhetoric.

I wish to make one other point regarding this mail poll. I prepared the poll under the direction of Dr. W. P. Cortelyou, an opinion poll expert who has made his services available to a number of Members at no cost. The success of my recent poll, and it has been the most successful one I have ever conducted, is largely due to Dr. Cortelyou. He is concerned, and I share his concern, that the Congress has no real mechanism providing it up-to-date, accurate information on views of local constituencies. Although a number of Members do send out questionnaires, quite often the response is small, and because we send out these rolls independently of one another we have no basis under which to compare results.

This is most unfortunate. The Con-

gress is being accused of not being responsive. One reason this accusation has some validity is our inadequate and almost nonexistent methods for determining what our constituencies think.

Dr. Cortelyou is trying to do something about these pitiful circumstances. He believes, as do I, that Congressmen should make every effort to open a meaningful exchange of views with their constituencies. Frequent careful polling is an excellent mechanism. Almost twice the number of residents of my district participated in this poll as opposed to questionnaires I have sent out in previous years. The large sample was given to Dr. Cortelyou who expertly analyzed it and provided me with an accurate and detailed readout of the views of a very large portion of my district.

His efforts have convinced me of the importance of polling my district on a continuing basis, not once a year, but many times during a year. I am also convinced of the necessity of creating a major mail poll coordinating effort for Congress in which all local polls can be continually analyzed and passed along to each Member. Perhaps we can develop a program where polls can be prepared on a cooperative basis so that the results from each district, when put together, will give us an idea of national thinking.

Dr. Cortelyou is making a great effort on behalf of opening needed lines of communications between constituencies

and their Representatives. He deserves our recognition and our support.

The results of the poll follow:

Poll conducted by Congressman Richard T. Hanna

I. TOTAL RESPONSE

[Percentage total response]

A. The Vietnam war still continues, although at a reduced level of American casualties.

- 1. We should continue to follow the President's plan of disengaging from the war 40
- 2. We should disengage at a faster rate than the President is pursuing..... 18
- 3. We should withdraw all troops now... 13
- 4. We should increase our strength and win a military victory..... 27
- 5. No response..... 2

B. A number of proposals will be offered to protect our environment.

- 1. We should double Federal funds now available to clean up the environment 3
- 2. We should strongly penalize those who pollute the environment..... 32
- 3. We should not take any action that would be too costly or impede the progress of industry..... 5
- 4. Both number one and two should be implemented now..... 60
- 5. No response..... 1

C. Education, like everything else today, costs more. The alternatives available for financing increasing education costs are:

- 1. Local property taxes should be increased 2

- 2. We should reduce our commitment to education 20
- 3. State taxes should be raised and the funds spent on education..... 10
- 4. The Federal Government should reorder its spending priorities enabling it to commit more money to education 60
- 5. Federal taxes should be raised and the money spent on education..... 3
- 6. No response..... 5

D. Inflation is one of the most serious domestic problems. A number of alternatives for dealing with the problem have been proposed.

- 1. We should continue the present tight-money, high-interest rate policy..... 12
- 2. The Congress should cut Federal expenditures below the President's request 22
- 3. Private corporate borrowing for expansion should be voluntarily discouraged, credit controls should be implemented, and labor should be asked to reduce wage demands..... 27
- 4. The President should ask for wage and price controls..... 34
- 5. No response..... 5

E. Drug abuse by people of all ages continues to rise at an alarming rate.

- 1. Stricter law enforcement is required... 28
- 2. A crash education program on the dangers of unregulated drug use must be initiated immediately..... 13
- 3. More funds must be invested in accurate research..... 6
- 4. All of the above..... 52
- 5. No response..... 2

II. RESPONSE BY PARTY

[In percent]

	Democrat	Republican	Other	No party preference		Democrat	Republican	Other	No party preference
A. The Vietnam war still continues, although at a reduced level of American casualties:									
1. We should continue to follow the President's plan of disengaging from the war.....	36	48	21	36	4. The Federal Government should reorder its spending priorities enabling it to commit more money to education.....	74	51	79	49
2. We should disengage at a faster rate than the President is pursuing.....	20	12	25	24	5. Federal taxes should be raised and the money spent on education.....	6	1	4	3
3. We should withdraw all troops now.....	19	7	21	14	D. Inflation is one of the most serious domestic problems. A number of alternatives for dealing with the problem have been proposed:				
4. We should increase our strength and win a military victory.....	24	30	25	24	1. We should continue the present tight money, high interest rate policy.....	8	15	21	10
B. A number of proposals will be offered to protect our environment:					2. The Congress should cut Federal expenditures below the President's request.....	23	24	21	16
1. We should double Federal funds now available to clean up the environment.....	2	2	0	5	3. Private corporate borrowing for expansion should be voluntarily discouraged, credit controls should be implemented, and labor should be asked to reduce wage demands.....	19	30	25	34
2. We should strongly penalize those who pollute the environment.....	21	43	21	30	4. The President should ask for wage and price controls.....	43	29	29	33
3. We should not take any action that would be too costly or impede the growth of industry.....	2	6	0	9	E. Drug abuse by people of all ages continues to rise at an alarming rate.				
4. Both No. 1 and 2 should be implemented now.....	74	50	79	55	1. Stricter law enforcement is required.....	23	33	17	28
C. Education, like everything else today, costs more. The alternatives available for financing increasing education costs are:					2. A crash education program on the dangers of unregulated drug use must be initiated immediately.....	11	9	21	20
1. Local property taxes should be increased.....	4	2	4	0	3. More funds must be invested in accurate research.....	7	1	21	9
2. We should reduce our commitment to education.....	11	23	8	30	4. All of the above.....	58	55	38	41
3. State taxes should be raised and the funds spent on education.....	4	16	4	11					

III. RESPONSE BY AGE

[In percent]

	21 to 30	31 to 45	46 to 60	60 plus		21 to 30	31 to 45	46 to 60	60 plus
A. The Vietnam war still continues although at a reduced level of American casualties:					B. A number of proposals will be offered to protect our environment:				
1. We should continue to follow the President's plan of disengaging from the war.....	31	45	40	47	1. We should double Federal funds now available to clean up the environment.....	0	4	1	6
2. We should disengage at a faster rate than the President is pursuing.....	23	19	10	21	2. We should strongly penalize those who pollute the environment.....	23	36	38	35
3. We should withdraw all troops now.....	22	9	14	3	3. We should not take any action that would be too costly or impede the progress of industry.....	0	1	9	12
4. We should increase our strength and win a military victory.....	22	26	32	29					

	21 to 30	31 to 45	46 to 60	60 plus		21 to 30	31 to 45	46 to 60	60 plus
4. Both No. 1 and 2 should be implemented now.....	77	59	52	44	2. The Congress should cut Federal expenditures below the President's request.....	20	22	19	44
C Education, like everything else today, costs more. The alternatives available for financing increasing education costs are:					3. Private corporate borrowing for expansion should be voluntarily discouraged, credit controls should be implemented, and labor should be asked to reduce wage demands.....	23	31	28	18
1. Local property taxes should be increased.....	3	1	5	0	4. The President should ask for wage and price controls.....	29	32	39	29
2. We should reduce our commitment to education.....	2	18	33	18	E. Drug abuse by people of all ages continues to rise at an alarming rate.				
3. State taxes should be raised and the funds spent on education.....	13	13	4	6	1. Stricter law enforcement is required.....	18	30	31	38
4. The Federal Government should re-order its spending priorities enabling it to commit more money to education.....	80	60	54	53	2. A crash education program on the dangers of unregulated drug use must be initiated immediately.....	11	15	10	12
5. Federal taxes should be raised and the money spent on education.....	0	3	3	3	3. More funds must be invested in accurate research.....	13	4	6	0
D. Inflation is one of the most serious domestic problems. A number of alternatives for dealing with the problem have been proposed:					4. All of the above.....	57	49	50	50
1. We should continue the present tight money, high interest rate policy.....	21	7	11	6					

WORKING AMERICANS AND RESPONSIBLE DISSENT

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, in these days of tragic turmoil and dissent, many Americans often hesitate adding their names and support to the growing number of citizens who oppose some of our national policies. As a reason for such hesitation, they cite fears of social and/or economic stigma if they were to speak out.

I am saddened that certain elements within our society are so afraid of responsible dissent that they act so as to cause those fears and thereby limit valid criticism and opinions. This Nation was founded by responsible citizens who saw that orderly dissent was the initial means of bringing about essential changes in Government.

There cannot be freedom without responsible dissent, and the surest way to get repression and tyranny is by stifling such dissent.

I say these words today because I have recently been sent a copy of an impressive statement along these lines by the Peninsula Vietnam Moratorium Committee of Palo Alto, Calif. The committee issued a policy statement entitled "Working Americans and Responsible Dissent" and I wish to go on record completely supporting that statement.

I believe this to be an extremely timely message, and I now insert the statement in the RECORD at this point:

WORKING AMERICANS AND RESPONSIBLE DISSENT: A STATEMENT OF POLICY

The growing public debate by people of all political persuasions over the war in Vietnam has dramatized the inalienable American right of responsible criticism of governmental policy. Furthermore, most citizens would agree that substantially all dissenting Americans are acting out of loyalty to the ideals of their country.

Many working Americans, however, while desiring to express their own personal beliefs, are afraid to do so for fear of adverse repercussions from their actions. In particular, most working Americans do not fear repercussions from their actions. In parvovert reprisals, such as losing their jobs, as much as they fear the covert and long term reprisals involved with court-ning the displeasure of their colleagues,

employers, or the government. Specifically, they are unsure of their employer's attitude toward dissent and their fear is based on the lack of an employer statement of policy. By the same token, management generally desires to be apolitical, not realizing that an atmosphere where people are uncertain of their right to speak out is inherently political.

In light of these problems, we ask responsible management to advise their employees that there will be no employment repercussions due to responsible dissent. We further ask that, regardless of their own political views, responsible management support the following propositions:

1. It is an inalienable American right to express one's political views in a responsible manner without fear of reprisal.

2. The fact that an individual works either directly or indirectly for the government does not imply that he has abrogated his right of responsible dissent.

3. Every employing organization has a responsibility to its employees to ensure that they are aware of all relevant organizational policies, that these policies do not infringe upon the rights of the employees, and that responsible dissent, whether or not it agrees with organizational objectives, will not be stifled in any manner.

LAW AND ORDER

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, it has come to my attention that some members of the left-wing in this country have been using a quote attributed to Hitler as a stick with which to beat the heads of those who advocate law and order.

Of course, for those who have studied the history of the Third Reich, it should be obvious that Adolph Hitler would have been the last person to advocate law and order. Be that as it may, I think it is important to note that John Lofton, writing in the April 21, 1970, issue of National Review, has laid to rest the liberals' claims that the advocacy of law and order was one of Hitler's paramount aims.

Mr. Lofton's article follows:

ABOUT THAT HITLER QUOTE

(By John D. Lofton, Jr.)

Since Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas has leaned heavily on it in his latest book, *Points of Rebellion*, and both the

Wall Street Journal and the *Washington Post* chose to lead with it in their reviews of that book, it seems that now is as good as any time to lay to rest an apocryphal Hitler quote which has been repeated by such disparate individuals as black comedian-politician Dick Gregory and conservative *Chicago Tribune* columnist Walter Trohan.

The questionable quote goes something like this:

"The streets of our country are in turmoil. The universities are filled with students rebelling and rioting. Communists are seeking to destroy our country. Russia is threatening us with her might and the republic is in danger. Yes, danger from within and without. We need law and order."

The speaker is said to be Adolph Hitler, the time 1932, the place, Hamburg.

The first mention of the quote seems to have been in the "Trade Winds" column of Jerome Beatty Jr. in the May 17, 1969 Saturday Review. A check with Beatty reveals that he got the quote from a monthly newsletter edited by Dixon Gayer, a professor of journalism at California State College at Long Beach. Gayer got the quote from a Professor Leroy Hardy in that school's Political Science Department who said that he had copied the quotation from the office door of Professor Larry Adams of the Political Science Department at the University of California at Santa Barbara. Professor Adams is unable to remember where he obtained the original quote.

The next mention of the quote was sometime in mid-July of last year, in an editorial in the Des Moines Register. They got it, they said, from Senator Edmund Muskie, who made the statement in a speech before the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. And where did Muskie get it?

It was originally brought to my attention by a very reputable personal friend who had clipped it out of a publication last winter. Both he and I had no reason to question its authenticity. My staff has been working with the Library of Congress in an attempt to trace the original source of the quote. Although they have found similar statements by Hitler in the early 1930's, they have not been able to find the exact source. I regret this situation.

And indeed the Library of Congress has not been able to turn up anything despite a careful search through: The Macmillan Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Famous Phrases; The Home Book of Quotations; Bartlett's Familiar Quotations; the Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, among others. Also searched were several books relating specifically to Hitler: *Reden des Führers, 1922-1945*; *Reden und Proklamationen, 1932-1945*; *Hitler's Speeches, 1922-1939*; *Hitler's Words, 1922-1943*; *Hitler: A study in Tyranny*; and the *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.

The Library even went so far as to contact two Hitler scholars, William L. Shirer and Dr. William Allen of Wayne Univer-

sity's History Department, a specialist on Nazi Germany. Shirer mentioned having heard the Hitler quote in question but was unable to authenticate it. Ditto Dr. Allen, who said that the statement was not typical of Hitler in that it was too concise. He also pointed out that since it was the Nazis who were instigating and perpetuating the disorders, Hitler probably would not have brought them up.

This would be as if Chicago Seven Lawyer William Kuntzler were publicly to lament the current attack on our judicial system and cite as proof of this the behavior of the defendants in the recent Conspiracy trial.

Other purveyors of the quote include:

The United Auto Worker's publication, Solidarity, which got the quote from the Wayne State University, Black Panther-controlled student newspaper, The South End.

Conservative Chicago Tribune columnist Walter Trohan, who picked the item up from a Catholic publication, the National Register. The Register which used the quote in the shape of a bayonet in a full-page graphic, was challenged on its authenticity by Twin Circle publisher Dale Francis and finally admitted to its bogusness. The source for it couldn't be found. Trohan subsequently wrote another column on the phonicness of the quote, but warned against "preoccupation with law and order" filling us with such terror that we would joyously "accept the claims of false prophets."

Comedian-politician Dick Gregory, who appeared on the Merv Griffin show and led off with the quote embellishing it with an additional six lines:

"Yes, without law and order our nation cannot survive. And we shall restore law and order. We shall by law and order be respected among the nations of the world. Without law and order our republic shall fall."

Gregory went on to warn against "law-and-order" candidates:

And this is the frightening thing about the type of campaigns [sic] that's running across the country on law-and-order issues, you know. When will it end, you know, when you start voting strictly from a law-and-order issue. We end up following the same boat that Nazi Germany followed.

Show host Griffin agreed.

(In all fairness, it should be noted that the agreement here was not unanimous and another Griffin guest, Orson Bean, was applauded when he replied to Gregory: "I'm not afraid of the politicians; I'm afraid of being mugged.")

Atlanta Constitution columnist Hal Guilliver has never disclosed where he got the quote. Washington Post columnist Nicholas von Hoffman apologized for being such a "poopout," and said that he vaguely remembered the Hitler quote but never keeps the material he uses for a column longer than he needs to write it. "Otherwise, I'd have to move out of my apartment," he declared.

As Nazi Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels said: "It is my task to provide the naively credulous with the arguments for what they think and wish, but which they are unable to formulate and verify themselves."

With the current circulation being given the bastard Hitler law-and-order quote, it would appear that this task has been passed on.

THE AMERICAN'S CREED

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN
OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, each year as thousands of fine young men and

women graduate from high school in the First Congressional District of Tennessee, it is my privilege to congratulate them on their achievement by letter and by sending them a copy of "The American's Creed." These young graduates will soon be accepting their places as responsible citizens and leaders of our community and the Nation. This year, I am especially proud to personally write each graduate, by way of an individual letter, and enclosing a copy of "The American's Creed," as follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 11, 1970.

DEAR _____: Congratulations on your graduation!

This is a significant occasion . . . one which you will always remember with pride. May your diploma be the key that opens the door to a wonderful future.

As a memento of this milestone, I am enclosing The American's Creed which has a special message for all of us. I hope this Creed will prove an inspiration and a guide as you start on a new journey in life.

I sincerely trust that you will continue your quest for knowledge, and I am sending you a pamphlet from the U.S. Office of Education, in the event it might be of interest to you or your friends.

As your Congressman, if I can ever be helpful to you in any way, please feel free to get in touch with me.

Best wishes for every success and all the good things that life can bring.

Sincerely,

JAMES H. QUILLEN.

THE AMERICAN'S CREED (By William Tyler Page)

I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a Republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States; a perfect Union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I therefore believe it is my duty to my Country to love it; to support its constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies.

Presented to _____ with congratulations upon High School graduation. May the future bring you success, happiness, and achievement in the highest ideals of American citizenship.

JAMES H. QUILLEN,
Member of Congress, First District, Tennessee.

STRENGTHENING OUR EXPLOSIVE LAWS

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, while every State has laws making the illegal use of explosives a crime, too few States have adequate comprehensive statutes to effectively control and regulate the sale of explosives. Regarded as the weapon of ultimate terror, the bomb is fast becoming the main weapon employed by the far left and other radicals who protest the "establishment."

Mr. Speaker, when small factions and militant groups use dangerous explosives to threaten lives and property in several States, then I feel it is time for the Federal Government to take a firm stand to protect the public from such dangerous acts.

I have moved in this direction by introducing two bills today which tighten our Federal explosive laws. They attempt to thwart the increasing frequency of bombings in our major cities which resulted in a 400-percent increase in bombings over the past decade in New York City alone. In March of this year police found 14 bombs and recorded over 2,000 bomb threats in New York City. This pattern is repeated throughout the United States in other cities such as Seattle, Chicago, and San Francisco.

Designed as an anticrime measure, the first bill amends the Gun Control Act of 1968 to provide an effective and forceful definition of explosives. By including explosives under the prohibited uses sections of this bill and by requiring the licensing of importers, manufacturers, distributors, and dealers of explosives, the bill establishes controls for the sale of explosives that are similar to the controls on firearms and ammunitions under the Gun Control Act. Records relating to the sale or delivery of explosives would be kept, limiting the sale and transfer of explosives or their components to legitimate users of these products.

The States would determine who is and who is not a legitimate user of explosives or their components, and people who actively use explosives commercially would not be denied access to these materials. However, the requirement for records to be kept would make it easier for authorities investigating the misuse of explosives to trace their sale, and it would make it much more difficult for illegal users to obtain these dangerous materials.

The second explosive control measure I have introduced today pertains to current Federal penalties for the illegal use of explosives. Under the provisions of this bill the penalties for the illegal transportation, possession, and use of explosives is materially increased from 1 to 10 years.

The penalty for the illegal and malicious use of explosives is increased to 20 years from the present 10-year sentence, and when a fatality occurs, either death or life imprisonment can be invoked. In addition, incendiary devices are included under the antibombing provisions of the Federal code, and Federal criminal jurisdiction is extended to all buildings used by the Federal Government, or businesses engaged in interstate commerce activities.

Mr. Speaker, the destructive use of dynamite and other explosives is causing havoc in our cities and towns. If the Congress does not move to curb these terrorist activities through firm, effective legislation, revolutionaries, discontents, and others who would take out their vengeance on society will continue to jeopardize public safety and property. These bills which bring under Federal jurisdiction all interstate traffic in explosives and extend the criminal

nal jurisdiction over the illegal use of explosives, are sorely needed and I solicit the support of my colleagues for their early passage.

NEWSDAY WINS TWO PULITZER PRIZES

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, this week *Newsday*, a distinguished daily newspaper published on Long Island, received two of the annual Pulitzer Prizes for excellence in journalism. This is great tribute to a deserving newspaper that has benefited from the fine leadership of Capt. Harry Guggenheim and Bill Moyers. It is a special tribute to the memory of Alicia Patterson, Captain Guggenheim's late wife, who started *Newsday* 30 years ago and directed its rise to the forefront of American journalism.

Newsday received a gold medal for meritorious public service for a thorough and important series of investigative stories that disclosed misconduct by public officials. The Pulitzer Committee cited *Newsday* "for its 3-year investigation and exposure of secret land deals in eastern Long Island, which led to series of criminal convictions, discharges and resignations among public and political officeholders in the area."

The committee went on to say:

By digging into a maze of land records and other documents and presenting their findings, *Newsday's* reporters and editors displayed both tenacity and courage in the face of threats and hostile acts by some of the politicians whose wrong-doing they attacked.

This public service award was a team effort involving hard work and solid reporting by several *Newsday* staff members. All of them, and their editors, deserve commendation for this investigative reporting in the muckraking tradition of Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, and others.

Newsday's second Pulitzer was an individual ward to Thomas F. Darcy for editorial cartooning. It is unfortunate that the *RECORD* cannot accommodate these cartoons which invariably, day after day, reach to the heart of pressing social issues in this country and abroad. Tom Darcy has a special ability for saying a great deal with true emotion in an editorial cartoon and he is most deserving of the award presented to him.

The media, Mr. Speaker, are under increasing attack by those who fail to fully respect our precious right of a free press. *Newsday* has demonstrated how vital a good, honest newspaper can be to the successful operation of our political system and I am highly gratified that the Pulitzer Committee has recognized *Newsday* for its fine work.

I extend my honest and deep congratulations to all the people at *Newsday* and trust that *Newsday's* high standards will serve Long Island, New York State and the country in future years.

JAMES V. RETONDO AAA GOLD LIFESAVER MEDAL AWARD WINNER

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege this afternoon to attend the AAA Gold Lifesaver Medal Award ceremony at the Department of Transportation when Secretary John Volpe presented medals to 10 school safety patrolmen between the ages of 10 and 14.

One of my constituents, James V. Retondo, of 3252 North Kildare Avenue, Chicago, stood with those boys and received a medal with them. He is 12 years old and a student at Jonathan Y. Scammon School. Like thousands of patrol boys and girls, he is called on every day to display poise, leadership, judgment, and courage as he guides schoolchildren through the dangerous intersections surrounding so many of our schools.

Not long ago Jim saved a boy's life, a boy who had lost his balance and stumbled into the street, directly in the path of a speeding car. With quick thinking and fast reflexes, Jim dashed after the boy and pulled him to safety just as the car raced past them. His decisive action prevented almost certain tragedy.

Mr. Speaker, we can take enormous pride in this young man's achievement, as in the achievements of the other youngsters who received similar medals today. Jim and his companions reflect the highest ideals of our Nation and they are a genuine source of pride to their parents and neighbors and those of us who represent them in Congress.

James Retondo was nominated for this national award by the Chicago Motor Club, an organization widely known for its adherence to safety regulations and its integrity in our community. Mr. Matthew C. Sielski, vice president of this organization, was present at the awards ceremony today.

Because each of these young boys deserves our gratitude, I am placing their medal citations in the *RECORD* today, together with the remarks of Secretary Volpe and George F. Kachlein, Jr., of the American Automobile Association.

Mr. Speaker, these inspirational documents follow:

REMARKS FOR GEORGE F. KACHLEIN, JR., AT AAA GOLD LIFESAVER MEDAL AWARDS CEREMONY

This afternoon we are honoring 10 fine boys with the American Automobile Association's School Safety Patrol Gold Lifesaver Medal awards. These young lads come from as far away as Stockton, California, and from as close as Vienna, Virginia. They range in age from 10 to 14 years.

We are honoring these young future leaders because at the risk of their own lives, they saved the lives of others.

And that's what the School Safety Patrol is all about—safety and the concern for our youngsters as they cross the roads and streets going to and from school.

We are grateful to be joined in this tribute by Secretary John A. Volpe of the U.S. Department of Transportation and his staff. And it seems very proper that this extremely important arm of the government, represented by Secretary Volpe, should join us in this presentation.

The department—under the guidance of Secretary Volpe—has expressed its deep concern for safety in all modes of transportation. Under Secretary Volpe's direction, the department has demonstrated its leadership in attacking the problem of highway safety by upgrading the Federal Highway Safety Bureau—an organization whose only concern is that of safety—both for the pedestrian and the motorist.

We at AAA extend our thanks to the many persons who have helped make the School Safety Program such a national success. And we express our gratitude to the National Review Board headed by Deputy Chief Joseph V. Ostermann, director of the traffic division of the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Police Department. The Board spent considerable time studying the nominations for Lifesaving Medal Awards before selecting the 10 young men seated here in the front row.

It is my distinct privilege and pleasure to introduce to you now, the Honorable John A. Volpe, Secretary of Transportation.

REMARKS BY SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION JOHN A. VOLPE

This 50th Anniversary of the partnership established by the AAA and the school safety patrols is one of the great dates in the story of our progress toward a safer America.

In the years since the safety patrols were established and promoted on a systematic basis by the Chicago Motor Club, hundreds of lives have been saved by young volunteers who give some of their free time to help ensure the welfare of others.

The safety patrols have grown to more than one-million members in 50,000 schools in every State in the Nation.

It is most gratifying to know that since 1935, when records were first kept, the national pedestrian death rate per 100,000 children from ages 5 to 14 has been cut more than 50 percent—from 10.4 to 4.7. This achievement is largely due to the patrol boys of America and is especially remarkable when you consider that the number of cars in this country has increased 10 times since the early 1920s.

But those who have served on the patrol—and there have been over 20-million of them in the last 50 years—have contributed even more than raw figures would suggest. By being safety-conscious and talking about it with their parents they have helped to make adults more safety-conscious. And when they grow up they become more responsible themselves.

For many patrol boys during the last 5 decades, assisting with traffic control was their first position of leadership in a motorized society. They have developed sterling traits of alertness, dependability and concern for others. Many of them have gone on to become famous business men, community leaders, scientists, generals and even astronauts. One of them is with me here today—Doug Toms—our outstanding Director of the National Highway Safety Bureau.

Perhaps some of the youngsters you boys have saved from almost certain death and mutilation will grow up to achieve great things of their own. Any one of them might become the Nell Armstrong, the Michaelangelo or the Einstein of tomorrow. So you have played a part in bettering the future of the human race. I wish all adults would take as much of an interest in safety as you boys have.

We are losing 150 people in traffic accidents every day, many of them pedestrians who still do not respect the power of 2 tons of steel rushing toward them. You boys know and respect that power—what it can do for good and for evil.

It takes real courage to dash into traffic and rescue an errant child and you fellows

have shown that kind of courage when it really counted. For you, heroism isn't just a word. For you, heroism means laying it on the line when the chips are down.

And I want to assure you that we in the Department of Transportation are doing everything in our power to make your job easier and less dangerous. Highway safety is a 3-part program here. First, we have to make cars a lot safer. Second, we have to modernize our highways to eliminate danger spots. Third, we must do everything we can to make sure we become a nation of better drivers.

The success of this 3-part program depends upon many people—highway engineers, auto designers, public officials, drivers and not least—the man in the street—that is where you come in.

I have had the privilege of reading the reports on your individual acts of heroism, and I am tremendously proud of each one of you. We are delighted to participate in this awards ceremony, and to extend the government's wholehearted congratulations to you all.

SCHOOL SAFETY PATROL LIFESAVING MEDAL

(Presentation Ceremony, John A. Volpe, Secretary, U.S. Department of Transportation)

SCHOOL SAFETY PATROL HISTORY

The School Safety Patrol movement has grown tremendously since its origin in the early 1920's. Today, it is a national institution—a vital force in the important work of protecting America's children from the hazards of modern traffic. More than 900,000 boy and girl Patrol Members in the United States daily help to protect millions of children enrolled in thousands of elementary schools. In cities and towns, in rural areas, and on school buses, the School Safety Patrol serves to remind school children of hazards of street and highway crossings on their way to and from school. This "nation on wheels" can be proud of the work that these young citizens are doing.

