

gently as not really a threat but just something to be gotten through with the least trouble.

This is, in fact, what happened. The rally did not influence anyone. It was wasted effort.

Nixon, in fact, "improved his position" with those who think it has been pointless to take a defiant and name-calling attitude toward student protest.

In the longer range, if the Cambodian operation is, or can be termed, a success the results will not be merely militarily and diplomatically favorable.

These circumstances, coming into focus and after midsummer, would give the President a firm platform for another forthcoming intervention, a political intervention. Nixon

needs more strength in Congress if he is to carry through his very extensive program of reform in the next couple of years.

His hand would be greatly strengthened in appealing for a Republican congress if Cambodia has proved to be a success. Perhaps that contributed, too, to the lack of interest in Congress in last week's demonstrations.

ADJOURNMENT TO 10:30 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment in accordance with the

previous order, until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 13 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, May 14, 1970, at 10:30 a.m.

NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate May 13, 1970:

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

Hugh F. Owens, of Oklahoma, to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the term of 5 years expiring June 5, 1975; reappointment.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

FEDERAL JUDGE ROBERT E. MAXWELL DELIVERS SIGNIFICANT ADDRESS ON DIVISIVENESS IN AMERICA—ASKS AMERICAN LEGION "IS AMERICA WORTH SAVING?"—EMPHASIZES TYRANNY CANNOT BE DISGUISED

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the Honorable Robert E. Maxwell, judge of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of West Virginia, in an address recently in Morgantown, W. Va., before the 40 and 8 of the American Legion, discussed aspects of the crisis facing us regarding the divisiveness in America.

Judge Maxwell indicated that there are many citizens who see the serenity of the college campus disrupted and buildings destroyed, the peace and the use of our streets disturbed with blockades, the dignity of man grossly diminished, and they wonder whether we have lost our way.

Judge Maxwell said:

The human condition has been so appallingly distorted by irrationality and emotional unreason that a surprisingly large cross-section of America is beginning to wonder whether "The politics of violence" or "The strategy of confrontation" presented with a noisy, ill-tempered and bad-mannered dialogue isn't the essence of a new emerging public philosophy.

He noted, and asked his listeners:

It is important for America to recognize that the presently disruptive wave which crosses America does not represent the majority opinion of this vast and outspoken land of ours. The disrupters represent only a fractional part of the body politic and they take unwarranted advantage of the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Is America Worth Saving?

Judge Maxwell said that during the past quarter of a century we have suffered three serious wars with violent inflation as one of the results. He warned:

We are now in the middle of a racial revolution as incendiary in its ultimate meaning as the Civil War. We are in the throes of a continuing scientific revolution that is much more fundamental than the industrial revolution of a hundred years ago. We are witnessing a population explosion, the conse-

quences of which we can hardly begin to understand. And, we are in the middle of some type of revolution in personal morals, which is causing many in our land, we as well as across the world, to wonder whether the family as the basic unit of our social structure is in fact losing its vitality.

Maxwell contends that what many people who are reaching out fail to understand as they look at the violent world around them is that change in its many dimensions is not a recent manifestation of the human race. Change, he points out, has been a part of the process of living since man was first identified as man.

Some 200 years ago, Edmund Burke said:

To complain of the age we live in, to murmur at the present possessors of power, to lament the past, to conceive extravagant hopes of the future, are the common dispositions of the greater part of mankind.

The judge stressed that the magnitude as well as the cadence of change which we are experiencing today is where the difference lies:

In the life span of most of us, America has moved from a predominantly agricultural society to an industrial one—from an economy of scarcity and privation to an economy of abundance and influence—and from a labor-job oriented society to one increasingly aimed toward the utilization of leisure time.

Commenting on those who feel that revolution is the only alternative, Judge Maxwell said those critics of our system, who would advocate destruction as the only acceptable means of alteration, charge that our system is impersonal, disinterested, hypocritical, disenchanting, and that the noble experiment of self-government is not worth saving are wrong.

He said these distortions of facts must be challenged. Maxwell emphasized:

America must be heard to say in a loud and clear voice that our system today possesses the same honor, decency, integrity and dignity as it possessed when it was created by the most lucid minds of that marvelously lucid age some 200 years ago.

Maxwell said:

Today, in the questioning dialogue which wells up daily from the campuses and streets of America, we must ask ourselves again what quality of life we want, not only as consumers and producers, but as citizens of a great republic. No preordained destiny decrees that America shall have all the soft options. Our present greatness and our af-

fluence do not give us a special license to take a short cut to an imagined Utopia.

Adding:

Thus, for the first time in history, a Nation is so inherently rich in the material things that we frequently believe we can afford the luxury of taking a holiday from aspiring for the horizons of the heretofore unattainable.

Early in the Civil War, President Lincoln wrote his secretary, John Hay:

For my part, I consider the central idea pervading this struggle as proving that popular government is not an absurdity. We must settle this question now, whether in a free government the minority have the right to break up the government whenever they choose. If we fail, it will go far to prove the incapability of the people to govern themselves.

Judge Maxwell said that these plain, simple, timeless remarks are as appropriate then as now, as forceful and moving today as they will be tomorrow.

ISRAELI INVOLVEMENT IN LEBANON

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Israeli armed forces have now invaded the territory of neutral Lebanon. The meager news reports play down the invasion of Lebanon as the crisis and tension escalate. Perhaps the feeling is that the supporters of President Nixon's U.S. policy in Cambodia can ill afford to denounce this latest Middle East invasion. Yet one wonders at the silence of those so extremely reactionary to the Cambodian campaign.

For the apologists overlook the action taken by President Nixon's predecessor, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, in sending 5,000 U.S. Marines into Lebanon to protect its ancient and peaceful territorial integrity.

Nor can the Lebanese situation be compared with that in Cambodia; for Cambodia was threatened with complete Communist occupation precipitating a coup. The military action by the United States was taken without opposition by

the Cambodians—in fact, at their invitation.

The Middle East situation truly boils. Does the official policy of the United States in the Middle East under the Nixon administration adhere to the precedent of Ike's Middle East policy—one of strict neutrality except to deter aggression by protecting territorial integrity? To many, U.S. foreign policy appears designed to recruit for the Red bloc.

The United Nations organization—for whatever value it is worth—has again convened. We can probably expect the sixth reprimand from the Red Bloc vote which will deter nothing. Some saber rattling country, which does not own a saber, will again call for a peace keeping force.

The war-weary mothers and fathers of the United States are awaiting one decision. That is the pronouncement of our U.S. position under the latest crisis. They want no U.S. involvement.

I include several news clippings in the Record at this point:

[From the Washington Daily News, May 12, 1970]

MIDDLE EAST CRISIS GOES BEFORE U.N.

The Arabs said 100 Israeli tanks and 2,000 infantrymen struck into Lebanon today in a two-pronged drive against Arab guerrilla bases and that three Arab nations—Jordan, Syria and Iraq—were fighting back in the biggest Mideast battle since the 1967 war.

The UN Security Council was called into urgent sessions today to consider the new crisis in the Middle East. The meeting was requested by Lebanon and Israel.

Planes, tanks, artillery and infantrymen were reported engaged in the Marjayoun area of Lebanon six to seven miles inside the Lebanon frontier and 32 miles southeast of Beirut. Israel said it shot down three Syrian MIG17s in dogfights over the Golan Heights.

There was no immediate reaction from Egypt, but Cairo said its commandos struck across the Suez Canal shortly after midnight and Israel said it hurled them back. King Hussein of Jordan telephoned Lebanese President Charles Helou and offered full support, Beirut dispatches said.

"HEAVY FIGHTING"

Nine hours after the attack began, a Lebanese military spokesman said "heavy fighting is still going on" and that Lebanon had inflicted heavy losses on the Israelis in a counterattack. A spokesman in Beirut said helicopters could be seen removing Israeli wounded.

The Lebanese spokesman said the Israelis were trying to isolate the Al-Arkoub area near Marjayoun and that the Israelis bombed bridges to cut roads and stop reinforcements coming in.

A military spokesman in Damascus said Syrian troops and armor had joined the battle and that its MIGs were battling the Israeli Phantom jets and Skyhawks over the Golan Heights. Syria said one Israeli Phantom was shot down, but Israel said all its planes returned safely.

Military sources in Beirut said the 2,000 men and 100 tanks supported by aircraft and artillery were the highest number of troops used in a single operation since the war. The last similar large scale drive came in March, 1968, against Karameh in the southern Jordan Valley but that involved only Israeli and Jordanian troops.

Both Al-Fatha, the largest Arab guerrilla group, and the Syrian-backed Al-Saiqah, were involved in today's fighting, they said.

Saiqah said its guerrillas knocked out five tanks and Al-Fatah said its men shot down

an Israeli Phantom and destroyed six tanks and four half tracks. The Lebanese army said it destroyed seven tanks and seven half tracks.

Israel said it sent its forces into Lebanon to wipe out guerrilla bases from which Al Fatah and other groups repeatedly hit the border town of Shmona at the northern tip of Israel and just west of the Golan Heights.

Baghdad Radio, in a dramatic announcement to "the Iraqi people and the Arab nation" said Iraqi artillery "went into action against the enemy today to defend the land of Arabism."

Military observers in Beirut said the Iraqi gunners apparently were stationed in north Jordan from where they could shell Israelis in the Golan Heights of Syria or in South Lebanon.

A Syrian military spokesman in Damascus said Syrian tanks and artillery were battling the Israeli raiding force, but the Israeli spokesman made no mention of the raiding troops meeting Syrian opposition on the ground.

The Israeli spokesman said the Israeli attack—the biggest mounted against Lebanon—would continue until sunset.

The report of three Syrian MIGs shot down brought to 112 the number of Arab warplanes Israel says it has downed since the 1967 war, 89 of them Egyptian and 23 Syrian. The last Israeli-Syrian air battle came April 2 when Israel said it shot down three MIG21s and Syria said it shot down an Israeli Phantom jet.

RUSSIA KEEPING HANDS OFF?

LONDON.—The Soviet Union will let Israel and the Arabs fight it out on the Suez canal without intervening—at least for the present—authoritative communist diplomatic sources said today.

But Russia is ready to fight from the ground and with Soviet-piloted MIG jets any Israeli attacks on Egypt's rear area, they said.

The Russians will "hit back" if key Egyptian centers and Soviet installations behind the Suez canal are attacked by Israeli planes, they said.

The sources, usually well informed on Kremlin major policy moves, left little doubt Moscow has taken a firm decision to intervene directly in any clash that could endanger Russian SAM3 ground-to-air missile sites, its new radar installations and MIG planes, as well as such key targets like the Aswan DAM and probably also shipping in the key ports of Port Said and Alexandria where Soviet vessels are crowding the overworked facilities.

Russia cannot allow the Israelis to attack these installations let alone risk the loss of valuable new Soviet air defense equipment, much of it still on the secret list and never before operated abroad, the sources indicated.

[From the Evening Star, May 12, 1970]

ARABS OF THREE NATIONS FIGHT ISRAELI ATTACK

Two spearheads of 100 Israeli tanks and 1,000 infantrymen drove into southern Lebanon to wipe out Arab guerrilla bases and ran into air and tank battles with the Lebanese and Syrian armies, Iraqi artillery opened up on the Israelis from bases in Jordan.

A military spokesman in Tel Aviv said the Israeli air force shot down three Syrian MIG17s. It appeared to be the biggest battle since the 1967 Middle East war and the first time since then that Israel had fought three Arab nations in one area.

Both Israel and Lebanon asked for an urgent meeting of the U.N. Security Council. A session was called in New York this morning.

The Beirut government said its ground gunners shot down one Israeli Phantom fighter-bomber. Israel denied it.

MOUNT HERMON AREA HIT

The Israeli attack hit the Mount Hermon area of southeastern Lebanon near the occupied Golan Heights where the borders of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel converge. It was reported stalled at 1 p.m. after seven hours of heavy fighting.

Baghdad radio, in a dramatic announcement to "The Iraqi people and the Arab nation" said Iraqi artillery "went into action against the enemy today to defend the land of Arabism."

Military observers in Beirut said the Iraqi gunners apparently were stationed in north Jordan from where they could shell Israelis in the Golan Heights of Syria or in south Lebanon.

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"The atmosphere is an atmosphere of war," the speaker of the Lebanese house, Sabri Hamade, said after an emergency cabinet meeting in Lebanon.

A Lebanese communique issued 6½ hours into the battle said five Israeli tanks and seven half-tracks had been destroyed out of the columns that crossed the border from the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights of Syria.

The two spearheads were said to have begun their drives at 5 a.m. and 7:30 a.m. behind heavy Israeli air and artillery strikes.

ADVANCE DECLARED STOPPED

Lebanon said its troops stopped the advance at a cluster of three villages—Arnoun, Al-Hamra and Marjayoun—eight miles inside the border. Israeli planes, it said, were stepping up their attacks to cover the withdrawal of damaged tanks.

No personnel casualties were released. Israel, giving only scanty details, said the twin thrusts came in retaliation for 61 Arab guerrilla attacks from Lebanon against 22 Israeli settlements in the past 40 days.

Military spokesmen in Tel Aviv said the strike, aimed at cleaning out Arab guerrilla bivouacs on the slopes of Mount Hermon, "is going according to plan and should be completed by sunset. The Israeli forces definitely will withdraw today."

Israeli troops passed out leaflets to Lebanese villagers appealing to them to help drive out the guerrillas. The leaflets began with a proverb: "He who sows thorns will not harvest grapes, and he who lights fires may be burned."

PLANES OPEN ATTACK

The Lebanese account said Israeli fighter-bombers and artillery opened the attacks, with the troops and tanks advancing half an hour later.

Lebanon said its men turned back Israeli troops from the village of Al-Khreybeh, three miles inside the border from the Golan Heights, and were fighting to defend defensive positions at nearby Marjayoun.

President Charles Helou of Lebanon called his cabinet into emergency session at 7 a.m., Beirut radio said. His government had been warned to curb Arab guerrilla attacks from Lebanon into Israel or face the consequences.

Guerrilla rockets fired from southern Lebanon had killed three Israelis in the border settlement at Kiriyat Shmona since Wednesday. The Israeli Premier, Golda Meir, spent

part of her Independence Day holiday at the village Sunday vowing the Arab attacks would not go unpunished.

HUNDREDS OF GUERRILLAS

"The area on the southwestern slopes of Mount Hermon east of the Hasbani River has become known as Al Fatah land," an Israeli military spokesman said, referring to the Arab guerrilla group Al Fatah. He said there were hundreds of guerrillas in the area.

Today's raid was Israel's 13th land strike into Lebanon. The biggest until now had been the Dec. 28, 1968, commando raid that destroyed 13 airlines at Beirut International Airport in reprisal for an Arab guerrilla attack on an Israeli airliner at Zurich.

Israeli troops last crossed into Lebanon April 13 when an army unit blew up a house one mile across the border. The last major strike was Dec. 3, 1969, when helicopter-riding Israeli paratroopers attacked guerrilla bases.

THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, an article written by Roscoe and Geoffrey Drummond was published in the Philadelphia Inquirer last week. The article deals with the Middle East situation and draws a parallel with the Cuban missile crisis of the early 1960's.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

MIDEAST SITUATION PARALLELS THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

WASHINGTON.—President Nixon's bold action in Cambodia needs to be followed by bold action in the Mideast—for the same purposes.

What's happening in Indochina is important to the United States.

What's happening in the Middle East is vital to the United States.

We cannot afford to leave the Soviet challenge to the survival of Israel unmet because it would invite massive expansion of Soviet power and risk an unwanted war which could engulf both the U.S. and Russia.

Moscow has to be shown that further Soviet brinkmanship in the Middle East is perilous and cannot be safely employed on the assumption that the United States is in a mood to abandon its responsibility for the peace almost anywhere in the world.

Anticipating that the United States is too divided and distracted to react, here is what Moscow is now doing:

It is taking over the defense of the bulk of Egyptian air space with Soviet arms and Soviet personnel. It is manning the newly installed Soviet SAM sites with Soviet technicians. It is supplying the experts to handle the control towers and deep radar and it is providing Soviet pilots to fly Soviet planes in part to free Egyptian forces to expand their war against Israel.

Its purposes are evident.

It aims to erase totally U.S. influence in the Middle East.

It aims to establish the Soviet Union as the dominating, all-powerful force in the Moslem world.

Its strategic aim is to reopen the Suez Canal so that Soviet ships and arms can move easier and faster to all of Southeast Asia, where its goal is Soviet dominance.

To all of these ends it is apparently willing to go just as far as it can without rousing the United States to any effective counteraction.

The Kremlin is now confronting President Nixon with the equivalent of the Cuban missile crisis with which Khrushchev confronted President Kennedy in 1962. This is Mr. Nixon's Middle Eastern "Cuban Crisis" and it rests on the calculation that he'll blink and look away.

We doubt that he will do so. He gave the reason for not doing so in his address on Cambodia:

"If when the chips are down the U.S. acts like a pitiful, helpless giant, the forces of totalitarianism and anarchy will threaten free nations and free institutions throughout the world."

It is reasonable to expect that the President:

Will warn the Soviets that we do not intend to leave Israel exposed to mounting Russian military power in Egypt.

Will implement that warning by meeting Israel's request to buy U.S. jet fighters to counter the Soviet threat.

The U.S. refrained from providing these planes a few weeks ago, hoping our restraint would be matched by Soviet restraint. It wasn't. The President felt the superior skill of Israeli pilots against superior numbers kept the balance of air power at least equal. Now Moscow is upsetting that balance by manning Soviet planes with skilled Soviet pilots.

Israel is the perfect application of the Nixon Doctrine—that short of combat aid, the U.S. will help others to help themselves. Here is an independent, democratic nation, created by the U.N., determined and able to defend itself if we will supply some of the means. It has never asked for and doesn't want a single foreign soldier to help. It will die before it will give up its life as a nation.

The U.S. will be defending its own survival.

DRUGS ARE NOT FOR JOKING

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Dorothy Patterson, distinguished correspondent, in a recent comprehensive news report entitled, "Drugs Are Not for Joking," that appeared in the April 14, 1970, edition of the Paterson News, Paterson, N.J., brought into sharp focus a nationwide campaign being sponsored and carried out by the Fidellians of America for the express purpose of eliminating the kidding and joking over the airways of the Nation by TV and radio entertainers glamorizing and making light of the severity of the drug crisis facing our Nation.

The report follows:

DRUGS ARE NOT FOR JOKING

J. Monte Moschetto, chairman of the project, says the Fidellians are moving in this area in an attempt to halt the "kidding and joking about drugs" by TV comedians and entertainers, and the popular songs with subliminal inducements to enter the drug scene.

"There's too much kidding and joking about drugs," says Moschetto. He said recent

popular talk shows have been making light of drugs, kidding about "getting high," and one of the major comedians cracked about his mother smoking marijuana.

"They wouldn't joke about cancer," he said, "and narcotics is even more deadly than cancer since it kills not only the user but spreads its evil through every level of society."

The Fidellians, said Moschetto, plan to call on the Service Club Council to schedule a meeting of area service clubs to seek their cooperation in this campaign.

ASK COOPERATION

He said the club is asking those who see and hear comedians making light of drugs, to write letters of protest to the networks and the sponsors of the shows registering their objections.

"We would ask also, that they send a copy of their letters to our club so that we can use them as weighted evidence to induce action by the entire broadcast-television industry."

Moschetto said that some time ago, certain TV underworld dramas pictured all mobsters as Italians, and that this practice was halted in the face of strong protests by Italian-American nationals and groups.

He said the same thing was true of jokes about minority groups, and noted that these are no longer heard.

"If these practices could be halted by mass protest, then there is no reason why we cannot put an end to the current 'drug jokes.'"

Barring voluntary compliance, he said the club will press for legislation to ban drug jokes and drug music from the networks.

He said the U.S. government has stood up against the combined forces of the powerful tobacco industry to ban cigarette commercials next year, "then it can also take the same stand against drugs."

The Fidellians, he explained, are hoping to win the cooperation of all area service clubs to launch a campaign also aimed at presenting the true story of drugs in a series of TV commercials, similar to those now being used against smoking by the Cancer and Heart Associations.

"We will seek the cooperation of every media," he said, "every group and association, including the American Medical Association, the Advertising Council and the press."

He said that many popular recordings carry messages about the pleasures of drug usage, of flying high and taking trips, but say nothing of the "horrors of drug addiction."

"TV is an important media and carries a lot of weight with the kids. If they are constantly bombarded with inducements to try drugs and by comedians who make drug addiction seem something light and laughable, we can expect more of them to become enslaved to this deadly habit," he stated.

Moschetto said the Fidellians will try to promote the cooperation of the television media in presenting the picture of drugs "like it is."

He recommended commercials showing prominent athletes sunk into degradation because of drugs, beautiful girls like the daughter of Art Linkletter and their broken bodies, pre-teen age children caught in the horrors of drug addiction.

"Let's not glorify drugs," he said.

"Let's not joke about it. It may be too late to salvage the youngsters already being destroyed by narcotics but let's do what we can to prevent others from becoming enslaved. The age for drug-addiction is dropping steadily. Now it's the 12-year-olds. Where parents once were thrilled to see their little ones toddle off to kindergarten, soon we will be watching them go off with fear in our hearts, knowing these might be their first steps along the road to narcotics addiction."

The committee leading the campaign to "kill drug jokes before they kill our children," includes:

John Suberati, president, Tom Piccolli,

former Freeholder Sam Bruno, Joseph Leograndie and Bruno Vivino.

Communications addressed to the Fidelitys may be sent to P.O. Box 1369, Fidelitys of America, Paterson, N.J.

PRESERVATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, during his nearly 12 years as U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania, HUGH SCOTT has compiled an impressive record in his fight to preserve the environment. I ask unanimous consent that a summary of Senator Scott's efforts be printed in the RECORD.

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

U.S. SENATOR HUGH SCOTT ON CONSERVATION LEGISLATION 1970

Environmental quality package for the 1970's

Senator Scott introduced the Administration's 7 environmental quality bills in the Senate on February 18. These bills would amend the Clean Air Act to provide national air quality standards, regulate dangerous emissions from stationary sources, and improve controls over motor vehicle emissions. They would establish an Environmental Financing Authority to aid financing of water treatment facilities, authorize the Council on Environmental Quality to make recommendations concerning the reclamation and recycling of solid waste materials and amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to clean up the nation's waterways.

Environmental quality administration act

Senator Scott introduced S. 3388 on February 4. This bill would consolidate Federal programs in the three basic areas of air, water, and solid waste disposal by transferring programs now administered by the Departments of Health, Education and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development and Interior into a new Environmental Quality Administration.

Health hazards of Pollution Act

Senator Scott, on January 25, co-sponsored S. 3316, which would require an immediate in-depth study by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare of the hazards posed by pollution to the Nation's health to determine what immediate steps can be taken to reduce these hazards while longer term programs are being developed.

Resource conservation amendments

Senator Scott, on March 17, co-sponsored S. 3598, which would authorize Federal assistance through the Department of Agriculture for land utilization programs to promote fish, wildlife, and recreation development. The Senate has passed S. 3598 and sent it to the House of Representatives for action.

Federal low emission vehicle procurement act

Senator Scott co-sponsored S. 3261 on March 9. This bill would stimulate the development, production and distribution in interstate commerce of low-emission motor vehicles in order to provide the public with increased protection against the hazards of vehicular exhaust.

Small business environment action

Senator Scott co-sponsored S. 3528 on March 2. This bill would help small business concerns to effect conversions required to meet Federal or State pollution control standards.

Great Lakes Disposal Act

Senator Scott co-sponsored S. 3763 on April 23. This bill prohibits open water disposal of pollution dredge spoil which is destroying the few remaining fresh water fishery sources in the Great Lakes.

(NOTE.—Legislation introduced or co-sponsored by Senator Scott during 1969 which has not been enacted into law will continue to be considered during 1970.)

LEGISLATION, 1969

Susquehanna River Basin Compact

Senator Scott, on February 19, introduced a bill to develop the Susquehanna River Basin. This bill creates a Commission composed of representatives of Pennsylvania, New York, and Maryland plus a direct representative of the President. This Commission would be charged with the responsibility of developing comprehensive water resources programs. These programs would deal with such matters as water supply, water quality management and control, recreation, fish and wildlife protection, and the preservation of scenic sites. Senator Scott has been named as Republican member of a special subcommittee to expedite hearings.

Amendment to Federal Water Pollution Control Act

Senator Scott co-sponsored a bill to provide tough policing and penalty provisions for owners of offshore facilities, vessels, and onshore facilities that discharge oil into navigable waters. The final bill included the Scott Amendment, providing for training of waste treatment plant operators. Enacted into law as P.L. 91-224.

Endangered Species Preservation Act

Senator Scott co-sponsored and testified in support of a bill to protect fish and wildlife in danger of extinction. Enacted into law as P.L. 91-135.

Environmental Quality Improvement Act

Senator Scott co-sponsored S. 2391 on June 12. This bill provides for the more effective coordination of Federal air quality, water quality, and solid waste disposal programs. It would coordinate all Federal research programs which improve knowledge of environmental modifications resulting from increased urban concentration.

Environmental Reclamation Education Act of 1969

Senator Scott co-sponsored S. 3237 on December 11. The bill would authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make grants to conduct special educational programs and activities concerning ecological-environmental education and to establish a National Advisory Commission on Technology and the Environment.

VOTES

Senator Scott voted for a top level Council on Environmental Quality to review national resources and the environment. Conservationist Russell Train has been appointed Chairman of this Council. Enacted into law as P.L. 91-190.

Senator Scott voted for an amendment to the Clean Air Act to extend research activities to curb air pollution from motor vehicles. Enacted into law as P.L. 91-137.

Senator Scott voted for a full \$1 billion appropriation for the Federal Clean Water Program. The final appropriation of \$800 million is almost four times that for 1968 and the \$47.5 million allocated for Pennsylvania should guarantee funds for all 73 pollution-control projects pending in the Commonwealth. Enacted into law as P.L. 91-144.

LEGISLATION, 1968

Potomac National River

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-3157 to establish the Potomac National River Basin. This bill would have increased water pollution control efforts along the length of the river by giving the Department of the Interior greater authority in this area.

VOTES

Senator Scott voted against amendments to the Land Water Conservation Fund Act which would have stripped the program of funds and crippled its effectiveness.

Senator Scott voted to allow farmers an amortized tax deduction for assessments levied by soil and water conservation districts.

LEGISLATION, 1967

National mining and minerals policy

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-522 to establish a national mining and minerals policy. *Land and Water Conservation Act Amendments*

Senator Scott co-sponsored a bill to use fees collected for the use of outdoor recreation facilities in the Land and Water Conservation Fund Program. Enacted into law as P.L. 90-401.

Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-729 to give the Secretary of the Interior the authority to acquire additional land in the Delaware Water Gap area.

Pollution Abatement Incentive Act of 1967

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-734 to allow a tax credit for expenditures incurred in the construction of air and water pollution control facilities.

Great Lakes River Basin Compact

Senator Scott co-sponsored a bill to register the consent of Congress to the Great Lakes Basin Compact. Enacted into law as P.L. 90-419 it established a Great Lakes Commission to study water conservation problems.

National Water Commission Act

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-20 to establish a Commission composed of 7 members to study water pollution problems and coordinate the activities of existing Federal agencies. Enacted into law as P.L. 90-515.

U.S. tidal and Great Lakes shoreline authorization for appraisal

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-1262 authorizing the Army Corps of Engineers to initiate a 3-year appraisal report of our national tidal and Great Lakes shoreline.

National Park Service Natural Science Research Act

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-1684 to establish an office of Natural Science Research in the National Park Service and to create a system of fellowships for the support of research in the natural sciences.

Wild and Scenic Rivers Act

Senator Scott co-sponsored the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act. Enacted into law October 2, 1968. It designates certain rivers as "scenic" rivers. These rivers are to be preserved in their free flowing state. The act also authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to study other rivers with the object of including them in the program at some future date. Pennsylvania rivers designated for this study are the Allegheny, Clarion, Delaware, Youghiogheny, and Pine Creek.

Research in the Great Lakes

Senator Scott introduced S-2344 to provide for research to devise means of control over those species of aquatic life which adversely affect the fish resources and ecological balance of the Great Lakes.

Redwood National Park

Senator Scott co-sponsored a bill to provide for the establishment of the Redwood National Park in California. Enacted into law as P.L. 90-545.

VOTES

Senator Scott voted for increased appropriations for the Interior Department.

Senator Scott voted in favor of the Air Quality Act of 1967.

LEGISLATION, 1966

Water and air pollution—investment credit for private industry

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-2857 to increase the investment credit allowed to private industry for their air and water pollution control expenditures. This bill was designed to encourage private air and water pollution control efforts.

Great Lakes Basin Compact

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-2922 granting the consent of Congress to the Great Lakes Basin Compact.

Amendment to the Water Quality Act of 1965

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-2947 to improve the "Clean Water" program. Enacted into law as P.L. 89-753.

Redwood National Park in California

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-2962 to establish the Redwood National Park.

Independence National Historical Park

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-3095 to authorize the acquisition of property for the Independence National Historical Park.

National Water Commission

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-3107 to provide a comprehensive review of national water resources problems and programs.

Extension of Independence National Historical Park

Senator Scott co-sponsored a bill to extend the Independence National Historical Park.

Mining and Minerals Policy Act of 1966

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-3636 to establish a national mining and minerals policy.

Acquisition of land for the Delaware Gap Recreation Area

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-3717 to provide authority for the acquisition of land in the Delaware Water Gap area.

VOTES

Senator Scott voted for the Wild Rivers Act.

Senator Scott supported passage of the Clean Air Act Amendments.

Senator Scott voted for the Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments and the Clean Rivers Restoration Act of 1966.

LEGISLATION, 1965

Appalachian Region Development Act

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-3 to stimulate the economic development of the Appalachian Region. Enacted into law as P.L. 89-195. Pennsylvania has received \$20 million for land restoration under this act.

Assateague Island National Seashore

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-20 to establish the Assateague Island National Seashore in Maryland and Virginia. Enacted into law.

Tocks Island National Recreation Area

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-36 to establish the Tocks Island National Recreation Area in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Enacted into law as P.L. 89-158.

Appalachian Trail

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-622 to promote Federal, State, local, and private cooperation for the Maintenance and preservation of the scenic Appalachian Trail.

Highways coordinated for protection of fishing, hunting and recreation

Senator Scott introduced S-2074 to establish a procedure for the protection of wildlife and recreation areas threatened by Federal highway construction programs.

Scenic development and road beautification

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-2084 to provide for the scenic development and road beautification of the Federal-aid highway systems. Enacted into law.

Water pollution construction reimbursement

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-2636 to make construction grants available for State and local water pollution control construction. Enacted into law as Public Law 89-753.

VOTES

Senator Scott voted for the Water Quality Act of 1965.

Senator Scott supported passage of the Appalachian Region Development Act of 1965.

Senator Scott supported the passage of S-2084 providing funds for scenic development and beautification of the Federal-aid highway system.

VOTES, 1964

Senator Scott voted in favor of conservation amendments to the Interim Convention on Conservation of North Pacific Fur Seals.

Senator Scott voted for ratification of the International Convention for Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil.

Senator Scott voted for passage of the Appalachian Region Development Act.

LEGISLATION, 1963

Tocks Island national recreation area

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-606 to establish the Tocks Island National Recreation Area.

Prohibit foreign fishing in U.S. waters

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-1988 to prohibit foreign fishing interest from diminishing the supply of fish in U.S. territorial waters.

Johnstown Flood National Monument

Senator Scott introduced S-3305 to establish the Allegheny National Historic Site and the Johnstown Flood National Memorial.

Wildlife agencies consultation

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-2150 to provide for advance consultation with the Fish and Wildlife Service and with State Wildlife agencies before the beginning of any Federal program involving the use of pesticides or other chemicals designed for mass biological control.

VOTES

Senator Scott supported passage of the Wilderness Act of 1963.

Senator Scott voted for the Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments.

LEGISLATION, 1962

Anthracite conservation

Senator Scott introduced a bill to amend the 1955 act and increase the effectiveness of national anthracite coal resources programs.

Tocks Island National Recreation Area

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-3530 to authorize the establishment of the Tocks Island National Recreation Area. The bill was introduced in a subsequent Congress. Enacted into law. 1965.

Susquehanna River Basin

Senator Scott co-sponsored this bill to create a regional intergovernmental compact relating to the Susquehanna River Basin.

LEGISLATION, 1961

National wilderness preservation system

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-174 to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System.

Public hearings on air pollution

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-455 to provide for public hearings on air pollution problems.

Delaware River Basin

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-856 to create a regional inter-governmental compact for the Delaware River Basin.

National fuels study

Senator Scott co-sponsored S. Res. 105 to create a special committee to study the national fuels picture.

Water resources planning

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-1629 to provide financial assistance to the States for comprehensive water resources planning.

VOTES

Senator Scott voted for ratification of the Columbia River Basin Treaty.

Senator Scott voted to ratify the International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil.

Senator Scott supported passage of a bill authorizing the purchase of wetlands for the conservation of migratory birds.

Senator Scott voted in favor of S-174 which established a National Wilderness Preservation System.

LEGISLATION, 1960

Air pollution

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-3108 to provide for public hearings on air pollution problems of more than local significance, and to extend the duration of the Federal Air Pollution Control Law.

Fort Necessity battlefield site

Senator Scott introduced S-3438 to provide additional land for the battlefield site.

VOTES

Senator Scott voted to increase Interior Department appropriations and provide more funds for the improvement of wildlife preservation and public recreation facilities.

LEGISLATION, 1959

Great Lakes Basin Compact

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-548 to grant the consent of Congress to the Great Lakes River Basin Compact.

Study of strip mining in the United States

Senator Scott introduced S-1097 to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to study strip mining operations and report his findings to Congress.

Marine sciences

Senator Scott co-sponsored S-2692 to provide a 10 year program of research and construction designed to advance the marine sciences.

MORE ON BEEF IMPORTS

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, last month, New York Mayor John V. Lindsay took what I thought was a rather bizarre step. He contacted the New York congressional delegation and suggested, in effect, that consumer welfare would be advanced by increasing beef imports and allowing vast quantities of cheap foreign beef to glut the domestic markets.

I was stunned to say the least that the mayor, who is obviously unable to govern the largest city in the Nation effectively, would turn his attention away from pressing problems of New York and attempt to establish himself as a self-styled expert on the beef-import issue.

After informing myself as to his position on beef imports, however, all I can say is I fervently hope Mr. Lindsay is more informed on New York problems than he is on beef-import problems. For,

if the basis upon which he discharges his obligations as mayor are no more firm than the basis upon which he makes his case for increasing beef imports, then I can well understand why the problems of New York City have reached such crisis proportions.

My strong feelings on this matter are shared by the American National Cattlemen's Association, whose very able president, William D. Farr, personally communicated with Mayor Lindsay, and attempted to apprise him of the true picture of the domestic situation with respect to beef production, pricing, and consumption.

Mr. Speaker, I would like at this time to place the text of Mr. Farr's letter in the RECORD. I consider it must reading for those who desire to increase their knowledge and understanding of this important matter. In addition, I am accompanying Mr. Farr's letter with a table of livestock and meat statistics drawn from the 16th biennial edition of Business Statistics. These figures clearly indicate that there is no shortage of domestically produced beef in this country, and that the per capita consumption of beef is at record levels.

The letter follows:

AMERICAN NATIONAL
CATTLEMEN'S ASSOCIATION,
Denver, Colo., April 24, 1970.

HON. JOHN LINDSAY,
Mayor of New York City,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: It is unbelievable that you, holding a respected and high office, would write a letter full of erroneous information such as contained in your April 19, 1970 communication directed to the New York City congressional delegation. It also is unbelievable that you should attack the largest segment of American agriculture, representing approximately 25 percent of the sales of all agricultural products, which has operated free of government subsidies, therefore never being a drag on the nation's taxpayers.

Whoever supplied your Commission on Inflation and Economic Welfare with statistical information did not have the right facts. For example, you state "... in 1964, the only year in the last eight in which domestic production rose more rapidly than domestic consumption." I call your attention to a table attached to this letter ... dating back to 1940 ... illustrating beef cow population, commercial beef production, and beef per capita consumption.

Note particularly the column on beef per capita consumption. In 1964, the year you cite, consumption was 100.1 pounds. It dropped one-half pound in 1965 and has

steadily shown an increase since that time. Also please refer to the annual increase in commercial beef production. This shows a steady increase in every year since 1951!

These figures factually prove beef production has risen at a more rapid rate than human population and this is why there has been a continual rise in per capita consumption.

You also cite the American National Cattlemen's Association as being "arrogant." Obviously, the quote attributed to our organization, when appearing before a subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee, was taken out of context. Our testimony made very clear the beef cattle industry since 1951 generally has not been making a net profit. Inasmuch as we operate in the free-market system, free of price support programs, we must rely solely on supply and demand to establish our price. Since this is the case, our recommendation to the cattlemen of the nation ... millions of them ... was to voluntarily cut back on beef tonnage ... not numbers ... thereby accomplishing two things: 1) Balancing supply with demand, just as any other soundly run business would do; and 2) cutting down on the over-finishing of cattle which would provide the consumer with a more desirable product as it would be more lean and have less waste fat. How can anyone find fault with those recommendations?

Your statement with respect to the relative cost of porterhouse steak and hamburger is "hyperbole" and nothing more. Please refer to the April 4, 1970 Wall Street Journal where a story appeared with respect to retailing. Quoting from the story, a retailer made the following statement: "There is more profit in hamburger than sirloin steak." Has it occurred to you that you are blaming the wrong industry when your April 19 letter said: "... inflated profits for the nation's ranchers exacted at the expense of the nation's consumers"?

The average return on investment for the nation's basic beef cattle producers is somewhere around 1.5 percent annually. Do you consider this an "inflated profit"? I ask you to look only around the City of New York where you will find almost every business expecting and insisting upon a return on investment far in excess of 1.5 percent.

The retail price of beef has increased far less than the cost of other consumer services or goods. From U.S. Department of Commerce and U.S. Department of Agriculture figures, using 1957-1959 as a base of 100 percent, in 1969 public transportation was 148.9 percent; medical care—155 percent; reading and recreation—135.5 percent, while retail beef prices were 124.4 percent. This was in 1969! And, I strongly suspect that with the transportation difficulties you have experienced in New York City your public cost of transportation is far in excess of the 148.9 figure now. Meanwhile, beef prices are un-

questionably lower nationally today than the average for 1969.

You should also be aware of a serious consequence contained in your letter which could be the basis of a critical crippling of the food supply of the United States in the future should the intent, at least as you implied, be carried out. You said: "We will establish better trading relations with our allies in Australia, New Zealand, and Ireland, and we will bring about the streamlining of the domestic meat industry through the elimination of non-competitive fringe producers ..."

The only assumption from the above is that you favor the elimination of "smaller" beef cattle producers, many of whom are of the family-type. It occurs to me that if this were the case you merely are asking for a compounding of the problems currently existing in the metropolitan areas of the U.S., including New York City, where the mass immigration of rural people who have been put out of business has been causing many of these city's financial problems. It is better for these smaller operators to continue to operate without the unfair competition created by excessive beef imports, and thus automatically eliminate many of the city problems, by allowing them to remain on the farm or ranch.

Finally, I want you to be perfectly aware of the facts as to the consist or "mix" of the beef being shipped into the United States. You have been led to believe that the beef arriving here is of so-called manufacturing quality. I am sure you will find that the importers are bringing in cuts of beef which do not find their way into hamburger or frankfurters. This compounds the problem of hamburger and frankfurter prices, as you cite. Due to the importer's own selfishness, they are handling as much as 40 percent of the beef imports in the form of cuts because they can obtain much wider margins and profits on this type of product. If this problem alone were eliminated, you would find hamburger prices should respond accordingly.

Because of your high office and responsibility to the public, we implore you to look at the facts before permitting your name to be placed on a letter that is extremely damaging and not factual. The long range implications are great. The U.S. domestic beef cattle industry is pledged to producing supplies of the finest quality, most wholesome beef available anywhere in the world at reasonable prices. There is only one critical factor ... the economic incentive which made America so great ... is the basis of our industry. If unlimited beef imports are permitted, the economic and psychological incentives to produce beef cattle are destroyed. Because of this, in the long run, it will be the U.S. consumer who will suffer the consequences of unrestricted imports.

Sincerely,

W. D. FARR, President.

Year	Total beef cows		Annual change in commercial beef production ¹	Percent of change ²		Total beef per capita consumption ³	Percent of change ⁴		U.S. population ⁵	Percent of change ⁶	
	2 years and older ¹	Percent of change ²		Percent of change ²	Percent of change ²		Percent of change ²	Percent of change ²		Percent of change ²	Percent of change ²
1940	10,676	+6.9	6,948	+2.4	54.9	+4	132,594	+1.2	156,000	+1.8	+1.8
1941	11,366	+6.5	7,858	+13.0	60.9	+11.0	133,894	+1.0	157,194	+1.8	+1.8
1942	12,578	+10.7	8,592	+9.3	61.2	+5	135,361	+1.1	174,882	+1.7	+1.7
1943	13,980	+11.2	8,306	-3.3	53.3	+13.0	137,250	+1.4	177,830	+1.7	+1.7
1944	15,521	+10.2	8,801	+6.0	55.6	+4.3	138,916	+1.2	180,684	+1.6	+1.6
1945	16,456	+6.0	9,936	+12.9	59.4	+6.9	140,468	+1.1	183,756	+1.7	+1.7
1946	16,408	-3	9,010	-9.3	61.6	+3.7	141,936	+1.1	186,556	+1.6	+1.6
1947	16,488	+5	10,096	+12.0	69.6	+13.0	144,698	+1.9	189,417	+1.5	+1.5
1948	16,010	-3	8,766	-13.2	63.1	-9.3	147,208	-1.7	192,120	+1.4	+1.4
1949	15,919	-6	9,142	+4.3	63.9	+1.3	149,767	+1.7	194,590	+1.3	+1.3
1950	16,743	+5.2	9,248	+1.2	63.4	-8	152,271	+1.7	196,920	+1.2	+1.2
1951	18,526	+10.6	8,549	-7.6	56.1	-11.5	154,878	-1.7	199,100	+1.1	+1.1
1952	20,863	+12.6	9,337	+9.2	62.2	+10.9	157,553	+1.7	201,100	+1.0	+1.0
1953	23,291	+11.6	12,055	+29.1	77.6	+24.8	160,184	+1.7	203,200	+1.0	+1.0
1954	25,050	+7.6	12,601	+4.5	80.1	+3.2	163,026	+1.8			
1955	25,659	+2.4	13,213	+4.9	82.0	+2.4	165,931	+9.8			
1956	25,371	-1.1	14,090	+6.6	85.4	+4.1	168,903	+1.8			
1957	24,534	-3.3	13,852	-1.7	84.6	-9	171,984	+1.8			
1958	24,165	-1.5	12,983	-6.3	80.5	-4.8	174,882	+1.7			
1959	25,112	+3.9	13,233	+1.9	81.4	+1.1	177,830	+1.7			
1960	26,344	+5.0	14,374	+8.6	85.2	+4.7	180,684	+1.6			
1961	27,102	+2.8	14,930	+3.9	88.0	+3.3	183,756	+1.7			
1962	28,305	+4.4	14,931	+1	89.1	+1.3	186,556	+1.6			
1963	29,960	+5.9	16,049	+7.5	94.6	+6.2	189,417	+1.5			
1964	32,794	+9.5	18,037	+12.4	100.1	+5.8	192,120	+1.4			
1965	34,238	+4.4	18,325	+1.6	99.6	-8	194,590	+1.3			
1966	34,433	+6	19,493	+6.4	104.2	+4.2	196,920	+1.2			
1967	34,685	+7	19,991	+2.6	106.3	+2.0	199,100	+1.1			
1968	35,300	+2.1	20,662	+3.4	109.0	+2.5	201,100	+1.0			
1969	36,227	+2.3	20,953	+1.4	110.0	+1.0	203,200	+1.0			
1970	37,433	+3.2									

¹ Livestock and Meat Statistics, 1962, table 7.
² Livestock and Meat Statistics, 1962, table 113.

³ Livestock and Meat Statistics, 1962, table 209.
⁴ Business Statistics, 16 biennial edition, 1967, p. 65.

LEGAL OPPRESSION IN THE
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, the Government of South Africa's policy of apartheid is one of the most demeaning forms of domination in the world. It builds the prosperity of the South African white minority while it continuously oppresses the black majority in South Africa.

Like most states in the world, the Republic of South Africa is a country governed by laws. However the laws of South Africa are unique. These laws have caused concern throughout the world and have been formally denounced by the United Nations. South Africa is a country composed of approximately 3½ million whites to about 15 million blacks. Yet the laws of the Republic are laws created by the white man, enacted by the white man, and utilized by the white man for the benefit of the white man alone. The laws in South Africa are in effect and in reality instruments of inequity and oppression.

On April 20, 1970, Mr. Joel Carlson, a South African attorney, delivered an address at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, entitled "Arbitrary Detention and Its Implications." I include this address in the RECORD to emphasize to the American people the virus of racialism officially and formally manufactured by the authorities in South Africa:

ARBITRARY DETENTION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS
(By Joel Carlson)

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow students and informers—the paid professionals, the part-timers and those who act in a fit of pique and run to the police with these stories.

Firstly, let me say how honoured I am to be asked by the Students' Representative Council of this University to speak to you today. So in this small way, I am associated with the many great thinkers, leaders and fighters this University has produced. I mention only a few: Hofmeyer, Schreiner, Mandela, Sobukwe and Macrone. I am proud to be part of this great University which itself has struggled against great odds to fight for and keep what little freedom remains. The people of this University have remained alert, alive and active especially since 11 years ago the right of academic freedom was lost. The University never failed to protest against the actions taken against it. Its courage and persistence and its voice of protest, heard clearly and loudly in the University and far beyond, gives hope to all the people in South Africa that the struggle for a freer society is not yet lost: a society where people will be free to learn what they want to learn in pursuit of the truth, free to move about without restriction, and be free of fear of arbitrary police action, and even free one day to enjoy all the fundamental freedoms outlined in the Declaration of Human Rights.

When I was a student here, about a quarter of a century ago, I was taught that a fundamental understanding of South African affairs could only be gained by studying Black/White relations. This, of course, was true and is still true today.

But as a student I spent most of my time out of classrooms, happily and leisurely mix-

ing with all the people who were then allowed to come to this University and we relaxed as friends and talked and thought and acted together as equals.

Then I joined the Government Service and worked in those Courts concerned solely with applying the laws affecting Africans. We worked six days a week and for the first time the reality of Black/White relations shocked me into a realisation of the truth. I did not read books and listen to words. I saw people—grandfathers and grandmothers, husbands and wives, young men and women and some children, mothers carrying babies on their backs feeding them and struggling to keep them clean in custody without nappies and with primitive toilet facilities. These were not superfluous appendages, or labour units, whether productive or unproductive but human beings imprisoned, punished and suffering as the laws of the country, THE PASS LAWS, were enforced.

The PASS LAWS are the greatest single cause of disruption of race relations in our society creating more hatred and fear, sowing more suspicion and causing more insecurity than any other single cause of injustice in South Africa. The PASS LAWS are a cancerous growth, causing the depersonalisation of human beings, and degrading not only the persons suffering under them, but also those enforcing them.

It is because of these laws that we are able to pass and enforce all the other unjust laws; laws which we would not pass in Parliament or apply in practice if we considered the voteless, voiceless persons to whom they apply as human beings. The laws do not apply "to us", they only apply "to them".

How false is the cry of complaint now heard from those politicians who in Parliament voted to give the Security Police the extraordinary powers they exercise. These people did not complain when these laws were applied to "others". Now that these arbitrary laws are applied to themselves, they squeal in dismay. These are stupid men who do not appreciate that laws conferring arbitrary powers on the executive are arbitrarily applied by those in power. They are ignorant of the age old concepts learnt and stated long ago. Aristotle said: "The Rule of Law is preferable to that of any individual . . . He who bids the law rule may be deemed to bid God and reason alone rule, but he who bids a man rule adds an element of the beast; for desire is as a wild beast and passion perverts the minds of rulers, even when they are the best of men. The law is reason unaffected by desire". (Politics, III, 16)

This year, 1970, marks a hundred years of the application of the Pass Laws. They were first applied in the Transvaal Republic in 1870. How false were the promises made when the laws were introduced. It was said they were "for the protection of the Natives" entitling Natives to the "full protection of the law" and guaranteeing travel freely throughout the Republic, and being no more than an identification certificate. (Article 12) In 1918 after 48 years of their application, Dr. D. F. Malan said: "I hope that more Natives become better educated . . . more civilised . . . so that it may be possible to remove the Pass Laws". He also promised to grant more and more exemptions. In 1942 Colonel Reitz, the Minister of Native Affairs, was suddenly appalled when he learnt that the previous year nearly 300,000 Africans had suffered under these laws. He said in Parliament: "I hope the conscience of the White man in South Africa will be awakened because this is an appalling indictment of our handling of the Native problem". He told the Senate he would recommend their abolition. Every Commission sitting from 1905 to 1948, recommended in strongly worded language their abolition but what happened? Some years back, only 750 people were arrested every day seven days a week—then the figure doubled; and a few years back it was only

1,500 people a day. Today, we are not sure of the figure but it is at least 2,500 people arrested every day. A parliamentarian in Parliament last year commented on the number of Africans arrested for pass offences and said that it had reached an appalling level, causing grievous human suffering—a heavy price to pay in pursuit of the unrealistic aim of apartheid. He quoted alleged contraventions of pass laws in 1967/68 as being 1,777,662. (R.D.M. 20/4/69—Mr. M. Mitchell) The average time for a case heard by a Court is 2 minutes and this has been demonstrated time and again.

From PASS LAWS to arbitrary arrest and detention without trial, to practising sensory deprivation on persons held indefinitely in solitary confinement is but a stone's throw. The stones were thrown at Sharpeville ten years ago. Instead of a ripple on the water, the reaction was dramatic and violent. In a society practising racial discrimination as a way of life and a philosophy, and enforcing it in its law, the fear that one race might overtake the other controls the actions of the men in power who feel perpetually threatened. After Sharpeville the reaction was to deal with a violence threatened, by enacting even more violent laws.

Learning of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 the Johannesburg Bar Council protested "at those provisions which in its view have as their consequence the virtual abrogation of the Rule of Law in South Africa". Assault upon assault on the Rule of Law was then made culminating in the Terrorism Act of 1967 and the Boss Act of 1969 (now under investigation).

The Bar of the City of New York, representing professional men in the greatest metropolitan complex in the world, saw fit to pass a Resolution condemning the Terrorism Act and the first trial under it.

"Resolved, that The Association of the Bar of the City of New York hereby records its deep concern and its protest over the actions of the Republic of South Africa in applying its own law and judicial process extraterritorially to inhabitants of South West Africa by prosecuting thirty-seven South West Africans under South Africa's Terrorism Act of 1967, in that:

1. The Terrorism Act of 1967 offends basic concepts of justice, due process, and the rule of law accepted by civilized nations and violates the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. . . ."

It then goes on to itemize specific reasons for its objections to the Act and its application and finally resolved to call upon South African jurists to join the New York Association and all others concerned with the Rule of Law to speak out and protest.

Abhorrent features of the laws passed by Parliament and eroding the Rule of Law in South Africa have justified jurists here and everywhere in the world in claiming that in South Africa there has been virtual abrogation of the Rule of Law. The significant parts of our law on which such a claim can be based are these:

1. *Retrospective effect of legislation:* This means that crimes which were not crimes yesterday and acts which were lawful when they were committed and were therefore entitled to be committed are made crimes today and for this crime you may be hanged—The Terrorism Act. Similar provisions exist in the Suppression of Communism Act and General Law Amendment Act (sec. 23, Act 62 of 1966).

2. *The wide definition of offenses:* Certain statutes provide such wide definitions that they virtually enable the executive authority or the security police to act at their discretion and at their convenience. The Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Gardener, said of the definition of "Communism": "If you were a Communist 40 years ago, you are a Communist today . . . Whether you are a Communist or not, you are a Communist if the State says so."

The *Criminal Law Amendment Act*, No. 8 of 1953, which provides penalties of three years and whipping for any offence (no matter how minor) "committed by way of protest or in support of any campaign . . . for the repeal or modification of any law".

The *Sabotage Act*, No. 76 of 1962 (sec. 21(1) and (2)) states it is an offence punishable by hanging in contravention of "any law to enter upon any land or building to further or encourage the achievement of any political aim, including the bringing about of any social or economic change in the Republic".

The *Terrorism Act*, No. 83 of 1967, which provides definitions of terrorism so wide that they go far beyond what the Common Law considers as treason. It punishes by death an act which had or is likely to have had the result of embarrassing "the administration of the affairs of the State" or furthering or encouraging "the achievement of any political aim, including the bringing about of any social or economic change . . . in co-operation with or with the assistance of any foreign or international body or institution". The minimum punishment is five years imprisonment.

3. *Shifting the burden of proof*: The Criminal Law Amendment Act No. 8 of 1953 says simply: "An offence is presumed to have been committed as alleged if an accused acted at the same time and place and in company with two or more persons similarly charged". (Such as a protest) The punishment under this Act is five years and whipping. Numerous Acts such as the Sabotage Act and the Terrorism Act have shifted the burden of proof to make the accused guilty until he is proved innocent.

A renowned South African jurist summarised the position by saying:

"The onus is virtually on the accused to prove his innocence beyond a reasonable doubt."

(Arthur Suzman, South Africa and the Rule of Law, S.A.L.J. II, August, 1968)

4. *Double jeopardy*: After having been acquitted of the charges brought against you, sec. 5(h) of the Terrorism Act provides that you can be re-arrested and charged again. Also sec. 21(4)(g) of the General Law Amendment Act of 1962. Therefore, if an accused is found not guilty and is acquitted, that is not the end of the matter. This, of course, happened more recently when 22 accused held in detention without trial for 5½ months were brought to trial and were acquitted on 16th February, 1970 and immediately rearrested in Court and detained under the Terrorism Act. Their future is not known and the Attorney-General admits to having no information about the matter. We do not know what will happen to them.

Having the privilege of a trial and being convicted and serving a sentence is not an end of the matter. You can still be arbitrarily further punished without any trial by being banned or banished, or house arrested or held in detention.

5. *Place of trial*: Although it is normal to try accused persons at the place where the crime was committed, a number of our laws provide that you may be tried anywhere, even if it's 2,000 miles away from the place of the crime or the place from which you come where your relatives and friends are where your possible witnesses may be.

6. *Detention and imprisonment for police interrogation*: Proclamation 400 in the Transkei was imposed in 1960 during the emergency. It has remained a permanent part of the law of the Transkei; it provides for indefinite detention without trial.

The 90-day clause provided for arrest and detention to question a detainee until he gives satisfactory answers to his police questions. This was followed by the 180-day clause when the 90-day clause was suspended.

The Terrorism Act, sec. 6, provides for in-

definite detention without trial. A man or woman may be detained indefinitely, held incommunicado, kept in solitary confinement and given no access to anyone but his interrogators. No Court can question the validity of any action taken, no wife, no lawyer, no Minister of Religion has any access to a detainee, but "if circumstances permit, he may be visited by a Magistrate once a fortnight".

"A person under this Act may thus simply vanish and no one be accorded any information as to his fate or whereabouts". (A. Suzman)

In the inquest proceedings held into the death of the detainee detained on 5th March, 1969, the lawyers for the widow called the widow to give evidence in Court. This is how the Record reads:

"Court: Is she the widow of the deceased?"

"Yes."

"Court: Is there anything special in her heart she wants to tell the Court."

"Yes. My husband was arrested. After his arrest I received a message that he was dead. He was arrested on the 5th March—in the middle of the night. We were already asleep. My husband slept with me in the same room on one bed. I heard a knock on the window as well as on the door. I woke my husband. My husband got up and went to the door of the room to open the door. I grabbed him and held him—I told him he must not open the door before he heard who was knocking on it. I then went to a window and drew the curtain—I saw a White man standing. A short thick set man. I asked 'Who is it?' He replied: 'It's the police'. My husband opened the door and I stood behind him and I heard the voice of a man outside the door—I saw two hands appear and they grabbed my husband and the hands pulled him outside. Then I screamed—"

The widow then described in detail what went on during that short time she and her husband got dressed. Then the Record reads:

"Court: Did they then take her husband away?"

"My husband went to put on his shoes in the bedroom and they went with him."

"Court: Is that all she wants to tell the Court?"

I am not finished yet. I again went to stand by the window and looked outside. I saw three motor vehicles. There were two private cars and a pick-up van. The pick-up van was in the front and the two motor cars behind it. My husband climbed into the middle car. They closed the door. All the vehicles rode off. —"

Then the widow told the Court how first some six or seven days later the police came to look for her husband's pass and to ask her for her husband's belt. She went on to say:

"On Thursday I went to town. When I returned from town the neighbors told me that the police had been and that my husband was dead. As a result of this news, I was shocked and felt faint". (p. 287 onwards—Inquest James Lenkoe)

Time does not permit me to tell you more of this tragic and significant matter.

Prof. Arthur Larson of Duke University, a man who was one of Eisenhower's personal advisers, and who attended as observer at the terrorism trial in Pretoria for the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council of Churches, told the American Bar Association at Philadelphia in 1968:

"If you pass a statute which gives the police and the executive authorities free rein to do almost anything they please in the way of violation of human rights, and then excuse this by saying that you will of course rely on the discretion of the authorities not to abuse this power, you have for all practical purposes thrown away law and substituted unlimited personal tyranny."

Another famous American jurist and Judge of the Supreme Court, Mr. Justice Frank-

furter, observed in a famous American case (McNabb v. United States (318 U.S. 332 at 347 (1943))):

"The history of liberty has largely been the history of observance of procedural safeguards".

What does our law provide as safeguards of personal liberty? Has law been discarded and have we substituted unlimited personal tyranny? Again, we can examine the record of the inquest proceedings of the first detainee "who hanged himself". The record shows that he was arrested in Cape Town on 20th August, 1963. Evidence was given that he was found hanging in his prison cell in Pretoria on the night of September 4th/5th, 1963. According to the record, he was detained in solitary confinement in a cell 12' by 12' and in the cell there was a coco mat, about 1" thick, on which he slept on the cement floor (pages 94/5-103). There was no stool and no table in the cell. He was given nothing to read and no writing material and he spent 23 or 23½ hours a day alone in his cell doing nothing (Page 171/2). His food was milled pap and meat (Page 175) (in this respect he was privileged as other prisoners did not receive meat (Page 172)). Another detainee alleged in the same proceedings that he only received bread and water (Pages 180/2).

This detainee "who hanged himself", the police said, was a key figure, a leader. He had been questioned many times but refused to answer questions or give information. The evidence given by his interrogators was that suddenly on the afternoon of the 4th September he changed his mind and agreed to give a statement. The interrogators said: "Suddenly the man became a coward" (Page 75). The experience of these interrogators was, they said, that there was a sudden change and a brave man would become a coward. (Page 75 of the Record).

What is the effect of this detention and interrogation on people? This question was put to the Major in charge of the detainees being interrogated at Pretoria (at Page 163 of the Record): "Q. Would you agree with this then? . . . all the evidence indicates that a person during his period of solitary confinement should not be considered to be normal. A. I cannot deny it".

A study of the effects of solitary confinement was made, particularly by American psychologists and psychiatrists arising out of the treatment of American prisoners in Korea.

It was found, and this is still true today, that individuals who spend even a short time in solitary confinement, even a few days, can suffer various bizarre experiences, distortion of motivation and affect a change in intellectual ability, and distorted social relationships.

"Sufficiently prolonged isolation from society or deprivation of sensory stimuli can produce mental abnormalities in the form of hallucinations, anxiety states, depression and paranoid symptoms. Conditions likely to induce these phenomena occur . . . in prisoners kept in solitary confinement. . . ." (Ziskind 1958).

Confinement alone without any form of physical assault or torture, is an extremely severe form of treatment. It can be expected to produce dramatic changes. The type of change has been examined carefully and can actually be scheduled.

Initially on arrest, there is fear and uncertainty. After one to three days in detention, there is bewilderment and discouragement followed by over-alertness, expectancy, rejection of food and attempts at fraternisation. From between three and ten days there is anxiety, sleeplessness, compliance, increasing loneliness, boredom, fatigue and weight loss. From ten days to three weeks, there is increasing dejection, repetitive acts, intense fatigue, constipation, craving for companionship, humiliation and loss of all self-

respect. From three to six weeks, there is despair, inactivity, filth, soiling, mental dulling, loss of discrimination, muttering, weeping, need for companionship and the detainee is highly suggestible and easily grasps at any help. The American authors (Hinkle and Wilf, 1957) maintain that a typical subject would require twelve weeks (nearly 90 days) from time of first incarceration to final "confession". The distinction between truth and fiction cannot be demarcated. They said that skillful interrogators utilize the prisoner's need to talk and craving for human association by discussing with him apparently innocent details of his past life. This cements a bond of companionship between the two that can be one of the most effective tools of the interrogator.

On reading the record of the inquest where the interrogators were questioned on their method of interrogation, it is clear that these skills were effectively used by the interrogators on the detainees. The Chief Interrogation Officer of South Africa, Rhodesia and South West Africa, said during an interview with the Star—1969, "In many ways our methods are the same as the Communists, psychologically speaking, but for a different reason". The detainee is left to suffer the effects of his isolation and then is questioned time and again (at Page 149 of the record). At the inquest the following question was put to the chief interrogating officer:

"What do you think he would have been brought up for on so many occasions?"

A. "For questioning".

Q. "To try and get him to talk?"

A. "Well, that's the reason why he was questioned..."

Q. "If a detainee, this man or any other on being interrogated after he has been detained, says 'I am not under any circumstances prepared to give you any information whatsoever' do you leave him alone or do you take further steps?"

A. "Well, he's got to be asked again."

Q. "And again?"

A. "Yes".

Q. "And again?"

A. "Yes".

Q. "And again?"

A. "Yes".

Q. "And again?"

A. "Yes".

Q. "I see. The idea being to wear him down I suppose?"

A. "I make no comment".

Q. "Well what is the idea, you give me your comment?"

A. "Well, he is there to give information, that's why he is detained".

Q. "But he's already told you two or three times he won't talk?"

A. "Then he'll eventually let go".

Q. "But the idea is to keep on questioning him is to see whether he will change his mind?"

A. "Yes".

And at Page 152 of that record this was said:

"You see, we are concerned in these proceedings with finding out what motivated the deceased in committing suicide, if he did commit suicide, and that is why I'm asking you these questions".

At Page 154/5, the following is said:

"Well then supposing you had a case of a suspect who was detained because you, the Police, genuinely believed that he could give certain information, and if in fact your belief 'was wrong and this man couldn't give information, would you keep on questioning him over and over again?"

A. "I would question him, yes".

Q. "You would, over and over again?"

A. "Yes".

Q. "That would be a dreadful thing to happen to a man wouldn't it, if in fact you were wrong?"

A. "Yes".

Q. "It would be. And all that that man would be able to see as far as his future is concerned would be an endless vista of imprisonment coupled with repeated questioning?"

A. "Yes".

It was submitted in that case that not only was there sensory deprivation but that there was evidence that the detainees were tortured, that they were stripped, made to do unusual exercises, blindfolded, electrically shocked and otherwise assaulted. It was said that there were 20 such witnesses who could be brought to Court to testify to such tortures. One witness was called and his evidence was recorded. Objection was then taken as to whether such evidence was relevant in investigating the cause of death of the detainee. At Page 291 the learned presiding officer said:

"At the last hearing Counsel intimated that he intended calling a number of witnesses, 90-day detainees, to testify that they were, putting it mildly, ill-treated by the Police; he intends asking the Court to come to the conclusion, as an irresistible inference, from that evidence, that the deceased committed suicide as a result of such treatment..."

He went on to say:

"The question of relevancy of this evidence arises. We are not sitting here as a tribunal, investigating the general circumstances of detention of 90-day detainees—that is common cause".

And concluded:

"In the circumstances the evidence it is intended to call is not considered relevant. Counsel's request cannot be granted".

It was said that the inquest was not a trial but an enquiry under a specific Act for a specific purpose. However, before the evidence was ruled irrelevant, not only did one detainee give evidence under oath about this torture, but Counsel advised the Court and read into the record a summary of the evidence that would have been given had the Court permitted the witnesses to be called. The witnesses were ready and able to give such evidence and endure cross-examination.

That was the position in 1963. Has the position changed? On the 15th December 1969, a State witness was called to give evidence in the Supreme Court in Pretoria. She refused but said this to the Court under oath:

"I have been in solitary confinement for the past six months. . . . I have slept on the floor. . . . Although we should have half an hour's exercise every day, there were many times when we had no exercise at all. . . ."

Q. "Could you tell his Lordship briefly under what circumstances you came to make the statement?"

A. "I was interrogated, I was forced to make certain admissions because I couldn't stand the strain of standing on my feet for hours and hours."

Q. "Can you estimate for His Lordship the approximate period that you were made to stand?"

A. "I lost track of time completely. It is difficult to say. My mind went completely blank at times. . . . And as a result. . . ."

Q. "Yes?"

A. "Also I was threatened with detention of my whole family."

Q. "Now, as a result of the prolonged period of standing, can you describe the particular events that took place and that affected you, to his Lordship?"

A. "My mind went completely blank and I went to sleep standing and I had a sort of a dream in which I was actually speaking to the officers who were interrogating me, in my sleep, and afterwards when I had sort of regained my senses, I was interrogated on this dream I had which was complete nonsense. It had absolutely nothing to do with any. . . ." (Court intervenes.)

By the court:

"I am afraid I am not with you at the moment. You fell asleep standing and you had a dream?"

A. "My mind went blank, I had a sort of a dream."

Q. "You dreamt?"

A. "Yes, and in this dream I was speaking to the officer who was interrogating me."

Q. "Yes, and then?"

A. "And when I regained my senses I was interrogated on this dream."

Q. "Can you tell his Lordship if it is at all possible, by way of estimate or otherwise, how long this interrogation?"

Q. "The interrogation went on for five days without any sleep."

(Page 351 onwards of Record in State v. Ndou).

Where people simply vanish—where there is a virtual abrogation of the Rule of Law—inevitably, there is abuse and tyranny. In circumstances where the laws give such extraordinary powers to the police and the executive authorities and they can do almost anything, then indeed there is grave concern and good reason for alarm, when no less than 14 people have died while being detained without trial.

Seven of these, according to the findings of Inquest Courts, were suicidal deaths. One detainee jumped from a 7th floor window of a room where he was being interrogated. Magistrates have on occasion expressed doubts on the cause of death. In some cases, the deaths are recorded as "due to natural causes"—these have included detainees who have died as a result of "falling in the shower", "falling down stairs", "slipping on a piece of soap". The records of all these deaths speak for themselves. Except in one case where the record merely reads:

"An unknown man died on an unknown date of cause unknown".

His death was disclosed without detail in Parliament.

Although solitary confinement is itself a punishment, again and again allegations have been made in Court that detainees have been tortured after their arrest and during their interrogation by the Security Police. Only a few cases are referred to here:

1. In the *State v. Tshadeleni*, at Pages 599/600, such an allegation was made by Counsel but as it was not strictly relevant to the issues before the Court, no enquiry was made into the allegation.

2. A 68-year-old grandfather, *Gabriel Mbindi*, was detained in May, 1967. In December 1967, it was alleged in Court proceedings by numerous of the detainees who had come from South West Africa, that they had been cruelly and brutally assaulted, suspended from a height and electrically shocked by members of the Security Police and they said that Gabriel had told them that he was assaulted in a similar way. Two months after the proceedings were brought, Gabriel was released and filed an Affidavit concerning the allegations. Shortly before the case was to be heard in Court, the State paid R3,000.00 to avoid further costs of litigation but none of the allegations concerning assault were withdrawn and the State persisted in its denials of these allegations.

3. In 1966 *Stephanie Kemp* sued for alleged assault during interrogation. In an out-of-Court settlement, she was paid R1,000.00 by the State.

One cannot detail here all the information on the subject, but one must ask if procedural safeguards protecting liberty were wanted, why were they not written into the law? Perhaps one can only conclude with the principle of law that a man intends the natural and foreseeable consequences of his actions. Numerous requests to appoint a Commission of Enquiry into these alleged abuses of police power have been rejected although today Commissions of Enquiry have been appointed almost at the drop of a hat.

The lesson of the PASS LAWS was that people become unpeople. Detainees are not

looked upon as people, as human beings, but as threats to peace and security and it would seem that there is no great concern for their treatment. But what are these threats to peace? What do the facts disclose?