Educators regard the Patrol movement as an excellent school activity, as well as a method to help develop a sense of responsibility, character, and positive usefulness for community living. Commendation for Patrol work is universal. It comes from parents, educators, police, and other outstanding public officials.

While it is obviously impossible to set any precise figures on the lifesaving results of School Safety Patrol work, it is certain that this movement has been partly responsible for the improvement of the traffic death rate of children 5 to 14 years of age. Since 1922, the traffic death rate for this group has continued to decrease to nearly one-half, while the death rate of other age groups has practically doubled.

LIFESAVER MEDAL

The American Automobile Association and affiliated Automobile Clubs inaugurated the AAA Gold Lifesaver Medal Award in 1949. Yearly, the AAA appoints a Medal Award Board and authorizes the members to select Patrol Members whose traffic lifesaving acts have saved the lives of persons in imminent traffic danger.

In the years of this honor award program, beginning in 1949, 136 medals have been awarded to honored recipients, representing 100 cities in 23 states.

Presentation of the award is made annually by outstanding national leaders. It has been the good fortune of recipients to have been decorated for their valor by: the President of the United States, the Vice-President, Cabinet officers, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and top leaders of the United States Armed Forces.

MEDAL CITATIONS

JAMES V. RETONDO, AGE 12, JONATHAN Y. SCAMMON SCHOOL, CHICAGO, ILL.

School Safety Patrol James Retondo was on duty at the corner of Kildare Street and School Street. He had his arms extended holding back a group of children waiting to cross. One of the children, engaged in rough horseplay, stumbled off balance past Jim far into the street. Patrolman Retondo, aware of a fast approaching vehicle, ran into the street, grabbed the youngster and pulled him to safety. The car skidded and swerved to the side avoiding the two boys by only a couple of feet.

James is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Mario Retondo, 3252 N. Kildare Avenue; Chicago, Illinois.

VINCENT A. CARMOSINO, AGE 14, ST. CATHERINE'S SCHOOL, DENVER, COLO.

Vincent Carmosino's duties as a member of the School Safety Patrol at St. Catherine's School in Denver, Colorado were to control children crossing Federal Boulevard at a signalized crosswalk. Last October, six-year-old Loretta Polak approached Vincent's outstretched arms and waited for the light to change. When the automatic signal was in her favor, Vincent allowed her to cross. At this time Vincent noticed that a car in the right lane, approaching the crosswalk, did not appear to be stopping and Loretta was nearing the center of the right lane of traffic. Immediately, Vincent shouted a warning and dashed into the street. Just in time, Patrolman Carmosino pulled Loretta out of the path of the car, which skidded to a stop halfway through the crosswalk.

Vincent is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Michael Carmosino, 4507 Elliot Street; Denver, Colorado.

RANDEL K. HAMM, AGE 10, MADISON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, STOCKTON, CALIF.

One day while Safety Patrol Randy Hamm was on duty during the lunch hour, a high wind snapped a four thousand volt power line. Randy, who was conducting children across the street at the time, was nearly hit by the falling wire. Keeping his head, Randy alertly blocked the path of the children and redirected them around the crackling wire. But, a kindergartner who had just crossed with the group suddenly turned around and went back towards the wire. Randy saw that the youngster was going to pick up the high tension wire. He moved quickly between the fallen wire and the child, knocking him down safely away from the dangerous wire and barely escaped injuring himself.

Randy is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Cloyd B. Hamm, 1519 Oxford Way; Stockton, California.

ROBERT L. PARSONS, AGE 11, WARNER SCHOOL, CLEVELAND, OHIO

On a rainy, snowy, icy day, Safety Patrol Robert Parsons was on duty assisting an adult crossing guard at the corner of Warner Road and Connecticut Avenue. Traffic was heavy and there was construction work being done near the intersection. Unaware the traffic signal had just turned red, one of the construction men directing traffic around the work site had given the go signal to a car proceeding through the intersection on Warner Road. The car was traveling at an estimated 40 m.p.h. which was about 20 m.p.h. above the posted speed limit.

The adult crossing guard stationed in the crosswalk saw that the car was coming through the intersection against the light and accordingly did not release the children to cross. However, a five-year-old child ran out into the path of the approaching car. Safety Patrol Robert Parsons alertly raced after the child, grabbed him, and pulled him back as the fast moving car sped past within a foot of them.

Robert is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Parsons, 7920 Beman Avenue; Cleveland, Ohio.

STEVEN M. RICE, AGE 11, WILTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, WILTON, WIS.

As a six-year-old student reached the outstretched arms of School Safety Patrol Steven Rice, a strong gust of wind blew some of the youngster's school papers into the roadway. Impulsively, the boy darted under the Patrolman's arm and into the path of an approaching car after his papers. Aware of the approaching car and alert to the impending danger, Patrolman Steven Rice ran out in front of the oncoming car and pulled the child back out of the car's path just as it ran over the papers.

Steven is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Richard J. Rice, Wilton, Wis.

ROCKY SABINI, AGE 12, TOD ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, CLEVELAND, OHIO

While on duty with an Adult Crossing Guard, School Safety Patrol Rocky Sabini noticed a little girl on a tricycle about 75 yards away who was trying to pedal across the street from between parked cars. Rocky immediately ran towards the child as fast as he could. In the meantime, the child had trouble pedalling up the slight incline of the roadway and rolled back between the cars. Again she attempted to cross the street. This time, she was heading straight into the path of an approaching vehicle, whose driver's view was blocked by a parked car. Rocky grabbed both the girl and the tricycle and pulled them back to the curb just as the car passed a few feet away.

Rocky is the son of Mr. and Mrs. John Sabini, 2066 E. 66th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.

RANDALL A. SIRBAUGH, AGE 12, VIENNA ELEMENTARY SCHFFL, VIENNA, VA.

Randall Sirbaugh, School Safety Patrol member at Vienna Elementary School, was at his post when a seven-year-old student darted past his right side and into the street, putting himself on a collision course with a fast-moving car. Randy shouted to the youngster, and in one quick move, went after the boy; grabbed him by the hood of his coat; and pulled him to safety.

Randall is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Steward Sirbaugh, 200 Park Terrace Court, Vienna, Virginia.

JAMES MICHAEL SMITH, AGE 10, HOLY FAMILY SCHOOL, LOUISVILLE, KY.

School Safety Patrol James Smith, while controlling schoolmates at his post on the corner of Mercer Avenue and Poplar Level Road, noticed an apparent drunk driver swerving from lane to lane on Poplar Level Road. The driver turned left at Mercer Avenue and almost hit a parked car. Observing the driver's erratic behavior, Jim began to push the children back. The driver, attempting to straighten out his vehicle, began backing directly towards Patrolmen Smith and the four children he was holding behind him. Jim quickly moved all of the children back into the school yard and kept himself between them and the backing car which bounced over the curb and stopped at the exact spot where the children had been standing.

James is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Smith, 1692 Mercer Avenue, Louisville, Kentucky.

JOSEPH STRICKLAND, AGE 13, MARGARET L. KEEFE SCHOOL, HAMDEN, CONN.

A small child on his way home from Keefe School could not continue on the sidewalk because of a truck blocking his path. The truck was parked half on the sidewalk and half in the street, as workers were removing a tree stump on the school grounds. Safety Patrol Joseph Strickland, on duty a short distance away, noticed the situation and told the child to remain on the sidewalk while he

checked around the truck for traffic. Upon finding no traffic he motioned for the small boy to proceed around the rear of the truck. Just as the youngster walked behind the truck, it began backing into the street. The stunned child froze. Without hesitating, Joseph dashed to the child, grabbed him by the collar and pulled him to safety.

Joseph is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Marvin Sweat, 76 Beaver Street, Hamden, Conn.

JACK R. VENTURA, AGE 13, ST. ANN'S SCHOOL, BRONX, N.Y.

As the adult crossing guard was completing crossing some youngsters across E. Gunn Hill Road, an elderly woman stepped around the outstretched arms of Safety Patrol Jack Ventura into Bainbridge Avenue against the red light. The adult guard cautioned the pedestrian against crossing, but the woman appeared to be in a daze and continued on.

The crossing guard called out as the woman walked into the path of an approaching bus which was hurrying through the intersection before the light changed. Safety Patrolman Jack Ventura quickly sized up the situation, raced into the street, and wrapped his arms around the woman, yanking her back to safety as the bus sped by.

Jack is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Ventura, 3504 Rochambeau Avenue, Bronx, New York.

ALTERNATIVES TO DIRECT ELECTION PLAN

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, since Senate action may soon be taken on a proposed constitutional amendment which would eliminate the electoral college system, I commend the following editorial to the attention of my colleagues as being representative of some of the sentiment which opposes the direct election plan. While admittedly the electoral college needs amending, many believe the direct election plan is not the best alternative plan.

The editorial follows:

[From the Provo (Utah) Herald, May 3, 1970]

GREAT RISK IN DIRECT VOTING

There is a determined push under way to do away with the Electoral College and to elect the President by direct, popular vote, with little or no attention being paid to the obvious risks involved and particularly to the deep erosion of states' rights that would be involved.

Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind) is the sponsor of a proposed Constitutional amendment which would eliminate the Electoral College system under which Presidents have been elected throughout history. He succeeded in obtaining its approval by the Senate Judiciary committee, despite strenuous opposition.

Not only would Bayh do away with the Electoral College, he would have a national popular vote for President and thus destroy the heart of our traditional system, under which voters within each state decide the outcome in that state.

The effect of such a change is impossible to foretell but it would certainly add to the great concentration of power in the largest cities and in the most populous states and relegate to the role of virtual bystanders the entire populations of smaller states.

Big cities, traditionally the source of most

electoral skulduggery, might offset by chicanery the honest votes of smaller states such as Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, New Mexico and North Dakota.

Furthermore, the geographical weighting which has been an integral part of the whole system and a part of its checks and balances would be set aside completely in the choosing of a President.

The implications are frightening. It is at least conceivable that the theft of sufficient votes in Chicago, for instance, might change the outcome of a national election. This seems a far greater danger than that a third party candidate might be able to throw the election into the House of Representatives for final determination.

There is no need for such a drastic, far-reaching change, the ultimate results of which cannot be known. The chief argument for the change is a chimera of partisan imagining and not once in our history has it been real.

The Electoral College may be an anachronism, which has never functioned as it was designed to do, but it can be put aside without also adopting the national direct election, voiding states' rights, and raising new problems of great magnitude.

The people should know full well what they are doing before they vote for any change in the Constitution of the United States, the greatest safeguard for the freedom of men in all history.

CONFRONTATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the situation in the Middle East is certainly of critical interest to the United States. It is also of a dangerous posture. In light of these facts and because the attention of the United States is being commanded by equally critical problems in Vietnam, Cambodia, and here at home, I insert the text of the keynote address made by Prof. Eugene V. Rostow at the Emergency Connecticut Jewish Leadership Delegate Assembly on Peace in the Middle East. Mr. Rostow's candid insights not only provide worthwhile analysis, but also lend a much broader perspective to the problem.

The address follows:

CONFRONTATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

(By Eugene V. Rostow)

We have come together today as citizens to consider the problem of peace and war in the Middle East. Naturally, those of us who are Jews feel a special concern for the Jews of Israel. But there is no conflict between our obligations as citizens, and our sympathies as Jews. The policy of Israel is to make peace with its Arab neighbors, in accordance with the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. The national interest of the United States is the same—that the parties to the conflict make peace in the Middle East, pursuant to the Resolution, and in ways which are fair and dignified for Israel, for the Arab refugees, and for the Arab nations alike.

Our government, and that of Israel, do not always agree. That is normal in the relations of even the most friendly states. We and our European Allies have important interests in the Arab Middle East, which Israel respects,

but doesn't necessarily share. But on the central problem of the Middle East crisis, the United States and Israel are fully agreed: the time has come to make peace, not to restore the Armistice of 1949. On this critical issue, President Nixon and Secretary of State Rogers are just as clear and explicit as President Johnson and Secretary of State Rusk. This fact is the rock on which all else must be built.

I stress this point at the outset, for I believe it to be fundamental for all of us.

I shall discuss the crisis in the Middle East in the framework of our foreign policy as a whole. Within that framework, I shall try to concentrate on the broader and more basic problems, and put issues of detail, however urgent, into the context of larger considerations.

The situation in the Middle East is poisonously difficult and poisonously dangerous. There is no magic which can persuade the Arabs to give up their sense of grievance as to the existence of Israel. At best, that bitter feeling will take many, many years to fade. And most of the issues of the transient headlines have no real bearing on the course of events. It would be a mistake, for example, to divert much attention from the underlying problems to secondary ones like the French sale of planes to Libya. Egypt hardly lacks planes. There has been much criticism, too, of Secretary Rogers' recent speech. I think concern about that speech is unjustified. The speech parallels President Johnson's speeches of June 19, 1967, and September 10, 1968. While the diplomatic application of these policies may show change—a possibility on which I have no information—the principles on which they rest are sound, and deserve bipartisan support. In any event, the nuances of a particular speech or statement mean little in themselves. President Nasser will not be brought to the table of peace by a speech. The pattern of events is dominated by something quite different: the massive, ominous, increasing pressure of Soviet policy, which is exploiting Arab hostility to Israel in order to transform the whole region. There is no hope of containing and controlling that pressure without the calm and steady application of the full influence of the United States. No other force in world politics can deter such prolonged and determined Soviet pressure.

I submit that no citizen has the right to urge the invocation of that influence—that is, the full influence of the United States—unless vital interests of the nation are at stake. Our five post-war Presidents, and the Congresses which passed and reaffirmed the Middle East Resolutions in 1957 and 1961, have believed that vital national security interests of the United States are indeed at stake in the Middle East. I fully agree with their assessment. These interests are now affected by the process of Soviet penetration of the area. They would be critically threatened by a threat to Israel, both in itself, and for its consequences in Saudi Arabia, Egypt, South Arabia, and the Levant; in the Mahgreb of North Africa; and in the Persian Gulf. Such changes would imperil our access, and the access of Europe and Japan, to the oil and the space of this strategic region, and call into question our position in Europe and the Mediterranean. As President Nixon has recently said, "The United States would view any effort by the Soviet Union to seek predominance in the Middle East as a matter of grave concern".

But present trends could well lead to this dangerous end—the end, that is, of Soviet predominance—unless the process of Soviet penetration is halted.

For the Arab-Israeli conflict has become more than a regional quarrel; it has been used by the Soviet Union to generate a major confrontation with NATO as a whole. President Pompidou was right the other day

when he said the Mediterranean was the soft underbelly of Europe, and compared the Soviet presence there to the Cuban missile crisis. These are words of tremendous resonance. But they are not exaggerated. They underscore the importance of our acting promptly, quietly, and firmly, in concert with our Allies where possible, to prevent these nightmares from becoming reality. The United States can have no objection to the presence of the Soviet Union in the Mediterranean. We should have no wish to claim these vital international waters as a NATO lake. But the possibility of hegemony and predominance is another matter, especially when the Soviet Union states as official policy that one of its goals is the withdrawal of the Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean.

I propose to open the discussion this afternoon in that perspective—the perspective, that is, of a bipartisan foreign policy, addressed to basic national concerns and interests. No other premise for policy matches the gravity of events. The American people have long had a warm and admiring interest in Israel, and we have taken on deep moral and political responsibilities, both by sponsoring the creation of Israel in a hostile Arab world, and by committing ourselves repeatedly to uphold her freedom, and that of the other states of the region. These aspects of our relationship to Israel are important, and I do not minimize them. But they should be viewed, I believe, as reinforcing our interests as a nation, which could be adversely affected in many ways by a continuance of present trends in the region.

This is not the occasion for a full review of the history of the twenty years' crisis in the area. But the suggestions I shall make today require a few points of reference, by way of background.

II

The basic positive element in the situation, and the compass of our policy, and of Israel's, is the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. After months of diplomatic effort, including the Glassboro meetings, that Resolution received unanimous support from the Council. It was backed by the assurance of the key countries that they would accept the Resolution, and work with Ambassador Jarring to implement it.

It is important to recall what the Resolution requires. It calls upon the parties to reach an agreement which would definitely settle the Arab-Israeli controversy, and establish conditions of just and lasting peace in the area. That agreement, the Security Council said, should establish secure and recognized boundaries between Israel and its neighbors, to replace the Armistice Demarcation Lines established in 1949, and the cease-fire lines of June, 1967. The Israeli armed forces should withdraw to such lines, as part of a package deal, dealing with all the issues of the Resolution, and in a condition of peace. The agreement should establish demilitarization and other security arrangements, guarantees for maritime rights in the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran, embody a fair settlement of the refugee problem, and assure the right of every nation in the region to live in security and peace. It was provided that the Secretary General should appoint a representative to consult with the parties, and assist them in reaching the agreement required by the Resolution.

Thus far, it has been impossible to initiate the final stages of the processes of consultation and negotiation which are necessary to the fulfillment of the Resolution. The reason for the stalemate is simple. The government of the United Arab Republic has refused to implement the Resolution. It has rejected procedures for negotiation accepted by other parties to the conflict. And thus far it has been backed in that posture by the Soviet Union. President Nasser could not long persist in this stand against the will of the

Soviet Union. Under these circumstances, and in the nature of Arab opinion, no other party to the conflict can move towards peace.

I am convinced that a peace in accordance with the principles of the Resolution is possible, if the United Arab Republic reaches the conclusion that peace is in its best interests, and must be made.

There is great skepticism among the parties: a skepticism altogether natural against the background of more than twenty years of history. The Arabs fear that Israel has no intention of withdrawing, even to secure and recognized boundaries; Israel fears that the Arabs have no intention of making peace. After the deceptions and disappointments of 1957, Britain, the United States, and many other countries have said that Israel must not be asked to withdraw except to a condition of secure peace. That is the basic idea of the Security Council Resolution.

But Israel has said repeatedly and officially that it has no territorial claims as such; that its sole interest in the territorial problem is to assure its security, and to obtain real guarantees of its maritime rights; and that even on the difficult issue of Jerusalem, it is willing to stretch its imagination in the interest of accommodating Jordanian and international interests in the Holy City.

These assurances by Israel have been the foundation and the predicate of the American position in the long months since June 1967. If the Arabs are skeptical of Israeli professions, their remedy is obvious: put them to the test of negotiation. They could be sure, as Prime Minister Golda Meir remarked the other day, that the position of the United States in the negotiating process would come more than half way to meet their claims.

It is by no means self-evident that either the Soviet Union or the United Arab Republic is now interested in peace. They have gained positions, and aroused forces, which seem for the moment to enhance their influence, and diminish that of Nasser's Arab rivals. Arab raids and Israeli reprisals have generated an atmosphere of turbulence and violence which is dissolving many sectors of Arab society, and bringing more and more extremists to positions of influence and power. As Nasser has recently said, recent changes in Libya and the Sudan are basic changes in the whole Middle Eastern situation.

Despite the attractions of continued war and proxy war in the Middle East to Soviet and Egyptian policy makers, however, they should also be conscious of its risks, which directly threaten the life of Israel, and other fundamental state interests of the United States and its Allies.

One consequence of President Nixon's recent statement on Soviet predominance in the Middle East, which I read a few moments ago, should be to make sure that there is no misunderstanding, and no miscalculation, by anyone on this critical point.

III

How can the dangerous stalemate in the Jarring Mission be brought to an end?

I should like to suggest seven lines of political action as the key elements of an urgent and coordinated diplomatic campaign—a crash program, undertaken to achieve a prompt breakthrough in the Jarring Mission. The danger is mounting. We should act on a crisis basis now, to prevent another round of full-scale war in the not very distant future.

1. The first, obviously, is to persuade President Nasser, and the Soviet Union, that their present course involves risks which no man can foresee or control.

Diplomacy has ways of conveying such thoughts discreetly, and reinforcing their implications with action. On this basic issue, we should not venture to formulate a program here, save to note its primordial importance. Unless President Nasser and the

leaders of the Soviet Union are led to this conclusion, we can expect the situation to deteriorate, and perhaps to explode. It is hardly a favorable sign that the Soviet Union has recently refused even to support the restoration of the cease-fire, and has launched a menacing propaganda campaign against Israel, both within the Soviet Union, and in the world community.

It is in this setting that we should view the question of providing Phantoms and other arms to Israel. Obviously, such arms are important in themselves. They should help to convince both President Nasser and the Soviet Union that a "war of attrition" against Israel is not only a crime but a folly. And they should underscore the fact that there can be no alternative in the Middle East but a fair political settlement under the Security Council Resolution—a settlement establishing a condition of peace. On arms supply, I believe, the American government agonizes too much. Our policy in this regard should be crisp and predictable, and dominated by the idea, which both President Johnson and Secretary of State Rogers have expressed, that the military situation must not become an incentive for war, from any quarter. If this point is clearly understood, the chance of peace should be improved.

Assuming that this basic condition is met, what other courses of action are open to us to achieve a breakthrough?

2. The second step I should suggest is to press for a restoration of the cease-fire in the Security Council, despite Soviet opposition at the moment. In connection with the restoration of the cease-fire, we should propose effective police action to treat the war against airliners, and other aspects of the guerrilla campaign, as international piracy. Under international law, a state is fully responsible for irregular hostilities conducted from its territories. If it cannot control such activities, the international community is authorized to do so. You will recall that one of our earliest ventures in international politics was the suppression of the Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean in the late eighteenth century.

3. The attempt to renew the cease-fire should be linked, I believe, to a direction by the Security Council that Ambassador Jarring convene a conference of the pirates in his presence, on or before a day named by the Council, to initiate the process of reaching the agreement of peace called for by the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. This action should be based on the assurances Ambassador Jarring has received that the parties have accepted the Resolution, and are prepared to implement it. President Nasser once said publicly that he could accept a procedure like that at Rhodes in 1949. The Security Council should insist on pressing the point.

Even if the Soviet Union should be prepared to veto a restoration of the cease-fire, and a call to a conference, the effort of seeking Council consensus should help to crystallize public opinion and concern, and lead governments, particularly those of our European Allies, to take responsible positions in a crisis that directly and vitally affects their interests.

4. Parallel to these efforts, we should vigorously and visibly pursue NATO consultations on the Middle East, and develop the Middle East programs and initiatives the NATO Council decided to undertake in 1967. These steps, especially if they involved increased naval and air activities by the Alliance, and a presence in Malta, could help to develop the counter-currents the situation so manifestly requires.

5. It would be irresponsibly dangerous, at this point, to withdraw American forces from Europe. I should oppose that course for many reasons, which have just been restated both by President Nixon and Undersecretary of

State Richardson. But the situation of the Middle East is a special and distinct reason for maintaining our troop strength in Europe. With the Middle Eastern crisis becoming more and more volatile, the availability of mobile forces may become critically important both as a deterrent, and as an emollient influence. No one should wish to have the President face such problems with only nuclear weapons in his hand. And a troop withdrawal at this stage would be the wrong diplomatic signal in every sense, if our goal is, as it must be, to exert every influence at our command to deter catastrophe.

I should therefore urge that the Mansfield Resolution on troop withdrawals be deferred, as an act to strengthen the President's diplomatic position, and give him every possible resource for minimizing the risk of war, and of great power confrontation, in the Middle East.

6. If troop withdrawal would be a dangerous and misleading signal of our intentions in the Middle East, it would be twice as dangerous even to consider Senator Mathias' proposal to repeal President Eisenhower's Middle Eastern Resolution which authorizes the use of force in the area. Senator Mathias is an attractive and intelligent man, whom I admire and respect. But in this venture, he is emulating King Canute. Repealing the Resolution can't repeal the problem. Our legitimate interests in the Middle East are under far more pressure today than was the case in 1957. We cannot hope to protect those interests, and lessen the danger of war, by intensifying doubt about the seriousness of our purpose.

7. Finally, I should propose that we offer to guarantee an agreement of peace reached by the parties in accordance with the Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967. I can conceive of no step more likely to change the political climate, to overcome Arab fears, however irrational, and to offer the Arabs a genuine alternative to their present course. With an American guarantee for the peace, Arab reliance on Soviet support should lose some of its attractiveness. And with such assurances, it should become possible for Israel to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

It might be contended that such a step would increase our obligations in world politics. This is not the case. We now have the inescapable obligation to protect our interests in the Middle East, under circumstances of rising and changing pressure. Since 1950, we have repeatedly promised, often with our Allies, to support the territorial integrity and political independence of all the states of the area, and we have acted many times in the name of that principle in behalf of Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Israel and other countries. And the Eisenhower Doctrine stands on the statute books, far more general and open ended than the Treaty I am recommending.

What I propose is something limited, and greatly in our interest, an American guarantee to a condition of peace for Israel, for Egypt, for Lebanon, for Jordan, and indeed for Syria and Iraq, if they choose to make peace. Such a guarantee should help make negotiations possible, and end the war which has brought so much waste, and so much tragedy to the peoples of the Middle East, and has become, in President Johnson's phrase, a burden to world peace.

I have tried today to stress what I consider to be the most important elements of the situation in the Middle East, and those which most urgently require considered and responsible action. I have talked only about what our government should do, and what it should not do, to protect our interests in the Middle East, including our national interest in Israel. The situation is not easy. It cannot be brought to a successful resolution if we falter.

But there is no reason for despair, if American opinion soberly faces the facts. We have the resources, the influence, and the will, to bring about an era of negotiation with the Soviet Union, which might genuinely end the Cold War. But that goal cannot be achieved without the hardest kind of national effort, based on a clear national understanding.

We may not succeed, but we must try. For the prospect would be dismal, to put it mildly, if the world had to endure another twenty years of increasing hostility in the Middle East, backed by increasingly sophisticated arms—a process which could always threaten to escalate into nuclear war. On the other hand, with peace achieved, Israel could start a new phase of its mission among the nations. And its neighbors could turn to policies and programs which represent their interests far more truly than the sterile yearning for revenge.

THE TECHNOLOGY OF CARING

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the congregation of the First Presbyterian Church of Binghamton, N.Y.—in my congressional district—I am inserting in the RECORD a recent sermon by their pastor, Rev. D. Evor Roberts. My constituents feel that this is a sermon worthy of contemplation by the Congress, and I am pleased to include it here for that purpose:

THE TECHNOLOGY OF CARING

(By D. Evor Roberts)

Before I knew that the President had proclaimed this day to be a national day of thanksgiving I had decided to jettison my sermon in space and reflect instead on what has happened this past week. You will hear about "Christians and Chameleons" later. Today I want to speak on the subject: "The Technology of Caring."

I knew I would have to preach this sermon when I saw the first live picture of a little cone-shaped dot swinging against the South Pacific sky under three orange and white parachutes. That was the moment when I suspect most of the watching world started breathing again; it was the beginning of our thanksgiving. The crackling sound of radioed voices after the black-out assured us of continuing life, but not until the parachutes opened were those dauntless three naturally related again to their native earth.

What followed—when we first saw all three of those white-suited *live* bodies tumble from the hatch into the raft—when we saw them walk, unaided, on the deck of the Iwo Jima—accentuated the drama to mythological proportions. Life, good, human life, our life represented in them, had been snatched from the hostile environment of this tender earth. The most unnatural crisis in man's entire physical history had been met and bested. As Joseph Lelyveld wrote in the N.Y. Times: "It was Odysseus facing an unforeseen menace like the Cyclops & Odysseus struggling to return to Penelope: the oldest and still the best of stories."