1. In April 1968, scores of people were arrested in Victoria West. The most serious allegations were made against them. After ten had been convicted by the Magistrate in November, an appeal was lodged. The Judge President in acquitting all these people, severely criticised the Magistrate for accepting State evidence which was anything but convincing and for wrongly rejecting defence evidence (Page 65 R.R. Survey 1969).

2. 24 other accused from the same place charged with sabotage, were acquitted in September 1969, as the State had insufficient evidence. The Judge in condemning a Security Police spy, X54, said: "It made a person shudder to think that someone like X54 could be placed in a position where he had an interest in the arrest of members of the public."

It did not compensate the accused for all the losses and suffering they had sustained for 17 months.

3. Tribesmen from Hebron near Pretoria were arrested and detained in late 1968. (Of the 11 arrested, two died, one slipped on soap and a doctor found the other to have "sjambok and other wounds of assault on him"). Three were released and six were charged under the Sabotage Act. The Judge in acquitting all of them commented on the poor material the State had to prove its case.

4. Also at the end of 1968, numerous tribesmen were arrested and when allegations of unlawful assaults were made implicating the police, the charges against them were withdrawn and they were detained under the Terrorism Act. In September 1969, ten were charged under the Terrorism Act but one died on the night before the trial (it was stated that his death was due to natural causes). Of the remaining nine, three were acquitted on all charges and six pleaded guilty to attempted murder, a simple common law crime for which they received an effective one year's imprisonment.

5. The most serious and important case brought under the Terrorism Act was the trial of the 37 South West Africans. They were arrested during 1966 and 1967. Ministers of the government disclosed that they were aware of certain violence planned (Rand Daily Mail 1/11/66)—they could well have been aware of this as a result of the very arrest and interrogation of these South West Africans. Nevertheless, on June 21st, 1967, the Terrorism Act was promulgated. On June 22nd the Attorney-General announced that persons would be charged and five days later 37 South West Africans were charged. They were handed a foolscap typed book, 41 pages in length, listing offences going back as far as June, 1962. In view of the fact that they had already been arrested prior to the passing of the Act, one cannot understand why this Act was passed and needed to deal with the accused. Professor Larson pointed out:

"No one has attempted to deny the fact that this Act (the Terrorism Act) was specifically passed in order to prosecute these particular defendants—all of whose alleged offences were committed long before the bill was even introduced—the idea that an Act can be passed specifically in order to hang a man for his past conduct is so intensely repellant to elementary concepts of law, no amount of outside condemnation can add much to the self condemnation of the statute itself".

Could one have a stronger condemnation of a law? Can there have been any justification for such a law? Well, listen to the words of the Judge who presided in that very case. In announcing sentence, he said, and I quote:

"But in my opinion, all the accused, except Nos. 21, 22 and 23, are guilty of common law crimes apart from any earlier legislation that has made such action punishable".

Previously, he had underlined the fact that he regarded their crime as common law crimes and ignored the terrorism charge. He said:

"I will . . . take into account the Common Law offences which the accused have been proved to have committed in the assessment of the appropriate sentence, although they were not so charged".

Concerning the extent of the threat of the actions of the accused, the Judge said they "were feeble and without the slightest hope of success". Therefore, when parliament considered and enacted the Terrorism Act in 1967, the Minister of Justice must have known he already had ample evidence to convict these defendants of Common Law crimes under laws already in existence. If the Terrorism Act was not required in order to deal with precisely those defendants against whom the Act was passed and whom the Government most widely billed as Terrorists, why was the Act necessary and why was it passed?

May one not, with reason, ask: Is the Act itself not an act of terror?

The rights of White and Black people today are sacrificed to a secret police force enjoying ever widening immunity from judicial restraint and enquiry.

These powers are given to the police and executive authorities not as temporary powers to meet a temporary emergency. These acts are now part of the permanent law in South Africa. They can be enforced and acted upon at the discretion or the whim of the police or the executive authorities:

"Under a system which renders any citizen liable to interrogation on the mere suspicion of a police officer, abuse and tyranny are inevitable.

"Where the jurisdiction of the Courts to enquire into the detention is completely ousted, the danger is extreme that a police officer will become a local tyrant, misusing his powers for political or personal ends, and that the way will be opened to blackmail and the evil of false informers".

(Johannesburg Bar Council, April 29th, 1963).

Detention without trial has been used time and again for persons convicted of common law crimes.

Today those political opponents on the right of the Government, who now fear that these arbitrary powers will be used against them, rightly express their fears. All of us have reason to fear the abrogation of the Rule of Law as this will result inevitably in totalitarianism.

My function hereto today is to assist you as far as I am able to in the search for the truth. I believe that one must work hard to ascertain the facts and to find the truth. If in this talk I have made you aware of some facts, I have achieved my objective. Furthermore, if I also provoke you into investigating further for yourselves, I have achieved more success than I could have hoped for and if you investigate for yourself, I submit to you that you, too, will be very disturbed by what you find.

You must determine what you can do. You can show others the truth and tell them what you have learned. You and all of you can and must take all lawful action of every kind to spread the truth and express your wholehearted condemnation of the evil that exists in South Africa. By your word and your action you must encourage others to join in unity with you to bring about whatever changes you lawfully can.

Should you fail to act or even refuse to act, your inaction and your silence is tantamount to condonation and approval and you make yourself a party to the wrongs perpetrated.

If you disapprove of the wrongs committed, then you must act. To vote against the Government takes but 5 minutes. To obtain and publish the truth takes longer. To organise protests, to join others and encourage all lawful protests using all the lawful means left to us, involves you and commits you to a hard and long struggle.

It is a struggle with which you may become impatient and it will require your dedication, a struggle in which you may not see results and you will require faith. Above all, you need courage and determination to go on.

But to know that such evil exists and to do nothing is soul destroying. Change will not come about by people wishing for it, but if we persist, with courage, we shall overcome.

STATEMENT OF MR. TONY BOYLE, PRESIDENT OF UNITED MINE WORKERS

HON. FRANK M. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, I insert a statement of Mr. Tony Boyle, president of the United Mine Workers, which I feel every Member should be aware of:

STATEMENT BY W. A. "TONY" BOYLE

W. A. (Tony) Boyle, president, United Mine Workers of America, today accused the Department of Interior of an "underhanded and vicious attempt to gut the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act."

Boyle's accusation followed publication in the Federal Register of Thursday, May 7, 1970 of a new set of regulations reducing fines for first violations of the act to an insignificant token level.

The UMW president noted that on March 28, 1970 the Federal Register carried a schedule calling for fines of \$500 per day for the first violation of the act that results in imminent danger to miners; a \$100 fine for a first violation resulting from unwarrantable failure and a fine of \$25 each for any other first violation. He pointed out that the May 7 change in regulations has reduced the fines to \$20, \$4 and \$1 respectively for first violations during the period between March 30, 1970 and September 30, 1970.

"It is clear that the pressures of the big coal operators are prevailing in the Department of the Interior. These regulations were signed by Fred J. Russell, Under Secretary of the Interior, and apparently were promulgated over the opposition of responsible and knowledgeable officials within the Bureau of Mines. This switch in regulations is contrary to both the legislative history and the spirit of the act," the UMW president charged.

Boyle stated that the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act permits penalties up to \$10,000 for each violation. He said that the establishment of token fines creates a dangerous precedent and predicted that if they are permitted to stand, "tokenism will continue to be the hallmark of enforcement."

"This newest example of benign neglect subjects the lives of miners to continued grave danger and tends to reduce the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act to so many useless words upon the statute books. The United Mine Workers will not hold still for this kind of performance. We urge the Congress to look into the matter without delay to determine why its legislative mandate is being subverted. Coal mine health and safety will never be assured through any system of token fines," Boyle said.

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON
RADIOLOGICAL PROTECTION

HON. MIKE GRAVEL

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, this week, the International Commission on Radiological Protection will be meeting in London.

The significance of this meeting could touch us all intimately, for this Commission will be discussing permissible levels of exposure to nuclear radiation.

These deliberations come at a time when American electric utilities are considering "going nuclear" in a big way, and at a time when scientific and moral controversy in this country is heating up over the safety of the legally permissible dose of radiation to the population.

The recommendations of the ICRP will constitute an important voice in this discussion. In the past, at least, the Federal Radiation Council in this country has based its radiation guidelines, with very little modification, on the ICRP recommendations.

Up until recently, we all assumed—myself included—that the permissible radiation dose established by the Federal Radiation Council for the American public must be a safe dose. This was because of the natural desire of the public to trust in the benevolence and wisdom of its Government, and because of a one-sided public relations campaign on the part of the Atomic Energy Commission to convince the public that none of its activities presents a hazard to public health.

Every time the safety of the exposure guidelines is questioned, two counterfeit arguments are put forth.

The first is this: Since we are all exposed to a radiation dose from cosmic rays and from rocks containing natural radioactivity, it is absurd to worry about a permissible dose from manmade radioactivity of about the same magnitude. The implication is that it is safe to double the dose—the natural dose plus an equal manmade dose.

The fact is that both natural nuclear radiation and manmade nuclear radiation are harmful. Let me elaborate.

Karl Z. Morgan, the eminent head of the AEC's Health Physics Division at Oak Ridge, and also a member of the ICRP, estimates that at least 8,000 genetic deaths are caused every year in the American population by natural radiation, whose average dose he estimates at 100 millirems annually. These figures do not include deformed and retarded babies who survive, or cancer cases. They are just genetic deaths.

Now, the presently permissible dose of additional manmade radiation for the population would not simply increase this so-called harmless natural dose by 100 percent, but it would increase it by 170 percent for the general population. If we all received it at a steady rate, we could expect about 13,000 additional genetic deaths in America every year, and if we received it from a single, accidental

extra genetic deaths. That is Morgan's estimate.

The ICRP's latest report says that, in the absence of proof, we might suppose that the extra number of seriously defective offspring in the first generation exposure, we could expect up to 81,000 might be of the same order as the extra number of fatal cancers induced in their parents by an equivalent dose. Although the fatality of cancer is hard to predict, the latter figure is estimated by Drs. Gofman and Tamplin at 32,000 additional cancers in America every year, if we all received the presently permissible dose of radiation.

The final absurdity in the comparison of natural radiation doses with manmade doses is that we are talking about a whole new set of elements whose radioactivity has been artificially induced by man, and which have never existed radioactively in nature. Their paths through the body, their metabolism in the body, their locations in the body, are frequently completely different from those of the few naturally radioactive elements. It is a new ball game, physiologically.

In short, the comparison of the permissible dose with the average dose from natural radiation provides no comfort at all. On the contrary. Both doses are harmful.

It is appalling to discover how little is known about the actual doses received by particular organs from particular radioactive elements. The AEC recently told me that it cannot monitor internal doses very well in mice, much less in human beings. The new ICRP report states that it is extremely difficult if not impossible to assess the comparative sensitivity of different kinds of body tissue to radiation. Both pieces of news certainly undermine confidence in the permissible-dose concept even further.

The second spurious argument is this: Since we have never known anyone to die from a low dose of radiation, low doses must be safe after all. Some argue that we should start using commonsense and stop feeling alarm over mere statistical calculation.

Since statistical projections are fundamental to the concept of public health protection, I am against dismissing them lightly. We cannot afford to refuse to consider dire predictions and refuse to take preventive measures because they are mere calculations.

It is occasionally argued that, when it comes to radiation effects, we should pay more attention to laboratory scientists than to computer calculations.

There are several flaws in such an argument.

In the first place, lab experiments do not necessarily detect a low-dose radiation hazard if it hurts all subjects a little, or hurts one in 10,000 seriously. You would need 10,000 mice to observe just one bad case, and you might not detect the lesser cases at all.

Yet both possibilities represent large public health hazards for humans—either a general reduction in the health and viability of life, or 20,000 lives seriously damaged in a population the size of the United States.

To assume that low doses of radiation

are harmless, until labor experiments at low doses directly prove otherwise, would be to court disaster. We must depend on calculations, because it will probably never be possible to prove the injury-rate from low-doses empirically. Let me quote from an AEC document:

Studies which would give the required information are practically impossible to conduct. They would require millions of experimental animals, decades of time, and sensitive criteria of damage.

The question of time is crucial when it comes to arguments about safe radiation doses. As we are learning from the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, cancer induced by radiation may not show up for 20 years.

The AEC asserts that there is no instance in which human injury as a result of radiation from Nevada bomb testing has been established. Since those atmospheric tests released enormous quantities of radioactivity, such an assertion is supposed to reassure the public about all lesser contamination, too.

The assertion is not a lie, but it is a half-truth. The fact is that when the effects of radiation show up years—even generations—later, it is difficult to prove that it was fallout which caused the injury. First of all, individuals do not know when they have been irradiated. Even a lethal dose of radiation is painless at the moment when it is received.

In the second place, the delayed effects of radiation—such as cancer, or deformed and retarded children—can be caused by other agents, too. It takes careful records and control to sort out the particular causes of injury, and we do not now have such a system.

One must suspect all suggestions that low doses of radiation are harmless. In fact, when we deal with public exposure to radiation at any level, we are dealing in genetic pollution. I quote from another AEC document:

There is no safe amount of radiation insofar as genetic effects are concerned.

No matter how small a dosage, this will be reflected in a proportionately increased likelihood of mutated sex cells with effects that will show up in succeeding generations.

However small the quantity of radiation absorbed, mankind must be prepared to pay the price in a corresponding increase of the genetic load.

In view of the very low probability of ever observing direct injury from low doses of radiation, it was rather disturbing to me to learn from the AEC about a new study made on a small group of Eskimos in my home State.

Preliminary results indicate that this group is experiencing chromosome damage at fallout doses which have been below the permissible radiation dose. This is observed cell damage, not just theory.

Plutonium contamination levels are another issue which is far more than academic. It has been pointed out that commercial production of radioactive plutonium may be up to 30 tons per year by 1980. If the AEC gets a billion or two dollars for developing a fast breeder reactor, production of plutonium may be up to 100 tons annually by the year 2000. A few tons may not sound like much of a quantity, until one learns that hu-

man tolerance-levels are measured in billionths of a gram per person.

The warning signs about the so-called safe doses keep coming in. Just a few weeks ago, in a paper called "Plutonium and Public Health," their safety and meaning were questioned by Donald P. Geesaman, a scientist at the AEC's Lawrence Radiation Laboratory.

I think I should pass along, for the Senate's consideration, Dr. Geesaman's warning:

The health and safety of public and workers are protected by a set of standards for plutonium acknowledged to be meaningless. Such things make a travesty of public health, and raise serious questions about a hurried acceptance of nuclear energy.

A similar warning from two other respected scientists was made about 6 months ago. Their extrapolations from data on human cancers, not mouse cancers, induced by radiation indicate that cancer would increase 10 percent if we all receive the legally permissible radiation dose.

I have tried to indicate today that we are deluded if we assume that we are protected by the permissible radiation doses.

Setting new exposure limits for the population is not a problem which can be postponed. The nuclear reactor designs we accept this year will determine the exposures received 5, 10, 25 years—and also centuries—from now.

A decision to make the exposure of the entire population permissible at any pre-established level is a decision of the highest moral and political implications. We in Congress must ask: Is it really has ever really been tried. I am also fully directly to cancer, to physical deformity, or to mental incapacity in the population?

Deliberations about the permissible levels of exposure are being held in closed councils, far from public view, right now in the United States. This week, the International Commission is taking up deliberations, which will be more open, I hope.

It is time that the public is told what level of risk is implied for them and their descendants by the so-called safe-levels. There are indications that the health of infants may be in trouble already.

We have polluted the earth with several powerful carcinogens and mutagens. There is evidence of synergistic effects of these agents upon each other. What I am urging is extreme caution before we rush into nuclear power programs which will add more of the most deadly waste of all to the heritage for future generations.

It is time also that the public is told just how slim is the information base in nuclear energy programs. For instance, there is no inventory kept of the total radioactive releases to the environment; there is little idea about how much bomb fallout is still going to descend on us; there is ignorance about the ecological transfer of radioactive contaminants and it is impossible to predict when or where a radioactive release will return; there is even greater ignorance about the effects of radiation on other forms of life; there is ignorance about the actual amount of manmade radio-

activity already in each of us; and very great ignorance about the effects of this radioactive burden.

The fundamental question which urgently needs to be resolved is this: Can the web of life—already threatened by conventional pollutants—survive a permanent assault by deranged and radioactive atoms? The problem of nuclear fission—both in reactors and in bombs—may be the most serious challenge which mankind has ever faced. Therefore, consider this proposition:

Let there be no level of radiation exposure which is automatically permissible. Let us set the new permissible guidelines for nuclear radiation at zero. Let us require those who want exemptions from this rule to negotiate for permission to contaminate, and let them present their case openly to the public. Let all sides be heard and the costs and benefits be explicitly arrayed.

I am fully aware that nothing like this has ever really been tried. I am also fully aware that there has never been a threat so permanent and powerful as the irrevocable contamination of this planet and all life upon it.

Our descendants will be unable to forgive fainthearted measures.

TRIBUTE TO NICHOLAS ZOROTOVICH

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, on May 23, 1970, the community of San Pedro, Calif., will be honoring Nicholas Zorotovich upon his coming retirement after 42 years of teaching in the Los Angeles Harbor area. I wish to take this opportunity to commend him and share with my colleagues the following information about this noteworthy man:

Nicholas Zorotovich was born on the island of Vis, September 7, 1905. The island of Vis at that time was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and at the present time is part of Yugoslavia. This island, which maintains a population largely devoted to fishing, has sent a significant number of its sons and daughters to the United States where many have congregated in San Pedro, Calif., and are engaged in the fishing industry.

Nicholas' parents were John Zorotovich and Lucy Pincetich Zorotovich. Before coming to the United States, John Zorotovich spent some time in Australia, returned to Yugoslavia, and then came originally to Baker, Wash. While working in the State of Washington, he was joined by his wife and small son, Nicholas, in 1909. Eventually the family consisted of four younger brothers and sisters: John, Mitchell, Rose, and Lucretia. The family moved to San Pedro in 1917 where the father died in 1924. The rest of the family is still well and living.

Young Nicholas graduated from San Pedro High School in 1924, where he was

one of the outstanding tennis players in the high schools of southern California. Upon graduating, he attended the University of California, Los Angeles, on the campus of what is now Los Angeles City College, where he graduated in 1927, having majored in history and minored in political science and economics. One of his classmates at that time was Dr. Ralph B. Bunche, now one of the leaders in the United Nations. In 1949 Nicholas Zorotovich secured his master's degree in history from the University of Southern California, and since that time has continued his studies at the University of California, Berkeley, and Stanford University.

On June 29, 1929, Nicholas married Betty Mae McCall in San Gabriel, Calif. They later had two children, Virginia Mae, and Nicholas Dale. Virginia is now married to Comdr. Jack Hyde and has given the Zorotovichs four grandchildren: Jack Elgin, Nicholas Craig, Leslie, and David. Nicholas Dale has followed in his father's footsteps, and presently teaches at the San Pedro High School and has also given his parents four grandchildren: Pamela, Nicholas Scott, Kathi Ann, and John Patrick.

In 1928 Nicholas became a teacher at Dana Junior High School in San Pedro and transferred to San Pedro High School, where he continued teaching from 1929 to 1949. He taught history and various other subjects, and for 15 years was a tennis coach of a series of successful tennis teams for the high school. In 1949 he transferred to Los Angeles Harbor College where he has been a professor of history, and department chairman of social sciences from 1949, until his retirement this June in 1970.

During the 1930's, Nicholas was active in political affairs in this community as president of Ephebian Society in 1934. He was active in sponsoring the candidacy of Upton Sinclair, candidate for Governor of California under the EPIC plan. He later was a member of the 68th Assembly District Democratic Central Committee. Since the 1930's his direct activities in politics have diminished, but his interest has remained high, and from time to time he has taken an active role in the campaigns of a large number of candidates.

In 1957 he took a sabbatical leave, and with his wife, Betty, toured Italy, France, Belgium, Holland, Yugoslavia, Austria, Switzerland, West Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Scotland, England, and Spain. In 1963 he published "Wish You Were Here," a book about their travels in Europe.

His community services include being a member of the San Pedro Boys' Club, board of directors for 28 years, and president for 3 years. During that period, the boys' club raised sufficient funds to build one of the finest facilities for boys in southern California.

He is a longtime member of the Elks Club and is chairman of their scholarship committee. He is a longtime member of the San Pedro Yugoslav-American Club and served as president from 1965 to 1966. He is a longtime member of the San Pedro Rotary Club and has served as its president. He was a member of

the San Pedro Toastmasters Club and served as its president. He has served as chairman of a large number of community chest drives. He has been chairman of the San Pedro Coordinating Council.

Nicholas' plans for retirement include some travel, especially in Mexico, and the possible writing of several books that he has contemplated writing for some time.

I wish to join the entire community of San Pedro in commending Nicholas Zorotovich for his outstanding contribution to his community and wish him many years of fruitful and happy retirement.

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE VIETNAM WAR

HON. FRANK E. MOSS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, a celebrated citizen of Utah, Mr. Marriner Eccles, has, since 1965, been warning Americans about the economic consequences of the Vietnam war. A recent column in the Deseret News, written by its business editor, Don C. Woodward, sums up the views of Mr. Eccles. At this time of expanded concern over our action in Southeast Asia, I urge Senators to read carefully this well-written article. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

[From the Deseret News, May 1970]

THE BILL FOR WAR

(By Don C. Woodward)

Marriner Eccles wasn't in the audience when Louis Lundborg, chairman of the world's largest bank, the Bank of America, spoke out against the war in Vietnam recently. He should have been.

In fact, Lundborg later confided to the Eccles family that he had been thinking of Marriner when he faced his own stockholders.

Marriner Eccles, one of Utah's most distinguished bankers, was also one of the first prominent businessmen to attack the war. He began his campaign back in 1965, speaking, writing and warning the nation that "under no circumstances should we escalate the war in Vietnam. Our position there is indefensible."

PREDICTED INFLATION

He also warned, in early 1966, that "inflationary pressures will greatly increase and the position of the dollar in the world market will be further jeopardized . . . if our leaders insist on escalating this war to a finish, it is likely to be the most disastrous of the wars we have fought, measured by cost, loss of life and prestige throughout the world . . . with all our domestic problems—mass poverty, unemployment, riots in our cities and the highest rate of juvenile delinquency and crime throughout the world, who are we to be the world's policeman?"

Today, more than four years later, Eccles draws little consolation from the fact that events proved him right. "I feel I've been vindicated," he said this week. "But I haven't said a darned thing about this war for the past year or year and a half. I got discouraged. I fought so long, and it gets worse instead of better."

Eccles was made chairman of the Federal Reserve Board back in the Depression days of 1935 and held the post until 1948, then resigned the board in 1951. He now is chairman of the First Security Corp., Amalgamated Sugar Co. and Utah Construction & Mining Co.

CHANGE PRESIDENTS

The purpose of his first early attacks on the war was to "get Johnson out," he said, in the hopes that a new president would then be able to withdraw U.S. troops. Johnson's out now, but Eccles isn't happy with Nixon's performance either. "He leaves a lot of gaps for us to stay in," he said.

Eccles continues to blame the Vietnam war—and war in general for that matter—for our economic problems. In that respect Lundborg's opposition and his are similar.

"The public doesn't realize that we can't possibly deal with inflation and tight money as long as we are spending \$600 million a week in Vietnam," said Eccles. "That's the economic issue, aside from the fact that we've killed 41,000 boys and have a quarter of a million of them in hospitals."

War costs will continue to be a burden, he added. Veteran pensions are now \$10 billion a year plus more than \$2 billion for veteran's hospitals. "So, financially, war never ends," he said. "All you're doing is building up a permanent liability requiring huge annual payments."

INTEREST ON DEBT

He pointed out that interest on the public debt is running at \$19 billion a year, and then said, "As a matter of fact, the public debt is almost entirely due to wars. The First and Second World Wars, the Korean War and the present war—without them, you would have no public debt."

Although he hasn't given any speeches recently on the war, he and his brother George Eccles inserted a paragraph in First Security's annual report pointing out the economic consequences of the war. That statement said:

"It distorts the American economy. It is the primary contributor to inflation. It draws on billions of resources which could be put to work solving the critical social and economic problems facing the nation."

First Security's report added that all of the country's domestic problems, of poverty, hunger, crime, education, housing, pollution and transportation, are interlocked and "cannot be brought under control until the Vietnam War is ended . . . this makes the ending of the Vietnam War imperative at the earliest possible date."

While many of his business companions have not agreed with Eccles in his firm and early opposition to the war, they have to admit that he told them four years ago what was going to happen to the economy.

A MEMBER OF THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY SPEAKS OUT

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, in these troubled days, some feel that our Nation is greatly divided, but I am more optimistic about America. It has withstood many vicissitudes of at least equal magnitude. Prof. James D. Atkinson, of Georgetown University, recently wrote to President Nixon recalling the dark days of 1864 that former President Lincoln had to face. Professor Atkinson does not speak from just an academic tower. He

is no stranger to war, having fought in World War II, and for a time was a prisoner of the Germans. My feeling is that he speaks for a number of our members of the academic community who ordinarily are not heard. Therefore, I commend his letter to the attention of my colleagues:

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY,
Washington, D.C., May 5, 1970.

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Not since the administration of Abraham Lincoln has a President of the United States been the recipient of such below-the-belt attacks as those following your attempts to end the war in Vietnam by helping Cambodia.

In the summer of 1864 the opposition to the Civil War was, in the North, at a high peak. Vilification of Lincoln by the Northern Copperheads and other dissident groups was mounting in intensity. Yet Lincoln never swerved from the course he had set as Commander-in-Chief to preserve our society.

Carl Sandburg has written of those perilous Civil War times in words reminiscent of the dissidence and violence in America today. Of the attacks on Lincoln at that time, Sandburg quoted a Washington newspaper in terms that apply to the present: "Through all the vicissitudes of a social upheaval such as never before perhaps convulsed a nation, he has kept one purpose steadily in view, that of preserving the integrity of the national life."

Today, in 1970, you are doing the same thing. Your words that you would prefer to be a one-term President rather than to see America become a second-rate Power place you alongside Abraham Lincoln and all of our other great Presidents who put honor and the "integrity of the national life" above personal and political considerations.

Those members of the academic community who write in a spirit of honest scholarship—and I believe they constitute the vast majority—will rightly record that this was your finest hour.

Respectfully yours,

JAMES D. ATKINSON, Ph. D.,
Professor of Government.

ABUSE OF TRAVEL PRIVILEGES

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation to provide that no Federal funds be used to pay for expenses of foreign travel of any Representative after he has been defeated for election to a seat in the House, or after the adjournment of the last session of a retiring Member.

Certainly our taxpayers, already overburdened on the Federal, State, and local level, should not be expected to pay the bill for globe-circling Congressmen.

It is bad enough to abuse this travel privilege under the guise of "official investigations," but absolutely nothing can be gained by sending a solon on a free vacation after he will no longer serve in Congress.

In these troubled times, Congress could well assess its own image. Certainly it is beneath the dignity of the House of Representatives to use taxpayers' money for these trips.

NATIONAL GROWTH POLICY AND
TRANSPORTATION

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, "BosWash," "ChiPitts," "SanSan," and "JaMi" are not household words today for the average American. But these strange sounding place names are facts of life with which all Americans will have to contend unless effective action is taken to develop what the President called in his state of the Union message "a national growth policy."

"BosWash," "ChiPitts," "SanSan," and "JaMi" are the way Secretary of Commerce Stans designated four gigantic clusters of metropolitan areas which we are likely to have in the year 2000. By that time, 85 percent of our population of 300 million will be urban dwellers, if present trends continue. The Secretary has accurately stated these unbroken areas of people, homes, factories, highways, railroads, and powerlines will each constitute a new phenomenon on this earth, posing megaton problems that will make solving our present difficulties look like simple exercises.

If we act now, we can avoid an America engulfed by megalopolis. All of us should, therefore, be placing a priority, as is the President, on the development of a national growth policy. If such a policy is not developed, we will find ourselves, our children, and grandchildren enmeshed in a "ChiPitts," or "SanSan" with our quality of life having deteriorated.

The President has correctly taken the initiative through programs such as revenue sharing to begin the decentralization of government that will make it feasible to decentralize our population and reverse the migration to metropolitan areas. As Chairman of the House Republican Task Force on Transportation, I believe that transportation—balanced transportation—has a vital role to play in the process of decentralization. The Federal highway programs have already demonstrated the substantial impact transportation has on the distribution of our population. The new national-growth policy must, I believe, provide a substantial role for improved and balanced transportation.

Transportation is not an end in itself. It is, however, an effective means to achieve the improved quality of life we all seek.

I want to commend to my colleagues the timely speech by Secretary of Commerce Stans, sponsored by the Center for the Study of Private Enterprise, on February 24, 1970, at the American University. I insert the speech and a New York Times article concerning the speech:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE MAURICE H. STANS

It is indeed a pleasure to join in this continuing discussion of the relationship between business and government.

We all know that a strengthening of this relationship is of transcending importance if

we are to solve our mounting social and economic problems. The harsh experience of the 1960's demonstrates that government fails when it attempts to solve them alone. Billions of dollars have been spent on countless programs, but the problems remain, as vexing as ever.

The fact is that government's neglect to develop a viable, working partnership with the private sector is one of the root causes of this trouble. Government can guide by setting priorities and providing incentives. But only business has the managerial, organizational and technical skills required to get the job done. The Nixon Administration is dedicated to enlisting the full range of these talents in attacking our problems.

So this series of lectures, which is shedding new light on the evolving business-government relationship, has our warmest endorsement. The sponsors, American University and the firm of Hill and Knowlton, are to be commended for this public service undertaking.

SECRETARY'S RESPONSIBILITY

As Secretary of Commerce, I especially welcome the new insights these lectures are providing. For the man in my job has the primary responsibility for nurturing the business-government relationship. He must guide it along constructive lines and enlist business' greater involvement in public problem solving. He must help prevent business from committing abuses and from being abused. Above all, he must see to it that the interaction between these two great segments of society contributes to the advancement of the free enterprise system, which has given us everything we have and can give us everything we want.

I also appreciate the opportunity to discuss the topic of this year's lectures "Private Enterprise and the Urban Crisis."

For one thing, I am personally involved in seeking solutions to urban problems as a member of the President's Urban Affairs Council, Rural Affairs Council and the Cabinet Committee on the Environment, all Cabinet-level bodies.

Second, the subject has just taken on a new timeliness and significance. It was only a month ago that President Nixon made a historic proposal that for the first time offers hope for a comprehensive and lasting solution to our urban problems.

NATIONAL GROWTH POLICY

"I propose," the President said in his State of the Union Address, "that before these problems become insoluble, the Nation develop a national growth policy. Our purpose will be to find those means by which federal, state and local government can influence the course of urban settlement and growth, so as positively to affect the quality of American life."

The President's far-sighted proposal recognizes that there is not just one urban crisis, but two.

The first has been tearing the fabric of society for a decade.

It is compounded of the long-festering problems of slums, crime, unemployment, air pollution, traffic congestion, and substandard schools and health facilities.

Many efforts, public and private, are underway to solve these problems. Among the outstanding programs of the private sector is that of the National Alliance of Businessmen in hiring the hard-core unemployed. In the area of equal opportunity, many business corporations and associations have joined our recent efforts to help minority members to become owners of their own businesses. American business has also addressed itself in many other voluntary and unheralded ways, as a matter of social responsibility, in dealing with problems of pollution and assuring the consumer fair value.

This first urban crisis is of enormous dimension, but we must not conclude that there is something suddenly wrong with the historic concept of the city.

CITY'S IMPORTANCE

From time immemorial, cities have represented the highest achievements of civilization. They are our most visible symbols of wealth and power. They are the centers of art, culture, commerce, finance, science, industry and government. And it is to the cities that men have always flocked in search of the good life. This was true when Athens was the "mother city"—the metropolis—during the Golden Age of Greece, and it has been true in our own time. Has something suddenly changed all this?

The answer is no, but there are some new factors in the equation that we must take account of.

POPULATION CONCENTRATION

The first is the degree of urbanization.

In 1790, ninety-five percent of America's 3.9 million population was rural.

Today about 73 percent of our 205 million people live in urban areas.

This means that these 73 percent, or about 150 million, live on just slightly more than one percent of the land.

The other 27 percent, or about 55 million, are rattling around over the remaining 99 percent of the land.

It's as though we owned a vast mansion, with hundreds of rooms, but most of us have decided to live in the closets.

To make matters worse, we like to move around a lot, most of us in our own personal vehicle—the automobile. In some places we provide this device with more space than we allot to people. For example, two-thirds of downtown Los Angeles is said to be given over to streets, highways, parking lots and filling stations.

But that isn't all. We also have the problem in cities of extreme concentrations of waste products of an advanced industrial society.

Together, all these things have placed a burden on land, air, water, man-made facilities, and human beings themselves, that is all but intolerable. We are engulfed by noise, congestion and pollution of every kind.

MIGRATION OF BLACKS

Another new factor in the equation is the new concentration of poor black people in our great cities. During the past 20 years, more than 3 million Negroes have migrated from rural to urban areas, mainly to the inner core of the metropolis. Displaced from their farm jobs by rapid mechanization, they came looking for new opportunity, but they were equipped with little education and new skills. Instead of opportunity, they found the bitterness and frustration of the slum that finally erupted in rage and riots.

They found that many of the jobs in the inner city, like those on the farm, had disappeared under the impact of technological change. Industries once housed in the lofts of the central business district had been attracted to the suburbs by improved transportation facilities and ample space for more efficient one-story plants.

At the same time the poor blacks were moving in, the more affluent whites were moving to the suburbs. Their higher skills enabled them to get the better-paying jobs in the newly-established industries there, while patterns of housing discrimination helped to keep out the blacks.

TAX REVENUE DOWN

Compounding the problem was the loss of revenue to city government as industry and the affluent whites moved beyond its tax jurisdiction. In 1932, for example, municipalities collected 25 percent of all tax revenue.

nue; today they collect 6 percent. This is why President Nixon wants to share some of the Federal Government's tax revenue with cities and states. Because the more the problems of the inner city have grown, the less financially able has been the city to cope with them. Until today, as the President said, "the violent and decayed central cities of our great metropolitan complexes are the most conspicuous area of failure in American life."

The Administration's programs on food and nutrition, family assistance, housing, crime, transportation and education are all designed to deal with the problems of this first urban crisis. I believe they can go far toward remedying most of today's difficulties. But even if they are all successful in alleviating today's crisis, there still remains the impending second urban crisis.

TIME BOMB

This second crisis is less spectacular at the moment. But it is a time bomb ticking away with the ominous potential of producing a chaotic urban growth whose problems would dwarf those of the present.

We are alerted to this danger by a single basic statistic: In the next thirty years, more than 100 million people will be added to the population.

As President Nixon said about the children making up this increase: "Where they grow up—and how—will more than any one thing, measure the quality of American life in the years ahead."

It is to defuse this second urban crisis and help assure these children the best life that any Americans have ever had, that the President has called for a national growth policy. And it is on this long-range problem that I would like to focus primarily tonight, with emphasis on how business and government can develop new patterns of cooperation to cope with it.

The solution to future urban problems will only be found if overwhelming population pressures on our present metropolitan areas can be avoided. And this can only be done through the better urban-rural balance that a national growth policy would achieve.

MEGALOPOLIS

By the year 2000, eighty-five percent of our population of 300 million will be urban.

Picture, if you will, four gigantic clusters of metropolitan areas in the Nation—what the urban scholar Jean Gottmann so aptly called Megalopolis. There's BosWash, an unbroken stretch of people, homes, factories, highways, railroads and power lines from Boston to Washington; there's ChiPitts, a solid belt of heavy industry from Chicago to Pittsburgh; there's SanSan, from San Francisco to San Diego, and there's JaMI, the fourth megalopolis along Florida's east coast from Jacksonville to Miami.

Each will constitute a new phenomenon on this earth—a human agglomeration of a size, density and complexity never before known. And in combination these vast megalopolis will have the potential of posing megaton problems that will make solving our present difficulties look like child's play.

It is not very pleasant to contemplate what such an anthill society would mean to this Nation.

THREAT TO CHARACTER

What, for instance, would it do to the American people?

What would dirt, congestion, polluted air and water, traffic jams, noise, slums, crime, and violence—on a scale never before experienced—do to the American existence?

Will we fear increasingly to walk our streets? Will this fear turn into hate, divisiveness, polarization?

Will our young people feel even more alienated, rootless? Reared in great metro-

politan areas, will they lose entirely their sense of belonging, and therefore their sense of loyalty, duty and obligation to society?

Frederick Jackson Turner said in 1893 that it was the challenges and opportunities offered in the advancing frontier that had imparted the dynamic quality to the American character.

What quality will the pressures, frustrations and congestion of megalopolis impart to the character of future Americans? Will they be the same productive, optimistic, friendly, outgoing, dynamic people who have traditionally populated this Nation?

MEGALOPOLITAN GOVERNMENT

Next, what kind of government would megalopolis require?

Would our extreme concentrations of population make it impossible for government to provide adequate and reliable public service? Would our trash collection stoppages, breakdowns in fire and police protection, power failures, water shortages, substandard education and health facilities all be multiplied?

To try to cope with these mounting problems, would megalopolitan government grow even larger, with topheavy administration costs and a vast and unmanageable bureaucracy? Would countless government agencies, many with overlapping jurisdictions, each with its own separate budget, its own narrow mission, its own set of criteria, be demanding more and more funds? Would countless regulations and reams of red tape engulf us?

Would the opportunities for graft and corruption mushroom, and organized crime flourish as never before?

Would the result be steadily worsening government at an ever-increasing cost—government for which our citizens would have only contempt?

Would a complete disintegration of authority be an ever-present menace? Would the only way to govern such an anthill society be through a megalopolitan government with sweeping powers approaching those of a police state?

FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM

Finally, how would the free enterprise system fare in megalopolis?

Would it become so enmeshed in governmental regulations that it would lose the creativity that is the heart of the system?

Would the skyrocketing cost of public services drain so much tax revenue from the private sector that we would have virtually a state-controlled economy?

President Nixon warned against such a development in a recent press conference, when he said:

"Approximately 35 to 37 percent of the total income of the United States goes to taxes—that is, federal, state and local taxes. I believe that amount is high enough. I believe that when a Nation takes a substantially larger portion of the national income than that for taxes, then that Nation loses its character as a free private enterprise economy and turns over and becomes a primarily a state-controlled and oriented economy."

Can there be doubt that other costs, as well as those of public services, will go up in megalopolis, that land prices will soar, and the cost of labor rise because of the higher costs of living and the intensified use of labor, which increases bargaining power?

All this raises the question of the future productive efficiency of American industry and its ability to compete in the world market in the years ahead. Will inefficient patterns of urban growth have the effect of locking industry into obsolescent and unproductive nationwide layout?

Under all these conditions, will our man-

ufacturers be able to compete in an integrated world market as well as with foreign imports in our own domestic market?

ALTERNATIVES

All of these questions boil down to one.

The overriding question before the Nation is this: Shall we let haphazard and chaotic urban growth create almost insoluble problems for our people, for government and for industry? Or shall we adopt the President's farsighted proposal for a national growth policy?

Under the first alternative, every man is for himself, without regard to the effect on others or to the total effect that the combined actions of all have on us all.

Under the second alternative, business and government at all levels—federal, state and local—cooperate under fair rules equitably applied, to build an urban system that is not only productive, but also enhances the quality of life for our people and their children into and beyond the year 2000.

We know which of these crossroads to take, and the President has suggested ways government can help lead.

"In the future," he said, "government decisions . . . should be made with a clear objective of aiding a balanced growth."

"In particular, the Federal Government must be in a position to assist in the building of new cities and the rebuilding of old ones."

The policy thus recognizes that the disadvantages of megalopolis clearly do not apply to cities of viable, manageable size. Such a modern metropolis could offer society opportunities for intellectual, cultural and material progress obtainable nowhere else.

The key words here are "cities of viable, manageable size," and that is something quite different from what we can expect if things are allowed to continue on the past course.

ADVANTAGES OF METROPOLIS

Consider what the good qualities of life can be if future cities do not grow beyond such "viable, manageable size."

Through personal contacts, its residents benefit from the exchange of ideas and experiences. As consumers, they enjoy greater freedom of choice in products, and as workers they have a wider choice of occupations. And they can enjoy a greater variety of cultural and recreational facilities.

For business, the metropolis offers a wide range of specialized skills and services unobtainable in small towns. Business can draw on a pool of talent in management, law, accounting, marketing, science and technology. All are essential for business success in the increasingly complex industrial process.

To preserve these advantages of the city without incurring the liabilities of megalopolis, we will not only build new cities from the ground up but also undertake to expand our present small cities into much larger entities. We cannot assume that there will be a need for keeping very many people back on the farm. And we should not want to have the large cities get larger.

A report by the National Commission on Urban Growth has suggested the creation of 100 new communities averaging 100,000 people each, and ten new cities averaging at least one million persons. That's a total of 20 million people—only one-fifth of the 100 million we expect in the coming 30 years. If we built new cities for all those 100 million, we'd have to build a city of 250,000—about the size of Tulsa, Oklahoma—every month between now and the year 2000.

PLANT LOCATION

In dealing with where industry chooses to locate new plants, we come to the very heart of the urbanization process. For the modern

city will remain, above all, an economic unit organized by the commercial and industrial process. It is a gigantic labor saving device which vastly increases man's productive capacity. As it grows, it is held together by many other social and cultural forces, but its primary focus is as a place to produce or to provide services.

As far as I know, it has never been decided which comes first—whether people go where the jobs are or industry locates where the people are. But we do know that the two go together—and the policies of both public and private agencies must be coordinated to bring them together on a common meeting ground that is best for them, as well as the Nation as a whole.

GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE

Now how can government contribute toward this end? What are some of the policy instruments it can use to influence the location of people and industry so as to develop a healthy pattern of urbanization?

Already, several government programs promote such a development. Our Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration helps through loans and grants to build industrial parks and to help industries get started in selected growth centers. So do its Regional Commissions, with somewhat wider concepts of economic development. The Small Business Administration also provides assistance to business in developing areas.

Realistically, if we are to expect business to help achieve population dispersal, government should help assure it an opportunity to make a fair profit in such locations. Possible new incentives include investment tax credits, liberalized depreciation allowances, and manpower training supplements. Business expenditures for new plant and equipment even now are running at an annual rate of nearly \$80 billion. If such incentives could channel an increasing portion of future investment into areas that would help achieve a better balance in urban growth, the whole Nation would benefit. The incentives themselves would constitute a national investment in higher productivity that would pay handsome dividends indefinitely.

Another important assist is highway building, which serves the transportation needs of both industry and employees. Our great Interstate System, begun under the far-sighted leadership of President Eisenhower, has already helped in dispersing industry. And its impact will grow, as it is completed in the next four years. Extension of the System in conjunction with other transportation facilities will probably need to be a basic part of the Nation's future urban growth policies.

Third, government might locate its own facilities and buildings so as to influence healthy urban growth. Many government activities have already been decentralized, and this trend should continue according to a carefully drawn plan.

NEW COMMUNITIES

Finally, there is the exciting potential for government assistance in the building of entirely new communities. The Administration has recently made its first move of this type in Jonathan, Minnesota.

In the beginning of our history, the settlers developed a strong tradition of building carefully planned new communities. Here on this virgin continent was the opportunity to correct the accumulated mistakes of centuries of unplanned city building in Europe. William Penn in Philadelphia; General Ogelthorpe in Savannah, Georgia; George Washington and Thomas Jefferson in our Nation's Capital, were among the farsighted men who ordered the development of streets

and parks and living space according to master plans.

But during the last century and a half, this tradition was allowed to lapse, and most of our cities grew without design. Today, our mushrooming population has stimulated a revival in this long-dormant art of city planning and building. There are several notable recent examples in California and around Washington, D.C. I am convinced that this movement to construct entirely new communities offers great promise in achieving balance in the Nation's development. Government should encourage its acceleration in every way possible.

POLICY DIRECTIONS

These, then, are the three directions in which our national growth policy should develop:

First, the building of new cities away from today's great metropolitan areas.

Second, planned expansion of our present small cities in ways that will not result in their linking up to form additional unwieldy concentrations.

And third, discouragement of further growth of present large cities so that they can be modernized to meet the needs of the next century.

In combination, these three developments will enable us to provide constructive answers to many of the questions I have raised about the consequences of unplanned metropolitan growth.

We can more easily contain crime and make our streets safe for all our people.

We can restore in our young people a sense of pride in America, a feeling of community and belonging.

We can preserve open spaces for recreational purposes.

We can more readily cope with air and water pollution.

We can ease traffic congestion.

We can develop strong, responsive, and efficient local government that can better provide adequate public services such as fire and police protection, waste disposal, power and water facilities, schools and health facilities.

We can prevent the wasteful diseconomies of unmanageable local government, and hold tax collections within reasonable bounds.

We can better preserve the creative character of the free enterprise system by preventing its entanglement in the red tape of bigger regulatory agencies.

And we can enhance the competitive ability of American industry by maximizing our productivity potential through a more efficient distribution of the industrial process.

BUSINESS RESPONSIBILITIES

In meeting these tasks, there are unprecedented challenges and opportunities for American business.

The first—and probably foremost—is business' contribution to the building of new cities and renovation of old ones. Urban development offers a wide and growing market for new corporate starts, and new directions for established companies which are seeking additional opportunities. Some of this is already taking place.

Second, to meet the challenge of city building, business should emphasize more than ever the values of research and technological development. Its major thrust should be in the field of civilian technology, concentrating on systems and products which will be required for quality in urban living.

Third, business must expect to be more cognizant of the necessities for protecting the environment from pollution, and from a depletion of our minerals and other natural resources. The wise location of new industrial plants can make a major contribution in this area.

Fourth, business should be more keenly aware that its many new products for the consumer must maintain the highest standards of safety and reliability, always within a price range that the consumer can afford. A balance must be struck, of course, in order to prevent unrealistic standards from defeating the needs of both the consumer and the producer.

Finally business should engage in longer range planning to cope with a shifting economy. Annual budgets and five-year plans are inadequate in an age of such complexity and change. Today's rocket speed requires that our foresight illuminate the future not years but decades ahead.

Nowhere is this foresight more urgently needed than in planning for a balanced distribution of the 300 million Americans in the year 2000. In his bold proposal for a national growth policy, President Nixon has placed this among our highest priorities. Now it is up to business and government at every level—federal, state and local—to implement and carry forward this farsighted policy.

ATHENIAN OATH

Can we accomplish this challenging and critical task? That depends on whether each of us individually and collectively in his own city, is willing to make this resolve:

"We will ever strive for the ideals and sacred things of the city, both alone and with many; we will unceasingly seek to quicken the sense of public duty; we will reverence and obey the city's laws; we will transmit this city not only not less, but greater, better, and more beautiful than it was transmitted to us."

The men of Athens who took this oath two thousand years ago had as their objective the building of one city. In accomplishing it, they also created the Golden Age of Pericles and laid the foundation for Western civilization.

CONCLUSION

Our objective is also city-building. We know that science and technology have multiplied our strength a thousand-fold over that of the Athenians.

But do we have the wisdom, the resolve, the capacity for cooperation, the love of country, that will not only enable us to build the city—the livable city—but to light the way for the march of civilization into the third millennium?

That is the principal question before America today. It can be answered only by the full collaboration of enlightened government and the constructive potential of American business.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 25, 1970]
STANS WARNS OF "ANTHILL SOCIETY"—HE URGES COHERENT GROWTH POLICY FOR BUILDING CENTER

(By Jack Rosenthal)

WASHINGTON, February 24.—By the year 2000, Americans will be jammed together in an "anthill society" unless government and business join in a coherent national growth policy, Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans said in a lecture prepared for delivery tonight.

Mr. Stans proposed such a policy in the first development of a theme expressed by President Nixon in his State of the Union Message.

Mr. Stans said the following steps were required:

Discouragement of further growth in megalopolises—urban corridors already dense with population.

Planned expansion of smaller cities. Construction of entirely new cities, away from present urban concentrations.

Mr. Stans said such a policy was essential if the nation was to solve two urban

crises. One is the present crisis of race, space and pollution in tax-poor cities.

The other, which he described as an ominous time bomb, is the addition of more than 100 million people to the population.

While Mr. Stan's lecture was described by an aide as "a personal statement" a White House source said it had been clearly understood that Mr. Stans and his department would play a central role in the Administration's activity concerning population growth.

The lecture was scheduled in one of a series on "private enterprise and the Urban Crisis" at the American University here.

The nation's population will total 300 million by the year 2000, Mr. Stans said, and 85 per cent will be urban.

4 GIGANTIC CLUSTERS

He called on his audience to imagine the following four gigantic clusters:

BosWash, an unbroken stretch of people, homes, factories, highways, railroads and power lines from Boston to Washington.

"ChiPitts, a solid belt of heavy industry from Chicago to Pittsburgh.

"SanSan, from San Francisco to San Diego.

"JaMi, the fourth megalopolis, along Florida's east coast from Jacksonville to Miami."

Mr. Stans said the problems of "these vast megalopolis" might well dwarf present urban worries. "It is not very pleasant to contemplate what such an anthill society would mean to this nation."

He suggested that sharp increases were likely in congestion, pollution, crimes and youthful alienation and then asked:

"What quality will the pressures, frustrations and congestion of megalopolis impart to the character of future Americans?"

Mr. Stans also intimated that local governments would become increasingly unable to deliver services and perhaps would even disintegrate, leading to "a megalopolitan government with sweeping power approaching those of a police state."

And he said that skyrocketing costs of public services could drain so much tax revenue as to produce virtually a state-controlled economy.

The sensible alternative is an urban growth policy based on the concept of "cities of viable, manageable size," Mr. Stans said.

These could avoid the mammoth problems of scale already facing megalopolises, he said, while still providing the intellectual, cultural and material opportunities that underlie the historic concept of the city.

Mr. Stans did not closely define "viable, manageable size" but made it clear that he regarded dense megalopolitan corridors as outside the definition.

There are three ways to achieve the goal of "viable, manageable size," he said. One is to build new cities from the group up. To accommodate the 100 million projected population increase in this way alone, however, would require building a city the size of Tulsa, Okla., every month until the year 2000, he explained.

"We will not only [need to] build new cities from the ground up, but also undertake to expand our present small cities into much larger entities," Mr. Stans said.

The third solution is to discourage further growth of present large cities, he said, "so that they can be modernized to meet the needs of the next century."

This would not be negative discouragement, but would result from positive incentives to encourage growth of present small cities and establishment of new ones.

Government can contribute, Mr. Stans said, through such incentives as investment tax credits, liberalized depreciation allowances, highways that help disperse population, planned decentralization of government

facilities and continued assistance to new communities.

At the same time, business has responsibilities, too, Mr. Stans said. He urged private construction of new cities, development of "civilian technology, concentrating on systems and products that will be required for quality in urban living," pollution control and longer-range planning.

Mr. Stans' proposal is the most detailed expression of the Nixon Administration's already evident concern over urban growth.

Last year, Vice President Agnew contributed an introduction to "new city," the report of a bipartisan private National Committee on Urban Growth Policy.

"The constant growth of our population confronts us with a desperate race against time," Mr. Agnew said, "if we are to preserve our environment and keep our culture from disintegrating."

The President also has asked Congress to establish a National Commission on Population Growth and the American Future in a bill expected to be enacted next year.

Last month, in his State of the Union Message, the President called for a national growth policy—to find those means by which Government at all levels can influence the course of urban growth and "positively to affect the quality of American life."

THANK YOU AMERICA

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, in these days of riots, turmoil, strife, and attacks on America and its institutions, it is very refreshing to hear someone stand up for our beloved Nation, to catalog its greatness.

The Granite Falls Tribune, in our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District, printed a letter last week that I would like to share with my colleagues and all of those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

This letter, written by a Canadian, should make all of us pause to reflect and then join with our Canadian admirer in saying, "Thank you, America."

THANK YOU AMERICA!

(By Patricia Young, Vancouver, B.C.)

Permit me, a Canadian, to express a long overdue "thank you America"—not only for putting men on the moon, but for almost 200 years of contributing to the betterment of mankind. For the airplane, radio, cotton gin, phonograph, elevator, movie machine, typewriter, polio vaccine, safety razor, ball-point pen and zipper!

No other land in all the world has, in so brief a history, contributed so much and asked so little—only that we live together in peace and freedom.

From the days of Washington and Lincoln, you have demonstrated the creativity, invention and progress of free men living in a free society—where ideas and aspirations may be promoted to the extent of man's willingness to work and build a "better mousetrap" with commensurate rewards.

Thank you for upholding the principles and rights of freedom and liberty; for the American Constitution and Bill of Rights and for protecting those rights even when it results in the burning of your flag and the murder of your President.

Thank you for those who helped defend freedom on foreign soil in two world wars—a debt we have been able to pay in small measure by way of some 10,000 Canadian volunteers who stand and fight with you in Vietnam; for the foreign aid you give even when your hand is bitten and your motives impugned; for keeping your dignity in the face of insults from nations still wet behind the ears; for your patience with those who seek to steal the world and enslave its people; for keeping your cool even when the Trojan horse mounts the steps of the White House to insolently spew forth its treason.

Thank you for keeping alive the concept of individual liberty and faith in God in a world wallowing in humanistic collectivism.

For these reasons and so much more, I say: "Thank you America and God bless you."

INVITING TRAGEDY

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, both bodies of Congress are, of course, concerned and disturbed by recent actions on college campuses and I am sure individual Members are searching for answers in their own way.

One editor's point of view was expressed last week in the Potomac News, a weekly newspaper published in Prince William County, Va., within my congressional district.

I was impressed with the portion of the editorial indicating that even persons charged with the responsibility of law enforcement have a breaking point and the major responsibility for tragedy must be placed upon those who resort to violence and court tragedy.

The editorial in its entirety is inserted at this point:

INVITING TRAGEDY

President Richard Nixon put the deaths of the four Kent State students in proper perspective in asserting: "When dissent turns to violence, it invites tragedy."

Throughout the college year, dissenters in countless colleges throughout the nation have been inviting the tragedy which occurred Monday. Time and again, in college demonstrations, the tactic has been to push the forces charged with preserving public order to the brink—by everything from filthy epithets and reckless disruptions to violent takeovers, arson and rock-throwings.

Their partisans will argue that the people charged with maintaining order should be able to keep their cool under such provocations. From hindsight, they will criticize the Ohio National Guard for not firing over the students' heads. But the stark fact is that the people maintain order are human, too. They can become scared. Everyone has a breaking point.

And when the result is tragedy, the major blame must be placed on those who chose to court the tragedy.

College dissent has taken an ugly turn. Increasingly encouraged by knee-jerk liberals among their elders, both within the faculties and without, revolution-minded students appear intent on disruption for disruption's sake. They shop around for an issue, if they can't find one on campus, there are plenty of

national ones. There's always Vietnam, and if that's not enough, then the California grapes, the Chicago Seven or the Black Panthers.

Their apologists idolize them for what they see as a new spirit of inquiry, a rejection of hypocrisy and conformity. But so much of it is a sham. Instead of inquiry, those who might proffer an opposing view are shouted down. And hypocrisy? A rock-throwing dirty-mouthed "peace" demonstrator provides your answer. As for conformity, how dare one of the "in" crowd put in a good word for patriotism.

In this country of ours, there is great need for improvement. There is a great need to shear away hypocrisies. And the nation's students can play a vital role in prodding their elders on reforms.

But there is nothing to be gained in going from bad to worse.

MEDICAL CARE AND VETERANS

HON. WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, in the past year or so, there has been a great deal of concern expressed here in Congress, in the press, and on television over the level of medical care being provided for our veterans. Possibly, there is some room for debate as to just how bad the situation is, but there is, I think, no question that a serious problem does exist. Mr. Donald Johnson, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, recently described the funding difficulties faced by the VA medical care system in these terms:

We have recognized from the beginning of our tenure last June, that we were approaching the critical point in care, that the crunch or the vise that was being manufactured for us of inflation on one side and increasing demand on the other, not only out of Vietnam but because of the age of World War II veterans increasing—and that is the big number of veterans—that we would soon get caught.

I would like to congratulate the Committee on Veterans' Affairs who, under the leadership of their distinguished chairman, Mr. TEAGUE of Texas, undertook a thorough investigation of the allegations of deficiencies in the VA medical system. That committee has surveyed VA medical facilities throughout the Nation to find out just how bad a problem we have.

If the response the committee received from the VA hospital in Wilmington, Del., is typical—and I understand that it is—then it is quite clear that we must take prompt and adequate corrective action to assure that badly needed funds are made available.

Dr. Harry E. Walkup, the director of the Wilmington hospital, reported to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs a funding shortage of a quarter of a million dollars. Of this, \$58,000 was needed to support the hospital's authorized level of full-time employment; \$96,000 was needed for annual operating supplies and materials; \$40,000 which had been budg-

eted for needed equipment and maintenance had to be diverted to meet payroll costs. Other areas with serious funding shortages included the dental care program and the community nursing home program.

About \$70,000 in additional funds was later made available to the Wilmington hospital, but this still leaves a funding shortage of very serious proportions.

The bill passed on May 7 will go a long way toward meeting these deficiencies in the Veterans' Administration hospital system. As reported, H.R. 17399 called for an increase of \$109,500,000 in the medical care category. The bulk of that amount simply reflects the higher pay scales resulting from the Federal pay raise of last year, but \$18 million will go toward improving the level of medical and dental care provided for our veterans. This is \$3 million more than the \$15 million supplemental appropriation which President Nixon has requested, but it is \$4 million less than the \$22 million which was to be offered under an amendment by the gentleman from Texas (Mr. TEAGUE).

I intended to vote in favor of that amendment, but am glad this committee accepted the increase without a vote. We have as a Nation recognized an obligation—a debt of honor—to assure those who have served us in time of war the very best medical care that can be provided. We have attempted to fulfill that obligation by establishing within the Veterans' Administration a medical care system of unparalleled size and excellence. This increase will help maintain—or restore—that excellence.

While I have no doubt that the proposals of the administration and of the Committee on Appropriations represent their best judgments as to what is needed to serve the interests of our veterans, I think greater weight must be given to the conclusions reached as a result of the intensive survey conducted by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. In some cases, where there are differing estimates from authoritative sources, one might be inclined to go along with the lowest estimate or, at least, to steer a middle course. But we cannot do that when the point at issue is the adequacy of the medical care which we will provide our veterans.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 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?

PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE CONCERNED WITH ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, I have stated on numerous occasions that the Public Works Committee is basically concerned with environment and development. In the minds of some people these two areas are diametrically opposed. We know, however, that to provide the food, water, transportation, and economic well-being necessary for our growing population that development is necessary. We take as our approach that reasoned development is essential—development which considers environmental values in relationship with public need.

A splendid example of this concept in action is the announcement today of Edward B. Hinman, president and chief executive officer of the International Paper Co. Mr. Hinman announced that his company will expend the sum of \$101 million over the next 4 years to complete its ongoing program to control air and water pollution of the company's U.S. mills and plants which are located in the States of South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, New York, and Maine.

Although we sometimes overexaggerate the Federal role in water pollution control, it nevertheless has become a very significant one. But the solution to the problems of water pollution control, air pollution, and other measures of environmental protection depends in the final analysis on close cooperation with State and local units of government and industry. By working together and applying their respective capabilities the job to protect our Nation's environment can and will be done.

I wish to compliment Mr. Hinman and the International Paper Co., for this forward step they have taken, and I would anticipate that many, many other large industrial concerns will follow their lead.

I include in the RECORD at this point a copy of Mr. Hinman's announcement:

EDWARD B. HINMAN'S ANNOUNCEMENT

New York, May 13.—International Paper Company will spend \$101 million over the next four years to complete its program to control air and water pollution at all of the company's U.S. mills and plants, Edward B. Hinman, President and Chief Executive Officer, announced today at the annual meeting of shareholders here.

The company-wide program will provide every operating mill with primary and secondary waste water treatment systems, utilize the latest technology to remove from the air over 99% of all particulate matter coming from its pulp and paper mills, and adapt new technical developments to control mill odors.

Mr. Hinman pointed out that in the last five years alone the company has spent more than \$23 million at existing mills and plants on facilities designed solely to improve water and air conditions. Many other capital in-

vestments for projects other than those specifically for pollution control have had related beneficial impact on environmental conditions, he added.

One such program, for example, involves the construction of a \$76 million pulp and paper mill in Ticonderoga, New York, to replace an old mill there.

The new Ticonderoga mill will include the most modern water and air treatment facilities ever installed in North America. Purified water from the treatment system will be diffused in Lake Champlain in such a way that the biological and esthetic values will not be altered. The mill is also expected to be virtually odor-free. The old Ticonderoga pulp mill will be shut down by the end of 1970 as the new mill starts up. Remaining operations at the old mill will be phased out late in 1971.

The company said that by 1974, highly efficient water treatment systems will be installed at all of the company's operating pulp and paper mills in the United States. These treatment systems will remove all settleable solids from waste water and enable the company to meet standards for biological oxygen demand. Water so treated does not adversely affect the complicated life chain in natural waters from bacteria to plankton to plants and fish life.

The company reported that projects totaling \$33 million of the \$101 million program have actually started. As a result of programs conducted in past years, I-P now has primary water treatment at 12 of its 18 mills and some form of secondary treatment at 6 mills. Projects now under way include secondary treatment systems to be installed at I-P mills in Georgetown, South Carolina; Panama City, Florida; Mobile, Alabama; Moss Point, Mississippi; Corinth, New York; and Jay, Maine. A secondary water treatment system has just been completed at the company's mill in Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

Programs related to air improvement to be started this year will involve mills at Natchez, Mississippi; Tonawanda, New York; Panama City, Mobile, Georgetown, and Jay.

Between 1971 and 1974 similar water and air treatment will be installed or modernized at the other operating mills of the company in the United States. Of the \$101 million program announced today the company expects that a total of \$45 million will have been invested in water treatment systems and that an additional \$56 million will have been invested in applying the latest technological developments to the control of all emissions to the air, including the pungent odor characteristic of kraft paper mills.

Mr. Hinman told shareholders today, "All of these activities are part of your company's commitment to a cleaner, better America. Our program is not designed merely to meet the requirements of existing legislation—this is a program to do what is right as industrial citizens in our communities and our nation—in keeping with our stated policy. We believe that we can complete this program for a better environment without interrupting our planned growth or adversely affecting achievement of our profit objectives."

In discussing I-P's programs in support of the national search for a quality environment, Mr. Hinman also noted that the company was deeply involved in environment and ecology in its role as owner and manager of millions of acres of timberland.

He said that the company has a staff of professional foresters who are trained ecologists and conservationists.

"Good forest management, which is their job, is good environmental practice," Mr. Hinman said. "Well managed tree farms, in addition to producing the continuous crops of trees essential to our business, provide many environmental benefits as well. Under

our programs of multiple use many of the benefits of the managed forest are available to be shared by the public."

Among these benefits he listed are: the role of the forest in preventing erosion, collecting rainfall for later release as pure water into streams and lakes; the food and shelter provided by young, growing forests for wildlife; the road systems built and maintained by the company, which provide forest access for recreationists as well as protection against forest fires; the natural beauty of the company's widespread forest areas, and the lesser known function of a forest in its normal growth process of absorbing carbon dioxide from the air and releasing oxygen.

KENT STATE INCIDENT: TWO STUDENTS' OBSERVATIONS

HON. JACKSON E. BETTS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. BETTS. Mr. Speaker, much has been written about the violence at Kent State University on May 4. Two residents of Shelby, Ohio, in my district who are students at Kent observed the events of that day and have given their impressions to the *Shelby Daily Globe*. In the interest of better understanding of what actually happened leading up to the shooting of four Kent State students, I suggest my colleagues read this article published in the *Shelby Daily Globe*, May 7, 1970:

SHELBY KENT STUDENTS SAY EVERYONE HAD FAIR WARNING

(By Donna Malainy)

"By Monday afternoon there were no longer any 'innocent bystanders'—people who remained on the scene had had plenty of warnings," said Kent State University student Ted Byers today, as he and his brother, Terry, a senior at Kent State, related the experiences they had witnessed firsthand at Kent State last weekend and on Monday.

Ted and Terry, sons of Mr. and Mrs. Lee Byers, 50 Louise Drive, are relaxing at home this week after Kent State was closed following Monday's shootings. Terry is a journalism major who will graduate next March and is enrolled in the campus ROTC program. Ted is a sophomore, majoring in advertising.

Both men agreed that news coverage of the event has been distorted, at least insofar as the shooting of the four KSU students was concerned. Terry, formerly news director of the university radio station, remarked, "It hasn't been established how the students were killed or what killed them." He spoke critically of news reports that have blamed the deaths on National Guardsmen. "These four people were in the crowd of demonstrators that had not dispersed," Ted explained. "They weren't in the roped-off, or 'safe' area—anything that happened to them was their own fault," he went on to say.

The brothers explained that a year ago there had been a disturbance on campus and subsequently four students, members of the Students for Democratic Society (SDS), had been arrested, convicted and were serving a seven months' jail sentence in the Portage County Jail. "Things had been quiet ever since until these four men were to be released Friday—there were no rumors that anything was going to happen," Ted reported.

Both Ted and Terry believe these four men, after their release from jail, were influential in starting the campus disturbances. "We think they brought in outside agitators, professionals," the brothers explained.

The sequence of events was described in detail by Ted, who explained that the disturbance began Friday evening when a motorcycle gang from Akron arrived in Kent. "All the bars in town closed at 8 p.m. and that left 2000 to 5000 students on the streets with nothing to do—a fight broke out and the crowds began breaking up the town," Ted related. "The group had broken at least 47 store windows and was headed for the campus when police broke up the crowd with tear gas." He went on to say that although the city curfew went into effect at 8 p.m., the campus curfew was set at 1 a.m. The group re-assembled on the campus that night, but were dispersed again with tear gas about 1 a.m.

Ted went on to report that outsiders, some people who had reportedly been seen on campuses at Cleveland State and Ohio State University, had called a rally for Saturday night. He estimated that about 30 to 50 Kent State students were involved with the rally, the rest being "outsiders." "At this point, the group was protesting the 8 p.m. city curfew and had not said anything about Cambodia or the President's stand," Ted recalled.

The small group went to the freshmen complex and gained many supporters there. "There are always those," Ted explained later, "who will follow a cause, any cause is good enough." The larger group then went back to the campus commons where a few people gave talks. The demonstrators then marched to the campus Army ROTC building (there are three ROTC buildings on campus) where they broke windows, threw flakes inside the building and a Molotov cocktail which ignited and started the fire.

"When the fire department arrived, demonstrators cut the fire hoses—the police hadn't yet arrived and the firemen had no protection," Ted went on.

In the meantime, gasoline had been poured along one side of the ROTC building and then lit and, with fire hoses cut, firemen were unable to extinguish the spreading fire. "There were about 3000 rounds of ammunition stored inside the building, and when these were ignited, the building was leveled," Ted stated.

At this point, National Guardsmen, who had been quartered at the Akron Rubber Bowl in the event of trouble with the Teamsters' strike, were called in and dispersed the crowd. Guardsmen brought in jeeps, armored personnel carriers, trucks and three helicopters. The helicopters patrolled the city, looking for crowds as did one State Highway Patrol helicopter.

"By Sunday morning, everything was calm again," Ted explained. The area of the burned ROTC building and three other buildings in the immediate area had been cornered off. Terry, an ROTC member, had attempted to enter one of the buildings on Sunday afternoon and had been refused entrance. "I had to wait until Monday to get in," Terry reported.

The men went on to say that people were milling about, taking pictures most of Sunday. Then about 8 o'clock Sunday night demonstrators began to gather, ringing the school victory bell. "They again marched around Eastway Center, a freshmen complex, and into another area, to get supporters—finally they had a group of about 5000 students," Ted added, saying, "Most of the freshmen had never been in a demonstration before."

At the music building, the crowd was confronted by about 20 National Guardsmen who fired tear gas bombs into the crowd, dispersing

ing it for awhile. "The group re-convened and went back to the commons, then headed for downtown Kent, which had been marked out of bounds," Ted reported. He stated that the group had gone about a block when they were, again, dispersed with tear gas about 11:30 Sunday night.

Again, Ted recalled, things were fine on Monday morning until a rumor was circulated that the protestors would stage a meeting at noon. "This was when the Cambodia issue first came into it," Ted explained.

Terry added, "I had worked for the Air Force (ROTC) that morning—we had published orders for Air Force cadets. Those of us who were seniors or officers had ID cards and had been able to get through the National Guard lines. At noon we went outdoors, and about ten of us watched the proceedings."

Terry went on to say that from inside his roped-off area, he observed the National Guardsmen, equipped with three jeeps and radios, begin to make announcements to the people gathered around that they must disperse.

Ted added that at that time, he was standing with the groups of 5,000 to 10,000 onlookers. "There might have been about 500 to 1000 actual demonstrators in the commons, though many onlookers were close enough that it was difficult to distinguish between them," Ted explained.

Terry went on to say that he, personally, heard National Guardsmen announce at least four times that the crowd must disperse and that the university was under martial law and that no assembly outside would be permitted. "They asked that people please leave the commons area or action would be taken," Terry related. "They announced it from the picket lines, then drove in jeeps making the announcements, so that all people would be sure to hear it," he added.

"Then, about 12:30 p.m. on Monday, the National Guard read the riot act to the crowd, after which National Guard reinforcements were brought in," he recalled. "The crowd didn't do anything and the Guardsmen began firing tear gas bombs."

Ted added that agitators within the crowd kept yelling that the Guardsmen were equipped with blanks, not live ammunition. "But we could see that they had live ammunition on their uniform blouses," he added.

Terry remained outside the ROTC building—"It was safe for us there in that roped-off area," he explained. The brothers reported that Guardsmen fired tear gas bombs into the crowds for about ten minutes.

The tear gas reacts differently on different people, the brothers explained, causing some people to pass out because of difficulty in breathing. "It makes you nauseated, you cry, and cough, the gas burns your eyes," Ted reported. He brought along a tear gas cartridge that had been fired into a building from which he was observing the riots.

After this many of the onlookers had left and again a small group started to gather on the commons. Terry left by way of a back door in the ROTC building and returned to his apartment off campus. As he arrived home, his wife told him that word had just been broadcast on the radio that the campus was closed and students could return to their homes.

"Parents had come after students before 8 o'clock that night, for after that time, no one could enter Kent or leave it, Terry explained.

The brothers returned to Shelby Tuesday morning though both are hopeful that classes will be resumed by next Monday.

"The crowd moved, but didn't disperse," Ted went on to say, and National Guardsmen then affixed bayonets to their rifles. "At this point there were still about 500 hardcore demonstrators who stayed," the brothers revealed.

The Guardsmen were forcing the crowd into the old practice football field, then as the Guardsmen began to return to the picket lines, the demonstrators began hurling broken bottles, bricks and rocks at them. Ted and Jerry explained that this area is a construction site and there were plenty of projectiles around to be picked up.

"We saw the National Guard stop and from our viewpoint, saw them raise their guns and fire in the air," the men reported. Ted, in his vantage point overlooking the Guard, reported that by this time Guardsmen were at the corner of Taylor Hall, located at the top of a hill.

"We don't agree with the newspaper accounts—one paper cited the example of a quarter-inch steel sculpture near Taylor Hall which had been pierced with a bullet. But the bullet entered from the south and the Guardsmen were firing to the north and northeast," Ted revealed.

Both men agreed that there were snipers in the crowd and speculated whether the students that were killed might have been hit by snipers' fire.

"I don't think the Guardsmen panicked," Ted stated. "They fired only once, for about three seconds, and fired 35 rounds," he added.

His brother remarked, "Ted and I are both disturbed that UPI and the Cleveland stations have come out and said that National Guardsmen slayed the four students—they haven't established that, in my opinion."

Terry also described an incident that happened near him. "A National guardsman about 100 ft. away from me fell suddenly and clutched his stomach—I haven't heard anything about him or what might have happened to him." He added that the man had been taken away in an ambulance.

After the Guardsmen fired, they came back to the perimeter of the ROTC buildings and about five minutes later the report came through that someone had been shot.

ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, most of us accept the notion that time heals all wounds. And if that is true, we can rejoice a little more today on this 22d anniversary of the founding of Israel than we could last year or the year before.

Despite the ominous clouds that hang over the Middle East today, Israel is the glimmer of hope that keeps millions of people around the globe hopeful mankind can survive. As long as Israel exists, man's chance of living in peace with his neighbors cannot be ignored.

We do not underestimate the dangers facing that tiny nation and her brave people today. Indeed, recent events within neighboring states have increased her peril to a point where not only Israel but the world at large is also threatened.

But the people of Israel have proved once again that a tiny band of dedicated people can rebuild their lives out of horror, that they can withstand the cruellest deprivations and that they can protect themselves and their nation from overwhelming odds. The Israel people have come to represent the finest that is within mankind.

And so, as that embattled nation celebrates yet another anniversary of its independence, all of us who believe man is capable of more than warring on his neighbors bask in her glory.

Let the United States be the friend of all nations of this world where people want only to live in peace and harmony with their neighbors. Let us do what we can to restore peace in the Middle East so that not only the people of Israel but all the nations of the Middle East may devote their lives to better causes than killing.

Time does heal wounds, though not easily and not quickly. May we all resolve in this year ahead to give time a helping hand.

MOSCOW'S GOAL

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an article from the New York Times of Wednesday, May 13, entitled "Moscow's Goal: Isolation of United States."

It seems to me that every American should read this and wake up to what the Soviets are trying to do to the United States and are apparently succeeding in doing:

[From the New York Times, May 13, 1970]
MOSCOW'S GOAL: ISOLATION OF UNITED STATES:
EROSION OF INFLUENCE ON WORLD SCENE IS
TERMED AIM

(By Bernard Gwertzman)

Moscow, May 12.—The Soviet Union appears to have chosen, for the moment, to mask in ambiguity its course of action in both the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Western diplomats have no firm information on what the sending of Soviet pilots to the United Arab Republic portends nor what, if anything, the Kremlin will do to counter the American troops in Cambodia.

But if, tactically, the Soviet Union is deliberately unclear, thereby keeping open all its political and military options—and Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin's message of "sympathy and support" to Prince Norodom Sihanouk today did not change this—western diplomats feel that they are less in the dark on current Soviet strategic aims.

These aims, according to the best thinking here, appear to include the isolation of the United States and the gradual erosion of its influence on the world scene.

This the Russians have attempted before, but what has aroused the interest of diplomats here now is the successes Moscow appears to be achieving.

SOVIET PRESTIGE RISING

Most diplomats seem to agree that Soviet prestige and influence are discernibly on the rise, at minimum cost to Moscow. The United States, wracked by disorders at home and disension in the highest places, seems from Moscow to be definitely on the defensive.

It now seems clear that Premier Kosygin's news conference last week was called not so much to express Soviet unhappiness over Cambodia as to arouse what he described as "all peace-loving forces through out the world" against the United States.

The conference touched off an anti-American campaign around the Soviet Union, and the Soviet press is gleefully reporting every manifestation of anti-Americanism anywhere in the world.

Izvestia, the Soviet Government newspaper, said editorially today that Washington's decision to send troops into Cambodia "has led to the still greater isolation of the United States in the world arena."

SOVIET BLAMES UNITED STATES

In the Soviet interpretation of world events these days, Moscow is the center of the forces of peace, and Washington, of war. The disorder in Southeast Asia is pictured as caused solely by United States "aggression," the crisis in the Middle East could be ended, in the Soviet view, if Washington would end its support of "Zionist aggression." Tensions in Europe would be eased, it is held, if American forces left the continent. Such ideas are repeated daily in the Soviet media and stressed by Soviet diplomats abroad.

In Asia, the Russians appear to have adopted a low-key approach, stressing the need for Asians to govern their own affairs and establish their own security alliances while continuing to give aid to North Vietnam. Soviet influence in India seems to have reached a high, and the Russians appear to have succeeded in dampening tensions with Communist China and in giving many Asians the impression that Peking is responsible for the troubles.

From what Soviet officials say about Southeast Asia, diplomats believe that the Kremlin is certain that, over the long run, the United States will be forced out of the area, leaving Soviet influence unimpaired and its many years of aiding North Vietnam paying off in ideological and political dividends. The announcement by President Nixon last Friday that American forces will be pulled out of Cambodia by the end of next month appears to reduce the urgency of any concrete Soviet move.

FULL BACKING FOR ARABS

In the Middle East, by giving full support to the Arab cause, Moscow has replaced the Western nations as the predominant foreign power along the southern shores of the Mediterranean. By refusing to alter its negotiating position, and repeatedly charging Israeli intransigence Moscow appears here to have succeeded in eroding much of Israel's support in Europe.

The dispatch of Soviet weapons and forces to the United Arab Republic, including the much-discussed pilots, has caused concern in the United States, but has never been admitted here, although Mr. Kosygin in his news conference conceded that Soviet military advisers were present in Egypt. The pilots are said to be flying defensive missions in central Egypt, not on the Suez front, and have not clashed with Israeli planes.

Western diplomats tend to view Washington's initial response as an exaggerated one. They see no new Soviet "hard line" in the Middle East, merely the same "hard line" Moscow has followed toward that area, doing everything necessary to shore up Egypt's defenses against Israel.

DOMINANT ROLE SOUGHT

In Europe, the Russians appear to have recovered from the setback caused by the invasion in 1968 and to have resumed their active courtship of Western European powers, including West Germany. Moscow's European policy seems primarily directed at reducing American influence on the continent and preparing the way for a gradual breaking up of the North Atlantic Treaty organization, leaving Moscow as the unchallenged power on the continent.

These political moves, which include expansion of diplomatic ties in Latin America, have been accompanied by a major increase in Soviet military power, particularly in missile and naval forces.

But, perhaps more important, they have taken place within a framework in which Communism has been extolled as superior to capitalism. Thus, despite occasional gestures of goodwill to the United States, Soviet policy, by a combination of ideological and political considerations, has become quite anti-American.

TRIBUTE TO DR. WILLIAM PECORA

HON. BEN REIFEL

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. REIFEL. Mr. Speaker, throughout my 8 years of service on the Appropriations Subcommittee on the Interior it has been my pleasure to work with Dr. William Pecora in regard to appropriations for the Geological Survey. During this period, I have always been favorably impressed with Dr. Pecora's vast knowledge and administrative ability regarding the Geological Survey. He is quick in adopting the latest scientific techniques and in utilizing such developments in their practical application.

One such program is the earth resources observation satellite project. Sioux Falls, S. Dak., is most fortunate with its designation as the major reception center for the EROS project. This facility will enable our State to combine the advances in agriculture with the advances of the space age to promote not only our own development, but the continued development of our Nation. Recently, Dr. Pecora was in Sioux Falls in conjunction with EROS project activities. He was most favorably received there.

I would like to thank Mr. Al Schock, president of the Sioux Falls Industrial and Development Foundation, for bringing to my attention an article written in the Sioux Falls Suburban News by Pablo, an anonymous columnist, about a brilliant administrator and my good friend, Dr. William Pecora.

The article, which was published April 30, 1970, follows:

FROM PABLO'S PATIO

Sioux Falls had a visitor last week. That is not news because Sioux Falls has lots of visitors every week. He was a distinguished visitor. So what! Many distinguished persons have visited our City. This man, though, had something about him that to Ol' Pablo made him strangely different from all the other visitors I have seen and heard and met. He is a very rare type of individual composed of, it seems, several differing characters all maintained in a close and delicate balance.

This visitor is recognized as one of the world's leading scientists in his field, a highly trained expert—yet he is able to communicate to laymen, to translate his technical knowledge and ideas into terms understood by Mr. Average Citizen. He heads up the United States Geological Survey Division of the Department of the Interior—yet, in appearance and action, he could be the operator

of the corner grocery or owner of the local drug store. He is a dreamer of almost impossible dreams, or an acceptor of someone else's dream—yet he possesses a down-to-earth practical-type approach that translates these dreams into possibilities, then into probabilities, then into problems whose solutions convert the dreams into realities. He lives in a world of space technology, of rapid scientific advancement, of politics, of project funding, of unending pressures—yet his vision of the goal of all our progress in the realm of science and technology is how best to apply these things for the betterment of life for every man, woman and child living on the face of this old world of ours.

This is the Dr. William Pecora that Ol' Pablo saw last Thursday as some 450 persons attended a luncheon meeting of the Industrial Foundation to hear some of the details of the EROS project outlined by Dr. Pecora. I was particularly impressed with the manner in which he closed his discussion of the project's ultimate development. He evidenced a deep and sincere conviction that the technical data and information that will be amassed here in Sioux Falls will be capable of being used to change the "have not" nations of the world into "have" nations with an acceptable standard of living, a comfortable economy, and a happy citizenry, which will remove the tension spots that are now troublesome areas. This will help generate the element of dignity in and for every individual member of the human race; it will help restore respect for the United States in all countries; and it could make possible the complete elimination of wars of all sizes and kinds. This is a dream that Dr. Pecora is convinced can become a reality, and each of us is being allowed to have a part in the process.

"Til Next Time—be thankful we live today where things happen.—Pablo.

VENEREAL DISEASE: A PLAGUE ON OUR HOUSE

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, venereal disease has reached epidemic proportions throughout the country and in some cities is reported to be out of control. Lack of public awareness about the causes of venereal disease, its prevention, and the availability of treatment are factors contributing to the current VD crisis.

A special television program entitled "VD: A Plague on Our House" probes the growing menace of venereal disease to the health of the Nation and explores the efforts of public health authorities, physicians, and medical research in helping to combat this crucial problem.

Pfizer Pharmaceuticals is sponsoring this important television documentary as a part of a nationwide VD education and information program designed to focus public attention on the rapidly growing VD epidemic. I urge all Senators to view this important program which will be broadcast in the Washington area Friday, May 15, from 10 to 11 p.m. on WRC-TV Channel 4.

TEXARKANA HIGH SCHOOL
STUDENT CLEANUP DAY

HON. DAVID PRYOR

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. PRYOR of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, today I want to take the opportunity to commend the young people of America for taking up our national concern for environmental-control and making it a cause for which they are willing to work in a constructive manner. I am referring, in particular, to the efforts of more than 1,100 Texarkana high school students from both Texas and Arkansas.

Mr. Speaker, these hard-working high school students both initiated and organized a community-wide trash pick-up day for Saturday, April 19. With the young men and women swarming the city in a manner described as "a giant vacuum cleaner," the all-out campaign against litter saved local residents an estimated thousands of dollars, according to figures released by the Texarkana, Ark., Public Works Department and the Texas Highway Department. According to one highway official, the litter pick-up along Bowie County highways in Texas cost more than \$23,000 in tax dollars in 1969. This is the same money that could have been used in that county to better roads or even to build new highways.

The project was an all-day event. Students on one side filled up a truck which was 14 cubic yards square, an amount which does not include the litter that many of the students took directly to the landfill.

Texas students filled 1,000 large plastic bags before running out, while Arkansas students filled more than 750 of the disposable sacks. Although students were assigned to areas all over town, many areas were not covered because the students ran out of time and supplies. However, participants were go-getters, expressing their desires to extend the project beyond that single day in April. Actions such as this show how much young people do care about their community.

Mr. Speaker, we must continue to encourage such cooperative and aggressive efforts on the part of our teenagers. At this beginning of a new decade, they have adopted America's national conscience. These students realize that there is a pressing need to work to preserve all of nature's beauty so that it might continue to complement the beauty of our manmade edifices. There is no place for litter on our highways nor is there a place for trash in our gutters.

The student leaders of Texarkana have been commended repeatedly since the project began on their deep, sincere enthusiasm for doing a job that needs to be done. But the way that they have handled the details and the actual work deserves an even bigger round of applause from the adult community.

It is now our responsibility as adults

not to allow their efforts to be wasted. We cannot allow these students to be discouraged by their efforts. We must follow the example set by the Texarkana students. We must work together to keep both our community and rural areas clean and free of litter.

SBA AND NATIONAL DISASTER
RELIEF

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on April 23, 1970, I discussed the President's efforts to reform national disaster relief assistance. I also discussed some of the national disaster relief efforts being directed to the Texas Panhandle to help that area recover from the devastating effects of two killer storms.

Yesterday disaster struck again in Texas. The south plains city of Lubbock, the home of the distinguished chairman of the House Appropriations Committee (Mr. MAHON), was devastated by the most destructive tornado to hit the area in recent memory. According to current reports, the storm killed at least 28 individuals, injured more than 300, and left approximately 10,000 people homeless. Damages to personal and real property may well exceed \$30 million.

The President has focused Federal national disaster relief efforts by declaring that several north Texas counties have been subjected to a major natural disaster and that he is authorizing the use of Federal funds to supplement State and local relief measures. Federal, State, and local coordination will center on several north Texas counties damaged by tornadoes during the last 30 days.

On another front, the Small Business Administration, under the capable leadership of Hilary Sandoval, has declared the stricken areas to be eligible for disaster loans and is accepting applications for long-term, low-interest loans for housing, small businesses, and nonprofit institutions affected by recent tornadoes. Residents of Texas have come to expect such immediate and effective responses from the Small Business Administration, because Hilary Sandoval and his fine staff have dedicated themselves and the SBA to responsive community service.

The activities of Mr. Sandoval have been the subject of a recent editorial appearing in the Lubbock, Tex., *Avalanche Journal*. I commend the remarks of this fine paper to the attention of my colleagues.

The article of April 23, 1970, follows:

A STOUT FELLOW

Although he has come and gone after doing his job on the ground, it is not too late to give a friendly slap on the back to Hilary Sandoval, head man of the Small Business Administration.

He didn't call on an assistant to come to West Texas and investigate the losses of the

twin tornadoes which spread death, injury and destruction over a wide area last week. He came, himself, and personally traveled the affected places.

He didn't leave it to aides to set up temporary SBA offices so storm victims could get the same service right at home that they could get in the Lubbock Regional headquarters. He did that job himself, too.

Stout fellow, Hilary Sandoval, who accepts his responsibilities as they come.

This young, personable El Pasoan who holds the highest government post yet assigned an American of Mexican ancestry, Mr. Sandoval is tireless when it comes to keeping up with his job. He goes where the action is, whether to New York to cancel out a loan to a Mafia-dominated business approved by a predecessor of earlier administrations, or to investigate whether or not discrimination has been practiced following a Gulf Coast hurricane. Mr. Sandoval doesn't "let George do it." He does it—and he does it well.

All of us who live in West Texas may be proud that our area has contributed the services of this young man to the nation. Unafraid of critical commentators, willing to tangle with power-hungry politicians if that must be and preferring to go back to his own profitable business rather than do something he knows isn't right, he is a breath of fresh air in official Washington.

He's quite a guy and he shows it at every turn.

ON THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF
CONGRESS LOWERING THE VOTING
AGE TO 18 BY STATUTE

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, recently President Nixon sent a letter to leaders of the House of Representatives in which he questioned the constitutionality of Congress lowering the voting age to 18 by statute. I would remind my colleagues that this is not a new question. The constitutionality of proceeding to accomplish the result of lowering the voting age by act of Congress has been debated, researched, and discussed during Senate hearings and during the floor debate in the Senate. The final upshot was that after considering the question, the Senate passed the statutory provision by a nearly 4-to-1 margin of 64 to 17. Mr. Speaker, experts disagree on nearly every bona fide question. I wish to share with my colleagues my disagreement with the President and those who share his views on this particular question.

First, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the testimony presented on March 10, 1970, to the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments of the Senate Judiciary Committee by Assistant Attorney General William H. Rehnquist. In his testimony, the Assistant Attorney General stated as follows:

Certainly constitutional law, especially that pertaining to the Fourteenth Amendment, has changed substantially in recent years, and no informed observer could state

unequivocally that the statutory approach would not pass muster with the Supreme Court. But even more surely, no informed observer can affirmatively state that the statutory approach would pass muster with the Supreme Court. Characterizing the chances of success as best I can, in my opinion, I would have to say that they are uncertain and dubious.

Later in his testimony Mr. Rehnquist summarized the situation facing Congress in the following words:

The practical question facing this Committee, and which will ultimately face the Congress as a whole, is whether to proceed by the statutory route because of the shorter time involved, rather than proceeding by the constitutional route because of the greater certainty involved.

I accept such a summary of the question which will face my colleagues. And I will candidly state that, like the lopsided vote in the Senate clearly stated its decision, my decision is that the "practical" answer to this "practical" question is to support the statutory route.

I do believe that a strong case can be made for the constitutionality of all of the provisions of the Senate-passed Voting Rights Act, including the nationwide uniform residency requirements, the nationwide literacy test ban, and the provision to lower the voting age. Prof. Archibald Cox, a former Solicitor General of the United States, testified before a Senate committee that Congress could lower the voting age by statute. Prof. Paul Freund likewise is of the opinion that Congress has the power to lower the voting age by statute. And 64 U.S. Senators are on record in support of this judgment.

In his letter to you, Mr. Speaker, the President says that Congress cannot act because the Constitution vests such power in the States. To quote from the President's letter:

On many things the Constitution is ambiguous. On the power to set voting qualifications, however, the Constitution is clear and precise; within certain specified limits, this power belongs to the States.

And the President advises that accordingly only the States can act unless Congress acts by constitutional amendment. I would remind my colleagues that the President seemingly limits this rationale to the voting age portion of the pending legislation. That voting qualifications are to be left to the States is his message. Yet there is a portion of this same legislation, the residency requirements, dealing with voting qualifications which was offered on behalf of the administration, and it is apparently permissible for Congress to act by statute on this item. I suggest to my colleagues that if Congress, in its wisdom, determines to act by statute with regard to voting qualifications, whether such qualifications pertain to literacy, residence or age, the judicial branch of our Government will give proper recognition to the act of the legislative branch. If the administration's residency requirement provisions are a proper statutory exercise of congressional power, then so also with respect to the voting age provisions.

In two memorandums which the Jus-

tice Department presented to Congress to justify the administration amendments concerning literacy tests and residency requirements, the Department relied upon a Supreme Court case, *Katzbach v. Morgan*, 384 U.S. 641. As the Justice Department states:

The Court held that the power of Congress under Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment to enact legislation prohibiting enforcement of a state law is not limited to situations where the state law is unconstitutional.

I believe the very same case and the very same principle provides the very same justification for the constitutionality of lowering the voting age by statute as it does for changing other voting qualifications by statute. In its opinion in the *Morgan* case, the Court ruled that Congress has broad power to exercise its discretion in determining the need for and the nature of legislation to secure 14th amendment guarantees. In the *Morgan* case, the Supreme Court took notice of section 5 of the 14th amendment, which states: "The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article." The Court stated at page 649 that:

Without regard to whether the judiciary would find that the Equal Protection Clause itself nullifies New York's English literacy requirement as so applied, could Congress prohibit the enforcement of the state law by legislating under Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment? In answering this question, our task is limited to determining whether such legislation is, as required by Section 5, appropriate legislation to enforce the Equal Protection Clause.

By including Section 5 the draftsmen sought to grant to Congress, by a specific provision applicable to the Fourteenth Amendment, the same broad powers expressed in the Necessary and Proper Clause, Art. I, Section 8, clause 18. The classic formulation of the reach of those powers was established by Chief Justice Marshall in *McCulloch v. Maryland*, 4 Wheat 316, 421:

"Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consistent with the letter and spirit of the constitution, are constitutional."

The Supreme Court went on to state, at page 651, that:

Thus the *McCulloch v. Maryland* standard is the measure of what constitutes "appropriate legislation" under Section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment. Correctly viewed, Section 5 is a positive grant of legislative power authorizing Congress to exercise its discretion in determining whether and what legislation is needed to secure the guarantees of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The issue then which would be before the Court in a test of the power of Congress to lower the voting age by statute will be analogous to that in the *Morgan* case; that is, whether the congressional action is "appropriate legislation" under section 5 of the 14th amendment. If, therefore, Congress finds that the equal protection clause is best served by extending the voting franchise rather than restricting the franchise, and if there is a reasonable basis for this finding, the

Congress has the power to change the law by statute and grant the vote to 18-year-olds, even though, in the absence of action by Congress, the Supreme Court might have upheld State laws setting the voting age at 21.

In its opinion in the *Morgan* case, the Supreme Court stated at page 652 that section 4(e) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was, first, "an enactment to enforce the equal protection clause," and, second, "plainly adapted" to furthering these aims of the equal protection clause. Continuing, at page 653, the Court stated:

Section 4(e) thereby enables the Puerto Rican minority better to obtain "perfect equality of civil rights and equal protection of the laws." It was well within congressional authority to say that this need of the Puerto Rican minority for the vote warranted federal intrusion upon any state interests served by the English literacy requirement. It was for Congress, as the branch that made this judgment, to assess and weigh the various conflicting considerations. . . . It is not for us to review the congressional resolution of these factors. It is enough that we be able to perceive a basis upon which the Congress might resolve the conflict as it did."

The President suggests that if Congress passes the pending legislation (H.R. 4249 as passed the Senate) and the 18-year-old vote provisions are later declared unconstitutional by the courts, it will have "immense and possibly disastrous effects." I do not agree with such a conclusion. In fact, I would caution my colleagues that needing only to simply agree with the Senate-passed language, we would probably bring forth far more dissent and disruption among our already frustrated young people if we failed to act favorably at this time. It is no secret that constitutional amendment proposals for lowering the voting age have languished in this Congress and previous Congresses. I am a sponsor of such a proposal, House Joint Resolution 865.

It is perfectly clear to me that the Voting Rights Act is the only realistic hope of challenging our youth to work within the system rather than turning them aside to be picked up and used by those who seek to destroy the system through violence. The youth of today are better educated, physically superior, and better prepared to take the responsibility of the vote at 18 than ever before. We have before us the chance to challenge them to participate or we can say that we are sorry, but we prefer to go about our business in the same old way and someday they may be given the vote. I believe it would be several years in coming, under the constitutional amendment route. It would be next January 1, under the pending legislation.

Finally, to those whose doubts remain, I would say that the legislation is ideally constituted to make possible a prompt review of the constitutionality of the action by Congress. Section 303 provides for an expeditious review of the cases brought, and I frankly feel that the Attorney General can take appropriate action to bring a test case which could be presented to the Supreme Court for final determination of the constitutional issue.

without substantially jeopardizing any National or State election, particularly the presidential election of 1972.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues an editorial which appeared in the Washington Evening Star on April 29. The Star concludes that:

Given the present circumstances, the best course would be to pass the bill and to force a court test at the earliest possible moment. If the law survives the judicial test, the job is done. If it is thrown out, then the slow but sure method of amendment can be adopted to reach the goal that the House, the Senate and the President all profess to seek.

I insert the editorial in its entirety at this point in the RECORD.

NIXON AND THE TEENAGERS

The President's suggestion to the House leaders that legislation giving the vote to 18-year-olds should be rejected as based on the proposition that a constitutional amendment would be a surer and quite possibly a faster route to the same goal. Mr. Nixon is half right.

There is no doubt that the legislative route raises serious constitutional questions. Respected legal opinion differs over whether or not the Supreme Court will accept so massive a federal invasion of the constitutionally sanctioned right of the states to set voters' qualifications. No prudent man would wager heavily that the legislation could survive its first court test.

But the presidential argument that a constitutional amendment could be the quickest way to deliver the vote to the teenagers is something less than sound.

An amendment requires a two-thirds approval of the House and Senate and ratification by three-fourths of the states. Congressional approval of an amendment seems sure enough, but the approval by 38 state legislatures before the 1972 elections is doubtful. Many states will resist the federal intrusion on their sacred preserve. Most legislatures are not now in session. And the fact that the amendment giving the vote to the District passed in 11 months is no guarantee that as has been suggested, the 30 months remaining before the 1972 election is ample time. The D.C. vote was of no great concern to the legislators; the vote within their own states is.

The President also argued that the questionable legality of the Senate bill could, if voted into law, drag on through the courts beyond the 1972 elections, leaving the outcome of the election in doubt for months. The prospect is a chilling one—no doubt about that. But the likelihood of its ever being realized is approximately nil.

The Senate bill provides for an immediate test of the legislation in District Court. In addition, it would be possible for any state, as soon as the legislation takes effect on January 1, 1971, to initiate action directly in the Supreme Court. And there is no reason at all to suppose that the court would refuse to hear without delay a case of such obvious national importance.

It might have been wiser, at the outset, to go after a constitutional amendment. But now the 1972 election is drawing near. The legislation has passed the Senate and will, if allowed to reach the floor, pass the House. Given the present circumstances, the best course would be to pass the bill and to force a court test at the earliest possible moment. If the law survives the judicial test, the job is done. If it is thrown out, then the slow but sure method of amendment can be adopted to reach the goal that the House, the Senate and the President all profess to seek.

SPAULDING ADVOCATES MORE BLACK REPRESENTATION ON BOARD OF DIRECTORS

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, Asa T. Spaulding, retired president of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., and a director of W. T. Grant Co., a bank, and a savings and loan association, and a trustee of two universities and a technical institute, is pushing for more black representation on the board of directors of the Nation's leading business and industrial corporations.

In a letter to the president and/or chairman of the board of 109 of the country's leading and most respected corporations, Spaulding said:

I can think of nothing which I believe would be a more convincing proof of your total commitment in this area (equal opportunity employment), and increase minority and public confidence in your determination to provide forward looking leadership all the way, than for your company to put a competent and responsible Negro on its Board of Directors.

Such action would definitely place your company in the vanguard of the major corporations on the wave of the future. Furthermore, such a person could bring to your deliberations a point of view and interpretation which might not otherwise be adequately understood, and considered in proper perspective.

Good racial attitudes and relations may well be one of the essential keys to the stability of our form of government and to the economic progress of the country in the years ahead.

Spaulding has already received replies from 62 of the 109 companies written. The first two replies came within a week and read in part as follows:

Number 1. I suspect that every member of our Board would agree with the sentiment expressed in your letter of February 4. Would you be good enough to suggest six or more able and responsible Negroes whom I might bring to the attention of the Board?

Number 2. If you have in mind any Negroes who you think are worthy of consideration, I would be delighted to have their names.

Mr. Spaulding says the responses have been so favorable that he senses the need for developing a kind of "bank" of qualified blacks and other minorities for corporate directorships and other top level positions, and from which business and industry might draw. This is now being considered.

He also says:

It is anticipated that only capable, knowledgeable, and otherwise qualified persons with balanced judgment for making policy decisions would be considered for Board memberships. An unqualified person would not only be a disservice to a corporation but would also defeat the objectives and purposes envisioned.

On the other hand, a well qualified minority member might bring an additional dimension to a Board. And his "input" during these times of social upheaval, which threaten our form of government as well as

the private enterprise system, might help Board deliberations and decisions to be more relevant and result in better protection of shareholder and consumer interests.

Spaulding says he is not certain as to how imminent action is but that many of the corporations have indicated serious intentions, and several have requested the submission of from three to six names of persons for review and for a determination if a suitable selection might be made.

KATYN MASSACRE MEMORIAL HELD IN HAMMOND, IND.

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 3, I addressed the 30th Anniversary Memorial Observance of the Katyn Forest Massacre, one of the great international crimes in world history. This observance was sponsored by Thomas Sech, president of the Indiana Division of the Polish American Congress.

In the 82d Congress, the House of Representatives created a select congressional committee to investigate this massacre of over 14,000 Polish leaders at the beginning of World War II during the winter of 1939 and 1940. This special congressional committee, of which I had the honor to be chairman, held hearings in this country, London, and Europe and recorded for posterity testimony which established and revealed to the people of the world the barbarous methods used by the Communist leaders in exterminating innocent victims in order to establish Communist domination and tyranny over all the nations on the globe.

It has been estimated that since the days of Lenin, over 40 million humans have been murdered, massacred, and starved to death by reason of the insane methods of Communist tyrants to inflict tyranny upon free people.

Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks a resolution which was unanimously adopted at the 30th anniversary ceremony by the Polish American Congress mass meeting at Hammond, Ind., on the afternoon of May 3, 1970.

I also wish to call the Members' attention to a dispatch in this morning's Washington Post announcing the death of Gen. Wladyslaw Anders, one of the most outstanding Polish military leaders and statesmen of this century. He passed away yesterday in London, suffering from a heart attack.

At the time of the Katyn Forest massacre, General Anders was incarcerated, in solitary confinement, in a Moscow prison where he had spent 20 months. He was freed after the German invasion in 1941 and became commander of Polish forces in Russia for the remainder of the war.

General Anders organized an army of freed Polish war prisoners and brought

the troops to the Middle East. The Polish II Corps, as the army was called, fought alongside the Allies in Africa and Italy.

General Anders was honored by the American, English, and French Governments for his service.

In 1946 the Polish Communist government stripped General Anders of his nationality, accusing him of "activities detrimental to the state."

Mr. Speaker, General Anders devoted his life to the cause of Poland and he was a great aid to our committee when we held hearings in London and Europe exposing the true facts regarding the Katyn Forest massacre.

Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks a letter written to me on June 8, 1959, by General Anders which further reveals his patriotic devotion to a Free Poland and the necessity of continuing the fight for future freedom.

Resolution adopted at the 30th Anniversary Observance of the Katyn Massacre.

Assembled at the commemoration of a tragic event, which has become known throughout the civilized world as the Katyn Massacre, we submit the following:

1. In accordance with the Soviet-German treaty of August 25, 1939, the Russian Army invaded Poland on September 17, 1939, when the Polish Army was bleeding in its valiant struggle against the armored might of Germany.

After the complete occupation of Poland by the German and Soviet forces, approximately 250,000 Polish soldiers were made prisoners of war in the Soviet zone of occupation. 15,000 Polish officers were placed in the prisoner of war camps in Ostashkov, Starobelsk and Kozielek in Russia.

These officers were wantonly murdered on the orders of the Soviet government—4,500 at the Katyn Forest, the remainder in heretofore unknown locality.

The International Tribunal of Nuremberg punished Germans guilty of crimes of genocide, but failed to hold hearings and pass judgement on the crimes of genocide perpetrated by the Soviet Union, which to this date enslaves smaller nations.

Indeed, the Soviet leaders guilty of genocide were instead accorded wide ranging concessions at Yalta, where these Soviet war criminals were given the right to conquest in East Central Europe. This in turn, enabled them to organize a vast empire, which today threatens the security of the free world.

2. 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. Its purpose is to induce them to discontinue their invasion of Western Europe. The plan precludes nuclear attack against Russia itself.

Thus a nation guilty of genocide and conquest of many peoples, a nation which wages war against this country in Viet Nam and which openly declared its intention to destroy America, is to be saved from nuclear attack at the cost of the people of Poland and Czechoslovakia, who have always demonstrated their friendship toward the United States.

The nuclear barrage across Poland and Czechoslovakia would in effect be the complete destruction of both nations, innocent as they are.

Within this context, the nuclear strategy of NATO constitutes planned genocide, this time conceived by the nations which proudly proclaim the superiority of ethical values of our Christian heritage and Western culture.

3. We Americans of Polish descent, assembled here at the solemn commemoration of the 30th Anniversary of the Katyn Forest Massacre, request the President, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America, and the entire American nation:

To implement the Congressional Resolution of 1952, which established Russia's responsibility for the Katyn Massacre;

To disavow the NATO nuclear plan against Poland and Czechoslovakia; and finally

To initiate United States policy, which would lead to the liberation of the people of Poland, Czechoslovakia and all other nations of East-Central Europe, from Soviet enslavement.

THOMAS SECH,
President, Indiana Division, Polish American Congress.

HELEN RZEPKA,
Chairman, Civic Alertness Committee,
Polish American Congress, Indiana Division.

JUNE 8, 1959.

Hon. Congressman R. J. MADDEN,
House of Representatives, Congress of the United States, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MADDEN: I read with great interest that you have raised the Katyn question in the Congress and that you are "preparing information for the State Department and the President concerning the Katyn Forest Massacre which will be helpful in a Summit Conference tentatively planned for this Summer."

At this occasion, may I express my most sincere gratitude for your constant effort in the pursuit of truth and justice as regards the tragic lot of Polish prisoners of war who, in the Spring of 1940, were murdered by the Soviets in Katyn and other as yet undiscovered places of execution.

I also wish to assure you that my countrymen, as well as myself, are well aware of the gravity of issues resulting from the work of the Congress Katyn Committee under your most efficient Chairmanship. We also attach great importance to the conclusions submitted to the President of the United States by this Committee following its valuable investigation of the case in 1952. Those conclusions, quite rightly and in accordance with the laws recognized in the World of today, requested that the Katyn case should be directed first to UNO and then to the Hague International Tribunal.

Next year, in the Spring of 1960, twenty years will have passed since the Katyn murder. The memory of this anniversary will be present in the minds of all Poles and we shall appeal again to the public opinion of Free Nations in order that justice should be applied to the criminals. We do not doubt that our American friends, and you Mr. Congressman in the first place, will raise their greatly valued voices in this important matter.

With kindest regards and all best personal wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

GENERAL W. ANDERS.

TORRANCE FIRM SELECTED AS
SMALL BUSINESS SUBCONTRACTOR OF THE YEAR

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, each year the Small Busi-

ness Administration selects a Small Business Subcontractor of the Year. For the first time, a California business—Thiem Industries, Inc.—has won the award.

Thiem Industries, Inc., a firm located in Torrance, Calif., was rated first among the nominees of the west coast and later competed against entries in nine other SBA regions for the national honor.

Thiem Industries, Inc. was founded by Henry J. Thiem in March 1955 and incorporated in December 1955. The business was organized for the manufacture of precision metal assemblies and operations were begun in a small, leased building in Gardena, Calif., with five employees. In the first 12 months of business, Thiem Industries had sales of less than \$75,000. Today, 15 years after its modest beginning, the company employs nearly 200 people and has sales of \$5 million per year.

Thiem Industries has enjoyed a steady growth over the years as a result of industrious and conservative management, a team of talented and dedicated employees and customers who have been loyal to a firm that has supplied them with quality products on a timely basis.

This company has been honored on numerous occasions in the past by its customers for its quality and performance. Among the outstanding honors bestowed upon the company was the nomination by the Norair Division of the Northrop Corp. for the 1967 Small Business Subcontractor of the Year Award and the nomination by the Fullerton Division of the Hughes Aircraft Co. in 1968. The high point of honors, of course, is the nomination for 1969 by the Aircraft Division of the Northrop Corp. which resulted in Thiem Industries being selected for the national award as the Small Business Subcontractor of the Year.

Mr. Speaker, I am exceedingly proud of Mr. Thiem and his firm and the quality products that they produce. In addition, I am proud of the contribution he and the members of his business have made to the community.

I would like to join with those who admire initiative, hard work, and pride in accomplishment in saluting the management and employees of Thiem Industries.

IT IS TIME TO END APPEASEMENT
ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, an editorial appeared in the May 5 issue of the Camden Courier-Post clearly spells out the dangers to our educational system and calls for the restoration of order on college campuses if academic freedom is to prevail. I urge your attention to the message contained in the editorial.

No editor could have written a more

sensible editorial. I commend him for it—straight forward to the point.

The editorial follows:

ORDER ON THE CAMPUS

Pampering of demonstrators on college campuses, with calls for amnesty for even the most violent radicals, had gone far enough, we thought, as weak-kneed administrators seemed to compete among themselves for quickest capitulation.

But now comes a phenomenon in which a college president not only capitulates but seemingly joins the ranks of the protesters.

Kingman Brewster, president of Yale University, got right into the disorderly swim as students and others showed their support of the Black Panthers charged with murder in an impending trial in New Haven.

"I am appalled and ashamed that things should have come to such a pass that I am skeptical of the ability of black revolutionaries to achieve a fair trial anywhere in the United States," said this college head.

In large part, Brewster says, the atmosphere has been created by police action and prosecution against the Panthers in many parts of the country. For all that he makes it sound like a reign of terror, it has been noted that there hasn't been a single federal conviction of a Black Panther.

The agitation in New Haven is in protest of the trial of Bobby Seale and eight other Panthers charged with murder and kidnapping in the slaying of Alex Rackley, an alleged Panther turned police informer whose body was found in a swamp last May.

Yale University, which had no part in the sponsorship or organization of the rallies, opened its doors to the demonstrators who were fed and housed, and treated for tear gas irritation.

Bob Hope had a light-touch answer for Brewster's fear over a fair trial in this country. Why don't they go to Russia and try to get a fair trial, Hope wanted to know. But the question also had been answered adequately earlier in another Panther trial. ABC commentator Howard K. Smith wondered if the Panthers disrupting the New York court were white right-wingers instead of black left-wingers there would not be summary actions against their disruption.

So the Yale president's statement is pretty silly. He can sympathize with the defendants if he wants to. But the trial in New Haven is not a political trial and in no way equates with the Chicago 7 trial. In New Haven it's murder.

A fair trial comes with calm, dispassionate reason, not with the kind of hullabaloo demonstrators have raised at Yale. That's more dangerous in precluding a fair trial.

The time indeed has come for an end to appeasement on the college campuses. Hard answers don't come through appeasement and capitulation. A concise and clear set of rules for campus conduct might well be established. And suspension or ultimate expulsion for violators would be precisely in order.

There certainly should be no amnesty for lawlessness and violence. Penn State University president Eric Walker held his ground on that score recently even after he and his wife were driven from their home by rock-throwing students.

Such courageous administrators, along with the majority of professors and students on college campuses who practice good order and want to get on with the process of education, are to be commended and supported.

This is not to say there isn't a place for demonstrations. Anti-war feelings obviously are high on many campuses, with young men the ones who face the prospect of fighting in Southeast Asia in a war they do not support.

But their feelings are not best demonstrated when they turn to violence. Their concern does not permit them to burn down ROTC buildings. Attacks such as these smack of despised fascist tactics.

The death of four students and wounding of 11 others at Kent State University tragically points up the dreaded end result of demonstrations which turn to violence. Reason must come to the Ohio campus and to others where sporadic outbreaks of disorder have occurred.

Order must be restored on the campuses if academic freedom and the right of free—and peaceful—expression are to prevail.

THE DONKEY STILL KICKS

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, much has been made of late of the malaise affecting the Democratic Party. In some circles it is known as a severe case of the shorts and while it is inconvenient, to say the least, it is rarely fatal. The Honorable James A. Farley, one of the greats of the American political scene, apparently thinks this way, too, and is not hesitant about saying so in print. Under the permission heretofore unanimously granted me I include a newspaper article carried in the Sacramento Bee, the Fresno Bee, and the Modesto Bee, written by Edward H. Dickson, entitled "The Farley Way in Politics":

THE FARLEY WAY IN POLITICS

(By Edward H. Dickson)

DEBT

Much ado is being made these days about the \$9 million debt inherited by the present Democratic National Committee from the close-but-still-losing 1968 presidential campaign.

Some are going so far as to predict the party's death like that of the Whigs.

But there are dissenters who say that while the Democratic donkey might have a severe bad financial glanders or heaves, there is a potent kick in the old boy yet.

VETERAN

One of those who is not ready to roll over and play dead for the benefit of the Republicans is Rep. John J. Rooney of Brooklyn, NY, a congressional pepper pot if there ever was one.

"The pundits around the country," Rooney told his colleagues, "are trying to bury the Democratic party without even a decent wake."

"They say the party is leaderless, out of touch with the people and broke—that it cannot win in 1970 or 1972 and in fact may not even be in existence by then."

"This, like most punditry, is just pure bunk. The party owes money but it can win in 1970 and 1972 and once again prove it is the party of the people."

WITNESS

As a supporting witness for his viewpoint, Rooney cited James A. Farley, still sharp and active in the business world and one of the political geniuses of United States history.

It was Farley who packed a suitcase in the 1930's and traveled throughout the nation

gathering delegates for Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt, a fellow New Yorker, for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1932.

Farley has an almost uncanny memory for names and faces, boundless energy and a high regard for political loyalty.

FDR appointed Farley postmaster general at the same time he was serving as chairman of both the Democratic National Committee and the New State Committee.

He performed all his tasks well but the hostile Republican press referred to him as "three-job Farley" which disturbed the amicable Farley not in the least as he enjoyed wearing all three hats.

There was a story around Washington during early New Deal days that while Farley was not vindictive about punishing any of the administration's enemies, he thoroughly enjoyed rewarding his friends.

KEEN INTEREST

All things being equal as to qualifications for a job, Farley showed keen interest in knowing whether the favor seeker was "BC"—meaning not the calendar but a supporter of FDR "Before Chicago" where he was nominated.

Anybody who might have doubted Farley's political ability had to be thoroughly convinced by his management of Roosevelt's 1936 reelection campaign which he won by carrying every state except the then traditionally Republican states of Maine and Vermont.

Rooney pointed out Farley remembers 1928 when Democrat Alfred E. Smith was defeated badly by Herbert Hoover in an election which saw several of the then "Solid South" states go into the Republican instead of Democratic column. The political wiseacres expressed the belief the Democrats would be out of power for 25 years.

RECALLED

But Farley also recalled the Democrats bounced back in 1932 and it was they, not the Republicans, who held the White House for 20 years.

As to the leadership, Farley had kind words for both Hubert Humphrey and US Sen. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine.

He observed the election was close, that the McCarthy and Kennedy camps delayed too late in aiding the ticket and that Humphrey and Muskie would have won if the campaign had gone another week.

He said Muskie made an "extremely good impression, is knowledgeable and a good public speaker who never makes extravagant statements."

NATIONAL COLLEGE OF ECOLOGICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, the Republican Task Force on Earth Resources and Population, of which I am chairman, has spent the past year studying the population growth problem, and related environmental issues. One of the most salient observations that we have made during this past year, is the necessity for increased programs that will enable our young people to deal with the problems that threaten the environment.

On April 21, Mr. Skip Spensley, the

director of Environment in Washington, appeared before our task force, and presented an excellent description of the work done by his group. Mr. Spensley aptly demonstrated the interest expressed by young people in the problems of our environment, and their desire to provide responsible action and leadership. At the Environment Teach-In on April 22, our staff was once again impressed by the seriousness and urgency with which young people have approached these problems. Later that week, one of our task force staff members delivered a speech at Ritchie Elementary School and was surprised that even children at this age have a foreboding concern for the future of the earth, and eagerly await the chance to make contributions to a saving effort.

On April 8, I introduced H.R. 16847, a bill to establish a National College of Ecological and Environmental Studies, which I strongly feel will aid in providing our young people with the opportunities that they so earnestly desire. The college would be established within the National Science Foundation for the purpose of encouraging the pursuit of ecological and environmental studies and vocations. It would be funded with seed money from Federal funds, but the bulk of the cost would be provided by the private and commercial sectors of the country. The bill has been referred to the Committee on Science and Astronautics, and we are hoping to receive a favorable report from this committee in the near future.

NEW HOPE FOR THE DEAF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am calling to the attention of the Congress, HEW, our educators, and the medical profession the amazing results under new methodology of Dr. Petar Guberina for erasing deafness developed at the Dr. Guberina Rehabilitation Center for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing at the University of Zagreb in Yugoslavia.

I submit in my remarks the two excellent letters on this program, and the recommendations of our outstanding Pennsylvania official, Dr. Neal V. Musmanno, the competent and highly respected deputy secretary of the Department of Education of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The letters follow:

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,
Harrisburg, Pa., April 9, 1970.

HON. RICHARD M. NIXON,
President of the United States,
The White House, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: You will be pleased to know that twenty-one American educators just returned from an education mission to three selected European countries—Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia—with stopovers in Hungary, Austria and

Switzerland. Among the twenty-one educators were nineteen chief school administrators from that many states throughout our Nation, one college professor and one Deputy State Secretary of Education.

This special education mission was sponsored by the American Association of School Administrators with Dr. Arnold Salisbury as President and Dr. John Wilcox as Associate Secretary, planned and arranged by the National Education Association's Division of Educational Travel under the direction of Mr. William C. Becker; Mr. Gilmer R. Terry, Assistant Director; and Mrs. Lois M. Weinbach, Registration Manager.

It was my pleasure to serve as director of this educational mission and I respectfully write you to let you know of the wonderful reception we received in all these countries.

Wherever we went in Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia and where we stopped briefly in Hungary, Austria and Switzerland, we were received with genuine devotion and respect for the United States of America. They inquired about our President and asked us to extend our best wishes. They were especially enthusiastic in Romania where they remember your special visit with love and admiration.

We not only spoke with the ministers of education and other leading education officials in these countries, but conversed with the school administrators, teachers and students in the many schools we visited and with citizens in the cities and villages as well.

In each of the countries a small American flag was provided to grace our tables when we dined. This not only filled each of us with great pride for our beloved country but elicited respectful attention and admiration from the natives and others in the many dining rooms as well.

It is our feeling that this education mission sponsored by the American Association of School Administrators and the National Education Association did much to encourage friendly relationships and good will with our neighbors across the seas. I would particularly like to commend Mr. Becker, Mr. Terry, Mrs. Weinbach and others of the National Education Association staff, as well as Dr. Salisbury and Dr. Wilcox who made this rewarding experience possible. Special commendations are also due the educator members of the education mission for the exemplary manner in which they conducted themselves to bring increased admiration and respect for our beloved country. We were privileged to visit the American Embassies and speak with the Embassies' staffs in several of these countries and we were always received and treated most cordially.

This education study mission provided an introduction to the educational systems in these Central and East European countries, as well as to exchange ideas and methodology which would be of mutual interest and value to all of us.

We were particularly impressed and overwhelmed by an innovative program to rehabilitate the deaf and hard of hearing and actually erase deafness in children and adults as well which we had the opportunity to observe in Zagreb, Yugoslavia. This fantastic, unbelievable, new methodology referred to as "Verbotal" was invented and developed by a distinguished professor in the University of Zagreb and truly a new genius in the world today—Dr. Petar Guberina. We shall make every effort to bring his findings and methodology to America for the benefit of so many handicapped children and adults.

I apologize for writing you at such great length but we know of your devoted interest in education and how much you would personally appreciate hearing about our education mission and the great respect the na-

tives of these Central and East European Countries have for American educators and the President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon.

I am also writing to the Honorable William P. Rogers, Secretary of State; Honorable Hugh Scott and Honorable Richard S. Schweiker, the senior and junior United States Senators from Pennsylvania; our Governor, the Honorable Raymond P. Shafer; and to our State Secretary of Education, Dr. David H. Kurtzman so that they may know of the extraordinary, wonderful treatment we received and also of the devoted expressions to you.

Most respectfully,
NEAL V. MUSMANNO.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA,
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION,
Harrisburg, Pa., April 10, 1970.

Dr. JAMES E. ALLEN, Jr.,
Assistant Secretary of Education and U.S.
Commissioner of Education, Washington, D.C.

DEAR COMMISSIONER ALLEN: With the thought that it may be of interest to you, I am pleased to send you a copy of a letter I have written to the President concerning a special Education Mission to three European countries—Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia.

As director of this Education Mission, from which we have just returned, I am happy to share this with you.

I especially refer you to the third from the last paragraph on the second page of my letter to the President in which I write about Dr. Petar Guberina and his unbelievable methodology for erasing deafness. You will recall my discussions with you, with Dr. James Gallagher and with others of your staff concerning this new technique which has finally been designed and cast into a project proposal from the State of Pennsylvania and, as you recall from my personal visit to your office Monday morning, March 9, 1970, presented officially to your Bureau of Education for the Handicapped under the title *An Investigation of the Verbotal Method With Preschool Deaf Children*. The proposal has been designated as No. 23-2322, and the project officer assigned from your staff is Mr. Melville J. Appell as indicated by Mr. L. J. Caposela, Grants Management Specialist, Division of Research, Bureau of Education for the Handicapped.

I write this letter to you not only as a courtesy and with the utmost admiration for your educational leadership in our Nation, but also as a report on this unbelievable new methodology in the treatment and rehabilitation of the deaf and hard of hearing. I would be most grateful if my letter might be used as an addendum to our Project Proposal No. 23-2322 and could be circulated to the readers you select for our proposal.

As indicated in my letter to President Nixon, 21 American educators participated in this special Education Mission to Central and Eastern Europe, which is described in my letter. Although the visit to the University of Zagreb in Yugoslavia and the Dr. Guberina Rehabilitation Center for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing was not officially on the original schedule of the Education Mission, once we visited there, all of the chief school administrators, the college professor and myself were absolutely overwhelmed by the results of what we saw. Specifically, profoundly deaf children ranging in age from two through ten years—in fact, Dr. Guberina treats persons at early age to age 90 in adult groups—are now not only able to hear their language and understanding is impeccable. You would be thrilled, I am sure, to see and hear a deaf child speak so clearly, so plainly and so perfectly without any off-key

intonation. After the profoundly deaf children are with him for periods of time ranging from two to three years, they are placed in regular classroom situations and can hear and speak beyond belief.

I should like to quote briefly from some of the reports of the chief school administrators who were members of the official Education Mission.

Dr. G. E. Ebbert—Chief School Administrator, Anderson, Indiana: "The highlight of the entire tour was the visit to the 'School for the Rehabilitation of the Deaf' in Zagreb, Yugoslavia. Dr. Petar Guberina has introduced the theory of 'Verbo-tonal' in rehabilitating deaf students and adults. His patience in providing the time to demonstrate his work and success was most generous. Dr. Guberina is one of the great geniuses of this day. We Americans should do everything possible to help expand the work of this great man. Many children relegated to a life of audio darkness can be restored to a near normal status and will be able to enjoy the normal way of life. To see this great display of a genius at work with little children and to see them changed to happy normal children was emotionally disturbing."

Dr. H. M. Landrum—Chief School Administrator, Spring Branch School District, Houston, Texas:

"We found an innovative practice in Yugoslavia that should be broadly introduced in the U.S. This is the method and technique of instructing deaf children to the point to which they can attend regular classes after a few years training under this program. It was developed by Professor P. Guberina who has both a superior talent and determination. We saw the program in action and the success achieved appeared far superior to anything now existing in the United States. H.E.W. should immediately develop a sustained interest in both Professor Guberina and his technique."

Dr. R. Thomas Jannarone—Chief School Administrator, Hazlet Township Public Schools, Hazlet, New Jersey:

"Although the visit to Dr. Petar Guberina's school for the deaf was not on the official itinerary, I feel obliged to report my amazement at the results of this theory and system. I saw the results as the children answered the teacher in a clear voice that is not typical of deaf children taught to speak by other means. Dr. Guberina's theory seems so reasonable after one sees it work. I would suggest that our government make funds available on expansion of the program in the U.S. Dr. Guberina and his staff were so enthusiastic and dedicated to their work that it is contagious. It was probably the most important thing we saw on our entire mission in Europe."

Dr. Peter Vukad—Chief School Administrator, Hamilton, Montana:

"One of the highlights of our tour was the visit to Dr. Guberina's Rehabilitation School for the Deaf. Certainly this should be pointed out to the AASA and our congressional delegations in Washington as a very worthwhile effort that will bear watching."

Dr. Clarke N. Johnson—Superintendent, Tooele School District, Tooele, Utah:

"I was overwhelmed with the work being done by Dr. Guberina and his staff at the Center of Rehabilitation for the Deaf at Zagreb. The system and the techniques of teaching were tremendous."

I trust that I have not imposed too much on your valuable time with such a lengthy letter, but I wanted to share with you some of the enthusiastic expressions of the American chief school administrators on the Education Mission regarding this outstanding innovative educational program to help handicapped children and adults. Knowing of

your devotion to these matters, I am sure you will be interested in the strong impressions made by Dr. Guberina's work on all of us.

I am indeed grateful for the interest and attention that you and your staff have given the Pennsylvania State proposal. I know that Dr. Kurtzman and Governor Shafer feel the same way. We look forward hopefully to an affirmative response, as we are most anxious to get this important work under way as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

NEAL V. MUSMANNO.

ROOT-TILDEN SCHOLARS OPPOSE WAR

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the recent actions in Indochina have caused great concern and alarm among many college students. The gravity of that concern is shown by this letter from the Root-Tilden Scholars of New York University School of Law.

These students see the need for a more drastic form of protest than that they have previously supported. They commit themselves and urge other students to enter the political system more directly. They fully support the many organizations designed to alter the direction of U.S. involvement. I am pleased to place this letter in the RECORD. It was endorsed by the student body of the law school. The letter follows:

ROOT-TILDEN RESOLUTION

We, the Root-Tilden Scholars at New York University School of Law, have been asked to dedicate a major part of our lives to the ideal of serving the public interest. We met last night because that ideal required it.

The escalation of the war in Cambodia and Vietnam, undertaken without public discussion or consultation with the Congress, without legal or constitutional authority, and after a national election in which the electorate indicated its desire for an end to the war, seems to us to strike at the heart of democratic government and the rule of law.

For the past five years, the Vietnam war has continued unabated in the face of every form of traditional dissent. Faced with this major new escalation, we therefore cannot recommend merely public statements, or letters to the editor, or teach-ins and workshops, or even marches. Those methods have already been tried and each time have been discounted or ignored.

For us the time has come when we can no longer meet our obligation to public service by sitting in the library with friends and legal niceties. That obligation now compels us to devote our time to action where it will be effective—in the communities, in Washington, or in organizations designed to change the tragic direction our nation has taken.

After the most serious discussion, we have concluded, by a vote of 38-7-4, that the school should be closed and our efforts directed full time along the channels we propose below. For us to recommend a form of protest as drastic as closing the school is itself an indication of how serious our situation is, and how inadequate our efforts in the

past have been. But for us to propose something less than this is to urge the adoption of methods which have proved ineffective in the past, and thus, in effect, to propose nothing.

Great demands upon the time of both faculty and students are now being made by the pressures of the approaching examination period. But to devote even minimal time to those examinations now is to be derelict in our obligations as citizens. The intellect and the manpower of this great faculty and student body must be brought to bear upon this most severe national crisis. This can only be accomplished if this institution now takes the step of freeing that faculty and student body for duties which far transcend routine legal work as contributions to our national well-being.

MAY 4, 1970.

Root-Tilden Scholarships are awarded annually to two students from each judicial circuit in the country who show promise of becoming lawyers dedicated to public service. The Program currently includes students from the following states:

Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Kansas, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

THE ANTIWAR LOBBY

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, for the last week students from throughout the country have been filling the Halls of Congress to lobby against the President's policy in Vietnam and the extension of the war into Cambodia.

These students have remained in Washington to convey to their Senators and Congressmen the concern of college students and faculties about the administration's present course in Southeast Asia and recent events in the United States.

The young people are attempting to achieve their goal of ending the war in Vietnam by making use of our present political system.

I hope that all Members of the House will join me in praising the responsible work of these young Americans.

I am inserting in the RECORD a letter which was delivered to my office on behalf of the students, faculty, administration, and staff of Bryn Mawr College.

We in Congress should acknowledge the views of those lobbying in the Nation's Capitol this week. They represent an important part of our constituency, and their voices should be heard.

The letter follows:

MAY 5, 1970.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Many members of the Bryn Mawr College Community are deeply distressed at the decision of President Nixon to send American armed forces into Cambodia. We think that one of the most effective means of expressing our concern is through a petition, which we circulated

among the College Community from Monday morning, 4 May 1970, through Tuesday evening, 5 May 1970. The statement of the petition follows:

"We, the undersigned members of the Bryn Mawr College Community, as members of that Community and individually, deplore the decision of President Nixon to send members of the armed forces of the United States into Cambodia.

"His action, taken without prior consultation with Congress, raises serious questions concerning the abuse of Presidential power. To many Americans, this decision disregards a basic principle of the Constitution, namely that of representative government.

"We therefore call upon the members of

Congress to exercise their lawful authority, in this time of national stress, in curbing Presidential decisions which commit United States armed forces to Southeast Asia. The war in which we are there engaged can surely no longer be called the "War in Vietnam," but the "War in Indochina." We, the undersigned, believe that the Congress of the United States will meet its responsibility in this respect."

We intend to present the original petition, with its 785 signatures, to the office of President Nixon. We have tabulated the numbers and percentages of those members of the Bryn Mawr College Community who have signed the petition. They fall into the following categories:

	Undergraduate students (472)	Graduate students (121)	Faculty members (73)	Staff (63)
Total number of students	718	485	180.0	Alumnae on campus 3.
Percentage who signed	66	21	40.5	Status not indicated 9.
				Administration 3.

¹ Approximate.

Note: Percentages for staff, alumnae, administration, and those whose status was not indicated are not available.

We feel that these figures are particularly impressive, because the petition was circulated within such a brief period of time. We are not attempting to make a statement for the entire College Community, but rather we have allowed individuals within the Community to express their opinion through this petition.

We ask that you consider carefully the statement of this petition as the expression of 785 individuals within a small college who would like to see the policies of President Nixon challenged by each member of Congress.

Please direct your responses to: Jean Eros, '71 (undergraduate), Pembroke West, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania 19010.

(Home address: 355 Tyler Avenue, Washington, Pennsylvania 15301).

PESTICIDES—SOME ALTERNATIVES

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, as more research is completed, and more evidence comes rolling in showing the chilling effects to our environment from the massive use of hard chemical pesticides, it is obvious that action is needed to curb the indiscriminate use of these hard pesticides throughout the Nation.

As a well researched and thoughtful article in the recent issue of Bio-Science points out, approximately 300 pesticides were in general use in 1966, in 10,000 different formulations. That article summarizes many of the facts which we now know about pesticides: How they affect even the outer reaches of the earth like the Antarctic, far from the sites where they were first used, how they concentrate in the tissues of man and animals, and how they have seriously impaired the reproductive capacities of numerous species of birds. That article also estimated that pesticides may poison up to 30,000 persons each year seriously enough to require medical attention.

Pesticides, of course, are not all evil. They have increased crop productions, controlled nuisance pests, and freed millions of persons throughout the world from insect-borne diseases.

But the use of hard pesticides for many years has made many insects highly resistant to certain compounds. As a result we must use more and more of them, in higher and higher concentrations, or we must devise alternative methods to deal with the problem. The knowledge we have gained in the past few years about pesticides and how they affect our environment clearly indicates that it would be foolish to simply increase our use and concentrations of them.

There are alternatives.

Certainly less harmful pesticides can replace more harmful ones in some instances. Research should be accelerated in the biological control of pests. At the present time the USDA has admitted that its budget for the next fiscal year lacks more than \$7 million that could effectively be used for research on improved means of nonchemical pest control. Such pest control research is currently underfunded by at least \$4 million for this fiscal year.

One such method of pest control is sterilization of pests to prevent their reproduction. As another article in the recent Bio-Science points out, it is certainly feasible and to our advantage economically and ecologically to begin to use sterilization control methods on pests which now pose a problem to man.

Sterilization and other types of biological control programs are now being studied at the USDA and elsewhere. Clearly, it is incumbent upon us to continue and even accelerate this type of research. If increased funding is needed, it is well worth the cost.

The articles mentioned appear below:

TOWARD SAFER USE OF PESTICIDES

(By Sheila A. Moats and William A. Moats)

The widespread use of new synthetic organic pesticides has introduced an unprecedented array of chemicals in the environment. According to Mitchell (1966), in 1966,

approximately 300 organic pesticide chemicals were in general use—as insecticides, miticides, herbicides, fungicides, and for other miscellaneous purposes—in 10,000 different formulations. These chemicals were developed for control of specific pests, and with so great an array of compounds, it is impossible to fully evaluate their effects on all possible nontarget organisms. It may be expected that in so diverse a group of chemicals, the undesirable biological side effects will be quite variable. Information is gradually accumulating which enables us to appreciate the nature of these side effects.

The general public first became aware of the potential hazards of pesticides in 1962 from Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* (1962). This book aroused a storm of criticism but did bring public awareness of a need for more study of the possible hazards of these compounds.

Pesticides are generally recognized to be indispensable in modern agriculture although the benefits may sometimes be overestimated. The spectacular successes of insecticides in controlling diseases spread by insect vectors are also well established. Despite progress in biological control, pesticides are likely to remain our first line of defense against various types of pests for some time to come. However, Headley and Lewis (1967) point out that all too many discussions of the use of pesticides are written from a defensive point of view, and they point out the need for a more sophisticated economic approach to the use of pesticides.

SOME COSTS AND BENEFITS OF PESTICIDES

Benefits of pesticides may fall into several categories: increases in crop production resulting from applications of insecticides, herbicides, fungicides, etc.; preservation of other materials from attack by insects, fungi, etc.; control of nuisance-type insects; or reduction of deaths and illness from diseases through control of insect vectors.

Costs include the cost of the pesticide itself plus the cost of application, deleterious effects to human and nontarget plant and animal life, costs of monitoring for residues, and losses from destruction of foods which contain levels of residues considered to be excessive. Some costs and benefits may be estimated economically while others may be difficult to evaluate in monetary terms but are perhaps no less important. It is, for example, difficult to set a monetary value on human lives saved or lost through pesticide use or even on the positive or negative effects on human health.

Wild mammals, fish, birds, and other wild creatures are attractive esthetically and are perhaps of more economic importance than is generally realized. Apart from purely esthetic considerations, annual expenditures of hunters and fishermen are estimated by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service to be of the order of four billion dollars (Headley and Lewis, 1967). To put this figure in proper perspective, it approximately equals the farm value of all the corn produced in the United States and is nearly twice the farm value of cotton (USDA, 1967a). We can add to this the substantial expenditures of birdwatchers, hikers, and other nature-centered activities of millions of people. In addition, wild game and fish may provide an important source of quality protein food. Therefore, it is evident that fish and wildlife must be given adequate consideration in any cost/benefit analysis of pesticide use.

INJURIOUS EFFECTS

Examination of the literature indicates that injurious effects of pesticides are confined mainly to a limited number of compounds. Environmental contamination and most of the injurious effects of fish and wildlife reported result from the use or misuse of a small number of organochlorine insecti-

cides. Although the older arsenicals apparently still cause more deaths annually (Hayes and Pirkle, 1966), most human illnesses and deaths from the newer synthetic pesticides are attributed to parathion and other highly toxic organophosphate insecticides through accidents or misuse, suicides, etc. The organochlorine insecticides and parathion also happen to be the cheapest to use and are, therefore, used extensively (Mitchell, 1966). It may appear that more injurious effects are found with these compounds simply because they are used so widely. However, they have certain properties which make them inherently more hazardous than many other insecticides. Parathion, which is highly toxic to warm-blooded animals including man (Mitchell, 1966; USDA, 1967b), is a significant hazard to agricultural workers. It breaks down rapidly, however, and seems to present little hazard in the environment or in foods. Many organochlorine insecticides are quite persistent and break down slowly. Their main hazard is not that they are persistent, as often stated, but that they are biologically concentrated. Were it not for this concentration, trace amounts in the environment would be of little concern. With the potential for concentration, very low levels may build up to injurious levels in certain organisms.

EFFECTS ON HUMAN HEALTH

Data on human illnesses and deaths from pesticides are not systematically tabulated for most areas. Hayes and Pirkle (1966) showed 111 accidental deaths attributed to pesticides in 1961 in the United States. This figure may be compared with 323 accidental deaths in one year from barbiturate poisoning (Headley and Lewis, 1967). More than half of the deaths attributed to pesticides were caused by pre-DDT pesticides, mainly arsenicals, and a substantial portion of the deaths occurred among small children. Dade County, Florida, reported 68 deaths from pesticides in the period 1956-65, 40 of which were caused by organophosphate insecticides (Davis et al., 1966). Some of these deaths were homicides or suicides, and the rest resulted mainly from accidents or misuse. For 1960-63, California reported 800-1100 cases annually of occupational illnesses from pesticide use among agricultural workers. These data do not cover the one-third of agricultural workers who are self-employed and do not include illnesses caused by pesticides among the general public.

In California, the rate of occupational illness among agricultural workers is reported to be higher than for any other industry (West and Milby, 1965). Many factors other than pesticides are involved; however, the incidence of workman's compensation awards for conditions resulting from inhalation, absorption, and swallowing of pesticides was three times higher than for all industry in 1961 (Kay, 1965). A quotation from Barnes (1966) gives an idea of the situation in some other parts of the world.

"A recent report to WHO indicates what is happening in one small country of Central America where parathion and methyl parathion are being used on cotton. To quote an excerpt:

"The Departmental Hospitals at U- and S- each see up to 300 serious intoxications a month during the cotton growth season (about 6 months) with 2-3 deaths per month. Still more cases are treated in the field by foremen, administrators, and friends. . . ."

While most accidental deaths and illnesses result from carelessness and misuse, West (1966) cites about 400 illnesses among fruit pickers reported to have been caused by parathion residues on the leaves. In this case, the parathion was presumably applied according to accepted procedures.