Three men, so fragile, so dependent on just the right amount of oxygen, of water, of heat, to retain their cobweb connection with breathing life, had been brought victorious through the enemy territory where there is no oxygen, no water, no heat. They returned to their own true space, this beautiful space, this earth, where a man breathes,

or should breathe the fresh clean air that also lays, or should lay, upon his seen horizons, where an ocean of undulating, blue water from which his life first came, rocks his ships and his splashed-down flying machines like a cradle, where the good, warm sun smoothes a man's cheek like the touch of a woman and gives the good earth all her greenness. And this return was more than return. It was reunion. It was a blessing, a hallowing of man's life. A moon landing may have been aborted, as they say, but their rescue was like a birth.

You will remember surely that other flight (so many Apollos there have been flying their chariots across the sky, I can't remember its number) when a man in space read aloud the 8th psalm—to the distress of myopic atheists on earth whose problem is as much a lack of imagination as it is a lack of religion. We don't know yet what scripture got read, or thought of, on the Apollo 13 flight; we can only imagine.

I would like to read the 8th psalm to you today in the form it takes in the Jerusalem Bible, and with the title given to it there: "The Munificence of the Creator".

"Yahweh, our Lord, how great your name throughout the earth!

Above the heavens is your majesty chanted, by the mouths of children, babes in arms. You set your stronghold firm against your foes to subdue enemies and rebels.

I look up at your heavens, made by your fingers, at the moon and the stars you set in place—ah, what is man that you should spare a thought for him, the son of man that you should care for him?

Yet you have made him little less than a god, you have crowned him with glory and splendour, made him lord over the work of your hands, set all things under his feet, sheep and oxen, all these, yes, wild animals too, birds in the air, fish in the sea travelling the paths of the ocean.

Yahweh, our Lord, how great your name throughout the earth!

What would the psalmist write today? His cosmology would be new. He wouldn't believe any longer that up there was the hard roof of the "firmament" with moon and stars set in place like mounted jewels. He wouldn't believe any longer that that was the exact location of the creator's impregnable stronghold from which he routs his foes. The vision of reality would be far more exciting than that, informed by astronomy, physics and all the knowledge that has made space science possible.

But I think he would see the same confirmation, in Friday's triumph, of his religious view of man as vice-regent of the creation, as lord over the work of God's hands, as himself "little less than a god." His images would be enriched and expanded, for to the "fish of the sea travelling the paths of the ocean" has been added a new species swimming at incredible speeds through the illimitable ocean of space.

"Yahweh, our Lord, how great your name throughout the earth!

Throughout more than the earth!

What were the signs and portents we saw last week? For me, Apollo's sky-writing recorded two insights about man's life, and man's responsibility. One was the significance of crisis. The other was the nature of caring.

I suppose it is no particular compliment to the nature of man that he seems incapable of demonstrating what the psalmist calls his "glory and splendor" during smooth sailing and smooth flying, with anything like the degree of greatness that can appear when he is under severe stress.

The adrenaline, someone said, was six inches deep last week, with the astronauts sloshing around in it; it was just as deep in Houston at the other end of the life-line. It is too bad that in ordinary times, our

low adrenaline, combined with our overconfidence, produces a kind of sluggish blindness about our dangers. But when man is aroused by the near neighborhood and close-groping fingers of death, something happens to him. Crisis refines the priorities. Often crisis alters the priorities.

Think of what happened when the silence around the moon was broken by that man-induced bank in space, and, as we later learned, a whole sidewall of the astronauts' powerhouse was blasted to smithereens. The priorities changed in that very instant, from *exploration to restoration*.

The moon then was no place to go to take a walk. The whole vast enterprise of exploration of the lunar highlands, the monumental project of expanding our new knowledge was scuttled and the objective became one, and one only: the saving of three very precious lives. At that moment, the great moon itself was of less value than the continuing heartbeat of a human and the preservation of family relationships, indeed the whole global family here on earth.

Mankind, *all* mankind, circling the earth, in its billions, everywhere that people knew of this, they said, as it were, to themselves: "Those three out there are all of us; we must get them back. We will do anything to get them back." No one mourned or lamented or even mentioned aloud the deprivation to museums and laboratories of more moon rocks. The scientific enterprise gave way to the human enterprise. And when the good, good Lord who, having produced the *brain* of man, works through computers as much as he works through the seeds of flowers and the roots of trees, when he saw fit to confirm the human enterprise by their safe journey home, our joy was complete.

Crisis not only alters priorities. Crisis teaches. Crisis matures. The experience of danger this week sharpened the definition of what man is about. It is not the exploration of space; it is *man in space*. There is a great difference. Part of that space is the earth itself, where we normally live, and which by our great folly and greed we have made almost as dangerous as the inhospitable environment of the moon.

Can you imagine how good it was to James Lovell, and Fred Haise and John Swigert, when that hatch opened, and they took in their first good gulps of clean sea-air, and looked at all that lovely blue water? What if they had parachuted down at the edge of a Los Angeles freeway, or in the middle of Lake Erie? It would be enough to turn an astronaut into a preacher!

But the crisis that dramatized the importance of saving three lives told us something else. By the token of these three preserved lives, which you have comprehended, though in wonder, it said to the world, "By this token, contemplate your *earthly* danger!" As those men strode down the red carpet of their welcome, and the band played "It is the dawning of Aquarius", it might better have played

"Turn back, O man, forswear thy foolish ways.

"Old now is earth, and none may count her days."

For what is the difference between three lives in the sky and three lives in Vietnam multiplied nearly 50 times over again last week? And those are just the American lives lost. Is it only that the three up there had names, that we had been, as it were, socially introduced, by TV? What is the difference between three lives in the sky and three lives in the rotten ghettos of America the Beautiful? And how many more than 3 there are in mortal danger?

Our Vice President neither enhanced the significance of their safe return nor did he add splendor to the occasion when he delivered himself yesterday of a diatribe against "the social levellers who would pre-

fer that the money spent on the space program be sucked down into the nearest slum." "Sucked down," he said. This is the language of a man who has ice water running in his veins.

It is not very difficult to see why so many of our young today are not especially impressed with space exploration. They think it is an expensive fiddling while Rome burns. And I have heard social historians analyze it as a distraction to keep the populace from becoming too restless over their real problems. There is a good deal of truth in this, we will be having a public debate now about the space program, but I suspect the successful rescue will *increase*, rather than decrease the public confidence in it. Is it too much to hope that some of the maturing of this crisis will rub off on the maturing of man's larger crisis: his struggle for peace and justice?

We must hope. When we stop hoping, then we stop. And what *can* give us hope out of the travail of this week is that we have witnessed not just a human drama, but a technical one. A new connective symbol has appeared as a contemporary sign and portent. It may be called an awesome technology of caring. Never were more technical resources devoted to the preservation of life than in this event—not only national resources but international resources. When Russia could offer the aid of her ships, if needed, then it was life that was more important than the success or failure of a space rival.

Man's deepening concern about himself now has burst the obsolete boundary lines of nations. There is an invisible but undeniable human and moral connection between the survival in the Pacific and the survival talks in Vienna.

This creature, "little less than a god", crowned in our era with the "glory and splendor" of a technology that is capable of a mind-boggling act of human caring, a Texas room full of computers loving three lonely, cold men back to earth's bosom—this creature for whom the creator has "spared more than a thought and son of man whom he has cared about"—lamely and awkwardly now, holds his strange new tools in his two hands and looks at his stricken and suffering world and says, "Can't we make it better? *If we didn't have to die out there, do we have to die here?*"

RESOLUTION TO STOP FUNDS FOR WAR IN CAMBODIA AND LAOS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the President and his advisers continue to commit the country to demoralizing and economically costly actions in Southeast Asia.

Without clear constitutional precedent, Congress is being asked to appropriate funds for a war and policy in which its pleas and opinions have gone unheard.

In an effort to provide Congress with a greater role in resolving the issues in Indochina, a growing number of Congressmen of both parties offer this resolution:

RESOLUTION

Resolved, That, in the absence of a declaration of war, it is the policy of the House of Representatives that fiscal year 1971 defense expenditures in South Vietnam should be limited to only that amount required to carry out the safe and orderly withdrawal of

all American combat and support troops from South Vietnam by the end of fiscal year 1971 (June 30, 1971): Be it further

Resolved, That no funds in the fiscal year 1971 Defense budget are to be used to finance the operation of any American combat or support troops in Cambodia or Laos.

THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. CHARLES E. WIGGINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. WIGGINS. Mr. Speaker, many of my constituents have written to me concerning the continuing crisis in the Middle East. They want to know how involved the United States is and what the policy is toward the Arab States and Israel.

We all know that this is a very complicated subject. However, I have been fortunate to have on my staff during the past several months, Dean Sagar who was a graduate student at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He is also an honor graduate of Redlands College in California and a serious researcher.

The following paper by Mr. Sagar was prepared at my request to help the public better understand the problems in the Middle East. I commend it to the entire membership for reading.

THE MIDDLE EAST: A CONTINUING CRISIS

Standing atop the Golan Heights, which Israel captured from Syria during the June, 1967, Arab-Israeli war, a young Israeli soldier gazes across Palestine and remarks: "We must never let them back . . . This is our home, our children's home, and we are here to stay."

In the Jordanian capital of Amman, 150 miles to the southwest, a young Palestinian guerrilla leader comments to a visitor: "My family has lived in Palestine for centuries . . . it is our home, our land. We are going back."

Within these two statements are contained the basic elements contributing to what Secretary General U Thant of the United Nations warned might be "a new hundred years war" in the Middle East. It is the determination of 2.5 million Israelis to hold on to the land which they have transformed from barren desert into a rich garden, with bustling modern cities and productive new industry. Likewise, it is the equal determination of 2.5 million Arab Palestinians to win back the lands from which they have been recently ousted after 13 centuries of occupation.

The result of this conflicting determination has been a continuing stalemate in the Middle East: a prolonged period of no war, no peace, recurrent violence and spreading chaos which is working every day to undermine international peace and security.

This report is a discussion of the problems which this critical situation raises for current American foreign policy and the challenges which it presents for the future. You are urged to give thoughtful consideration to these problems at a time when increased violence between Israel and her Arab neighbors threatens once again to erupt into all-out warfare.

In what follows, I have not sought to justify or condemn past actions of either Arabs or Israelis. Awareness of the past is necessary for an understanding of the present, but recriminations of past actions do

not promote our current goals of preventing renewed conflict and providing for a just and acceptable peace.

DIMENSIONS OF THE CRISIS

The current crisis in the Middle East was born in the anguish of World War II. The murder of an estimated six million European Jews in Nazi concentration camps dramatically increased the determination of the Jewish people to establish a national state in what they believe to be the ancient "promised land" of Palestine. Since 1917, the Jewish people had been encouraged toward this objective by a half-promise embodied in the Balfour Declaration, which stated that the British government "looked with favor upon the establishment of a national Jewish home in Palestine." However, it was not until the disclosure of the horrors of Nazi persecution that widespread sympathy for this endeavor was generated among the inhabitants of a shocked and horrified world.

This sympathy, however, was not shared by the Arab inhabitants of Palestine who viewed Jewish intentions with alarm. After decades of subjection to European rule, the Palestinians had no desire to share their homeland with a large number of Jewish immigrants. They feared that such a situation would only perpetuate Arab subjection by a European people. Beyond this, Arab leaders were determined not to let a foreign people gain political control of any portion of Palestine, a land of significant historical and religious importance to the Arab people.

As Jewish immigration into Palestine swelled in the 1930's and 1940's, due to Nazi persecutions in Europe, Arab resistance mounted. The British, who controlled Palestine under a League of Nations mandate, made numerous attempts to devise a formula that would provide the Jewish people with a Palestinian homeland in a manner acceptable to the more numerous Arab population. However, no formula proved successful. By 1947, this situation had become extremely critical. At this time, the British found themselves caught in a precarious position between two hostile and determined groups and conveniently relinquished responsibility for the Palestine question in favor of an infant United Nations. When this organization decided that the only solution to this question was the partition of Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states, neither the Arabs nor the Jews found the prescribed boundaries to be acceptable. The conflict which resulted has continued to this day in varying degrees of intensity, with major wars occurring between Israel and the neighboring Arab nations in 1948, 1956 and 1967.

The belligerent attitudes which prevailed among both Arabs and Israelis prior to the six-day war of June 1967, have hardened in the subsequent years of uncertain peace. At present, the direction of change in the Middle East is toward increasing hostility and renewed conflict, rather than toward a political settlement. It is clear that a political solution to the Palestine question will not be achieved as long as hostile attitudes remain. However, the building of attitudes of conciliation after more than two decades of conflict is no easy task. For it must seek to overcome a major obstacle . . . fear. Each side fears the other. Israel fears being destroyed by its Arab neighbors, while the Arabs fear Israeli expansion. Such a situation has been conducive only to increased hostility, with both sides seeking security in military superiority.

The basis of this hostility has been, and remains, the conflicting claims of the Jews and the Palestinians to the same small piece of territory. However, this situation is greatly complicated by the fact that regardless of the validity of Jewish or Arab claims to Palestine, the state of Israel is an established fact. Since 1949, Israel has been a recognized

member of the international community. As such, the Israelis seek recognition by, and normal relations with, the Arab nations of the region. The Israelis have made it clear that they will not accept any settlement which does not incorporate such recognition and which does not provide guarantees for the maintenance of Israel's territorial integrity.

The Arabs, however, view a settlement involving recognition of Israel as an impossibility under existing conditions in the Middle East. For the Arabs, the search for peace has been obstructed by the fact that a number of critical problems remain unsolved. Most important among these problems is the future of millions of homeless Palestinians displaced during military operations, the mistreatment of Arabs residing in Israel, the status of the city of Jerusalem, and the occupation of Arab territory by Israeli troops following the June 1967 war. Arab leaders have asserted on numerous occasions that until satisfactory solutions can be found for these problems, Arab hostility toward Israel will not cease and negotiations to normalize relations with Israel cannot begin.

The problem of finding a suitable solution for the Palestine question has been further complicated by the fact that the struggle over Palestine cannot be treated in isolation. The Arab-Israeli conflict is fed by two larger conflicts: the struggle of 100 million Arabs to achieve a new political, social and economic identity after centuries of colonial subjection; and the "Cold War" rivalry of the Soviet Union and the United States for influence among various peoples of the Middle East.

Even if the Israelis and the Palestinian Arabs can agree upon some mode of coexistence, there can be no peace in Palestine as long as the neighboring Arab states remain in a state of nationalistic fervor. Since the close of the Second World War, the people of the Middle East have been struggling to build strong Arab nations, free from Western domination. In the eyes of Arab nationalists, this effort has been seriously impaired by the presence of the state of Israel, which the Arabs have identified as the successor to Western imperialism in the region. The resulting anti-Israeli sentiment has served as a rallying point and a uniting force for the various forces of Arab nationalism. As long as a common fear of Israeli expansion remains, it is evident that Arab nationalism will continue to be a dominant factor in the political affairs of the Middle East. Since one of the avowed objectives of Arab nationalism is the destruction of Israel, Arab hostility toward Israel will not cease as long as this nationalistic fervor remains.

The second contributing conflict is of significant importance. It has become increasingly evident that no settlement between Israel and the neighboring Arab nations is possible unless the Soviet Union and the United States can agree that their mutual interest in maintaining international peace overshadows any advantage that either might gain in seeking to keep the Middle East conflict alive. In attempting to further their own interests in the Middle East, the Soviet Union and the United States have allowed themselves to be drawn ever deeper into opposite sides of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It is generally feared that inherent in this situation is the danger that these nations will be drawn into a face-to-face confrontation with one another from which it may be difficult for either to retreat if there is a new outbreak of general warfare in the area. The ultimate result of such a situation could be disastrous. Because important national interests of both the Soviet Union and the United States are involved, the possibility of renewed warfare in the Middle East poses a far greater threat to world peace than the current conflict in Southeast Asia.

THE AMERICAN ROLE

The six-day war of June 1967 and its aftermath has forced the United States to seriously reevaluate its foreign policy toward the Middle East. In seeking to establish a satisfactory policy to meet the challenges of existing conditions, the United States has had to define its basic interests and objectives in this vital part of the world. Any evaluation of American interests in the Middle East must take into account the special concern of six million Jewish Americans in the fate of the state of Israel. As a result, the United States government, while having no specific legal commitment beyond its obligations under the United Nations Charter, has maintained a strong moral commitment to Israel. It is committed to the proposition that Israel, like any sovereign nation, has the right to national existence and that this right must be preserved.

Without compromising this commitment, successive American Administrations have tried with diminishing success to maintain friendly relations with the Arab world, where the United States has important strategic and economic interests. American foreign investments in this area alone yield over one billion dollars yearly and constitute an important contribution to this nation's international balance-of-payments. In addition, the United States seeks the preservation and expansion of its access to the commercial markets and economic resources of the Arab states. Middle Eastern oil, in particular, has become increasingly important as Western oil reserves continue to diminish.

United States interests in the Middle East, however, extend beyond our moral commitment to Israel and our economic interest in the Arab nations. American policy has sought to reflect two general objectives which have become central themes in U.S. global policy: the containment of Soviet-Communist expansion; and the maintenance of international peace and security.

Maintaining the security of the Middle East against Soviet expansion and influence has been the single most important objective of American policy in the Middle East since the end of the Second World War. The preservation of national governments in this region with ideologies which are not hostile to the United States is clearly in the American interest. Likewise, the preservation of peace is essential for the economic, political and social progress upon which democratic ideology and institutions so greatly depend. In general, the United States seeks to preserve a peace in the Middle East, as throughout the world, which upholds not only the integrity of nations, but also of individuals.

As long as the Arab-Israeli conflict continues, it is clear that American interests in the Middle East cannot be realized. Continued conflict serves only to undermine international peace and security and to increase Soviet influence among the Arab states, which have become dependent upon Soviet arms and assistance. Therefore, it appears that, at present, America's most pressing interest in the Middle East lies in the effort of finding a peaceful resolution for the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The time has passed, however, when the United States or any other nation can or should dictate the future of less powerful nations. Although the United States has vested interests in achieving peace in the Middle East, it is clear that it cannot set down the terms of a peaceful settlement. Any settlement must stem from the conflicting parties themselves and must be embodied in a settlement which these parties all have a vested interest in maintaining.

The United States has persistently urged the Arabs and Israelis to do everything possible to restore peace to the Middle East. It has consistently supported the United Nations Security Council resolution of No-

vention 22, 1967, as an adequate basis for efforts to establish such a peace. This resolution presents five principles which should be incorporated in any attempted settlement:

(a) The withdrawal of Israeli forces from occupied territory.

(b) The termination of all claims or states of belligerency.

(c) Freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area.

(d) The mutual acknowledgment of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of all states in the area.

(e) A just settlement of the refugee problem.

The major obstacle hindering efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East has been the atmosphere of fear and mutual suspicion which has made communication between the Arabs and Israelis extremely difficult. The leaders of both sides have not spoken freely with one another since 1948. For peace to be achieved, each conflicting party must be willing to subordinate its special interests to the general interest in peace. Only in an atmosphere of free communication can this mutual willingness to compromise be achieved. Negotiation is clearly the only road to peace in the Middle East.

For American initiatives encouraging the resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict to be of significance, they must be impartial in their approach and must be linked to the necessity of bringing about meaningful negotiation. It must be the role of the United States to seek links of communication between Arabs and Israelis, and once they are found, to encourage their use. Such a role is neither pro-Arab nor pro-Israeli. It seeks only to achieve the general goal of promoting a just and lasting peace for the continuing crisis in the Middle East.

FACTS SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT

HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, despite the appearance to the contrary as reported in the local press, there is overwhelming support for the President's decision to clean out Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia which have been the base of murderous attacks on American troops.

As so well stated in an editorial in the *Columbus Enquirer*, published in Columbus, Ga., the facts support the President in the decision he made as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces. So that all Members may see the logic of this editorial and the clearly stated résumé of the current situation, I insert the text of the editorial at this point:

[From the *Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer*, May 2, 1970]

FACTS SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT

Richard M. Nixon did his duty as President of the United States of America with full recognition of the political meaning of his act when he sent the 1st Air Cavalry Division into Cambodia.

Those who will cry out against his decision out of not knowing the true facts about the war in Vietnam, and the manner in which the enemy has fought us for so long because of his Cambodian bases, are inexcusably ignorant at this late day.

Those who will cry out against his decision out of a calculated play for political advantage do not serve the cause of the United States in full dedication. They serve themselves better.

Those who will cry out against his decision because it flies in the face of their entrenched positions on the side of the dissent are the serious foes. These must be beaten down by success and discredited by the outcome. If they are not, then the President will have to pay the price he himself set for his action. If they are, the country must give full credit to a man who served the Republic well and discredit those who were wrong. Much of our future is at stake in this contest.

This newspaper supports his decision because the facts cried out for that decision. We admire his moral bravery, because he put his personal career and possibly that of his party into the scales. But his decision must be pushed through to success, it must bring safety to our men in Vietnam, it must stop hit-and-run attacks from sanctuary bases, it must cut supplies to enemy forces inside of South Vietnam and it must be done in the face of the kind of howling dissent which broke the last man who held that office.

President Nixon is now the Commander in Chief in the full meaning of that term. He assumed the terrible responsibilities of that part of the Presidential load as all Presidents should . . . and not all do. His concern is for our soldiers in Vietnam, not for continued public office. His concern is for the continued existence of the United States of America as a world power, not as a victim of military-political degradation by having failed in a long and hard quest in Southeast Asia.

His will be a lonely and terrible position in the weeks ahead. Success can wipe that away, and much else that has torn the hearts of Americans who hold a sense of tradition.

Let there be no misunderstanding of our military moves into the Cambodian border regions—it was the only logical step that could come.

There will be a fog of rhetoric about "spreading the war" or "expanding the conflict." It must be penetrated by common sense and the matter understood by Americans.

The North Vietnamese and Viet Cong fighting now in Cambodia have always been involved in the war.

They were able to fight at their own leisure, choose the time and the place, and then to simply retreat to safety in Cambodia and ready another attack against us in South Vietnam.

Now they don't have a safe "home free" sanctuary. They are being bombed and shot at in Cambodia. They can't fight in both places. A Viet Cong fighting in Cambodia is one who isn't available to fight in South Vietnam and delay withdrawal of American combat forces there. Americans and South Vietnamese on the offensive against enemy bases in Cambodia are doing what American generals have longed for them to do for years.

Laos, Cambodia, South Vietnam have always been a part of the war. Formerly, events in Laos and Cambodia were allowed only to work for the benefit of our enemy. Now they work against him. It would have been unthinkable for the President not to have authorized clearing the border sanctuaries.

DARTMOUTH'S PRESIDENT SPEAKS OUT

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the following is an address given by John G. Kemeny, president of Dartmouth Col-

lege, on May 4. In outlining his views on several vital issues, President Kemeny takes a stand on the role of the college and its students in national affairs. I think this will be of interest to my colleagues:

DARTMOUTH PRESIDENT JOHN KEMENY ADDRESSING THE COLLEGE COMMUNITY OVER WDCR MONDAY NIGHT, MAY 4

We are meeting tonight over the air at a time of one of the most troubled periods in American history. I would like to start off by going back to my first press conference as president-elect. At that time I was asked about the question of institutions and individuals taking stands on controversial issues. I reaffirmed the stand that I have consistently held over the years: That while institutions as such cannot effectively take stands on controversial issues, individuals must take stands, and I made it clear that the president of Dartmouth College would be no exception to that rule. I am painfully aware of the fact that no college president can use this prerogative too often or he loses his effectiveness. And yet events have taken place during the past week which make it impossible for me not to exercise this prerogative. I will therefore speak tonight about a number of national issues.

We live in a period of great frustration. In the richest country in the world we still find poverty, we find hunger that could easily be eliminated and yet we don't seem to be able to marshal our resources to eliminate hunger. We find our cities deteriorating and we seem to be unable to bring about those means that will improve life in our great metropolitan areas. A time when black citizens after decades of trying to improve their lot find all measures being taken as too slow, too little, and too late. We found the frustration in the past year in trying to attract American Indian students to Dartmouth and we all learned a great deal about the scandalous record of this country in the treatment of American Indians. We have during Earth Day learned a great deal about problems of the environment where pitifully little has been done to solve these problems. Then, in the last few days, a number of additional events have taken place. We saw Yale University become a battleground for some of the great issues facing this Nation. We saw a community trying to act in unison to bring about peaceful demonstrations against events which they felt were wrong. We found Kingman Brewster, one of the finest college presidents in the United States, fighting for the life of his institution and trying to bring unity and peace to his campus, and at the same time being attacked from the outside by those who did not understand the issues and did not have sensitivity for the needs of a great university. We found a number of attacks from the Federal Government in Washington upon our great universities that showed, to say the least, complete misunderstanding of the feelings of the present generation of college students and a very large fraction of the college and university faculties.

And then, to all these issues an overwhelming issue has been added. This has been the escalation of the war in Indochina. We have seen a sequence of events starting first with a repeated promise by the President of the United States to disengage according to an arranged schedule from the war in Vietnam. Ten days later he had an announcement that South Vietnamese forces supported by American advisors were moving into Cambodia. Then the President of the United States announced that in addition to that massive American troops would move into Cambodia. We were also warned that it was possible that North Vietnam might be bombed again. Very soon afterwards we discovered that by the time that warning was issued the bombing of North Vietnam had already resumed.

This series of actions came as a great surprise to the American people, apparently as a great surprise to the Congress of the United States, and again, from all that has been said, a surprise to the government of Cambodia. In addition to that we had to listen to arguments in favor of these actions that many of us find totally unacceptable. In this day and age to argue that we must take these acts because the United States had never lost a war is the type of argument that I for one simply cannot accept. Most of us have reached that stage in our thinking where we feel that war itself must be eliminated and questions of winning and losing wars have become meaningless.

At the same time we find the Congress of the United States frustrated. We find that the President is criticized by leaders of both parties, including leaders who have traditionally supported him in all his actions. And yet Congress seems to be frustrated as to how it can assert its authority. This may bring about one of the most serious constitutional crises in the history of the United States. I am deeply conscious of the fact that Dartmouth College more than any other institution in the country has played a significant role in helping to shape that constitution.

The final event today was the killing of two boys and two girls at Kent State University. I do not know all the details of how they died and to me they are unimportant. There will no doubt be many arguments as to who was at fault. I can only come to one conclusion: that all of us are at fault. For this to occur, whether it was by National Guard troops, young men probably terrified in an alien situation which they are not used to, is to me totally unimportant. I feel as sorry for them as for those who were killed. What is important is that civilization in this country has reached the stage that I find totally intolerable.

As a response to these events we are faced with a call from a large number of students for united action by the Dartmouth community to find means to express its dissatisfaction, its frustration, and to work out new methods by which a community acting in unison can have an effect on the policy of this country. I have heard a large number of suggestions as to how this can be done. Many of them highly effective, many of which still have to be worked out. While the word "strike" has been used, again and again the representatives of the group that are trying to raise a strike have emphasized that they have used this word for lack of a better word because this is not a strike against Dartmouth College, but an attempt by means of an action they have called a "strike" to unite the entire community in joint action to see whether all of us together might be more effective in changing national policy than any group could be on its own. They have emphasized that they would like to see participation by massive groups of students, by the faculty, by the administration, and by the staff of Dartmouth College in the broadest sense of the word. As a matter of fact, a number of generous offers have been made to make it possible for members of various segments of the staff and employees of the college to participate in such activities. For example, I have heard students speaking of cleaning their own dormitory rooms to enable janitors to take an active part. I have heard of students volunteering to eat only two meals a day to enable employees of the Dartmouth Dining Association to be free to participate in discussions that they propose should take place in the immediate future.