From the California data, we may hazard a guess at the incidence of pesticide poisoning cases nationwide which required medical treatment. California uses about 10% of the total pesticides used in the United States (Andrilenas et al., 1969). There are 15,000 cases of poisoning among agricultural workers reported annually in the nation. Since the California data do not cover the one-third self-employed agricultural workers, we can assume that rather than the previously stated 800-1100 figure, there are about 1500 cases of poisoning that occur annually in California. About half the reported accidental deaths attributed to pesticides are among nonagricultural workers (Headley and Lewis, 1967). Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that as many cases of serious poisoning occur among nonagricultural workers, giving us a total of 30,000 cases nationwide sufficiently serious to require medical attention. Considering that California makes a more active effort to control pesticide use than many other areas (Rudd, 1964; West and Milby, 1965), the figure of 30,000 illnesses requiring medical treatment annually appears conservative. West and Milby (1965) describe a special study made in Dade County, Florida, which showed 13 deaths from pesticides in 1963 alone—eight accidental and five suicides. If the special study had not been made, eight of the 13 deaths would have been attributed to causes other than pesticides. These figures, if representative for the nation, suggest that the number of 111 accidental deaths annually reported by Hayes (Hayes and Pirkle, 1966) for 1961 may be low by a factor of 2-3. It is difficult to reconcile a report of eight accidental deaths in one Florida county in one year with a nationwide total of only 111 annually.

It has been reported that acute or chronic poisoning by organophosphate insecticides sometimes results in long-term neurologic disorders (Faerman, 1967; West, 1968). West and Milby (1965) report that agricultural workers heavily exposed to pesticides are considered poor risks around machinery even if they do not show obvious symptoms of poisoning.

While few, if any, illnesses or deaths occur among users of pesticides who follow instructions and wear proper protective clothing, there is little margin for error with the highly toxic organophosphate insecticides. These compounds are frequently handled by people who have no appreciation of their toxicity (West and Milby, 1965). In selecting pesticides, one must consider their safety under actual, as well as ideal, conditions of use. Allowance should be made for the possibility that they might be handled carelessly or misused.

HUMAN LOADS OF CHLORINATED PESTICIDES

Great emphasis has been put on pesticide residues in foods with the results that they are generally relatively low (Hayes, 1966). Loads of pesticide residues in human body fat have been estimated to be 12 ppm for DDT and related compounds in the United States (West, 1966) and about 3 ppm of these compounds in Great Britain (Abbott et al., 1968) and Belgium (Maes and Heyndrickx, 1966). Small amounts of several other organochlorine pesticides were also found. Average levels of DDT and related compounds have remained constant in the United States since 1950 (Hayes, 1966) and have decreased slightly in recent years in Great Britain (Abbott et al., 1968). A summary by Robinson (1969) of human residue loads shows the wide variations found in different individuals. Human residue loads are generally far below levels known to cause intoxication (Hunter, 1968). Data from Hayes et al. (1958) indicate that levels of DDT and related compounds were only about 25% of the average in strict vegetarians, indicating

that animal products are the main source of residues in human body fat. The only pesticides occurring in significant amounts in animal products are organochlorine compounds.

There is no direct evidence that present levels of pesticide residues in the human diet or in human body fat are harmful. However, it has been found that comparatively low levels of DDT and dieldrin in the diet induce an increase of microsomal enzymes (Durham, 1968; Kupfer, 1968) in the liver, which affect drug and steroid metabolism. These effects have been noted at levels of as little as 2.5 ppm DDT in the diets of rats (Fillette, 1968). The increases in microsomal enzymes are produced by many other chemicals besides pesticides and are evidently detoxification mechanisms. (The main significance in man appears to be that an increased rate of drug metabolism can reduce human response to the drugs.)

The o,p isomer of DDD has been found to depress the functioning of the adrenal cortex in a number of species, including man. The compound has been used successfully to treat Cushing's syndrome, a condition characterized by oversecretion of adrenal cortical hormones (Kupfer, 1968). The pesticide o,p-DDD was found to block the action of vitamin D₃ in mobilizing calcium in rachitic chicks, (Sallis and Holdsworth, 1962) which may be significant in light of recent evidence, discussed further on, of disturbance of calcium metabolism in some species of raptorial birds. Reports that o,p-DDT has estrogenic activity were recently confirmed by Bitman et al. (1958). Technical DDT contains about 20% of the o,p isomer (Gunther and Jeppson, 1960). The pesticide p,p-DDT can be converted to p,p-DDD in rat livers (Datta et al., 1964), and it is likely that the o,p isomer can undergo similar conversion. Unfortunately, most published residue analysis for DDT, DDD, and DDE are based on the p,p isomers so there is no way of assessing the practical importance of residues of the o,p isomers in biological systems.

EFFECTS OF FISH AND WILDLIFE

Most reported injurious effects of pesticides to fish and wildlife have involved a small group of organochlorine insecticides. In considering hazards to wildlife, we may distinguish the effects of wildlife in areas directly treated with pesticides from those resulting from general environmental contamination. Direct treatment may be disastrous to wildlife in the area treated but does not endanger wildlife generally. If treatment is discontinued, and the area treated is not too large, complete recovery may be expected in a few years. Where more extensive areas are treated, as was the case in the fire and control program, recovery may be slow (Rudd, 1964). Effects on wildlife from general environmental contamination, on the other hand, could be more serious since much larger areas are involved. The very existence of affected species may be threatened, and the contamination cannot be controlled.

The classic example of the effects of treating an aquatic ecosystem with an organochlorine insecticide (DDD) was described by Hunt and Bishoff (1960) and has been summarized by a number of authors. Clear Lake, California, was treated with low levels of this pesticide to control midges. Extensive concentration of this pesticide occurred in the food chain resulting in levels of up to 2500 ppm in the visceral fat of fish and extensive poisoning of grebes (*Aechmophorus occidentalis*) inhabiting the lake. Concentrations of pesticide in the edible flesh of some fish approached 200 ppm, far above legal tolerances. There have been numerous reports of severe poisoning of birds, particularly robins (*Turdus migratorius*), in

areas heavily treated with DDT to control Dutch elm disease. These are summarized by Wurster et al. (1965). Poisoning is thought to result mainly from accumulations in insects and worms on which the birds feed. On the other hand, purple grackles (*Quiscalus quiscula*) and red wing blackbirds (*Agelaius phoeniceus*), both of which may be agricultural pests, were reported to be unaffected in areas heavily treated with DDT (Walley et al., 1966).

Carson (1962) and Rudd (1964) have summarized the adverse effects on wildlife and domestic animals of heavy pesticide treatments used in fire ant and Japanese beetle control programs.

Organochlorine insecticides are quite stable in the environment and are readily transported in air, on dust particles (Cohen and Pinkerton, 1966), or in water, either dissolved or adsorbed on particles of suspended organic matter (Keith, 1966). Their dissemination in the environment is, therefore, widespread and uncontrollable. Living organisms have a tremendous capacity to concentrate organochlorine pesticides, especially in food chains where successive concentration occurs as small organisms are consumed by larger ones. Therefore, low concentrations in the environment cannot be assumed to be harmless. Hunt (1966) cites a number of examples of such concentration in natural systems to levels injurious to organisms at the top of food chains, mainly fish-eating birds. In the Clear Lake example (Hunt, 1966) mentioned previously, concentrations in the fat of fish-eating birds were 100,000 times those applied to lake water; a number of instances have been noted where organochlorine insecticides have been concentrated several thousandfold. The dynamics of concentration of organochlorine pesticides have been discussed by Robinson (1967) and involve an equilibrium between intake, metabolism, and excretion. The equilibrium level attained at a given intake of pesticide depends on the physiology of the particular organism involved. Aquatic ecosystems are particularly susceptible since the food chains are more complex than in terrestrial systems and the opportunity for biological concentration of pesticides is, therefore, greater. Wide dissemination of organochlorine insecticides—particularly DDT and metabolites—and dieldrin is shown by findings of substantial concentrations in seals and porpoises in the North Atlantic (Holden and Marsden, 1967), in seabirds off California (Risebrough et al., 1967), and even in penguins and seals in the Antarctic (Sladen et al., 1966).

Robinson et al. (1967) observed that only HEOD (dieldrin) and p,p-DDE were found in significant amounts in marine organisms. They observed seasonal fluctuations in storage of these compounds, showing that results of single analyses from one season must be interpreted cautiously.

Consideration of DDT to near-toxic levels has been reported in a Long Island salt marsh, and the biota of this area might be significantly affected (Woodwell et al., 1967). A number of fish kills have been observed resulting from pesticide runoff into streams (Rudd, 1964). Ferguson (1967) has found that some organisms such as mosquito fish (*Gambusia affinis*) have become resistant to endrin and can accumulate sufficient pesticide in their bodies to poison predators feeding on them. He notes that large-mouth bass have disappeared in areas where such resistant fish occur, indicating that the effect may be ecologically significant. Resistance to endrin has also been found in sunfish (*Lepomis* sp.), thus presumably presenting a potential hazard to anyone unfortunate enough to eat one.

EFFECTS ON REPRODUCTION

Where animals are not directly poisoned, reproduction may be affected, this can be as

serious as direct poisoning. DeWitt (1955) found that viability of pheasant (*Phasianus colchicus*) and quail (*Colinus virginianus*) eggs was affected by levels of DDT and dieldrin in the diets which did not harm the adults. Where eggs hatched, chicks frequently died a few days after hatching. Environmental levels of organochlorine insecticides appear to be high enough to have effected the reproduction of some species of birds. The evidence is summarized by Wurster and Wingate (1968) and by Hickey and Anderson (1968). Declines in reproductive rates have been noted in gulls (*Larus argentatus*), the Bermuda petrel (*Pterodroma cahow*), and several species of hawks and eagles. The existence of some species of hawks and eagles including the osprey (*Pandion haliaetus*) and the bald eagle (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*) appears threatened by these reproductive failures. One species, the peregrine falcon (*Falco peregrinus*) has already been exterminated over a large portion of its former range (Hickey and Anderson, 1968). The declines began coincident with large scale use of DDT. A concomitant decrease in eggshell thickness occurred concurrently with this decline indicating derangement of mineral metabolism (Hickey and Anderson, 1968; Ratcliffe, 1967). DDT and other organochlorine insecticides are known to affect steroid metabolism in various species (Kupfer, 1968) and are thus prime suspects (Hickey and Anderson, 1968). Residues of p,p-DDE in eggs of peregrine falcons and sparrow hawks (*Accipiter nisus*) in Great Britain, both species which are declining, were found by Walker et al. (1967) to be higher than for most other species sampled. These results may reflect differences in metabolism or greater exposure from food sources. Declines in reproduction with ospreys were shown to be proportional to pesticide levels in the eggs (Ames, 1966). The evidence, therefore, points to chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides as prime factors in the recent declines of these species. The species affected are all predators at the top of food chains; thus, the opportunity for exposure to concentrations of residues magnified biologically is at a maximum. It has been noted recently that polychlorinated biphenyls, industrial chemicals, are also widely distributed in the environment and also induce proliferation of microsomal enzymes. Risebrough et al. (1968) have found that concentrations of polychlorinated biphenyls in living organisms are somewhat lower than p,p-DDE, but these chemicals may also be involved in the declines noted in raptorial birds.

The viability of fish eggs was also found to be affected adversely by DDT. Losses of newly hatched fry of lake trout in a New York State hatchery were traced to DDT residues in the eggs (Burdick et al., 1967). The effects on reproduction of wild fish populations have not been reported but could be significant in some cases.

Crayfish are a by-product of rice growing and sometimes are more valuable than the rice. However, residues of aldrin and dieldrin in the crayfish (*Procambarus clarkii*) were found to be higher than could be permitted in interstate commerce. Residues appeared to result from environmental contamination rather than treatment of rice seeds used in the fields studied (Hendrick et al., 1966).

SOME PROS AND CONS OF DDT

The spectacular results obtained by using DDT to control insect disease vectors have been well documented (Jukes, 1963) and one can scarcely criticize this use of DDT. At the time these programs were undertaken, there were few alternative pesticides and there was no other feasible method of controlling these diseases so rapidly and effectively. However, because DDT was the best method of controlling insect-borne disease in the 1940's, does not necessarily imply that it is still the method of choice. The diseases

have been reduced greatly but not eradicated; resistance of insects to DDT is widespread, and many alternative pesticides are available today.

Use of heavy DDT sprays to control Dutch elm disease is an example of benefits that are purely esthetic. Elm trees provide neither food nor fiber, and human illness is not involved. Elm trees are merely pretty to look at. The value of birds is also mainly esthetic, though it may be argued that they eat insects. It is difficult to justify saving elm trees by a method known to kill large numbers of birds (Wurster et al., 1965). The use of an alternative pesticide, methoxychlor, has been reported to be as effective as DDT in controlling Dutch elm disease with much less hazard to birds and other wildlife (Whitten and Swingle, 1964). Prompt destruction of dead or dying elm trees has been reported by Mathysse (1959) to be effective in control of the disease. Whitten and Swingle (1964), however, conclude that this method was of little value. Consideration of benefits vs. costs would indicate to us that the use of DDT was unjustified in this case because of its injurious effects. Use of methoxychlor is more expensive but is largely free of injurious effects. Sanitation, if successful, would be cheaper than a method using pesticides because dead or dying trees would have to be removed sooner or later anyhow. Of course, sanitation is completely free of injurious side effects.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

We have considered, up to this point, some of the most serious examples of injurious effects known to be caused by pesticides, or for which there is strong evidence that they are caused by pesticides. Can these injurious effects be reduced or eliminated without losing the benefits of pesticides? It is likely that they can be, in many cases, simply by selecting alternative pesticides. The alternative pesticides are likely to be more expensive when only the cost of the pesticide material is considered and they may be slightly less effective against given pests. Realistic consideration of the true costs of any pesticide must consider any injurious effects, accidental or not, as part of the true cost of use of a pesticide. With organochlorine insecticides, costs of monitoring for environmental residues must be considered. With highly toxic pesticides, the costs of medical treatment and time lost through illness must be considered. A realistic cost/benefit assessment using this approach will tend to favor the use of nonpersistent pesticides of low toxicity to man. We have already discussed the substitution of methoxychlor for DDT for control of Dutch elm disease. The USDA Guide to the Use of Insecticides (1967b) lists several alternative insecticides for most applications, showing that it is frequently feasible, on the basis of present knowledge, to substitute pesticides of low persistence and toxicity. The dairy industry has successfully eliminated the use of persistent organochlorine insecticides in production of feeds and forages and in the control of insects affecting dairy cattle. The USDA (1965) has also eliminated broadcast applications of organochlorine insecticides from many of its pest control programs; for example, low-volume malathion sprays have been substituted for dieldrin for grasshopper control. In many cases, it has proved necessary to find alternatives to organochlorine insecticides because target insects have become resistant to them. Ample information is now available on problems of pesticide usage to provide a basis for specific action to reduce injurious effects. Some specific suggestions for action are:

- 1) Restrict use of DDT and dieldrin, which are the most serious environmental contaminants. Regulatory agencies should restrict their use of these compounds to situations where such usage is of significant

benefit to human welfare and where it can be shown that no alternative method of insect control is feasible. Cautious use in public health programs might, for example, be justified. Protection of purely ornamental plants would not be essential. Such action would significantly reduce environmental contamination without totally precluding the use of these compounds where such usage is absolutely essential. Similar action should be considered for other chlorinated pesticides. Steps to implement this approach have already been taken by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and several states.

2) Restrict use of highly toxic organophosphorus insecticides, such as parathion, until it is demonstrated that they can be used reasonably safely under actual conditions with some margin for error.

3) The Public Health Service should systematically collect data on pesticide poisonings which are clearly a significant public health problem. Such data would provide a more accurate appraisal of the magnitude of the problem and provide a rational basis for corrective action.

4) While steps are taken to reduce pesticide hazards, research on biological control should, at the same time, be accelerated. The question arises as to whether we can safely and effectively eliminate the use of pesticides. At the same time, we must substitute biological control cautiously, making sure at every stage that the balance of nature is undisturbed.

Analysis of costs and benefits of pesticide use is very complex, and judgments must be continually modified on the basis of experience and new research findings. Where evidence is presented, indicating that pesticides may be producing injurious effects, it seems reasonable that the burden of proof of safety should lie with the user or those who advocate the use of the pesticide in question. We believe that public policy can best be developed through free and open discussion of controversial issues from various points of view and hope that this paper will make a contribution toward the safer use of pesticides.

SUMMARY

About 300 pesticide chemicals with very diverse properties were reported to be in use in 1966. Some are inherently more hazardous to fish and wildlife and to man than others. Highly toxic organophosphate insecticides are very hazardous to agricultural workers since they allow little margin for carelessness or misuse. Human illnesses and deaths from pesticides could be reduced by substituting less toxic compounds where they will serve the purpose. Reported injurious effects of pesticides to fish and wildlife result mainly from a limited number of organochlorine insecticides, especially DDT and related compounds. Heavy applications of DDT to control Dutch elm disease have been shown to cause severe losses of birds in the area of application. Use of the less toxic pesticide, methoxychlor, or sanitation, to control the disease, can reduce or eliminate the hazards to birds. Environmental contamination by organochlorine insecticides is of concern because these compounds can be, and have been, biologically concentrated to injurious levels in a number of cases. Levels harmless to adults can adversely affect hatchability of eggs of birds and fish. There is considerable evidence linking environmental contamination with DDT and derivatives to reproductive failures in certain species of hawks and eagles, resulting in sharp declines in numbers. In many instances, alternative pesticides are available, which may be used with substantially less hazard to man and his environment.

NOTE

Chemical names of pesticides mentioned in this paper are: p,p-DDD—1,1-dichloro-2,2-

bis(p-chlorophenyl)ethane, o,p-DDD—1,1-dichloro-2-(o-chlorophenyl)-2-(p-chlorophenyl)ethane, p,p-DDE—1,1-dichloro-2,2-bis(p-chlorophenyl)ethylene, p,p-DDT—1,1,1-trichloro-2,2-bis(p-chlorophenyl)ethane, o,p-DDT—1,1,1-trichloro-2-(o-chlorophenyl)-2-(p-chlorophenyl)ethane, Dieldrin—1,2,3,4,10,10-hexachloro-*exo*-6,7-epoxy-1,4,4a,5,6,7,8,8a-octahydro-1,4,5,8-*endo*, *exo*-dimethanonaphthalene, Endrin—1,2,3,4,10,10-hexachloro-*exo*-6,7-epoxy-1,4,4a,5,6,7,8,8a-octahydro-1,4,5,8-*endo*, *endo*-dimethanonaphthalene, parathion—0,0-diethyl 0-p-nitrophenyl phosphorothioate, methyl parathion—0,0-dimethyl 0-p-nitrophenyl phosphorothioate, methoxy-chlor—1,1,1-trichloro-2,2-bis(p-methoxyphenyl)ethane.

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SUPPRESSION OF PEST LEPIDOPTERA BY RELEASING PARTIALLY STERILE MALES: A THEORETICAL APPRAISAL

(By E. F. Knipling)

Scientists at many institutions are investigating the effects of atomic radiation and chemosterilants on reproduction in Lepidoptera. These insects include some of the most destructive pests of agriculture. The ultimate purpose is to utilize sterilized insects to control populations as is now being done with the screw-worm fly, *Cochliomyia hominivorax*, and certain tephritid fruit flies. Early attempts to sterilize Lepidoptera and other orders of insects emphasized methods that would assure 100% sterility in the insects intended for release.

However, the adverse effects of high doses of radiation on the mating competitiveness and behavior of many insects, including Lepidoptera, have caused researchers to concentrate greater effort in recent years on the use of minimum doses that produce a high degree of sterility but not necessarily complete sterility.

Proverbs (1962) first observed that substerilizing doses of gamma radiation administered to male codling moths, *Laseyrisca pomonella*, and subsequently mated to normal females resulted in reduced numbers of F_1 progeny that were predominantly males possessing a high level of sterility. Other investigators working on Lepidoptera have since obtained similar effects on F_1 progeny and have conducted studies to determine the effects of substerilizing doses to subsequent generations. In such studies, North and Holt (1968a, b), Proshold and Bartell (in press), Walker and Quintana (1968), Walker (1968), and others have shown that substerilizing doses of radiation to male parents can cause various levels of sterility in the F_1 progeny that do complete development. In addition, the writer has been furnished with unpublished data on delayed sterility

in Lepidoptera obtained by D. T. North, G. G. Holt, F. I. Proshold, and M. T. Ouye. These data show that substerilizing doses of gamma radiation are capable of producing genetic damage in the cabbage looper, *Trichoplusia ni*, the tobacco budworm, *Heliothis virescens*, and the pink bollworm, *Pectinophora gossypiella*, that may be transmitted as sterility effects to F_1 progeny that are successful in completing development to the adult stage. Of special significance, the level of sterility and other lethal factors are higher in both sexes of the F_1 progeny than in the treated male parent. (Investigations by Bauer (1967) offer an explanation of the cytogenetic mechanisms involved in the delayed sterility effects of irradiation on Lepidoptera).

Calculations by the writer, based on the published and unpublished data obtained by the cited investigators at Fargo, N.D., indicate that high levels of sterility in F_1 populations resulting from the release of males receiving only a moderate sterilizing dose of radiation would, theoretically, produce more effective suppression of populations than the release of 100% sterile moths. The higher level of suppression would be in addition to the greater suppression that can be expected because of increased mating competitiveness and greater competitiveness of sperms of moths receiving the lower doses.

It seems important to record the results of these calculations and then make an appraisal of the significance of these genetic effects in suppressing reproduction in natural insect populations subjected to the release of partially sterile insects.

The practical significance of basic data on sterility in insects can easily be overlooked or remain obscure unless such data are carefully evaluated in terms of practical use for the control of insects. The theoretical biomathematical approach can project the general magnitude of effects to be expected if released insects carrying known lethal genetic factors are programmed into hypothetical normal insect population models. However, if such calculations are to be realistic and meaningful, they must be based on a reasonably good understanding of the biology, behavior, population dynamics, and natural densities of the insects that are to be controlled by the suppression method under consideration.

There are obvious limitations to such a theoretical approach since detailed information on important parameters, such as the natural population density and relative behavior of released and natural moths, may be lacking. Yet, the theoretical approach may be the only feasible way to make initial appraisals of the potential value of different methods of insect control. Research resources are generally inadequate to undertake a series of large-scale field experiments that would be desirable or necessary to determine the impact of various suppression methods, especially when the methods involve genetic manipulations that may not have maximum impact until one or more generations have elapsed. Many of the insects in question are capable of flying hundreds of miles during their lifespan. Thus, testing has to be done in very large areas or with isolated populations to determine what degree of suppression will result. Even when testing on small islands is feasible, there may be no comparable island populations to use in comparing the effects of different types of treatments, including untreated populations. Thus, the theoretical biomathematical approach, though limited, is an important way to appraise the merits and limitations of different methods of insect suppression and can guide laboratory and field investigations to the methods that are most likely to be effective and practical. Of course, adequate field trials will still be essential as a final

step in the development of any insect suppression method.

This paper appraises the role that releases of partially sterile insects capable of transmitting sterility effects to the F_1 generation can play in the suppression of certain pest Lepidoptera. Population models will be used to calculate the theoretical suppression of reproduction achieved by introducing insects carrying certain assumed sterility factors. The calculated degree of suppression will be compared with the reproductive potential of a hypothetical normal population and also with a population subjected to the release of moths treated with a conventional 100% sterilizing dose. Similar theoretical calculations have been used previously (Knipling, 1964, 1966; Knipling and McGuire, 1966, 1968) to appraise the potential value of methods of suppressing insect populations.

ASSUMED EFFECTS OF SUBSTERILIZING DOSES OF RADIATION

As noted, information on inherited sterility in *H. virescens* and *T. ni* obtained at the Metabolism and Radiation Research Laboratory indicates that substerilizing doses of radiation applied to males will cause genetic damage in progeny that result from mates with normal females. Additional information on the nature and magnitude of these effects is needed, but current information indicates that 15 kr doses of gamma radiation applied to male insects will cause of the order of 60% sterility. However, the progeny that result from eggs that do hatch are virtually 100% sterile. Some egg hatch may occur when the F_1 moths mate with normal moths of the opposite sex, but the mortality in larvae, pupae, and adults is higher than for normal insects. Moreover, any adult progeny that are produced show some sterility when mated to normal moths. For the purpose of this theoretical appraisal, complete suppression of reproduction is assumed for F_1 moths that develop from mating between treated male parents and normal female parents.

It is also assumed, for the purpose of the study, that all treated moths, regardless of the dose of radiation, and all progeny carrying inherited genetic damage have mating competitiveness equivalent to that of normal insects. Moths receiving low doses of radiation are known to approach the mating competitiveness of normal moths, but some reduction in competitiveness is likely to occur even with the reduced doses. Therefore, in releasing moths for practical control, it may be necessary to increase the number of released moths to overcome any decrease in competitiveness that would result from the treatment.

TREND OF A NORMAL POPULATION OF MOTHS

Before calculating the suppressive effects of releasing insects that transmit sterility to the F_1 progeny, it is first necessary to establish a reference model that depicts the trend of a normal population. The writer assumes a fivefold increase per generation for several successive generations as reasonably representative of the average normal rate of increase of an uncontrolled low density population. The hypothetical population is assumed to start at a density level of 1000 moths per square mile in the first generation. Although a constant rate of increase in each generation cannot be expected to occur in nature, it will simplify calculations to apply a constant fivefold increase rate until the population stabilizes at the maximum density that the environment will maintain. If a normal low density is 1000 moths per square mile, we might expect the maximum density to be of the order of 125,000 moths per square mile per generation.

With certain multigeneration Lepidoptera, the density of a population that causes

economically important damage to a crop (the economic threshold) is not likely to be reached until about the third generation. Therefore, the assumption is made that for practical suppression, the populations must be kept well below 25,000. The normal uncontrolled population is assumed to develop as follows:

Generation	Number of insects of both sexes
Parent.....	1,000
F ₁	5,000
F ₂ (economic threshold).....	25,000
F ₃ (maximum density).....	125,000
F ₄	125,000

TREND OF A POPULATION OF MOTHS RECEIVING A RELEASE OF 100% STERILE MALES

As already noted, past appraisals of the feasibility of the genetic approach to the control of insects have been based largely on suppression to be expected from the release of completely sterile insects. It, therefore, seems appropriate to first project the theoretical effect to be expected from release of 100% sterile moths for one generation. For suppression of 90% of the reproduction in a population consisting of 1000 insects, it would be necessary to release 900 fully competitive sterile insects of both sexes or 4500 sterile males. (When insects are completely sterile, it is generally accepted that the release of both sexes has the same effect as the sterile males only.) The theoretical effect produced by releasing these completely sterile but fully competitive moths during the first generation is shown in the following model:

Generation	Natural population number of insects of both sexes	Number of 100 percent sterile males released
Parent (500 males and 500 females).....	1,000	
F ₁	500	None.
F ₂	2,500	None.
F ₃	12,500	None.
F ₄	62,500	None.

The calculations necessary to estimate the trend of a population after the release of sterile insects are rather simple. If 4500 sterile males are competing with 500 normal males for 500 normal females, which results in a 9:1 sterile to fertile male ratio, only 10% or 50 of the normal females will be expected to mate with normal males. However, according to our basic parameter, the insects that do make normal matings will produce a fivefold increase in their number. Thus, if 50 normal females mate with 50 normal males in the initial natural population, 500 normal progeny can be expected. Since no additional releases are programmed and since the sterile moths that are released will not survive to affect the next generation, the surviving fertile population can be expected to continue to increase fivefold per generation.

The release during the first generation of 100% sterile males that are fully competitive from the standpoint of mating behavior and sperm activity will have a marked suppressive effect compared with an uncontrolled population. However, unless such releases are continued in subsequent generations, the population increases quickly after the initial reduction. By the F₃ generation, 62,500 moths will have developed, and maximum density can be expected by the F₄ generation. In contrast, and as already noted, the uncontrolled population will reach maximum density in the F₄ generation.

TREND OF A POPULATION OF MOTHS RECEIVING A RELEASE OF PARTIALLY STERILIZED MALES DURING ONE GENERATION

The trend of a hypothetical population of moths receiving a release of partial sterile males to compete with the parent generation will not be projected. The number released is the same as the number of completely sterile moths released. The theoretical population through the F₄ generations is calculated on the basis of the assumed suppressive effects already discussed. Partially sterile males are assumed to suppress reproduction by 60% when they mate with normal females, and the eggs that hatch are assumed to develop into moths of normal vigor and competitiveness. The F₁ progeny developing from 40% of the eggs that hatch are assumed to be completely sterile because of the accumulative suppression of reproduction due to sterile eggs, increased larval mortality, increased pupal mortality, increased ratios of males to females, and finally a substantial level of sterility in adults that do survive.

The trend of the hypothetical natural population of 100 moths (500 males and 500 females) receiving a release of 4500 60% sterile males is as follows:

Generation	Natural population Number of insects of both sexes ¹	Partially sterile males released
Parent (500 males and 500 females).....	1,000	4,500
F ₁	2,300	None
F ₂	540	None
F ₃	2,700	None
F ₄	13,500	None

¹ See explanation in appendix of the method followed in calculating the results presented in each generation.

The natural moths subjected to the release of 100% sterile males, as already noted, would reach a theoretical population of 62,500 by the F₄ generation. In marked contrast, the population subjected to the release of partially sterile males would reach a theoretical population of only 13,500 by the F₄ generation. The reduced population is due to the suppressive effects in both the parent and F₁ generations. On the basis of the parameters established, 1800 of the 2300 moths in the F₁ generation would be sterile. The regular fivefold increase rate is assumed to occur in the F₂ and F₃ generations because of the absence of competing sterile moths in the populations.

The greater suppressive effect produced by the release of partially sterile males can perhaps be more readily appreciated by pointing out that it would be necessary to release about four times as many completely sterile as partially sterile males during the parent generation to have the same suppressive effect. It is emphasized that the higher degree of suppression of reproduction is calculated for the release of partially sterile males does not take into account the greater mating competitiveness of moths receiving of the order of 15 kr radiation as compared with moths that receive of the order of 35 kr radiation required to assure 100% sterility.

TREND OF A POPULATION OF MOTHS RECEIVING RELEASES OF PARTIALLY STERILIZED MALES DURING TWO GENERATIONS

In the suppression of multigeneration moth populations for the purpose of assuring protection of crops from significant damage, the release of treated moths for one generation only probably would not be adequate. A number of important lepidopterous insects, especially in warmer climates, may have five generations or more during a crop-growing season. Therefore, another hypothetical model is established to show the

suppression to be expected from the release of partially sterile moths for two generations. The releases will be programmed for the parent, or first generation, and for the F₁, or third generation. The partially sterile males will be released at the rate of 4500 during each of the two generations. The trend of a hypothetical population through the F₄ generation when partially sterile moths are released during the parent and F₁ generations is shown below:

Generation	Natural population, number of insects of both sexes ¹	Partially sterile moths released
Parent.....	1,000	4,500
F ₁ (500 normal, 1,800 sterile).....	2,300	None
F ₂	540	4,500
F ₃ (150 normal, 1,020 sterile).....	1,170	None
F ₄	90	None
F ₅	450	None

¹ See explanation in appendix of the method followed in calculating the results presented in the table.

If the results show for the hypothetical population are reasonably representative of the results that would be obtained in practical release programs, a noneconomic population would be virtually assured by releasing partially sterile insects in ratios indicated. The maximum number of fertile moths present in the release area would remain far below the assumed economic damage threshold throughout a season. Calculations are not shown, but if 100% sterile moths were released for two generations (release during the parent and F₁ generations would produce the greatest impact), the F₄ population could be expected to reach a level of about 16,500 moths. While this, too, would be below the assumed economic density threshold of 25,000 moths, the theoretical number produced is much higher than for the hypothetical populations subjected to the release of partially sterile males. These results further confirm the potential superiority of the partially sterile males over completely sterile males for the suppression of moth populations.

POSSIBLE PRACTICAL USE OF DELAYED STERILITY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF LEPIDOPTEROUS INSECT PESTS

As noted earlier, certain species of Lepidoptera are among the most destructive insects affecting agriculture and forestry. Broad spectrum insecticides are currently used for their control, which cause adverse side effects to insect parasites, insect predators, and other beneficial organisms. Moreover, some species have become resistant to insecticides, which makes the continued use of such insecticides costly and uncertain. There is, therefore, an urgent need to strive for more effective, more economical, and more acceptable methods of control.

Such pests as the corn earworm (bollworm on cotton), the tobacco budworm, the cabbage looper, and the fall armyworm, *Spodoptera frugiperda*, are capable of spreading into regions several hundred miles from known areas of winter survival and increasing there into economically important populations. Thus, more and more of the attention of the Entomology Research Division is now being devoted to ecological research designed to determine where the adults migrate, how many moths are present in a given area, and how far they spread in a season. The ultimate goal is to apply suppressive measures against the populations when they are at their lowest level and when the range of distribution and the host plants, both cultivated and wild, are most restricted. Otherwise, control must be applied later on larger acreages of crops and also when the insects are likely to be more abundant. The intent

of such an approach is not eradication but suppression to the extent necessary to prevent or substantially reduce economic losses.

Information about the distribution and abundance of many of the more important Lepidoptera during periods of scarcity is obviously of special importance to the concept of population suppression by sterility or by other genetic manipulation. Luginbill (1928) reported many years ago that in the eastern United States, the fall armyworm survives the winter only in southern Florida, although in the summer and fall it often spreads throughout the entire eastern United States. Recent studies also indicate that the area of winter survival of the cabbage looper in the East may be restricted to Florida and the warmer coastal areas along the Gulf Coast and the southern Atlantic seaboard. The cotton leafworm, *Alabama argillacea*, a potentially important pest of cotton in the United States, especially in the southwest, has long been known to survive the winter only in Mexico and Central America. Even the widespread and damaging corn earworm and tobacco budworm may overwinter in an area that is only one-half as large as the range these insects occupy as pests during the warmer months of the year. Catches in light traps and studies of egg and larval abundance indicate that during the early spring months populations in these areas are generally less than 5% as high as during the periods of greatest abundance in the late summer and early fall.

These features of the population densities, distribution, dispersal behavior, and population dynamics of some of the lepidopterous insects are highly relevant to the practical application of the genetic approach to the control of these insects. The new findings on delayed sterility in lepidopterous insects could be of special significance in utilizing the sterility approach to the suppression of some of our strong flying lepidopterous insects.

Additional information is needed on the magnitude of the effects of delayed sterility in different species of Lepidoptera. There is also a need for more precise information on the size and distribution of overwintered populations of many of the more important species. However, the genetic approach to population suppression seems to offer sufficient potential to justify an appraisal of the possibilities based on available information. As examples, we will consider the feasibility of using partially sterile male releases to suppress the cabbage looper in the eastern United States and the corn earworm in California.

CABBAGE LOOPER IN THE EASTERN UNITED STATES

The cabbage looper, one of the important vegetable pests in the United States, also attacks other crops including cotton and tobacco. Insecticides are presently the only practical means of control. Precise information is lacking about the costs of control in the eastern United States and the extent of crop losses. However, conservative estimates would be \$5 million annually for control and an annual loss of \$20 million. Moreover, the insect is highly resistant to certain insecticides, and alternate methods are urgently needed. Thus, if virtually complete suppression of the population in the East could be achieved, an annual investment of as much as \$25 million would be justified. The possibilities of achieving control of the insect in this area by using inherited sterility are therefore examined.

Efforts being made to obtain reliable estimates of the abundance and distribution of the cabbage looper in the Southeast during the period of greatest scarcity are not yet complete. However, preliminary estimates made in consultation with T. J. Henneberry and C. R. Gentry suggest that an average

density of 500 adult cabbage loopers per square mile would be a reasonably conservative figure for the generation of lowest abundance and most restricted distribution. In addition, there are indications that the cabbage looper in the East survives the winter only in Florida and possibly in parts of adjacent states. Thus, we will assume a winter survival area of 100,000 square miles with an average density of 500 moths per square mile. If these estimates are realistic, it would be necessary to deal with a natural population of 50 million insects—25 million males and 25 million females.

The hypothetical model (p. 467) suggests that an initial overflooding ratio in the parent generation of nine partially sterile males to one natural male, followed by the release of a like number of partially sterile moths in the F_1 generation, will keep a population suppressed to a relatively low level through five generations. If 500 million cabbage loopers were reared to provide 250 million partially sterile males for the releases during the first generation, this would provide an initial ratio of 10 partially sterile to one normal fertile male. Then if the same number were reared and released during the F_2 generation, the total requirements for moths would be one billion. This would provide 500 million males for partial sterilization and release. On such large scale, it is believed that it would be possible to rear, treat, and release the moths at a cost of \$2.5 million. The separation of sexes, if necessary, would probably increase the estimated cost, but there is a good possibility that differential sterility methods for the females by the use of hormones or other sterility agents could be developed.

It must be emphasized that these hypothetical projections are based on limited information concerning the overall suppressive effects that would result from the release of partially sterile males. Also, precise information about the size of the natural population and the cost of rearing and releasing moths is lacking. Therefore, the projections on requirements and costs could be too low. On the other hand, there is probably an equal chance that some projections are too conservative. It may not be necessary to release the projected number of insects to hold the population below the economic threshold. Also, it may be possible to employ other suppressive measures the first year to reduce populations in limited areas of high concentrations so as to lower the overall population to a level that could then be more readily managed by the release of moths. If the entire natural population can be effectively suppressed throughout the first year, it should be possible to maintain suppression in subsequent years at much lower cost because of the reduced natural population. Thus, if the cost for the first year is higher than estimated, the average costs over a period of several years might be lower. It should be noted, however, that even if the average annual cost of this genetic approach to the suppression of the cabbage looper in the eastern part of the United States were two times as high as projected, the total cost of \$5 million would still be no higher than the estimated annual cost of control with insecticides. More important, if the insects were suppressed to subeconomic levels throughout the area, the estimated \$20 million annual loss to crop owners in the eastern states would not occur, and the environmental pollution resulting from the use of insecticides would be avoided.

CORN EARWORM IN CALIFORNIA

The corn earworm (*H. zea*) is perhaps the most damaging insect in the United States. It has wide distribution and becomes abundant throughout most of the nation during favorable seasons. The number of insects existing in an area during the generation of

lowest abundance is not known. However, investigators in the Entomology Research Division have obtained sufficient information to suggest that a population density estimate of 1000 moths of both sexes per square mile would be a reasonably valid estimate (Snow et al., in press). Therefore, in this appraisal, an average density of 1000 moths of both sexes per square mile will be assumed for the generation having the lowest density and the estimate will be applied to a reasonably well-isolated ecological region, the Central Valley of California, where California agriculture is largely concentrated. The Valley and the foothill regions comprise an area that probably does not exceed 25,000 square miles and is bounded on the west by mountains and the ocean, on the north by mountains and forests, on the east by mountain ranges, and on the south by extensive semi-arid lands.

According to estimates issued by the California Department of Agriculture in 1967, the corn earworm in that state caused losses to agriculture aggregating \$31,378,940. In addition, an estimated \$12,962,708 was spent for control with insecticides. Therefore, the total loss to agriculture due to this pest in California in 1967 was about \$45 million. Against this background, the possibility of achieving and maintaining suppression of the insect by the use of reared and released moths that transmit sterility will be considered as before.

On the basis of an average density of 1000 moths per square mile in an area of 25,000 square miles, the initial natural population is 25 million moths of both sexes. The insects are probably concentrated in specific localities within the total area where they survive the winter, but an assumed average density will be used as a basis for the calculations. The production, treatment, and release of 125 million male moths for the initial releases would provide a 10:1 ratio of released native males. A like number will be projected for release during the F_2 generation. Thus, 500 million moths would have to be reared to release 250 million males for one season. The rearing of corn earworm moths is likely to be more costly than for the cabbage looper. If rearing, sterilizing, releasing, and other costs amount to \$5.00 per 1000 moths or \$5000 per million, the total cost would be \$2.5 million. As with the cabbage looper in the eastern United States, an extra investment might have to be made in other means of control on a regional basis to reduce the national populations to manageable levels during the first year. However, as with the looper, if the population can be largely suppressed for one season, continued suppression should be possible at substantially less cost in subsequent years. If complete economic control of *H. zea* could be achieved in California for an average annual investment of as little as \$2.5 million, the savings in this state alone would be over \$40 million per year. Perhaps such efficiency is too much to hope for, but even if the estimated average annual cost of suppression is low by a fivefold factor, an average annual cost of \$12.5 million per year would contrast with the approximately \$13 million now spent for control with insecticides. Moreover, if this method suppressed the insect below the level of economic damage, the net savings to the agricultural industry of the state would be about \$30 million per year, and there would be the additional benefits of a method of control that is highly selective and thus would avoid the side effects that result from the use of insecticides. On the basis of this appraisal, the genetic approach to the area suppression of the corn earworm offers unusual promise, and adequate support of the intensive research still necessary to develop the method would seem to be justified.

OTHER LEPIDOPTEROUS INSECTS

Two important species of Lepidoptera in two different ecological situations were chosen as examples to appraise the potential of the partial sterility technique for suppressing populations on a regional basis. If the technique can be perfected for practical application and control of these species at costs that even approach those estimated, there is every reason to believe that the same approach could be developed and applied, with comparable advantages over current methods of control, to other important Lepidoptera including codling moths, pink bollworms, sugarcane borers, tobacco budworms, tobacco hornworms, and fall armyworms, as well as others. The development of the conventional 100% sterility method to control the codling moth and the pink bollworm moth is already well advanced. The release of partially sterile moths to transmit sterility factors to the F_1 generation may increase the chances of success in the use of the sterility method for controlling these two important pests.

Losses to the agricultural economy in the United States due to Lepidoptera probably amounts to a billion dollars per year. Obviously, all the species may not be amenable to genetic control and even with species that appear to be candidates, much additional research will have to be done on sterilization and other genetic effects and on mass rearing methods and various ecological investigations before it can be perfected and applied. Nevertheless, the results of the appraisals made here indicate that the sterility method offers outstanding possibilities for the suppression of a number of the most damaging pest Lepidoptera.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author acknowledges with appreciation information supplied by a number of scientists with the Entomology Research Division. Special thanks are due L. E. LaChance, D. T. North, M. T. Ouye, and F. I. Proshold for unpublished information on inherited sterility in lepidopterous insects, and C. R. Gentry, R. E. Fye, H. M. Graham, T. J. Henneberry, F. R. Lawson, R. L. Ridgway, J. W. Snow, and A. N. Sparks for unpublished information on the seasonal abundance and distribution of certain lepidopterous insects. The writer has also obtained much helpful information on the abundance of lepidopterous insects from Perry L. Adkisson of Texas A&M University.

APPENDIX

In calculating the suppressive effects that would result from the release of partially sterile moths that transmit sterility to the subsequent generation, it is necessary to consider the type and number of mating combinations expected to occur each generation. The number of progeny in relation to normal matings are calculated on the basis of the suppressive effects assumed for each mating combination. Although some females of most species of moths mate more than one time, this factor is not considered because it is assumed that sperms are fully competitive and multiple matings will not change the overall suppressive effects in a population.

The basic assumptions are as follows:

(1) The natural parent population consists of 1000 moths (500 males and 500 females).

(2) Release for one generation consists of 4500 males that have received a substerilizing treatment.

(3) Treated parent males mating with normal females produce 60% fewer progeny than normal parent matings.

(4) F_1 progeny of treated males \times normal females are assumed to be completely sterile or if immature progeny are produced, they

will not survive. Intramatings between F_1 moths carrying the inherited sterility factors will also produce no progeny.

(5) Matings between normal moths result in 10 normal adult progeny (fivefold increase). The number of progeny from matings between males receiving the 60% sterilizing dosage will be 40% of the number produced from normal matings. Thus, each mating between a treated male and a normal female will result in the production of four sterile moths.

(6) Symbol designations: N = normal moths; T = moths carrying the genetic lethal factors either induced as in the parent males or inherited from the parent male.

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whose concepts of social responsibility soared far beyond his role as a trade union activist.

I knew Walter Reuther as a vigorous union leader, a warm friend, and a far-sighted and compassionate human being.

Walter Reuther devoted his life to the trade union movement attempting to get an ever expanding share of the national wealth not only for his own auto workers but for all unionists. He pioneered in securing profit sharing agreements, employer contributions to unemployment compensation, and other supplemental benefits to the point where senior employees can now have a guaranteed annual wage.

The development of a management-paid pension plan in the auto industry and greatly improved retirement system were the direct results of Mr. Reuther's energies and negotiating skills. His expertise and competence in negotiating agreements were immense.

Walter Reuther was an exceptionally gifted man, but to me perhaps his most outstanding asset was a sense of social sensitivity and concern. He took time to concern himself with the daily problems facing his workers and set out to raise basic living standards while at the same time increasing the workers' sense of self-respect and dignity.

The role of the labor movement, as Reuther saw it, was to become significantly involved in social issues and problems affecting not only itself but workers, students, minorities, and the less affluent who find themselves without a powerful voice to redress their grievances through the existing establishment.

The effect which Walter Reuther has had on the scope and direction of labor-management relations in America is almost immeasurable. If some of his ideas have not yet been accepted, he has at least established a solid platform from which others can continue to debate the merits of the direction in which Reuther felt labor should move.

Mr. Speaker, as this House continues to discuss labor-management problems, student concern, and the plight of the less affluent Americans, I hope we shall continue to bear in mind the goals and ideals set by Walter Reuther for himself, the labor movement, and indeed for all America.

JESSE BESSER

HON. PHILIP E. RUPPE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, the leading citizen of Alpena, Mich. and one of the great citizen-leaders of the State of Michigan died, just a few days before his 88th birthday. Jesse Besser was an engineer and inventor, a civic leader, a major benefactor, and an humanitarian of rare vision.

At the age of 22 his creative mind

TRIBUTE TO WALTER REUTHER

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 11, 1970

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the plane crash that took the life of Walter Reuther has deprived America of a forceful, effective leader

brought the world the concrete block machine, which revolutionized the construction industry throughout the world. Over the years his inventiveness did not diminish, and he proceeded to refine his machine and to develop better machines for the production of high-quality concrete masonry units. His contribution to the housing and construction industry cannot be over-emphasized.

His fortune made, Mr. Besser turned his attentions to civic and philanthropic activities, along with those of his growing business. With his late wife Anna, he looked for ways to share his fortune and established the Besser Foundation. The record of achievements, both by the foundation and by Mr. Besser himself, is great. Hospitals have been built and added to; schools have seen completion and expansion, and the Community College in Alpena received all the land and the majority of its funds from Mr. Besser. His philanthropy was also felt by churches of all denominations, by scouting groups, and by conservation organizations. He contributed more than just his means and often was the leader and chief organizer of a given community project.

While Mr. Besser's hometown of Alpena was the chief beneficiary of his largesse, his presence was felt all over the State. In 1960 he was named Michigan Citizen of the Year. In 1963, he received the Michigan Citizen Leadership Award from Governor Romney. The awards and recognition of his services to the community and to the State are too numerous to list.

Mr. Besser was a man of great achievement and great humility; he had great vitality and energy, yet he, in a certain sense, was serene. He was a great competitor and businessman and became known for his warm spirit and generosity. Jesse Besser was, in the words of his good friend, Phil Richards, editor of the Alpena News, "The man of the century in this part of the world."

I join with the citizens of Alpena and northern Michigan in mourning his death.

NO NEWS TO BLACK PEOPLE— NIXON RETREAT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, the black population of America has never required an explanation of the Nixon policy on civil rights. Since the President himself requested he be judged by his deeds and not by his words, we have so evaluated him.

His action on the Voting Rights Act, his position on school desegregation, his Supreme Court nominations of two Southern racists, his veto of Federal education funds, and his refusal to place a priority on the domestic concerns of hunger, housing, poverty, and employ-

ment testify to his position not only toward black people—but toward poor people. In this stint of the Nixon reign, if you are both poor and black, which is a high probability then you do not need to be told that you are at the bottom of the totem pole so far as this society under the leadership of the Nixon administration is concerned.

It is interesting, nevertheless, that one administration spokesman recently made the policy official. I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following editorial from the St. Louis Post Dispatch of April 29, 1970:

PROUD OF RETREAT

A speech by Assistant Attorney General William H. Rehnquist acknowledges what must be the worst-kept secret in Washington: that the Nixon Administration and Attorney General John Mitchell are leading a deliberate retreat on civil rights and individual liberties.

As reported by James C. Millstone, Mr. Rehnquist told a University of Arizona audience that public opinion supported backing up on aggressive civil rights policies. He deferred similarly to the elective process as reason enough for Mr. Mitchell's other notions such as preventive detention and, we would suppose, broader wire-tapping and no-knock police raids.

It takes some doing to turn such repressive measures into reasons for boasting, but that is what Mr. Rehnquist appears to be doing, evidently on the ground that that is what the public wants. This seems questionable enough; even so, it is strange to hear a Federal officer subject equal rights, invasions of privacy and trial procedures to a test of opinion. That may be good politics, but it is rotten legal policy.

MOSCOW'S MILITARY MACHINE: THE BEST OF EVERYTHING

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, the editors of Time magazine devoted a large portion of their May 4 issue to a consideration of various aspects of the contemporary Soviet Union. One of these articles dealt with the military capability of the Soviet Union. This article was particularly significant because it appeared in a general circulation news magazine, rather than a specialized publication of limited readership. Another noteworthy aspect of this article is the accompanying color photographs, which very graphically portray the military might of the Soviet Union. I regret that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD cannot reproduce photographs, as it seems to me that in a case such as this a picture is indeed worth a thousand words.

Several points are particularly worthy of comment:

First. While the United States has been spending a decreasing share of its budget on defense needs, the Soviet Union has been "engaged in a massive and costly military buildup."

Second. In foreign policy, the Soviets are relying ever more on military pres-

ence and displays of armed might to tighten their control over East Europe and to influence uncommitted countries farther afield.

Third. The Soviet Union's annual military budget is estimated at \$70 billion. This is an almost dollar-for-dollar match with what the United States is currently spending, but the crucial difference is that the gross national product of the Soviet Union is only two-thirds that of the United States. Thus, the Soviet Union is proportionately spending more than the United States on defense.

A conclusion which Time draws from this graphic presentation is that the Russians, with their new power, "may be emboldened to become less wary about facing down the United States in isolated instances abroad."

I commend to my colleagues this very penetrating and sobering article on the growing military might of the Soviet Union:

MOSCOW'S MILITARY MACHINE THE BEST OF EVERYTHING

While Moscow was celebrating Lenin's centennial with pomp and rhetoric, the Soviet military marked the occasion in a more dramatic way. Fanning out across three oceans and nine seas, more than 200 Soviet warships staged the greatest naval maneuvers in the world's history. At the same time, hundreds of medium- and long-range Russian bombers ventured far beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. The U.S. reported 500 separate sightings as far apart as Japan and Iceland.

It was an impressive display. As part of Operation Okean (for ocean), an attack force of eight vessels built around the new 18,000-ton helicopter carrier *Leningrad* moved through the North Atlantic toward the Norwegian Sea. There, two larger Soviet task forces lay in wait to conduct a mock defense near the straits of Skagerrak and Kattegat, the approaches to the Baltic. In the Mediterranean, 45 ships conducted antisubmarine exercises. From the icy Barents and Okhotsk seas to the warmer reaches of the Indian and Pacific oceans, sleek Russian cruisers and black-hulled submarines carried out simultaneous exercises.

During the past eight years, the Soviets have been engaged in a massive and costly military buildup. They have been motivated both by a desire to overtake the U.S. and by deep fear of a possible war with China, an anxiety that is certain to intensify with the launching of Peking's first satellite (see story, page 47). At home and abroad, the Russian military has become an increasingly important factor. In foreign policy, the Soviets are relying ever more on military presence and displays of armed might to tighten their control over East Europe or to influence uncommitted countries farther afield. Within Russia, the military's immense influence has been greatly enhanced by the threat of war with China and the Czechoslovak invasion. The importance of the military was only underscored when Communist Party Boss Leonid Brezhnev flew to Minsk recently for the massive Dvina maneuvers, and stood on the reviewing stand alongside Defense Minister Marshal Andrei Grechko, 66. The unmistakable message for Soviet televiewers was that all was harmonious between the chiefs of the Communist Party and the military establishment.

GUARANTEEING ALLEGIANCE

An austere, erect, onetime cavalry commander, Grechko has become the Kremlin's

most effective enforcer. As Soviet commander in East Germany in 1953, he put down the first East bloc revolt against Communism. In 1968 his forces put an end to Czechoslovakia's "Springtime of Freedom," and he personally visited Prague the following year to oversee the removal of Reformer Alexander Dubcek from the leadership of the party. Czechoslovaks bitterly refer to the bullet-pocked facade of Prague's National Museum as "a fresco a la Grechko."

From his office in the former Czarist Cadets College just off Moscow's broad Kalinin Prospect, Grechko directs a mammoth military machine that employs 3,220,000 people, commands the talent of the Soviet Union's best technical brains, and annually spends an estimated \$70 billion. Thus, even though the Soviet gross national product is only two-thirds as large as the U.S., Russia virtually matches the U.S. ruble for dollar in defense outlays. Through a network of some 15,300 advisers, Soviet military influence reaches directly into many countries far beyond the East bloc, including the two main U.S. trouble spots, North Viet Nam and Cuba (see map). Under the Warsaw Pact, Soviet troops are stationed in four Eastern European countries to guarantee their allegiance to Moscow.

Within the Soviet hierarchy, Grechko speaks directly to the political leaders without any civilian intermediaries to challenge his recommendations. At least once a month, he meets with the Politburo's defense subcommittee headed by Brezhnev. Their relationship is believed to be extremely cordial, if not close.

Today, 90% of the officers are members either of the party or of the Communist youth organization. Grechko and 22 other top commanders serve on the party's Central Committee as well. In the outlying districts, the commanders almost always participate in the top party leadership of those areas.

Every company size unit of 150 or so men has its own political officer, who reports through a separate chain of command to General Aleksel Yepishev, the party watchdog. Each week the political officer conducts at least four hours of indoctrination for both officers and men. The KGB (secret police) also keeps a close watch on the military.

AN ELITIST ELEMENT

Within Soviet society, the army remains a distinct and elitist element. Its role is greatly augmented because of the public's overriding preoccupation with security. Of course the Russians, who lost 20 million people in World War II, have a legitimate concern about defense. But the Soviet government and especially the military publications have intensified Russian fears by purposefully keeping alive the memories of World War II and the specter of a rearmaged, vengeful West Germany. The Russians still regard themselves as endangered by enemies, notably China. Given such a national psychology, the military understandably gets largely what it wants for the country's defense.

One look at the shape of the Soviet military machine shows that Grechko and his colleagues get quite a lot, indeed. The lineup.

The Strategic Missile Force, an independent branch in the Soviet setup, has grown dramatically. In 1965, the Soviets had only 220 ICBM's and were outnumbered more than 4 to 1 by the U.S. While the number of U.S. intercontinental missiles has grown only slightly to 1,054, the Soviet total is now roughly 1,350 and is still increasing by about 250 a year. The workhorse is the 1-megaton SS-11 (800 operational or under construction). But the Soviet missile that most alarms U.S. defense planners is the awesome SS-9 (220 operational, 60 launch sites under construction). The SS-9 is so powerful that it can carry a single 25-megaton warhead or

three separate 5-megaton warheads, each capable of knocking out a hardened American underground silo. Thus, U.S. Defense Secretary Melvin Laird warns that 450 SS-9s with triplet warheads could knock out 90% of the U.S.'s ICBM force. However, though the Soviets lead in the number and megatonnage of ICBM's, the U.S., with its larger fleets of H-bombers and Polaris subs, retains a substantial edge in the overall number of deliverable warheads.

DUTY AND SACRIFICE

Brezhnev's concern with the military is understandable, because the Soviet military establishment exerts a far greater influence on Russian life and on the formation of Soviet public opinion than is generally realized in the West. The Soviet Defense Ministry runs one of Russia's largest publishing houses, which turns out 15 million copies of pamphlets and books each year. In Moscow alone, the Defense Ministry publishes no fewer than 40 periodicals and newspapers. *Red Star*, the official army newspaper, trails only *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and the trade union paper *Trud* in circulation in the entire Soviet Union.

From his earliest years, a Soviet child is exposed to the influence of the military. Soviet schoolchildren are raised on films that glorify the concepts of duty and sacrifice for the homeland. Sample: During World War II, a 13-year-old boy runs away to the front, and by the time his age is discovered, he has become a hero by spying behind German lines. His reward? Despite his tender years, he is allowed to remain at the front. Schoolchildren are regularly escorted by military guides on tours of World War II battlefields.

PARTY CONTROLS

The 1967 draft reform, which reduced the length of service by one year, expanded compulsory military training for teen-agers. During the last four years in high school, Soviet officers and reservists teach Russian youngsters how to put on a gas mask, attack a bridge and kill a sentry. The students also learn how to fire automatic rifles and perform basic infantry tactics. In addition, they master at least one handy military skill, such as operating a radio or riding a motorcycle. Some boys even learn how to parachute, fly aircraft and use scuba diving gear.

With its vast organization and rigid hierarchy, the Soviet military is a glaring contradiction of the early Communist belief that armies, like the state, would soon wither and die. When Lenin founded the Red Army of Workers and Peasants in 1918 under the command of Leon Trotsky, the force reflected its revolutionary origins. Rank was abolished, leaders were elected, recruitment was voluntary and orders could be questioned. Even so, as Washington Sovietologist Roman Kolko points out in *The Soviet Military and the Communist Party*, some military characteristics asserted themselves, and all clashed sharply with Communist doctrine: the army's elitism v. the party's egalitarianism, professional autonomy v. subordination to ideology, nationalism v. proletarian internationalism, heroic symbolism v. anonymity.

From the first, the Communist Party regarded the army as both a vital necessity—and a potential rival. During the civil war, political commissars had the power to countermand orders made by the military commanders, a practice that was not completely abolished until 1943. Grechko was chosen largely because he showed no signs of political ambition. In fact, Marshal Georgy Zhukov is the only general who ever openly expressed political ambitions—and the only military professional who ever served on the Politburo. He lasted a bare four months as full member of the Politburo before Khrushchev fired him for "Bonapartism" in 1957.

The U.S. holds an ever greater edge in the latest breakthrough in missile weaponry. That is the development of multiple warheads that are carried by a single missile. There are two types. The simpler ones are called MRVs (for multiple re-entry vehicles). They land in a pre-planned pattern, but they cannot be steered to widely separated targets. The SS-9 is of this type, carrying three warheads designed to land in a "footprint" similar to the layout of U.S. Minuteman silos. But the U.S. is already installing a much more advanced version of these weapons called MIRVs (for multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles). Since each MIRV warhead has its own guidance system, a cluster of the weapons carried by one missile can hit an array of targets scattered over a wide area. While the Pentagon has evidence that the Soviets are testing MIRVs, it will probably take Moscow at least two or three years to perfect and install the devices. If the U.S. speeds up the conversion of its land-based ICBM and Polaris force to MIRVs, it can virtually triple its offensive capacity, but such action is certain to evoke a Soviet countermove, thus adding more momentum to the arms spiral.

The Navy, the world's second largest, has 465,000 men sailing 25 cruisers, 77 destroyers, 400 seagoing and coastal vessels, 280 minesweepers, 150 Osa- and Komar-class boats, and 350 patrol craft. In addition, the navy has two new helicopter carriers, the *Moskva* and *Leningrad*. The Soviets also possess by far the world's largest undersea force—350 submarines, 80 of which are nuclear-powered. At the present rate of construction, the Soviet fleet or twelve missile-bearing nuclear subs could outnumber the U.S. fleet of 41 Polaris subs by 1973-74. The Soviet navy's ships are newer and often faster than the U.S. navy's; only 1% of Russian naval ships are 20 years old, while 60% of American vessels have been in service for two decades or more. Nonetheless, U.S. craft have superior electronic devices to detect and destroy enemy ships and planes. The Soviet navy's air arm, operating from land bases, includes 300 TU-16 Badger medium bombers and 50 TU-90 Bear reconnaissance planes.

The Army, which was neglected by Khrushchev, has climbed back to 1,500,000, partly because of the China border dispute. Khrushchev's successors, who reversed his one-sided reliance on rocketry, have placed great emphasis on the modernization of the army. Now a mobile, fast-striking force, the army is fully motorized and possesses the world's largest array of tanks—about 40,000. Geared to fighting over vast continental masses laced by countless rivers, the Russians have far better mobile bridge-building equipment than the U.S., and many of the tanks are equipped with six-foot snorkels for fording rivers.

The Air Force is composed of 9,900 planes and 400,000 people. The Soviets have 200 strategic bombers that can make round trips to the U.S. There are some 700 medium bombers (range: 3,000 miles); the U.S. has had none since the B-47 was phased out. The Soviet tactical air force includes 4,800 planes, mainly attack bombers such as the YAK-28 and fighters (MIG-21s and SU-7s), which can be used for lowlevel bombing and strafing missions. There are also some 1,700 transport aircraft, including an estimated 20 of the monstrous Antonov-22s, which can carry 720 troops. Despite the Soviet advantage in numbers, most experts rate the U.S. Air Force superior to the Russian in every important category because of superior U.S. equipment and pilot combat experience.

The Air Defense Command, also a separate branch, has 500,000 men. It has 3,400 interceptor aircraft, mostly MIG-19s and MIG-21s, and a number of giant TU-114s, which patrol Soviet borders as early-warning ra-

dar aircraft. Long-range anti-aircraft SA-5 missiles are installed on the Tallinn Line along the Gulf of Finland. Around Moscow the Soviets have deployed the world's first ABM system, consisting of 64 Galosh missiles, which carry a 1- or 2-megaton warhead and have a range of several hundred miles. Because the Soviets halted deployment of the Galoshes three years ago, many Americans felt that the system was being abandoned as technically unfeasible. The Pentagon maintains, however, that the Soviets have developed an improved version. In addition, the Russians have embarked on the nationwide installation of their Hen House radar stations (so called because they look like large rectangular cages), designed to track incoming missiles for the Soviet ABM system. The Pentagon cites the Soviet developments as a reason for pressing ahead with the next phase of the U.S.'s Safeguard program. Should one side develop an effective ABM system first, it would upset the balance of nuclear terror. In the dreadful scenario of nuclear war, the country that first has ABMs might be tempted to launch a nuclear attack against the other side, since it would itself be protected from the stricken foe's retaliatory strike.

FILCHING APPLES

In research and development, the Soviets now spend \$16 billion v. the U.S.'s \$13 billion. Much of this effort is defensive. To blind American radar, the Soviets have developed a metallic radar chaff that forms an impenetrable curtain in the air. When the invasion of Czechoslovakia began, the Russians used this "metallic mist" to blind Western radar while Soviet transports swept into Prague airport. The Soviets are working on an anti-satellite that can examine U.S. spies-in-the-sky and knock them down. They are putting into service a Mach 3 twin-finned MIG-23, primarily a bomber killer, and are developing three classes of quieter and faster attack submarines whose mission will be to seek out and destroy submarines. Also under development: a second-generation "coasting" or "loitering" ABM, which would linger in the anticipated flight path of an incoming enemy missile and pounce on it from above.

But the Soviet R&D effort is not all defense-oriented. The Russians have developed a swing-wing bomber and a fractional orbital bombing system (FOBS), using ICBMs that are fired on a low trajectory and would approach the U.S. from its blind side: the Southwest, where American radar coverage is still scant. At the Sary-Shagan test site in Kazakhstan, the world's largest missile impact range, the Russians are also developing a longer-range sub-fired missile for its new Yankee class submarines: one of them is already on patrol off the U.S.'s Atlantic coast.

Impressive as it is, the Soviet military has serious deficiencies. It lacks an efficient logistics system, as Czechoslovakia proved when Moscow had to press civilian trucks into service and when Soviet soldiers ran out of rations and water after a few days. Russian soldiers are trained, however, to live off the land; some did so in Prague by trying to filch apples from the garden at the American embassy.

Despite improvements, Soviet submarines do not run as deeply and quietly as U.S. subs and are thus easier to detect and catch. Soviet surface ships lack air cover when they venture outside Russian waters. The Soviet navy is now trying to remedy that failing through the installation of shipboard anti-aircraft missiles.

The Soviets have two other severe handicaps. One is the questionable reliability of their Warsaw Pact allies, who in the event of an emergency might not prove too help-

ful to the Communist cause. An even more serious failing is lack of experience. For better or worse, the U.S. has fought two major wars in the past two decades. An entire generation of Soviet officers and N.C.O.'s, however, have never been subjected to the crucible of combat.

For all its ominous overtones, the Soviet military buildup has had one positive result. If the Soviets had not gained parity with their old rival, they undoubtedly would have refused to participate in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), which started in Vienna two weeks ago. For the U.S., however, the question is when—or whether—the Soviets will halt their missile momentum. In his speech last week, Laird emphasized that if Soviet strength were to level off, Washington would not be alarmed. But if the Kremlin sought to move from parity to superiority, the Secretary of Defense added, the U.S. would have to launch its own buildup. It is no secret that Gerald Smith, the chief U.S. negotiator at SALT, and Secretary of State William Rogers would have preferred not to draw public attention to the Soviet buildup. But President Nixon felt otherwise and, as Laird explained privately, "If I don't give this speech, the President will have to."

Critics of the Pentagon, who recall past U.S. overreaction to a supposed Soviet bomber threat in the late '50s and an imaginary "missile gap" in the early '60s, fear that Laird is overdramatizing the Soviet menace. Senator William Proxmire, for example, accuses the Defense Department of resorting to scare tactics to coax more funds out of Congress. Many critics regret that the Nixon Administration refused to heed the Senate's advice to propose to the Soviets an immediate mutual moratorium on the deployment of defensive and offensive strategic weapons, including MIRV and ABM. As these critics see it, this approach would have involved no serious risks for U.S. security. Their argument is that the U.S. deterrent is capable of dealing with any contingency and that the Polaris fleet remains invulnerable to Soviet countermeasures. Thus, Moscow's missile buildup has not yet approached the point where it could alter the nuclear balance.

Yet, if a new action-reaction cycle is set in motion with the deployment of ABMs and MIRVs, the present balance of terror could be upset. Warns M.I.T.'s George Rathjens: "The American deployment of the MIRVs is not in our own national interest and is a threat to both countries." His point is that, as a countermeasure, the Soviets may feel compelled to link the firing of their own ICBMs to a radar warning system. That would leave the decision to launch with a machine, which could suffer a short circuit and set off World War III. Rathjens and many other American intellectuals, notably Columbia's Marshall Shulman, feel that U.S. security would be better served by holding off on MIRV deployments while trying to seek a mutual ban on the weapons with the Soviets at SALT.

Aside from SALT, the Soviet military surge worries U.S. and NATO defense planners because of the new flexibility it gives the Kremlin. Present Soviet military doctrine warns that the imperialists are plotting to unleash a nuclear war and stresses that the Russians must be ready to deliver "a timely rebuff to the aggressors." Despite this purposely vague formula, the Russians reject the idea of starting an unprovoked nuclear war themselves. As Sovietologist Raymond L. Gathoff, now an adviser to the U.S. delegation at SALT, pointed out in his 1966 book, *Soviet Military Policy*: "Communist doctrine does inject unusually strong hostility and suspicion into Soviet policymaking, but Marxism-Leninism does not propel the Soviet

Union blindly toward war or the witting assumption of great risks." Communist doctrine does, however, impel them toward a global competition short of direct U.S.-Soviet warfare.

ECONOMIC DILEMMA

What will the Russians do with their power? For one thing, they may be emboldened to become less wary about facing down the U.S. in isolated instances abroad. Equally important, the U.S. may become more cautious about situations that could lead to a confrontation. With Soviet ships all over the Mediterranean, a U.S. landing in Lebanon of the 1958 variety would be virtually out of the question today. The main thrust of Soviet power, however, is almost certain to be toward undermining the confidence of U.S. allies in the value of American protection and to move into areas where the West's influence is either marginal or declining.

In Western Europe, the Soviets are attempting to capitalize on fears about the declining effectiveness of the U.S. nuclear umbrella and the likely departure of large numbers of U.S. troops. In this anxious situation, the Soviets obviously hope that their own growing power will persuade the Western Europeans to be less closely aligned with the U.S.

In the Middle East, the Russians now have some 12,000 advisers, and they have supplied the Arabs with at least \$3 billion in arms aid since the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Earlier this month, Soviet landing craft loaded with Egyptian and perhaps Syrian troops simulated a landing south of Tel Aviv, while some 50 Soviet warships were strung out across the Mediterranean from Libya to Greece as a blocking force against NATO fleets. A Soviet flotilla regularly patrols the Indian Ocean, until recently a British and American preserve, and Soviet naval activity in the Pacific has doubled in the past few years. Along the Sino-Soviet border, the Russians have doubled their troops to 300,000, brought up medium-range missiles (MRMs), and established a new area command to coordinate the defense efforts.

The Soviets have paid a high price for their military buildup. Though they have assembled an impressive array of military might, they have done so at the cost of neglecting important sectors of their economy. The heavy emphasis on defense spending is one main reason why large sectors of Soviet industry have lagged so far behind in modernization. The Soviets have given up a whole array of consumer goods that other people in other countries, even within Eastern Europe, take for granted.

In the coming months, Russia's military machine may well pose a crucial dilemma for Leonid Brezhnev. If he does indeed depend on the generals for vital support, he will naturally be extremely wary of cutting into military expenditures. On the other hand, since he has staked his political reputation on his ability to improve the Soviet economy, he will be under increasing pressure to carry out a reordering of Soviet priorities.

LIFE IN THE SOVIET ARMY

"A standing army is an army divorced from the people."

That statement by Lenin referred to the czarist forces of Nicholas II. The Soviet army of today is still isolated, though not much more so than armies of other major powers. Perhaps the greatest difference is that it enjoys far higher prestige and power within its country than its Western counterparts do in theirs. Though bureaucracy and inertia beset much of Soviet society, the highly trained military is less inefficient than many other sectors of Soviet life.

By law, every able-bodied Soviet youth becomes eligible for military duty at 18, and can be called any time until he reaches 27. Deferments are rare. In any army, a recruit's life is uncomfortable at best. The Soviet army is no exception. The new recruit sleeps in tents in summer. In winter he sleeps in bleak barracks where he has a bunk, night table and a tiny cupboard for toilet articles. Once a week, many platoons visit the nearby steam bath (the traditional Russian form of bathing).

With a starting wage of three rubles a month (\$3.33), the recruit usually spends most of it at his unit's *bufet* on candies and cookies to liven up his nourishing but dull diet. Breakfast usually consists of *kasha* (cereal porridge), bread and tea. Lunch, the main meal, may include herring, onions, a bowl of potato or vegetable soup with a chunk of meat in it, macaroni or beans, and more bread. Supper may be mashed potatoes and perhaps cabbage or cauliflower—and more bread. A Russian soldier consumes an average of 1½ lbs. of bread a day, one reason that most draftees put on six to eight pounds during their tour of duty.

The soldier's day begins at 6 a.m., ends with lights out at 10 p.m., and is filled with rigorous training, physical exercise and equally vigorous political indoctrination. Each unit has a "Lenin room" in its barracks, where there are propaganda displays, such as pictures of racial troubles in the U.S. and political literature. The Soviet soldier is instilled with a sense of dedication to the Communist cause, a readiness to defend the motherland and a xenophobic dread of foreign subversion.

In their few hours of spare time, soldiers are put through a wide variety of well-organized activities such as acrobatics, choral groups, folk dancing and sports. Draftees are allowed to leave the camp on Sunday, and get a ten-day leave once during a two-year tour. While off base, they are forbidden to drink anything stronger than beer. The punishment for tipping is ten to 15 days in the stockade. Though the sentence may be suspended after a day or two of confinement, the unexpired term is tacked onto the tour of duty. Heavy drinkers have been known to serve 50 or 100 days beyond their discharge date.

Whereas the draftee returns to civilian life, the Soviet officer is a professional soldier. The officer corps tends to be proud, cliquish and self-perpetuating. There are special cadet schools for all services, where the sons of officers are trained to take their place in the military elite. Officers are paid about 25% more than civilians of similar age and skill. A senior lieutenant earns 140 rubles (\$155) a month, a colonel 500 rubles, a marshal 2,000. Along with the money goes the right to shop in special military stores; some generals and marshals and their wives are also entitled to use the exclusive Section 200 in Moscow's GUM department store, which is reserved for top party and government officials.

Nearly 50% of all officers are either engineers or technicians, and the officers pride themselves on a high degree of competence. In Moscow the armed forces have their own theater, ice-hockey rink, officers' club and special park with basketball and tennis courts and boating facilities. Throughout the country, the military maintains special hunting lodges, ski resorts and summer vacation houses. The rigid strictures against drinking do not apply to officers. One marveling U.S. officer remembers a dinner in East Germany during which Marshal Grechko's first deputy, Marshal Ivan Yakubovsky, drank 18 successive vodka toasts.

The officer corps is itself highly stratified. Generals are given cars and drivers as well

as large apartments and summer dachas at nominal rents. While Grechko was Soviet Commander in East Germany, for example, he and his wife Klavdiya had a town house in East Berlin and a secluded complex of five villas in the East Berlin suburb of Wunsdorf, attended by a small army of Russian maids and orderlies. Now he owns a spacious dacha in the Moscow suburb of Arkhangelskoye. When his schedule permits, he also indulges his love for hunting with frequent trips to military duck-hunting lodges. To be sure, the prerequisites of the officer corps are no greater than those enjoyed by officers in many other armies. Still, the Soviet military is not doing badly at all for an organization that until 1946 humbly called itself the Red Army of Workers and Peasants.

Balance of power

NUCLEAR

ICBM:		
United States	-----	1,054
U.S.S.R.	-----	1,350
SLBM:		
United States (Polaris)	-----	656
U.S.S.R.	-----	280
Long-range bombers:		
United States	-----	550
U.S.S.R.	-----	200
Medium-range bombers:		
United States	-----	0
U.S.S.R.	-----	700
MREB and IRBM:		
United States	-----	0
U.S.S.R.	-----	700

CONVENTIONAL

Army

United States (millions)	-----	1.4
U.S.S.R. (millions)	-----	1.5

Navy

Attack carriers:		
United States	-----	15
U.S.S.R.	-----	0
U.S. helicopter and support carriers	-----	10
U.S.S.R. helicopter and support carriers	-----	10
U.S. cruisers, destroyers, and frigates	-----	185
U.S.S.R. cruisers and destroyers	-----	96
Nuclear-powered submarines:		
United States	-----	86
U.S.S.R.	-----	80
Other submarines:		
United States	-----	60
U.S.S.R.	-----	270

Air Force

Tactical:		
United States	-----	8,500
U.S.S.R.	-----	4,800
Transport:		
United States	-----	647
U.S.S.R.	-----	1,700

Air Defense

Interceptors:		
United States	-----	1,000
U.S.S.R.	-----	3,400

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT OF NYU AGAINST INDOCHINA POLICY

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I would like to place in the RECORD a letter signed by both students and faculty of the New York University physics department. They express their dismay at the recent actions in Cambodia and on the campus

of Kent State. This letter is an excellent example of the depth of feeling that is to be found on our campuses. Congress should respond by asserting itself in altering the present U.S. policies in Southeast Asia.

The letter follows:

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY,

New York, N.Y., May 8, 1970.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: The undersigned members of the All-University Department of Physics of New York University (faculty, staff, and students) would like to express their deepest opposition to the war in Viet Nam and to its recent escalation. We believe that this war is a violation of the U.S. Constitution, and we are certain that it violates civilized international behavior and moral law.

We are appalled at the insensitivity of some government leaders towards the ideals and well-being of students. The tragic events at Kent State University are an outgrowth of a policy which does not comprehend the justified anguish of youth. We endorse the statement of President Hester and of other university presidents, and in the name of humanity we urge our national leaders to make an immediate change of policy.

To this end we strongly support the recent initiatives in Congress to repeal the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, reaffirm the constitutional prerogative of Congress to declare war, and put a swift and immediate end to the war.

A. Sirlin (professor of physics), L. Spruch (professor of physics), Steven A. Winter (student), Martin Pope (research scientist), Paul T. Kilauga (student), Sidney J. Fox (student), E. L. Schucking (professor of cosmology), Faith Novick (secretary), George Basbas (research scientist), Kenneth Stanton (student), Jacqueline Ellis (administrative assistant), Jay Newman (student), Leonard Yarmus (associate professor of physics), Frank Bloomfield (administrative assistant), A. E. Glassgold (head of the department), Joseph Buschi (student), Robert W. Richardson (associate professor of physics), Robert L. Jennette (student), Jonathan Cross (secretary), Sherry S. Bass (secretary), Benjamin Bederson (professor of physics), Thomas DeCanio (student), Solomon S. Goldberg (student), J. Melamed (lecturer), Y. Solowiejczyk (student).

M. Lieber (associate research scientist), Otto Hinkelmann (student), J. Rosenthal (associate professor of physics), H. Hartmann (associate professor of physics), Freda Robbins (student), Irving Robbins (student), Hulan E. Jack, Jr. (lecturer), John H. DuHart, III (student), Domenic G. Pepe (student), Diana Norton (student), Lee Brevard (secretary), Ronald Mueller (student), Gary Weissman (student), M. Baum (student), James Frost (student), Joseph F. Becker (student), David Friedlander (student), Ryness A. Doherty, Jr. (student), Harvey Weinstock (student), Pat Myers (secretary), Phyllis Kronhaus (student), Roman Laubert (student), Werner Brandt (professor of physics), Hsi Fong Waung (student), Sheldon Roth (student), Steven Meyerson (student).

Joseph P. Wright (student), Lily Galdi (student), Gottfried Durr (student), William J. Marciano (student), Kenneth Dunkley (student), Robert Simon (student), Edward Light (student), Robert Pal (student), Stephen

Tolchin (student), Stephen A. Myers (student), Robert Molof (student), Howard H. Brown (associate professor of physics), Irving Poss (student), Abraham Kasdan (student), Robert Kogan (student), Carlos Marino (student), Ronald D. Winter (student), Arthur Luger (student), Edward B. Brown (student), Louis Uffer (student), Paul Moskowitz (student), Richard Dobrin (student), Leonard Rosenberg (associate professor of physics), Peter M. Levy (associate professor of physics), Jerome S. Epstein (student), I. L. Klavan (student).

R. Alan Fox (student), Lawrence A. Bornstein (chairman, University College physics department), Morris H. Shamos (chairman, Washington Square College physics department), Edward J. Robinson (associate professor of physics), B. A. Lippmann (professor of physics), T. Miller (instructor), Madeleine Green (secretary), Jason Wilkenfeld (student), A. W. Landers (student), E. Mejia (student), R. Granet (student), Alfredo A. Monge (student), Heins-Zieter Carstanglen (student), Paul Otterson (associate research scientist), K. F. Etzold (student), James T. O'Neill (student), Art Jaimides (staff).

A TRIBUTE TO WALTER REUTHER, LABOR STATESMAN

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, along with Americans in every walk of life, I mourn the tragic passing of one of the outstanding labor leaders of our times. The accident that snuffed out Walter Reuther's life took away from the working people of this Nation an individual who has been in the forefront of every battle for human welfare and dignity in the last three decades, and he will be deeply missed.

There was no cause concerning the quality of life which did not enlist the talents and dedication of this formidable man, who set standards of conviction for us all by unhesitatingly placing his life on the line time after time for what he believed in. There can be no question that the high standard of life of the workingman in America today, of the dignity and productivity of countless lives has been profoundly influenced by Walter Reuther, whose career and principles have drawn the highest praise from even those who were his adversaries across the bargaining table.

Walter Reuther's breadth of action on behalf of social causes—the elimination of poverty, improved health care for all Americans, a decent wage, pension plans—has enriched the welfare of all of us. No monument in stone is needed, for this progressive national leader will live in the hearts of those he led up from the indignities of sweatshop toil in the 1930's to a share in the national affluence. We can pay Walter Reuther no

higher tribute than to carry forward the work of enhancing the quality of life for all Americans which he so ably championed.

PITTSBURGH'S PLAN FOR RAPID TRANSIT

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, Pittsburgh and Allegheny County are anxiously awaiting the green light from the Department of Transportation to implement the early action program of the Port Authority of Allegheny County.

In an excellent series of articles, April 12-17, 1970, the Pittsburgh Press narrated the merits of this innovative system and how it would work to serve the needs of the commuter.

I am proud of Pittsburgh's response to meet the challenges of urban mass transit and ask unanimous consent to include the series of articles at this point in the RECORD for the attention of my colleagues:

PROJECT: SKYBUS—"IT WILL WORK," TRANSITMEN SAY

[Preliminary engineering reports indicate the controversial Skybus will work as a passenger line. This is the first in a series of articles condensing the engineers' findings and discussing possible effects on riding habits of Pittsburgh area commuters.]

(By Ralph Brem and Sam Spatter)

A fast, light modern "train" will glide out of South Hills Village some time in the summer of 1975, and head for downtown Pittsburgh, about 10.5 miles away.

The trip should take about 23 minutes, even with nine stops along the way.

This will be the start of the Transit Expressway Revenue Line, sometimes known as TERL, but called Skybus by most.

And if all goes well, part of Allegheny County's transit woes may be answered.

At least that's the picture conjured up in the \$494,000 preliminary engineering plan released last week by the Port Authority of Allegheny County (PAT).

OPTIMISM VOICED

According to the firms which conducted the study—started in 1968—Skybus will work.

And its impact on the area will be great . . . especially by the year 2010.

To start off, PAT has been told the area will receive \$2.10 in benefits for each \$1 invested in the system.

Skybus, once it is in full operation in the South Hills, will furnish fast round-the-clock service daily to 24,718 one-way passengers in 1976.

These passengers—there should be 28,717 one-way trips daily by 1985—will save thousands of hours of commuting time. And this saving also will be felt by other PAT bus riders, motorists and truckers, now trapped in daily congestions on roads throughout the South Hills.

BUSES AS "FEEDERS"

The report predicts new bus routes will be developed by PAT, since buses will not be needed to carry all of the South Hills commuters into town. Instead, they will feed passengers into Skybus, and go back to pick up more.

Since 6,345 autos are expected to stay home instead of adding to the downtown congestion, about 500 to 625 tons of pollutants will not enter the atmosphere each year.

And the noise level should be reduced with fewer autos converging toward town.

There will be an estimated \$25 million in savings on new parking garage construction, because of fewer autos entering downtown.

And downtown will be able to continue its growth as a major office employment center, instead of being choked by endless lines of auto traffic.

Downtown now provides 103,000 jobs and with an increase yearly of 2,000 jobs, the total could climb to 125,000 downtown jobs by the end of the 1970s.

The South Hills is expected to benefit—as did San Francisco, Montreal and Toronto—with extensive real estate developments along the line.

The authors of the report expect the Skybus route will stimulate \$160 million in new investments by 1980, primarily at or near the 11 stations.

There will be improved transportation service available for college students, teachers and other persons—particularly those with low or modest incomes—to local colleges and educational institutions.

FEW IF ANY FIRINGS

Just building the line will be a financial boom for both workers and local suppliers of equipment.

During the 5½-year period of Skybus construction, an average of 860 craftsmen and general laborers, with wage payments of about \$72 million over the term of construction, will be generated.

Top work force year will be in 1973 when 1,220 are on the job.

The unattended feature of Skybus will not mean loss of jobs for present PAT drivers or employees. This work force will be distributed to handle other duties such as shuttle bus operations, surveillance and inspection functions as well as systems maintenance.

And Skybus will open the employment door to many of the area's unemployed or underemployed persons. It will permit them to reach job opportunities in the South Hills.

FEWER CAR CRASHES?

While there are slide rules and calculators to determine measurable benefits from a Skybus transit system, the study's reporters also found some non-measurable types.

Such as how it might counter the negative features of urban sprawl and help preserve the viability of downtown Pittsburgh.

Or how TERL will reduce costs arising from auto accidents and tend to slow the rise in insurance costs.

The Skybus ride itself could well be a recreational opportunity for local residents all over the community—and for tourists.

Views from the aerial structures and the varied terrain could match, at times, the attraction of the cable cars in San Francisco.

TRANSFERS TO PARK

Through use of transfers, people could ride Skybus and then go by a bus to South Park.

The Midtown Plaza downtown terminal of Skybus will be within walking distance of three downtown universities—Duquesne, Robert Morris and Point Park.

Perhaps the biggest financial matter to be considered by taxpayers is how much new investment Skybus will generate. After all, taxes from these investments will help pay the local government bill.

Outside Pittsburgh, at six stations along the line, an increase in demand for up to 1.5 million square feet of office space, 350,000 square feet of apartment space and 230,000 square feet of retail space will be created

within a 10-year period after the system is operating.

Put into money, that means about \$60 million in new developments.

TAX REVENUE BOOM

As for Pittsburgh, about \$100 million in new real estate projects are anticipated by 1985. This does not include the air rights above the tracks.

Based on the 1969 millage picture in the county and city, this \$160 million in new development would bring back \$5,484,000 in taxes alone.

Over a 35 year span the study said a conservative estimate indicates there will be about \$50 million in increased tax revenues within Pittsburgh and \$28.5 million along Skybus stations outside of Pittsburgh.

In conclusion, the report adds that one of the greatest advantages of Skybus is its dependability. It will run in all weather and on time.

PROJECT: SKYBUS—TWO, FOUR, AND 15 "WINNERS" FOR RAPID TRANSIT COMMUTERS

[Preliminary engineering reports indicate the controversial Skybus will work as a passenger line. This is the second in a series of articles condensing the engineers' findings and discussing possible effects on riding habits of Pittsburgh area commuters.]

(By Ralph Brem and Sam Spatter)

The old picture of a commuter standing in a station fumbling with a timetable to see when the next train leaves will die here in the next few years.

If Skybus comes off the drawing boards and onto its own right-of-way, the need for time schedules will be obsolete.

All the rider will have to remember is the numbers two, four and 15, according to the engineers who have reported the rapid transit expressway concept is sound.

6 TO 10 IS "2"

If he rides between 6 a.m. and 10 p.m., the magic number is "Two." There'll be a train coming along every two minutes—or less.

Between 5 a.m. and 6 a.m. and from 10 p.m. to 2 a.m., the number to recall is "Four." That'll be the time span between comfortable, airconditioned, lightweight trains.

If he's on the go between 2 a.m. and 5 a.m., the waiting time will be 15 minutes.

In future years, the trains could run every 90 seconds in complete safety during the peak hours. And if the operators want to make it every two minutes around the clock, they can do so with a modest increase in cost, the engineers maintain.

Maximum speeds for the trains on the Transit Expressway Revenue Line (TERL) would be 55 miles an hour.

Average speed, including the times the trains are stopped in stations, would be about 27 miles an hour.

SOME WILL STAND

The top speed was picked as best for the trains after the engineers considered such things as distance between stations, size and cost of motors, power consumption and terrain over which the system would run.

Each car on the train will have 26 seats, and it will take 25 trains—which could be anything from one to 10 cars—to run the system on an every-two-minutes time schedule.

It doesn't mean everybody will get a seat, however.

Each car is designed with standing room only space for anywhere from 26 to 40 passengers.

"Normally, passengers will be required to stand only during the weekday peak hours," says the preliminary engineering report.

In its first phase, on the South Hills run, Skybus would be a "stub-end" system.

This means that the trains would reverse direction in the yards at South Hills Village and the Penn Central station downtown.

The engineers took in all sorts of ideas in making their preliminary studies.

Taking part were Westinghouse Electric Corp., Richardson, Gordon and Associates, Kaiser Engineers, Inc., Okamoto-Liskamm, Parsons, Brinckerhoff, Quade and Douglas, and MPC Corp.

One thing they were quick to point out was that TERL—wonder how long it will be before someone nicknames it Tertle?—needs a link with surrounding neighborhoods.

FEEDER BUSES

"PAT has designed an extensive feeder bus network to accomplish this, and TERL stations have been designed to accommodate feeder and through buses," the report, which contains detailed maps of this feeder system, says.

Also, absolutely essential, the report says, will be ample parking space at the outer stations.

These should provide, ultimately, 200 parking spots at the Beechview stop; 200 at Shiras Avenue; 200 at Dormont; 450 at McFarland Road; 200 in Mount Lebanon; 930 at Castle Shannon; 1,000 at Bethel Park, and 1,725 at South Hills Village.

Those at Mount Lebanon, Castle Shannon, Bethel Park and South Hills Village should be surface lots, while the others should be parking structures.

Recommended would be 3,000 spots when the line first opens; 4,905 later.

One goal was paramount as the engineers designed the line—passenger safety.

If anything goes wrong, the engineers maintain, the system will "revert to a state known to be safe."

PROJECT: SKYBUS—COME RIGHT ALONG FOR A (SIMULATED) RIDE ON DISTRICT'S PROJECTED RAPID TRANSIT

(By Ralph Brem and Sam Spatter)

Let's take a 22-minute ride on the Transit Expressway Revenue Line (TERL) from Upper St. Clair to downtown Pittsburgh.

Your guides will be the engineers who did the preliminary planning report.

First off, you'll either park in one of the 1,725 spots provided for you near South Hills Village, hop off a feeder bus, or give your favorite chauffeur a kiss and run for the train.

It's in the station two floors above the parking lot; in time it could be in a lobby of an apartment building. The trains run so quietly—and there aren't any exhaust fumes—so it's possible.

The station attendant—there'll be one on duty at all times in all stations—will greet you as you pay your fare, and bump through the turnstile.

FREQUENT RUNS

"No need to rush, sir. There'll be another along in two minutes," says the attendant. But you make this one.

You slip through doors similar to those on elevators. If anything touches the leading edge, they bounce back.

And you pick a seat so you can look out the window; other seats face inward.

Now, with scarcely a whisper, the train moves out of the station as you sit in air-conditioned comfort. A television camera keeps an eye on the passengers.

You notice that there's a phone to call train control in an emergency, and a voice comes over the loudspeaker:

"Next stop, Bethel Park, in three minutes."

As you look out the window, the train goes over Fort Couch Road, and accelerates along a 3,000-foot stretch before swinging onto the old PAT trolley right-of-way.

AN AERIAL STATION

The train goes under Highland Road after passing north of the Bethel Park School and pulls into the Bethel Park station just south of Connor Road and the Castle Shannon Borough line.

After leaving the station, the train runs along the old PAT right-of-way into Castle Shannon and you look down on Connor Road, Smith Street, Rockwood Avenue and Willow before turning left into Castle Shannon station.

Castle Shannon, like Bethel Park, is an "aerial station," and it sits above the ground near the intersection of Castle Shannon and Mount Lebanon boulevards.

And, as with most of the stations, the waiting platform is relatively small. Since the trains run so often, there's little need for vast platforms to stack up passengers.

The train moves on as it crosses over Mount Lebanon Boulevard and Cooke Lane and "comes to earth" again for about a half mile before going above Poplar Street and Castle Shannon Boulevard.

A SHOWPLACE STOP

It makes a gentle swing to the right and slides into the Mount Lebanon station which is partly elevated at the Alfred Street end.

You've been under way about seven minutes, now; and as the train leaves that station and tunnels 400 feet under Washington Road and Shady Drive West, you start wishing you had taken an express.

Almost as if the control center could read mind, the announcement comes that the next stop will be Beechview in "six minutes and 33 seconds."

The stores and buildings west of Washington Road flash by and you fly over Florence Place, Oak Way, Bower Hill Road, Church Place and McFarland Road.

Now you feel the car bend into a left turn and outside your window is the ultra-modern McFarland Road station.

This is one of the showplaces on the \$180 million system.

A FEEDER LINK

Dormonters are among the best mass transit riders in the area, and this station is the jumping off spot for several feeder bus lines.

And the station, above the street and an integral part of new development in the area has helped revitalize the district.

There's a new 450-car parking structure here and new shops and offices.

But you swing on through, over Biltmore Street, Raleigh, Park Boulevard and Dormont Avenue.

The train—now hitting close to its top speed of 55 miles an hour—rushes over Dell Street, Alabama and Hillsdale Avenue and into the Dormont station over Potomac Avenue.

Quick as a wink, that's behind you as the train skims on along the PAT right-of-way down the center of Broadway, then goes over Lasalle and Wenzell avenues.

You're now crossing the border into Pittsburgh.

You're still on the old right-of-way as the train crosses over Neeld Avenue and joins a new right-of-way that takes it into the Shiras Avenue station above Crosby Avenue.

A FEW STAND

You're through the station and into a quick right turn onto a new, steep hillside run of track.

And you're looking out on Boustead, Belasco, Rutherford and Coast avenues as the train slows.

"Beechview, Beechview station next," says the voice on the speaker, and you see that the last three streets are closed to cars and trucks for pedestrian safety.

The car coasts along the 350-foot platform and stops. The doors slide back and people come aboard.

By now, a few are standing.

There's room for 26 to stand, 26 to sit. In a rush hour, 40 can stand comfortably, according to the engineers who designed this. "Next stop, Midtown Plaza, Midtown Plaza. In seven minutes and 34 seconds."

That's about four miles away. And you do it in less than eight minutes. Downhill all the way.

Over Dagmar and Cape May avenues, along Andich Way, and into a 450-foot tunnel under the Beechview playground.

You feel like you're in a lowflying airplane as the car shoots out of the tunnel and you're 100 feet above Crane Avenue.

It's still downhill as the train skirts Seldom Seen, crosses over the Norfolk & Western Railroad tracks and Saw Mill Run Boulevard on a high trestle and shoots into the old Wabash Railroad Tunnel.

Seconds later, you're out of the tunnel.

There's the Monongahela River and the Golden Triangle on your left as the train slows down in a hard right turn and curves back over the Penn Central tracks and glides into the Carson Street station.

This is another major stop as the Monongahela River Incline is a big passenger deliverer. Puts them right in the station.

Today, though, you don't stop.

The train goes through and turns out over the river onto the old Panhandle Railroad Bridge and goes underground into the new Midtown Plaza.

You get off and walk past the shops and up onto Grant Street.

Behind you, the train pulls out and runs another minute into its terminal at Penn Central.

PROJECT: SKYBUS—NEW RAPID TRANSIT HERE TO SPEED IN AIR, VIA TUNNELS, OVER RIVER

(By Ralph Brem and Sam Spatter)

It will take three new, short tunnels and the use of two existing railroad tunnels—one of them abandoned in the late 1940s—to make the proposed Skybus system work.

According to the engineers who wrote the preliminary plans, the three new tubes will be handled by the "cut-and-cover" method.

That means they dig a ditch, put the tracks and other gear in place and roof the whole thing over much like the tunnel between Gateway Center and the Hilton Hotel was "dug."

There's no need for any new bridges, the engineers maintain.

One of the new tunnels would be a 400-foot double-track cut under Washington Road just north of the Mount Lebanon station at Alfred Street.

While building this, the diggers would also put in a separate pedestrian passageway running parallel to the Washington Road tunnel.

USE WABASH TUNNEL

Another new tunnel—a 450-foot double-track job—would go under Beechview Playground.

Getting through Mount Washington means using the abandoned 3350-foot Wabash Railroad tunnel.

This tunnel used to handle a double-track, standard-gauge, steam railroad line which crossed the Monongahela River to serve warehouses and a passenger depot where Gateway Four stands now.

Even with a new 18-inch concrete tunnel liner, the old tunnel is wide enough to take

a double-track road carrying the Transit Expressway Revenue Line (TERL).

Once into—or under—the Golden Triangle, the lightweight, air-conditioned trains will use the Penn Central tunnel.

But it's strictly a one-way deal at present since the section running through the basement of the new U.S. Steel Building won't take a double track.

NEW BY-PASS TUNNEL

So, the inbound roadway will go around the building in a new by-pass tunnel.

Both the U.S. Steel section and the new by-pass tunnel will join up with the existing Penn Central Co. tunnel which will need rehabilitation.

No new bridges will be needed since the system will use the existing Penn Central Co. Panhandle Division bridge to get across the Mon.

Now a one-track bridge, it will be made two-way to take Skybus.

Working on the report were the MPC Corp.; Westinghouse Electric Corp.; Kaiser Engineers, Inc.; Richardson, Gordon & Associates; Okamoto-Liskamm, who handled the preliminary station design, and Parsons, Brinckerhoff, Quade and Douglas.

Kaiser Engineers and Michael Baker Jr., a firm in Rochester, Pa., are designing the final system on which work should start later this year.

It's estimated that it will take 5½ years to build the South Hills Expressway segment at a cost of about \$180,716,000.

TERL—or Skybus, as it has become known—will be a major transit link in the South Hills as it serves passengers south of the Mon between Saw Mill Run Boulevard and Banksville Road.

Presently, passengers in this area ride four street car lines, eight bus lines that go downtown and six feeder or local bus routes.

The engineers figure there'll be 36,000 riders a day on TERL in the first full year of operation; and 50,700 by 1985.

The controversial "switch" that has been much debated in planning will get a real workout in the new system.

There will be at least 22 of them on the line—and more if you count the ones in the yards—all "concealed within the roadway structure so that the TERL's clean and unobtrusive appearance is not impaired," says the report.

Trains will be put together in the yards just beyond South Hills Village.

It will be done automatically with no passengers on board, the report maintains, and off the main line.

THE NERVE CENTER

This yard is the nerve center, and the storage yards.

Here, too, cars should be cleaned daily, inside and out, the engineers say.

There'll be room enough to store 90 vehicles in one section and 111 in another.

And all yard roadways will be heated to break up snow delays.

No de-icing compounds will be used on any of the roadway running surfaces.

Because of the frequent passage of trains, very little snow should pile up on the running surfaces.

This has been proved already in experiments at the South Park testing grounds.

LANDSCAPING, TOO

It won't make much difference in critical section of the roadway—electric heating elements buried in the concrete will melt the ice and snow.

Some structural statistics:

If a train is disabled, passengers can walk to safety on walkways either in or alongside the roadbed.

About 60,000 lineal feet of the roadway will be aerial—on "slim, tapered columns"—and

range from eight feet above the ground to 105.

The engineers believe most of the aerial routes will be 30 feet or less above the ground and will blend into the neighborhoods.

And areas under the high trackways will be "landscaped with smooth contouring, and planted to minimize any intrusive effects on the neighborhoods," the report says.

PROJECTS SKYBUS—A SEAT FOR (NEARLY) EVERY RIDER ONE OF BIGGEST RAPID TRANSIT AIMS

(By Ralph Brem and Sam Spatter)

Skybus may be near a breakthrough of Pittsburgh's old rapid transit problem of providing a seat for every passenger.

The secret is simply to keep the cars running every two minutes. And when peak rush hours are present, add more cars to the Skybus train.

Planners of the Transit Expressway Revenue Line (TERL)—best known as Skybus—contend the no-standing possibility probably won't hold true during peak rush hours.

But those who stand will find they have more space than they do today on Port Authority's Transit's (PAT) buses and trolleys.

Each Skybus vehicle will have 26 seats, arranged in a pattern that reminds one of the Montreal trains and future San Francisco cars. Double seats will face either forward or backward with some single seats facing the center aisle.

WILL AVOID JERKS

During peak rush hours, the planners believe each Skybus car can accommodate 52 passengers, including 26 who stand. They've provided each standee with 6.4 square feet of floor space.

The cars have the capacity to carry 66 passengers, and this would give standees only 4.2 square feet of space.

Stanchions and handrails will be on the cars so that standees will have adequate support as the train runs along the Skybus trail.

In off-peak hours, there should be seats for all.

And built into the car's power package is a control that will hold acceleration and jerks to a minimum of passenger discomfort, the planners have stated.

Their views are listed in a feasibility report issued last week by PAT.

DOORS WILL LOCK

A closer look at the vehicle itself shows two sets of doors rather than the one now evident on the demonstration model which has been circling the Skybus test track at South Park.

Because a second door was added, the car South Hills residents ride will be longer than its present prototype.

Doors will operate quietly and smoothly, according to the report.

When closed, the doors will be secured with a locking device. But when the Skybus reaches the station, the doors will open automatically and remain open for the predetermined stop time, then automatically close.

For those rushing to get through the door before it closes, just touch the leading edge of the door and it will swing open again.

And through the equipment placed along the route, power to start the Skybus on its way won't be unleashed until the doors are closed and locked.

A maintenance man will be able to open and close each door from both inside or outside, using a doorway switch or other appropriate means.

There will be a way to open the doors if power fails. Inside the vehicle will be an emergency lever near each door.

This lever, placed behind a small door to discourage tampering, will allow manual operation of the doors.

NONGlare LIGHTS

Once the lever is used, the train stops and the doors can be pushed open. The lever overrides all other power systems.

Uniform temperature is automatically maintained inside the car regardless of the weather outside.

And filtered air will circulate throughout the car with a huge chunk of the fresh air pulled in from outside.

Non-glare fluorescent lighting will brighten up the interior. In case of power failure, battery-operated incandescent lights will switch on automatically.

In case of an electrical fire, every car will have a fire extinguisher. And all material used in the car is fireproof or fire resistant, cutting down the risks of accidents or fires.

Noise will be at a whisper. Engineering advances will permit even the air-conditioning units to be quiet.

And vibrations of all kinds—from doors, windows and even seats—are expected to be absent.

The cars will be clean, the report states, because plans call for daily use of cyclone-type cleaners inside the vehicle.

For the passenger who must talk with Skybus control, each car will be equipped with a handset or speaker box with a push-to-talk button. This permits the passenger to speak to the man on duty.

SAFETY GUARDED

Communications will be a major part of the security and safety features of TERL.

All stations will have a public address system to serve the public.

Closed circuit TV cameras and monitors will be located at each passenger station. The cameras will include in their vigil remote fare-collecting areas and bus and auto loading areas.

As has been noted before, the Skybus will be locked to the roadway. Steel safety discs, mounted above pneumatic, rubber-tired guide wheels, will tie into the roadway guide beam and provide the positive lock-on feature, the report adds.

Fully automatic vehicle braking will be done through a combination air and electric dynamic system.

A WALKWAY, TOO

Friction brakes are used at low speeds to achieve precision stopping during all weather conditions, the planners state.

Since the Skybus will be automatically controlled—without the need of a driver or attendant—extra safety precautions have been instituted to insure safe operation.

To prevent possible collisions of trains, the system has the wayside (at the roadway bed) controls which monitor each car, controlling its speed, and forcing it to stop if there is any malfunction or problem ahead.

There is also protection built in to detect and stop any train roll back.

Electronic detectors also will stop trains if doors are opened or certain key functions fail either on board or in the wayside equipment.

And in case the passenger has to get off Skybus and walk to the station, a continuous walkway will be built along the roadway structures.

To prevent anyone from falling off the aerial roadway sections, the walkway is between the two inner roadway slabs in double roadway sections, and on one side of the structure in single roadway sections.

TRANSIT CONSTRUCTION DELAY BLAMED IN DRIVING UP COST

(By Ralph Brem and Sam Spatter)

Port Authority of Allegheny County (PAT) is nearly four months behind its projected

construction time schedule on the Early Action Program.

And every day that construction is delayed means higher costs.

The planners projected their financing and construction program on a "go ahead" date of last January, according to a feasibility study just released on the Skybus program.

AWAIT U.S. APPROVAL

And until that "go ahead" is given by Washington with approval of federal funds, the \$33.6 million put aside for "escalation" may evaporate before the entire 10.6 mile Skybus line is built.

Even the \$18.1 million set aside for contingencies—those unexpected structural and financing charges not anticipated today—might not be enough to finish the job.

But looking at the Skybus costs—\$180.7 million—the breakdown in financing shows:

Federal, \$120,477,333 (two-thirds); state and county, \$30,119,500 each (one-sixth each).

The entire Early Action Program will cost \$228 million when the PATway system is included. These are the South and East PATways—those exclusive bus-only lanes.

PAT's cash obligation of \$30,119,334, plus about \$385,000 working capital in 1975, will be financed through a \$31 million bond issue, the study states.

AMORTIZATION PLAN

The plan calls for issuing \$15 million of the bonds this June to be amortized serially over 25 years beginning in 1971. A \$16 million issue will be let in January, 1973, and amortized serially over a 25-year period beginning 1974.

These bonds would be retired from annual appropriations by the county—a commitment which already has been confirmed by the commissioners.

The draw on the funds will leave some unused money at the end of each of the first five years and these funds will be re-invested in short-term notes to offset partially interest requirements on the bonds.

Under the present arrangements, the flow of construction cash should run as follows: 1970—\$11,381,000; 1971—\$16,186,000; 1972—\$38,033,000; 1973—\$64,783,000; 1974—\$49,037,000 and 1975—\$1,296,000.

WILL BE PHASED IN

Construction of the Transit Expressway Revenue Line (TERL)—the official name for Skybus—will be phased with the building of the South PATway (exclusive bus-only lane) and various highway projects.

This phasing will be done to provide through-service during construction between Library, Drake, Castle Shannon and downtown Pittsburgh.

Based on 1969 prices, the study reflects the cost of building the system as \$41,375,000 for just the structures and roadway. Next highest expenditure is for passenger stations, \$17,829,000.

The cost to buy 145 Skybus vehicles is projected at \$16,238,000. Right-of-way acquisition has a \$14 million tab and the Port Authority's board chairman, William Henry, said PAT will follow federal regulations and not permit any family to move until a replacement home is available.

OTHER COST ITEMS

PAT has said it would spend about \$1.1 million to buy 271 residential (including 20 trailers) homes and 64 businesses for Early Action.

Other top cost items for Skybus include \$10.6 million for electrification; \$8.8 million for engineering; \$7,245,000 for automatic train operation and communications; \$6.6 million for maintenance shops and storage yards and \$4.6 million for construction management.

The study's planners anticipate a sharp

cost increase over the next five years. And they believe it will run from 5 per cent annually for vehicles and automatic operation and control to 8 per cent yearly on rights-of-way costs.

Also tied up in the financing is the cost for engineering services on both the Skybus and PATway lines.

Kaiser Engineers, which will handle the Skybus, will be paid on the basis of 2.1 or 1.8 times its wage and salary costs, depending on the type of service rendered. The sum, however, will not exceed \$15,480,000.

Michael Baker Jr., PAT's engineering consultants, will get 1.25 per cent of the estimated construction costs of Skybus during the period of design and ¼ per cent during actual construction—with the total not to exceed \$2,564,500.

Baker also will get 2.1 per cent or 1.8 times of its wage and salary costs on the PATways, but the total can not exceed \$3.1 million. However, their total compensation on PATways will be reduced to the extent to which the Pennsylvania Department of Highways participates in the project.

INCOME EXPECTED

But the best financing news is pictured in the projected income PAT believes Skybus will bring into the authority.

The study contends the only losing years will be the first two—1975 and 1976. A loss of about \$85,662 is expected in '75 and \$30,025 in '76.

After that—with the cost of the feeder bus service to Skybus included—the income is expected to exceed expenses.

By 1985, income should reach one million dollars and by 1991 the two million dollar mark will have been attained.

The income will be closing in on \$3 million by mid-1990's, according to the report.

Westinghouse Electric Corp., sponsor of the Skybus system, headed the team which prepared the technical study on which this series was based.

Others involved were Richardson, Gordon and Associates; Kaiser Engineers; Okamoto-Liskamm; Parsons, Brinckerhoff, Quade and Douglas and MPC Corp.

COMPANIES ESTABLISH PUBLIC PARKS, RECREATIONAL AREAS AND WILDLIFE PRESERVES

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, in recent times, the question of environmental improvement has been a key issue on the tongues of nearly every public official in America. I think that it is sometimes important to point out the fine work that private enterprise is doing to preserve our environment and making lands available for the public to enjoy. I, therefore, wish to insert in the Record an article from the action report of the Chase Manhattan Bank. It describes the things that major corporations have done to provide more parks for the public. This kind of action certainly deserves our congratulations; the article is as follows:

COMPANIES ESTABLISH PUBLIC PARKS, RECREATIONAL AREAS AND WILDLIFE PRESERVES

From coast to coast this year, thousands of Americans will be camping, fishing, hiking, swimming, and sight-seeing on land

prepared for public use by manufacturing companies. Until recently, most of these companies never considered themselves in the recreation business and had not organized for it. Now several of them have established recreation development divisions. The new trend is a response to the growing public demand for outdoor recreational facilities—a demand that budget-burdened cities and states can only partially satisfy.

Weyerhaeuser Company, which was the first large tree-farming corporation to set up a formal organization for public recreation, maintains some 20 parks on its vast timberlands in the northwest and other parts of the country. It supervises hunting and trapping in the parks as well as family recreation.

In 1967 Boise Cascade Corporation undertook a five-year recreational development program. In wooded canyons in Washington, the company maintains a series of campgrounds, and hundreds of miles of logging roads are open to hunters and fishermen the year round except during periods of extreme fire danger or in active logging areas. These company-built roads provide access to 700 miles of streams and 84 lakes—all in all, more than 152,000 acres of fishing waters. "We don't pretend to compete with the many federal and state agencies which manage vast areas of timberland for recreational use," said Don Coldwell, the company's timber and logging manager, "but we try, along with many other responsible industrial timber owners, to do our share on our own land."

One of the most extensive snow-mobiling areas in Minnesota is a 60-mile network of 27 marked trails maintained by Boise Cascade on the Kabetogama Peninsula. The company is also developing many miles of streams to 17 interior lakes on the Peninsula so that canoers can reach them.

Not all the parks and recreation areas contributed by industry are in open lands. One leading wildlife preserve is located in an industrial section of Philadelphia, with heavy automobile and truck traffic along its sides and airlines passing overhead on their way to International Airport.

Tinicum Wildlife Preserve is on 205 acres of rich marshland teeming with muskrat, turtles and other inhabitants of watery lowlands. The area was donated to the City of Philadelphia by Gulf Oil Corporation, with the company retaining rights-of-way for its pipelines from tanker docks to inland storage tanks.

Gulf also played a major role in an unusual wildlife transplant. After conducting studies of waterfowl in the southern hemisphere Florida's Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission wanted to introduce *patos reales*, a black game duck in South America to the forested swamps of Florida.

Learning of the Commission's desire, executives at Gulf arranged for an expedition into the wilds of Venezuela in search of *patos reales*. With the help of local hunters, Gulf captured 100 of the prized ducks and sent them to Miami by air freight. Groups of them were then distributed to preserves in Florida for study and propagation.

In Tampa, Florida a well-known wildlife preserve is operated and maintained by Anheuser-Busch, Inc. This preserve, Busch Gardens, is stocked by colorful herds from the African veldt—lions, elephants, zebras, giraffes, rhinos, hippos, and many others. From a skyrail car, visitors can view the animals roaming free in lands similar to their ancestral habitats. Many varieties of tropical birds also live by pools in the Gardens or in the Adolphus Busch Space Frame.

Another company that has contributed to the establishment of parks and recreation areas in Georgia-Pacific Corp. In what was acclaimed as "the largest single gift ever made for conservation purposes" last year,

Georgia-Pacific gave two groves of California redwoods to Nature Conservancy, a conservation group in Washington, D.C. The gift, valued at about \$6 million is now a California state park.

GENERAL GELSTON: STRONG MAN OF PEACE

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, in these troubled times with so much unrest, violent dissent, and undesirable racial tensions, I wish to invite the attention of my colleagues in the Congress to a truly great man who knew how to handle them. That man was Maj. Gen. George M. Gelston, who, unfortunately, passed away a few months ago.

The late General Gelston was a model of a dedicated public servant who used his talents, intellect, and qualities of leadership to contain and resolve explosive situations in Maryland. In recognition of such significant achievements the Westinghouse Broadcasting Co.'s Group W station in Baltimore, WJZ-TV 13, presented an editorial by Mr. John Rohrbach, general manager, regarding his services to our State. Because of its importance today, I include it in the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. It is as follows:

GENERAL GELSTON: STRONG MAN OF PEACE

In 1963 when a National Guard unit was sent to Cambridge, Maryland, few citizens had heard of Brigadier General George M. Gelston. As commander of the unit, his basic task was to keep the peace in the racially troubled city. Instead his quiet physical courage and his surprisingly acute sense of fairness thrust him into the role of mediator and peacemaker. Soon everyone had heard of General Gelston.

In 1966, promoted to Major General, he was appointed Adjutant-General of Maryland. He had barely taken over when there was another emergency. The Baltimore Police Department was wracked with scandal and Governor Tawes asked George Gelston to serve as interim commissioner. Immediately he took the necessary steps to restore public confidence in the department and its men. He acquired the respect of black leadership, both locally and nationally, at a time when they were becoming resentful toward the police. When Commissioner Donald Pomerleau took over, to begin a methodical upgrading, the crisis of confidence had been solved by the talents of General Gelston.

In 1968, Baltimore's ghetto was torn with riots. General Gelston moved in with the National Guard and Federal troops. Even in this most severe of crises, he remained the voice of reason, resisting the "shoot-first" extremists and yet moving firmly to shut off the torrent of rage.

In that same year Group W decided to devote three hours of evening television time to a study of the American racial problem, called "One Nation, Indivisible." One segment was to be on the role of the National Guard. The guard of any state could have been selected. The producers chose Maryland for one reason—the enlightened leadership of General Gelston.

This week Major General George M. Gelston died. The people of Maryland will long remember this fine soldier who won his greatest laurels as a strong man of peace.

EFFECTS OF POLLUTION ON OUR ENVIRONMENT

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the American public is increasingly aware of the shocking and tragic effects of pollution on our environment. Most of these effects are all too obvious—we have only to look at the mountains of scrap and waste outside so many of our large cities, or the signs prohibiting fishing and swimming in our sewage ridden rivers and streams.

One pollution problem, which only becomes obvious when it reaches crisis proportions, is the pollution of the air we breathe. It has been predicted that Americans living in major metropolitan areas 30 years from now will have to wear gas masks when they venture from their homes.

Every 24 hours in the United States, over 390,000 tons of refuse are poured into the air, and this figure increases every year. Approximately half this waste is produced by the more than 80 million automobiles which travel our Nation's highways. The other half is largely produced by those industries which burn coal and oil products as sources of fuel.

The effects of air pollution may be obvious only when reaching danger levels, but they are nevertheless continuous and affect everything from buildings and garments, to trees and plant life—to say nothing of the effect on our health.

Medical studies have shown higher rates of lung cancer in those areas of heavy pollution, and plant life and vegetation in these areas have been visibly affected. In some instances, farmers have had to leave their farms because of the effects of air pollution on their crops.

Normally, air pollution goes largely unnoticed because the waste products are dissipated into the atmosphere. But certain weather conditions can prevent this dissipation and cover a particular area with a blanket of choking smog. This process is known as inversion, and basically occurs when a warm mass of air passes over a cooler mass of ground air and prevents it from rising.

When this happens, we become immediately aware of the volume of filth we pour into the air, because we are forced to try and breathe it. If this condition persists, illness and even death can result.

Is it always man's fate to realize his mistakes only when they reach such intolerable levels?

In relation to the growing economic losses and dangers to health caused by the problems of air pollution, an insuffi-

cient amount of money is being spent on its eradication. In 1966, it was estimated that only 58 percent of our urban population in the United States was served by local air pollution programs. Only 42 agencies spent above \$50,000 a year, "a bare minimum program budget." Of the total amount, 40 percent was spent in California, where the population growth quickly outpaced the amount of money being spent on pollution problems.

Another area demanding immediate attention is the systematic desecration of our lakes, rivers, and streams. The once lovely Lake Erie has become a gigantic cesspool, which would require decades to clean up even if we started today. Lake Michigan and Lake Huron are fast approaching the same condition. Other lakes and rivers throughout the country are choked and clogged with industrial waste and human refuse.

Admittedly, the past few years have seen forward strides in the direction of pollution control. The automobile industry has taken steps to reduce exhaust emissions from automobiles. The Federal Government has played a substantial role in providing research programs and reducing the pollution output of various Government-related agencies. And over \$300 million a year is being spent on control devices to reduce industrial pollution.

Still, a great deal needs to be done. Congress must realize the gravity of the problem. We must help in the development of new methods to cease pollution and begin repairing the damage already done. Industry must recognize its responsibility in sharing the burden of pollution control.

Local and State governments, acting in cooperation, can implement effective responses to regional aspects of the problems of pollution, and community action groups can play an increasingly important role in calling attention to their local needs.

The young people of this Nation, who must live in this polluted environment we have created, are already aware of the grim future they face. During the past few months, I have received thousands of letters from students of all ages, urging that action be taken now. They ask what they can do to help, and ask what is being done. What can I tell them?

The late Adlai Stevenson made a very perceptive analogy of the problems we face long before pollution became the issue it is today:

We travel together, passengers on a little spaceship, dependent on its vulnerable supplies of air and soil . . . preserved from annihilation only by the care, the work, the love we give our fragile craft.

Mr. Speaker, the time is late, very late. And the problem is very real. A nation that can spend billions of dollars to put men on the moon, and spend billions to fight a war in far-off Southeast Asia, can certainly allocate a larger share of its resources and energy to give future generations the clean and beautiful land that our fathers gave us.

VIOLETION OF RIGHT TO PRIVACY OF RETURNS OF FEDERAL IN- COME TAXPAYERS DRAWS CRIT- ICISM

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the disclosure of examinations of citizens' individual income tax returns by officials of the White House is condemned and should be stopped.

Many feel that this is a violation of the right of individual privacy and of Federal law and Treasury regulations governing the confidential nature of such returns.

In this connection a news release setting forth the views of Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien of the Democratic National Committee on this matter is herewith placed in the RECORD because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this matter.

The news release and a letter to Mr. O'Brien follows:

O'BRIEN CHARGES VIOLATION OF FEDERAL LAW BY NIXON ADMINISTRATION IN MOLLENHOFF ACCESS TO INCOME TAX RETURNS

WASHINGTON, D.C., April 11, 1970.—Lawrence F. O'Brien, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, today charged that the Nixon Administration's practice of turning over confidential federal income tax returns to a White House aide violates federal law and Treasury Department regulations governing the confidentiality of tax returns.

"Federal law and regulations protect the individual taxpayer's right to privacy and such indiscriminate access by a political operative in the White House is a clear violation of the legal rights of American citizens," O'Brien said.

"I call upon President Nixon to terminate immediately this illegal access of his personal staff to confidential tax returns of 80 million Americans," O'Brien said.

"If this action is not taken voluntarily," O'Brien added, "we are prepared to initiate legal action that will end this practice."

O'Brien's statement was based on a legal opinion signed by Mortimer M. Caplin and Sheldon S. Cohen, former commissioners of the Internal Revenue Service, and Mitchell Rogovin, former Assistant Attorney General for Tax Division and former Chief Counsel, Internal Revenue Service.

The full text of the legal opinion submitted by Caplin, Cohen, and Rogovin to O'Brien is attached.

"I asked for this opinion upon learning of the Internal Revenue Service's practice of turning over confidential income tax returns to Clark Mollenhoff, special counsel to the President, on a 'need-to-know' basis," O'Brien said. "The views of these recognized tax experts leave little doubt as to the illegality of the procedures which now are being followed."

"It is particularly troublesome to learn of this practice when so many millions of Americans are at this moment poring over their individual income tax returns and are candidly disclosing personal information of the utmost sensitivity," O'Brien said.

"Only immediate action by President Nixon to stop these illegal procedures will restore the American people's confidence in the Internal Revenue Service, as well as demon-

strate the willingness of the Nixon Administration to obey federal law and regulations in the conduct of its own affairs," O'Brien concluded.

APRIL 9, 1970.

Mr. LAWRENCE F. O'BRIEN, Chairman, Democratic National Committee, Washington, D.C.

DEAR Mr. O'BRIEN: It has been reported that an aide to the President currently has access to federal income tax returns upon his written request. You have asked for a legal opinion on whether this reported arrangement with the Internal Revenue Service comports with existing law and regulations. It is our legal opinion that such access is not in conformity with existing law and regulations relating to disclosures of tax returns.

Section 6103 of the Internal Revenue Code sets up the statutory procedures necessary to insure that tax returns and the confidential information appearing thereon are not made available to people who have no legitimate interest in the return. First enacted in 1910, this central provision of our present law provides that returns will be open for inspection "only upon order of the President and under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate and approved by the President." The inviolate nature of tax information is fundamental to our tax system, not only in the name of privacy, but also to insure increased and more accurate taxpayer compliance. As to the latter, more accurate reporting on income tax returns appears to bear a close relationship to the degree of confidence in which the information is held by the Internal Revenue Service.

The regulations promulgated under section 6103 provides in detail, the manner and circumstances under which tax returns may be legally inspected by the public¹ state tax officials,² Treasury officials,³ Executive Department officials,⁴ U.S. Attorneys and Department of Justice attorneys,⁵ Executive Branch agencies,⁶ and Congressional Committees.⁷ Specific requirements for inspection of federal income tax returns have been prescribed in the regulations to intentionally make it burdensome to secure inspection of such returns. This is in order to maintain the confidentiality of such returns except in unusual circumstances, melding the legitimate needs of government with the right to privacy of the individual. For example, with respect to inspection of returns by executive departments' officials other than the Treasury Department, the request must be in writing, it must be made by the head of the Agency requesting the opportunity to inspect the return,⁸ the request must relate to a matter officially before the Agency head, it must specify the taxpayer's name and address, the kind of tax reported, the taxable period covered, the reason why inspection is requested, and the name and official designation of the person by whom inspection is to be made.⁹

The federal official in the news report is Special Counsel to the President and as such, he is an employee of the Executive Office of the President, Reg. Sec. 301.6103(a)-1(f) covers access to tax returns by such an employee. Under this regulation, the President would be the only Executive Branch official with the authority to request the Commissioner to make tax returns available to employees of the Executive Office of the President. Such a Presidential request would presumably have to comply with the various requirements of the regulations detailed above.

It has been suggested that since the employee in question acts as agent for the

Footnotes at end of article.

President in matters of investigation, no written request by the President is required. We are unaware of any theory of law which would support such an argument. Indeed, this type of argument has been specifically rejected by the very language of the regulation.

The criminal sanction relating to the disclosure of confidential tax information is found in section 7213 of the Code. It makes it a misdemeanor for any federal employee to divulge tax information except as provided by law.

If tax returns are made available in a manner not in conformity with section 6103 of the Code and the regulations, it would appear that such divulgence of tax information is not as provided by law.

A copy of section 6103 and the pertinent regulations are attached for your convenience.

Sincerely,

MORTIMER M. CAPLIN.
SHELDON S. COHEN.
MITCHELL ROGOVIN.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Washington Post, April 4, 1970, p. 2, col. 1.

² The Tariff Act of 1909, which imposed a corporate excise tax, provided that corporate returns were open to public inspection. Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act § 38, 36 Stat. 112 (1909). Congress quickly reversed this action and inserted a provision in the Appropriations Act of 1910 so as to allow inspection only upon the order of the President, under rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary and approved by the President. Act of June 17, 1910, 36 Stat. 468, 494.

³ Reg. Sec. 301.6103(a)—1(d).

⁴ Reg. Sec. 301.6103(a)—1(d).

⁵ Reg. Sec. 301.6103(a)—1(e).

⁶ Reg. Sec. 301.6103(a)—1(f).

⁷ Reg. Sec. 301.6103(a)—1(g).

⁸ Reg. Sec. 301.6103(a)—102 to 106.

⁹ Reg. Sec. 301.6103(a)—101.

¹⁰ In the past, the Internal Revenue Service has denied the request of a Cabinet member to inspect returns when a written request bore a facsimile signature rather than the genuine signature of the Cabinet member.

¹¹ Reg. Sec. 301.6103(a)—1(f).

MISS ROSE MARIE TAMURA—"ABILITY COUNTS" ESSAY WINNER FROM HAWAII

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, a delightful interlude in which I indulge myself here on Capitol Hill whenever the opportunity arises is to meet with young people from Hawaii. I recently had this pleasure when I had as my guest for lunch in the U.S. Capitol an outstanding young senior at Kapaa High School, from my home island of Kauai, Miss Rose Marie Tamura.

Miss Tamura, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Misao Tamura of Kilauea, Hawaii, came to Washington after winning top honors in the 1970 "Ability Counts" essay contest sponsored in Hawaii by the Governor's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped. Miss Tamura was accompanied by Miss Josephine Malecke, her teacher who inspired and encouraged her to enter the contest.

The Governor's Committee on Em-

ployment of the Handicapped has done an impressive job in promoting employment opportunities for persons in our society who, though handicapped, are capable of doing top-quality work. The "Ability Counts" essay contest gives our students an opportunity to emphasize the benefits of employing the handicapped and it is indeed a most worthwhile project.

In her prize-winning essay, Miss Tamura focuses attention on the disabled veteran as a manpower resource in her community. It is interesting to note here that the Garden Island of Kauai, while abounding in beauty and natural resources, has experienced a decline in manpower resources in the last few decades in the 20 to 40 age bracket. It is this group which represents Kauai's labor force for the sugar plantations, the pineapple canneries, the skilled and service businesses, and the rapidly expanding visitor industry.

Miss Tamura's essay points to the need for the services of the disabled veteran in her community, and emphasizes the increasingly vital role that he can play in contributing to the manpower resources on Kauai.

I read Miss Tamura's essay and found it most informative and inspiring. I submit it for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in order that others may also have the opportunity of reading her essay.

Our country builds its future on young citizens like Rose Marie Tamura. I know that my colleagues would wish to join me in congratulating this talented young lady on her accomplishment, and in wishing her well in her future endeavors.

The prize-winning essay, "The Disabled Veteran as a Manpower Resource in My Community," by Miss Rose Marie Tamura, follows:

THE DISABLED VETERAN AS A MANPOWER RESOURCE IN MY COMMUNITY

The wars that have raged for too many years have drawn much manpower from the national labor resources. Some men return alive and well, some draped in mourning and the rest hampered by service-connected disabilities. The concern, then, is for the disabled veteran who faces the problem of readjustment and acceptance into the working force of his community.

Kauai, Hawaii, in the last few decades, has experienced a decline in population—an especially critical decrease in the 20-40 age bracket. This group represents Kauai's labor force for the sugar plantations, the pineapple canneries, the skilled and service businesses, and the rapidly expanding visitor industry. There are presently 2,192 hotel units with an estimated increase of 100% expected by 1972 through the Blackfield Corporation and Eagle County Development Corporation resort development projects. With the acute labor shortage, hotels and their supplementary services are in great need of people to man necessary positions. The disabled veteran, then, with his skills and desire, has a valuable, potential contribution for Kauai.

Since 1920, the Disabled American Veterans (DAV) has been organized (and congressionally chartered in 1932) "to work for the physical, mental, social, and economic rehabilitation of the more than 2,000,000 wounded and disabled veterans who have returned from battlefields since World War I."

With the DAV, the Veterans Administration, and other state and federal agencies including the State Employment Service and the Department of Vocational Rehabilitation, anxious and ready to serve him, the disabled veteran has much guidance and counseling for his transitional period of readjustment into the community. When he is desirous to contribute his abilities, his "veteran preference" assures him extra help in location of a suitable position. Rehabilitation Unlimited of Kauai also works to help him through employment and training related to his interests and capabilities.

Motivation is essentially the major contributor to the disabled veteran's desire to work. It is more important than monetary gains for he is already awarded by the federal government. When he realizes that he is wanted, that he is needed and that, moreover, he is appreciated, the disabled veteran faces a more personally meaningful life. His work brings dignity and he triumphs over the challenge of a handicap. With understanding and respect, he will produce to his utmost. Employers have discovered that the handicapped are not more delinquent in areas of sick leave and absences than normal employees. All rests in motivation and a real desire to work.

Statistics from records of the State Employment Service on Kauai reveal that there are disabled veterans in the community that are willing to face the new life of employment. Below are listed the numbers of disabled veterans interviewed and placed by the Employment Service:

Number interviewed:	
1965	13
1966	19
1967	12
1968	19
1969	32
Number placed:	
1965	9
1966	13
1967	5
1968	6
1969	4

Figures on the right do not include those who sought and gained their employment or those who were referred to other agencies.

There is a need and a place for the disabled veteran on Kauai. His manpower contribution is of increasingly vital importance to the economy of an island that lacks the substantial human resources. Although the disabled veteran receives financial compensation for his disabilities, he shall never meet the challenge of overcoming his weaknesses until he has the chance to exercise and emphasize his strengths.

Employment and work are means of personal, spiritual compensation that teach men to accept their capabilities and produce their best by accenting their assets. Financial comfort and social dependability are a dear price to pay for the rewards of independence, self-sufficiency, and victory over total disability and uselessness. The future is bright and rewarding for the disabled veteran that takes his life into his own hands and lives it as a challenge!

RADICAL DEMAGOGS?

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, in this period of great national confusion, it is vital that we look to those who present sane and reasonable discussions of the

Nation's plight. Mr. Jack Valenti, former White House special consultant to former President Johnson, has offered us such a reason to give pause.

I would therefore like to extend my remarks today to include a most important article by this outstanding gentleman. I believe each one of us should consider carefully the thoughts he has to present.

The article follows:

RADICAL DEMAGOGUES?

(By Jack Valenti)

There is an edge of the demagogue among the radical young as surely as it resides within their more traditional-minded elders. To cry "revolution" today is to make it known you are clear-eyed and idealistic, fed up to here with the "system" and therefore committed to its destruction. Ergo, revolution.

A number of men some of us might describe as wise have looked at this revolution thing and have some observations worthy of pondering. Albert Camus (whose credentials as an anti-establishmentarian are well known) put it this way: "The rebel begins by demanding justice and ends by wanting to wear a crown." This is a well known defect in revolutionaries who win.

George Bernard Shaw, whose distaste for traditional procedures could never be described as mild, looked at insurrections and said: "Revolutions have never lightened the burden of tyranny; they have only shifted it to another shoulder."

The prime point in this line of reasoning is a truth which was ancient when Lord Acton gave it brilliant brevity and it is that power corrupts. It corrupts the young as it does their older kin. It is an elixir few men can drink without feeling the effect. That one starts out loving and kind of passionately involved in justice is of no matter. Every revolution in history that was started by those determined to pull down the city always ended in despotism and iron-handed power wielders, as brutal as what had been experienced before, sometimes more so.

To cite the American Revolution as an example of beneficent change through revolt is to disfigure facts. The American brand of revolution was unique, generated by the well-born and the high stationed, by those with the most to lose. The leaders of the American Rebellion had no intention of tearing down anything. They rather liked their society the way it was. They just wanted to order their own kind of government, free of non-resident arbitrary decrees. They fretted that the British government intruded on the colonies, and so they threw the rascals out. But by no stretch of historical or emotional imagery can one catalogue the American revolt as a revolution in the current accepted sense of the word.

The glorious revolution of 1688 in Britain came, according to Historian G. M. Trevelyan, not to overthrow the law, but to confirm it against a law-breaking king. It was at once liberal and conservative; Most revolutions, said Trevelyan, are neither one nor the other, but overturn the laws and then tolerate no way of thinking save one.

The French Revolution ravaged France. The mass of people, tired of Bourbon stupidity, triggered the revolt, but it quickly fell into the hands of demagogues and terrorists and we know what happened there.

The Russian Revolution needs no restirring to make the point that for whatever noble and understandable reason the revolution begins, when it savages the society and destroys both structure and rational good sense, the result is always more tyranny, more usually than what was once in authority.

When a tyrant first appears, said Plato in his "Republic," he is in the guise of a protector. This and no other is the form from which the dictator springs.

It seems strange that some of the most educated of our young people should be the loudest shouters for violent revolution. They need only investigate history to find what they are advocating is an illusion, a cruel, misshaped mirage, always shattered against reality. One can imagine what would happen if some of the weathermen types, really succeeded in revolting and winning. If they won't let speakers with an opposite view say their piece now, what, pray God would they do if they possessed total power?

If some of our educated young truly believe revolution is the answer, they are sadly lacking in historical perspective. And if they know the truth and still bloody their words with cries of destruction then demagoguery is a disease not limited to the old.

If we were all to be honest we would have to admit that playing at revolution is quite an exciting adventure. It is a form of togetherness, a sense of belonging to a special commune which is a powerful and beckoning force to sincere young people alienated from an unheeding (to them) civic authority, but, alas, to achieve change, change that is sorely needed, to construct new designs for more decent, saner living, demands work, tough, wearying, tedious work. It means canvassing a thousand neighborhoods to elect competent, compassionate public officials. It means giving these men the kind of support they need to do what needs to be done. It means patient endless explaining and incitement to those who are lethargic and set in their ruts it means putting in long days and nights to make the legislation work where it should, among those who need its hope and help.

That is why the wisest of the young (like Sam Brown, David Hawk and David Mixner and hundreds more like them) will surely surface as the most durable leaders because they are the ones who have inspected the future and found it hospitable to change, the ones who are not afraid or bored by the prospect of laboring for what they believe in within the rules and order of a lawful society. Only beasts and gods can live outside an organized society, and only fools would try to repeal this truth.

STUDENT PETITIONS TO CONGRESSMAN McCLOSKEY

HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, there are three community colleges in my district, and also the Catholic College of Notre Dame.

In keeping with the general desire of the Congress to listen to today's students, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD at this point a petition recently adopted by the associated students of Notre Dame and a second petition, signed and transmitted to me by the students, faculty, and board of trustees of the College of San Mateo:

ASSOCIATED STUDENTS,
COLLEGE OF NOTRE DAME,
Belmont, Calif., May 8, 1970.

Congressman PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, Jr.,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE CONGRESSMAN: At a Student Body meeting held on May 7, 1970, in order

that we might discuss the recent developments in Southeast Asia and the suppression of anti-war demonstrators on United States campuses, the following resolution was passed by the Associated Students of the College of Notre Dame, Belmont, California.

The Resolution reads as follows:

Whereas, in view of recent developments in Southeast Asia, United States infiltration into Cambodia, and the subsequent deaths of four students at Kent State, Ohio;

Therefore, be it resolved, that the Associated Students of the College of Notre Dame, Belmont, California, request the Congress of the United States to adopt a resolution calling for complete withdrawal of American servicemen and personnel to begin immediately from Cambodia, Vietnam and all of Southeast Asia.

Sincerely,

LINDA DEMELLO,
ASCND President.

RESOLUTION TO PRESIDENT NIXON URGING TIMELY STEPS LEADING TO WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Whereas, the continued commitment of American military forces in Southeast Asia is seriously draining the human and material resources of the nation and the community;

Whereas, a curtailment—rather than an extension—of this commitment is essential to avert a tragic disservice to the American people;

And whereas, any decision in this matter has a direct local bearing on the future of many present and prospective students of the Colleges of San Mateo Junior College District, as well as upon the welfare of the communities served by the Colleges;

Therefore, be it resolved that: The Board of Trustees of San Mateo Junior College District does hereby urge the President of the United States and the Congress to take timely steps leading to the withdrawal of America's military presence in Southeast Asia.

CLIFFORD G. ERICKSON,
Chancellor-Superintendent.
FRANCIS W. PEARSON, Jr.,
President.

ROBERT A. TARVER,
Clerk.

ELIO A. FONTANA,
Trustee.

ELEANORE D. NETTLE,
Trustee.

CARL E. WARD,
Trustee.

We, students and faculty of College of San Mateo urge our board of trustees to petition the President of The United States and our elected representatives to prepare for an immediate withdrawal of our military presence in South East Asia. The spirit of this petition should recognize that this war is a mistake and a terrible drain on the human and material resources of the nation and community. This petition should tell the President that as administrators of a financially pressed educational system they, the board, feel that the urgent needs of our youth in San Mateo make the continuance and extension of this war a tragic disservice to the American people.

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE YOUNG?

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, in the recent issue of Look magazine, Mr.

Leo Rosten has performed a valuable service by writing what I consider to be one of the most cogent and incisive articles written to date on student disorders. The article is as follows:

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE YOUNG?

(By Leo Rosten)

I have read a slew of articles by the young—about their (and our) problems. The writers are bright, articulate, unfailingly earnest. Their grievances, as distinguished from either their knowledge or their reasoning, are often legitimate and moving.

But what strikes me is that those who speak "for" their generation, and extol "participatory democracy," are neither typical nor participatory nor democratic, as we shall see. This does not mean they are wrong (many a minority has turned out to be right); nor does it mean they are right.

We must not mistake noise for weight, anger for argument, militance for virtue, passion for sense, or gripes for principles. Hate makes more rebels than Hegel.

There is plenty wrong in this muddled, unjust, horrid world. But our problems are outrageously oversimplified by the glib (old or young), and by airy assumptions that money can solve everything, can solve it painlessly, can solve it swiftly. The panaceas of demagogues and self-dramatizers have proved so disastrous in this century, and have taken so tragic a toll in human lives and freedom, that only fanatics can rush to repeat both the mistakes and the horrors.

What idealists ignore are the objective consequences of their reforms. (Southern farm labor thronged North, into already explosive metropolitan slums, when relief payments were raised there; minimum-wage laws created unemployment among those—unskilled, dropouts, minorities—they tried to help.) Many noble-minded reforms fall because of the subterranean complexity of our problems; others, because of our God-given inability to obtain omniscience.

I hasten to add, for the benefit of those who read and run (or riot), that "solutions" to problems much simpler than ours have proven disastrous failures in "non-exploiting" Socialist heavens—Russia, China, Poland, Cuba, emerging Africa.

Youth is impatient; its "leaders," intractable. Do they have the faintest notion of the terrible punishment any revolution imposes—even on the faithful? While the faithful dream of the brotherhood of man, their idols institute the grim, deadly processes by which they can get what they want. This is done through killings, torture, propaganda and terror.

No one can foresee where violence will end. The Robespierres (and Madame Rolands) die on the guillotine; the Slansky's perish in dungeons; the Trotsky's end in exile/murder. Revolutions do devour their own. After 53 years of total power, Russia sends pacific poets and novelists to slave labor; Castro has restored executions without trial, forces city "volunteers" into backbreaking harvests, and has failed to achieve every successive "plan"; and even sainted Mao now admits that iron and steel "could not walk" but needed transportation his lofty plan failed to anticipate.