As a result I have today met with my policy advisory council, which is a group of top administrators. I then met with the departmental chairmen of Dartmouth College and I had an additional meeting with the delegates of the steering committee of the group calling for a "strike." I have also had the

benefit of advice from numerous telephone calls and letters from students and faculty. In listening to all of these groups, and all I have done so far is to listen, I have found a number of common themes. I have found frustration in the search for what it is that an institution can do as a united community. I have found the word "unity" appearing again and again, and the frustration that they did not know how this unity could be brought about because there are so many different constituencies that the means of bringing them together and getting some legal way of having them combine did not seem to be clear. Again I heard that while magnificent progress has been made in 24 hours of planning, there has not been enough time to work out all effective means of achieving these goals. After listening to all these pleas, I have come to the conclusion that indeed we are in extraordinary times, that it is indeed a time when the community should take united action, and if there is anyone who can bring such united action about it is the president of the college.

I am therefore proposing to take tonight a number of acts. One that I have taken earlier today was to join a number of other college and university presidents, representing many segments of the country, in issuing the following statement, addressed to the President of the United States:

"The American invasion of Cambodia and the renewed bombing of North Vietnam have caused extraordinary, severe, and widespread apprehensions on our campuses. We share these apprehensions. As college and university presidents in contact with large numbers of concerned Americans, we must advise you that among a major part of our students and faculty members the desire for a prompt end of American military involvement in Southeast Asia is extremely intense. We implore you to consider the incalculable dangers of an unprecedented alienation of America's youth and to take immediate action to demonstrate unequivocally your determination to end the war quickly. We urgently request the opportunity to discuss these problems with you directly. If we should receive an invitation from the President of the United States to discuss these matters with him, I and many other college presidents are prepared to go to Washington to plead with the President of the United States."

I have tried to search for a precedent to what action can be taken on campus, and the closest one I could find was from a minutes of the trustees of Dartmouth College. The trustees voted at a time of what they described as "public distresses of the present day" an early termination of the academic year. Of course that was a period of even more intense consideration. It happened to be July 24, 1776.

I feel that we are now at the point of crisis. I am greatly shocked by the death of four students, which is tragic in itself and a symptom of a national malady. I am therefore taking the following actions as president of Dartmouth College.

I am suspending all regular academic activities for the remainder of this week.

Secondly, I am declaring tomorrow a day of mourning for the students at Kent State, and a day of soul-searching for the entire institution. There will be no classes held tomorrow. I am urging all sections of the community to participate in intensive discussions as to how this community can best join hands and in a united manner take effective action.

I know that a meeting has been called for 10 a.m. on the Dartmouth green on the part of the student steering committee. I urge as large an attendance of students as possible.

In addition to that I am asking faculty members to take advantage of the fact that I am cancelling classes for tomorrow to have

as many meetings in whatever groups are appropriate tomorrow to bring about collective wisdom as to what it is we can do for the remainder of this week and beyond. I am inviting the general faculty—that is the entire faculty of Dartmouth College—to a meeting at 8 p.m. tomorrow in Alumni Hall. This will not be a formal meeting with parliamentary rules and motions and debates on small points of wording because the issues are too serious. I am proposing to hold this somewhat in the style of a Quaker meeting. I am holding it in the evening so it may be preceded by a day of soul-searching on the part of the entire faculty so that we may bring our collective wisdom to bear on what it is that we might be able to do for the remainder of this week to formulate plans to how this institution can unite in effective future action. In addition I am urging all administrative officers to do whatever they can to make it possible for all employees of Dartmouth College to participate in the discussions. We must, of course, maintain a few basic services of the institution, but I urge all department heads to use their discretion to allow as many people to participate in discussions, whichever side they may be on, so that we may truly feel that this is action by the entire community. Perhaps after a day of soul-searching and a week during which we are suspending our normal academic activities, we might have a better feeling as to where we go from here.

I realize that there are many who feel that educational, regular education, should not be suspended. And yet there comes a time when there are priorities over and beyond that which we have traditionally considered the fundamental purpose of the institution. I am saying that by suspending all classes tomorrow we will engage in education this week, but an education of the deepest form where a broad community can sit down together and try to formulate its views and engage in a collective exercise of formulating plans for the future. I feel that all of us will be better educated by the end of the week as a result of this action.

Finally let me say that for this week I am going to make my own self and my entire staff available. I hope that anyone with suggestions or anyone who needs help in formulating plans or meetings, whatever the need may be, will call on all of us for help in making this week truly meaningful.

Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT'S SECOND FRONT

HON. ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's single-minded pursuit of victory in Vietnam, a pursuit that was camouflaged for a while in the guise of Vietnamization, and of the politics of polarization at home is threatening to rend us asunder rather than bring us together.

I am inserting in the RECORD a column by Tom Wicker of the New York Times, and an editorial from the Washington Post that explore the motivations and tragic consequences of the President's recent actions:

[From the New York Times, May 7, 1970]

IN THE NATION: THE DEAD AT KENT STATE

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, May 6.—It was obtuse and heartless for President Nixon to say of the

dead at Kent State only that "when dissent turns to violence it invites tragedy." It was indecent for Spiro Agnew to call this awful event "predictable and avoidable," then to go on with one of his standard denunciations of students, as if he and the President, pledged as they are to "bring us together," had not instead done as much as anyone to drive us into conflict. No one has less right than they to "murder the mankind" of these senseless deaths with "grave truths" about violence and dissent.

Mr. Agnew's sustained and inflammatory assault on some young Americans could have had no other purpose, and no other result, than to set generation against generation and class against class for the calculated political purposes of the Nixon Administration. Mr. Nixon's blurted condemnation of "bums" on the campus is all the more culpable for apparently having been spontaneous and from the heart, a true revelation of his inmost feelings.

But there is more to it than the spirit of fear and vengeance and repression—that spirit exemplified by the use on a tense college campus of tired and frightened National Guardsmen with live rounds in their weapons and discretionary orders to return fire.

Even this piece of insanity might not have left the dead at Kent State had it not been for Mr. Nixon's monumental blunder in reversing the whole course of what he had said was his Vietnamese policy with the invasion of Cambodia and the reopening of the bombing of North Vietnam. That is real violence. And any President less swayed by generals, less awed by the myopic political hardline of John Mitchell, less fixed in the outdated attitudes of cold war days, could not have failed to have foreseen that re-escalation would set off an explosion of anger and despair and bitterness—hence violence and counterviolence, rebellion and repression.

WHAT HAS BEEN GAINED?

It may be argued by those politicians and commentators as concerned as Mr. Nixon about manhood, humiliation and American vanity that, even had he known his people well enough to expect the reaction he is getting, he still would have had no choice but to act in the national interest, as he saw it. But none will be able to explain what interest is worth having pushed so many of the educated and concerned of a whole generation into hatred and mistrust of their own Government; and who can say how the future can be protected abroad if a nation must club and shoot its children in the streets and on the campus?

What, in fact, has a re-escalation gained us? A chilly diplomatic reaction, for one thing, including quite possibly a setback to the nuclear arms limitation talks. For another, the most severe Congressional reaction in decades against the exercise of Presidential powers.

The Administration itself is divided and wounded at the top, with Mr. Nixon—like Lyndon Johnson only two years ago—suddenly unable or unwilling to travel among his own people. Secretary of State Rogers is shown either to know little of what is happening or to have minimal policy influence; Secretary of Defense Laird was apparently overruled and—worse—uninformed about what his own bombers were doing. Is it an accident that these two, with Robert Finch among the ablest men in the Administration, now join Mr. Finch in the kind of public embarrassment to which he has had to become inured?

On the battlefield itself, no supreme Communist headquarters has been found, although its presence had been advertised as if it were Hitler's bunker. In fact, not many Communist troops of any kind have been found, according to reporters on the scene, although captured rice tonnage mounts daily

and the body count is predictably inflated. Destruction is wholesale, of course, but mostly of Cambodian towns and farms, not of Vietcong or North Vietnamese soldiers.

BEGGING THE QUESTION

To cap this futility with absurdity, Mr. Nixon now pledges to let the invaders go no further into Cambodia than eighteen miles from the border, a guarantee which if honored makes the rest of that sizable country a real sanctuary easily reached; and he further promises to pull the troops out within eight weeks, a period that probably can be survived by an enemy that has been fighting for more than twenty years. These public restrictions beg the question what the invasion can accomplish.

Whatever the answer, the dead at Kent State are far too high a price for it. Like the dead in Cambodia and Vietnam, they can be buried; but somehow the nation has to go on living with itself. Mr. Hickel's courageous letter to the President shows that even within the Administration, Mr. Nixon and Mr. Agnew have only made that harder to do.

[From the Washington Post, May 7, 1970]

MR. NIXON'S SECOND FRONT

It is the morning after, but the party music—now an out-of-place ordeal—still blares on. It is as if the record player couldn't be stopped. For what was amusing and/or politically intriguing a while back—Vice President Agnew's gavotte with the "silent majority," his carefully attended middle-American stomp—goes on long after the occasion has changed utterly and when no one serious can any longer be interested in off-Tuesday speculations about how well he is doing at exploiting the fears of voters for some elections still several months off. Nonetheless, on the eve of a venture desperately requiring the broadest possible public sense of confidence in the President, Mr. Nixon turns loose his name-calling Vice President for a series of pointless attacks on those most certain to be crushed by the President's move and least able to grasp or accept either the political or military rationales on which it must make sense—if it is to make sense at all. Four students are shot dead in Ohio, and both the President and the Vice President manage to crank the dreadful event into their argument, issuing statements that bear, beneath their solemn condolence, the undignified message, "I told you so." Mr. Agnew then goes on to deliver yet another diatribe against "elitists," the "media," Mayor Lindsay, which he still believes appropriate for the hour and the occasion. One hopes and one prays that the administration has not misjudged the situation in Southeast Asia as disastrously as it has misjudged the situation at home—especially regarding the young.

We say "misjudged." That is the best and most hopeful construction one can put on the slashing attacks on the critics that seem to be part and parcel of the President's Cambodian move. For we honestly believe that neither the President nor the Vice President comprehend in any remotely useful degree what brought those students onto the field at Kent State University or what the students at Kent and elsewhere must think the administration is saying to them in responses such as those made by both Mr. Nixon and Mr. Agnew to the death and wounding at Kent. We are prepared, in other words, to take the administration's inflammatory rhetoric seriously and at face value—not as evidence of some clever political maneuver on the part of people who are playing at it, but rather as evidence of what is called a "mind-set," as a reasonably accurate guide to what it is they see when they look out upon the world. So we would like to have a go—foredoomed, perhaps—at altering that vision.

Mr. Nixon and Mr. Agnew and their spokes-

men, in our view, misjudge just about everything that matters where the war critics and especially the young are concerned: their numbers, the genuineness and legitimacy of their concern, and the degree of provocation they feel have been dealt—not to mention gratuitous insult. Perhaps Mr. Nixon's meeting with some Kent students yesterday will change some of that. For the world outside the White House really does not break itself down into (on the one side) a bunch of screamers and bombers and their mentally and morally defective patrons among the media and the "elite" and (on the other) everybody else. From time to time the President and the Vice President include in a subordinate clause somewhere those whose dissent they take to be honorable or authentic or respectable in some way. We think they should switch their clauses around and, with them, their perception of what is going on—of who is where on this issue. They will find among broad masses of students and adults who are readily distinguishable in temper and taste from Abbie Hoffman a distress about the war and Mr. Nixon's sudden move in Cambodia that is at once profound and unrelated to him personally, being neither playful nor spiteful nor politically motivated in any trivial sense. And they will find, too, going back to the President's remark last autumn about how he didn't intend to heed the protesters' message, a growing—now near monumental—sense of despair and frustration. It is owing to the belief that there are no channels by which the opinions of the critics can be heard and no chance that anything they think or say will have any effect on the men who make decisions about the war. The second front against the critics, which Mr. Nixon seemed to open simultaneously with the announcement of the Cambodian enterprise, has gone dangerously far to confirm the despairing young in that judgment. That is why Mr. Nixon should take care and why his meeting yesterday presents at least a tiny ray of hope. For while the war in Cambodia may be completed in a couple of months, by then the administration could have lost more at home than it can possibly gain abroad.

ANNUAL GEORGE E. STRINGFELLOW CANCER EDITORIAL CONTEST

Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, as we stand at the threshold of a new decade, we look toward the future and wonder what marvelous technological advances we will achieve during the next 10 years. New developments in the scientific field are coming with breathless speed. I have heard it said that 90 percent of all the scientists who have lived in the world since the beginning of time are alive today and we must have almost doubled our quantity of scientific information in the past decade. The fight against disease is a vital part of man's existence and great strides have been made.

Yet, in spite of all our achievements, cancer is still one of the most dreaded diseases of mankind. It took the lives of an estimated 323,000 Americans during 1969. The eradication of this disease must be the concern of all citizens.

Researchers and scientists are at work in laboratories throughout our vast country, attempting to unlock the key that will solve the puzzle of cancer. We are beginning to win but much remains to be done.

Until a cure is found, a widespread cancer control program is the most effective means of combating the disease. In the early 1900's few cancer patients had any hope of cure. By the late 1940's one in four cancer victims was being saved, and since 1956 the ratio has been one in three. This increase in the survival rate has been made possible through knowledge of the importance of early detection and treatment of the disease. People are more aware of cancer and its prevention as a result of widespread education programs to alert them to the seven warning signals of cancer and the importance of early detection and treatment. There are 1,500,000 Americans alive today who have been cured of cancer.

The American Cancer Society, a nonprofit volunteer organization founded in 1917 to serve the public, has been in the forefront of this struggle for 56 years.

The society fights the disease through a threefold program of research to find a cure, education to save lives, and services to provide assistance to the person already afflicted with cancer. The New Jersey Division with its 60,000 volunteers is an active part of the national organization and carries out programs in all three areas.

Research to conquer cancer is being conducted through American Cancer Society grants at five institutions within the State. The division has a uniform service program through its 21 units to provide services to all residents of New Jersey. Counseling, loan closet items and dressings are available to any cancer patient, and transportation services, in the form of volunteer motor corps, are available to the cancer patient who is unable to travel alone for treatment. Approved medications and visiting nurse services are paid for by the society for the medically indigent cancer patient, and practical nurse, housekeeper, or nursing home care will be provided when necessary for a medically indigent patient with advanced cancer. Rehabilitation programs for the laryngectomy, mastectomy, and osteotomy patient are an important aspect of the service program to help the patient return to a useful life, and many of the units throughout the division sponsor free detection programs for the public.

The New Jersey Division conducts an active public education program to alert citizens of the state to the seven warning signals of cancer and other important knowledge about the disease.

An essential phase of this public education effort is the annual George E. Stringfellow Cancer Editorial Contest which has been conducted annually by the Division since its inception in 1947. The contest is named after the first president of the division. All daily and weekly papers throughout the State are invited to submit an original editorial on the subject of cancer control. Through this contest, the press brings

cancer control into public awareness and performs an invaluable service.

People must be given facts and knowledge to arm themselves in the fight against cancer. The New Jersey Division is most grateful to the press for its continued support of the contest and proudly announces the winners of the 1969 George E. Stringfellow Editorial Contest.

In the daily category the winner is "Don't Pass Up a Checkup," written by Mr. George F. Shivers of the Atlantic City Press, Atlantic City, N.J.

First place in the weekly category is "Looking Back—Looking Ahead," written by Mrs. Rita Robertson Fuller of the Blairstown Press, Blairstown, N.J.

The editorials follow:

DON'T PASS UP A CHECKUP

(By George F. Shivers)

Somewhere in the United States there are 205,000 lucky persons.

No, they're not going to win new automobiles or giant jackpot sweepstakes or trips to the moon. Nothing so trivial. They are the 205,000 Americans who will be saved from cancer this year because of early detection and prompt treatment.

These lucky ones will be added to the list of more than 1.5 million Americans alive today who have been cured of cancer.

But, there are 103,000 others who won't be so fortunate. They are the ones who will die this year from the disease.

And, while cancer usually is believed to be a disease of the elderly, about 22,000 cancer deaths will be among persons between the ages of 15 and 44. Another 4,000 victims will be under 15. Of the 103,000 expected to succumb to cancer in 1969, some 13,000 will be residents of New Jersey.

By far the greatest killer-cancer in men is cancer of the lung. Not only does lung cancer claim more victims than any other forms, but, it is continuing to grow while most other forms are declining or remaining fairly constant.

In 1930, the death rate in men from lung cancer was only about three for every 100,000. By 1960, it had risen to about 18 per 100,000. In 1966, it had leaped to more than 40 per 100,000. Lung cancer in women is about seven per 100,000.

In contrast, about 28 men out of 100,000 died of stomach cancer in 1930, but, by 1966, stomach cancer deaths had dropped to less than 10 per 100,000.

Lung cancer will kill approximately 59,000 in the United States this year—49,000 men and 10,000 women.

Cigarette smoking has been named the principal culprit relating to lung cancer. New research findings during the last year add to the evidence that cigarette smoking is a lethal hazard to humans.

A scientist who, the American Cancer Society says, probably has done more of this research than anyone is Dr. Oscar Auerbach, senior medical investigator at the East Orange, New Jersey Veterans Administration Hospital.

After 15 years of study, Dr. Auerbach says "... cigarette smoking is the most devastating thing that can happen to the human body. I consider it in the same sense as arsenic."

April is Cancer Crusade Month and has been designated "Cancer Control Month" by President Nixon.

In the past, the public has been generous in supporting the Crusade. Twenty-five years ago, the American Cancer Society raised \$800,000 with which to fight cancer. In 1968, more than \$43 million was donated.

More than two million volunteers are working this year to bring the message of hope

and education materials about cancer to their friends and neighbors and to accept contributions for the cancer control program.

The New Jersey Division of the American Cancer Society notes the 1969 slogan is "Help yourself with a checkup and others with a check."

Above all, don't pass up the checkup. It may be the most important thing you'll ever do.

LOOKING BACK—LOOKING AHEAD

(By Rita Robertson Fuller)

What's your earliest memory? We've asked a lot of people and it's surprising how far back some of them can go. Even more amazing is the unimportant—or very important—thing they recall. Perhaps, it's a death in the family—perhaps a pair of new shoes or the pink satin ribbon on a party dress.

For us, it's no problem. Our first real memory is of a snowy Christmas Eve in Montreal, where, as a very small child, we pressed our noses against a frosty window pane to watch an ambulance backing up to the front walk.

Our mother, who had been gone almost forever from a child's viewpoint, was coming home from the hospital where she had had a breast removed for cancer.

Of course, we didn't know that. We didn't understand anything about the dreadful reason why our mother had deserted us, especially at the most important time of the year. A loving father and grandmother had done their best—but it wasn't like having a mother around when most needed.

She knew that, too, and pleaded so fervently to be allowed home for the big day that the doctor agreed, saying he felt it would do her more harm than good to keep her in the hospital over Christmas.

So here she came home to the big house that had been so empty without her. Home to a desperately lonely husband and two little girls who knew only that they must watch out how they hugged her.

Carefully carried up the long slippery walk on a stretcher, our mother was laid on the couch in the living room. She wasn't allowed upstairs but she wasn't complaining about that. From her make shift bed, she could supervise the decorating of the Christmas tree and all the other preparations.

Now that we had her back again, we, self-centered as all children, worried only that Santa Claus might not stop because the living room would not be empty. Reassured by a note which we left for St. Nick promising she'd sleep soundly, we finally were persuaded to go to bed. Sure enough, all went well, and the big tree was glowing brightly when we came back down at the crack of dawn. And every thing a little girl could wish for was beneath it.

As all of our Christmases, the first one we really remember was a very happy, carefree one. But now that we're adults, we realize how terrified our mother must have been beneath the smiling face she turned to us that Christmas morning. More than half a century ago, a lump in your breast was considered a death sentence—and in short order, too.

Even now, the bravest woman cringes when told the doctor has found a lump which must come out. In our case, the most cowardly of creatures, we were convinced it was the end of us. After all, both our mother and father died of cancer, so we, fatalistically, were convinced that "our" lump would be malignant. In fact, we could hardly believe it when we came out of the anesthetic to find ourselves still whole.

On the other hand, one of our dearest friends recently had a lump appear and she, brave soul, laughed off such worries. "No one in my family ever had cancer and I'm sure I haven't", she said. But she did—and we're lonely still.

So, please, girls, if you find a lump in your breast, go right away and let the doctor take a look at it. He may agree with our friend that it's nothing to worry about—or he may tell you frankly, as he did us, that it must come out at once. In any case, give yourself a break. The sooner such things are found, the better your chance that whatever it may be, you can get it in time to save your life.

There's something else you can do, too. This is Cancer Month and your neighbors are seeking your assistance in fighting the monster that attacks young and old, rich and poor with equal ferocity. Fight back with your contribution that will pay for research to find the cure and prevention of cancer, just as your donations have licked polio, TB, and, now, measles.

Last but not least, go to a doctor you trust and have him overhaul you from top to bottom, inside and out. You do as much for your car—isn't your one and only body worth the same attention? When he gets through he'll be able to tell you if there's any little trouble starting that should be caught in time. Maybe you'll be as lucky as we recently were and get report saying that you're just fine. We hope so.

IN THE NATION: THE DEAD AT KENT STATE

HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, the recent violence on college campuses, particularly the tragedy at Kent State, has shocked the Nation. But the response of the present administration has been more shocking.

I would like to place in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues an article by Tom Wicker, distinguished journalist on the staff of the New York Times. The article is addressed to the events at Kent State, the response of the Nixon administration, and the repercussions for the Nation.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, May 7, 1970]

IN THE NATION: THE DEAD AT KENT STATE

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, May 6.—It was obtuse and heartless for President Nixon to say of the dead at Kent State only that "when dissent turns to violence it invites tragedy." It was indecent for Spiro Agnew to call this awful event "predictable and avoidable," then to go on with one of his standard denunciations of students, as if he and the President, pledged as they are to "bring us together," had not instead done as much as anyone to drive us into conflict. No one has less right than they to "murder the mankind" of these senseless deaths with "grave truths" about violence and dissent.

Mr. Agnew's sustained and inflammatory assault on some young Americans could have had no other purpose, and no other result, than to set generation against generation and class against class for the calculated political purposes of the Nixon Administration. Mr. Nixon's blurted condemnation of "bums" on the campus is all the more culpable for apparently having been spontaneous and from the heart, a true revelation of his inmost feelings.

But there is more to it than the spirit of fear and vengeance and repression—that spirit exemplified by the use on a tense

college campus of tired and frightened National Guardsmen with live rounds in their weapons and discretionary orders to return fire.

Even this piece of insanity might not have left the dead at Kent State had it not been for Mr. Nixon's monumental blunder in reversing the whole course of what he had said was his Vietnamese policy with the invasion of Cambodia and the reopening of the bombing of North Vietnam. That is real violence. And any President less swayed by generals, less awed by the myopic political hardline of John Mitchell, less fixed in the outdated attitudes of cold war days, could not have failed to have foreseen that re-escalation would set off an explosion of anger and despair and bitterness—hence violence and counterviolence, rebellion and repression.

WHAT HAS BEEN GAINED?

It may be argued by those politicians and commentators as concerned as Mr. Nixon about manhood, humiliation and American vanity that, even had he known his people well enough to expect the reaction he is getting, he still would have had no choice but to act in the national interest, as he saw it. But none will be able to explain what interest is worth having pushed so many of the educated and concerned of a whole generation into hatred and mistrust of their own Government; and who can say how the future can be protected abroad if a nation must club and shoot its children in the streets and on the campus?

What, in fact, has re-escalation gained us? A chilly diplomatic reaction, for one thing, including quite possible a setback to the nuclear arms limitation talks. For another, the most severe Congressional reaction in decades against the exercise of Presidential powers.

The Administration itself is divided and wounded at the top, with Mr. Nixon—like Lyndon Johnson only two years ago—suddenly unable or unwilling to travel among his own people. Secretary of State Rogers is shown either to know little of what is happening or to have minimal policy influence; Secretary of Defense Laird was apparently overruled and—worse—uninformed about what his own bombers were doing. Is it an accident that these two, with Robert Finch among the ablest men in the Administration, now join Mr. Finch in the kind of public embarrassment to which he has had to become inured?

On the battlefield itself, no supreme Communist headquarters has been found, although its presence had been advertised as if it were Hitler's bunker. In fact, not many Communist troops of any kind have been found, according to reporters on the scene, although capture rice tonnage mounts daily and the body count is predictably inflated. Destruction is wholesale, of course, but mostly of Cambodian towns and farms, not of Vietcong or North Vietnamese soldiers.

BEGGING THE QUESTION

To cap this futility with absurdity, Mr. Nixon now pledges to let the invaders go no further into Cambodia than eighteen miles from the border, a guarantee which if honored makes the rest of that sizable country a real sanctuary easily reached; and he further promises to pull the troops out within eight weeks, a period that probably can be survived by an enemy that has been fighting for more than twenty years. These public restrictions beg the question what the invasion can accomplish.

Whatever the answer, the dead at Kent State are far too high a price for it. Like the dead in Cambodia and Vietnam, they can be buried; but somehow the nation has to go on living with itself. Mr. Hickel's courageous letter to the President shows that even within the Administration, Mr. Nixon and Mr. Agnew have only made that harder to do.

CONGRESSMAN NEDZI AUTHORS AN ARTICLE ON MILITARY MANPOWER FOR THE ARMED FORCES JOURNAL

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, I note from the current issue of Armed Forces Journal, May 2, 1970, that my distinguished colleague from the House Armed Services Committee, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. NEDZI), has written an article on the draft and the all-volunteer Army.

The gentleman's observations are invariably worth noting and the piece he has composed is no exception.

For the information of my colleagues who may not have had the opportunity to read the article, Mr. Speaker, I insert it herewith in the RECORD:

THE VOLUNTEER ARMY IS NOT THE ISSUE

(By Representative LUCIEN N. NEDZI)

For the last twenty years, American young men have been drafted to serve in the armed forces with a minimum of controversy, even though a peacetime draft was without precedent in American history. The Selective Service Act has been perfunctorily renewed every four years in the off-year preceding the national election. Gradually—along with the Cold War, the large standing army, a sprawling defense industry, and the huge Pentagon budget—the draft has become a part of American life.

Between the Korean and Vietnam wars, calls were relatively low, and being drafted wasn't a matter of life or death. Now, of course, all that has changed.

Beginning in 1965, our internal divisions over the Vietnam war, the obvious archaism of the Selective Service System, the high draft calls, and an articulate generation of young men pursued by the draft have led to calls for reform, abolition, and a return to a "volunteer army." Proposals to end the draft have been endorsed by public figures as disparate as Barry Goldwater and George McGovern.

On Thursday, April 23, the President generally endorsed the goal recommended by his Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force—ending conscription—but indicated that the Commission's target of 1 July 1971 was probably too early.

WHOLESALE PAY RAISES

In Congress, on the other hand, one regularly sees lobbyists advocating and members introducing resolutions or bills to raise military salaries wholesale in order to be able to abolish the draft immediately—1970, they say, is the year to repeal the draft and to create an all-volunteer army.

But the volunteer army is not the issue. The issues are equity in the draft, equity in military pay, determination of force levels, civilianization, and management efficiency. During, and after, the time these problems are solved, the nation and the Congress can debate whether America wants or needs a million-man army composed solely of volunteers.

1970 is not the year for this debate. Sizeable and important requirements for military manpower will exist throughout the 1970s and 1980s, and it would be irresponsible to make sweeping experiments with the system for procuring this manpower in the emotional heat of an unpopular war—especially when such experiments might needlessly cost billions of dollars.

On the other hand, while the lessons of

the war are still painfully at hand, we should use fairmindedness, common sense, and careful study to move toward a lasting solution to the problem of meeting the nation's military manpower needs. The purpose of this article is to propose a step-by-step solution to the problem.

1970 should be the year for complete draft reform. The 23 April announcement by the Administration of an executive order and three proposals for a more equitable draft came more than two months after Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Stennis had originally planned to start his hearings on comprehensive Draft Reform—a matter of too little too late.