Now: Who speaks for our young? According to every poll or study I have seen (Fortune, Adelson-Douvan, Harris, Lipset, Bengtson, Nisbet, etc.) of college students or those under 30, the vast majority of America's young do not support self-selected "spokesmen." Militants make the headlines; they dominate television; they paralyze schools; they terrorize teachers; they force police to use force to make martyrs; but at the polls, youth's "leaders" are consistently rejected by their "followers." Item: in 1968,

the proportion of voters under 30 who voted for George Wallace (in and out of the South) greatly exceeded the proportion over 30. (God spare us extremists—left or right.)

As for the "generation gap," it is much smaller than we assume. Samuel Lubell's careful interviews with college youth revealed "around ten percent" in disagreement with their parents: "We found much less rebellion . . . than is popularly imagined."

Here are some typical charges of the young that cry out for rebuttal:

The cynicism of your generation divided fathers and sons.

Nonsense. Some sons say their fathers are "cynical." But fathers may not be so much "cynical" as sensible—or experienced or stupid or unsure or chastened by reality or wearied by their efforts to "communicate" with the dogmatic and impassioned young.

When the young say you are not "communicating," it may mean they do not understand what you are saying. Extremists think "communication" means agreeing with them. If you don't agree with them, you are not "communicating." If they don't agree with you, that shows you are wrong. In Logic, this is called *chutzpa*.

I, for one, can't be as cocksure about anything as adolescents are about everything. But it strikes me that what is tearing some parents and children apart is not the "cynicism" of the fathers but the unbelievable, savage cynicism of their children. We may blame fathers for their irresolution, their misguided propitiation, their fear of losing Missy's or Junior's love. But to all the fearful questions of our tormented age, honest fathers can give only troubled, halting answers; slick, superficial ones are indefensible, and may prove catastrophic.

We are all battered by daily revelations of men's recurrent bestiality (whatever their color); by the horrors of Vietnam; by the persistent intractability of poverty and slums; by the discovery among American whites of the frightful price American blacks have paid for living in this land.

Yet our domestic problems are being ameliorated, and at a rate unprecedented in history. Our political temperature is made explosive by rabble-rousers who pander to the young, by neurotic orators who have neither the discipline, the knowledge, nor the judgment to comprehend, much less clarify or solve, problems of confounding magnitude.

"Cynicism?" Where is it more virulent than among the ill-informed young, who mock the efforts, despise the motives, ignore the heartbreak of their parents?

Material prosperity does not bring happiness!

Affluence has not brought happiness to many who assumed it would. But the discontents of the young are often the legacy of their parents (liberal or once-radical), who passed on to their children their own bitterness over ideals not realized, their disillusionment with gods who "betrayed" them (Stalin, Henry Wallace, Eugene McCarthy); above all, their guilt over having "sold out" their dreams or "compromised" their principles.

But the dreams were hopelessly utopian, and the principles were foredoomed because they rested on cockeyed economics and a startling blindness to the boundaries of what was possible. Crusaders for mankind are forever disillusioned by reality, or the "selfish" responses of men.

As for affluence: I, for one, doubt that money actually hampers happiness (except among masochists, a flourishing group). But money has clearly not sufficed its possessors with that sublime peace of mind, that preening affirmation of virtue, for which they hunger. Men can be soured by success, as they are embittered by failure. For man

really does not live by bread alone. (That is a quotation. It is from the Bible, an "irrelevant" old book that might be scanned before you reach 30.)

We'll have no leaders who enjoy handing out medals to war widows.

Did John F. Kennedy enjoy handing medals to widows? Did Roosevelt, Eisenhower, Lincoln, Jefferson?

Che, Mao, Ho Chi Minh—whose goals and methods I detest—also gave medals to mothers and fathers and widows; but I would be ashamed to sneer that they enjoyed it.

We must free ourselves of the stereotypes, the greed, the anxieties and vapid status symbols of our society.

How noble. But what modern society, anywhere, does not contain "stereotypes, greed, anxiety, status symbols"? Social organization is a pyramid of power, status, respect—and resentment.

And where are stereotypes or status symbols more conspicuous than among our young? A mare's nest of vapid ideas characterizes youth's "spokesmen." They spout pacific idealism—with murderous egocentrism. How many factions split SDS? The lust for power drives radicals no less than dictators.

Planned obsolescence can no longer run the country.

But immaturity and inexperience must push an intricate economy into chaos. Not one country ruled by putative visionaries offers the slightest comfort to any who value their food and their freedom.

A rebel with a toothache goes to a dentist, not a demagogue. Rebels show less sense about politics, which is more complex than cavities.

We will not waste our time debating whether we should have a useless anti-missile system to protect us from imaginary enemies.

How, without debate, can you possibly know that an anti-missile system is "useless"?

As for "imaginary enemies": I shudder to think how many millions of human beings were starved, tortured, castrated, disemboweled, burned, slaughtered, from 1939–45 because sweet soothsayers assured us the Nazi threat was "imaginary." (See Leonard Mosley's remarkable *On Borrowed Time*. It will chill your blood. It should.)

I call it madness to assume that our enemies are "imaginary." Khrushchev said Communism would "bury" us—and threatened war if Hungary was helped, or Suez taken. Mao has said he can absorb 300,000,000 (!) casualties—and Red China will have 35 to 45 intercontinental missiles by 1975.

The writings of neo-Marxists burst with references to sabotage, revolution, "the annihilation of capitalism." Who would be fool enough to gamble our children's lives on daydreams about "imaginary" dangers?

Besides, enemies become more "real" as the defenses against them seem ineffective. Weakness invites (and sometimes guarantees) aggression. Ask any Austrian, Pole, Hungarian, Congolese. What happened to Tibet? Finland? Czechoslovakia?

You smash powerless children on the picket line, but it will be a new game when the children assume control of the country.

But when today's children assume control, will they still be children? Why do youth's mouthpieces assume their peers will never change, or learn anything? I think they will. I respect intelligence, experience and maturer response to future crises more than do the prophets of idiot nihilism.

If everyone got and gave a daily, loving massage, wars would be over.

The Romans adored massages and warred with gusto. Nero strolled from massages to arenas and fed unmassaged Christians to

lions. To correlate muscle tone with peace is nuts.

Pot is more harmless than whiskey. What hypocrisy to punish us!

Pot is illegal; whiskey is not. I want pot made legal—to take it out of the hands of the monsters who are "pushers"; then marijuana's content and distribution can be supervised.

But is pot "harmless"? Medical experts warn we do not know what pot's long-term effects will be. It took 30 years to demonstrate the effects, on some, of cigarettes. Many marijuana users insist pot led them to frightful, nearly fatal drugs. Today's pot often contains deadlier stuff. Beware.

We will call off the debate on the phantom political issues that divided us in the past.

Anyone who talks of "phantom" political issues knows nothing about American history. Or politics. Or economics. Or the democratic process.

This system sponsors violence; therefore, our violence is justified to overthrow it!

Not as long as the system has legal, flexible, peaceful (albeit slow) methods by which it can be changed—as, in fact, it has been changed, in the long, great bloodless revolution since 1932, and dramatically these past few years. Public protest stopped the bombing of North Vietnam. (Where, by the way, are those peace-making responses by Hanoi—in Paris, on the battlefields, in Laos—we were assured, would follow?) Public pressure forced troop withdrawals in Vietnam.

Those who gleefully cite Jefferson's line about periodic rebellion forget that he also said: "It is the first duty of every citizen to obey the laws."

After what happened at Chicago in 1968, the "pigs" have to go!

I hold no brief for savagery—by the police or those who snipe, throw rocks, Molotov cocktails or bags of urine at them. Tom Wicker of the New York Times wrote a threnody on the Chicago demonstrations: "But these are our children!" True. And every Nazi had a mother. So do the policemen, firemen, students, bystanders hurt in planned "days of rage."

And if "the pigs go," who will protect you from the wrath of your opponents—many of whom are as violent and sadistic as you?

Your damn Reason has betrayed us! Intellect is not enough!

Reason "betrays" only those who do not reason well, or do not know what reason is.

Of course intellect is not "enough." But who says reason excludes compassion, decency, justice? And how can we know why and where we disagree if we reject reason? And what can we substitute for it? Vilification? Ignorance? Fanaticism? Concentration camps? Goring said, "We think with our blood." Think twice.

Man can no longer allow color television to suck his intellect down to the lowest common denominator.

Some TV is superb, most is as banal as its viewers. Was man's "intellect" higher before TV? Did "the people" spend their leisure discussing Plato, Mozart, Gresham's Law?

Five million preschool children who watched TV's *Sesame Street* made gains two-and-a-half times as great as children who did not—in understanding numbers, letters, geometric forms, etc. And the children came from poor homes. And the gains were made after only six weeks.

How it offends intellectuals that the masses love TV! Why shouldn't they? They are free men. And must TV cater to you? And why do you watch it?

Incidentally, who will no longer allow TV to show its programs? What a word for libertarians to use. Censors of the world, unite.

Our children will not be bound by the con-

straint of the mind that bind us. They will know instinctively what freedom is.

"Instinctively"? Dear God! Instinctively, children are greedy, aggressive, selfish, impulsive, intemperate. Any nursery school can edify the starry-eyed who can learn from evidence.

I did not say that is all that children are. Our capacity for learning, for sharing, for repressing our instinctual drives, for deferring gratification, has kept the human race going.

As for "constraints of the mind"—they are not unique to this system. Restraints make human societies possible; they are the core of civilization. Men must restrain their infantile demands. Freedom for Jack is possible only when Jill's instincts are "constrained." And vice versa.

We of the young generation still have not come to understand ourselves. We have been too nervous, too anxious, too guilt-ridden to really know what we are all about.

And knowing that you don't know what you are all about. O brave young knights, why not try to learn? Scorn is no substitute for insight.

Therapists tell us that many rebels are driven by a "social conscience" that masks their personal, inchoate rage, and try to deny their secret sense of unworth by the psychological mechanism called "projection." (Wife to husband at cocktail party: "Don't you think you ought to stop drinking, dear? Your face is already beginning to look fuzzy.")

This immoral system is run by nincompoops who are nothing but politicians.

In Venice, transportation depends on "nothing but" gondoliers.

The politician serves an essential function in a free land. He represents groups and interests. He is a technician. He mediates between inevitable conflicts of interest. The alternative to politicians is what?

Every group seeks power or influence—at the final (if concealed) expense of others. "Politics" is not a demon spawned by "this wicked system." Politics is a process. It thrives in a labor union, a garden club, the Black Panthers or the Museum of Modern Art. In some lands, the political stakes are life itself. Here, the defeated are free to seek power again.

As for "nincompoops," I will match the intelligence (so say nothing of the common sense) of the Senate against that of any college faculty you choose. (I have taught at five.)

We sleep around; adults commit adultery. What's the difference?

Age. Emotional capacity. Risk. In the young, sex without love extracts a special price. A sense of "emptiness," and tormenting doubts about masculinity (or femininity), often follow when sexual partners are too easily available, or are, as the hippies proclaim, "indiscriminate." (I say nothing about venereal disease, illegitimate births, abortions, abandoned mothers.) What lifelong tragedies attend youth's harsh new "freedom"!

Those who fornicate without commitment, who spurn the "outmoded rituals" of love (and making love), do something perilous to their psyches. They split imagination from fulfillment, separate sex from love. They subject emotion to physiology. They sacrifice empathy to infantile narcissism.

How can you defend a system where there is so much misery?

Because the system does not create all the misery (and I can't find Eldorado): witness the suicide, alcoholism, divorce and delinquency rates in other systems or countries.

Misery (among young or old) not only loves company, it rages against irrelevant villains.

But not every discontent is the fault of "the system" or parents or schools or the mass media or the Pentagon or "blood-thirsty corporations" or laws against violence, terrorism and blackmail.

Some of the sources of your discontent surely fester within yourselves—through youth's inevitable frustrations and inadequacies.

SERMON

I find it tragic to see students rampage like mindless buffaloes. It is heartrending to see "mind-freeing" drugs induce—a premature senility. I think obscenity is neither art, liberation nor "honesty." ("Hypocrisy" is often only gentleness, compassion, decorum.) It is mind-boggling to see yammering young herds lockstep to the tyranny of gurus who say "Do your own thing," but mean "Conform to our eccentricities."

Tune in to truth. Turn on—to free yourself from the platitudes, the hysteria, the delusions of your sad and (I think) sick "spokesmen."

THE MERCHANT MARINE—STEPCHILD OF THE ECONOMY

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, for some years the members of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee have been greatly concerned about our diminishing sea power and have endeavored to gain support for the rebuilding of our merchant fleet. A very strong case for this cause was made by the chairman of the Federal Maritime Commission, Mrs. Helen Delich Bentley, before the first annual President's Luncheon of the Committee on Women in Public Relations, in New York City, yesterday.

I strongly urge all Members to read these remarks very carefully, and to be guided accordingly when the bill recently reported out by our committee covering the long-range merchant shipbuilding program comes before the House, which we hope will be within the next few weeks.

Mrs. Bentley's remarks follow:

THE MERCHANT MARINE—STEPCHILD OF THE ECONOMY

I am delighted to be present and honored to have been asked to speak on this occasion, inaugurating as it does the "Presidents' Luncheon," to be held annually by the Committee on Women in Public Relations. My sincere congratulations go to those who conceived the idea and followed it through to today's culmination.

Glancing around this gathering, it is easy to see that "communication" is not lacking between the executive officers of many of America's top corporations and their women executives in the field otherwise for the essence of public relations is "communication," and the basis of successful management rests firmly on the ability to communicate with others.

Such a happy marriage, however, does not exist universally, for there are many areas in business, the professions and government where it can truly be said that "sex rears its ugly head" in discrimination where job equality is involved. This is a simple statement of fact in many instances in business,

but one I shall not pursue except to ask of those present that within their own organizations equal opportunity continue to be given the responsible businesswoman to develop her capabilities to their full potential, with the attendant rewards of promotion where it is deserved.

Under other circumstances, I might have considered confirming the subject of my remarks today to that of equality for women in business, the professions and government. With those present, however, I deem it neither appropriate nor warranted. Had I done so, the title of my remarks might have been keyed to catch the attention of the press—something like "Off With the Bras!"

This should have brought out the inevitable TV cameras and the newspaper photographers, to achieve national network coverage on TV and radio and make the front pages of newspapers across the country. What an opportunity missed!

But then the purpose of this luncheon is not to "get headlines or achieve sensationalism, is it? Rather, it is to honor the chief executives of the corporations of which the members of the Committee on Women in Public Relations are a part. That, and to spend a pleasant hour or two in "breaking bread" together, with no one sitting below the salt.

In view of this purpose and of the present company, to what, then, shall I address my remarks? In this I admit to having been in something of a quandry. Certainly, by choice of subject I do not desire to appear in the role of Banquo's ghost, but neither can I confine myself solely to generalities or pleasantries when there is so much today that begs to be said for the future of the Nation.

Thus, ladies and gentlemen, with your indulgence I shall speak to a subject of which I have intimate knowledge—and which I hold to be of major importance not only to the Nation's overall economy, but to its defense posture as well. I refer to the American Merchant Marine, truly the stepchild of the American economy.

That statement could not be made in referring to the merchant marines of other nations for, big or small, they give full recognition to their reliance upon ships of their own flag. Certainly, among major powers it is only the people of the United States—our fellow Americans—who fall in such recognition of the vital role of our own merchant ships in maintaining and developing our peacetime economy, while serving to bolster our defense. Indeed, I have found that the average American, regardless of his position in the business world or his geographic locale, has little awareness of the national purpose served by U. S. flag ships.

It has not always been so. The very foundations of our history are built on and by shipping. America's economic and military strength were established, nourished and grew to greatness through our shipbuilding and shipping enterprise.

From the Arctic to the Antarctic, from Horn to Cape, for generations our ships ranged the oceans. The Bering Strait, the Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Bay of Bengal, the China Sea, all came in time to know them well. Yet there are those who say we have no "maritime tradition."

With passing time marking increasing trade, more ships were built and sailed with the products of this new continent, to return carrying the wealth of east and west, of north and south. The fortunes of war—blockades, embargoes, navigation acts, impressment of seamen—found our merchant seamen and the ships they sailed ready to meet the challenge. With guns mounted and their crews turned to privateering, they ravaged the enemy men-of-war that towered above them, gained and kept our freedom,

and taught the world to respect the new and doughty flag they flew. With salt water in the veins of its merchants and trade in the blood of the seamen, it is small wonder that this country's early fortunes followed so closely on the wake of its ships! No "maritime tradition", indeed!

But a people, a nation, and industry cannot live on tradition, unless that tradition is maintained. Sad to relate, our Nation has not maintained it, for decades letting the American Merchant Marine go by the board and losing our standing among maritime nations by default.

So much for the past, may it not be prologue to the future.

Nor need it be, for legislation proposed by the Nixon Administration intended to reverse the downward trend of our shipping is before the Congress, with every indication looking toward Congressional acceptance. The need is great, for over two-thirds of our privately owned merchant ships are pushing 25 years of age, or over. More than 600 of the 975 privately owned ships under our flag are heading straight for the shipbreakers. Without the reversal called for in the Administration's new program, we would drop from some 15,522,000 tons of privately owned ships to about 9,500,000 by 1975.

Yet we are the world's greatest trading nation, our exports-imports accounting for some 15% of the world total. Despite this, today we are no more than fifth in tonnage among nations, with Russia closely pressing us. Liberia, Norway, the United Kingdom and Japan out-tonsage us. While in number of ships, we rank seventh, behind the others named plus Greece and Russia. Indeed, Russia is now third in the world, with some 1,670 ships.

Of our better than \$70 billion in export-import trade—more than \$40 billion of which is oceanborne—we carry a bare 6% in ships of our own flag. The balance is carried by ships of other nations, a whopping 94%. In effect, American business has placed the delivery of its goods in the hands of its competitors. Would Macy's use Gimbel's trucks?

Yet there are those who say—some of them in high places—why do we need ships so long as foreign owners not only provide service but compete to carry our cargoes?

The reasons are many. In raw materials, for example, we are a "have not" nation. Our whole economy, our productivity relies upon the raw materials we import from other countries—and 96% of that type cargo is carried aboard foreign ships. Our productive capacity and the jobs of millions of Americans is totally dependent upon our access to and imports of many basic metals in their raw state. Millions of tons of iron ore, bauxite, petroleum, manganese ore, tin, lead, copper, rubber, nickel, zinc and many other vital and strategic materials annually are imported to maintain our industrial output. Our steel mills, our auto, our electronic industries are dependent either directly or indirectly upon these imports. There would have been no U.S. moon shots, and our defense industries would be crippled without them.

So much for raw materials imported. Certainly the need for ships to maintain these imports is self-evident. It would also appear self-evident that wisdom dictates in today's world that total reliance for such imports should not be placed on ships of other nations, with no meaningful capacity of our own.

What, then, of the need for ships for our export trade? No one can question the importance of that trade to the peacetime economy of the Nation, or its importance of linking our economy with the economies of other Free World nations. Indeed, the goods we export provide the means by which we are able to purchase the raw materials we import,

and maintain our balance of payments position.

Granted that our export trade is essential, why then do we need ships of our own to carry it? Why not let the foreign flag ships continue to serve us? Ships cost money to build and operate, why spend our own?

Once again the answer should be based on what is the part of wisdom. Can we expect the relationship of the nations of the world to remain static, the attitudes and policies toward us to remain forever unchanged? If the answer is "yes," then there is no cause for concern. But if there is any doubt, then the part of wisdom is to provide against the time of need. And if we are going to need ships tomorrow, we must build them today. Besides, what guarantee have we of remaining competitive in world markets if we subject ourselves to the interests of our competitors by using their ships to deliver our goods? Again, would Macy's use Gimbel's trucks, and if so, which cost of delivery per package would be the cheaper, and which delivery would get priority?

All of the above mind you is apart from our defense needs. To supply our forces in Vietnam, for example, we have been forced to turn to our aging ships out of our reserve fleets, but the ships of many of our friends go to Haiphong. Indeed there have been instances where ships of friendly nations have been denied us. In other instances, crews of foreign flag ships have refused to sail them with our military supplies aboard. So, when the chips were down, on who could we rely? Our own ships, and our own American seamen!

Nor can cargo planes replace the ships. Indeed, with all the planes in service to the Far East, 97 per cent of our supplies for South Vietnam go by ship.

Apart from emergency need, however, a modern, peacetime American Merchant Marine composed of productive ships serves many national purposes.

First, in balance of payments, the use of our own ships provides either a gain or a savings. As such, shipping constitutes the export of a service. The British, for example, estimate carriage of cargo on their own ships equal to 4% of their total exports. Even the Russians turn to capitalistic terms when speaking of their ships earning foreign exchange.

Second, American ships contribute to the gross national product. They provide jobs for tens of thousands of Americans not only in the shipyards but in supplying industries in their building, and of course in their operation. They provide the U.S. Treasury with tax revenue, from both corporate profits and employee earnings. Unlike foreign flag ships, which pay the bulk of their taxes back home and purchase little in this country, American ships are major customers for foodstuffs, bunkers, light bulbs—you name it.

Third, American flag shipping companies maintain offices abroad to aid our exporters in developing new markets for their products, for new markets for their customers mean more cargoes for their own ships.

Fourth, U.S. flag ships guarantee access to our foreign markets at fair and reasonable rates. What is more, if we can gain them in sufficient numbers, they can also guarantee our access to the essential raw materials we import.

Finally, history shows that no nation achieves greatness nor maintains it without also being a major maritime power. In this regard, let me quote a passage from a book written by Dr. Edmund A. Walsh, the Vice President of Georgetown University and a recognized authority on maritime matters, back in 1934:

"History is . . . eloquent in demonstrating that any nation which takes the easy way

of permitting its commerce to be carried by foreign flag ships—which rents the service and space it is too lazy or too short sighted to provide—is embarked on a policy of dependency that has ended every time with the nation in question becoming a second-rate power."

This quotation appears on page 12 of "Ships and National Safety—The Role of a Merchant Marine in a Balanced Economy."

In this regard, it is not only a paradox, but frightening, that this nation, which was once a major seapower, has turned from the sea in its complacency, while Russia, a land power by tradition, has turned to the sea in the last decade. Competitors not only for the minds of men but for their adherence to our economies, we and the Russians during the last ten years have been 180 degrees out of phase in regard to the importance we attach to a merchant marine. They are 100% right and we 100% wrong in our positions, or they are wrong in counting a merchant marine of importance to their national purpose and we are right to have neglected it. It is to be noted that they now appear to agree with Dr. Walsh's assessment of the importance of one's own shipping capability.

The Russians should know, for they learned the hard way. Lacking in ships necessary to their national needs, at the time of the Cuban confrontation the Russians paid fantastic charter rates to others to carry out their Cuban adventure. At that time, Russia itself had only 5 million tons of merchant shipping. Today they have over 13 million and are continuing to build at the rate of one million tons a year. Officials of the USSR have stated their goal to be 16.5 to 18 million tons of new merchant shipping by 1975.

In shipping, they speak of the profits made by their ships in trade with the world. They speak of the "foreign exchange" their ships garner for Russia. They speak of the extension of their services to the ports of the world, and boast of the cementing of friendship with the people of other countries by Russian seamen, advancing the Communist ideology among the people of other nations. They speak of prestige for Russia of having their ships in the ports of the world. They speak of their ships serving to develop trade ties with the developing nations.

What they do not speak of is the extent to which they are now beginning to use their ships as an inherent instrument of national policy in undercutting world shipping rates. Their ships today are even engaging in third-flag trade, never touching Russian ports. They now maintain a service between Japan and Canada, undercutting American flag and other ships between Japan and the West Coast of the United States.

To bring the matter even closer home, within the last two weeks the Far Eastern Steamship Company, a Russian shipping line with headquarters in Vladivostok, filed a schedule of tariffs with the Federal Maritime Commission contemplating institution of service between Japan and the West Coast of the United States. The rates filed appear to be below those now offered by American or Japanese ships, or the vessels of other nations now carrying cargoes in that service who are members of the Trans-Pacific Freight Conference of Japan. The Russians indicate it is their desire to extend their present service between Japan and Canada to calls at Seattle, Portland and San Francisco effective June 1st.

I can speak no further to the matter at the moment, since there are determinations required of the Federal Maritime Commission. I do, however, note the fact that the schedule of rates published by the Far Eastern Steamship Company on their three ships contemplated for the trade appear to be

below those now in effect on the ships of our own flag and those of other nations now providing service.

Let me add one more point regarding Russia's massive maritime buildup. No nation builds ships merely for the sake of building them. Is it not logical then to assume that as its merchant fleet grows, its ships in turn will enter increasingly into economic competition with not only our own, but the ships of the other Free World maritime nations? What of the economic effect of such competition?

Nor should we ignore the evidence of growing fleets of modern ships under the flags of other nations. Of these, Japan is a prime example. By 1975, it is anticipated that Japanese merchant ships will carry 60% of the country's exports, and 70% of its imports. To provide the ships to meet this national desired target, Japan has been building ships for its own flag at an accelerated rate, and plans some 2000 additional ships of 29 million gross tons for construction in Japanese shipyards by 1975.

The determination for such an expansion was made as a matter of national policy, and followed the creation of a specially created industry advisory group, the Shipping Policy Division, to "conduct studies on a policy from the National Economic viewpoint for the growth of the Japanese shipping industry." The special group was given the task by the Japanese Ministry of Transport and the Shipping and Shipbuilding Rationalization Council.

Among the conclusions reached, according to a Tokyo publication, were the following:

1. It is essential to expand the Japanese merchant marine for improvement of the shipping payments position. (What of our balance of payments position?)

2. It is necessary to work out measures for having access to funds needed for expansion of the Japanese fleet of oceangoing ships and for the training of more seamen. (Compare this statement with the comparative paucity of funds requested for our own merchant marine by the past two Administrations.)

3. Government subsidies are needed to strengthen the Japanese shipping industry's business standing and to augment its international competitiveness. (How does this jive with the position taken by many American economists that shipping is just an industry and should "go it alone?")

The only logical conclusion I can come to is that we have been dead wrong and for too long!

Without any intention to beat a political drum, I can say with some sense of relief that the present Administration recognizes the dangers inherent in the policy of past years of drift and decay for the American Merchant Marine. As a candidate for the presidency, Richard Nixon said: "To overcome the present maritime crisis, I recognize that we have an opportunity and an obligation to reverse the gross deficiencies that have marked the . . . performance in this field."

As President, in a message to the Congress prior to transmittal of proposed legislation to achieve this rehabilitation for American-flag shipping, he said in part: "We must begin immediately to rebuild our merchant fleet and make it more competitive . . . and restore this country to a proud position in the shipping lanes of the world . . . Our program is one of challenge and opportunity. We will challenge the American shipbuilding industry to show that it can rebuild our Merchant Marine at reasonable expense. We will challenge American ship operators and seamen to move toward less dependence on government sub-

sidy. And, through a substantially revised and better administered government program, we will create the opportunity to meet that challenge."

In short, we are now on the move. It is anticipated that with the passage of enabling legislation we will build 30 new, modern, highly productive cargo ships a year over the period of the next ten years. Larger, faster, with major technological advances permitting fast turnaround in port, each ship will be capable of an annual carrying capacity three to five times that of conventional breakbulk cargo ships of the present fleet. The result of this program should give this nation a modern fleet equal to the productive capability of 1,200 to 1,500 of today's ships.

It is the Nixon Administration's intention that we not continue to be dead wrong much longer.

STUDENTS HAVE RIGHTS TO PURSUE ACADEMIC CAREERS

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, over the past weekend the national television networks gave considerable attention to the rights of students to dissent, but little attention was paid to the rights of students to pursue their academic careers.

I was gratified to read in the Chattanooga, Tenn., papers that Chancellor William H. Masterson of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga recognized and preserved this basic contractual right of students at the university.

On Friday, May 8, in the face of demands from a very small minority of the students that all classes be closed, Chancellor Masterson showed sound judgment in refusing to do so. The chancellor permitted the use of the university chapel for memorial services for the four students who died at Kent State University. However, he recognized the predominant wish of the great majority of the students to continue their education schedule without interruption, thus keeping the university open.

The admirable handling of this situation at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga to preserve the rights of students to an education is typical of the actions at most institutions of higher learning, yet these have not been given national exposure. I, therefore, include the following article from the Chattanooga News-Free Press, May 8, 1970, at this point in the Record:

35 STUDENTS PROTEST UTC CLASS MEETS

Some 35 students at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga moved from a rally around the flagpole on the quadrangle into the hall of the administration building this morning to protest the recent deaths of four Kent State University students and their dissatisfaction with Chancellor William H. Masterson's refusal to close classes in observance of a day of mourning.

The students were orderly and took pains not to obstruct pedestrian traffic or interrupt administrative functions, Chuck Johnson

administrative assistant to the chancellor, pointed out.

The group seated themselves around the doorway to the chancellor's office and hummed "America the Beautiful" and "Taps."

The "sit-in" occurred after a small delegation of students conferred with Chancellor Masterson.

Dr. Masterson reiterated his previous announcement "that the predominant wish of the great majority of students" was "to continue their educational schedule without interruption" and again said that those who wished to do so would be permitted to attend a memorial service set for noon today in the university chapel.

The request for closing of classes was initiated nationally by the National Student Association to protest the deaths of the Kent State students and President Nixon's decision to send troops into Cambodia.

Yesterday 25 UTC students, planning to participate in the memorial services were denied a meeting with the chancellor to discuss his refusal to dismiss classes.

The students lowered the school flag to half-mast and congregated around the flagstaff before requesting a talk with the chancellor.

He refused, through an assistant, to join the students around the flagstaff for a discussion. He did offer to meet two or three representatives of the group in his office.

The attempt to get Dr. Masterson to dismiss Friday classes came as a result of his statement, released earlier in the day, in which he declared classes would be scheduled with attendance to be a discretion exercised by individuals.

The memorial service, scheduled for noon at Patten Chapel, and the lowering of the school flag to half-mast was approved by Dr. Masterson.

Some students claimed the language of the administration statement on memorial services for the slain Kent State students was appealing in tone and not as decisive as it should have been.

A university spokesman, in pointing out Dr. Masterson's responsibility to all students, said, "The chancellor has tried to balance his response to the situation appropriately for both sides. This faction (the students on the lawn) obviously isn't satisfied, but the chancellor has done what he felt he had to do."

The spokesman also said Dr. Masterson had refused to talk with the students on the lawn, "because he knew how they felt and knew he could not tell them what they wanted to hear."

WHAT EARTHLY GOOD IS SPACE?

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the Honorable JERRY L. PETTIS of California, was recently invited to give the keynote address at the NASA conference on materials for improved fire safety, at Houston, Tex. The title of his speech was "What Earthly Good Is Space?"

I am honored and privileged to insert his remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD that all may learn from them.

Congressman PETTIS, until quite recently when he was elected a member of the Ways and Means Committee,

served on the Committee on Science and Astronautics where he did an outstanding job. I, together with many of my colleagues, are proud to call him friend.

The speech follows:

WHAT EARTHLY GOOD IS SPACE?

(Keynote address by the Honorable JERRY L. PETTIS)

Thank you, Mr. Bolger. Dr. Gilruth, distinguished guests, official representatives from Government and industry, ladies and gentlemen—

I am grateful for the opportunity to serve as keynoter for such a significant NASA Conference. I am vitally interested in the purpose and in the technological progress that is being revealed. This Conference is a major milestone. It is a very historic achievement—worthy of national—and international recognition.

We live in an open society. The world audience knows our plans for space exploration. Even our failures are public domain and our detractors can make the most of them. They had a field day—for a while—on Apollo 13.

I was down here during the last hours of the Apollo re-entry and—together with your magnificent ground crew in Apollo Mission Control—I experienced the flawless splash-down and witnessed the recovery of our great astronauts.

Do you remember what President Nixon said about the Apollo 11 lunar landing—that for a few moments, the entire world was one? Well—Apollo 13 caused that global unity to be strengthened—and sustained for several days—until our astronauts were safe again. I believe more people prayed in a sincere and selfless global communion than at any time in history. And I also believe that Apollo 13—will probably turn out to be one of our greater blessings.

Ours is an open society. That policy pays off. We could ask no more of the correspondents who make such effective use of mass media around the world, than that they give equal time—and space—to our successes.

This conference is a major success (so you can relax, Mr. Bolger)—because it was planned, the plan was carried out—and you're all here to prove it. It is a "milestone" because it was conceived to make available to the public—a vital area of new technology, developed by NASA—new technology that NASA management realizes can have a revolutionary impact on society. Much of this new technology was paid for out of public funds. And it is appropriate that it be made available for the public good—as soon as possible.

This conference should set a new trend. It should make many good, new friends for research and development—and for NASA. And I might add—both R&D and NASA could use some good new friends.

My positions of responsibility over the years on several closely related Congressional Committees have provided me with privileged exposure to the many scientific discoveries and technical achievements resulting from the national space program.

At the same time, we who are friends of space science and technology are often hard pressed to justify the public investment in Space, in view of other urgent and competing national priorities.

The problems of our cities—poverty, crime, drugs, or militant unrest—the problem of environmental pollution—of adequate housing or equal educational opportunity—without neglecting our nation's security in a very troubled, sometimes explosive world—all these requirements have their champions. All get a share of publicity.

So more and more are asking "What Earthly Good Is Space?" And we must be able to answer. This conference—and others

in the future similarly organized and motivated—will provide eloquent and understandable answers. What Earthly Good is Space?

Well! What good is new experience? Or new knowledge? None of it is any "earthly good"—unless it is applied to the common good.

And that's why today's conference is dedicated to the preservation of human life—through the development and application of more effective fireproof materials.

A breakthrough in fireproofing technology has been achieved. The successful R&D program conducted by NASA in the field of non-metallic fireproof materials has produced a "quantum jump" that can greatly affect many major industries and has profound life-preserving implications. This rapid development in materials technology is the result of NASA's dedicated effort to eliminate the possibility of any recurrence of the Apollo 204 fire.

Sometimes—it seems—it takes a tragedy to motivate our best effort—or to force us to focus talents and energies to solving vital human problems.

The progress being revealed here in impressive because it is so readily applicable to social need and to the increased safety of our daily lives. I am sure the entire world will recognize the enormous value of this new technology.

We believe that these developments in new materials will become a growing and everlasting memorial to Astronauts Chaffee, Grissom and White. The fireproofing technology—created in the wake of their tragic loss—can save the lives of many thousands in the future.

I know that many of you are interested in what these new materials can do for aviation. So am I.

It's interesting to me that we had to get into space to get a really good look at planet Earth. For the first time, we were able to see our globe—as a "heavenly body" against the backdrop of the stars. We saw planet Earth—as a beautiful "spaceship"—colorful—with oceans, lands and skies. It was meant to be a viable system—a living organism—when it was designed and developed by the Super Systems Manager—a long, long time ago.

We are just beginning to realize that we live on this planet together—and share its bounties. Lo and behold, we discover that it's a "closed ecological system" and we no longer want to litter it with beer cans, and oil slicks—or with corpses anymore.

We celebrate Earth Day. We are aware of a global environment. Why don't we see Space as an essential part of our earthy environment—or, more accurately, recognize this planet Earth as a living part of the Space environment? What's wrong with our perspective? Actually Space isn't outside "our environment". We are moving—at terrific velocity—on a "Grand Tour" through an unexplored area of the Universe that we call "Outer Space". We call it "hostile" too. But if it weren't friendly why are we still here—free to wonder and debate about it? Really it's bigger than we are.

But, in viewing Space—from a more down-to-earth perspective where we compete daily for the dollar—too many critics still see the space program as just another "vast expenditure." They could see the pay-offs—if they even looked as far as Houston—this morning.

Today, NASA is declaring a substantial dividend from our Space Investment. The profiting stockholders are the American taxpayers—who can share these benefits with our planetary neighbors if they want to—especially with our good neighbors. This is one kind of "sharing the wealth" that could make economic sense.

We can share what we have learned. We can make the knowledge available. We can identify useful applications. We can demonstrate the creative productivity of a free enterprise system. We can eliminate the necessity for anyone to re-invent the wheel—or to go without wheels altogether.

Wouldn't it seem that everyone would be interested in fireproof materials—for homes and automobiles, schools, boats or aircraft? Everyone would have something to gain—except fire insurance salesmen.

NASA's perennially optimistic prophet, Dr. von Braun, points out that never before in human history has a nation invested so much money for research and development—applied its finest scientists and engineers—and achieved so much technological progress in so short a time—for purely peaceful purposes.

We live in a competitive world. Unfortunately, throughout history, man has chosen, much too often, to express his competitive nature destructively—in costly combat. Could we discover, define and develop a moral equivalent to war?

Could we compete—or even better yet cooperate—in peaceful exploration of our space environment—and let humanity benefit from Space Age by-products? This would be the most profitable dividend that our space investment could possibly earn.

We've always been willing to risk a lot to save our way of life—or even lives in danger. We have risked much—we have risked men—to get our nation into space.

How much would we risk to make life on Earth worth living—and more secure—for more people on the planet? This is what the Space Age could make possible.

First, we viewed our Earth from Space—and really saw it for the first time.

Then we realized we had learned so many things of value in a short time that others could use too. We had even learned to discover and invent—on schedule.

Could we help to make our planet a more viable system—where people could live—and move around and have their being—in peace with freedom?

No? Haven't we reached that point in time—and Space? We can't do it by ourselves—not without cooperation. The potential is there—the vision has been seen. We can't keep on becoming more competitive—when cooperation is much more economical—and so much safer too.

We haven't all seen the vision. When Apollo 13 took off, many were complacent. The networks didn't give much build up—a half-hour before liftoff they picked up the countdown. The Apollo 13 launch didn't sell many papers. The headlines were small.

But something happened. Apollo 13 "made news." By the time "Lucky 13" came home—and the "global village" saw three billowing parachutes—and three courageous crewmen lifted from the spacecraft—it was the Age of Aquarius all over again. Of course, the method of landing was embarrassing—for pilots. Jules Verne had his "astronauts" splash down that way over a hundred years ago.

In a recent policy speech, President Nixon identified three main purposes for our continued national efforts in Space. The first was related to the tradition of exploration—the second acknowledged our continued need for new knowledge and the third involved the process of application—translating new knowledge into useful technology for the benefit of society. He stressed that all of these—like our initial lunar landing—would be pursued to "benefit mankind"—and, if possible, would reflect a growing degree of international cooperation.

Perhaps the most important of the three is the timely application.

Fortunately, the National Space Program and the impetus that it provides for advanced research, experimentation and development affords us a unique opportunity to translate knowledge and to transfer technology into social benefits. It does require imagination, an open access to new information, some "Yankee Ingenuity" and a desire to be of service to our fellow man. The last consideration may be the key to serendipity.

You hear a lot about manned vs unmanned space programs—and really we should view it as an integrated program—but when a man's life is involved, we in America have always tried harder, worked better and produced more reliably. For manned space systems, 99% reliability wasn't good enough. We care about the value of a life. If we'd lost an unmanned satellite in the Apollo fire, we wouldn't have achieved a breakthrough in materials for Improved Fire Safety.

It was because our men were involved in the mission that the state of the art has been pushed ahead so fast in so many scientific areas and technical disciplines. Our motive was to preserve the lives of the astronauts—and other lives are saved as a result. Because we had to be sure we have learned to improve our entire R&D management system—we have accelerated technical development and produced a broad spectrum of spin-offs to enhance man's life on Earth.

The subject matter of this conference is one example only of what NASA has produced in many fields. You will be thoroughly exposed to that example—in depth—so I'd like to identify briefly a few of the other areas of that new technology spectrum that have spun-off from National Space Programs.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress, propelled by the space exploration mission, has touched every field of science, every body of knowledge, all aspects of civilization—and every human life on Earth will ultimately feel its impact. We hope this impact will be beneficial and that the weapon system technology that laid the foundation for the Age of Space—both for the Soviets and for us—will prove, historically, to be only the solid technical base upon which we could build for the benefit of all.

If we have learned from our experience we know that space exploration can increase human knowledge and enhance national prestige—as did Sputnik, and the Apollo program. We know that the challenge of Space when met and conquered, can uplift the minds and aspirations of mankind everywhere—and can provide an outlet for international competition which may serve to relieve the pressures that tend toward global war. Toward such an objective, space programs could provide the catalyst to encourage international cooperation on a scale unprecedented in history. Space exploration can provide dramatized examples of what man can do when properly motivated, organized, and supported to accomplish specific goals.

As a direct result, advances in science, technology, education, and industry will be stimulated to yield a new world of benefits. Some critics ask "What Earthly Good is Space?" in honest ignorance of all that has been accomplished. Other critics, who should know better, have chosen to disregard the spin-offs—or to assume that such spectacular progress "would have happened anyway".

Recently, one of my senior colleagues on the Hill rather irresponsibly implied that nothing of any real value had yet come out of the Space Program. He was answered with a long list of documented items—but the second speaker doesn't often make the headlines. Let's review part of the record.

There are some who don't consider national security as a "human benefit." Its difficult to understand their point of view. The space

program has greatly improved the development of electronics and communications, vital to any nation's defense. It has provided advanced communications satellites, both strategic and tactical, many types of early warning systems and new navigation satellites with possibilities for use by fast-moving aircraft—and with potential for the prevention of mid-air collisions as congestion of our air lanes and municipal airports continues to grow.

Jointly with the Department of Defense, NASA is developing a space shuttle system—in essence a reusable space vehicle that mates the airplane and the rocket in an operational spacecraft that will retain the best features of both. A shuttle could put satellites into orbit, service satellites operating in space, supply a manned space station or even assist in the rescue of astronauts from space emergencies. We became intensely aware of our need for such a rescue capability during the flight of Apollo 13. With the shuttle, for the first time, people other than astronauts, technicians and specialized observers will be able to fly into space.

The ability to forecast weather accurately two weeks in advance could result in savings to farmers, fuel producers and public utilities alone of about \$2 billion annually. Nimbus III can photograph and transmit pictures of cloud cover, and also record and transmit temperatures at various altitudes over 80% of the Earth's atmosphere. A later version will soon be measuring humidity as well.

The use of satellites in forest fire detection in the United States could save more than \$30 million annually. The source of water pollution can be located and monitored by satellite, mineral and fuel sources can be uncovered, helping to solve problems that could become acute within the next few years.

Perhaps no one has yet estimated the fantastic influence that computer technology has had on our civilization. The space mission requirements motivated development of computers with greater speed and reliability, as well as smaller size and weight, and caused advances in programming techniques.

The Chief of Army R&D, Lt. General Betts, told Congress recently that the Soviets might have beaten us to the Moon if they had possessed our computer ability. He testified "we know that the Soviet Union has caught up with us in most technological fields. Its generally agreed that only because of their lag in computer technology did they fail to beat us the Moon."

The emerging science and technology of management is still rather intangible to most of us—even to some managers. You might think of it as—our knowledge of applied leadership to accomplish desired goals.

Management technology has come of age with the Space Program. The Editor-in-Chief of Aviation Week and Space Technology magazine, Bob Hotz, wrote in a recent editorial, "This country seems slow to comprehend that the greatest asset it gained from the Apollo program was not the new technology it produced, valuable though that may be. The greatest asset was the development of new and effective managerial techniques and managers who were able to marshal a wide variety of talents and resources to solve a problem of unprecedented magnitude."

The quality of management is more apparent when the mission is less than "nominal". Apollo 13 was an outstanding example of creative, disciplined, courageous, and dedicated management challenged with unexpected problems and performing like inspired and mature professionals. To manage others we must first learn to manage ourselves. Our capability for applied leadership in the face of crisis was obvious to the world.

Prior to the space age we used the polar

regions and the deserts to test the "character" of our men and their machinery. The moon was a different matter. If life can be supported in Space it can survive anything the Earth has to offer—at its worst. So we have materials for heat shields that can withstand over 5,000° F, batteries that don't weaken at -100° and gloves enabling a man to hold an object for five minutes at any temperatures from -170° to 250°. Insulated clothing, made of flexible fabrics, had to be fireproof as well.

New sensors of all types—new sealants, super glues, now available in hardware stores—new lubricants to serve efficiently under unprecedented environmental conditions—new instruments for measurements unimagined a few years ago—testing techniques for materials, components and systems in simulated space environments.

Fresh meat is now packaged in polyester film 1/2000th of an inch thick, originally developed for the Echo satellites. The very popular heat and cold resistant pyroceram ware, originally a material for re-entering nose cones, is now used in our kitchens to cook vegetables. You've all heard of Teflon. Space is for the housewife too.

Tiny nickel-cadmium batteries to power electric watches—razor blade cutting edges from thin films developed through molecular electronics research—new fabrics—new chemistry—and new technical optics to revolutionize the printing industry.

What Earthly Good is Space? We have only just begun to discover how to apply what we are learning to improve our processes and standards of living. To the application process—the translation of information and technology—that's where we need to turn our attention and our talents. But we have begun.

Lt. General Sam Phillips, well known to you in the Apollo Program, now Commander of the Air Force Space and Missile Systems Organization, recently spoke to a management group in Chicago on the subject of "Space and the National Future".

General Phillips says: "Of some 12,000 new products and techniques which have come into being in the last decade, a very large percentage are directly attributable to space and missile developments.

The examples are legion; an electromagnetic hammer, developed for rocket production, which makes metals flow like soft plastic, allowing smoothing and shaping without weakening, is now being used widely in shipbuilding and auto production.

New fiber-reinforced composite materials being investigated not only for auto and truck bodies, but for stronger and lighter weight artificial arms and legs, longer bridges than now exist, even dental fillings and plates.

The fuel cell development which was dormant for many years, was reactivated as a source of power in space. Now 30 public utility companies have a \$27 million program for the adaptation of the fuel cell for home power units. It is also being developed for possible use in smog-free automobiles.

There is so much more. General Phillips even advertised today's Conference in his Chicago address.

Space technology is revolutionizing the global educational environment. Last September the United States signed an agreement with India for the use of an Applications Technology Satellite which we plan to launch in 1972. A special antenna and transmitter three times as powerful as those on present commercial satellites will broadcast—from a hovering orbit over 22,000 miles high—programs on family planning, hygiene, agriculture, basic production skills, etc., that can be received at a small cost in more than 5,000 widely scattered Indian villages.

Closer to home, table television, using

space satellite relays, could bring a college education into your living room for a cost of about \$61.00 a year.

The search for food to feed the planetary population can be greatly simplified by using orbiting satellites. Infrared photographs show the size and maturity of crops, spotting plant disease before it's visible to the farmer. Even schools of fish can be located and tracked by infrared sensors. Can you imagine detecting the heat given off by a lot of cold fish?

The launch of an Earth Resources Technology Satellite is planned for 1972. My colleague, Joe Karth of Minnesota, estimates that the economic benefits from this one system alone could add more than \$6 billion a year to our economy. Maybe NASA should be reorganized to permit it to pay for itself by licensing processes and products developed by public funds. That's free enterprise too.

I've saved for the last a few representative examples of what space research is doing for the field of health and medicine.

An EKG transmitting system using "spray-on electrodes" can transmit a heart patient's cardiogram from a moving ambulance to a hospital so that the receiving doctors and technicians can be prepared with a better understanding of the case. Now if they can just include documentation of the patient's "fiscal condition" as well, he'd be sure of a warmer reception.

A cardiac catheter, with a sensor smaller than the head of a pin, can be inserted into a blood vessel to measure pressure without interfering with circulation.

An "eyeball switch", designed for the astronauts when high G forces might limit arm and leg movement, has been adopted for partially paralyzed patients or for paraplegics to guide themselves in wheel chairs, turn on TV or turn book pages.

A valve designed by a NASA engineer is being adapted to relieve fluid build up in cranial cavities, as with hydrocephalus patients. An implantable model is being fabricated to restore urinary control to incontinent patients. A NASA Biomedical Application Team is testing a new method for the early detection and cure of cystic fibrosis.

To conclude the biomedical examples, perhaps you are aware of a recent disclosure by the Head of NASA's Molecular Biophysics Lab at Langley. Clarence D. Cone, Jr., described his theory on cell division to the Science Writers Seminar of the American Cancer Society in San Antonio about six weeks ago. It sounded like big news to me. Cone has devised and demonstrated a theory which helps to explain the source of uncontrolled malignant growth. The theory indicates short cuts to the development of chemical countermeasures against cancer and provides an explanation of the functional connection between two major features of cancer causing its deadlines—uncontrollable growth of cells and their ability to spread into normal tissue. Previously there had been no known relationship between the two characteristics, although they always occur together. Observations imply that the two are intimately related.

Langley studies concerned with space radiation blockage of cell division revealed that cells with large negative electrical voltages seldom divide, while cells with small negative charges divide at maximum rates.

Cone's theory proposes a central mechanism for control of body cell division which could provide a new basis for research on many problems such as human conception, birth defects, growth, aging and particularly cancer. What's that worth to the world?

To bring the conference back to today's subject of fireproofing materials is only to remind us once more of our search for the

improvement and the preservation of human life.

Those pre-space age skeptics who ask us to prove the social value of our research before we fund it—may just be the descendants of those doubters of the past who questioned the feasibility of the "heavier-than-air flying machine."

Let us continue to make the dividends of space investment available to the American stockholders—and to our friendly neighbors.

Perhaps the "spin-offs" from space technology will become the primary products of our effort. They will be essential ingredients to create an improved standard of living for the passengers on Spaceship Earth.

You are all trained members of the crew—managers and scientists—engineers, inventors and experienced technicians. You can all communicate.

If Spaceship Earth is to achieve ultimate mission success during its Grand Tour through space—we'd better man our stations, get on with the task and pass the word—with the same kind of intelligent dedication, resourcefulness, courage and faith that brought Apollo 13 home.

Become Space Age converts. Become believers in the social benefits of space spin-offs. Become disciples of space research and development. Be evangelistic about helping NASA find more creative ways to apply the new technology.

If you get a good idea, let someone know who will take some action. If you do—others will too—and the space program will become our "Mutual Fund" of the future, the most profitable investment that man has ever made.

LET US END THE FEAR OF TGE

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, the May issue of *Prairie Farmer*, a widely circulated and respected farm publication, contains an editorial concerning the need to find a cure for the baby pig killer disease transmissible gastroenteritis—TGE.

My colleague from Illinois, PAUL FINDLEY, has taken the lead in working for greater funding for TGE research. In March, I wrote to the Secretary of Agriculture, Clifford M. Hardin, advising him that I shared Congressman FINDLEY's concern and that I supported the call for more USDA attention and support for research efforts concerning TGE.

The *Prairie Farmer* editorial adds that respected publication's voice calling for more intense research into this disease which has produced crippling financial losses for farmers. I call to the attention of my colleagues the editorial, which follows:

LET'S END THE FEAR OF TGE

Efforts are being made to find a cure for the baby pig killer disease transmissible gastroenteritis (TGE). But for farmers who have suffered severe TGE losses over the past couple of years present efforts are not adequate.

Pork producers have made personal appeals to the secretary of agriculture for stepped up research to find an answer.

Rep. Paul Findley (R-Ill.) has taken the

lead in investigating the possibilities of heavier funding for TGE research. And this may be the problem. With pressure on to curb spending, any requests for USDA funds is bound to get a cold reception.

"But," said Congressman Findley to Secretary Hardin, "somehow we must find immediate funding to finance the long past due research for a cure for TGE. A small project is being carried on by the USDA near Ames, Ia., and some research continues at the University of Illinois, but funds are very low."

We would like to add our voice to that of the producers and Congressman Findley. More intense research needs to be done on TGE. The crippling financial losses have been severely demoralizing to many farmers.

It is hoped that the department of agriculture will look with favor on these appeals and somehow find the money necessary to end the fear of TGE.

COLUMBIA LEGAL SOCIETIES CON- DEMN CAMBODIA INVASION

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, international law experts at Columbia University assert that the United States acted illegally when its military forces entered Cambodia. The Columbia Society of International Law and the Columbia Journal of Transnational Law have drafted a memorandum which outlines in detail the treaties and other international agreements that the United States violated.

The memorandum follows:

MEMORANDUM

Throughout history, and especially since World War II, the United States has been a leading proponent and defender of freedom and independence for all nations of the world. It has helped initiate and has supported efforts to establish a system and a world community based upon respect for international law, for the right of self-determination of all peoples of the world, for the peaceful settlement of disputes and for all the principles of the United Nations Charter.

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

In the Preamble to the U.N. Charter we affirmed our determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . . to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained . . . and for these ends . . . to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest . . ."

Article One states that one of the purposes of the United Nations is ". . . to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace. . . ." Most importantly, in Article Two we agreed to act in accordance with the principles that "All members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered. All

members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations."

By unilaterally sending United States military units into the neutral territory of Cambodia, without the invitation or consent of the Cambodian government, and without consulting the Security Council, the United States has committed a grave breach of international law. This decision seriously threatens the principles of the United Nations, the principles which in the past the United States has staunchly supported.

This intervention also violates the domestic law of the United States. After due ratification, the United States Constitution declares that a treaty becomes the "Supreme Law of the Land." No action short of total withdrawal from and renunciation of the Charter can terminate our obligation to act in accordance with every one of its terms. Since we have not renounced or withdrawn our ratification of the United Nations Charter, our actions are unconstitutional and unjustified violation of United States Law. Clearly, the U.N. Charter is in full force as law of the United States, and just as clearly, we have violated its provisions and its spirit.

SEATO TREATY

Under the South-East Asia Collective Defense Treaty, Secretary of State Dulles told the Committee on Foreign Relations in 1954 that action would be taken by the United States only "in accordance with its constitutional processes." This, he explained, meant that action would be taken only after consultation with Congress. In approving the SEATO Pact, it is clear that Congress expected to be consulted prior to each United States military intervention in a country covered by the Treaty.

Cambodia did not become a member of the SEATO pact. The SEATO signatories, however, included Cambodia as a protocol party and not as a member of the organization. Cambodia has renounced its protocol status and has proclaimed its neutrality for many years. But even the SEATO Treaty itself, which accords to its members a unique power of unilateral intervention in the territory of a protocol party as well as members, specifically states that "no action shall be taken except at the invitation or with the consent" of the government. The United States has violated this provision by initiating military action without obtaining Cambodia's prior consent.

UNITED STATES POLICY

The State Department has repeatedly justified our involvement in Vietnam on the basis of the SEATO Treaty, and has said that additional legal support was given to this position by the Joint Resolution of Congress of August 10, 1964 (The Tonkin Gulf Resolution). Section 2 of that Resolution, however, affirms that the minimum condition for military engagement on the soil of a non-belligerent nation is the request of the other government. It states that "... the United States is . . . prepared . . . to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom."

The fact that our administration has failed to cite any request for armed intervention shows that it has failed to satisfy the most basic requirements of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution as well as of the SEATO Treaty. It is inconsistent and hypocritical for this country to condemn the Soviet Union for invading Czechoslovakia and then to invade Cam-

bodia without the invitation of the Cambodian government.

It has been suggested that although Cambodia did not invite the United States to enter its sovereign soil in force, it has ratified our intervention by subsequent actions. The belated acquiescence in or "appreciation" or our intervention by the weak and unstable Cambodian government, faced with a military *fait accompli* by the world's greatest military power, cannot detract from the fact that the United States invaded a small country without its consent or invitation, in total disregard of its sovereign rights.

The United States is in fact applying the very kind of power politics for which we condemn the Soviet Union. But the consequences of their invasion of Czechoslovakia cannot compare to the devastation and prolonged civil war which will now engulf this defenseless country. Our latest military expansion is likely to lead to direct confrontation with the other major powers in an area in which China has particularly strong regional interests, at least as strong as those claimed by the United States in the Western Hemisphere.

If we are opposed to anarchy and contempt for the law domestically, we should also be opposed to it internationally. Recently, Under-Secretary of State Richardson announced the doctrine of spheres of mutual restraint. The breach of our own doctrine would encourage other powers to act unilaterally in the areas in which they have superior conventional power. What we do, we cannot expect other nations to refrain from doing.

The President has attempted to justify American actions as necessary to protect American troops and the Vietnamization program. It is clear, however, that this is not a valid exercise of the right of self-defense embodied in Article 51 of the U.N. Charter. It has long been accepted, and was affirmed by the Nuremberg Tribunal, that invasion of a neutral territory for self-protection is justified only if there is a necessity for self-defense, instant, overwhelming and leaving no choice of means and no moment for deliberation. The United States' massive, unannounced strike into Cambodia failed to meet this standard at the outset—and reports from Cambodia fail to disclose evidence of a threat sufficient to satisfy the requirement of overwhelming necessity.

The administration has made no effort to justify its actions in the light of international law. Not even lip service was given to law when our troops crossed the Cambodian border. Just five days before Operation Total Victory began, Secretary of State Rogers censured North Vietnam for violating its treaty commitments to respect Cambodia's neutrality. He went on to say, "A more explicit and unprovoked violation of the fundamental provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of additional specific international obligations to respect the territory of others could hardly be imagined." The Secretary's words describe exactly our invasion of Cambodia. This action is demonstrative of the administration's contempt for and disregard of international law.

CONGRESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

It has been asserted that the President has sole decision-making power in this area as Commander-in-Chief. Although, by an evolutionary process, the Executive has gained the power to use the military in the conduct of foreign affairs short of war, the Congress still retains the sole power to declare war and to appropriate funds to support any military involvement.

Inherent in the power to declare war is the power to limit war activities and to declare the end to wars. The recent Resolution on Laos and Thailand was an expression

of this power in declaring that the geographical extent of our ground involvement in Southeast Asia would stop at the borders of those countries. This was not an attempt to limit the Executive's power to conduct foreign in those areas, but was an expression of Congress' sole responsibility to declare and limit war. Congress has the power to exercise the same responsibility in regard to our action in Cambodia.

We request the Congress of the United States to resolve that United States forces be immediately withdrawn from Cambodia, and to reaffirm our intention to respect the principles of the United Nations Charter and of international law.

HOUSE BANKING BILL WOULD INCREASE RECORDKEEPING COSTS AND INVADE INDIVIDUAL PRIVACY

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, a speech by the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Enforcement and Operations, the Honorable Eugene T. Rossides, has been brought to my attention by a concerned constituent. The speech is an excellent one pertaining to the administration reform program to combat the use of secret foreign bank accounts in order to violate our Federal Tax—and other—laws. The speech describes the administration action being taken in this area to circumvent the present use of foreign bank accounts as repositories for moneys representing income not reported on U.S. tax returns. However, the speech also details what Secretary Rossides believes to be an unnecessary increase in recordkeeping procedures contained in a bill reported by the Banking and Currency Committee, which procedures would increase costs and invade individual privacy. The speech follows:

THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S REFORM PROGRAM TO COMBAT THE ILLEGAL USE OF SECRET FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS

(By Hon. Eugene T. Rossides)

Tonight I want to discuss with you the Nixon Administration's reform program to combat the use of secret foreign bank accounts by organized crime and white collar crime to violate U.S. tax and other laws.

When this Administration took office, it decided to do something about this problem. We point out with pride that this is the first Administration seriously to study the matter and recommend action designed for correction of this long-standing problem area. We take further pride in the fact that the Treasury is in the forefront of this effort. Treasury organized a Task Force to attack the problem on a concerted basis. It is the first of its kind of which we are aware.

Our overall aim is to build a system to deter and to prevent the use of secret foreign bank accounts for tax fraud, their use to screen from view a wide variety of criminally related financial activities, and their use to conceal and cleanse criminal wealth. Our immediate aim is to combat organized crime and white collar crime in their use of foreign banks to achieve criminal objectives.

This Administration recognizes the wide-

spread moral decay that would result if these practices are permitted to continue and expand. We are determined to do something about them.

The Administration has acted in four interrelated areas:

First: The development of solutions has been elevated from an ad hoc case-by-case approach to the foreign policy level. Treaty discussions have been undertaken with the Swiss authorities and we are in the process of contacting other governments.

Second: The Treasury is carrying out a comprehensive administrative review of current procedures and an analysis of what further can be done under existing statutory authority.

Third: The Treasury has made, on behalf of the Administration, certain legislative proposals regarding this problem.

Fourth: The Treasury is working with the private sector to develop cooperative measures against this illegal activity.

Before discussing our actions in these four areas, I must emphasize three fundamental concerns that predominate in formulating Treasury's enforcement approach to this problem.

First, the United States dollar is the principal reserve and transactions currency of the world. Foreign holdings of U.S. dollars are huge, amounting to some \$43 billion in liquid form. This fact itself is a mark of the confidence which others have in the political and economic stability of the United States and is a tribute to the success of the international trade and payments system we have been creating—a system of progressively fewer restrictions to the flow of goods and capital. The overwhelming bulk of the rapidly growing volume of international transactions by Americans and foreigners alike are not only legitimate business and personal transactions, but serve the larger interests of the United States in effective monetary arrangements and freely flowing trade and payments. It has, therefore, been of paramount concern to us that the proposals we are making will in no way restrict the regular and efficient flow of domestic and international business, or personal transactions, or diminish the willingness of foreigners to hold and use the U.S. dollar.

The second consideration is that consistent with our determination to deter tax and other evasion by U.S. persons involving foreign financial transactions, we have sought to develop proposals under which the benefits to our tax collections and to our law enforcement objectives exceed the direct and indirect costs which these proposals bring about.

Finally, we have not lost sight of traditional freedoms, many of which are set forth in our Constitution, others which have become identified with our way of life. In strengthening enforcement, we must not jeopardize these principles.

BACKGROUND

Just what is a secret foreign bank account? It is an account maintained in a foreign banking institution in a country which has laws which strictly limit the conditions under which information concerning an account will be made known to governmental authorities.

There is no certainty as to the exact dimension of the use of foreign bank accounts by U.S. citizens and residents, or the number being used for illegal purposes or the size of the tax fraud and other criminal violations shielded by such accounts. Even though the number of persons involved and the amounts of tax fraudulently evaded by these means may be small in comparison to total U.S. taxpayers and tax collections, the principle involved is central to proper tax ad-

ministration; any tax fraud scheme must be attacked vigorously.

We all have the right to demand that all Americans pay their proper amount of taxes as determined under the revenue laws. If tax fraud fostered through the illegal use of foreign bank accounts is not curbed, our self-assessment system of taxation could be seriously impeded.

Rapid means of international transportation and communication have greatly facilitated the free flow of funds and commerce across what were once thought to be great distances. These technological advances have added to the problem of tax fraud through the use of secret foreign bank accounts.

The anonymity offered by foreign accounts has been used to conceal income made in connection with various crimes that have international features. They include the smuggling of narcotics, black market currency operations in Southeast Asia, and illegal trading in gold. These illegal undertakings frequently involve tax fraud.

USE BY ORGANIZED CRIME

Racketeer Money: There is strong evidence of a substantial flow of funds from racketeers in this country, particularly those associated with gambling, to certain foreign banks. Some of these funds appear to have been brought back into the U.S. under the guise of loans from foreign sources. This may be providing a substantial source of funds for investment by the criminal element in legitimate business in the U.S.

Money from Narcotics: In March, 1969, Treasury Agents of the Bureau of Customs broke up a major international heroin smuggling scheme by intercepting 115 pounds of heroin in New York City. Cash transfers of this organized crime enterprise were run through secret foreign bank accounts. One of the defendants alone admitted to forwarding half a million dollars from the United States to Geneva.

If adulterated at the usual ratio of five to one, the 115 pounds of pure heroin would have yielded 690 pounds of diluted heroin mixture. It is estimated that one such pound will yield 7,000 one-grain doses. The 690 pounds would have put 4.83 million one-grain doses into the hands of pushers on the streets with a total value of about \$24,000,000 (\$5.00 per dose). I am sure that you can understand why we feel so strongly that something must be done.

USE IN CONNECTION WITH WHITE COLLAR CRIME

Foreign bank accounts are opened to facilitate tax fraud by some people who otherwise appear respectable and law abiding. They are used in an effort to hide unreported income from commercial operations in the United States or income from investments made through a foreign bank.

Personal Accounts: Accounts in foreign banks are used as repositories for money representing income not reported on United States tax returns, much in the same way as bank safety deposit boxes have been used in this country. For information on the existence and nature of the accounts, dependence has been placed upon informants and the subsequent tracing of transactions through banks in this country.

"Arrangements" with Foreign Customers and Suppliers: In some cases, United States taxpayers have arranged with their foreign customers or foreign suppliers for the preparation of false commercial documents overstating amounts received from the United States taxpayers or understating amounts paid to them. The funds placed in the hands of the foreign conspirators as a result of these falsifications are deposited with banks in bank-secrecy countries for the credit of the United States taxpayers.

Transactions in Securities: Taxpayers, by

opening accounts with foreign banks and financial institutions, have been able to buy and sell on the United States stock markets without disclosing their interest in, or taxable income from, such transactions.

Let me now turn to the Nixon Administration's reform program.

FOREIGN POLICY—SWISS TREATY NEGOTIATIONS

The recent discussions with Swiss officials have centered upon the development of a proposed mutual assistance treaty to provide information and judicial records, locate witnesses and provide other aid in criminal matters. However, the U.S. and Switzerland already are parties to a convention for the avoidance of double taxation with respect to income taxes which is relevant to bilateral cooperation for obtaining bank records to prosecute tax fraud. Article XVI of this latter treaty provides for the exchange of information for the prevention of *fraud or the like* in relation to income taxes which are the subject of the convention.

We have only recently become aware that Swiss law makes an important distinction between simple tax evasion and tax fraud, which is an aggravated form of tax evasion. Whereas individuals guilty of simple tax evasion under Swiss law are not considered to have committed "crimes" as we know the term, and thus are not subject to jail sentences, tax fraud in connection with the Swiss federal withholding tax on interest and dividends and the income tax laws of sixteen of the twenty-five Swiss cantons, including the economically more important cantons, is deemed a criminal offense which can result in the imposition of jail sentences and which is handled in criminal rather than administrative proceedings.

This distinction between tax evasion and tax fraud becomes of essential importance because under Swiss law the obligation of a bank to observe secrecy about the affairs of its depositors is superseded by the duty to furnish information, give testimony, or produce documents in criminal proceedings which include tax fraud proceedings.

Speaking on behalf of this Administration, I can assure you that we are actively exploring with the Swiss authorities the obtaining of the same information, including bank records, as can be made available to Swiss authorities.

ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

I believe that a primary responsibility upon taking office is to determine how current law is being administered and whether administration can be improved. In early 1969, in conjunction with work for discussions with Switzerland, I authorized a review of existing practice and statutory authority to see what improvements and additional action could be taken administratively. It was concluded that much along the following lines could be done to combat this problem even without legislation.

No matter what treaty, legislation, or regulations might be implemented, efficient and effective prosecution of law evaders is an important element in curbing the illegal use of foreign bank accounts. Law enforcement agencies are increasing efforts to uncover individuals who have made illegal use of foreign bank accounts. The new United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, Whitney N. Seymour, Jr., has been in close contact with key officials in Washington to implement a vigorous attack against individual offenders.

The Internal Revenue Service presently is thoroughly reviewing its operations, including its audit procedures, to develop more effective internal procedures for uncovering cases of tax fraud involving the use of foreign bank accounts, as well as for compiling and constructing solid evidentiary records in

these cases. New guidelines are being established to aid Treasury Agents of the Internal Revenue Service in handling investigations of taxpayers who employ or are believed to employ secret foreign bank accounts.

New Regulations and Administrative Practices:

Another means of attacking the problem under existing law is to implement new effective regulations and administrative practices.

One significant measure that this Administration has already taken under existing authority will be to require on next year's tax return that U.S. citizens, residents, and certain other persons effectively doing business in the United States identify their direct or indirect interests in foreign bank accounts. I believe that this will be an effective deterrent to the use of these accounts to evade taxes, since the failure to reveal the existence of such interests will result in the imposition of criminal penalties apart from those otherwise applicable to the filing of fraudulent tax returns.

In conjunction with this disclosure requirement, this Administration has under consideration a proposal that, pursuant to regulations, taxpayers with interests in foreign bank accounts be required to maintain specified records of transactions they have with these accounts.

Another related proposal which is being given consideration is that taxpayers who report interests in foreign bank accounts on their tax returns at the same time personally would authorize the foreign financial institutions in which the accounts are maintained to forward any information which might be requested by U.S. law enforcement officers pursuant to the same legal process required to obtain bank records in the United States.

Still one more area being thoroughly considered by the Treasury Task Force is the extent to which evidentiary presumptions could be implemented through regulations which would make funds flowing through foreign bank accounts be deemed to be untaxed income unless taxpayers provided sufficient information and records to the contrary. This area is very closely related to comparable legislative proposals which I shall mention shortly.

I believe that this recitation of what already has been done by this Administration with respect to administrative measures and regulations, and to further international assistance to curb the illegal uses of foreign bank accounts clearly demonstrates our seriousness of purpose and that we have accomplished more than ever before. Even apart from the legislation on this subject presently before this Congress, administrative action and international cooperation hold promise of substantially curbing the illegal use of these foreign accounts.

LEGISLATION

This is the first Administration in recent history to support the concept of development of effective legislation which would provide valuable additional statutory tools to counter the illegal use of secret bank accounts. In this connection, this Administration has strongly supported the objectives of those aspects of the legislation of the House Banking and Currency Committee chaired by Congressman Wright Patman, H.R. 15073, that are intended to ameliorate this problem. However, in my testimony before the House Banking and Currency Committee on March 2, 1970, I pointed out several key changes of H.R. 15073 which were necessary to make it responsive to this problem, only some of which were implemented by the Committee before it reported the bill out at the end of March.

As originally introduced, H.R. 15073 suf-

fered from numerous and obvious shortcomings. In general, it maximized burdens upon the public and the economy while minimizing enforcement effectiveness. More specifically, the bill would have made mandatory the photocopying, at least once and possibly twice, of every check written in the United States—at least 20 billion, and possibly 40 billion items annually—and it further would have permitted uninhibited official government rummaging through the records of certain banks without regard for the privacy safeguards provided by established discovery procedures.

We presented to the Committee amendments and, later, a substitute bill. Our proposals would have maximized enforcement and minimized burdens and offered further advantages of brevity, clarity, ease of application and flexibility not shared by H.R. 15073. Our proposals would have strengthened the bill in several ways, including amendments to lessen wasteful and counterproductive recordkeeping, and limit incursions upon the right of privacy.

Those amendments to the Patman legislation suggested by the Treasury, which were accepted, considerably improved H.R. 15073 as it was initially introduced. For example, key amendments of H.R. 15073 broadened recordkeeping requirements to encompass various types of other financial institutions engaged in international transfers of funds, as well as commercial banks.

In my testimony before the House Banking and Currency Committee on March 2, 1970, I specified records of types of international transfers which the Treasury Department recommended be maintained by these institutions pursuant to regulations issued by the Secretary of the Treasury for a period of six years. These included records of remittance transferring funds to and from the United States, both records of checks negotiated abroad and foreign credit card purchases in excess of \$1,000, records of foreign checks transmitted abroad for collection, records of foreign drafts, and records of international letters of credit and documentary collections.

I believe that the Committee should have adopted a number of desirable suggestions made by the Treasury which are needed to limit the scope of the legislation to its intended purpose—to assist criminal, tax, and regulatory investigations and proceedings.

The Treasury recommended recordkeeping, reporting and disclosure requirements which would have a high degree of usefulness in criminal, tax, or regulatory investigations, and which were directly related to the problem of the illegal use of secret bank accounts.

It has only recently come to the fore that the legislation is intended to deal not only to some extent with the problem of secret foreign bank accounts, but that a basically separate problem area with which H.R. 15073 also is concerned is the trend on the part of domestic banks not to maintain microfilm records of all checks drawn on them.

The Treasury Department urged amendments that would have limited all recordkeeping and reporting requirements of H.R. 15073 to those which are likely to have a high degree of usefulness in criminal, tax, or regulatory investigations or proceedings.

However, the Committee adopted this significant limitation only in connection with the recordkeeping requirements imposed upon banks and other financial institutions. It failed to accept the same standard with reference to the reporting requirements imposed.

This refusal is significant, especially in view of the growing concern in America over possible incursions by Government into in-

dividual privacy. I believe it is generally accepted that the right of privacy is not absolute, but must be balanced against the need for information inherent in the governing process. For example, few of us would quarrel with the need for the Government to require individuals to file tax returns which, to some extent, of course, contain private information. Nevertheless, this right of privacy must be protected against any unnecessary incursions.

However, the reporting requirements of the Patman Committee legislation possibly could result in unnecessary inroads into this right of privacy. For example, consider the requirement of reporting domestic currency transactions in the Patman legislation. An analogy can be made between reporting of such transactions by financial institutions to the Government and searches through the records of these institutions without the transactions of a particular taxpayer in mind.

If such reporting requirements are limited, as the Treasury recommended, to those transactions likely to have a high degree of usefulness in criminal, tax, or regulatory investigations or proceedings, the potential unnecessary incursions on personal privacy would be limited; such might not be the case under the present H.R. 15073 language which permits the requiring of reports of any domestic currency transactions without any comparable limitation.

The Patman Committee testimony indicated that H.R. 15073 would require the microfilming of at least twenty billion checks per year. There have been conflicting and unsupported views expressed as to the cost of such a requirement, as well as to the additional number of checks which would have to be microfilmed, in addition to those presently being copied. However, there was no substantial testimony indicating that the records of such checks would be of sufficient value to counter the additional recordkeeping costs whatever they, in fact, may be. The cost of any burdensome recordkeeping or reporting requirements would be likely to be passed on to the public, including everyone with a checking account.

This apparent willingness of the Committee to enact legislation with only meager study or factual basis is even clearer with respect to Title III of H.R. 15073 which would extend the applicability of margin requirements under section 7 of the Securities Exchange Act to the purchasers of stock as well as to broker-dealers and financial institutions who lend money for that purpose. This significant provision was added to H.R. 15073 only in March, over three months after the original bill was introduced, and was accepted by the Committee without any testimony being presented on it by concerned parties.

One legislative proposal which the Treasury Department has been fully considering (if the remedy, as I discussed earlier, cannot be achieved administratively), which we believe could be of significant assistance in curbing the illegal use of foreign bank accounts, and which would not pose any conflict with a right of personal privacy, is the establishment in the Internal Revenue Code of rebuttable presumptions that U.S. citizens, residents, and certain other taxpayers engaging in certain foreign transactions, and not furnishing upon request adequate information to the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate, are dealing with their own untaxed income. As an alternative proposal, Treasury also has under consideration an excise tax which would be applied in situations where no adequate information of the foreign transactions is provided by the taxpayer.

The presumptions would be in the nature of evidentiary presumptions which could

form the basis for a determination of civil tax liability (including interest and penalties) unless the taxpayer establishes by the clear preponderance of the evidence that his untaxed income is not involved.

It is the Government's understanding that most persons who use foreign financial institutions, even in countries where bank secrecy is strictly observed, can themselves obtain full information about their accounts and transactions. Therefore, it is assumed that U.S. taxpayers will be able, without difficulty, to satisfy the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate as to his foreign transactions so as to avoid the application of either the presumption or excise tax if either is implemented.

COOPERATION OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR

As is true in developing any public policy as expressed by legislation or administrative rule-making, final action is taken only after securing views, information, and—hopefully—cooperation from those sectors that would be primarily affected. In the instant case, in developing a legislative and administrative approach to this problem affecting primarily the financial community, we believed it incumbent upon us to work with representatives of the banking industry, brokerage houses, and other related businesses involved in the transmittal of funds to and from foreign secret bank accounts. As stated in a December 27, 1969, *Washington Post* editorial referring to the Patman bill as originally introduced:

"This is a subject, of course, on which bankers ought to have their say. The strange thing is that they had not been consulted while the bill was being drafted. Though it is of great importance to curb the misuse of hidden bank accounts abroad, it is equally vital to protect the free flow of international commerce and to avoid the imposition of unnecessary burdens upon the banks."

I would be remiss not to publicly thank these members of the business community for the high level of cooperation we received, and I would especially like to thank the large banks which are members of the New York Clearing House. They provided us with much valuable background information on possible avenues of illicit activities, on foreign banking operations, and they offered many new and constructive suggestions on more effective legislative and administrative approaches that would benefit our enforcement efforts.

Clearing House member banks further indicated that on a voluntary basis, even before any legislative or regulatory action, they will comply with almost all of the recordkeeping requirements in connection with international transfers of funds that we desire, which records would, of course, only be available to governmental representatives in accordance with existing discovery procedures. I believe that this spirit of cooperation between the public and private sectors will continue to grow, and that working together we shall effectively meet this priority enforcement problem.

To sum up, the Nixon Administration has acted to attack this critical enforcement problem in four interrelated areas:

First: The development of solutions has been elevated from an ad hoc case-by-case approach to the foreign policy level. Treaty discussions have been undertaken with the Swiss authorities and we are in the process of contacting other governments.

Second: The Treasury is carrying out a comprehensive administrative review of current procedures and an analysis of what further can be done under existing statutory authority.

Third: The Treasury has made, on behalf of the Administration, certain legislative proposals regarding this problem.

Fourth: The Treasury is working with the private sector to develop cooperative measures against this illegal activity.

This is the first Administration to support the development of effective legislation which would provide additional authority to deal with the illegal use of secret foreign bank accounts. My major concern is that the legislation should be responsive to the problem and be limited in scope to its intended purpose—to assist criminal, tax, and regulatory investigations and proceedings. If limited as I have stated, there should be no concern over possible incursions by government into individual privacy.

In closing, I also wish to restate the three fundamental concerns of the Treasury which are foremost in its consideration of this issue:

1. The proposals should in no way restrict the regular and efficient flow of domestic and international business, or personal transactions, or diminish the willingness of foreigners to hold and use U.S. dollars.

2. The proposals should deter tax and other evasion by U.S. persons in such a way that the benefits to law enforcement objectives exceed the direct and indirect costs that the proposals would bring about.

3. In strengthening enforcement, the proposals should not jeopardize traditional American freedoms.

THE DEATH OF MRS. ANNA KIRZON

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, the residents of my district, the 22d Congressional District, Bronx, recently suffered a grievous loss with the death of Mrs. Anna Kirzon at the age of 70 years.

Few people suffered the tragedies that beset Mrs. Kirzon in her lifetime, yet few would have been able to recover sufficiently to accomplish all that she did during her long and useful life.

The mother of a young daughter, Ruth, who was stricken with a brain tumor and who died after two extensive operations during which she remained crippled and blind before dying at the age of 12, Mrs. Kirzon dedicated the rest of her life to helping crippled and handicapped children.

Organized as the Ruth Kirzon Group in 1946, the volunteer organization had more than 400 members when Mrs. Kirzon died on April 29.

These women gave of their services selflessly to young people suffering from physical or emotional disabilities. Members went into homes of severely handicapped children and spent time with them, giving them comfort and helping them to laugh. For some of the children, it was the first real pleasure they had known during their first early years.

There is no doubt, Mr. Speaker, that the good works of the Ruth Kirzon Group will continue without their organizer and spiritual leader. But no one has ever talked with Mrs. Kirzon could go away without being inspired and deeply moved. I would think that the best memorial Mrs. Kirzon would like to

be remembered for are the happy faces of the children as the volunteers arrived each day to brighten their sheltered lives. I would like, if I may, to recite just some of the many projects undertaken by the group.

The Ruth Kirzon Group has a visiting children's service. Members go into the homes of severely handicapped children and spend time with them. They take the children out in groups for a day in the country, for a picnic or a boat ride, or for the joys of a circus or a rodeo. They take children to movies, planetariums, or the theater. They introduce these handicapped young people to opportunities they perhaps never had in their lives. They bring these children out of the shells in which many of them live and expose them to the outside world.

Twenty years ago the Ruth Kirzon Group established a scholarship committee, to enable talented high school graduates to go on to higher education, despite their physical or emotional handicaps. The scholarships have assisted in maintenance, books, equipment, transportation, and tuition for young people. The group is proud that, among its scholarship recipients, there are now doctors, lawyers, accountants, speech therapists, engineers, journalists, and commercial artists.

I would also note that the Ruth Kirzon Group sends more than 100 children each summer to specialized camps for handicapped young people for not less than 3 weeks. Under the proper supervision, the children learn to play ball, swim, and participate in other activities, though hobbled by crutches or confined in wheelchairs. The group has also provided therapeutic swimming pools, special equipment, and made other major physical contributions to its summer program for handicapped children.

Born out of tragedy, the Ruth Kirzon Group attracted the best talents available within my district. Mrs. Kirzon, of course, was highly beloved of all those who knew her but it is in tribute to her that her work will continue. And the many handicapped children living today and those yet to be born, will learn to live better lives because of Mrs. Kirzon.

The least that can be said of her is that she lived a life devoted to those less fortunate than herself. Her work brought her joy but it brought hope to thousands of our young handicapped people.

AMERICAN LEGION EXPRESSES "WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT" OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S CAMBODIA DECISION

HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks I take pride in inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the resolution adopted last week by the national executive committee of

the American Legion expressing "wholehearted support" of President Nixon's decision with respect to the Communist military sanctuaries in Cambodia.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 26—STATEMENT OF POLICY ON VIETNAM

Whereas, Negotiations with the North Vietnamese and Vietcong delegations in Paris for a political settlement of the Vietnam conflict have failed to produce any results whatever; and

Whereas, The enemy has not only greatly stepped up its offensive military action in South Vietnam, but has also expanded the area of its aggressive operations into Laos and Cambodia; and

Whereas, The enemy's intensification of the conflict in the whole of Indochina seriously endangers the success of our Vietnamization program and threatens the safety of the remaining American and allied troops in South Vietnam; and

Whereas, The President of the United States has initiated a program for the elimination of enemy sanctuaries presently enjoyed and utilized to a high degree, thwarting our efforts to achieve victory in Vietnam; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Executive Committee of The American Legion in regular meeting assembled in Indianapolis, Indiana, on May 6-7, 1970, express the wholehearted support of The American Legion of the President's decision to eliminate Communist military sanctuaries in Cambodia and we call upon the members of Congress and the American people as a whole to give it the same support; and, be it

Further resolved: That The American Legion urges the President to take further action, as and when he deems it essential to the safety of our troops in South Vietnam and to the successful prosecution of that conflict, to eliminate, by military action all enemy sanctuaries, installations and areas wherever situated that afford actual or potential bases for enemy action against our forces and those of our allies; and, be it

Further resolved: That the necessary military action be taken for the sole purpose of hastening the cessation of fighting and inducing the acceleration of those political conversations that will secure a lasting and honorable peace.

AID TO ISRAEL IMPERATIVE SAYS REPUBLICAN LEADER GERALD R. FORD

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 11, 1970, Republican Leader GERALD R. FORD made a most cogent address at the American-Israel Affairs Committee luncheon wherein he demonstrated U.S. vital interest in the Middle East. I commend Representative Ford's statement to the thoughtful attention of every Member.

The text of the statement follows:

Last year I had the honor of standing before a similar luncheon of this committee here at the U.S. Capitol. We then commemorated the 21st anniversary of Israel's independence. A year has passed.

Many changes have transpired. We are

living in a time of anxiety, tension, and transition. But there are some factors that remain constant. The main factor that I would like to reaffirm today is the continuing sincerity of American friendship for the State of Israel. Last year I told this group that "I firmly believe that the fate of Israel is linked with the national security interests of the United States." Today I reiterate that conviction.

Last year I said that I could not conceive of a situation "in which the U.S. Administration will sell Israel down the Nile." That will not happen—now or in the future.

We are well aware of the dedication of the Administration to withdrawal from Indo-China under conditions of peace with honor. We have also carefully noted that our recent pre-occupation with the "privileged sanctuaries" in Cambodia is being exploited by the Soviet Union. Moscow is cynically escalating tensions in the Middle East. The Russians have committed the Soviet Air Force to an active role in Egypt along with missile troops, SAM-3 missiles, and other elements of military power. The Russians appear determined to screen the Nasser regime with a protective umbrella, creating a privileged sanctuary from which Egypt might sally forth with continued violations of the United Nations cease-fire.

I noted that Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan a few days ago announced that Israel has halted deep penetration raids into Egypt to avoid possible clashes with Soviet air and anti-aircraft forces. He asserted readiness to re-establish an unconditional and unlimited cease-fire.

The only response the Arabs have made is an increase in artillery barrages and guerrilla attacks. Soviet Premier Kosygin has now confirmed Soviet military involvement in Egypt. The commitment of Russian military forces is a negation of the Soviet pretensions to pursuit of peace in the region. The commitment of weapons and troops is no way to reduce tensions.

Our government announced on March 23 that additional jet sales to Israel would be temporarily withheld. It was indicated by the Department of State that this policy of restraint was really a signal to Moscow that the United States wanted to cool down the arms race; we were taking the first step so that the Russians would know our peaceful intentions and similarly exercise restraint. Instead, the Russians ignored our example. An entirely new and dangerous role was undertaken by Russian military forces in Egypt.

The Soviet aim is exploitation of the Arab-Israeli conflict in a bid for Communist penetration and predominance in the Middle East. Moscow has arrogantly and flagrantly embarked on a drive to dominate the Mediterranean, undermine the southern flank of NATO, and expand Russian influence across Africa from the Indian Ocean to the South Atlantic. Moscow's moves coincide with American preoccupation in Indo-China. We are trying to end one war. They are cynically escalating another war and introducing new elements, bringing dangerous risks of expansion of an already tragic conflict.

Let me state my own opinion. We cannot permit a situation in which the Russians would cover by its own military forces the unrelenting war of attrition by Arab military and guerrilla forces, the war of liquidation against Israel. The Russian military power play is a matter of grave concern. It is vital that Moscow avoid a fatal miscalculation.

I use the words "grave concern" with careful deliberation. President Nixon stated on February 18 that "the United States would view any effort by the Soviet Union to seek predominance in the Middle East as a matter of grave concern." He warned against the exploitation of local conflict by an outside

power for its own advantage. He pledged arms to friendly states as the need arises.

It is now apparent to me that the Soviet escalation has changed the balance of power. Need now exists for the immediate sale of additional Phantom jets and other arms to Israel. This is one action that will notify the Russians that we are neither copping out on our friends nor surrendering the region to the forces of aggression.

Israel must not become another Czechoslovakia . . . or another Hungary. Our prompt action to provide additional jets would help restore a deteriorating situation, avert the spreading of the war, and serve notice to the Kremlin that we will confront Communist aggression in the Middle East as well as in Southeast Asia.

We have witnessed dangerous brinkmanship by the Soviet Union in Egypt. I would urge the Russians to heed with special care a certain portion of President Nixon's remarks of April 30. I would also urge the American people to pay heed. I refer to the President's statement that "small nations all over the world find themselves under attack from within and without. If when the chips are down the world's most powerful nation—the United States of America—acts like a pitiful, helpless giant, the forces of totalitarianism and anarchy will threaten free nations and free institutions throughout the world." This strong statement I would interpret as having worldwide application.

I place great emphasis on the need for early action to provide the additional Phantom jets required by Israel. It would allow Israel to maintain a strong defensive capability without the need for involvement of American personnel. I do not think the Russians will be too ready to tackle an armed, and determined, and courageous nation—especially if that nation is the State of Israel, a symbol of man's hope and redemption.

If we were to allow the Soviet Union, through brutal application of its own military force, to crush Israel, this would mean the end of hope for all free nations of the Mediterranean and even Western Europe.

Russia has involved herself with no intention to preserve the cease-fire. This is more than a threat to Israel. I have no patience with those who say that we must appease Russia by abandoning Israel. Israel is an asset to America, not a liability. The Russian target today may be the aircraft of Israel. Tomorrow the target of the new Soviet Egyptian air bases is obviously the United States 6th Fleet. Moscow is converting Egypt into an unsinkable aircraft carrier.

There is a whole new ball game in the Middle East. It is a very grim kind of game. Human lives and human freedom are involved. The balance of power has been altered in a drastic manner. A wider war is threatened. The best way to avert such a catastrophe is to immediately redress the balance of power.

We must dramatize the credibility of American intentions. I believe that our naval vessels should, from time to time, pay courtesy calls at the ports of friendly foreign nations. I would be delighted to hear that a powerful ship of the U.S. 6th Fleet made such a call on an Israeli seaport. It would reassure our friends and might prevent our enemies from miscalculating.

We believe in peace and are dedicated to promoting peace in the Middle East and throughout the world. We remember the horrors of World War II and—when we think of the Warsaw Ghetto and the concentration camps—we recall the price paid for appeasement and vacillation. I say to you today: *Israel must not become another Warsaw Ghetto!*

President Nixon is well aware of the need to preserve freedom in the Middle East. He

pointed out that Israel's enemies can afford to fight a war and lose. They can come back to fight again. But Israel cannot afford to lose even once. President Nixon said, "America knows that, and America is determined that Israel is here in the family of nations to stay."

The real interests of Arabs and Israelis, of Russians and Americans, require peaceful coexistence. The United States is committed to peaceful and honorable dealings with all men, at home and abroad. We are doing everything we can as men of conscience and integrity, to promote peace.

And in Israel, that land where the prophets dreamed that nation should not lift up sword against nation, let there be peace.

For Israel, a nation of people whose suffering merits a life more creative than perpetual service in an armed camp, let there be peace. For the Arabs, whose poverty and frustration require schools and hospitals and a decent life rather than the endless purchase of jets and guns, let there be peace.

Israel could be a light unto the nations of that region if the Arabs would accept fellow human beings of the Jewish faith as entitled to nationhood as any other people. The genius and productivity of the Israelis could help others make their deserts blossom.

Instead of the cradle of civilization becoming its grave, let the cradle of civilization give rise to two peoples, Arab and Jewish, each in their own countries, with commerce and travel flowing across peaceful borders, and with a new sense of mutual respect in keeping with our dream of the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

I want to add a special and very personal word to this audience. Many of you have devoted your lives to the Israeli cause. You have seen in Israel a redemption of freedom and human dignity, the rebirth of a people. But we are now witnessing painful days, tragic days, in which the powers and political trends and pressures of the world appear to be converging on the Middle East.

Israel was reborn in blood and fire. Israel is today struggling in an ordeal of blood and fire. But this time it is different. The State of Israel has proved its mettle. Israel is a nation among the nations.

You can take pride, as dedicated supporters of Israel, in the nation you have helped build. But the watchman of Israel does not sleep.

Trying days lie ahead. Yet, in your heart of hearts, you can draw faith and sustenance and reassurance from one fact: this is the United States of America. This is our country and we, Jews and non-Jews, peoples of all parts of this country, the silent Americans and the articulate Americans, will not let Israel down.

INTERNATIONAL PAPER CO. ANNOUNCES MAJOR POLLUTION CONTROL EFFORT

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to learn that the International Paper Co. will spend \$101 million over the next 4 years to complete its program to control air and water pollution at all of the company's U.S. mills and plants. The announcement was made by Edward B. Hinman, president and chief executive officer today at the annual meeting of shareholders in New York City.

International Paper Co., is the largest

paper company in the world and is one of the largest landowners in the State of Florida. My former legislative assistant, John Tyson, is now assistant director of government relations for the company, which makes this action to help clean up our environment doubly pleasing to me. Mr. Tyson brought these matters to my attention.

The company-wide program will provide every operating mill with primary and secondary waste water treatment systems, utilize the latest technology to remove from the air over 99 percent of all particulate matter coming from its pulp and paper mills, and adapt new technical developments to control mill odors.

Mr. Hinman pointed out that in the last 5 years alone the company has spent more than \$23 million at existing mills and plants on facilities designed solely to improve water and air conditions. Many other capital investments for projects other than those specifically for pollution control have had related beneficial impact on environmental conditions, he added.

One such program, for example, involves the construction of a \$76 million pulp and paper mill in Ticonderoga, N.Y., to replace an old mill there.

The new Ticonderoga mill will include the most modern water and air treatment facilities ever installed in North America. Purified water from the treatment system will be diffused in Lake Champlain in such a way that the biological and esthetic values will not be altered. The mill is also expected to be virtually odor free. The old Ticonderoga pulp mill will be shut down by the end of 1970 as the new mill starts up. Remaining operations at the old mill will be phased out late in 1971.

The company said that by 1974, highly efficient water treatment systems will be installed at all of the company's operating pulp and paper mills in the United States. These treatment systems will remove all settleable solids from waste water and enable the company to meet standards for biological oxygen demand. Water so treated does not adversely affect the complicated life chain in natural waters from bacteria to plankton to plants and fish life.

The company reported that projects totaling \$33 million of the \$101 million program have actually started. As a result of programs conducted in past years, I-P now has primary water treatment at 12 of its 18 mills and some form of secondary treatment at six mills. Projects now underway include secondary treatment systems to be installed at I-P mills in Georgetown, S.C.; Panama City, Fla.; Mobile, Ala.; Moss Point, Miss.; Corinth, N.Y.; and Jay, Maine. A secondary water treatment system has just been completed at the company's mill in Pine Bluff, Ark.

Programs related to air improvement to be started this year will involve mills at Natchez, Miss.; Tonawanda, N.Y.; Panama City, Mobile, Georgetown, and Jay.

Between 1971 and 1974 similar water

and air treatment will be installed or modernized at the other operating mills of the company in the United States. Of the \$101 million program announced today the company expects that a total of \$45 million will have been invested in water treatment systems and that an additional \$56 million will have been invested in applying the latest technological developments to the control of all emissions to the air, including the pungent odor characteristic of kraft paper mills.

Mr. Hinman has told the company's shareholders:

All of these activities are part of your company's commitment to a cleaner, better America. Our program is not designed merely to meet the requirements of existing legislation—this is a program to do what is right as industrial citizens in our communities and our nation—in keeping with our stated policy. We believe that we can complete this program for a better environment without interrupting our planned growth of adversely affecting achievement of our profit objectives.

In discussing I-P's programs in support of the national search for a quality environment, Mr. Hinman also noted that the company was deeply involved in environment and ecology in its role as owner and manager of millions of acres of timberland.

He said that the company has a staff of professional foresters who are trained ecologists and conservationists.

"Good forest management, which is their job, is good environmental practice," Mr. Hinman said. "Well managed tree farms, in addition to producing the continuous crops of trees essential to our business, provide many environmental benefits as well. Under our programs of multiple use many of the benefits of the managed forest are available to be shared by the public."

Among these benefits he listed are: The role of the forest in preventing erosion, collecting rainfall for later release as pure water into streams and lakes; the food and shelter provided by young, growing forests for wildlife; the road systems built and maintained by the company, which provide forest access for recreationists as well as protection against forest fires; the natural beauty of the company's widespread forest areas, and the lesser known function of a forest in its normal growth process of absorbing carbon dioxide from the air and releasing oxygen.

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its ladies auxiliary sponsors a Voice of Democracy Contest. This year, more than 400,000 students participated by writing speeches on the theme "Free-

dom's Challenge." The winning address from the District of Columbia was delivered by Joanne Renee Crosson, a student at Theodore Roosevelt High School. She concluded with the thought that acceptance of freedom's challenge means doing justice to one's brother. I am pleased to commend her remarks to the attention of my colleagues, as follows:

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

Today, my good friends, it is my privilege to give you my views of "freedom's challenge".

To many people, "freedom" has many different meanings. To a child, and to those with childish, immature minds, "freedom" may mean having the privilege of doing the countless things that children do, without restraint. To a mother, "freedom" may mean the right to watch and guide her offspring as they grow and mature under her guidance. The challenge of loving and protecting his family in any manner in which he sees fit, may be "freedom" to a father.

But, these definitions are only those of people who live in a "free" country. How would a person who lives in a country where "freedom" is only a long dead myth, define "freedom"? Would he die for his country, of his own "free" will? I think not, for such a person would never have felt the joy of saying: "This is my life, I am free to live it in any manner in which 'I' see fit! This is my mind, I am 'free' to think what I wish, for my thoughts are my own!" Such a person would never be able to say: "I am born free, I will stay 'free', and I will die free." How could such a person accept the challenges of "freedom"? How could he accept that which he has never known?

Are the challenges of "freedom" accepted by waging battle, are they accepted by instituting protective governments, or are they accepted by opening one's heart, one's mind to his brother? Is there really a specific way to accept "freedom's challenge", and then to win "freedom"?

Examine the countless battles that have taken place since the beginning of time. In most cases there were the oppressed and the oppressor. The oppressed were accepting "freedom's challenge" in the best manner in which they knew. The way of warfare, which was and still is a method of accepting "freedom's challenge". When the oppressed did gain "freedom" they then instituted a government among themselves. By this action, they, the oppressed became the oppressor, for how does one rule his subjects completely if he does not "control" them to some measure?

I think, that time and many deaths have shown, or are trying to show us that warfare, and harsh undemocratic governments are not the most effective methods of accepting "freedom's challenges". We still have not learned how to accept these challenges but we have learned how not to accept them.

In my opinion, the only method for man to accept "freedom's challenge" is; to attempt to love his brother, to open his heart, his mind to his fellow man, to live his life, and let others live theirs without his interference, to be just toward all, and bear malice toward none, to give liberty to all, and not force his will on others. When we are ready to accept these challenges, we will be able to accept "freedom's challenge" of doing that for which we are to be qualified, of giving in sound mind that which we are able to give. Only when we have accepted these challenges, of controlled "freedom", can we accept what freedom—real freedom has to offer. These, my friends, are "freedom's challenges". They challenge you—accept these challenges, and they will accept you.

RUSS NEUGEBAUER HEADS NATIONAL SCHOOL OF CONSERVATION

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 13, 1970

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, one of the prime needs in this environmental decade is the need for dedicated men and women to work in the field of conservation. It is estimated that, in this decade alone, as many as 100,000 new jobs in the field of conservation will be opening up.

The National School of Conservation in Washington is training men and women to fill these jobs. A description of the National School of Conservation by its Director, Russ Neugebauer, follows:

THE NATIONAL SCHOOL OF CONSERVATION

All who have just joined the fight for conservation have a vast welcoming committee waiting to greet them.

The concerned citizen, state and local officials, the industrial companies which are finally doing something about pollution—all owe a debt of gratitude to the conservation workers who have been on the job for years.

By the thousands, men from every state have dedicated their lives to the cause of conservation. Game wardens . . . forest rangers . . . range and soil conservationists . . . and many other categories of outdoor men are working to keep streams clean . . . and to prevent the erosion of valuable land. They are planting and protecting green woodlands and actively improving both the quantity and quality of America's fish and game.

We may not realize how numerous these unsung heroes are because we seldom rub shoulders with them on crowded city streets. They work close to nature, under the sun and stars, within sight and sound of rushing streams and hooting owls.

Many of these outdoor men are receiving their training through highly respected correspondence schools. Typical of these schools is one right here in Washington, the National School of Conservation. From its headquarters at 2000 "P" Street, Northwest, this school trains men in every state of the nation. Lesson material is mailed direct to the students' homes, then returned for careful grading.

The National School of Conservation supplements its homestudy program with actual field training on a conservation area in the northwoods of Wisconsin. The school issues diplomas and maintains a placement service which is performing valuable work in filling job openings with Federal and State agencies throughout the nation.

Right at this minute there are millions of acres of waters, parks, forests and rangelands sorely in need of immediate and intensive conservation programs. America must rely on an adequate corps of trained, dedicated conservation workers to safeguard our green areas while progress goes on and to return badly marred resources to usable condition.

Plans already drawn up by the Department of the Interior and by farsighted state and country officials lay the groundwork for the preservation and development of countless thousands of acres of recreational land. At least 60,000 new jobs in conservation should be opening up in this decade. Some experts say the figure is closer to 100,000 jobs. There should be no shortage of men of goodwill to fill these jobs. Protecting America's natural resources is not only the

highest form of patriotism; it is also personally and financially rewarding to those who work in the front lines of conservation.

ALL WE WANT IS EVOLUTION

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I received a letter from a constituent of mine, a 21-year-old college student named Marcia Cass. Her letter was obviously written shortly after the tragedy at Kent State University and I think it is fair to say that it reflects the sentiments of a vast majority of our responsible young college students who are deeply upset about the state of the world they will soon inherit. Miss Cass writes in very moving terms about her concern for our country, her belief in peaceful dissent, her abhorrence of violence, and her dedication to evolutionary change as opposed to revolution.

The thoughts which she expresses are not unlike those conveyed to me by scores of students over the past week—students who believe in working through the system, students who do not want to see our country torn apart, students who are begging us to listen and help bring our country back together.

At this point in the RECORD I include the letter from Miss Cass and urge all my colleagues to read and ponder its message. The letter follows:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ANDERSON: I am a college student, 21 years old, and am very concerned with what is happening to our country.

I am active in demonstrating and saying what I believe in, but I am definitely against violence, as are most kids. All we wanted was to be heard but the government did not listen until four . . . innocent people died at Kent U.

I feel bad that older people do not consider me and others like me as the "All-American Girl or Boy." Just because I do not fit the profile of "my country right or wrong," or "Mom, apple pie, the flag," or "Love America or Leave It," I am then considered against my country and a hippy radical. An "All-American" kid should be one who is involved and concerned in what's happening, not satisfied.

All we want is evolution, not revolution. This system's process is too slow for the complexity that this society is now faced with. We wait til people die before we act or listen. It's been the same for the black people.

Please, Congressman Anderson, curb the war machine. We kids aren't stupid. Most of us read about South East (Asian) history and our involvement since the 60's. Tell us the Truth. This war is not and cannot be justified, thus my fiancé and I, along with many others, can not and will not support a war of injustice and ignorance of the American people.

Please listen and talk or write us. Do not alienate us any more.

Thank you for reading this sir. . . . Peace be with us All.

Sincerely,

MARCIA CASS.

ROCKFORD, ILL.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

15481

KANSAS CITY'S SECOND CONSTRUCTION STRIKE

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, last year the Kansas City area was paralyzed for a period of 4 months by a construction strike and the economy of Greater Kansas City has really not fully recovered from that extensive walkout. Yet, today the second Kansas City construction strike goes into its second month. It is time for the Department of Labor to reevaluate its "handsoff" attitude in what it prefers to term an "area dispute" because in the final analysis the solution, if there is one, must come from Washington. A recent editorial in the Kansas City Star points out the problem we are facing and more important the problem facing Kansas City's construction workers who will be the real losers in this annual battle.

The editorial follows:

IT IS TIME TO ASSESS CITY'S STAKE IN CONSTRUCTION TIE-UP

In less than a week the second Kansas City construction strike in a year will be a month old. Worse, no end is in sight. It is beginning to look more and more as though each side in the dispute has resigned itself to the kind of paralysis that closed down the building industry here for four months last year.

Labor and management are talking—but only when the federal mediation service calls a meeting. The first meeting in two weeks with the unions considered to be the key to the impasse, the Laborers, will be held Tuesday morning. Since bargaining takes time, it is doubtful that this session will produce any dramatic results. Particularly in view of the fact that the status of the key union leader, Jerry Irving, business manager of Laborers local No. 264, remains unsettled, since he faces re-election in June.

Is it any wonder then that many here are asking questions about what this strike is going to cost and who is going to be hurt by it?

It is clear that virtually all construction workers will feel the impact of the strike first, since the absence of laborers slowly strangles jobs. Already between 10,000 and 12,000 workers—more than a third of the total construction work force here—are out of work. Ultimately up to 30,000 workers and their families could suffer economic hardships.

When that many residents of an area suffer, so does the entire area. A long strike almost certainly would be worse this year than last because of the nationwide belt-tightening that has been going on during the last 12 months. This suggests that not as many Kansas City construction workers would be able to find out-of-town jobs now as they did in 1969. This would be particularly true of the least skilled, the striking laborers.

The economic impact of another long strike could be even more disastrous to area business than the marathon dispute a year ago. The economy of Greater Kansas City has not recovered from that traumatic experience. It is all too obvious that another prolonged construction shutdown so soon would be terribly costly to the community.

By settling just for the sake of ending the walkout could be as costly in the long run.

Meeting the present demands of the Laborers, who are the low men on the wage totem pole, would leapfrog them over such highly paid skills as the Iron Workers. It is unlikely that the Iron Workers and other trades near the top would stand still for this. They have already said as much.

Thus giving the Laborers what they are asking would undoubtedly mean restructuring wage scales of all the crafts so that the old pay differentiations would be maintained. This could virtually price the construction industry—and the employees in it—out of business. Or at least cripple it to a critical point.

The dilemma of Kansas City is widely shared. More than 70 construction unions are off their jobs in at least nine major cities, the nearest being St. Louis. In short, the zooming wage-price spiral of the building industry affects the entire nation. Surely this alarming trend requires a close watch by the Nixon administration for its nationwide implications. Meanwhile, the time nears when local civic leaders and city officials ought to start assessing the situation and consider what pressure might be brought to bear in the public interest.

WALTER REUTHER

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 11, 1970

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial needs no introductory comments. It is from the Detroit Free Press and it is about Walter Reuther. I am glad to share it with my colleagues:

WALTER REUTHER'S STAMP IS ON HIS MEN, HIS CITY

It would be hard to name any one single person who has had a more profound effect on Detroit and the American labor movement in the last 30 years than Walter Reuther. The stamp of his personality and ideals is on the city. He was more than a mighty man of labor. He tried to be the city's conscience and many times he succeeded.

Not everyone loved him, of course. He was a tenacious adversary and he never hesitated to lead his people out on the bricks when the bargaining seemed to require it.

But he will be long enshrined in the affections of those for whom he labored. He got them a living wage, job security, pensions and improved working conditions. He brought them dignity.

Reuther was somewhat of an enigma to those who had to tangle with him. They could never figure out what was in it for Walter. He lived for years in an unpretentious Detroit home until he was shot in his kitchen and decided to move to a rural area where security could be more easily enforced.

His salary was modest by industry standards. The United Auto Workers under his leadership was run almost puritanically. There were no sweetheart contracts. No deals. Union officials whose conduct was suspect found themselves back tightening bolts.

In the field of race relations there are few unions who can claim to match the record of Reuther's UAW. He flung open the doors of union membership to white and black alike and there were no double pay scales, either.

Reuther was no enigma, really. He was pretty much what he appeared to be; an idealist, a man with a mission to help the

working man, a man with an overpowering sense of social conscience.

He thought about his people all the time. He wanted them to have that little bit of extra, so the poets and the philosophers and the artists could rise above grubbing for a living. How many of them did, nobody knows. But many a man put himself through school on factory wages, and many more were able to educate their families.

Reuther was interested in more than the economic issues.

His UAW has worked for years on running night schools, conducting art contests. The UAW was deeply involved in such things as the salvation of Belle Isle's Blue Heron Lagoon, the fate of the Rouge River and the quality of the atmosphere long before ecology became a household word.

But most of all those who saw Big Red in action will never forget his zest for the struggle, his good humor under trying circumstances. He could even come up with some wry jests about being manhandled by Ford's company police in the old days.

He would stumble out of an all-night negotiating session, change his shirt, take a shower, and be back in an hour with the light of battle in his eye and a go-to-hell smile on his face. Sometimes he ground down the opposition merely by being able to stay on his feet longest.

The auto worker in Detroit can justly look around his home and smell the chicken in the kitchen and think of the car in the driveway and the clothes on the backs of his kids and say under his breath, thanks, Walter.

And because his vision was so much broader than narrow self-interest, Detroit and the nation say thanks too.

FACTSHEETS ISSUED BY COMMITTEE OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS AT HARVARD

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, three factsheets on Cambodia have been issued by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars at Harvard University. As these scholars point out the United States has been guilty of violating the neutrality of Cambodia for the past decade. The invasion of Cambodia has been the latest act in a history of direct and indirect attacks on Cambodian neutrality. The action has served to pave the way for Communist gains in rural Cambodian public opinion.

The factsheets also summarize the general arguments for each alternative for U.S. policy in Southeast Asia. I include these valuable documents in the RECORD at this point:

CAMBODIA

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

For centuries, Cambodia has sought to preserve its independence and neutrality. Since the 1600's Cambodian territory has been the center of big-power rivalry in Southeast Asia. In 1884, King Norodom was compelled to abandon independence by placing his country under the control of France in order to prevent Cambodia's partition between Vietnam and Thailand.

It was not until 1953 that Cambodia, un-

der the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, became free. Sihanouk abdicated his throne in 1955, organized a political party, won an overwhelming majority in national elections, and brought his country into the United Nations.

Sihanouk was convinced that too close an association with one side in the cold war would entail the risk of provoking hostilities from the other side as well as diminish Cambodia's independence in foreign and domestic affairs. He therefore waged a ceaseless and brilliant political effort to repel the advances of both the Communists in Indochina and right-wing forces encouraged by the US. As a result, Cambodia survived and acquired prestige and influence far in excess of what the mere size and strength of the country would seem to have justified.

In the process of maintaining neutrality, Sihanouk found it necessary to sever relations with the US when it appeared that the CIA was seeking to overthrow him. He renounced US aid, even though he thereby ran the risk of increased domestic pressure due to the resultant economic austerity. On the other hand, Sihanouk in 1967 denounced Communist Chinese intervention into Cambodian affairs and announced the withdrawal of the Cambodian embassy in Peking. In 1968, he rejected an offer of substantial direct aid from China because too many strings were attached. Last year, after prolonged negotiations, Sihanouk resumed diplomatic negotiations with the US after Washington finally agreed to recognize Cambodia's frontiers and territorial integrity.

In carrying out this balancing act in order to preserve a policy of virtually unarmed neutrality, Sihanouk unwillingly was forced to submit to a modicum of foreign military intervention. On one hand, the Viet Cong used portions of Cambodia's eastern provinces for logistical purposes. On the other hand, the CIA and Green Berets recruited, paid, and trained Cambodian mercenaries to fight the Communists in Vietnam.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

From 1966 on, Sihanouk's policies came under increasing attack from the right-of-center General Lon Nol, who exploited the Cambodian Army's discontent with economic austerity necessitated by Sihanouk's rejection of foreign aid. For the Army, this policy meant aggravating cutbacks in military spending. To strengthen his hand, Lon Nol played up the issue of the Viet Cong in Cambodia in order to force Sihanouk to abandon neutrality in favor of a more militaristic approach which would step up the flow of funds into the hands of Cambodia's generals.

In the absence of any American or international support for his policy of neutrality, Sihanouk felt compelled last summer to establish Lon Nol as premier of Cambodia. Once in a position of political power, Lon Nol soon took steps to increase Army salaries and attempted to remove foreign policy from Sihanouk's control. This past March, in an attempt to further Cambodia's neutralism, Sihanouk traveled to Moscow and Peking to seek support for reducing the Viet Cong presence on Cambodian soil. While he was away, Lon Nol instigated riots against the North Vietnamese and Chinese Embassies in Phnom Penh in an attempt to embarrass Sihanouk. Then, aware of Washington's long-standing coolness toward Sihanouk, and relying upon the US to support an anti-neutralist coup, Lon Nol overthrew Sihanouk's government and launched a massacre of Vietnam residents of Cambodia (most of whom were not Communists, but nationals of the Saigon government).

The US response to the end of nearly two decades of Cambodian neutrality was to mount an invasion of Cambodia.

WHERE DO WE STAND IN CAMBODIA?

By relying, as we have for the past ten years, on arms rather than diplomacy, we have destroyed the possibility of Cambodian neutrality—which, for all its shortcomings, was greatly in our interest. —Sihanouk has been forced to accept the support of Peking and Hanoi for an all-Indochina front against the U.S.—The Lon Nol regime, unable to remain in power without outside help, has discredited itself internationally and has turned to us for support.

The invasion has exposed our troops and our nation to greater danger. If we leave Cambodia, the border areas will be reoccupied by the other side. If we stay, they will simply move a few miles west, while our forces are spread even thinner. In the meantime, our invasion has not destroyed or even located the alleged enemy headquarters, but instead has devastated the Cambodian countryside, paving the way for Communist mobilization of rural Cambodian opinion against the U.S.

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE OF 1954

The conference met from April to July 1954. Participants were France, Great Britain, Russia, China, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam (Communist and non-Communist representatives). The U.S. participated in observer status.

The Agreements consisted of two parts: (1) *ceasefire accords* between France and the Vietminh in relation to Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Temporary zones for military regroupment were established at the 17th parallel. A ban was instituted on the introduction of military supplies or personnel, the establishment of military alliances or bases. (2) An unsigned declaration was issued noting the political conditions of the ceasefire—no permanent political division of Vietnam, elections to reunify the country in two years.

Comments: The Vietminh on the verge of a military victory accepted a political compromise forced on them by Russia and China with the understanding that reunification would come after elections. The U.S. disliked the conference results but pledged not to disrupt them by the threat or the use of force. Laos and Cambodia were recognized as independent, non-Communist neutral states.

SOUTHEAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION

The treaty was signed in September 1954 by Australia, France New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, Britain, and the U.S. Its purpose was to counter alleged threat of Communist aggression in Southeast Asia through collective self-defense. Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam were designated by SEATO as areas of concern where aggression would trigger response.

Comments: Conceived by Dulles as a link in the chain of anti-Communist alliances, SEATO has long been moribund. The Treaty has served as a legal cover for American intervention in Southeast Asia.

THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON LAOS, 1962

The conference met from May 1961 to July 1962. Fourteen nations participated including the U.S., Russia, Britain, France, China, and Laos.

The Agreements consisted of two parts: (1) A Declaration respecting the independence and neutrality of Laos and pledging no military intervention. (This followed the establishment of a coalition government under Souvanna Phouma); (2) A Protocol regulating the withdrawal of foreign forces (U.S., North Vietnamese) from Laos.

Comments: The settlement represented a great-power effort to defuse an explosive situation in Laos where internal factions were receiving foreign support (U.S., Soviet,

North Vietnamese). The settlement was abortive, however, because the coalition government was unstable and soon broke down. Political and military conflict resumed. The U.S. and North Vietnam soon became actively involved militarily in Laos.

CAMBODIA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Under Sihanouk from 1956 to March 1970 Cambodia sought to maintain its independence in a position of neutrality by balancing between the U.S. and its allies (Thailand and South Vietnam which were Cambodia's traditional enemies) and China and North Vietnam. Cambodia broke off relations with the U.S. in 1964 because of alleged American support for internal dissidents and the failure of U.S. allies to guarantee Cambodian independence and territorial integrity. Relations were resumed last year.

Cambodia tolerated the existence along its borders of Vietnamese Communist bases which did not pose a threat to internal peace. Since the March coup Cambodia has abandoned its neutrality and moved to align itself with the anti-Communist position in Southeast Asia. In response China has broken relations with the Lon Nol regime and recognized Sihanouk's government-in-exile. Russia is expected to follow. North Vietnam and the Viet Cong has also severed relations with the Lon Nol regime.

The CCAS will provide further fact sheets, as well as orientation seminars for canvassers, as needed: CCAS, Room 305, 1737 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, Mass. 354-1959.

ALTERNATIVES FOR U.S. POLICY IN INDOCHINA

What are the alternatives for the U.S. in Indochina today? What are the pros and cons of the various alternatives?

1. Step up military pressure on the Communists, bombing or invading their sanctuaries, to force them to respect South Vietnam's territorial integrity.

Pro. The U.S. should not accept a military defeat. We have overwhelming power which can be brought to bear in order to save our world prestige. Anything less than victory will encourage communists around the world to attempt aggression and subversion.

Con. The U.S. has no national interest in Vietnam. The only reason to step up military investment in that area is to save face. The cost in lives and money, in domestic dissent and inflation is too great when the purpose is so minor. Bombing has proved to harden rather than weaken the resolve of the North Vietnamese while an invasion of the North is likely to cause China to enter the war against us, a war we could never win. It is not true that our withdrawal from Vietnam would cause other nations to lose respect for us; rather our present policy is losing us friends throughout the world. The loss of Vietnam or all of Indochina does not affect one way or another the problem of aggression and subversion elsewhere in the world.

2. Withdraw most of the U.S. forces in Vietnam, leaving about 200,000 U.S. troops to support the South Vietnamese army to fight the communists (Vietnamization).

Pro. This will prevent a communist takeover of South Vietnam. It will demonstrate the U.S. determination to keep its commitments around the world and will enhance our national prestige.

Con. This policy will simply mean an indefinite continuation of the war in Vietnam. Despite U.S. government propaganda, Vietnamization has been shown to be a failure by the use of U.S. troops to invade Cambodia even though the III Corps area from which the invasion was launched was supposedly fully Vietnamized. The South Vietnamese army has proven incapable of defeating the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese with U.S. help and so could hardly do so without

it. The continued U.S. presence will simply add to the Viet Cong's nationalist appeal. The open-ended involvement will constitute a continuing drain on our national resources and will continue to cause domestic dissent. Furthermore, the 200,000 young Americans in Vietnam will be hostages to the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese army, who might eventually outnumber and surround them.

3. Withdraw slowly (over two years or so) and completely.

Pro. This will give the South Vietnamese an adequate opportunity to pull themselves together and thus demonstrate that the U.S. will keep its commitments to its allies. By withdrawing slowly, we can plan our moves in such a way as to guarantee the safety of the U.S. troops who remain near the end. Even if the National Liberation Front does win as a result of this policy, it will not harm the national interest. Fears of a bloodbath are highly exaggerated since there was no bloodbath when the Viet Minh took over North Vietnam. Rumors to the contrary notwithstanding. If South Vietnam cannot stand on its own within two years, the U.S. cannot do anything about it.

Con. 1. The ultimate result of this policy will be a communist takeover and a bloodbath of those South Vietnamese who associated themselves with us. This will harm U.S. prestige around the world.

2. There is no point delaying our withdrawal for another two years unless this is going to lead to a better result than would an immediate withdrawal. But Vietnamization is a sham. The South Vietnamese have had their chance and they obviously are not interested enough in defeating the Viet Cong to get together and do it. Meanwhile the cost in lives and dollars continues to mount. (See also *Pro* argument for alternative 4.)

4. Withdraw immediately.

Pro. We lost the war in Vietnam long ago and there is no way to win it now. It is not worth a single life to prolong our presence there as a way of trying to paper over the fact that we have lost. The Vietnamization policy simply prolongs the destruction of Vietnam's society and people which has been the result of U.S. policy all along. China and North Vietnam have a legitimate concern with South Vietnam because it lies on their borders; the U.S. intervention has always been unjustified. The sooner we recognize this and get out, the better. The South Vietnamese people are now concerned only with peace and security and not with the specific nature of the regime which rules them.

Con. The U.S. will suffer a severe loss of face if it withdraws from South Vietnam immediately, and our friends in that country will be purged by the communists.

5. Seek a negotiated settlement.

Pro. The U.S. seeks no territory in Southeast Asia but only wished to guarantee the South Vietnamese people the right to live under a regime of their own choice. The North Vietnamese ought to be willing to agree to this. Furthermore, it is only in the context of negotiations that the U.S. can withdraw from Vietnam without a severe loss of prestige.

Con. Our government has not negotiated in good faith. The National Liberation Front suggested a coalition government but our negotiators have insisted on backing the Thieu-Ky regime. Our military policy convinces the North Vietnamese that the negotiations are merely a sham, an attempt to buy time in which to strengthen the Saigon regime. The North Vietnamese have already defeated us on the battlefield in the sense that we have not been able to defeat them. Negotiations could only succeed if our government recognized that it has no way to force the North Vietnamese to give up at

the conference table what they have already won in South Vietnam.

The CCAS will provide further fact sheets, as well as orientation seminars for canvassers, as needed: CCAS, 1737 Cambridge Street, Room 305, Telephone 354-1959.

STANLEY CUP CHAMPS

HON. JAMES A. BURKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in praise of the Boston Bruins hockey team, who I am sure my colleagues are aware, on Sunday, May 10, 1970, won the Stanley Cup for the first time in 29 years. Eight months to the day that Boston began training for this hockey season, the championship was brought home.

Throughout the season the Bruins showed the results of hard work, team spirit, and unexcelled talent which brought them and Boston this well-deserved victory.

The St. Louis Blues played a valiant game and they are a good team, but never for a moment did any of us doubt that Boston would win the coveted award.

This faith was well rewarded when after 40 seconds of overtime Bobby Orr thrilled all of those watching by smashing in the winning goal.

The pride and heartfelt gratitude of all of us go out to Bobby and his teammates who gave us a job well done.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I include several articles which appeared in local papers describing this momentous game as well as a list of the players for the Bruins, each of whom deserves mention and thanks:

BOSTON BRUINS HOCKEY CLUB: 1969-70
STANLEY CUP WINNERS

SINDEN CONFIDENT

The Bruins have shown steady improvement in the three years since Harry Sinden took over as coach. They finished, last, third, and second in the East Division, and took Montreal to six games in the East's Stanley Cup final round, a year ago.

Harry is looking for the B's to continue that improvement this year by topping the East Division and making the Stanley Cup finals.

At 35, Sinden is the second oldest coach in the NHL, from point of service. Only Chicago's Billy Reay has been at the job longer.

Although he never played in the NHL, Harry was an outstanding amateur defenseman and starred for the Whitby Dunlops, the last Canadian team to beat the Russians and win the world's amateur title back in 1958.

He joined the Bruins organization as a defenseman for Kingston in the old Eastern League, later became playing coach and moved with the team to Minneapolis and Oklahoma City in the Central League, before coming to Boston in 1966.

MEET THE BRUINS

Ed Johnston, goal, No. 1

Eddie Johnston, now in his seventh season with the Bruins, obtained from the Montreal farm system in 1962-63, a 33-year-old veteran, is happy to be around.

A year ago his career almost ended when he was hit on the head by a puck in pre-game warmup at Detroit, Oct. 31. Eddie was out of action for two months. It was feared for a time that he might not play again.

But, he made a great comeback and enjoyed another fine training session this fall.

Gerry Cheevers, goal, No. 30

Gerry Cheevers certainly should be well-known to Bruins fans after his great performance in the play-offs against Toronto and Montreal.

He registered consecutive shutouts against Toronto to put the Bruins into the East Division finals, against Canadiens. He took the eventual Stanley Cup winners into three overtimes before they successfully defended their title against St. Louis.

In the off-season Cheevers is a keen student of horse racing, hoping eventually to become a trainer. He worked the past summer as a public relations man for the Ontario Jockey Club, at Woodbine and Fort Erie Tracks.

Bobby Orr, defense, No. 4

Bobby Orr was only 19 when he was awarded the Calder Trophy as Rookie of the Year, in 1967. New York's Harry Howell was named the winner of the Norris Trophy as the outstanding defenseman.

"I'm very happy," said Howell, "because after this it will be known as the Bobby Orr Trophy."

Howell was quite a prophet. Despite knee injuries, two operations and limited to 46 games in his sophomore season, Orr was named to first all-Star team and voted the Norris Trophy. Last year, he came back from his knee problems to play in 67 games. He set scoring records for a defenseman, 21 goals and 43 assists for 64 points, retained his all-Star rating and repeated as Norris Trophy winner.

Phil Esposito, center, No. 7

Phil Esposito can claim the sorest feet in hockey but also can claim the greatest scoring feat, in N.H.L. history after last year's 126 points.

This made the Bruins' center the first player ever to score more than 100 points in the N.H.L. He set a new mark for assists, 77, and 144 points for regular season and playoffs. With linemates Ken Hodge and Ron Murphy he shared in most points by a line with 263. His 49 goals and his 77 assists were most by a center. He won the Hart Trophy as N.H.L. Most Valuable Player and first all-Star center.

Ken Hodge, right wing, No. 8

An appendectomy the fourth day of training camp threatened to delay Ken Hodge's bid to break his personal scoring record of 45 goals of last year. But, the handsome 200 pound right wing made a rapid recovery.

In his first two years as a pro with Chicago, Ken totaled only 16 goals. But in his first year with the Bruins after the big trade of 1967-68 he blasted home 25 goals for the Bruins and, after a slow start last year, he almost doubled that output. Only three players in the league outscored him.

John Bucyk, left wing, No. 9

After 12 years in a Bruins uniform, Johnny Bucyk sets a record every time he steps on the ice. He holds several all-time club records. He has played the most games of any player in Bruins' history and has scored more goals and assists than any other Bruin player.

To earn these records, he had to erase the marks set by B's general manager Milt Schmidt and he has become one of the most popular players ever to wear a Boston uniform.

Two years ago, the fans gave him a "night" that turned out to be one of the biggest ever given a local hockey player.

Rick Smith, defense, No. 10

Four years ago, when the Bruins had Detroit's choice in the first universal junior draft, they had the Red Wings pick Rick Smith. Although he had two years of junior eligibility remaining, the Bruins thought he had NHL potential and he showed it last year.

He started the season with the B's, when Ted Green was late reporting to camp. He went to Oklahoma City when Green was in condition to return to the lineup. Rick returned to the B's when Gary Doak was sidelined with mononucleosis and a bad back. He proved he could handle himself against more experienced opponents.

Wayne Cashman, right wing, No. 12

Versatility could make Wayne Cashman one of the Bruins' key players this season—provided he escapes injury.

The 24-year-old forward can't be termed injury prone, but in past two seasons he has been victimized by freak accidents.

Two seasons ago he suffered a broken collarbone and last year in the Stanley Cup playoffs he was sidelined with a fractured right hand.

Although a right hand shot, he also can play left wing and filled in both spots during emergency last year.

Garnet Bailey, left wing, No. 14

This is Garnet Bailey's third year as a professional and the 21-year-old, left-hand shot from Lloydminster, Sask. is rated an outstanding prospect in the Bruins' organization.

The 5-11, 180-pound wing made an instant hit with Boston fans last November, when he was called up from Hershey and showed an aggressive style of play.

Sent back to Hershey, he scored 21 goals and had 32 assists for 53 points. Returning to the Bruins late in the season he scored two goals and two assists, in the 11-3 rout of Toronto.

The Bruins picked up Bailey from Detroit three years ago when he was 17 years old and playing for the Edmonton Oil Kings Juniors.

Derek Sanderson, center, No. 16

Derek Sanderson is becoming one of the most colorful players in the N.H.L. Not only because Sandy has preference for mutton-chop sideburns and mod clothes, but he's one of the league's outstanding centers as proved the past two seasons.

He was named Rookie of the Year, scoring 24 goals and 25 assists his first year and last year was credited with 26 goals and 22 assists, breaking the sophomore jinx.

This year he has set a goal of "around 40" goals for himself but, really just wants to play as much as possible.

Fred Stanfield, center, No. 17

Probably the most underrated of the Bruins in 1968-69 was Fred Stanfield. The 25-year-old center came to the Bruins from Chicago with Ken Hodge and Phil Esposito. Stanfield scored 25 goals and 29 assists last year. But, he is such a quiet and unspectacular workman there is a tendency to overlook his contributions to the team.

A good two-way skater, Fred also is an outstanding playmaker. When necessary he uses his 175 pounds with effectiveness, but spends little time in the penalty box.

Ed Westfall, right wing, No. 18

A jack-of-all positions and master of the "shadowing" technique, Eddie Westfall finally established himself as regular right wing for the Bruins last season.

Westfall came to Bruins in 1961, an outstanding defenseman from Niagara Falls Flyers. He was up and down for a year at Kingston and Providence.

Finally joining the Bruins in 1964-65 he

was mainly a penalty killer and general utility man.

Three years ago Harry Sinden put him on right wing for Derek Sanderson. In the play-offs he and Sanderson teamed to score five times while the Bruins were a man short. Eddie scored two of the goals.

John McKenzie, right wing, No. 19

The big deal for the Bruins in recent years was the swap that brought Phil Esposito, Ken Hodge and Fred Stanfield from Chicago. But there is another deal that should not be forgotten. That's the trade of Reg Fleming to New York for Johnny McKenzie.

In the 3½ years he has been with the Bruins, McKenzie has scored 87 of his 124 lifetime goals in the NHL, despite the fact that is only 5-9 and weighs but 170 pounds.

Johnny gave up his off-season hobby of roping calves at rodeos around Calgary two years ago at the request of the Bruins front office and spent the past summer as an instructor at several hockey schools in Western Canada.

Dallas Smith, defense, No. 20

Dallas Smith, the most underrated of the Bruins regulars is paired on defense with Bobby Orr and so, receives little attention from fans or press. But, he is well-appreciated by Harry Sinden and his teammates.

So, steady and cool at his position he actually permits Orr to play the style of game that has made Bobby one of the most spectacular in the NHL. Dallas is one of the toughest men in the league for a rival puck-carrier to beat, he is an exceptional skater and can carry the puck out of his own zone as well as anyone in the league.

Jim Lorentz, center, No. 22

Jim Lorentz, a prize newcomer to the Bruins is a native of Niagara Falls, Ont. The 5-11 center dominated Central League scoring the past two seasons for Oklahoma City. He paced the individual scorers with 110-plus points in both seasons, even though last year he spent some time up with the B's and was ill the last few weeks of the season.

He was the CHL's Rookie of the Year in 1967-68 and last year was named the loop's Most Valuable Player and all-Star center. He has moved up the Bruins' ladder from Waterloo Junior through Junior A, at Niagara Falls.

Bill Speer, defense, No. 24

Bill Speer came to the Bruins unexpectedly last June, after Pittsburgh drafted Glen Sather from the B's. A 27-year-old native of Lindsay, Ont., Speer played 68 games for the Penguins in 1967-68.

Last year he spent much of his time traveling between Pittsburgh, Baltimore and Amarillo, Texas. He made his presence felt in the Bruins training camp after Teddy Green was seriously injured.

A sturdy 5-11, 210-pounder, Speer has a reputation as a "hitter". Because of this, he may be caught out of position at times but, he keeps the opponents honest.

Gary Doak, defense, No. 25

Injuries and illness have plagued Gary Doak ever since he joined the Bruins. But, this season the 23-year-old defenseman is hopeful of breaking the hex and justifying the Bruins' confidence in protecting him from last summer's draft.

In 20 games with the B's, after coming from the Red Wings in 1965-66 Doak showed great potential. Before the start of the following season he fractured an ankle. He played only 17 games that year, at Oklahoma City.

Last season he was plagued with a nagging backache, followed by mononucleosis and was sidelined for the season, after appearing in but 22 games.

Don Awrey, defense, No. 26

Durability is the trademark of veteran defenseman Don Awrey. In the last four seasons, three with the Bruins and one with Hershey in the A.H.L. the 26-year-old, 195-pounder has missed only three games, due to injury, or illness.

Oddly enough, he was sidelined in all of those games last season when the Bruins made their strongest bid for the Stanley Cup in 10 years. A shot on his ankle sidelined him for three games.

Don was first spotted by the Bruins playing Junior B hockey at Waterloo and sent to Niagara Falls. After two seasons with the Bruins he went to Hershey, 1966-67, and finally found himself.

He came back to play and stay.

Ron Murphy, left wing, No. 28

With 16 goals and 38 assists for 54 points Ron Murphy enjoyed the most productive of his 15 seasons in the N.H.L.

He hit the 200-goal figure and, teaming with Phil Esposito and Ken Hodge, he helped smash the previous NHL scoring record for one line. Having passed his 36th birthday the veteran left wing from Hamilton, Ont., decided to call it quits.

He had done this before, after being traded to the Bruins, but over the summer he once again reconsidered and reported to training camp at London, Ont., in September.

Don Marcotte, left wing, No. 29

Don is only 22 and last year was considered the outstanding left wing in the American League, playing at Hershey. At 5-10 and 183 pounds he has reached physical maturity and still is improving as a hockey player.

In junior A with Niagara Falls he was teamed at left wing for Derek Sanderson and Sandy still is one of his greatest boosters. In his first professional season with Hershey he scored 31 goals. Last year he added four more to that total.

OFFICERS OF BOSTON BRUINS HOCKEY CLUB

Weston W. Adams, Chairman of the Board.
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John Wallace.
Edward J. Powers.

BOSTON BRUINS 1969-1970 ROSTER

No.	Players	Height	Weight	Age	1968-69 Club	1968-69 record		
						Goals	Assists	Points
Forwards:								
14	Garnet Bailey	5'11"	192	21	Boston-Oklahoma City	24	35	59
9	John Bucyk	6'0"	214	34	Boston	24	42	66
12	Wayne Cashman	6'1"	192	24	Boston	8	23	31
7	Phil Esposito	6'1"	208	27	Boston	49	77	126
21	Jim Harrison	5'11"	196	22	Oklahoma City	13	13	26
8	Ken Hodge	6'2"	216	25	Boston	45	45	90
22	Jim Lorenz	5'11"	195	22	Oklahoma City	33	68	101
19	John McKenzie	5'9"	177	32	Boston	29	27	56
28	Ron Murphy	5'11"	192	36	Boston	16	38	54
16	Derek Sanderson	6'0"	168	23	Boston	26	22	48
17	Fred Stanfield	5'10"	184	25	Boston	25	29	54
18	Ed Westfall	6'1"	200	29	Boston	18	24	42
Defensemen:								
26	Don Awrey	6'0"	194	26	Boston	0	13	13
25	Gary Doak	5'11"	188	23	Boston	3	3	6
6	Ted Green	5'10"	200	29	Boston	8	38	46
4	Bobby Orr	5'11"	180	21	Boston	21	43	64
20	Dallas Smith	5'11"	180	28	Boston	4	24	28
10	Rick Smith	5'11"	196	21	Boston	0	5	5
						Min Pl	GA	SO
						Avg.		
Goalkeepers:								
30	Gerry Cheevers	5'11"	193	29	Boston	3112	145	3
1	Ed Johnston	5'10"	190	34	Boston	1440	72	2
								2.80
								3.00

General Manager—Milt Schmidt.
Coach—Harry Sinden.
Trainers—Dan Carney and John Forristall.
Colors—Black, Gold and White.

[From the Boston Herald Traveler,
May 11, 1970]

"I TOLD THOSE GUYS TO DO IT," BEAMS
BUCYK

(By Tim Horgan)

"I told those guys," said Johnny Bucyk, "I didn't want to go back on the ice again. Fifteen years is long enough. Fifteen years is a long, long time."

And so "those guys," Bobby Orr and Derek Sanderson, saluted the Chief smartly, wheeled onto the Garden rink and in just 40 seconds combined to beat the incomparable Glenn Hall in the first sudden death overtime period of the fourth game of the third round . . . aw, forget it.

The Stanley Cup is back in town after, not 15, but 29 years. And if that's an unconscionably long time between drinks from this mug, it was clearly worth the wait.

If the Red Sox locker room after the final game of the 1967 season was sheer bedlam, the Bruins' quarters yesterday was all of that plus utter chaos.

The way they slugged champagne from the huge silver bin they'd just won, the Bruins' 29-year drought will be followed by a 30-year hangover.

"I never thought it would happen," said Milton Conrad Schmidt, who as player, coach and general manager, has been plugging after this loving cup all of those 29 years.

"But it did," said Milt. "And now they can't take it away from us, ever."

Not that anybody would dare try, the way the B's clutched the Cup from hand to hand, mouth to mouth. But Milt had fallen into the embrace of Weston Adams, Sr., who as co-owner, president and chairman of the board, had also lavished 29 years of his life in pursuit of this grail.

That's the beautiful part of the odyssey that ended yesterday with Orr slamming the puck, point-blank, past Hall and then himself sailing head-first across the goal mouth and into a corner.

No team ever worked harder for any prize than the Bruins did for the Stanley Cup. No team ever suffered more years in the dun-

geons of the NHL, in the tundras of Canada looking for raw material, in the vestibule of the throne room while the Montreal Canadians hoarded the treasure.

And even this final victory came hard. The St. Louis Blues, to their everlasting credit, fought the Bruins for this game before they finally yielded, 4-3.

"But that's the way to win it," said Ted Green, radiant in a raspberry jacket and a huge grin. "If the score had been 6-1, we wouldn't enjoy it as much."

The Bruins couldn't have enjoyed it more. Two hours after Orr's shot slid past Hall, the celebration raged, sloshed, slithered through their jam-packed quarters.

"It's been such a long time, I'm going to enjoy this a long time," said Eddie Westfall, who has spent nine years chasing the Cup up and down the Garden ice.

"I still can't believe it," said Eddie. "I keep waiting for the coach to go to the blackboard and write, 'Practice 10 A.M. Tomorrow.'"

The Bruins, however, will spend today parading around town, reliving the season, re-playing that goal.

"I didn't even see the puck go in," said Bucyk, who was handed the Cup by NHL President Clarence Campbell in honor of spending 13 of his 15 NHL seasons with the Bruins. "But I saw Bobby's stick go up in the air, and that was enough for me. I knew we'd won it."

Bobby didn't even know his stick had flown into the air, didn't know much of anything except sheer ecstasy.

"I think I was tripped from behind after I shot," he bumbled, resplendent in a golden jersey bearing the Bruins' emblem, and the legend "1970 Stanley Cup Champions," which all the players wore during the game. "But I really don't know what I did."

What Bobby did was put the finishing touch, the coup de grace, on a saga that'll be remembered as long as ice hockey is played.

[From the Boston Herald Traveler,
May 11, 1970]

BRUINS WIN STANLEY CUP—15,000 ROAR IN
HOT GARDEN

(By Jack McCarthy)

The Cup is back. At 5:10 p.m. yesterday in the steaming Boston Garden, Bobby Orr flew horizontally past the St. Louis Blues' net, the puck flew past goalie Glenn Hall and the Bruins had won the Stanley Cup, 4-3, at 40 seconds of overtime.