The executive order—eliminating occupational deterrents and deferments for fathers—is salutary. The proposals—to end college and apprentice deferments, and to improve the lottery—should be enacted into law by the Congress. Eventually, all new deferments should be forestalled, except for hardship cases, sole surviving sons, officer training program participants, and Reservists. Noncombatant service for conscientious objectors should be retained.

Complete draft reform, however, would go far beyond the Administration proposals, to include the overhaul of the Selective Service System, much along the lines of the Marshall Commission Report, by abolishing the 50 state boards and 96 appeal boards and replacing them with 8 regional boards and regional appeal boards. The 4,098 local boards should be combined into 435 larger local boards, the boundaries of which would be the same as Congressional districts. These would be relatively equal in population and easily redistrictable every ten years to preserve equality of size.

Complete draft reform would ensure that the local boards would administer uniform national standards in classification. The procedures of the system should guarantee due process. Loopholes in the Administration's lottery should be plugged.

The present system inducts young men, on the average, at the age of 20—unless they have been deferred. Yet it has been repeatedly stated by our military leaders that 18- and 19-year olds make the best soldiers. Unless further study indicates the contrary, the lottery should be changed to induct men while they are younger—but not, obviously, before they have completed high school.

I have prepared a comprehensive draft reform bill (to be introduced shortly in the House) which is designed to accomplish most of the recommendations. The bill sets out a blueprint for terminating objectionable deferments and for reorganizing the Selective Service System. But all House-sponsored draft reform legislation has been ignored by the Democratic leadership since 1967.

By law, 1970 is the year for DOD to make military pay recommendations. The Defense Department is required to make a complete review of the military pay system every four years, and upon completion of each review, make recommendations to the Congress for improvements. The first recommendations have been ready since 1967 but have never been submitted.

The first report (called the Hubbell Plan) was approved by the Service chiefs, but never got past the Secretary of Defense. As could be expected, its impact on a wartime defense budget was drastic, and at last report it was being studied to death within OSD. It certainly was never submitted to the Congress.

Now, pay reform has been swept up in the Administration sloganeering over the Volunteer Army. There is no sign of it in the budget or in the President's 23 April message. But the need for pay reform is urgent, and new proposals are not forthcoming.

The first requirement is to convert the antiquated pay system of basic pay plus a myriad of allowances and fringe benefits into

a salary system. At the same time, we should ensure that military personnel are paid fully as much as civil servants when they perform reasonably comparable work.

Pay for the lower enlisted ranks, counting cash and kind, should be raised to what their peers are earning outside the Service. This may or may not attract substantially greater numbers to enlist, because the considerations in an enlistee's choice encompass much more than mere salary.

The Gates Commission has called for sharply increased enlisted pay, to increase the number of first-term volunteers. Instead, first-term enlistees should be paid what their peers are earning in civilian life, and the burden of making military service more attractive should be put on the Services. If, after this, a volunteer Army is still desired, a variable enlistment bonus should be considered before the salaries are sharply raised.

PATRIOTISM AND THE STATUS QUO

Changing such tradition-bound institutions as the military pay system is very difficult. Starting an open-minded debate on some of the proposals made later in this article will be incredibly difficult. Many Senators, Congressmen, and generals talk as though it were unpatriotic to discuss anything but the status quo—or more of it.

But this Administration has a reserve of goodwill with the military and its supporters in Congress—notably because this Administration has given the military more authority in decision-making. Secretary Laird should use this goodwill to develop support for meaningful pay reform—in 1970. The Gates Commission recommendations should not be an excuse for delaying reform—our military personnel deserve better than that.

The issue, in 1970, should be force levels. Proponents of the volunteer Army gamely admit that the Army's present size is a key problem. As troops are withdrawn from Vietnam there is every reason to expect that total force levels will decline. Senator Stennis promised as much in a speech last year and the Administration has already announced reductions in total force.

Presumably, total force levels are determined by our country's foreign policy and the threats with which we and our allies are confronted. What has occurred, however, is that the numbers of force "building blocks"—wings, divisions, carrier task forces—and their "overhead" have become somewhat institutionalized. Most fluctuations in requirements over the past two decades have occurred in the Army, rather than in the other Services.

Under the Johnson Administration, American armed forces were primarily structured to be ready for major NATO and Southeast Asian contingencies, with a smaller force earmarked for the Near East and elsewhere. To this was added a Strategic Reserve.

The Nixon Administration has reportedly decided to eliminate the major Asian contingency and will reduce forces accordingly during the next few years. Although exact numbers are not available, it is presumed that such a reduction will shrink the forces to about 2.3-million men. However, defense experts outside the government consider a force of about 2.1-million not imprudent, given present manpower management policies. This additional cut could save at least \$2-billion annually.

The issue is civilianization. Civilian-type jobs in noncombat units should be performed by civil servants or contractors. Because of greater specialization and less rotation, civilians are more efficient in certain occupations than military personnel and can replace them on a better than one-for-one basis. Studies repeatedly point to net savings in civilianizing military jobs whenever a military job could be adequately filled by a civilian employee. Under McNamara, 113,000 "military"

jobs were civilianized, but the program stalled because Congress set a ceiling on civilian manpower, while ceilings on military manpower remain far higher than existing requirements.

PREPAID MEDICAL CARE

The military Services' requirements for doctors should be reduced by requiring dependents and retirees to use a form of prepaid medical care in nonmilitary facilities rather than requiring drafted doctors to perform such nonmilitary chores.

As in civilian facilities, military hospitals should be managed by professional administrators. Instead, there are over 2,500 physicians in the military establishment who manage but do not practice medicine. As a result of the present wasteful system, the nation loses approximately \$90-million worth of clinical care annually.

Alternatively, according to a Pentagon survey, there are over 9,000 military doctor positions which could be filled by civilian doctors under contract. This would obviously decrease dependence upon the "doctor draft."

Minimizing the use of conscripted doctors involuntarily assigned to duties not of their choice and using non-doctor professional administrators in administrative positions should improve the efficiency of facilities and the quality of treatment available. The incremental cost to the Defense Department, however, is estimated to be on the order of \$130-million.

Government manpower experts estimate that, if forces were cut to 2.1-million, it would still be possible to civilianize 101,000 Navy, 130,000 Army, and 179,000 Air Force "military" jobs, for a total of 410,000. This would lower the size of the forces to less than 1.7-million.

Congress should insist that a detailed review be made of all military jobs with an eye toward isolating those which can be civilianized. Moreover, a detailed explanation should be demanded whenever positions are designated as not appropriate for civilianizing.

The issue is more efficiency in manpower management. In World War II, in Korea, and in peacetime, veterans have returned with countless stories about men being trained for jobs they never were given, skilled civilians serving in unrelated jobs, men assigned to posts where there were no jobs for them to do, and so forth. So it is today. Pentagon spokesmen cite improved programs and procedures, but the facts of inefficiency still stare them in the face—ask any young G.I. The most important of these facts is that there is virtually no consciousness of the cost of military manpower down at the level where that manpower is being used—or wasted.

The Defense Department accounting system known as "Project Prime" should be fully implemented. It calls for the application of a number of modern management techniques to military units and would vastly improve the quality of resource management information available to those responsible for managing resources, from installation level up to Deputy Secretary Packard. At present, individual installations have ceilings on civilian manpower, supplies, and military manpower, but budgets are required only for the first two. Project Prime would provide a commander with a budget for his military manpower.

Such budgetary controls, however, should not be implemented in such a way as to deny a commander the flexibility necessary in combat or in an emergency situation. Present budgetary controls over military supplies might be taken as a model for the controls which should be created for manpower.

Incentives for the efficient management of manpower at the installation level must be created—and the incentives must be strong. Post commanders should have to budget for troops, and military salaries should be paid

from the commander's budget. Should he have more men assigned to his command than his budget calls for, reassignments should be requested. Such awareness of dollar costs would contribute substantially to more efficient management and utilization of manpower.

The costs of training should be billed to the operating commands, and the training commands should be made self-supporting through these payments. Training for particular jobs should be consolidated under single managers, as suggested by the House Appropriations Committee last year. Degree-holders educated at government expense should be used in jobs requiring those degrees. By the same token, combat training for Army soldiers who will not be assigned to combat duty should be minimized; this is a vestige of Universal Military Training costing \$50 million annually. As mentioned above, many of these jobs should be civilianized.

The issue is modernizing the military Services' hidebound rotation, assignment, and promotion policies. These are the proposals I mentioned earlier, which will be most difficult to start serious debate over. Because they affect people—their pay, their self-respect, their professional careers—personnel policies are the most institutionalized and the least susceptible to change. And yet it is here where changes must be made if the Services are to recruit and retain the quality of personnel so essential to a modern military force.

Citizens should be allowed to enter the Services at the rank and pay of their competence, after suitable military orientation. There is no reason why everyone has to enter at the bottom. This is not done in wartime, when military experience is even more valuable—why should it be done in peacetime?

When a colonel's or a sergeant's job is civilianized, it can be performed right away by a new employee; but until it is civilianized, regulations prevent its being filled by anyone other than a soldier who has worked his way up from cadet or private. Eventually, many jobs susceptible to lateral entry should be civilianized.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Furthermore, to the maximum practical extent, military personnel should be able to choose their own training, assignments, jobs, and tour lengths, especially when such choice would enhance specialization and long tours. (This is not to recommend, however, that those who are in choice jobs should be allowed to retain them when there are others who are better qualified.)

The Services are finally beginning to realize not every officer either can or should be a general. And practically speaking, few officers really can hope to be Chief of Staff, so it is absurd for personnel policy to encourage such reveries.

Promotions are so highly centralized in the Services that those who do the promoting have usually never met those who are being promoted. Within guidelines concerning minimum time in grade and quotas on ranks, promotions should be decentralized so that the quality of the work performed by the promotee will have a direct impact on the quality of the organization commanded by the promoter.

Reassignments are so highly centralized in the Services that a man who desires to work in a specific command, or a commander who desires to have a certain individual assigned to him, is usually without formal means of doing so. Within guidelines setting, among other things, minimum tour lengths, assignments should be decentralized so that men could apply for the commands and jobs in which they wanted to work, and the new commander could select the applicant and bear the consequences of the reassignment.

A man should be paid according to the work he is doing, not according to his "rank"

or "precedence." The rank system and the pay system therefore should be separated. If a man is temporarily assigned to a higher ranking job, and is performing satisfactorily, he should be paid accordingly; but if the assignment is truly temporary, there is no reason to raise his rank at the same time. When the temporary assignment is over, he can go back to his permanent job and be paid accordingly. To promote a man in rank only because he is temporarily in a more difficult job and then demote him upon reversion to his normal job makes little sense.

Separating rank from pay would enable pilots, nuclear technicians, doctors, etc., to keep their traditional ranks while receiving competitive salaries. The special bonuses now paid such personnel could then be adjusted or eliminated.

Separating pay from rank will be quite necessary in the 1970s and 1980s, because at present, junior soldiers are promoted to captain, or Navy lieutenant, or sergeant, within as little time as 24 months. This vast majority of career soldiers are never promoted beyond lieutenant colonel or platoon sergeant, which means that the majority of junior soldiers in 1970 can look forward to only one or two more promotions. What is more, in the case of officers, promotions to the grade of captain (O-3) are automatic, this means that in the entire course of a 20-year military career, the average officer really earns only two promotions.

THE UNCONSCIOUS DECISION

Another area of concern is the increasing cost of retired pay. This is a direct result of the 20-year retirement policy for all military personnel. This system was adopted, not in a conscious decision, but rather as the result of a series of uncoordinated revisions in military personnel legislation.

According to one estimate, by the year 2000 the total number of retirees will be 1.6-million, with 2.8-million dependents, receiving \$17.4-billion annually, not counting fringe benefits. In the new budget, retirement costs increased by \$3-billion; the 30-year cost will total approximately \$260-billion.

The whole problem must be thought through and the system improved. The goals of redesigning retired pay should be to maximize the number of full careers the military can offer; pay a full pension to those who serve a full career; provide a partial pension after five or more years' service; guarantee the right to "cash in" amounts contributed (in which case no pension would be payable); and change the definition of "full career" from the present 20 years' service to a more common-sense figure such as in the civil service.

Moreover, retirement pensions should include the value of fringe benefits (such as medical care) and, until the retirement system is reformed, the costs of retirement should be charged to the Services, to present a more realistic picture of the costs of the Services' policies.

THE RESERVES: FOREIGN EXAMPLES

A further area for fundamental re-examination is the problem of our Reserve forces. Some of the more interesting proposals for reform involve making Reserve positions analogous to part-time jobs, with regular hours; making Reservists' active-duty periods fewer and longer, such as one or two months per year, as in the Russian, Swedish, and Italian reserves; establishing permanent ties between Reserve and active units, as in Israel, Britain, and France, and in some U.S. Air Force units; and transferring active-duty personnel to the Reserves to enhance their possibilities for promotion and eventually allow them to retire, while opening up slots in the active force to younger men, as is done in the Soviet Union.

The volunteer Army is not the issue. Debat-

ing this political slogan deflects thought from the real issues, which can be briefly described as equity in the draft and equity in military service. Because the proposal for a volunteer army must be based upon speculation about certain unknowns, this is the wrong starting point. The unknowns I have in mind relate to both force levels and incentives to enlist.

While I have outlined a probable post-Vietnam structure, our force levels in the future will be determined as much by reaction to foreign threats as by our own foreign policy—this is an unknown. The state of the economy and the unemployment rate have a direct bearing on enlistment rates and are unknowns. Whether we shall continue to experience high casualty rates in a hot war is pertinent—and an unknown. The future image of the military and its role in American society are unknowns.

These are important reasons why the Gates Commission recommendations, with their multi-billion-dollar cost, should be approached with extreme caution this year.

Each of my proposals takes us a step closer to the Volunteer Army. Does it not, though, make more sense to address ourselves to problems which realistically lend themselves to immediate action? After prolonged study, I have endeavored to outline thoughts and ideas for such action. It would be presumptuous to insist that refinements in these ideas are not appropriate. But all the areas reviewed deserve the critical scrutiny of the Congress, the President, and the Pentagon. These are the real issues for 1970.

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART CALENDAR OF EVENTS, MAY 1970

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the calendar of events for the month of May 1970 of the National Gallery of Art.

The National Gallery consistently presents interesting and informative events and the month of May is no exception. I urge my colleagues and the American people to take advantage of the excellent programs scheduled by our National Gallery of Art.

The material follows:

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART CALENDAR OF EVENTS, MAY 1970

19TH & 20TH CENTURY PAINTINGS FROM THE SMITH COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART

Opening on May 16 and continuing through June 14, an exhibition of 58 paintings from the collection of the Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Mass., will be on view in the ground floor exhibition galleries. This exhibition is made possible by the temporary lack of a home for the collection during the construction of a new building.

Begun in 1879, the Smith College art collection is one of the finest collegiate collections in the country. During its early years the Museum specialized in works of American artists, a painting by Thomas Eakins being its first acquisition. By 1914 the college had committed itself to collecting European art, which explains the collection's particular richness in works by French artists of the 19th and 20th centuries.

The exhibition shows some of the college's finest paintings and illustrates the growth of the collection. It concentrates on the French and American schools, with outstanding examples by Corot, Courbet, Monet, and

Degas. A fully illustrated catalog is available. In conjunction with the exhibition, Mr. Charles Chetham, Director of the Smith College Museum, will give a lecture on the collection Sunday, May 17, at 4 p.m.

EXTENDED GALLERY HOURS

For the summer, the Gallery will remain open until 9 p.m. weekdays and Saturdays. It will open as usual at 10 a.m. on those days. Cafeteria hours have also been extended on weekdays and Saturdays from 10 a.m. to 7:30 p.m.; luncheon service from 11 a.m. to 2:30 p.m.; dinner service from 5 p.m. to 7:30 p.m. There will be no change in the Sunday hours, when the Gallery is open from noon to 10 p.m. and the cafeteria from 1 p.m. to 7 p.m.

CIVILISATION

"Civilisation" showings continue daily in the auditorium. For information telephone 737-4220.

MONDAY, APRIL 27, THROUGH SUNDAY, MAY 3

Painting of the week: Van der Weyden, *Portrait of a Lady* (Andrew Mellon Collection) Gallery 39. Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour of the week: *Art Executed on Commission*. Rotunda. Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00; Sun. 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *Appearance and Reality; or Sleuthing among Still Lifes*. Guest Speaker: Alfred V. Frankenstein, Art Critic of the San Francisco Chronicle, and Curator of American Painting, University of California Art Museum, Berkeley. Auditorium 4:00.

Sunday Concert: 27th American Music Festival: The Bowling Green String Quartet. East Garden Court 8:00.

MONDAY, MAY 4, THROUGH SUNDAY, MAY 10

Painting of the week: Rembrandt, *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife* (Andrew Mellon Collection) Gallery 48. Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour of the week: *Art Created for Sale*. Rotunda. Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00; Sun. 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *Titian—Form, Color, and Emotion*. Guest Speaker: John White, Chairman, Department of Art History, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. Auditorium 4:00.

Sunday concert: 27th American Music Festival: National Gallery Orchestra, Richard Bales, Conductor. East Garden Court 8:00.

MONDAY, MAY 11, THROUGH SUNDAY, MAY 17

Painting of the week: Masolino. *The Annunciation* (Andrew Mellon Collection) Gallery 7. Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour of the week: *Art Designed for Exhibition*. Rotunda. Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00; Sun. 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *Smith College Museum of Art*. Guest Speaker: Charles Chetham, Director, Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton. Auditorium 4:00.

Sunday concert: 27th American Music Festival: Evelyn Swarthout, Pianist, East Garden Court 8:00.

(For reproductions and slides of the collection, books, and other related publications, self-service rooms are open daily near the Constitution Avenue entrance.)

MONDAY, MAY 18, THROUGH SUNDAY, MAY 24

Painting of the week: Filippino Lippi. *Portrait of a Youth* (Andrew Mellon Collection) Gallery 8. Tues. through Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour of the Week: *Twentieth-Century Art*. Central Lobby. Tues. through Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00; Sun. 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *Stone Sculpture: Processes and Principles*. Guest Speaker: Rudolph Wittkower, Kress Professor in Residence, National Gallery of Art. Auditorium 4:00.

Sunday concert: 27th American Music Festival: National Gallery Orchestra, Richard Bales, Conductor. East Garden Court 8:00.

(All concerts, with intermission talks by members of the National Gallery staff, are broadcast by Station WGMS-AM (570) and FM (103.5).)

MONDAY, MAY 25, THROUGH SUNDAY, MAY 31

Painting of the week: Master of Saint Gilles. *The Baptism of Clovis* (Samuel H. Kress Collection) Gallery 35. Tues. through Thurs., and Sat. 12:00 & 2:00; Sun. 3:30 & 6:00.

Tour of the Week: *Masterpieces from the Smith College Collection*. Central Gallery. Tues. through Thurs., and Sat. 1:00; Sun. 2:30.

Tour: *Introduction to the Collection*. Rotunda. Mon. through Sat. 11:00 & 3:00, Fri. (Memorial Day Holiday) 1:00; Sun. 5:00.

Sunday lecture: *The Artist, the Designer, and the Poster*. Guest Speaker: Alan M. Fern, Assistant Chief, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington. Auditorium 4:00.

Sunday concert: Ernesto Farago, Violinist. Lloyd Shupp, Pianist. East Garden Court 8:00.

(Inquiries concerning the Gallery's educational services should be addressed to the Educational Office or telephoned to (202) 737-4215, ext. 272.)

POLAND'S CONSTITUTION DAY

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure and gratification to note each year since the beginning of World War II, both this House and the Senate, under special orders have marked May the third as the occasion of an important event, not only for Poland, but for the world. That day is Poland's Constitution Day.

In the United States, wherever Americans of Polish ancestry dwell, in cities and towns from the Atlantic to the Pacific, this holiday is observed with appropriate exercises to pay tribute to Poland and to remind their fellow Americans that this once great nation was indeed one of the first pioneers of liberalism in Europe.

It is fully recognized by statesmen that Poland's Constitution of May 3, 1791, ranks among the great charters of government of the world, perhaps for a very significant reason: It gave the brave Polish people a blueprint or plan which, if put into practice, effectively, would surely have brought orderly government to Poland and undoubtedly would have enlarged substantially the area of freedom throughout that country.

It was on May the third, barely 2 years after the adoption of the U.S. Constitution in 1789, that Poland, without a bloody revolution or even without disorder, succeeded in adopting a great plan for its own government. Unfortunately, however, this rebirth of democracy in that part of the world came too late and Poland suffered its third partition in 1795 by Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

The philosophy of government discernable throughout the Polish Constitution reflects the same spirit that inspired the framers of our own basic Constitution. This can be gathered from the words of the Polish charter, that—

All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people, its end and object being the preservation and integrity of the state, the civil liberty and the good order of society, on an equal scale and on a lasting foundation.

Almost a year to the day after the Polish Constitution was adopted, Russia invaded that unhappy land, abrogated its Constitution, and subsequently partitioned Poland.

Turning now to more recent times, we read in the world's history that because of the courageous stand taken by Poland against Hitler's Germany, Poland was invaded by the brutal Nazi hordes. Seventeen days later, Communist Russia in conformity to a secret agreement with the Germans, attacked Poland from the rear.

It is a sad fact that today Poland is one of the captive nations behind the infamous Iron Curtain. To them I say you are not forgotten, for your heroic efforts live on. We in the United States have constant reminders of Poland's truly great people and of their part in American history. Just to name a few are Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Casimir Pulaski, Ignace Paderewski, and the eminent scientist, Madam Curie. Their names are linked with ours in our roads, buildings, and monuments to ever remind us of the great debt we owe to the brave Polish people.

By our observance of this day we give public notice to the entire world that we shall never forget Poland and that their brave people should not give up hope for their eventual freedom. In the words of our late and beloved President Kennedy:

This country must never recognize the situation behind the Iron Curtain as a permanent one, but must, by all peaceful means, keep alive the hopes of freedom for the peoples of the captive nations.

CRASH PROGRAMS CAN BOOMERANG

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, recently I introduced legislation to amend the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act. In this regard, I submit comments by Willard Edwards in the May 2, 1970, Chicago Tribune:

CRASH PROGRAMS CAN BOOMERANG

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, May 1.—Congress, happily convinced that it has found a cause of universal appeal, is hell-bent on crash programs designed to end pollution of the environment.

To suggest caution at this point is like advising a suspicious approach to motherhood, but some thoughtful members have noted the dangers of legislation rushed to passage under emotional pressures.

Harsh and stringent laws, however worthy their goal, can boomerang.

This lesson is now being hammered home in the case of the federal coal mine health and safety act which went into effect April 1. In one month of the law's operations, 272 small mines have been closed down. Their operators were willing to comply with the act but found it impossible.

Small mines, as Sen. Gordon Allott [R., Colo.] noted, are often the chief energy source of small towns which depend on local coal for powering of electric plants. Nationwide, an electric power shortage, threatening blackouts in many areas, has already been predicted.

Like pollution, coal mine hazards were unanimously condemned. They aroused the same revulsion and the same haste [after long years of neglect] to do something quickly. The House approved the act last year by a 389-to-4 vote and the Senate was unanimous, 73 to 0.

The act provided for the closing of unsafe mines, restricted permissible coal dust levels, and required the installation of many safety devices. Stiff daily fines were imposed for noncompliance.

Those who cautioned that the measure went far beyond President Nixon's call for health and safety standards were shouted down. Any amendment criticized as softening the law's impact was rejected.

House leader of those insisting on a "tough" law was Rep. John H. Dent [D., Pa.]. Congress now sees irony in Dent's angry blasts at enforcement of the law by the United States bureau of mines. He has assailed "high-handed and capricious" enforcement of the law by the bureau and announced a full-scale investigation.

What happened, it now appears, is that the bureau decided to enforce the law as it was written. When it found violations of the act, it ordered corrections under penalty of stiff fines, accumulating daily. Seeking to comply, operators found they could not.

Example: The law required automatic couplers for mine cars. Cited for lacking this safety device, operators found there were none on the market.

Example: The new law specified that no more than 3 milligrams of dust per cubic meter [a microscopic quantity] would be permitted in mines. A device for measuring coal dust was required in every mine. There are no devices available for such measurements.

Sen. Allott told the secretary of the Interior, Walter J. Hickel, "It is now apparent that some provisions of the act are, at least presently, unworkable."

He had no sympathy for those who had resisted a more painstaking study of the impact of the act and who were now protesting enforcement of it. If the law had not been rigidly enforced, he said, they would be assailing the bureau of mines, thus achieving the "ultimate in hypocrisy."

Allott called upon Hickel to report on the effects of the act. After receiving the report, he will introduce legislation to rectify "the grossly inequitable and unworkable portions."

Congress will thus be called upon to do the job it neglected last year in its rush to get

a law—any kind of law—on the books. The same hysteria is surfacing in the anti-pollution campaign.

CAMBODIA RELATIONS REVEALS NIXON'S BLUNDER

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in light of recent U.S. action in Cambodia, more information about the history of United States-Cambodian relations is desirable. The following "Fact sheet on Cambodia" clearly reveals Nixon's blunder:

FACTSHEET ON CAMBODIA

FROM 1945-1950: POSTWAR SETTLEMENT—A FRENCH-CONTROLLED CAMBODIA

1945: Authority over Cambodia returned to France. Collaborationist Premier Son Ngoc Thanh wins national referendum in independence move. Thanh arrested, supporters flee to Thailand and form dissident nationalist movement (Khmer Issarak).

1946: Cambodia becomes "autonomous state within French Union"; French retain veto power and control of army, police, finances and judiciary. An anti-French party wins elections, but King Sihanouk favors gradual achievement of negotiated independence.

1949: French sign treaty stating will transfer de jure independence to Kingdom of Cambodia providing control over its own army and police except in time of war; but French officially stipulate a continuing state of war.

1950: U.S. establishes diplomatic relations. Nationalist activity increases as total independence proves hollow reality. "Liberation government" named by Vietminh for Cambodia.

FROM 1950-1956: CAMBODIA BECOMES INDEPENDENT—SIHANOUK ANNOUNCES NEUTRAL FOREIGN POLICY

1950: Sihanouk takes stronger nationalist stance in face of increased Vietminh activity in Cambodia.

1952: Increasing anti-government activity from both communists and non-communists. Sihanouk takes emergency powers.

1953: Sihanouk's "royal crusade for independence" seeks U.S. aid to pressure French. U.S. refuses. Continued French presence causes many non-communist elements to join insurgents. Sihanouk enters voluntary exile and declares intent to lead "holy war for independence."

1953: (October-December) French finally agree to independence in effort to prevent two-front war in Indochina. Sihanouk begins efforts to oust Vietminh forces; U.S. offers aid.

1954: Geneva Conference agreement provides for evacuation of Vietminh from Cambodia. Under Sept. 1954 SEATO treaty (ratified by U.S. Senate Feb. 1955) Cambodia designated a protected state. U.S. promises further aid.

1954: (December) Sihanouk announces Cambodia will remain unaligned and will conduct a neutral foreign policy.

1955: Sihanouk abdicates throne; competes in national elections. His party wins overwhelming victory. Bandung conference understanding between Sihanouk and Communist China for peaceful co-existence and no foreign bases in Cambodia. Sihanouk renounces SEATO protection.

1956: Thailand and South Vietnam impose economic blockade of Cambodia in re-

taliation for Sihanouk signature of aid agreement with China. U.S. suspends aid. Subsequent negotiations result in lifting of the blockade.

FROM 1957 TO 1960 UNITED STATES OPPOSES SIHANOUK CHINA POLICY—FOREIGN ELEMENTS WORK AGAINST SIHANOUK

1958: South Vietnamese army units invade Cambodia border areas. Cambodia appeals to U.S. to restrain Saigon but U.S. refuses. Cambodia proposes diplomatic relations with China. U.S. considers cutting off aid as anti-Sihanouk move. Khmer Serei (Free Cambodia) movement organized, reportedly with CIA, Thai and Vietnamese aid. Thai begin anti-Cambodian campaign; Cambodia suspends diplomatic relations with Thailand.

1959: Bangkok Plot exposed. Plot called for anti-Sihanouk invasion from Thailand by foreign-supported Khmer Serei forces and creation of new opposition political party. U.S., Thailand and South Vietnam implicated in plot. Eisenhower denies U.S. involvement; Thailand and South Vietnam cease provocative actions. Diplomatic relations with Thailand restored.

1960: National referendum gives near unanimous support to Sihanouk policies. (Non-communist opposition elements compromised by implication in Bangkok Plot). Sihanouk made Chief of State for life.

FROM 1960 TO 1964: SIHANOUK SEEKS GUARANTEE OF NEUTRAL CAMBODIA—OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE CONTINUES

1960: Sihanouk calls for international conference on Laos.

1961: At Geneva Conference on Laos, Sihanouk proposes that neutralization of Laos be extended to Cambodia. Saigon persecution of Cambodian minority in Vietnam results in refugees fleeing to Cambodia. Thai accuse Cambodia of giving sanctuary to communist elements which seek to subvert rest of SEA; Cambodia breaks diplomatic relations with Thailand.

1962: Sihanouk calls for new conference in Geneva, this time to extend "international protection" to Cambodia; U.S. noncommittal. Sihanouk offers to accept international control in return for recognition of existing borders. South Vietnamese oppose, carry out continued border violations.

1963: Cambodia protest at continued Saigon repression of Vietnamese Buddhists and discrimination against Cambodian minority in Vietnam; diplomatic relations broken. Anti-Sihanouk activity by Khmer Serei resumes at new intensity; includes virulent propaganda from CIA furnished transmitters in Thailand and South Vietnam. Sihanouk cancels U.S. aid agreements; Pentagon reacts by calling for intervention in Cambodia.

1964: Continuing border violations from South Vietnam (including at least one attack [in mid-March] by South Vietnamese unit with American adviser). USSR and France ask U.S. support for declaration of Cambodian neutrality. U.S. refuses unless Cambodia first resolves its differences with its neighbors.

1964: (April) Cambodia recalls its diplomatic mission from Washington. U.S. delegate in UN denies Cambodian charges about continuing U.S. involvement in border violations and states that U.S. is convinced "Vietnam has no aggressive designs toward Cambodia."

1964: (Autumn) North Vietnam infiltrates first large force of regular troops through Cambodia into Mekong Delta. U.S. requests negotiations with Cambodia.

FROM 1964 TO 1967: UNITED STATES-CAMBODIA RENEW DISCUSSIONS—BORDER VIOLATIONS CONTINUE

1964: (December) U.S. and Cambodia open talks in Cambodia; disagree over question of border determinations. Cambodia wants rec-

ognition of boundaries before international conference takes place. Talks broken off.

1965: (April) Rusk indicates U.S. would participate in international conference on Cambodia neutrality.

1965: (May-October) Cambodia severs diplomatic relations with U.S. Border violations continue; U.S. planes attack two Cambodian border villages in May and napalm a third in October.

1965: (November) Sihanouk conditions for renewed U.S. relations: recognition of Cambodian territorial integrity; cessation of military incursions; indemnity for losses caused to life and property.

1966: (January) U.S. 14-point peace plan for SEA includes possibility of neutralization. Armed border incursions continue. Rusk announces continued U.S. support for Cambodian neutrality, adds that Hanoi and Vietcong have abused it. UN mediation of Thai-Cambodian border conflict fails; border attacks continue.

1967: U.S. hires members of Khmer Serei for covert missions in Cambodia (revealed at 1968 trial of Green Beret captain). U.S. informs Cambodia as to communist use of its territory.

FROM 1967 TO 1969: LEFTIST AS WELL AS RIGHTIST ELEMENTS PRESSURE SIHANOUK—BORDER INCURSIONS CONTINUE

1967: (April-May) Sihanouk sends army against communist rebels and continues his military action to counter Khmer Serei attacks still being mounted from South Vietnam and Thailand, Sihanouk given full powers by national assembly. Lon Nol dropped as Premier after Leftist pressures. Sihanouk refuses U.S. request for talks on use of Cambodia by North Vietnamese troops.

1967: (June) Cambodia establishes diplomatic relations with North Vietnam; offers to renew relations with Thailand if borders recognized.

1967: (July-August) U.S. sponsored Khmer Serei attacks continue into Cambodia and penetrate up to 12 miles.

1967: (September-October) Sihanouk accuses China of imperialism and internal interference in Cambodia and threatens to seek aid from U.S.

1967: (November) Reconciliation between Cambodia and Peking.

1967: (November-December) U.S. continues refusal to recognize existing borders; it considers this is a matter for negotiations between Cambodia and its neighbors. U.S. upholds border incursions by U.S. Army "in hot pursuit".

1968: (January) Bowles' mission to Cambodia; inconclusive in matter of reestablishing diplomatic relations. USSR condemns violation of Cambodian territorial integrity but opposes strengthening of International Control Commission. Sihanouk accuses communist elements of fomenting civil war in northwestern Cambodia.

1968: (March-July) Sihanouk charges communists support rebel activity in northeastern Cambodia. Sihanouk complains to U.S. on continuing U.S. and South Vietnam border violations in south.

1968: (September) U.S. charges use of Cambodia for bases by Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces in northeast Cambodia and Svayrieng province has tripled.

1968: (November-December) Cambodia charges that U.S. air attacks killed 300 Cambodians in border village; four captured American flyers released.

FROM 1969 TO 1970 SIHANOUK RAPPROCHEMENT WITH UNITED STATES—MILITARY COUP OUSTS SIHANOUK

1969: (April) Cambodia offers to reestablish diplomatic relations with U.S. in exchange for recognition of her territorial integrity. U.S. states that it "recognizes and respects sovereignty, independence, neutrality and territorial integrity" of Cambodia. U.S. planes bomb border regions.

1969: (May) Two U.S. helicopters downed in Cambodia; NLF mission in Cambodia raised to Embassy status.

1969: (August) American Embassy reopened in Phnom Penh. Sihanouk says new cabinet formed under General Lon Nol will reexamine issue of U.S. aid.

1969: (October) Sihanouk alleges 40,000 communist troops in Cambodia.

1969: (October-December) Sihanouk protests U.S. bombing of border provinces.

1970: (January) U.S. pays compensation for Cambodian losses resulting from continuing border clashes.

1970: (March 11-13) While Sihanouk in Europe. Premier Lon Nol and Cambodian army sanctions the sacking of North Vietnamese and NLF Embassies by Cambodian youths in Phnom Penh; action termed a protest against communist infiltration. Lon Nol's government orders Vietcong and North Vietnamese troops out of Cambodia. Cambodian military reportedly backs continuing demonstration against NLF and Hanoi.

1970: (March 18) Sihanouk ousted in coup led by Lon Nol. New regime begins campaign to destroy Sihanouk's prestige. Sihanouk plans government in exile. (U.S. says recognition of Cambodia unaffected by overthrow of Sihanouk).

1970: (March 20-26) Cambodian army moves against pro-Sihanouk demonstrations. New leaders reaffirm Cambodian neutrality but pledge to root out communist troops in border sanctuaries. U.S. planes attack inside Cambodia. North Vietnam and NLF recall diplomats from Phnom Penh.

MARCH 1970 TO MAY 1970: LON NOL GOVERNMENT BATTLES COMMUNISTS—UNITED STATES LAUNCHES FULL SCALE INVASION OF CAMBODIA

March 27: South Vietnamese troops launch first major attack against Cambodian sanctuaries, with U.S. helicopter support.

March 28: White House announces American troops may cross border in response to enemy threats.

March 29-30: Pro-Sihanouk demonstrations in eastern provinces; North Vietnamese and Vietcong troops move against government forces. Vietnamese residents in Cambodia flee to South Vietnam as result of widespread persecution in eastern provinces.

March 30: Cambodia appeals for UN observers, asks for return of ICC.

April 1: Cambodia says would accept U.S. military aid but not ground troops. France calls for general conference on Indochina.

April 3: New York Times reports that authoritative Nixon administration sources say Vietcong headquarters was moved in late March from Cambodia to South Vietnam.

April 9: Cambodian troops withdraw from Parrot's beak area on border abandoning it to virtual Vietcong control. Continuing reports of Vietnamese civilians in Cambodia being massacred.

April 15: All diplomatic missions in Phnom Penh receive official request for arms and equipment for use against communist forces.

April 21: Reports say that Vietnamese communists are in complete control of three Cambodian provinces (with partial control of three others) and are within 15-20 miles of Phnom Penh.

April 22: U.S. agrees to send captured arms from Vietnam to Cambodia. U.S. calls situation in Cambodia a "foreign invasion of a neutral country." South Vietnam sends delegation to Phnom Penh to discuss repatriation of Vietnamese civilians.

April 27: U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee states opposition to extension of military aid to Cambodia.

April 30: Nixon authorizes joint U.S.-South Vietnamese attacks into Cambodia to clean out the communist bases. He states that enemy actions in Cambodia "clearly endanger the lives of Americans who are in Vietnam." Merely to send arms, he says,

would be ineffective. He rejects calls for peace at any price, claiming that the situation is a test of American will and character.

(NOTE.—Prepared for Cornell Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars by Laura Summers, Barbara Harvey, Elizabeth Graves, George McT. Kahin, May 7, 1970.)

WROC TELEVISION NEWS IN ROCHESTER CARRIES EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT OF THE KENT STATE TRAGEDY

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, in the past several days all of us have been shocked and saddened that the United States of America would see the day when young people would die of soldiers' gunshots on a college campus.

There have been literally hundreds of news reports about the tragedy of Kent State University in Ohio. We all agree that regardless of the factual account of the incident, the result, the tragic result which ended the lives of these young Americans is a national catastrophe.

It is, however, important to probe the events themselves, to learn how this could ever have occurred, and to determine immediately what steps are needed to prevent a recurrence.

Many factual accounts have been offered by witnesses at the Kent State campus as to what actually occurred. Many private and governmental groups, including the White House have responded to this tragedy by launching detailed investigations into the circumstances surrounding the deaths.

I thought it useful, Mr. Speaker, to add to this growing mound of information, the very straightforward account of a Kent State student which was broadcast as part of an interview by Rochester, N.Y., television newsman, Dean Close.

The student, Dennis Durand told Mr. Close of WROC-TV, in Rochester, what he saw from a vantage point 10 yards of the line of National Guardsmen who fired their rifles. The interview was broadcast on the Tom Decker news programs on May 6, 1970, in Rochester, over channel 8. I hope that by bringing Mr. Durand's statements to the attention of Congress and the Nation that some contribution can be made to ending the violence and tragedy which now grips our country:

WROC TELEVISION INTERVIEW

The following is the verbatim text of a sound-on-film interview with Mr. Dennis Durand, a student at Kent State University. The interview was conducted in Rochester, N.Y., on May 6, 1970, by Dean Close of WROC-TV News:

CLOSE. Dennis, what do you believe precipitated the trouble at Kent?

DURAND. Well, the incident started on a Friday evening, by a drunk in front of JB's Bar throwing a beer bottle at a police car.

CLOSE. This had nothing to do, as far as you know, with the recent intervention, for instance, in Cambodia or the Vietnam war?

DURAND. Absolutely not. I would say that because it perpetuated itself, that is to say

Friday, Saturday, Sunday and Monday's incident, that there has to be a reason, and I think that they fell on Cambodia for a reason to perpetuate the action on the campus.

CLOSE. Now you were there just prior to the shooting which occurred on Monday, could you describe what you saw?

DURAND. Yes. The classes are so structured that at 11:50 you leave your class. You have 15 minutes to get to your next class. The rally was scheduled at 12:00. At 12:00, I would estimate eight to ten thousand students had assembled in what is known at Kent as the Commons, which is the heart of the campus. As they were assembled, a sheriff's deputy got in an Army vehicle, drove past the crowd with a bull horn, that was amplified, and told the crowd to disperse, that martial law had been declared, and it was a state of emergency. The crowd taunted him with abusive language. He made the circle a second time, speaking to all sides, telling them to disperse, martial law had been declared. He made the circle a third time and his vehicle was stoned. He retreated to the corded off area where the National Guard troops were. The troops fired gas. The gas landed midway in the crowd. There was a prevailing Westerly wind. The wind blew it so only half the crowd was affected by gas. Some of the students ran down, grabbed the gas and threw it back. There was gas instructions. I have my tear gas rag with me now. Wet it, hold it to your face, the gas won't affect you. Just don't touch your eyes.

CLOSE. Who were these given to you by?

DURAND. They were being distributed in the crowd by the predictable (sic) people. What can I say. They had red bands on their legs and red bands on their arms. After the National Guard fired the gas, the students threw it back. They fired gas a second time, the students threw it back. A platoon, we'll say 30 to 50 men, advanced on the crowd. They were in a 'V' formation, they moved up the hill, which is a sharp incline, students fled into a men's dormitory on the right hand side, which is Johnson's Hall, and the Architecture Building, which is Taylor Hall, on the left, and dispersed around both buildings. The Guard went up between these two buildings, which makes a natural funnel. As they crossed the walk and continued up the hill, the students fled around in back of them. The Guard advanced over the hill and onto a practice football field which is fenced off on one side in their front and on their right flank. The National Guard was surrounded. They had no escape. There were thousands of students in Prentice Hall parking lot and thousands of students on the hill. At this particular juncture, the students began to rock, throw stones at the National Guard. The Guard had run out of gas. They had no equipment to disperse the crowd. Because rocks were falling among their ranks, they gathered in together. The officer in charge assembled the men again, got them in a 'V' formation and returned back to the hill to join up with the National Guard contingent that was on the Commons. As they came up the hill, they were being stoned from two sides. From their front, with the students that had come from behind them on the hill, and the students from Prentice Hall parking lot. Because they had no gas, I would assume, they ran, they ran at the students that were at their front. These students going down over the side of the hill dispersed rapidly, mixed in with the crowd that was standing around. I would further contend that the students in Prentice Hall parking lot took this as a sign of weakness on the part of the National Guard. They had broken the pig's back. The pigs were running from their stones. They charged. Now there were ten men, there were railing (sic) because you had to go down a steep incline. There were about ten men that couldn't get past the railing. The line, although they were jogging, halted, so these men could catch up. Again, the troops

were bunched up, rocks were pelting down on top of them. At this particular point, I am going down the hill, I'm about ten yards in front of the National Guard line. I hear rifle fire, I turn around, they are firing from the off-hand position. The firing lasted about ten to fifteen seconds.

CLOSE. Now why, at this particular point, do you feel they began firing?

DURAND. That's a valued judgment on my part. I want to use a word and everybody would rally around it. Quite frankly, and honestly, I think they were scared to death. I really think that they were just scared to death. There were thousands of students all around. The situation has been tense for four days. The students had been warned to disperse, warned to leave. Martial law. I don't think anyone knew what martial law was. And now you have the National Guard that's been there for three to four days. They are being attacked on their right flank by students that are throwing rocks. I think they were terrified. They came back down the hill. The students called for ambulances and we cleaned up the mess.

CLOSE. Dennis, how do you feel that all of these problems could possibly have been averted?

DURAND. Well, granted that the students feel oppressed in some way but I would say that if they are going to be mature adults and exist on the academic community . . . or in the academic community . . . that, by God, hopefully they will realize the ramifications of their actions. Had they listened to what the man said . . . "martial law" . . . they had no business being there. The man said, "This is a tense situation. Go home. Disperse. Let's quiet this thing down". And . . . there was a carnival atmosphere with the students. They have to realize that when they gather like this, when there is violence, whether they do it or not . . . just being there precipitates situations that are more tense, and hence, you're going to have problems like this continue to exist until they learn that what they do is serious business.

CLOSE. Now this has grown into a national situation where, of course as you know, the colleges, universities, and many groups are coming up with demonstrations . . . I understand there is something planned here in Rochester for this weekend. How do you feel about this? Do you plan to take any part?

DURAND. Certainly not. Matter of fact, on our itinerary we're going to Montreal . . . not only out of the state, but out of the country, just to get our heads straight, and if they want to toy with a mob . . . the psychology of mob violence, . . . they're crazy, they're crazy from the onslaught (sic). It's a time for everybody to sit down and re-evaluate the situation and just let cooler head prevail. I would fall down on my knees if I thought the U of R or Fisher, or any of these universities in the area would have the same situation that we had at Kent.

CLOSE. What are your plans for returning to Kent?

DURAND. Well, we'll be in touch with the state by phone . . . the governor has closed the school indefinitely. I don't know what they are going to do. Quite frankly, I'm not looking forward to going back. If I go back and I feel tenseness in the air, I'm getting out. I'm just getting out.

VIEWES OF A COLLEGE STUDENT

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I would call attention to the views of one of the college students from my district. I think

when Congress is petitioned in this manner it should give careful consideration to the views presented. The letter reads as follows:

MAY 6, 1970.

DEAR SIR: I am currently a student at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota—a campus where the war and now the Cambodian crisis has had a great impact. In the face of street occupations and occupying offices as some of our peers are doing, a group of us felt there was a more effective and responsible means of making our views heard. Monday night, our student government allocated funds for 26 people (some dozen others have come on their own expense) to fly to Washington to lobby for our convictions with our respective Senators and Representatives. Participants were chosen by lottery.

Now that we're here, the position we support, in a nutshell, is that the use of American troops in Cambodia sets a dangerous precedent for further escalation in an immoral war. Nixon acted without counsel of the Congress and following his action, still refuses to meet with the appropriate Senate Foreign Relations Committee alone. His actions tend to extend executive power in an area where no creditable substantive policy has been established. The indiscriminate and politically inept policy of search and destroy displacing many non-combatants has followed allied troops into Cambodia. I urge you to support the McGovern-Hatfield appropriations amendment as a means of curtailing the Cambodian campaign.

Actually, in coming here, we students did not expect to change that many minds—but we did hope to convey the depth of feeling on campuses in (at least) our part of the country—the extent of the anxiety and frustration over the incessant killing and violence with which this nation is involved, be it in Vietnam or Ohio. I by no means support the politics of violent and destructive protest rampant on many campuses. Neither do I support the irresponsible actions of our leaders who polarize the nation by attempting to use students as scapegoats for the ills of society.

That is why we are here—talking—expressing our ideas and asking yours in a responsible and peaceful manner. If our voices are not heard, more and more will turn to the streets. Those of us in the middle are caught between the demands for anarchy and the demands for suppression. I urge you to support peaceful articulation of demands and discriminate between the violent few and the non-violent yet equally passionate many.

Sincerely,

ROBERT K. STUMBERG.

PEACEFUL EFFORT TO END WAR

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I am much impressed by the efforts initiated at the University of Rochester to do something peaceful and sensible about ending the war in Vietnam.

I refer to the nationwide drive undertaken by the students at this great educational institution aimed at gathering \$10 million and 20 million signatures.

The money will be utilized to help bring their case for peace to the American people in a democratic manner through the mass media. They are urging sympathizers to contribute 50 cents

with each signature—a small price indeed for the priceless goal of bringing an end to the tragedy in Southeast Asia. This national petition campaign by the students of the University of Rochester has the endorsement of many prominent citizens including many Members of this House and the other body. Among the endorsers are: Robert Penn Warren, Eleanor Clark, John Hersey, Lillian Hellman, Arthur Miller, Francine DuPlessix Gray, Willie Lee Rose, C. Van Woodward, Winthrop Jordan, Kenneth Keniston, William Styron, Senator CHARLES GOODELL, Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN, Representative WILLIAM FITZ RYAN, Paul O'Dwyer, Representative SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, I. F. Stone, Senator HAROLD HUGHES, Representative SEYMOUR HALPERN, Representative FRANK HORTON, Paul Goodman, H. Stuart Hughes, Robert Silvers, Theodore Sorensen, Martin Duberman, Representative RICHARD MCCARTHY, Anthony Hecht, Adam Walinsky, Philip Roth, Albert Vorse, Arthur Goldberg, Representative RICHARD OTTINGER, and Howard Samuels.

Other schools have joined in this commendable effort. The ever-growing list to date includes: Alfred, American, Bryn Mawr, Buffalo State, University of Chicago, Colorado-Greeley, Cornell, Denison, Genesee Community College, Genesee, University of Georgia, Harvard, Tufts, Williams, Hobart, Hofstra, Houghton, Indiana at Indianapolis, Franklin & Marshall, John Jay School of Police-CCNY, Lehigh, Monmouth, University of Maryland, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Middlebury, Minnesota, Northern Illinois, Northwestern, Occidental, Princeton, University of Rochester, University of California at Irvine, St. Lawrence, Union College, Yale, Marxist, St. John Fischer, Skidmore, Texas at El Paso, Texas at Austin, Utah, Vassar, Wells, Wheaton (Norton, Mass.), William & Mary, Wyndham, University of Buffalo, U.C.L.A., Smith, Columbia, Brandeis, Stanford, Auburn, Trinity, New England College, Brown, Columbia, Ohio University, Akron, Bennington.

The text of this petition is forthright and simple. It is directed to the Members of this Congress by concerned citizens of this country and states as follows:

We ask the United States Congress to assert its constitutional powers in matters of war and peace, to condemn our recent invasion of Cambodia, and to require the President to bring our troops home. We wish no further military involvement in Indochina.

I commend this effort and this petition to my colleagues.

JUNK MAIL, AND THE RIGHT OF PRIVACY

SPEECH OF

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 14, 1970

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. On May 4, 1970, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a decision which empowers any householder to reject offensive mail,

including junk mail which bombards millions of homes. This is such an important decision in insuring the right of privacy under the Constitution that the entire text should be made available. It follows:

[Supreme Court of the United States No. 399, October Term, 1969]

DANIEL ROWAN, DBA AMERICAN BOOK SERVICE, ET AL., APPELLANTS, V. UNITED STATES POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT ET AL.

On appeal from the United States District Court for the Central District of California.

[May 4, 1970]

Mr. CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER delivered the opinion of the Court.

Appellants challenge the constitutionality of Title III of the Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967, 81 Stat. 645, 39 U.S.C. § 4009 (Supp. IV, 1969), under which a householder may require that a mailer remove his name from its mailing lists and stop all future mailings to the householder. The appellants are publishers, distributors, owners, and operators of mail order houses, mailing list brokers, and owners and operators of mail service organizations whose business activities are affected by the challenged statute.

A brief description of the statutory framework will facilitate our analysis of the questions raised in this appeal. Title III of the Act is entitled "Prohibition of pandering advertisements in the mails." It provides a procedure whereby any householder may insulate himself from advertisements that offer for sale "matter which the addressee in his sole discretion believes to be erotically arousing or sexually provocative." 39 U.S.C. § 4009(a).¹

Subsection (b) mandates the Postmaster, upon receipt of a notice from the addressee specifying that he has received advertisements found by him to be within the statutory category, to issue on the addressee's request an order directing the sender and his agents or assigns to refrain from further mailings of such materials to the named addressee. Additionally, subsection (c) requires the Postmaster to order the affected sender to delete the name of the designated addressee from all mailing lists owned or controlled by the sender and prohibits the sale, rental, exchange, or other transactions involving mailing lists bearing the name of the designated addressee.

If the Postmaster has reason to believe that an order issued under this section has been violated, subsection (d) authorizes him to notify the sender by registered or certified mail of his belief and the reasons therefor, and grant him an opportunity to respond and have a hearing on whether a violation has occurred.

If the Postmaster thereafter determines that the order has been or is being violated, he is authorized to request the Attorney General to seek an order from a United States District Court directing compliance with the prohibitory order. Subsection (e) grants to the District Court jurisdiction to issue a compliance order upon application of the Attorney General.

Appellants initiated an action in the United States District Court for the Central District of California upon a complaint and petition for declaratory relief on the ground that 39 U.S.C. § 4009 is unconstitutional. They alleged that they have received numerous prohibitory orders pursuant to the provisions of the statute. Appellants contended that the section violates their rights of free speech and due process guaranteed by the First and Fifth Amendments to the United States Constitution. Additionally, appellants argued that the section is unconstitutionally vague, without standards and ambiguous.

Footnotes at end of article.

A three-judge court was convened pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 2284 (1964) and determined that the section was constitutional when interpreted to prohibit advertisements similar to those initially mailed to the addressee.²

The District Court construed subsections (b) and (c) to prohibit "advertisements similar" to those initially mailed to the addressee; future mailings, in the view of the District Court, "are to be measured by the objectionable materials of such first mailing." In our view Congress did not intend so restrictive a scope to those provisions.

(1) BACKGROUND AND CONGRESSIONAL OBJECTIVES

Section 4009 was a response to public and congressional concern with use of mail facilities to distribute unsolicited advertisements that recipients found to be offensive because of their lewd and salacious character. Such mail was found to be pressed upon minors as well as adults who did not seek and did not want it. Use of mailing lists of youth organizations was part of the mode of doing business. At the congressional hearings it developed that complaints to the Postmaster General increased from 50,000 to 250,000 annually. The legislative history, including testimony of child psychology specialists and psychiatrists, reflected concern over the impact of the materials before the Committee on the development of children. A declared objective of Congress was to protect minors and the privacy of homes from such materials and to place the judgment of what constitutes an offensive invasion of those interests in the hands of the addressee.

To accomplish these objectives Congress provided in subsection (a) that the mailer is subject to an order "to refrain from further mailings of such materials to designated addressees." Subsection (b) states that the Postmaster General shall direct the sender to refrain from "further mailings to the named addressees." Subsection (c) in describing the Postmaster's order states that it shall "expressly prohibit the sender . . . from making any further mailings to the designated addressees . . ." Subsection (c) also requires the sender to delete the addressee's name "from all mailing lists" and prohibits the sale, transfer, and exchange of lists bearing the addressee's name.

There are three plausible constructions of the statute, with respect to the scope of the prohibitory order. The order could prohibit all future mailings to the addressees, all future mailings of advertising material to the addressees, or all future mailings of similar materials.

The seeming internal statutory inconsistency is undoubtedly a residue of the language of the section as it was initially proposed. The section as originally reported by the House Committee on the Post Office and the Civil Service prohibited "further mailings of such pandering advertisements," § 4009 (a), "further mailings of such matter," § 4009 (b), and "any further mailings of pandering advertisements," § 4009 (c). H. R. Rep. No. 722, 90th Cong., 1st Sess. 125-126 (1967). The section required the Postmaster General to make a determination whether the particular piece of mail came within the prescribed class of pandering advertisements, "as that term is used in the *Ginzburg* case." *Ibid.*, at 69.

The section was subsequently amended by the House of Representatives to eliminate from the Post Office any censorship function. Congressman Waldie, who proposed the amendment, envisioned a minimal role for the Post Office. The amendment was intended to remove "the right of the Government to involve itself in any determination of the content and nature of these objectionable materials . . ." CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 21, page 28660. The only determination left for the Postmaster General is whether or not the mailer has removed the addressee's name from the mailing list. Statements by the proponents of the legis-

lation in both the House and Senate manifested an intent to prohibit all further mailings from the sender. In describing the effect of his proposed amendment, Congressman Waldie stated:

"So I have said in my amendment that if you receive literature in your household that you consider objectionable . . . you can inform the Postmaster General to have your name stricken from that mailer's mailing list." CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 21, page 28660.

The Senate Committee Report on the bill contained similar language:

"If a person receives an advertisement which . . . he . . . believes to be erotically arousing . . . he may notify the Postmaster General of his determination. The Postmaster General is then required to issue an order directing him to refrain from sending any further mailings of any kind to such person." S. Rep. No. 801, 90th Cong., 1st Sess. 38.

Senator Monroney, a major proponent of the legislation in the Senate, described the bill as follows:

"With respect to the test contained in the bill, if the addressee declared it to be erotically arousing or sexually provocative the Postmaster General would have to notify the sender to send no more mail to that address. . . ." CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 25, page 34231.³

The legislative history of subsection (a) thus supports an interpretation that prohibits all future mailings independent of any objective test. This reading is consistent with the provisions of related subsections in the section. Subsection (c) provides that the Postmaster General "shall also direct the sender and his agents or assigns to delete immediately the names of the designated addressees from all mailing lists owned or controlled by the sender or his agents or assigns and, further, shall prohibit the sender and his agents or assigns from the sale, rental, exchange, or other transaction involving mailing lists bearing the names of the designated addressees." 39 U.S.C. § 4009(c) (Supp. IV, 1969).

It would be anomalous to read the statute to effect only similar material or advertisements and yet require the Postmaster General to order the sender to remove the addressee's name from all mailing lists in his actual or constructive possession. The section was intended to allow the addressee complete and unfettered discretion in electing whether or not he desired to receive further material from a particular sender. See n. 6, *infra*. The impact of this aspect of the statute is on the mailer, not the mail. The interpretation of the statute that most completely effectuates that intent is one which prohibits any further mailings. Limiting the prohibitory order to similar materials or advertisements is open to at least two criticisms: (a) it would expose the householder to further burdens of scrutinizing the mail for objectionable material and possible harassment, and (b) it would interpose the Postmaster General between the sender and the addressee and, at the least, create the appearance if not the substance of governmental censorship.⁴ It is difficult to see how the Postmaster General could decide whether the materials were "similar" or possessing touting or pandering characteristics without an evaluation suspiciously like censorship. Additionally, such an interpretation would be incompatible with the unequivocal language in subsection (c).

(2) FIRST AMENDMENT CONTENTIONS

The essence of appellants' argument is that the statute violates their constitutional right to communicate. One sentence in ap-

pellants' brief perhaps characterizes their entire position:

"The freedom to communicate orally and by the written word and, indeed, in every manner whatsoever is imperative to a free and sane society." Brief for Appellants at 15.

Without doubt the public postal system is an indispensable adjunct of every civilized society and communication is imperative to a healthy social order. But the right of every person "to be let alone" must be placed in the scales with the right of others to communicate.

In today's complex society we are inescapably captive audiences for many purposes, but a sufficient measure of individual autonomy must survive to permit every householder to exercise control over unwanted mail. To make the householder the exclusive and final judge of what will cross his threshold undoubtedly has the effect of impeding the flow of ideas, information and arguments which, ideally, he should receive and consider. Today's merchandising methods, the plethora of mass mailings subsidized by low postal rates, and the growth of the sale of large mailing lists as an industry in itself have changed the mailman from a carrier of primarily private communications, as he was in a more leisurely day, and has made him an adjunct of the mass mailer who sends unsolicited and often unwanted mail into every home. It places no strain on the doctrine of judicial notice to observe that whether measured by pieces or pounds, Everyman's mail today is made up overwhelmingly of material he did not seek from persons he does not know. And all too often it is matter he finds offensive.

In *Martin v. Struthers*, 319 U.S. 141 (1943), MR. JUSTICE BLACK, for the Court, while supporting the "[f]reedom to distribute information to every citizen," *Id.*, at 146, acknowledged a limitation in terms of leaving "with the homeowner himself" the power to decide "whether distributors of literature may lawfully call at a home." *Id.*, at 148. Weighing the highly important right to communicate, but without trying to determine where it fits into constitutional imperatives, against the very basic right to be free from sights, sounds and tangible matter we do not want, it seems to us that a mailer's right to communicate must stop at the mailbox of an unresponsive addressee.

The Court has traditionally respected the right of a householder to bar, by order or notice, solicitors, hawkers, and peddlers from his property. See *Martin v. Struthers*, *supra*; cf. *Hall v. Commonwealth*, 188 Va. 72, 49 S. E. 2d 369, appeal dismissed, 335 U.S. 875 (1948). In this case the mailer's right to communicate is circumscribed only by an affirmative act of the addressee giving notice that he wishes no further mailings from that mailer.

To hold less would tend to license a form of trespass and would make hardly more sense than to say that a radio or television viewer may not twist the dial to cut off an offensive or boring communication and thus bar its entering his home. Nothing in the Constitution compels us to listen to or view any unwanted communication, whatever its merit; we see no basis for according the printed word or pictures a different or more preferred status because they are sent by mail. The ancient concept that "a man's home is his castle" into which "not even the king may enter" has lost none of its vitality, and none of the recognized exceptions includes any right to communicate offensively with another. See *Camara v. Municipal Court*, 387 U.S. 523 (1967).

Both the absoluteness of the citizen's right under § 4009 and its finality are essential; what may not be provocative to one person may well be to another. In operative effect the power of the householder under the statute is unlimited; he or she may prohibit

the mailing of a dry goods catalog because he objects to the contents—or indeed the text of the language touting the merchandise. Congress provided this sweeping power not only to protect privacy but to avoid possible constitutional questions that might arise from vesting the power to make any discretionary evaluation of the material in a governmental official.

In effect, Congress has erected a wall—or more accurately permits a citizen to erect a wall—that no advertiser may penetrate without his acquiescence. The continuing operative effect of a mailing ban once imposed presents no constitutional obstacles; the citizen cannot be put to the burden of determining on repeated occasions whether the offending mailer has altered his material so as to make it acceptable. Nor should the householder be at risk that offensive material come into the hands of his children before it can be stopped.

We therefore categorically reject the argument that a vendor has a right under the Constitution or otherwise to send unwanted material into the home of another. If this prohibition operates to impede the flow of even valid ideas, the answer is that no one has a right to press even "good" ideas on an unwilling recipient. That we are often "captives" outside the sanctuary of the home and subject to objectionable speech and other sound does not mean we must be captives everywhere. See *Public Utilities Comm'n v. Pollak*, 343 U.S. 451 (1952). The asserted right of a mailer, we repeat, stops at the outer boundary of every person's domain.

The statutory scheme at issue accords to the sender an "opportunity to be heard upon such notice and proceedings as are adequate to safeguard the right for which the constitutional protection is invoked." *Anderson Nat'l Bank v. Lockett*, 321 U.S. 233, 246 (1944). It thus comports with the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment. The statutory scheme accomplishes this by providing that the Postmaster General shall issue a prohibitory order to the sender on the request of the complaining addressee. Only if the sender violates the terms of the order is the Postmaster General authorized to serve a complaint on the sender, who is then allowed 15 days to respond. The sender can then secure an administrative hearing.⁵ The sender may question whether the initial material mailed to the addressee was an advertisement and whether he sent any subsequent mailings. If the Postmaster General thereafter determines that the prohibitory order has been violated, he is authorized to make application in a United States District Court for a compliance order;⁶ a second hearing is required if an order is to be entered.

The only administrative action not preceded by a full hearing is the initial issuance of the prohibitory order. Since the sender risks no immediate sanction by failing to comply with that order—it is only a predicate for later steps—it cannot be said that this aspect of the procedure denies due process. It is sufficient that all available defenses, such as proof that no mail was sent, may be presented to a competent tribunal before a contempt finding can be made. See *Nickey v. Mississippi*, 292 U.S. 393, 396 (1934).

The appellants also contend that the requirement that the sender remove the addressee's name from all mailing lists in his possession violates the 5th Amendment because it constitutes a taking without due process of law. The appellants are not prohibited from using, selling, or exchanging their mailing lists; they are simply required to delete the names of the complaining addressees from the lists and cease all mailings to those persons. Appellants next contend that compliance with the statute is confiscatory because the costs attending removal of the names are prohibitive. We agree

Footnotes at end of article.

with the conclusion of the District Court that the "burden does not amount to a violation of due process guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment. Particularly when in the context before the court it is being applied to commercial enterprise." See *California State Auto Ins. Bureau v. Maloney*, 341 U.S. 105 (1951).

There is no merit to the appellants' allegations that the statute is unconstitutionally vague. A statute is fatally vague only when it exposes a potential actor to some risk or detriment without giving him fair warning of the nature of the proscribed conduct. *United States v. Cardiff*, 344 U.S. 174, 176 (1952). Here the appellants know precisely what they must do on receipt of a prohibitory order. The complainants' names must be removed from the sender's mailing lists and he must refrain from future mailings to the named addressees. The sender is exposed to a contempt sanction only if he continues to mail to a particular addressee after administrative and judicial proceedings. Appellants run no substantial risk of miscalculation.

For the reasons stated, the judgment appealed from is affirmed.

It is so ordered.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Subsection (g) provides that upon the addressee's request the order shall include the names of the addressee's minor children who reside with him and who have not attained their nineteenth birthday.

² Judge Hufstедler, concurring specially but without dissent, would require the District Court prior to issuing a compliance order to determine *de novo* whether the sender is a person who has mailed or has caused to be mailed any pandering advertisements.

³ Senator Hruska spoke similarly: "Title III would allow the recipient of obscene mail to return it to the Postmaster General with a request that the Postmaster General notify the sender to stop mailings to the addressee. . . ." CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 25, page 34232.

⁴ Subsection (d) vests the Postmaster General with the duty to determine whether the sender has violated the order. This determination was intended to be primarily a ministerial one involving an adjudication whether the initial material was an advertisement and whether the sender mailed materials to the addressee more than 30 days after the receipt of the prohibitory order. An interpretation which requires the Postmaster General to determine whether the subsequent material was pandering and/or similar would tend to place him "astride the flow of the mail. . . ." *Lamont v. Postmaster General*, 381 U.S. 301, 306 (1965).

⁵ Although subsection (h) specifically excludes the pre-complaint hearing from the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act, 5 U.S.C. § 554 *et seq.* (Supp. IV, 1965), the Post Office Department has promulgated regulations setting forth procedures governing the departmental administrative hearings. 39 C.F.R. pt. 916.

⁶ The function of the District Court is similar to that of the Postmaster General. It is to determine whether the initial mailing included advertising material and whether there was a mailing by the sender to the addressee more than 30 days after receipt of the order. We reject the suggestions that the section should be read to require the District Judge to make a determination of the addressee's good faith, or to conduct an independent adjudication of the pandering nature of the material. The statute was intended to entrust unreviewable discretion to the addressee to determine whether or not the advertisement was "erotically arousing or sexually provocative." "[T]he sole determination as to whether the literature you receive is objectionable or not is within your discretion and you are not second guessed on that

discretion." CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, volume 113, part 21, page 28660. (Remarks of Congressman Waldie).

[Supreme Court of the United States No. 399, October term, 1969]

DANIEL ROWAN, DBA AMERICAN BOOK SERVICE, ET AL., APPELLANTS, v. UNITED STATES POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT ET AL.

On appeal from the United States District Court for the Central District of California.

[May 4, 1970]

MR. JUSTICE BRENNAN, with whom MR. JUSTICE DOUGLAS joins, concurring.

I join the Court's opinion but add a few words. I agree that 39 U.S.C. § 4009 is constitutional insofar as it permits an addressee to require a mailer to remove his name from its mailing lists and to stop all future mailings to the addressee. As the Court notes, however, subsection (g) of § 4009 also allows an addressee to request the Postmaster General to include in any prohibitory order "the names of any of his minor children who have not attained their nineteenth birthday, and who reside with the addressee." In light of the broad interpretation which the Court assigns to § 4009, and see page —, *ante*, the possibility exists that parents could prevent their children, even if they are 18 years old, from receiving political, religious or other materials which the parents find offensive. In my view, a statute so construed and applied is not without constitutional difficulties. Cf. *Tinker v. Des Moines School Dist.*, 393 U.S. 503 (1969); *Ginsberg v. New York*, 390 U.S. 629 (1969). In this case, however, there is no particularized attack upon the constitutionality of subsection (g), nor, indeed, is there any indication on this record that under § 4009(g) children in their late teens have been unwillingly deprived of the opportunity to receive materials. In these circumstances, I understand the Court to leave open the question of the right of older children to receive materials through the mail without governmental interference and also the more specific question whether § 4009(g) may constitutionally be applied with respect to all materials and all children under 19.

OUR MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

MR. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, my good friend and our distinguished colleague from Missouri (Mr. HALL) recently addressed the National Guard Association of Missouri in Springfield.

He opened and closed his remarks with quotes from the late President Eisenhower's farewell address to the Nation on January 18, 1961. This is the speech in which General Eisenhower referred to the so-called military-industrial complex. It is a phrase to which critics of the Military Establishment constantly have called attention, while conveniently ignoring the General's remarks on the vital importance of the military in keeping the peace.

I am pleased to include in the RECORD the text of our colleague's excellent speech:

SPEECH BY REPRESENTATIVE DURWARD G. HALL

A little, and out of date experience may be a dangerous thing, but it is a "New Generation", so perhaps you'll pardon history and

the ramblings of an old "Army medic" who in September of 1940 helped mobilize the famous "hound dog regiment" of southwest Missouri and the 35th Division!

On January 18, 1961, Dwight D. Eisenhower appeared on radio and television to deliver what has been described as his farewell address. In that speech, President "Ike" said: "In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."

That one paragraph has been so widely quoted that I'm certain, it is destined to outlive any statement that Eisenhower ever made, and in the course of his dramatic soldier, educator, statesman career, he made many. The phrase that he coined, "military industrial complex", has been taken out of, or in partial context, as the banner under which all the foes of the military have been able to rally, and used to the detriment of those in the service of their Nation! Those in the first line of reserve, those who work and train at night (weekends) that we may better sleep!

We have been inundated with articles, interviews, and speeches, blaming the military budgets for all the ills of this nation! We are told that the ordering of national priorities is asked, and that military spending should be vastly curtailed; so that spending for welfare, urban problems, and myriads of other domestic and alleged social experimental needs, can be greatly expanded. We have been treated to dark hints (or even outright allegations), of a vast conspiracy between military leaders and giant industrial concerns. It has been more than inferred that government should eliminate those with "overruns" simply because of bigness!

I am probably more familiar with these allegations than most, due to my ten years in Congress as a member of the House Committee on the Armed Services. I have heard my share of the comment and criticism, and I might add, I have contributed my share of the comment and criticism, in the role of an interrogator to those members of the military, as well as industrialists who supply the military. It has been my business, as a Congressional Representative, to ask of these individuals, why do you need what you request, and how do you justify your decisions? How is it allocated, can we keep it competitive, and is it the best "bang" for the buck?

I must hasten to add at this point, that I feel no compunction to defend the defense industry; and my loyalty is to our military men, who cannot always speak for themselves. Just from experience and personal reasons and I am a member of the Committee on Armed Services, I am, however, concerned to a great extent, about the relentless attacks that the pseudo-intellectuals have been making against the defense establishment, in an effort to discredit and defame it, at the expense of the security of this nation. But, I say equally loudly and clearly:

a. If we're to be euchred into the corner of being a second class defensive power, the people must be told before the fact, and

b. It is not the function of government or the services to contract or contrive to destroy the industrial complex.

Throughout the history of this great land there has always been the fear that the people could (unwittingly), become the servants of the military. The men who founded this nation apparently felt the same, and as a precautionary measure—wrote into our Constitution provisions against infringing the rights of citizens to keep and bear arms, and against the quartering of troops in a home without the consent of the owner. Also, for ultimate civilian command and control of the military—we want it no other way! We're just not "junta" oriented! Hence the proud

symbol of the Minuteman. But differentiate between civilian control (ultimate and command decisions of the military! Trained and experienced.

We have always taken a jaundiced look at the idea of a professional army, preferring instead to select our soldiers from the broad spectrum of our citizenry, said soldiers serving for a limited period of time, thus insuring continuing civilian participation.

This has not always worked to our benefit, for history shows that in almost every conflict entered in by the United States, our military preparations were less than desirable, to say the least.

With all this de-emphasis on the military establishment, (that is up until the last few years), the Department of Defense and the industries that supply our military might, continually serve as the "whipping boys," for the "ultra left" whose "vociferous vocalings" have sought to destroy it. All the wars entered into by this nation up to and including World War II, (and to some extent Korea), have required a hurried refurbishing of our military power, both in terms of our weapons arsenal and our military personnel and leadership. Now again—I fear, this is where we came in!!

When the storm troopers of Adolph Hitler overran Europe and threatened to invade the White Cliffs of Dover, it was an unprepared United States which found itself thrust in the role of the rescuer.

This was a feat that in no way could have been accomplished without the complete mobilization of American industry to design and build the weapons to do the job. The B-17 Flying Fortress, the B-24, the P-38-40-51 fighter plane, the M-1 rifle, the bazooka, all totally unknown and in fact not even in existence before World War II, but weapons designed and built by the combined teamwork of the military and industry that contributed so much toward bringing the German aggressor to his knees. And let me add here and now, that I am completely aware of the part played in that conflict by the National Guard. For it was the Guard who in the beginning provided many of the divisions that were to take us from Africa to the Rhine, and Pearl Harbor to Tokyo! Without them, it could never have been accomplished.

The unconditional surrender in Europe, followed by the dropping of atom bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, ended the war in the Pacific, while at the same time ushering in the atomic age. At this point I would like to pause just long enough to ask this question. I ask it primarily to those who say that this Nation has become the captive of a Military Establishment. Suppose it had been Russia who possessed that first atom bomb? What do you think the condition of the world would be today had the first atomic warhead been developed and dropped by the Russian Army? I'm sure we can all pretty much agree on the answer.

If you look back to those days when peace came to the Atlantic and the Pacific, you will recall that a victorious United States, without doubt the strongest most powerful military force in the world, did not seek to impose itself on the land it had conquered. To the contrary, we pulled out, leaving just enough troops behind to insure the stability of the fallen nation. We did the same in Europe. We even invoked the Marshall plan and "reconstructed" them! Today Japan is the third most powerful industrial nation in the world and the Republic of West Germany is not far behind, because of the American dollars poured into their economy. Does this sound like a military industrial conspiracy? Do you think for one minute that Russia would have done the same? Of course they wouldn't. Let those who doubt it stand by the wall that separates East and West Berlin, or better yet ask any Hungarian or Czech citizen.

In 1945, General George C. Marshall said: "We finish each bloody war with a feeling of acute revulsion against the savage form of human behavior. And yet on each occasion we confuse military preparedness with the causes of war and then drift almost deliberately into another catastrophe". I can and will understand our "Reconstruction Act", our "debt" to the world and emerging nations, but never why:

- a. We continue foreign aid;
- b. We gave away our defense secrets in the 50's; and
- c. Why we insist on trafficking with the enemy and choose not to protect the Monroe Doctrine, etc.

In short our State Department, or its foreign relation policies (too many half-brights.)

Americans are understandably fatigued with requirements of national security and they again perhaps understandably have a fierce desire to solve domestic problems. Because they cannot see and cannot strike at the totalitarian forces that have created the uneasy world we live in, some of our people tend to start blaming what they can see, our military and those who work for the military, for creating this world. But the facts are that our military power and the industry that serves it, are in response to the international realities of the years since World War II, not the other way around. Because of our strength, resources and techniques—we have been able to deter global war and we have still (for all its imperfections), a free society. We have not solved all its problems, but we retain the capacity to solve those problems in an orderly manner and the capacity to act to create human betterment and preserve individual freedom. Only now we must decide and act in a real-time phase and/or environment.

The citizen in the Communist-half of the world does not have that capacity, or anyone to exercise it for him. One of the most essential things about dissent in America, that many people tend to forget, is simply the right to voice it. The Russian people have no such rights. How many times have you heard of students taking over the office of the president of the University of Moscow? How many Russians do you hear complaining about arms development or the military budget related to their G.N.P.? But you do hear about writers being thrown in jail, or confined to mental institutions, for voicing the mildest form of protest. Wherein is their academic freedom?

The charges against an over-emphasis of military spending boils down to four basic questions:

1. Is it true that defense keeps taking an ever-increasing portion of our national wealth and taking more and more of our Federal budget?
2. Are profits in defense industries getting bigger all the time?
3. Does the national defense expenditure prevent us from solving our domestic problems?
4. Is our great defensive strength really necessary?

To take the latter question first. In the unstable world in which we live today, any sign of defensive weakness will be taken as an invitation by aggressive nations to seek expansion. We have entered into so-called disarmament talks with representatives of the Soviet Union.

There are politicians who keep inferring that we are causing an arms race by the continuation, among other things, of the MIRV testing program, and the scheduled deployment of an anti-ballistic missile defense. No one ever seems to think that the Russians themselves are responsible for an "arms race", if you want to call it that. Let me point out that the Soviets were the first to develop ICBM's. They have tested in the atmosphere a 60 megaton warhead in violation

of our joint test-ban, although we have never developed bombs of anywhere near that size, by our own decision and volition! They have deployed an ABM system, and are continually striving to update it. And they are proceeding with the development of their MIRV. With all this evidence, our own people still accuse our Department of Defense of "sabre rattling". One can only ask, how is it possible that our defensive capability be characterized as provocative, while theirs is not? One must ask these "bleeding hearts", "peace at any price", and "nervous nellie's" additionally—whose side are you on? Why?!

Does the national defense expenditure prevent us from solving our domestic problems? The answer to that question I think is obvious. First, at no time in my memory has the lack of Federal funds prevented the Government from spending for welfare. I call to your attention the billions that have already been spent in that area, most of which has been allocated in years when the budget was out of balance. Most recently, the House passed the President's new family assistance plan, which has earmarked an additional four billion dollars in welfare, and will have the initial effect of more than doubling the number of recipients. The Congress has always been willing to spend for these sacred-cows and so-called preferred domestic programs; whether the money was there or not, and in most instances it was not.

I would personally hope, that if the Vietnam war would end tomorrow that the Congress would make a balanced budget as its first order of business and in addition present a healthy workable surplus, pay on the debt and cut taxes. That is what we really need to do!

It is also unfair and misleading to charge the defense industry with being unsympathetic to the social ills of the Nation. For example, the aerospace industry is making an effort to help in the fight against pollution in the transportation field. The Corps of Engineers has become more of a domestic entity than military, with its prime object conservation and the improvement of the Nation's waterways, rivers and lakes. Many medical and surgical techniques have been developed by military-related hospitals and institutions—and the military services have successfully educated and given useful industrial skills to men from all sections of the country, whom civilian society has discarded as unteachable and unusable.

Besides, as near as I can tell, these and you are the ones who pay the taxes.

Are profits in defense industries getting bigger all the time? And does the Defense Department take an ever increasing slice of our Federal budget?

The Logistics Management Institute, recently completed an extensive study entitled "Defense Industries Profit Review." The report contains extensive statistical material on the defense contracts for the ten year period 1958 through 1967, and makes comparisons of the defense industry profits, with commercial profits of firms doing defense work, and profits by non-defense industries. Among the findings were:

1. The average defense business profit as a percentage of total capital investment, tended downward for the first seven years, and remained level for the last three. In addition, it was found that the average defense profit declined more than 25 percent over the ten year period. Average profit of commercial firms, increased during the same period.
2. Commercial markets have expanded more rapidly than the defense markets. (Hope for the future and no recession with peace!)
3. Defense industries which had the highest percentages of profit did not enjoy profits as high as the most profitable commercial firms.

For some forty companies surveyed, all of

which did at least twenty-five million annually in defense sales, defense business increased about fifty percent between 1958 and 1967. Commercial sales for the same companies rose almost 200 percent, in the same period. For non-defense companies, sales increased more than 110 percent.

I don't want to burden you with a lot of figures, but I think I have given you a pretty good indication of the profit picture of the defense industry. I must also point out, that should a defense contractor realize excessive profits from his defense business, Congress has established the renegotiation board, which was created in 1951, and given it the responsibility to recapture excessive profits derived by contractors and subcontractors in connection with Government procurement, not to mention the new single package concept—contract! There is no doubt that defense is very expensive, but in actual fact outlays for national defense are on the decline. Where almost fifty percent of the budget was spent for purposes of defense in 1960, projected figures for 1971 indicate that the amount will be only slightly more than 36 percent, a considerable drop, and during a time of armed conflict, albeit "fractional disengagement," in Vietnam.

Contrary to popular belief, the majority of the defense budget is not poured out for hardware. More than half of all defense dollars go for personnel and operating costs.

Finally, I want to briefly call to your attention one important fact. Much has been made about mistakes and "boondoggles" in the armed forces. I agree, there have been some "beauts". I offer as the prime example, the TFX, of F-111 fighter plane. The decision to develop and eventually buy this aircraft (which has failed on every count) was made by a civilian—Robert Strange McNamara, against the advice of the military people. Then he and Roswell Gilpatrick gave it to the wrong bidder! The decisions that got us into the Vietnam war were made by civilians. The decisions of what to bomb and what not to bomb were made by civilians. Did you know that pilots in Vietnam were given seven pages of instructions on what to bomb? And did you know that pilots had to get each target approved in Washington, before they could attack it—and if they missed they could not go back until it had been approved again? It is more than clear that much of what has been blamed on the military, whose hands were literally tied behind their backs, must in the final analysis be laid at the doorstep of civilian decisions. McNamara whiz-kids undermined the Secretaries and Chiefs of Staff of major military services in the false hope of ultimate civilian control (vs. Military Command decision) and in the sacred names of commonality and cost-accounting!

That is what President Nixon meant when he said that military decisions dealing with Vietnam cannot be made in the streets.

In Vietnam today we are committed on a course of troop withdrawal (150,000 more just announced) that is also basically a civilian decision. The military people are working hard to make the Presidential desires possible, and I pray that they will succeed.

When I started this speech I quoted from the farewell address of President Eisenhower. Unfortunately, after the phrase "Military Industrial Complex" captured the public fancy, little else has been remembered. I should like to conclude with the part that didn't make the news.

"A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction.

"We face a hostile ideology, global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method. Unhappily the danger it poses promises to be of indefinite duration. To meet it successfully, there is called

for, not so much the emotional and transitory sacrifices of crisis, but rather those which enable us to carry forward steadily, surely, and without complaint, the burdens of a prolonged and complex struggle, with liberty at stake."

Thank you and good morning.

POSTAL REFORM

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Post Office and Civil Service Committee continued its markup of postal reform legislation and has only two additional amendments to be considered to the pending bill.

I have called the full committee into executive session on Monday morning at 9:30.

There is every prospect and expectation that the committee will complete action on postal reform legislation on Monday. If we do not finish our work during the morning, I intend to reconvene the committee in the afternoon and continue in session until we complete work on the bill.

The committee has been informed by the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. UBALL) that he intends to offer a substitute for the entire bill during Monday's meeting.

This will be the fifth postal reform bill version to be offered to the committee since it began consideration of postal reform legislation in April 1969.

COMPLETING ACTION ON H.R. 17070

Several weeks ago there were "negotiations" downtown between the Post Office Department and seven postal craft unions on details of the postal reform measure.

That measure—as submitted to the Congress by the President and introduced by me and others the same day—the same one on which the committee now is completing action.

It was folly for anyone to expect that our committee would accept into the bill drafted in the downtown negotiations. Our function is legislative and we have the responsibility for reviewing every section of a bill and making our recommendations to the House of Representatives.

There has been criticism of our committee for not having acted sooner on postal reform legislation. The committee would have completed action long ago if I had had my way, but legislation is a product of discussion and compromise—not the edict of one man, such as the Postmaster General or me as committee chairman, nor is it the product of less than a majority of our committee.

During the months since we began public hearings on my bill, H.R. 4, in April 1969, our committee has debated and re-debated every facet of the reform bills before us.

THOROUGH CONSIDERATION

There can be no question about our thorough consideration of this very com-

prehensive and pioneering legislation. Understandably, even after the committee makes its decisions on individual points, the parties continue their efforts to prevail with their own views.

In a controversial and comprehensive subject such as postal reform, it is impossible to satisfy everyone. The majority vote must prevail.

This is the American way. But for those on the outside who do not understand the complexities and the protracted discussions in which our Members have engaged in closed sessions over the months, an unfair impression exists.

One of the unfortunate factors in dealing with the postal reform issue has been the misrepresentation with has prevailed in the public press on the general subject. For example, the word "corporation" became a magic word.

The media has gone on to suggest that if our committee had blindly adopted the administration's proposal a year ago, the postal service now would be vastly improved and there would be no strife in the ranks of the employees.

IT IS PURE FANTASY

This is pure fantasy and is a complete misrepresentation of the facts.

Even if the postal reform bill sponsored by the administration had been enacted last fall—ignoring its many faulty approaches—the new establishment would not yet be in operation and the postal service probably would be little different than it is today.

Ironically, the public has received a distorted picture of our postal service. No one argues with the need for postal reform, both in the establishment and particularly in postal financing.

Now that we are reaching the end of markup on H.R. 17070, we are informed that a substitute bill is to be offered before we take final action.

Even though this substitute is expected to include most of the present text of H.R. 17070, we are informed that it will include modifications in several major amendments which have been adopted by our committee after thorough debate.

So on Monday, we will once again be faced with rehashing several key issues involved in reform.

WE HAVE MADE CHANGES

Postmaster General Blount is continuing adamant on details of the bill, and I can assure you that his views are being given full consideration. However, the committee has made changes and we are going to insist on their incorporation as the bill comes from our committee.

Since January 3, 1969, when I introduced H.R. 4—the first comprehensive postal reform bill to be presented to the Congress—I have been pressing with every means at my disposal to bring about final action in our committee on postal reform legislation.

I have sought to be fair to all parties and to all members of our committee as we moved along.

I thought we had made the big stride before the Easter recess when the committee reported out H.R. 4, over my objections concerning various specific details.

But then came the labor strife and the

new administration bill from downtown. It was only necessary to have 3 days of public hearings, followed by the executive sessions, in which we now have reached the point of facing a substitute bill to be offered on Monday.

TEXT DISTRIBUTED

At my insistence the substitute is being distributed in advance to all members of the committee so that they will have an opportunity to study it before it is presented for consideration on Monday.

I would not want the committee to act on something which they had not seen in writing in advance of the meeting.

To repeat, it is my intention as chairman to complete action on postal reform legislation by our committee on Monday and to ask for House consideration as soon as possible.

IRVINE, THE NATION'S LARGEST
PLANNED CITY

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, the Irvine Co. of Orange County, Calif., has announced its intentions to develop the largest totally planned city on the North American Continent. By any standards, the announcement is quite an event. It will be a major opportunity to test and implement new and imaginative urban planning concepts on a large scale. And it suggests an optimistic and encouraging path out of many of our present urban problems.

This effort will be watched with great interest. A new major urban environment designed to specifically avoid the many problems evident in our major cities offers a tremendous learning laboratory as well as an excellent precedent for other areas of the country.

The proposed city will encompass 53,000 acres and will have an ultimate population of 430,000. The entire city, comprising dozens of planned communities designed for industrial, commercial, residential, or recreational use will be built by the Irvine Co. in stages.

Full development—and maximum population—is expected to be reached by the year 2000, according to company projections.

As envisioned by company planners, the area eventually to be encompassed by the new city includes the entire natural inland basin and stretches north from the crest of the San Joaquin Hills near the coastline to the crest of the foothills of the Santiago Mountains, 12 miles inland.

It includes the University of California, Irvine, campus complex and several rapidly growing residential communities south of the San Diego Freeway. It also includes the 280-firm Irvine industrial complex near Orange County Airport.

It is, in area, about twice the size of San Francisco and three times the size of Manhattan Island.

Open space and density requirements of the city of Irvine's master planning will limit the ultimate population of the immense acreage to less than half of San Francisco's and less than one-third of Manhattan's.

Plans for the city of Irvine are keyed to a land-use concept never before attempted in the creation of new cities or towns anywhere.

It is the use of environmental corridors to create an "imageable" urban form and to organize the nonresidential elements of the urban pattern.

There are three such corridors within the new city area.

Located within these corridors will be the city's principal civic, commercial, recreational, and institutional facilities. The activities and open spaces within these corridors will be linked compatibly with regional open spaces, walkways, bike trails, and equestrian paths.

The corridors may measure up to a quarter-mile in width and will stretch 33 miles throughout the city of Irvine's general area. Extensions to the coastal and mountain areas can result in a continuous system of recreation trails within convenient proximity to all residents.

A parkway and waterway will wind through each of the environmental corridors.

The corridors will serve as connectors for several major nonresidential developments included in the central area plan. Among them:

A 420-acre regional shopping and commercial center site in the triangle formed by the Santa Ana, Laguna, and San Diego Freeways. Irvine Co. planners refer to the area as the "Regional Triangle." Its proposed development is similar in concept to the Irvine Co.'s Newport Center in Newport Beach.

A 1,666-acre industrial park site east of El Toro.

The 500-acre lion country safari tourist attraction southeast of the Laguna-San Diego Freeway interchange—it will open in June.

A 70-acre city of Irvine civic and cultural complex centrally located at the juncture of the north-south and east-west corridors on the western edge of the future city.

A 200-acre recreation-oriented center where the north-south and foothill corridors join.

A suggested 100-acre community college site somewhere near the eastern end of the central basin corridor on the north side of the San Diego Freeway, and another suggested 100-acre college midway in the foothill corridor. Irvine Co. planners said at least two community colleges would be required before 1990, according to population projections of 5,700 full-time college students within the city of Irvine by that year.

Five hundred acres at various locations within the corridors will be required for high school and junior high schools.

Hundreds of additional acres for park and open space purposes.

The environmental corridors will provide access to 15 separate residential villages between the San Diego Freeway and the inland foothills.

Irvine will be a city of villages, each with its own identity.

The villages will reflect the heterogeneous neighborhood patterns of company developments underway and completed south of the San Diego Freeway.

In all, it is anticipated the city of Irvine will comprise more than 2 dozen such villages—each with its own neighborhood park and shopping center—when fully developed.

According to its planners, Irvine is where urban sprawl will end.

Plans for the new city call for road designs based on types of use and traffic volumes projected by highly sophisticated computerized traffic models. Throughways, parkways and neighborhood streets will all be landscaped and tree lined. The proposed rights-of-way are wider than present day city standards in order to provide room for landscaped medians and roadsides.

Parking areas will be separated from principal roads by landscaped buffers. Planners are taking into account this "streetscape" in planning for the city of Irvine. This is quite novel. Most people usually get their impression of an area as they drive through it. The "streetscape" concept takes this very real item into account.

The total plan for the new city—both the central area and the southern sector—anticipates sites for 70 elementary schools, 16 junior high schools, eight high schools and two junior colleges.

Most of the population of the new city, some 309,000 residents, will live between the San Diego Freeway and the Santiago foothills, the area covered by the central area plan. About 121,000 will reside south of the San Diego Freeway in a portion of the area included in the 6-year-old southern sector plan.

In the plans for the new city, a total of 4,150 acres are set aside for tax revenue producing industrial sites isolated from residential areas on the western and eastern edges of the city. More than 3,500 acres are projected for commercial uses.

Another 2,500 acres are proposed for park, open space and recreational areas. The new city will have at least six golf courses to serve its residents, according to master plan projections.

Company planning, economic and marketing experts foresee two major phases of development for the city of Irvine.

Between now and 1985, development will be concentrated in the general area of UCI and north to the Santa Ana Freeway. Beginning in about 1985, growth will intensify in the area north of the Santa Ana Freeway in the foothill region.

During this latter period, the 420-acre regional commercial center in the "Regional Triangle" and the nearby 1,666-acre industrial park will be developed.

The new city's population is expected to total about 120,000 by 1980; 270,000 by 1990; and 430,000 by the turn of the century.

THE FARMER'S SIDE OF THE STORY

HON. WALTER B. JONES

OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. JONES of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, my good friend and colleague, Congressman DAVID HENDERSON, was kind enough to furnish me with a copy of his remarks this morning, and I wish to commend him for trying to set the record straight insofar as the farm program is concerned. Furthermore, I agree with Congressman HENDERSON that it is high time that the farmers' side of the story is told.

Certainly, the farm programs that have operated so successfully over the past 37 years have been in the public interest. I would not wish to attack the farm subsidies as such, nor would I attack subsidies to other industries that are serving the public, but I do believe that subsidies that are in the public interest should be recognized as such.

I also believe that those who are receiving large subsidies should not attack other subsidy recipients in an unfair manner.

A glaring example of this is the fact that the Reader's Digest publication is subsidized indirectly by the Post Office Department in the amount of \$9½ to \$14 million annually. This indirect subsidy is the result of handling costs as opposed to the amount of postage paid. The Reader's Digest on several occasions has published critical articles on the farm program. Many of my farmer constituents have complained bitterly to me about this over the years.

I sincerely hope that they will provide equal space to Congressman HENDERSON to answer their most recent attack, and also that we can get a better understanding among the general public as to what farm programs are all about. In reality, the farmer is subsidizing the nonfarmer, and it is about time that this story is told.

AMERICA'S REVOLVING DOOR MILITARY POLICY IN CAMBODIA

HON. LEONARD FARBSTAIN

OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. FARBSTAIN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, during debate on the amendment offered by the gentleman from California (Mr. LEGGETT), I expressed the view that the only result coming out of American action in Cambodia was to temporarily succeed in pushing the enemy farther back into the Cambodian interior and to destroy some of his supplies.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, I heard the President on Wednesday offer the capture of supplies as his justification for the invasion and the escalation of the war.

Such a loss would only temporarily weaken the enemy, however, and after the monsoon season, he would return again. It seemed to me that current American policy might well require us to repeat the Cambodian maneuver periodically and to remain in Southeast Asia on a permanent basis. It might require us to adopt a revolving door military policy in Cambodia.

Support for this view comes in today's Washington Post in an article by Joseph Kraft. Kraft quotes an interview between Osborne Elliot of Newsweek magazine and South Vietnamese President Thieu, in which the South Vietnamese figure suggests that American forces may well be back in Cambodia on a regular basis. If this analysis is correct, the Cambodian action means we are going to be in South Vietnam a lot longer as a result of the action than we would have if we had stayed out of Cambodia.

I insert the article at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Washington Post, May 7, 1970]

DAMAGE TO RED SUPPLY LINES COULD BE OF FLEETING VALUE

(By Joseph Kraft)

American troops entered Cambodia in search of the main enemy headquarters. They end up burning a bunch of dusty native villages.

Presumably some damage will be done to Communist supply lines, stores, and plans. But for how long? The White House estimates it will take eight or nine months for the Communists to build back to where they were. President Nguyen van Thieu of South Vietnam told Osborne Elliott of Newsweek magazine that the effects would last "two, three months—five, six months."

Then what? The White House has not yet figured out how to do an encore. President Thieu is not so reticent. He laughingly told Newsweek: "We will go in again when it is necessary."

What this teaches—once again—is that there is no way to end the Vietnamese war by conventional military force, that the only good way out is to negotiate out. But what does the latest set of strikes do for the negotiating possibility?

Well, the Russians and those leaders of Hanoi who favor a negotiated settlement are plainly on the defensive. That is the meaning of the Communist boycott of the Paris peace talks the week. That is why Le Duc Tho, Hanoi's chief negotiator, has left Paris, back-tracking from early indications of sympathy with the idea of a new Geneva conference. That is why Premier Alexi Kosygin of Russia, when asked about a Geneva meeting at his press conference the other day, replied: "At this point it is necessary to stop the aggressor—not to hold conferences."

Similarly, the Communist Chinese and their allies in Hanoi have had a new boost for their theory of maintaining a perpetual guerrilla war in Indochina. That is why Peking is plugging as never before the insurgent liberation movements of Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam. That is why Hanoi is making such a big deal about the presence of Chinese Premier Chou En-Lai at a recent meeting in South China of all the Communist parties to the Vietnam war.

No doubt a temporary clouding of the negotiating prospect would be justifiable if the great center of the Communist power was being put on notice to behave by the show of strength in Cambodia. But the Russians are not getting that message at all.

On the contrary, at his press conference Mr. Kosygin was confident to the point of joking about western speculation on inner Kremlin politics. He spoke of a new burst of activity by Soviet pilots in Egypt with bland impunity. For the fact is that the United States is not exactly in good position to complain about potential Soviet threats while the Cambodian invasion is going forward. Indeed, the deeper fact is that the Nixon administration is too obsessed by Cambodia even to focus serious attention on the grave challenge in the Near East.

In the same confident vein, Mr. Kosygin announced that Cambodia might cause the Russians to reconsider their position in the arms control talks now underway in Vienna. At best, that means that Moscow, far from being scared, is applying against the United States the administration's famous policy of linkage—the policy of saying you behave or we won't play ball in the arms control talks.

At worst, there could be genuine harm done to the prospects for arms control. For the Soviets are negotiating on the assumption that agreement will register rough parity between the Big Two. They have finally begun to believe former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's assurances that neither side could gain from an increase in strategic weaponry. But if they begin to get the wind up, if they are convinced that this country is creating a climate of confrontation in order to go one up, then they could easily back away from any agreement.

So far, most of these bleak developments are potential. They could be undone by a reversal of American policy. But that would mean finally rejecting the contention of the American military that they can win decisive advantages in Vietnam. It would mean understanding that President Thieu is advocating a policy of perpetual war. It would mean moving to negotiate by changing the ambassador and the commander in Vietnam in order to pave the way for a new government ready to compromise with the other side. And doing all those things takes courage—the moral courage of convictions, not the kind given to men who think they have to prove they are tough.

NATIONAL COLLEGE OF ECOLOGICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, I support the efforts of my distinguished colleague from the Seventh District of Texas to bring before the House at the earliest possible date our bill, H.R. 16847, to establish a National College of Ecological and Environmental Studies.

On April 22, thousands of concerned high school and college students joined the concerted effort on the part of the present administration and Congress to fight pollution and protect our environment before it is too late. These students not only engaged in projects designed to clean up some of the filth polluting our landscape, but also offered several worthwhile suggestions.

These are trying days for the youth of this Nation. And I think too often

many of us in Government fall to offer them a constructive outlet for their concern. A National College of Ecological and Environmental Studies would provide a means to fully educate our young people about the total problem and give them the opportunity to make significant, constructive contributions toward restoration of the environment.

It is easy to understand why our young people are concerned about our environment, because it is their generation and their children who will suffer for the mistakes we have made.

The students chosen to attend this college would be a select group of undergraduate science and engineering college students, recognized both for their intellect and dedication to solving the monumental problems of environmental deterioration. The bill would provide Federal "seed" money of \$100,000 per year for 5 years, and I believe that the private and commercial sectors of society would provide at least two-thirds of the cost of the institution.

It is my sincere hope that the Science and Astronautics Committee, of which I am a member, will schedule hearings on this important legislation and favorably report a bill which the House can consider this session.

THE UNITED STATES VIOLATES
CAMBODIAN NEUTRALITY

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow the President will speak to the Nation on the background and details of the American invasion of Cambodia. I expect he will focus on the military aspects of our involvement in Southeast Asia as distinct from the political implication of our action. It needs to be emphasized that the United States has invaded a neutral state without prior consultation with its Government. This reveals a disregard for Cambodian sovereignty. It is my understanding that this disregard for the legitimate aspirations of the Cambodian state has a long history. The following article from the Cornell Daily Sun describes this well:

THE UNITED STATES AND CAMBODIAN
NEUTRALITY

(By Laura Summers)

The United States invasion of Cambodia is a blatant and irrevocable confession of our government's lack of understanding and intolerance for Cambodian neutrality. Since Cambodia's decision to adopt a neutral foreign policy in December, 1954, the United States has sought to undermine that neutrality by overt and covert means—first, by refusal to restrain the actions of our allies, Thailand and Vietnam, and second, by distorting the legitimate aspirations of the Cambodian people to suit our own ends in the prosecution of the Vietnamese war. History speaks for itself.

The Eisenhower administration treated

Cambodian neutrality with hostility. Secretary of State Dulles, who perceived Communism as an evil to be combated everywhere in Southeast Asia, was suspicious of Cambodia's renunciation of the SEATO pact and its persistent criticism of American intervention in Diem's Vietnam and Sarit's Thailand. Cambodia matched each threat from the West with a concession to the East to gain international leverage in its struggle to prevent domestic intervention.

Dulles was thoroughly convinced that neutral nations were a danger to the "free world" cause when the Pathet Lao won the only free elections in Laotian history (1958). One month later, the South Vietnamese army invaded a Cambodian province, occupied two villages, and moved a border marker before returning to their own country. Sihanouk protested directly to the United States. The U.S. promised to counsel moderation to the Vietnamese but also warned the Cambodians not to use any weapons provided by American aid against the invaders. One week later Cambodia initiated negotiations for full diplomatic relations with China. Washington's response was to begin plans to remove Sihanouk from power.

Shortly thereafter, the Khmer Serei Movement was founded. Presumably supported by Thailand, South Vietnam and the American CIA, this group of approximately one thousand Cambodian dissidents attempted a "Bay of Pigs" type invasion in early 1959. Sihanouk was warned of the plot by three foreign ambassadors! Confessions of the captured participants implicated Marshall Sarit of Thailand; Ngo Trong Hieu, Diem's representative in Phnom Penh; and Victor Matsui of the American Embassy, widely rumored to be a CIA agent.

The Kennedy administration was somewhat more sympathetic to Cambodia's desires to practice a true neutrality. But by 1961, the U.S. was so committed in Thailand and South Vietnam that Kennedy's conciliatory attitude toward Cambodia was not well-received by our anti-Communist allies. Thus, Kennedy was unable to promise United States participation in an international conference to guarantee Cambodian neutrality. In urging Diem to support such a conference, Sihanouk said Cambodia would agree to complete international control if South Vietnam would agree to recognize Cambodia's present borders. Diem refused.

In 1964, Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, expressed American apologies and regrets for the damage and death caused by an attack on a Cambodian village staged by a South Vietnamese army unit with an American advisor. Later he denied numerous other complaints submitted by Cambodia dealing with military raids.

American policy took a sharp change in late 1964 after the first infiltration of a large North Vietnamese regular force through Cambodia. In December, Khmero-American negotiations in New Delhi ended abruptly after one day. The American ambassador reported he had made the American position absolutely clear. After further American-South Vietnamese violations of Cambodian territory, Cambodia severed diplomatic relations with the United States in April, 1965. Simultaneously, Secretary Rusk announced the United States would be glad to participate in an international conference to guarantee Cambodia's neutrality.

Cambodia refused to participate in a conference on its neutrality where the issue of nonintervention by SEATO powers would be ignored while the United States and South Vietnam attempted to cut off North Vietnamese infiltration. On April 28, 1965, Sihanouk requested that the SEATO powers make a formal declaration that Cambodia was not

included in its "perimeter of intervention." The request was ignored.

In contrast to Johnson administration policy, Nixon's statement on Vietnam in his address to the nation on May 14, 1969, omits any reference to an American guarantee of Cambodian neutrality and territorial integrity. Significantly, Nixon notes that his four month review of the war revealed a "wide gulf between Washington and Saigon." Was Cambodia part of this gulf? His carefully measured comments on Laos and Cambodia read as follows:

We ask only that North Vietnam withdraw its forces from South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos into North Vietnam, also in accordance with a timetable. We include Cambodia and Laos to ensure that these countries would not be used as bases for a renewed war.

This language was echoed by Nixon and Thieu in their joint communique after the Midway conference and by the United States delegation to the Paris peace talks.

This, then, is the historical prelude to invasion.

(NOTE.—Laura Summers, a third-year graduate student in government, specializes in the area of Southeast Asia.)

"BRING US TOGETHER": THE
STRATEGY OF POLARIZATION?

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the decision of the Nixon administration to expand and reescalate the war in Vietnam through the invasion of Cambodia and bombings in North Vietnam has caused some of the deepest dissent and divisiveness in this Nation's history.

In the face of this dissent, the administration has seen fit to loose a barrage of rhetoric further exacerbating the justifiable fears and frustrations of many Americans—ultimately resulting in the tragedy on Monday at Kent State University.

Unfortunately, the President, the Vice President, and the Attorney General apparently were not touched by the lives lost on the Ohio campus.

The President's response to the killings was cold and unyielding—a statement saying that we should remember that dissent which "turns to violence" invites tragedy.

The Vice President's response was continued name calling and accusations.

And the Attorney General's response has been to stand behind the President's call for "support of the right which exists in the country for peaceful dissent" by denying the opportunity for American citizens to take advantage of this right by demonstrating in front of the White House in Lafayette Park.

The administration's hard line on dissent and demonstrations has not only caused frustration among those who disagree with the Nixon policy in Southeast Asia, but also among those who are part of the Nixon administration.

Anthony J. Moffett has announced his resignation as head of the Office of Students and Youth, a new office which was

established to create rapport between the administration and this country's young people.

His resignation was a result of what he called, "irresponsible statements" by the President regarding student protest. Mr. Moffett had found that incidents since he had taken office, "and particularly in the last 10 days, have convinced me that the advocacy function is impossible within the Nixon administration."

A May 6 letter written to the President by Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel also expressed concern about the President's words and actions towards the young. In his letter, the Secretary said:

I believe this administration finds itself, today, embracing a philosophy which appears to lack appropriate concern for the attitude of a great mass of Americans—our young people.

Addressed either politically or philosophically, I believe we are in error if we set out consciously to alienate those who could be our friends.

About 200 years ago there was emerging a great nation in the British empire, and it found itself with a colony in violent protest by its youth—such men as Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, to name a few. Their protests fell on deaf ears, and finally led to war. The outcome is history. My point is, if we read, it clearly shows that youth in its protest must be heard.

If the administration is unwilling to listen to those outside its ranks, then let it heed the words of those within—such as Secretary Hickel. For while the President campaigned on a policy of bringing the American people together, some high administration officials are tearing our Nation apart with talk that caters to fear, ignorance, repression, and violent resentment.

If there is not a change in this repressive and divisive attitude on the part of the administration, then the damage will be irreparable.

I am inserting in the RECORD, Tom Wicker's "In the Nation" column from today's New York Times. Entitled, "The Dead at Kent State," it expresses the concern of many of us that the administration is taking the Nation down the road to increasingly dangerous polarization.

The item follows:

IN THE NATION: THE DEAD AT KENT STATE
(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON.—It was obtuse and heartless for President Nixon to say of the dead at Kent State only that "when dissent turns to violence it invites tragedy." It was indecent for Spiro Agnew to call this awful event "predictable and avoidable," then to go on with one of his standard denunciations of students, as if he and the President, pledged as they are to "bring us together," had not instead done as much as anyone to drive us into conflict. No one has less right than they to "murder the mankind" of these senseless deaths with "grave truths" about violence and dissent.

Mr. Agnew's sustained and inflammatory assault on some young Americans could have had no other purpose, and no other result, than to set generation against generation and class against class for the calculated political purposes of the Nixon Administra-

tion. Mr. Nixon's blurted condemnation of "bums" on the campus is all the more culpable for apparently having been spontaneous and from the heart, a true revelation of his inmost feelings.

But there is more to it than the spirit of fear and vengeance and repression—that spirit exemplified by the use on a tense college campus of tired and frightened National Guardsmen with live rounds in their weapons and discretionary orders to return fire.

Even this piece of insanity might not have left the dead at Kent State had it not been for Mr. Nixon's monumental blunder in reversing the whole course of what he had said was his Vietnamese policy with the invasion of Cambodia and the reopening of the bombing of North Vietnam. That is real violence. And any President less swayed by generals, less awed by the myopic political hardline of John Mitchell, less fixed in the outdated attitudes of cold war days, could not have failed to have foreseen that re-escalation would set off an explosion of anger and despair and bitterness—hence violence and counterviolence, rebellion and repression.

WHAT HAS BEEN GAINED?

It may be argued by those politicians and commentators as concerned as Mr. Nixon about manhood, humiliation and American vanity that, even had he known his people well enough to expect the reaction he is getting, he still would have had no choice but to act in the national interest, as he saw it. But none will be able to explain what interest is worth having pushed so many of the educated and concerned of a whole generation into hatred and mistrust of their own Government; and who can say how the future can be protected abroad if a nation must club and shoot its children in the streets and on the campus?

What, in fact, has re-escalation gained us? A chilly diplomatic reaction, for one thing, including quite possible a setback to the nuclear arms limitation talks. For another, the most severe Congressional reaction in decades against the exercise of Presidential powers.

The Administration itself is divided and wounded at the top, with Mr. Nixon—like Lyndon Johnson only two years ago—suddenly unable or unwilling to travel among his own people. Secretary of State Rogers is shown either to know little of what is happening or to have minimal policy influence; Secretary of Defense Laird was apparently overruled and—worse—uninformed about what his own bombers were doing. Is it an accident that these two, with Robert Finch among the ablest men in the Administration, now join Mr. Finch in the kind of public embarrassment to which he has had to become inured?

On the battlefield itself, no supreme Communist headquarters has been found, although its presence had been advertised as if it were Hitler's bunker. In fact, not many Communist troops of any kind have been found, according to reporters on the scene, although captured rice tonnage amounts daily and the body count is predictably inflated. Destruction is wholesale, of course, but mostly of Cambodian towns and farms, not of Vietcong or North Vietnamese soldiers.

BEGGING THE QUESTION

To cap this futility with absurdity, Mr. Nixon now pledges to let the invaders go no further into Cambodia than eighteen miles from the border, a guarantee which if honored makes the rest of that sizable country a real sanctuary easily reached; and he further promises to pull the troops out within

eight weeks, a period that probably can be survived by an enemy that has been fighting for more than twenty years. These public restrictions beg the question what the invasion can accomplish.

Whatever the answer, the dead at Kent State are far too high a price for it. Like the dead in Cambodia and Vietnam, they can be buried; but somehow the nation has to go on living with itself. Mr. Hickel's courageous letter to the President shows that even within the Administration, Mr. Nixon and Mr. Agnew have only made that harder to do.

CALIFORNIA MARINE SANCTUARY ACT

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 7, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, we have seen the tragedy caused by oil spills to our beaches, to our sea life, and to our water fowl. Steps have been taken by both the Federal and State Governments to protect the local environment, but further steps are needed.

The State of California has created seven marine sanctuaries where the granting of leases for petroleum development has been banned. They account for almost a fourth of the entire California coastline. They prohibit oil drilling on an estimated half of the tide lands suspected or known to contain oil deposits.

Our Federal policy must be to support State laws that protect our environment, for without Federal conformity, State laws may be useless. The tragedy that occurred in Santa Barbara last year illustrates the need for Federal conformity, for it did the people of California little good to set aside the State sanctuary when just beyond it, the Federal Government proceeded to grant leases for petroleum development.

Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation which will prohibit further leasing for the extraction of oil and gas in those portions of the Outer Continental Shelf which are seaward of the California marine sanctuaries.

Presently, only the Santa Barbara sanctuary has seaward leasing operations. This bill will not affect these operations, nor does it terminate any existing lease, nor the right to drill under any existing lease.

This bill restricts the power of the Secretary of the Interior to grant leases for oil and gas extraction which are seaward of the areas which California seeks to protect by establishing sanctuaries within its own jurisdiction.

The California coastline is both a State and a national treasure. It is threatened by the development of its oil resources, and until we can extract oil in a safe manner, I believe the legislation I introduce today is vitally needed.