This flashing goal, on a pass from the other Bruins' kid, Derek Sanderson, gave the Bruins the final series over the Blues, four games to none.

The Cup was home after 29 years. And, as 15,000 people went berserk and organist John Kiley belted out "Paree," Capt. Johnny Bucyk accepted the Cup from League President Clarence Campbell and skated it around the ice in absolute bedlam.

The Bruins had to come from behind twice to win, and Bucyk had tied it once and Phil Esposito had tied it once. Ricky Smith had saved his first goal of the playoffs to give Boston an early lead, but despite some out-of-this-world stuff by Gerry Cheevers in the Boston net, here it was in overtime.

The Bruins forced the play in the Blues' end, and the puck came loose along the boards to Hall's left. Larry Keenan was after it for the Blues when Orr made the decision to go for it. He beat the Blue, passed to Sanderson at the backboards and broke for the net.

The Turk gave him a perfect return pass and as Orr flashed past Hall, he flipped it in, even as he was tripped by Noel Picard. Orr landed on all fours and slid along the ice with a wide grin on his face. He was then subjected to the most severe punishment as the Bruins steamed from their bench and leaped on him, body piled on body.

It was a tough loss for the Blues, who

failed to win a game in the final for the third straight year. St. Louis played its best game of the series and at times it seemed the series would move back West. The Blues forechecked well, pressed the Bruins hard, and it was only some great work by Cheevers that kept Boston in the game over the first period and a half.

The Blues' scorers were Red Berenson, Gary Sabourin and Keenan, and once again St. Louis got a fine game from the veteran Hall in the cage.

It was the 10th straight play-off victory for the Bruins and for Cheevers, and it brought them \$3,000 per man to add to the \$4,000 won previously by victories in earlier rounds over the Chicago Black Hawks and the New York Rangers. The Blues got \$1,500 as runners-up, after earlier victories over Minnesota and Pittsburgh.

Boston also preserved the Eastern division's record of never having lost a game in the Cup final to the expansion West. St. Louis lost in the past two years to Canadiens in the final 4-0 each time.

The Bruins set a few records in their match to the Cup. Cheevers won 12 games and lost 1. The Bruins and Cheevers won 10 straight. This is believed to be a record for a goaltender. The total for the team is only one off the Canadiens' 11 straight. Esposito's goal gave him 13, a record for a playoff year. Orr's goal gave him nine and 20 points, adding to records for a playoff for a defenseman, already set by him. The Bucyk-John McKenzie-Fred Stanfield line got two points yesterday, giving them 52 points—a new line mark.

This was the fourth Stanley Cup for the Bruins, and their first since the Schmidt-Dumart-Bauer days of 1940-41. The others were 1938-39, and 1928-29.

The first score of the game came on a three-on-three situation with Orr, McKenzie, Ecclestone and Picard in the box for a roughing spree. Sanderson made one of his patented sweep checks to get the puck to Ricky Smith on Hall's right about 30 feet out. Rick found the upper left hand corner over Hall's shoulder at 5:28, and Boston led, 1-0.

Cheevers dominated the rest of the period after an early glitterer off Berenson, in alone. Along the way, Gerry stopped Berenson, again, Bill McCreary, Tim Ecclestone, Phil Goyette and Bob Plager. He came way out on a breakaway by McCreary to catch a hard shot in his glove for the gem of the day.

With 1:43 left in the first, and Andre Boudrias and Stanfield off for roughing, Bob Plager's sweeping backhand was saved by Cheevers, but Berenson was close up to poke in the rebound at 19:17 and tie it.

The Bruins did not look anything like world champs during this spell. They were uncertain and tight against the good forechecking of the Blues. And when Sabourin pounced on a free puck to tie it at 3:22 of the second period, things did not look good. St. Marselle rushed into the Boston end and Dallas Smith rode him off the puck, which was left unattended. Sabourin stepped up and whanged a 35-footer into the far corner to give the Blues a 2-1 lead.

Boston apparently scored at the seven-minute mark, but referee Bruce Hood ruled that on Espo's tip of Stanfield's slap shot past Hall, Phil's stick was too high.

The Bruins now began applying heavy pressure, but couldn't get the good shot until Espo won a faceoff in the Blues end and the puck went to Ken Hodge. The big wing slid it back to Espo, who snapped a 20-footer into the near side at 14:22 to tie it again and break the record.

Still fighting, the Blues took the lead again with only 19 seconds gone in the third period. They swarmed in the Boston end, and Ab McDonald fanned on a great chance just outside the crease. Keenan grabbed the puck and backhanded it in off Cheevers' face mask for

the 3-2 lead. Cheevers went down on the play, but continued after treatment.

In the third period, Hall made a fine stop off Sanderson and foiled Bucyk on a great chance when John couldn't lift the disc over him.

But the Chief was back again in a moment on the end of a nifty scoring play with Ricky Smith and McKenzie. Smith flipped the puck off the boards on the right to little John and he made a perfect feed to Bucyk in front of Hall. John got this one up and in, and the score was tied.

Neither team could put it in thereafter and the overtime was set up, and with it, Orr's finishing touch to Sanderson's pass and a big season for Boston.

Scraping the ice—The humidity was high in the Garden and everyone was in shirt sleeves. Many women wore summer dresses . . . The thermometer registered 93 degrees on the Garden roof . . . The last overtime goal for Boston in a Cup final was by Jack McIntyre against Terry Sawchuk of Detroit at the Garden, March 29, 1953. Boston won that game, 2-1. . . Jean Beliveau beat Boston in the second overtime of the sixth game here last year.

The city will fete the Bruins today with a parade at 12:45. The route will be from the Statler-Hilton in Park Square to City Hall . . . The NHL board of governors will announce today the winner of the Conn Smythe Trophy, given to the outstanding player in Stanley Cup play.

Milt Schmidt was thrown in the showers by the players, new suit and all.

[From the Boston Herald Traveler, May 11, 1970]

HAPPY BEDLAM HITS THE CITY

(By Jack Kelley)

The lighted billboard atop North Station blinked 95 degrees. That in itself might have been sufficient reason for the crowd on the sidewalk below to be bathing one another in cold beer.

But the temperature would have made little difference to the thousands of "Garden faithful" cascading down the concrete ramp to Causeway street.

It was a Christmas-carnival mood. Everybody loved everybody else. Strangers embraced, pounded one another on the back and shook every hand in sight.

In the bars the shirt-sleeved, shouting fans watched televised locker room interviews, drowning out the audio with tumultuous salutes to their hockey-playing heroes.

In the Iron Horse everyone from Bobby Orr's mother to the man who clears the Garden ice was toasted by a burly fan pouring champagne with the abandon of a millionaire.

Outside, the familiar shout of "We're Number One!" echoed through the streets, taverns and restaurants of the North End, eclipsing even the rumble of the trolleys passing overhead.

The crowd surged into the street thumping cars and reaching in open windows to ruffle the hair of the passengers and drivers.

When a Cadillac and Oldsmobile slammed bumpers amid the tangle, the two drivers stopped just long enough to back off, exchange victory signs and roll away.

Sidewalk merchants hawked Bruins buttons and color photos and the crowd gobbled them up.

Fathers boosted poster-waving children to their shoulders and as each picture appeared above the crowd, a new roar rocked the streets.

The cheering, chanting crowd pressed into a circle and fans of all ages hopped and danced around the fringes like Indians wishing for rain.

Residents of nearby apartments filled the

air with makeshift confetti. One woman emptied a quart bottle of orange soda out her third-floor window.

Before long, police moved in and cleared the clogged streets. The men in blue formed a circle and the fans ringed them, worked up another frenzy, and swarmed back into the roadway.

Several arrests were made, mostly for "over-exuberance" on the part of fans who had apparently quenched their thirsts excessively.

"We've waited 29 years for this" shouted one barroom fan, who looked like he had indeed been waiting that long.

Another carried a cardboard and tinfoil mock Stanley Cup from table to table, happily draining the creation as fast as generous patrons could fill it.

But even jubilation has its moments of irony. "The Red Sox will go all the way, too," exulted one glass-waving celebrant, to which another promptly rejoined: "Who the hell are they?"

[From the Boston Record-American, May 11, 1970]

BRUINS CHAMPIONS, 4-3, ON ORR'S OVERTIME GOAL

(By Joe Driscoll)

Happy hysteria gripped some 800 Cup-crazy Bruins fans yesterday as the clinching victory sent them shouting and laughing into the echoing, girder-lined canyon that is Causeway st.

Those who shouted themselves hoarse with the chant of "We're number one," augmented their joy with noisemakers rapidly being sold by the souvenir vendors outside Boston Garden.

The rumbling of the MBTA trains overhead seemed to lend an unexpectedly gay bass to the impassioned singing of "Bobby Orr, Bobby Orr," to the tune of "Wyatt Earp."

The crucial role of the Bruins' great defenseman had been anticipated by fan Edward Butryn of Cambridge.

"When it went into overtime," Butryn said, during the after-game celebration, "I was thinking to myself, 'I hope Orr gets the puck and makes one of his tremendous rushes and scores'."

"And that's just what happened."

The word "fantastic" was repeated over and over again by Bruins' followers almost dazed by the magnitude of their heroes' accomplishment.

Bruce Roberts of Chatham opined. "This is the greatest thing that ever happened to Boston." "The Chief (Bruins player John Bucyk) is finally getting the credit he deserves."

As the bars filled to overflowing with cheer-thirsted celebrants, some of the team's long-time loyalists remembered the lean seasons when the Stanley Cup seemed as remote as the Golden Fleece.

"I've waited a long time for this," said Frank Newton of Quincy, "and then to win it in a sudden-death overtime—well, you couldn't ask for a more exciting finale."

John Kaminski of Cambridge, agreed: "I've followed the Bs through the lean years and this makes it all worthwhile."

[From the Boston Record American, May 11, 1970]

ONLY ORR COULD HAVE DONE IT—SINDEN

(By Pat Horne)

"No other defenseman in hockey could have made that play," coach Harry Sinden declared of Bobby Orr's Stanley Cup-winning goal.

Forty seconds into the overtime period Orr and Derek Sanderson combined to do the trick. The most important goal in nearly 30 years for Boston.

The much-decorated Orr conceded this to be the "greatest day of my life."

Sinden was all smiles. His happy warriors had soaked him with a mixture of champagne and beer. He tried to wipe his face dry and blurt out a word picture of the crucial tally.

"He saw the opening . . . the only defenseman in the league who could have done it . . . Derek fed it to him just perfect . . . Bang . . . That was it," the coach declared as he slapped his hands together like a set of symbols.

The Boston coach agreed it was a big gamble for his ace defenseman to be buried so deeply in St. Louis territory.

He continued, "Yeah it was a big gamble . . . for any defenseman except Orr."

"If he didn't get the shot he still could have recovered in time to get back there on defense."

In answer to Sinden's plea that they not lay back and wait for a break, the Bruins roared into overtime play with fire in their eyes. "We lost two overtime games to Montreal in the playoffs last year because we waited," the coach recalled.

The flamboyant Sanderson was much better at recreating the situation than Orr. Mr. Everything of the NHL, was straining against the tears of happiness, retaining his ultra-modest character.

"Bobby took the puck away from Larry Keenan and passed it to me . . . I saw him break for the cage so I just flipped it over Picard's (defenseman Noel) and Bobby was right there . . . perfect. He did it," the mod-leader of the Bruins recalled.

Explaining the payoff end of the goal that made it a 4-3 victory, Orr bubbled, "I didn't know if it was going to get in there. I was flying through the air and when I pushed the puck . . . it went between Glenn's (goalie Hall) legs as he came out . . . I didn't know if it would get in there."

Within seconds, Orr was enveloped in a sea of teammates.

"Once Espo (Phil Esposito) got that goal which broke the record, every guy on the team wanted Orr to get the winner," Sinden said.

It didn't make any difference to the modest defenseman. Just as long as the Bruins won the Stanley Cup.

Engulfed in the outburst of enthusiasm, it took Orr a few moments to gain his freedom. Just as soon as he did, he skated for the boards near the Boston bench. Why?

"My father was sitting there and I wanted to see him. But, he ran out because he was crying," Orr explained and then wiped at each eye with the back of his right hand.

It was poetic justice that Orr scored the game winning goal. He's done just about everything else for the Bruins during this explosive 1969-70 campaign.

Forgetting the emotional overtime goal for a second, Orr thought about what went on in the Bruins' dressing room at the end of regulation time.

"We didn't talk about anything special . . . but I couldn't help thinking about the fact we lost two overtime games to Montreal last year and I didn't want that to happen again," he offered.

Beyond this, Orr said, "I thought about how things were when I first joined this team and all the talk in the newspapers about what I was going to do."

"I was scared stiff . . . I didn't know if I would play with these guys . . . I was scared. I went to my room and these guys came after me and made me stay with them . . . they're the greatest bunch of guys in the world."

Getting back to the bedlam of the present, Orr was back in character. He was thinking about the other guys, but jumping up and down in an unusual emotional display.

"This is fantastic . . . just fantastic. But isn't it great for guys like Eddie Westfall . . . 'n John McKenzie . . . 'n Espo . . . 'n Chief (Johnny Bucyk). They've been around for a few years and it's just great to have the Stanley Cup for them." Orr suggested.

Bobby Orr vows he will never forget the goal that brought Boston its first Stanley Cup in 29 years. There is no way Boston can ever forget Bobby Orr.

[From the Boston Record American, May 11, 1970]

ORR'S OVERTIME SHOT WINS CUP FOR BRUINS

(By D. Leo Monahan)

Bobby Orr, ah, that Bobby Orr, he sure does get to a guy. It was Robert Gordon Orr, the pride of Parry Sound, Ont., and hockey's Golden Boy, who streaked in from the blue line to convert Derek Sanderson's goal-mouth feed for an overtime goal that brought Boston a 4-3 victory and the Bruins the Stanley Cup for the first time in 29 years.

Orr's goal, scored just 40 seconds after the game went into overtime, triggered one of the wildest, pulsating demonstrations this town ever has known in sports and the champagne corks popped happily in the jubilant dressing room. Thus the Bruins swept the St. Louis in four-straight, but they had to struggle for their 10th playoff victory in a row; since 38-year-old Glenn Hall, playing his 112th playoff game in the Blues' nets, gave them one very rough time indeed.

The dressing room? It was sheer chaos. Wayne Cashman kept tossing champagne out of the treasured Stanley Cup as if it were a birdbath. Coach Harry Sinden, his tie askew and a big grin on his kisser, was soaking wet; his players tossed him and B's President Weston Adams, Jr., into the shower.

Johnny "Pie" McKenzie had a magnum of champagne, let it fizz and then showered all and sundry with it as if it were a fire hose. Gerry Cheevers, his Long Johns soaked with perspiration from a very trying afternoon, had a cigaret in one hand and a bottle of giggly in the other.

All over the room, players tripped over equipment, reporters and television cables in an effort to hug teammates. Goodness, the celebration could last for days.

Orr's goal came with amazing quickness. He broke in from his own blue line and headed straight for the net. Sanderson adroitly held his pass until the 22-year-old defenseman was expertly positioned. Then he slipped him the puck.

Orr rapped the shot between Hall's legs and the 14,835 fans let loose a great roar that shook the North Station and Boston Garden to its very foundations.

"I don't know where the shot went," said Orr. "I just know it was in."

"Look," he said, displaying a shirt he had on under his jersey. It read: "Boston Bruins, 1970 Stanley Cup Champions."

"Should be pretty good, eh?"

Around Bobby swirled his teammates. Garnet "Ace" Bailey sat on a hamper dumping beer on anybody's head that happened to pass by. Phil Esposito, who set a NHL record with his 13th playoff goal in one year, was drenched in beer and champagne.

Orr fell over a St. Louis defenseman an instant after the red light went on. He was still sprawled on the ice when all hell broke loose. His teammates swarmed him and fell on him. Sinden came skidding out to join the celebration. So did a swarm of youngsters.

The ice was littered with hats, streamers, beer cans, cups, papers, and a lot of other bric-a-brac. Name it and it probably came raining out of the stands.

Clarence Campbell, president of the National Hockey League, presented the Cup to the four alternate Boston captains: Esposito, Johnny Bucyk, who scored the goal to tie the game at 3-3 late in the contest; Eddie Westfall and Teddy Green, who was in civvies.

Bucyk, 35, the senior member of the staff, then was given the enjoyable chore of carrying the Cup—the oldest trophy in North

American sport—around the rink. He received a thunderous ovation and a big grin creased his dark features. It has been a long, long wait for The "Chief," Westfall, Eddie Johnston and a few of the other Old Guard who knew the trying last-place days of Boston's hockey fortunes.

The best way to describe the dressing room and the building itself is chaos, sheer and absolute chaos. There are people who have been coming to hockey games in this town for 12, 15, 25 years hoping for this day. Yesterday they had their celebration—and how!

Sid Solomon III, vice-president of the Blues, came in to pay his respects and won a well-round of good wishes from all. St. Louis fought the good fight. It just didn't have enough ammunition to keep the Bruins from sweeping.

Game No. 4, however, was a helluva lot tougher than the first three for the B's.

"The Bruins," said a Toronto writer after the second period, "have a bad case of the slows."

That they had. They had to rally from a 2-1 deficit on Esposito's goal and then Bucyk scored at 13:28 to keep the game "alive," just when it looked like the Blues' defense would cling tenaciously to its one-goal lead.

Rick Smith opened the scoring for the B's on a 3-vs.-3 situation at 5:28 of the first period. Sanderson—who else?—made the big play on this one, too, as he swept the puck out from behind the St. Louis net to Rick, who rifled a 25-ft. shot into the top right corner.

"Red" Berenson tied the score at 19:17 when he converted Bob Plager's rebound.

Gary Sabourin created a 2-1 lead at 3:22 of the second period. Frank St. Marselle and Dallas Smith were tangled along the boards. Sabourin picked up a loose puck at St. Marselle's feet and drilled a low slap shot to the far corner.

Esposito's record-breaking goal came at 14:22 of the second period to tie the game, 2-2. Espo won a faceoff with Andre Boudrias and slid it over to Ken Hodge. Big Ken made the return pass and Espo beat Hall to the far corner (stick side).

Previously, Espo had been tied with two of the all-time greats, Maurice "Rocket" Richard and Jean Beliveau, both of Les Canadiens, for the most goals in a single playoff year. His 13th snapped that deadlock and Hodge obliged by getting the puck for Phil as a keepsake.

When Larry Keenan scored on a backhand after just 19 seconds of the third period, it looked like curtains for the B's. Keenan, an injury-prone winger, has had a knack of getting big goals in the playoffs. This time his backhand caromed off the head of Goalie Gerry Cheevers and popped into the cage. Phil Goyette was screening the netminder at the time.

It was tug and haul, and for an agonizing long time it didn't seem the Bruins were going to pull off the big job. However, Little Johnny McKenzie took care of that. He did some deft digging and stickhandling along the right boards and finally snapped across a pass that Bucyk deflected into the rigging at 13:28.

Mr. Orr took it from there.

Today there will be a ticker-tape parade in downtown Boston and the winner of the Conn Smythe Trophy as the Most Valuable Player in the playoffs (Orr?) will be announced.

But that, as they were saying about this series anyway, will be an anti-climax.

ICE PICKINGS

Bruce Hood worked a rather odd game, but nobody's complaining. He called some needless penalties—Boudrias and Fred Stanfield for roughing—but he then let another go. For instance, Tim Ecclestone rapped Don Awrey in the head with his stick and dazed

the B's defenseman late in the game. No penalty . . . There were a number of new signs about the building. One of the biggest read: "Bruins We Luv Ya." . . . Mrs. George Page and Mrs. Sam Videtta of Colonial CC showed up wearing Bruins' jersey with guess what number on the back? No. 4, you silly goose . . . Bob Plager hit Sanderson with a jolting check almost at the outset to establish the game . . . Esposito scored another goal on the power play in the second period, but Hood disallowed it. He claimed Esposito tipped in Stanfield's shot while his stick was held above his shoulders.

BRUINS PLAYOFF SCORING

	GP	G	A	Pts.	PIM
Phil Esposito	14	13	14	27	16
Bobby Orr	14	9	11	20	14
Johnny Bucyk	14	11	8	19	2
Johnny McKenzie	14	5	12	17	35
Fred Stanfield	14	4	12	16	6
Ken Hodge	14	3	10	13	17
Wayne Cashman	14	5	4	9	50
Eddie Westfall	14	3	5	8	4
Derek Sanderson	14	5	4	9	72
Wayne Carleton	14	2	4	6	14
Don Awrey	14	0	5	5	32
Dallas Smith	14	0	3	3	19
Don Marcotte	14	2	0	2	11
Rick Smith	13	1	3	4	17
Bill Speer	7	1	0	1	4
Jim Lorentz	11	0	0	1	4
Gerry Cheevers	13	0	1	1	2
Dan Schock	1	0	0	0	0
Bill Lessuk	2	0	0	0	9
Gary Doak	8	0	0	0	9
Eddie Johnston	1	0	0	0	2

St. Louis	1	1	1	0-3
Boston	1	1	1	1-4

First period: 1, Boston, R. Smith 1 (Sanderson) 5:28; 2, St. Louis, Berenson 7 (R. Plager, Ecclestone) 19:17. Penalties—Sanderson 0:40; Fortin 4:41; Picard 4:41; Ecclestone 4:41; Orr 4:41; McKenzie 4:41; McKenzie 7:13; Picard 8:07; Stanfield 12:36; Awrey 16:04; Boudrias 18:36; Stanfield 18:36. Second period: 3, St. Louis, Sabourin 5 (St. Marselle) 3:22; 4, Boston, Esposito 13 (Hodge) 14:22. Penalties—Sanderson 4:21; Berenson 6:32; McKenzie 11:55; D. Smith 18:52.

Third period: 5, St. Louis, Keenan 7 (Goyette, Roberts) 0:19; 6, Boston, Bucyk 11 (McKenzie, R. Smith) 13:28. Penalties—Esposito 6:15; Fortin 6:15; R. Plager 8:25.

Overtime period: 7, Boston, Orr 9 (Sanderson) 0:40.

Shots on goal by:

St. Louis	14	7	10	0-31
Boston	10	8	13	1-32

A-14,835.

[From the Boston Record American, May 11, 1970]

WE'VE WAITED A LONG TIME—SCHMIDT
(By Ed Gillooly)

Hysteria, pandemonium, lunacy. Call it what you will because no words can come close to aptly describing the wildest and wettest scene that took place in the Bruins dressing room for more than two hours yesterday after they captured the elusive Stanley Cup.

Beer and champagne were sprayed endlessly as the players drenched one and all with the foamy and bubbly stuff in an unbelievable display of uncontrolled joy and ecstasy. "The celebration in 1941 was a wake compared to this," exclaimed Gen. Mgr. Milt Schmidt who was a member of the last Bruins team to win the coveted Stanley Cup.

"But you have to consider we've waited a long time (29-years) for this one," he added.

When the beer and champagne supply was nearly exhausted about an hour after the celebration began, the players then started dunking everyone in the shower and Schmidt, fully clothed, was one of the first.

One by one, from Weston Adams, Jr., to the writers who covered the team all season, everyone was carried to the showers by the players, especially Wayne Carleton and Rick Smith.

Bruins captain Teddy Green who missed the season because of the brain injury entered the dressing room neatly attired but before long he was running around in his tee shirt and undershorts.

The four-foot tall sterling silver Stanley Cup was passed from player to player and each took a turn drinking champagne from the top of the trophy.

It would be impossible to single out any one player who was more excited than Mr. Excitement himself, Bobby Orr, the B's super-star who scored the winning goal.

The young super-star, who kept pounding his fists on the lockers and praising his teammates, had the numerical experts working.

"Number four scored the winning goal at 40 seconds of the fourth period of the fourth game in his fourth season with the Bruins," one explained as though he were going to play all fours in the number Monday.

"If they wrote a script, you couldn't have asked for a better ending," goalie Eddie Johnston remarked referring to Orr's scoring the winning tally.

"We finally got it," Eddie Westfall chanted as he poured a bottle of beer on his pal Johnny (Chief) Bucyk, a couple of veterans who have waited a long time for a beer and champagne celebration.

"It felt just great," Bucyk replied when asked his feelings while carrying the Stanley Cup around the ice for the fans to view.

Coach Harry Sinden, dunked in the showers twice, summed up the bedlam in the dressing room stating, "Nothing can compare with the feeling you get winning the championship the first time."

Orr almost gagged when he was drinking champagne from the Stanley Cup and Westfall said, "Bobby, if you could only skate and shoot, you might make this team."

Garnet "Ace" Bailey, who missed the playoffs because of an injury, also stripped to his shorts and tee shirt and joined in on the celebration.

After a while, he raced from the main part of the dressing room spraying beer and shouting, "These guys aren't nuts, they're crazy."

Down the hall in the Celtics dressing room, the champagne was flowing freely but none of it was being wasted. The wives were toasting their champions.

LIFT SUSPENSION ON B'S GREEN

Ted Green, the Bruins' defenseman who underwent brain surgery after a high sticking incident with Wayne Maki on Sept. 21, has finished his 13-game suspension and is eligible to play next season.

NHL President Clarence Campbell informed B's Gen. Mgr. Milt Schmidt of the news in a letter.

"This will confirm my oral advice to you that I have received the reports of Dr. Michel Richard, neurosurgeon of Ottawa who was in charge of Green following his injury and of Dr. Robert Gjemmann, head neurologist of the Mass. General Hospital, who has examined and tested Green on several occasions during the past six months.

"Both these medical experts have expressed the opinion that Green was physically fit to play hockey at the end of March. Accordingly, I have established April 1, 1970 as the date on which Green's suspension of 13 games took effect."

Since that date the B's have played three regular season games and 14 playoff games.

[From the Quincy Patriot Ledger, May 11, 1970]

ONE MORE TROPHY FOR ORR MANTEL

BOSTON.—Bobby Orr, the Boston Bruins spectacular defenseman, became the first

player in National Hockey League history to win four major trophies today as he was awarded the Conn Smythe trophy as the most valuable player in the Stanley Cup playoffs.

Earlier, Orr received the Art Ross trophy for leading the NHL in scoring with 120 points, the Hart trophy as the league's most valuable player and the Norris trophy for a third straight year as the league's top defenseman.

Orr's scoring of the Stanley Cup winning goal in overtime yesterday, which gave the Bruins a 4-3 victory over the St. Louis Blues, dispelled uncertainties in the minds of several voters because of the number of worthy candidates.

The modest Orr remained a modest man yesterday, even after the most thrilling goal of his career. He insisted that the part he played in the win was secondary to that of the rest of the team.

"They did all the work," he said, "Like on that winning goal. Derek Sanderson made the play, all I did was just put the puck in the net."

[From the Quincy Patriot Ledger, May 11, 1970]

NO DISPUTING BRUINS' POSSESSION OF STANLEY CUP
(By Roger Barry)

BOSTON.—There's no dispute about the Bruins' right to the Stanley Cup, but there'll be controversy indefinitely about tactics used by their last two opponents, the Chicago Black Hawks and St. Louis Blues.

First Billy Reay, the Chicago coach, permitted the Bruins to put the handcuffs on Bobby Hull, the heavyweight forward who scores more goals per season than anyone ever.

The Bruins' Ed Westfall checked Hull so thoroughly, with help from his teammates, that he outscored the great scorer as well as outshooting him.

Then Scotty Bowman, the St. Louis coach, did two things which will continue to be questioned:

He used both Jacques Plante and Ernie Wakely as goalkeepers before using Glenn (Mr. Goalie) Hall in the third game of the four-game final series.

And before using Hall, he committed himself to a one-on-one defense against Bob Orr which seemed destined to failure from the start because of the inferior St. Louis personnel. It failed.

Why didn't Bowman play Hall against the Bruins from the start? Before the start he said, "I'll continue to rotate my goalkeepers as I have been, which means I'll probably use Plante, Wakely and Hall in that order."

Said Montreal coach Claude Ruel yesterday, "In a series like this you go with your best. You have to go with your best. Who is their best goalkeeper? Hall is."

The Blues played their two best games—yesterday's was their best—in front of Hall, even though both games were played in Boston Garden. Had Hall been in the series from the start, he might have made a difference.

How much difference? The series might have gone six games, but the Bruins probably would have won, anyway.

Reay, who was here yesterday, has been questioned so much about the Hull business he's not interested in hearing any more about it. Bowman will probably be as fed up with questions about defending Orr and not using Hall more before long.

ICE CUBES

The winner of the Conn Smythe Trophy as the outstanding player in the playoffs, by vote of the National Hockey League's Board of Governors, was scheduled to be announced this noon. The winner was scheduled to be Mr. Orr. Bob's scoring of the Cup-winning goal dispelled uncertainty in the minds of several voters, because of the number of worthy candidates. Harry Sinden, the Bruins'

coach, admitted after the game he was concerned early in the first period when Noel Picard came off the St. Louis bench to grab Orr in a flareup caused by Don Awrey and the Blues' Tim Ecclestone. "I was afraid maybe Picard was being sent out to get him," said Sinden. Picard is a 225-pound former police officer acquired by St. Louis in 1967 primarily for his fighting ability, but he has become a pretty good defenseman. He didn't get Orr.

Bob beat Larry Keenan to a loose puck, passed to Derek Sanderson against the end boards, then flipped Sandy's return pass between Hall's pad for the winning goal at 40 seconds of the overtime period. It was the Bruins' first overtime win in a playoff game since March 27, 1958, when Jerry Toppazzini scored at 4:46 to beat the Rangers in New York by the same score, 4-3. It was their first overtime win here since March 29, 1953, when Jack McIntyre scored at 12:29 to beat Detroit and Terry Sawchuk here, 2-1. And the Bruins' all-time playoff record for overtime games is now 17 wins, 24 losses and three ties. So there.

Ted Green to Eddie Johnston: "This is the only way to win something like this, with a real smash ending. This is something to remember. A 6-1 game or something like that wouldn't mean as much." The Bruins have been informed by NHL president Clarence S. Campbell that Green's 13-game suspension for his fall altercation with Wayne Maki of St. Louis has been completed. Ted will remain here the remainder of this week for the team's parties and some golf before returning to his home in Transcona, near Winnipeg.

Sinden: "I'm glad for guys like the Chief (Johnny Bucyk) and Eddie Jay (Johnston) and Eddie Westfall and who else—Greenie. They're good hockey players, and after my first year here (1966-67), when we finished away down in the mud, I said to them, 'Your day will come. This is the way it should be for guys like them.' . . . Bucyk: "It took me a little while (15 seasons) to get a piece of it, but I was sure we would this time. We're a good team."

Don Awrey: "This was by far the best game St. Louis played. Boy, they were tough. I'd say maybe this was the toughest game of all we've had. But we weren't completely surprised. They were pretty tough to play during the season, too." . . . Phil Esposito deflected a Fred Stanfield shot into the St. Louis goal at 7:30 of the second period, but referee Bruce Hood ruled no goal, that Esposito's stick had been above his shoulders. Thus Phil's record-breaking goal four minutes later was a more satisfactory way for him to make the record book. "That's now," said the long-armed center. "At the time (of the deflection) I was just thinking about winning, not records."

Detroit Coach Ned Harkness and Gordie Howe were here for television roles with Red Kelly. Also here were two Bruins of the 1940s, Bep Guidolin and Ken Smith, and Toronto's Mike Walton. The girls wearing Bruins' No. 4 jerseys were Mrs. George Page and Mrs. Sam Videtta, wife of the hospitalized Colonial Country Club goal professional. "Bobby dared them to wear them," said Page, "and they took him up. They were both melting after one period."

[From the Quincy Patriot Ledger,
May 1, 1970]

MAY 10 WAS THE GREATEST DAY FOR ALL OF THEM
(By Joe Gordon)

BOSTON.—Harry Sinden stared at the small gathering in his office, just outside the main dressing quarters of the Bruins' dressing room.

He stared, but he didn't see who was there. "What day is this," he asked. Somebody told

him it was May 10, 1970. He turned slowly and a smile began to form on his lips.

"May 10," he repeated. "That's eight months to the day that we started training camp this season. This is a day I'm never going to forget. It's the greatest day of my life."

"It's the greatest day in their lives, too," he said, pointing toward the Bruins who were on a wild celebrating rampage in their dressing room.

"It's the greatest day for everybody on this team because none of them have ever had their name engraved on that thing before."

"That thing" was the Stanley Cup. Now Ken Hodge ran through the corridor leading to trainer Dan Canney's room carrying the massive piece of silverware on his shoulders. Now Wayne Carleton poured a mixture of beer and champagne into the bowl perched atop the trophy that is so important to every professional hockey player.

Now Milt Schmidt (Bruins' general manager) and Sinden are carried with all their clothes on into the shower room for the traditional dousing.

Sinden came back to his office, the joyous mob still gaining momentum in the background saying, "Sure, there are going to be many more of these kinds of days in Boston, but none of them will ever be like this one and that's because it's the first one for them." And for Sinden, as well.

"I feel so happy for guys like Chief (Johnny Bucyk) and Eddie Westfall," Sinden went on. "They went through so much hell when they were losing year after year, especially Bucyk. He deserves this. I know what it's like because I was through it one year, too."

"But not now. I think this is the best Boston Bruins team that there ever was. What other team had a guy like Bobby Orr? What other team had a guy like Orr and then a guy like Phil Esposito on top of that."

The "mob" had run out of people in the main room to throw in the shower. They infiltrated the peaceful confines of Sinden's office. Carleton carried the TV voice of the Bruins, Don Earle of Channel 38, into the shower and then came back for Doug Orr, Bobby's father. Harold Sanderson, Derek's father, along with Fred Stanfield's father, already had had their trips.

In contrast to the wild scene in the Bruins' room, the scene in the St. Louis Blues' room was funeral.

Of all the players on the Blues, only rookie goaltender Ernie Wakely was in a talking mood. Wakely played extremely well during the season for the Blues, with Glenn Hall and Jacques Plante as "tutors".

"There's no way of actually telling how much it has helped me to come up with a team that has two of the best all-time goalies playing on it," said Wakely, who played 30 regular-season games and then lost all four playoff games he appeared in.

"All I know is they have been very helpful," he went on. "Especially Jacques. He has pointed out things that I've been doing wrong and tries to help me straighten them out."

"I have tried to pattern myself after the best part of each one's style." If Wakely should succeed in attaining that goal of picking up the best of both goalies' styles, the Blues won't have to worry about losing any more Stanley Cup finals in four straight games.

Eddie Johnston, one of the veterans of the lean years with the Bruins, had nothing but praise for the job turned in by Gerry Cheevers during the playoffs. Johnston and Cheevers split the goaltending chores during the regular season, but Cheevers was 12-1 and Johnston 0-1 in the playoffs.

"He was great and he's one of the big

reasons we won this thing," said Johnston. "He kept us in there when he had to. Of course, Bobby Orr was the big one again."

Orr doesn't say very much in the way of quotable quotes. He's not the flashy personality that Sanderson is, and yesterday was no different. He insisted that the part he played in the win was secondary to that of the rest of the team.

"They did all the work," he said, "like on that winning goal. Sandy made the play; all I did was just put the puck in the net."

There are those who hope Bobby never changes. They hope he remains modest and keeps putting the puck in the net.

Score by periods

St. Louis	1	1	1	0-3
Boston	1	1	1	1-4

First Period: 1, Boston, R. Smith 1 (Sanderson) 5:28; 2, St. Louis, Berenson 7 (R. Plager, Ecclestone) 19:17.

Penalties—Sanderson 0:40; Fortin 4:41; Picard 4:41; Ecclestone 4:41; Orr 4:41; McKenzie 4:41; McKenzie 7:13; Picard 8:07; Stanfield 12:58; Awrey 16:04; Boudrias 18:36; Stanfield 18:36.

Second Period: 3, St. Louis, Sabourin 5 (St. Marselle) 3:22; 4, Boston, Esposito 13 (Hodge) 14:22.

Penalties—Sanderson 4:21; Berenson 6:32; McKenzie 11:55; D. Smith 18:52.

Third Period: 5, St. Louis, Keenan 7 (Goyette, Roberts) 0:19; 6, Boston, Bucyk 11 (McKenzie, R. Smith) 13:28.

Penalties—Esposito 6:15; Fortin 6:15; R. Plager 8:25.

Overtime Period: 7, Boston, Orr 9 (Sanderson) 0:40.

Shots on goal by:

St. Louis	14	7	10	0-31
Boston	10	8	13	1-32

Attendance: 14,835.

[From the Quincy Patriot Ledger,
May 11, 1970]

MUCH GREEN FOR BLUES

(By Joe Gordon)

BOSTON.—Scotty Bowman wouldn't admit to any frustration yesterday in the St. Louis Blues dressing room after the Bruins had won a sudden-death overtime game to take the final Stanley Cup series in four straight games.

Bowman, coach and general manager of the Blues, surprisingly balked at the thought of frustration, despite the fact that his club has reached the Stanley Cup finals three consecutive years, and has seen the cup fade away in 12 straight games, or three sweeps. Yesterday's score was 4-3.

"Everybody knows they're a better club," said Bowman, referring to the Bruins, "so why should we be frustrated because we lost to them? Besides, the \$8,500 dollars we won is a lot of consolation. When you figure we've won that amount three times now, it's a lot of money we've made."

Bowman said it again. "They're a better team than we are." He said it in St. Louis after the Bruins won the first game of the series, and he never stopped saying it.

From the looks on the Blues' faces as they sat in the visitors' dressing room, they did not share Bowman's lack of frustration. Veteran goalie Glenn Hall, who played the two games in Boston and who kept the Blues in yesterday's game with his excellent goaltending, had no intention of discussing the series with any writer.

He dressed hurriedly and left even faster. Red Berenson, a high-scoring center ice man, followed suit as did most of the other Blues. They didn't act like men who felt no frustration.

Bowman was perfectly willing to discuss the series. "This was our best game, no doubt about that," he offered. "We usually get out-shot pretty badly here (at Boston Garden),

but it was even today." Even after three periods until Bobby Orr scored after 40 seconds of overtime.

"We were going to gamble in that overtime period if we got the chance," said Bowman. "We didn't even get the puck out of our end. You can see now why we don't play overtimes during the season—the strong just get stronger."

"I'm proud of what my team did today," Bowman went on. "We were getting very close to humiliation until today, but we stood up to them pretty good. No one can laugh at us now."

Speaking of gambles, Orr's winning goal, had the puck not gone in, might have resulted in a St. Louis breakaway. Orr gambled when he worked a give-and-go play with Derek Sanderson in the corner.

"I wasn't surprised one bit by Orr's goal," commented Bowman. "Sure, it was a gamble for him, but that kid would have gotten back on time if he hadn't put the puck in the net. Believe me, he would have been back to cover up."

The Blues, of course, had their backs to the wall yesterday, but Bowman figured the Bruins might be a little tight as well as going into the game.

"Of course they wanted to win it in four and win it at home," he said. "So that had an effect on our strategy. We tried to play it more aggressively in their end. We had plenty of good chances, too, but we couldn't score. That's the difference between the two divisions."

"The trouble with playing against the Bruins is that they have so many players you have to contain. They get goals from all their lines, and their defensemen score, too. That's too much to stop."

[From the Quincy Patriot Ledger, May 11, 1970]

THREE FORMER CHAMPIONS CELEBRATE RETURN OF CUP

(By Roger Barry)

BOSTON.—Three men who played for the Bruins' Stanley Cup Champions of 1939 and 1941 joined in celebrating the end of a drought which lasted 29 years last night.

Participating in the merriment in and around the Bruins' dressing room were Milt Schmidt, Johnny Crawford and Dit Clapper.

Schmidt is here regularly, for he's the Bruins' general manager, whose judgment of talent has been responsible for the assembly of the new champions. He was a star center for the pre-World War II winners.

Clapper, a right wing as a youngster for the champion Bruins of 1929, was a star defenseman for the two pre-war winners. Now 63 years old, he's tanned and trim and in business in Peterborough, Ontario.

Crawford was also a star defenseman and as Bruins' captain he succeeded Clapper and preceded Schmidt. Johnny has lived for many years in Centerville and operates an extensive wholesale paper business in Southeastern Massachusetts.

Said Clapper, "It's always great to see your team win a game and even greater when you see them win the Stanley Cup. My heart has always been with the people here, where I've had so many wonderful friends, and I'm delighted for these great fans."

Said Crawford, who also played for Clapper when Dit coached the Bruins, "That kid (Bob Orr) is just absolutely unbelievable. I've never seen anything like him, or even close. He's just always on the net with that shot. Some of these other guys should copy him."

Extracting a pen from his suit jacket, Crawford pushed his 250 pounds ("I'm only five pounds over my playing weight of 195") into the mass in the pulsating room, saying, "I've never been in here before but I've gotta get his autograph."

Schmidt, an intense player, retained his intensity after becoming the Bruins' coach.

And as general manager he is a mass of perspiration after most games.

But he was damper than usual less than an hour after Orr's winning goal, for his players gave him a ride into the showers, expensive suit and all.

As Orr began his winning play Schmidt was apprehensive first, he admitted afterward. He thought the agile young defenseman was about to be trapped deep in the St. Louis zone, leaving Don Awrey back against a two-man St. Louis break.

"We got trapped like that once in overtime," he said grinning. "In 1938, I think, against Toronto, and George Parsons scored the winning goal against us."

"In the dressing room Ross (Art, Bruins' coach at the time) said, the Krauts (Woody Dumart, Bobby Bauer, Schmidt) will start; we'll see if we can surprise them with a quick one."

"We did, all right," chortled Milt. "We got trapped!"

Ross was manager, Cooney Welland coach of the Bruins' last Stanley Cup champions, Ross, Bauer and Win Green, the trainer, are deceased.

The Bruins defensemen besides Clapper and Crawford were Des Smith, father of Oakland's Gary, and Jack Shewchuk. They had two other playoff lines besides the Krauts, Art Jackson playing with Roy Conacher and Eddie Wiseman and Pat McReavy with Herb Cain and Terry Reardon. Art Jackson and Mel (Sudden Death) Hill, were reserve forwards, Flash Hollett the busy handyman, playing defense, forward and killing penalties. The goalkeeper was Frank Brimsek.

Bill Cowley, who centered for Conacher and Wiseman, was the NHL scoring champion but he played little in the playoffs because of a knee injury, Jackson substituting for him.

Smith is involved in trotting track operations in Ottawa and Shewchuk has a car agency in Brantford. Dumart, Schmidt's neighbor in Needham, has his own sporting goods business and Cowley operates a hotel and grill in Ottawa. Conacher is a sales representative in Toronto, Wiseman and Hill both established in business in the Far West, Wiseman as an insurance broker, Hill as a cola distributor.

Reardon is general manager of the American League's Baltimore Clippers, McReavy employed by a wholesale distributor in North Bay, Jackson is in the production department of a St. Catharines industrial plant, Hollett with a Toronto investments firm.

Brimsek is a railroad engineer in Eveleth, Minnesota, Welland coach of the Harvard University hockey team.

The Bruins won their last Stanley Cup before yesterday by beating Toronto in seven games then beating the Detroit Red Wings in four. Of those who wrote of their feats Herb Ralby is the Bruins' publicist, Henry McKenna recovering from a severe hip injury, Bill King in another business, Arthur Siegel, Web Morse, Vic Jones, Doc Mooney, Bill Grimes, John Gillooly and Jimmy Bagley are deceased. So is Frank Ryan, the play-by-play radio announcer, whose standard phrases still live in Johnny Pesky's imitations.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACCLAIMED

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, one of my good friends in the building industry, Richards Prows of Murray,

Utah, has talked to me a number of times about a subject which concerns him greatly; that is, providing alternatives to academic higher education. While I do not agree with all of Mr. Prows' conclusions, I believe he makes some valid points in a recent letter, from which I quote:

I am past the point of asking that proper attention be given to the providing of alternatives to academic higher education facilities . . . I am demanding it in the interest of my own youngsters, who may or may not want to go to college (academic), the youngsters who drop out of our academic colleges (two-thirds of all who enter) and those who don't get the opportunity.

In the face of rising technical needs, we should become vocationally and technically oriented rather than academic. We already have more than adequate institutions to satisfy the academic side of education. It's about time that the total "world of work" be given proper attention and recognition. This means the funding of vocational programs already authorized, public relations programs that will improve the "image" of the vocational or technical worker and the encouragement of local school systems to introduce our young people to the vocations at an early age.

I feel the state of Utah is particularly guilty of overemphasis on the academic side to the disadvantage of our economy and the social welfare of our people. I am now convinced that the best way to attract industry (as evidenced by the inquiries companies make as they consider locating in our state) is to become a vocational-technical oriented state . . . this will result in benefits to our state from an economic standpoint . . . providing new jobs, etc., and will have a great social impact, particularly as images are improved and pride develops in those who work with their hands.

Further . . . our current labor laws are destructive to our young people. The minimum wage precludes young people, who must have something productive to do in their free time, from getting jobs that will teach them how to work and feel that they are doing something beneficial. Employers can't be blamed for not wanting to pay sums not commensurate with production. This problem also prevents youngsters from the educational experience of being exposed to work.

"We are unable to hire in our industry (construction) young men until they are eighteen. By this time, many have not yet had the work opportunities that prepare them for permanent employment or even apprenticeship. No wonder we are having problems with many of our young people. I consider it a national disgrace.

Mr. Speaker, in the May 3, 1970 issue of Parade, there was an article entitled "Youth Notes" by Pamela Swift. It appears to support Dick Prows' contentions, and I include it, therefore, at this point:

YOUTH NOTES

(By Pamela Swift)

JOBS

Did you know that restaurants desperately need good, trained chefs? Did you know that chefs earn \$200 a week, that executive chefs often earn \$20,000 a year and more?

Did you know that vending machine repairmen are in such short supply that they can work wherever they want to at \$4 an hour and up?

Did you know that demand far exceeds the supply for TV repairmen, auto mechanics, assistant librarians, printers, bookbinders, diesel mechanics and cosmetologists? Jobs like these go begging, largely because young people just don't know about them.

At Los Angeles Trade-Technical College, 400 West Washington Blvd. in Los Angeles, Calif., however, they do. "We average approximately 6000 job requests per year," states Philip Smith, coordinator of public information for the college, "and of this number all we can usually fill are 2000."

Trade-Tech is part of the Los Angeles public school system. It offers two-year training courses in 72 different trades, plus evening courses for those who want to retrain or upgrade their skills. Tuition is free to California residents, \$195 per semester for out-of-staters. Anyone who is 18 or has a high school diploma is eligible.

After two years of training at L.A. Trade-Tech, TV repairmen and auto mechanics earn \$200-\$300 a week; cosmetologists earn \$150 a week; printers, bookbinders, Diesel engineers and assistant librarians earn from \$4 to \$6 an hour.

If none of these jobs suits your talents, Trade-Tech teaches courses in other trades which offer plenty of job openings. Many companies need more machinists, for instance. "Industry can easily find punch press operators," explains Smith, "but it desperately needs technicians who understand the machine, who can read blueprints, and make it work."

There is also a growing demand in the U.S. for metallurgists, men trained in the science of metals. Machinists and metallurgists earn \$4 and up per hour.

A Trade-Tech course called Radio Communication teaches the maintenance and upkeep of private radio systems, such as those used by police departments and taxi fleets. "We can offer every radio communication graduate from three to five job openings, earning 650-\$750 a month to start," claims Mr. Smith. "That's a better salary than many four-year college graduates get."

Many supermarkets now include their own bakeries. As a result bakers are in high demand. While in school, student bakers can earn \$3.50 an hour. After graduating they earn \$5.00 an hour.

"Surprisingly enough," relates Smith, "we can't fill the calls for secretaries. Our graduates earn from \$500 to \$700 a month."

If you are interested in courses in any of the forementioned fields, write to the guidance center at Los Angeles Trade-Technical College and request a brochure. "Our only requirement for admission," says Smith, "is that you sincerely want to learn a vocation. If you do we'll find you a part-time job and do everything we can to help you stay in school."

While it is one of the biggest and best vocational schools in the country, Los Angeles Trade-Tech is not the only one. If you can't come to Los Angeles, inquire about vocational schools and job training in your home area. Any guidance counselor at a nearby school or college, or the local office of the U.S. Department of Labor should be able to help you.

FARM SUBSIDIES—A PART OF THE "RECONVERSION ISSUE"

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, never before in the Nation's history have the American people and the Congress been so conscious of national priorities and the expenditure of the Federal dollar. One area in which this issue is evident is that of farm subsidies.

In 1969, \$659,327,827 was spent on payments to U.S. farmers. Think of how many schools that money could build; how much food could be bought to fill empty stomachs; how many slums could be torn down and replaced by livable tenements, and so forth. We talk about "reconverting" our defense dollar into meaningful domestic expenditures; reconversion should not be limited to the Defense Department but must include all Federal money—as farm subsidies—which is not being spent on the real needs of America and the American people.

The more we talk about this sacred—rarely touched—issue and bring it to the attention of the American people, the faster the money could be "reconverted." Mr. Felix Rodriguez has written an excellent article in the publication called "Organized Labor"—the official newspaper of the Building and Construction Trades Council of San Francisco. We need more of these articles in order to increase the dialog and awareness of this area. I commend Mr. Rodriguez.

I include in the RECORD a copy of Mr. Rodriguez's article.

CRYSTAL BAWLING

(By Felix Rodriguez)

FREE MONEY

You hear so much about farm subsidies. Everybody complains about how the most successful farmers pick up extra spending money from the taxpayers for not producing or for converting their lands from one produce to another.

It's like everybody complaining about the war: The taxpayers whose money is disappearing and families whose young men are also disappearing.

And both, farm subsidies and war, continue to escalate to a point of no return. In this here piece, let's examine the subsidy program; it probably won't bring me as much trouble as mentioning the dirty word—Peace.

In preparation for this, I have just spent more than an hour reading recent copies of the Congressional Record: you can look at it without getting emotionally upset.

The first thing that comes to mind after reading figures is that not enough members in Congress are listening to the farm workers, the most economically deprived sector of the American economy and only because their faces have changed over the past decades of farming operations, they are not as racially deprived as the blacks.

How does this grab you? In California alone, the Government pays out in subsidies to farmers enough to buy school lunches for every child of a farm worker's family, plus a second hand car for each such family.

Considering that the farm worker is limited to seasonal work, you will find him no better off than the welfare recipient.

ASKS LIMIT

Congressman Paul Findley of Illinois has, again, introduced a bill to limit subsidy payments to \$20,000 for each farm. (Findley's bill last session passed the House but was shouted down, very conveniently, in the Senate, so that Congress could adjourn for Christmas. Senator James Eastland, wearing a Santa Claus suit, announced he had stockings to fill.)

Findley's limit proposal, he said, would save the taxpayers more than \$300 million a year. How public education would have liked a bit of that! To say nothing of the farm workers who are having a hard enough time trying to be recognized as people.

Findley's disclosures (a matter of record) are quite revealing. They are suggested reading for Governor Reagan and Senator Murphy who this week urged full speed ahead for the Murphy Bill that would outlaw strikes on farms, except when there is little or no need for workers. Like telling a carpenter he cannot go on strike once he has started construction work.

The J. G. Boswell Co. of Kings County has accepted a check of \$4,370,657 in 1969 farm subsidies. It does not take a stretch of the imagination to see that, at the moment of accepting the government gift, the firm was not thinking of a tattered farm child who went to bed hungry, tired of not-belonging and with a dread of facing more endless days of pretending.

Findley's figures show subsidies of \$659,327,827 for 1969 payments to U.S. farmers. The names are given of all those who were paid over \$15,000. They number hundreds. Those paid under \$15,000 number thousands and bring the total to hundreds of millions of dollars more. And it must be remembered, too, that the subsidies are paid principally to farmers for the use or non-use of their lands, not for crop losses.

FARMERS, WHO?

We should apologize to farm workers for saying that farmers receive the subsidies. Actually, the word farmers, in this instance, is a misnomer. Many of them do their harvesting by remote control from the plush offices in the agricultural capital of the world, San Francisco's Montgomery Street. This farm work is referred to as agri-business.

Here are some of Findley's figures (you can guess how the gifts would have helped the undernourished bodies and minds of children.):

\$609,327,827, paid to farmers receiving checks of \$15,000 or more. Figures are not available for the millions paid in lesser amounts.

The eight farmers receiving the highest payments in the U.S. All, incidentally, are from California counties:

J. G. Boswell Co., Corcoran, \$4,370,657.
Giffen, Inc., Fresno, \$3,333,385.
South Lake Farms, Fresno, \$1,788,052.
Salyer Land Co., Corcoran, \$1,637,961.
Mt. Whitney Farms, Five Points, \$1,152,294.
Kern County Land Co., Bakersfield, \$974,163.
A. Camp Farms Co., Shafter, \$928,917.
Vista Del Llano Farms, Firebaugh, \$778,624.

The California farms are mentioned here first because they represent the highest payments. More important, they give evidence that California farms are the largest in the country. While farm production is higher, the number of California farms is now about half the number of a few years ago.

But there are other, most revealing figures. Here are the top three states receiving highest subsidies (totals for payments of \$15,000 or more):

Texas—\$176,981,133.
California—\$76,337,801.
Mississippi—\$66,291,101.

For comparison purpose, New York state received \$378,043.

These payments do not include those for sugar and wool.

Texas, California and Mississippi received 38 per cent of the total subsidies for all 50 states.

Mississippi's huge support payments should be understandable. That State's Senator James Eastland is chairman of the Senate's Agricultural Committee and he is the godfather of the present subsidy program. Is it any wonder, then, that his Eastland Plantation in Sunflower County, Mississippi, received \$146,792 for 1969?

TEXAS, TOO

To repeat, the figures given are only for farms receiving \$15,000 or more (1969 payments were considerably higher than in 1969). Texas had a far larger number of farms receiving payments, although California farms received larger individual checks. Texas for 1969 received about 29 per cent of all payments above \$15,000.

The payments of some \$609 million of the nation's farms would more than double with the addition of the smaller farms under \$15,000. Findley's saving of \$300,000 would only reduce the largest payments.

I have not tried to study the significance of the figures showing that all of California's large payments, mostly in Kings, Kern and Fresno counties, are in southern part of the state. The largest recipient of all is Kern County where in Delano the farm workers have centered their struggle for recognition. Some of them are grape growers.

BAY AREA MONEY

Subsidy payments for the nine-county San Francisco Bay Area were almost negligible. The longest farm area, Santa Clara County was not listed among those receiving \$15,000 or more. Only Contra Costa and Solano counties were listed:

Contra Costa County
A. J. Al Porto—\$19,136.
E. Girskey—\$16,170.
Solano County
Peter Cook, Jr.—\$44,618.
Moore Bros.—\$31,1220.
George Struve, Jr.—\$27,624.
Arnold Collier—\$24,147.
E. A. Anderson & Sons—\$20,028.
Gnos Bros.—\$19,198.
Mayhood Ranches—\$18,612.
Solano Farms, Inc.—\$17,193.
Tom Abel—\$16,699.
Floyd Bonified—\$21,077.
Wallace McCormack—\$20,416.

WORKERS' BEEF

The struggle of farm workers, then, is far more than a mere demand for decent wages. It seems that when new laws are passed affecting farm production, farm workers are usually bypassed. They want dignity and fairness, too.

The farm workers do not argue the policy that, especially in California, result in small farms disappearing. Large farms gobble them, and get bigger and richer thanks to the free government money. Farm workers do not argue about the additional millions of dollars it costs for administration of the program.

But farm workers do argue that they do not have the same rights for unionism and government protection that other Americans do. They argue against the labor contractors who hold them subservient to theirs and the growers conditions of contracts and servitude. They argue against the government farm labor offices that are established for the benefit of the growers. They argue against the attacks made regularly by conservative politicians against their rights to legal services, principally against attacks on the Rural Legal Assistance.

VIVA LA CAUSA

The figures contained in this article are from official records. The comments on conditions are my own, from actual experience. Many of the ranch conditions have not changed since I worked for many years, starting as a boy of eight picking and cutting fruit and missing many days of school. We were always at the mercy of standing and improvised rules imposed upon us by grower and/or labor contractor. Often at the end of a day's work the handkerchief from my nose would show evidence of dust and pesticides. Often before going to work in the cool mornings I could literally jump into my pants, they were so stiff from the

previous day's prune-picking juices. Modesty would tell us to hide behind a tree for a toilet, always careful at the next picking not to trespass over the same area. Insect bites were occupational hazards. The pay was as lousy as the creatures and, in addition, there were deductions for this and that. And beware of strike talk—there were the town vigilantes. All this only within a few miles of the Bay Area.

GERMAN SOCIALISTS WANT U.S. TROOPS OUT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, Willy Brandt's Social Democrats have deliberated demanding withdrawal of U.S. forces from Cambodia and Vietnam—but not Germany.

Many will remember that Willy, alias Herbert Karl Frahme, campaigned as an anti-American candidate against incumbent Chancellor Keissenger and was shoehorned into power through a minority coalition.

Since Herr Brandt's direction is more pro-East than pro-West, the hostile attitude of his political party toward the safety and welfare of U.S. fightingmen should remind us that some 70,000 U.S. troops serve as "hostages" in West Germany to assure Brandt's political establishment bargaining power in his dealings with Moscow and the Red dictatorship of East Germany.

The Social Democratic demands for withdrawal of our troops should also remind us that VE Day was 25 years ago and that many of the justifications for an occupation force no longer exist. American parents are tired of having their sons drafted to serve as quasi-mercenaries and then be exploited by an ungrateful anti-United States political party.

Brandt, Wehner, and the Social Democrats would not suffer economic loss by removal of our military men. A new occupation force and economic aid exists with the international bankers, Rand, the Fords, and the new international intellectual community garrisoned at Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin.

In the interests of economy as well as bolstering the possibility of an all-volunteer army, U.S. troops should be withdrawn from West Germany.

We should thank Herr Brandt and his little group of anti-United States Socialists for reminding us.

Mr. Speaker, I include several related news items as follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post,
May 12, 1970]

BRANDT PARTY CONDEMNS U.S. RAIDS IN CAMBODIA

(By John M. Goshko)

SAARBRUECKEN, WEST GERMANY, May 11.—The national convention of Chancellor Brandt's Social Democratic Party erupted today in an angry debate over Cambodia that resulted in adoption of a resolution "condemning" the escalation of the Vietnam war into "the Indonesia war."

The resolution, which called for support of Britain's appeal to convene an Indochina conference, came as a relatively mild climax to the acrimonious debate that preceded it.

Several left-wing Social Democrats had pressed for adoption of resolutions embodying far harsher criticism of the U.S. intervention in Cambodia.

These resolutions referred to "creeping fascism" in the United States, demanded an immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Cambodia and Vietnam, called for the Social Democratic faction in the West German parliament to initiate a debate on Indochina and sought an end to offset payments by the West German government that help cover the costs of U.S. troops stationed in Germany.

These demands were rejected in favor of the more moderately worded resolution offered by the Brandt-controlled party leadership.

Adoption of the motion by a show of hands was made by a sizable majority of the delegates.

The resolution condemned the war and expressed deep regret over the decisions of President Nixon to send troops into Cambodia and to resume the bombing of North Vietnam. It then went on to "appeal to the direct and indirect parties to heed the British government in its call for a new convening of the general conference on Indochina."

Brandt had to intervene personally in the debate with a plea for a more reasonable tone.

The chancellor said that he was deeply concerned by events in Indochina and that his government had made this clear.

However, he objected to the term "creeping fascism" in the resolutions and said the delegates should avoid one-sided judgments as beyond the scope of the convention.

He voiced support for the British proposal and said the war in Indochina should not become grounds for dissension within the Social Democratic Party.

The debate over Indochina came as the Social Democrats assembled in annual convention with one of their members in the chancellor's office for the first time in more than 40 years.

Today's opening session started at a leisurely, almost bored pace.

Party leaders who spoke at the opening ceremonies received only perfunctory applause. Even the entrance of Brandt into the huge Saar International Fair Hall hardly caused a stir.

Only tonight, when the delegates turned to foreign policy resolutions, did the atmosphere become charged with emotion. It was on the Indochina situation that restive members of the party leftwing chose to train their fire.

Speaker after speaker rose to denounce the "imperialistic" policies of the U.S. government, to deliver personal attacks on President Nixon and to claim that he had neither the support of the American people nor the U.S. Congress in his Indochina action.

[From the Washington Post, May 11, 1970]

BERLIN "THINK TANK" STIRS OPPOSITION

(By John M. Goshko)

BERLIN.—A plan to establish a social sciences research center in West Berlin has confronted this city's already turbulent and divided intellectual community with a bitter new controversy.

At issue is the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin (Berlin Science Center), an organization founded last year that exists only on paper. However, its backers are working to build an ambitious American-style "think tank" that would attract social scientists from all over the world.

The idea, they say, is to inject new blood into the intellectual life of this Western en-

clay 110 miles inside Communist East Germany. Their hope is to reinforce West Berlin's fading reputation as the intellectual center of Germany and help the city maintain a viable independent life.

The trouble is that most intellectuals in Berlin do not share this enthusiasm. The project has drawn fire from the administrations of the city's two universities, large segments of their faculties and almost all of their students.

CAPITALIST VEHICLE

The center has been variously denounced as a vehicle of capitalism-imperialism, an illegal diversion of public funds to private use and an attempt to usurp university functions.

Its supporters denounce these charges as malicious, false or misinformed and argue that the present system in Berlin does not allow independent research free from control by government or academic pressure groups.

Recently this issue has become an obsession within West Berlin's academic community. It has been the subject of television debates, of mass "teach-in" student rallies and of almost every discussion at the Free University of Berlin and the Berlin Technical University.

The center was the brainchild of Gerd Brand, a 49-year-old ex-diplomat and former director of the West German government's foundation for developing countries. Brand, an admirer of the multi-disciplinary kind of research pioneered by such U.S. organizations as the RAND corporation, thinks there is a need for similar organizations in Europe.

Accordingly, with the backing of a board of political and business leaders, he won what he claims are hard promises of financial support from the West German federal government and the Berlin city government.

AMERICAN DIRECTOR

Brand is now pressing to get the center's first two institutes functioning—one for management and public administration and one for the study of war and peace.

James E. Howell, associate dean of the graduate business school at Stanford University, was recently named to become director of the management institute this summer.

Many students and younger faculty, however, view the center with hostility because it would be beyond their control and unresponsive to their ideas at just the time Germany's archaic universities are becoming a trifle more open.

Brand argues that the center is needed to keep research free from the mob rule of unqualified students, especially Berlin's far-left student groups.

The far left paraded its views at a recent "teach in" at the Technical University. For five hours, a procession of speakers read long papers contending that the science center was the creation of the capitalist establishment, that its research would propagate the system and that it would be the handmaiden of the U.S. military-industrial complex and the CIA.

FORD PLOT

One of the papers noted that Howell is from the Stanford Business School, whose dean is Arjay Miller, former president of the Ford Motor Co. Ford, the argument went, will therefore try to extend its sway over the Berlin economy.

While such arguments draw snickers in respectable academic circles, more serious is the question of whether an essentially private and independent organization should be supported by public funds.

For this reason, a number of respected academicians who approve the basic principle of a research center oppose this project.

EMPIRE BUILDING

Some note that both universities already have eminent social scientists, that these

professors usually have insufficient funds for their research and that they should have first call on any government research funds.

Supporters of the center dismiss this argument as an attempted justification for empire building on the part of the universities and say the center would complement the universities and share revenues, facilities and personnel.

There are those who agree with the concept of an independent research center but caution that true independence means going someplace other than to the public treasury for financing.

Brand replies that Germany has a long tradition of government financing, and adds that the center has sufficient backing both in the Bonn and Berlin governments to deliver the funds. The center's opponents are just as optimistic that Brand will lose.

Either way, the project to revitalize West Berlin intellectually seems only to have contributed to its division. Notes Brand sadly, "The thing I really fear is that this controversy will frighten away the top-quality people that we wanted. If that happens, the idea will have failed."

[From the Bonn (Germany) Bulletin,
Apr. 14, 1970]

BRANDT-NIXON TALKS: DÉTENTE AND PEACE CITED AS COMMON GOALS

Chancellor Willy Brandt has returned from his week-long visit to the United States firmly convinced that his talks with President Richard M. Nixon have helped to re-affirm and strengthen German-American partnership.

At a time when the Bonn Government is seeking to pursue a policy of rapprochement with the countries of Eastern Europe, Brandt said on his return that "our most important common aim is international détente and the strengthening of peace."

MUTUAL RESPECT OF AIMS

In talks with President Nixon both Germany's East European policy and America's efforts to open negotiations with the Soviet Union on limiting strategic armament were discussed at length. Brandt re-affirmed that the Atlantic alliance would continue to be the basis of all approaches to Eastern Europe. The U.S. President shared Brandt's view that, for this reason, nothing should be done that would undermine the alliance.

Brandt arrived back in Bonn with an assurance from President Nixon that the United States would not negotiate with the Soviet Union on any subject at West Germany's expense. For his part, Chancellor Brandt has given Washington the assurance that Bonn would not come to any agreements with the Soviet Union, Poland or East Germany that would weaken the Atlantic alliance.

Apart from relations with Eastern Europe, a second important topic has been the United States' relations with the European Economic Community (EEC or Common Market). Brandt has stressed that commerce across the Atlantic should be as liberal as possible to ensure that economy and industry on both continents develops optimally. The Federal Government was, therefore, not in favour of new trade barriers. On the contrary, it would wish existing ones to be dismantled.

A comment in the Bonn *General-Anzeiger* said Brandt had brought back two positive results from Washington:

He had helped to reduce U.S. skepticism on efforts being made to unify Europe.

He had succeeded in winning vital support from the leading Western power for Bonn's policy of détente in Eastern Europe.

COUNTERING EEC DISADVANTAGES

In Washington, Brandt assured President Nixon that he would seek to use his influence to keep the disadvantages the United States

might suffer from European political and economic unification to a minimum. It was also agreed that co-operation between the United States and an expanding EEC should be as close as possible.

Nixon is reported to have noted with approval the connection formed by Bonn between current negotiations with Moscow, Warsaw and East Berlin, although these should be seen separately from the United States' own efforts to seek a settlement with the East Bloc.

FOUR-POWER TALKS ON BERLIN

With regard to the current negotiations between the Western powers and the Soviet Union on improving the status of West Berlin, Washington and Bonn see signs that the Soviet Union is showing a certain interest in relaxing the situation in Berlin, although no solutions are in sight. Detailed German proposals are to be put to a four-power working committee.

Aid to the developing countries was also discussed by Nixon and Brandt. The Chancellor gave an assurance that West Germany would increase foreign-aid funds, especially to the International Development Agency (IDA), as part of intensified multilateral co-operation among the industrialized nations.

WATCHED APOLLO LAUNCH

Brandt's visit to the United States (from April 4-11) began at the Andrew's Air Force Base, where he learned of the assassination of Count von Sprenki, the German Ambassador to Guatemala. He inspected West German training units at El Paso. On April 11, he witnessed the Apollo 13 launch at Cape Kennedy.

On April 10, between talks with President Nixon, the Chancellor addressed the National Press Club in Washington.

PRIORITY NO. 1

He said that German-American friendship had remained firm over the past 20 years. The Bonn Government would play its part in safeguarding this partnership, in policy towards the East Bloc, in questions of joint defense in trade policy and in technology, in particular. He warned, however, that the way to a peaceful settlement between the blocs would be long.

Brandt described close relations with the United States as priority No. 1 in Bonn's foreign policy and said that the continued presence of American troops in the Federal Republic was vital.

THE LATE HONORABLE WILLIAM ST. ONGE

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 12, 1970

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to learn of the death of the Honorable WILLIAM ST. ONGE and I share with my colleagues their grief at his passing. BILL ST. ONGE was a gentleman, a dedicated and hard working legislator and a very fine human. His career of public service was a long and rewarding one—decorated soldier, judge, prosecutor, State legislator, and mayor and for the past seven and a half years the able and diligent representative of the people of the Second Congressional District of Connecticut. We shall all miss BILL. His lovely wife and children have my deepest sympathy and prayers in their time of loss.

CAMBODIA

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply concerned and strongly opposed to the President's recent unilateral decision to send American ground combat troops into neutralist Cambodia, thereby expanding the tragic Vietnamese conflict into what now appears to be fast becoming a full-fledged regional war engulfing the entire Indochinese peninsula.

As one of the earliest opponents of U.S. military involvement in Vietnam, and before the President made his Cambodia announcement, I joined with some 60 of my fellow Members of Congress in introducing a sense of the House resolution—House Resolution 964—urgently requesting that the administration refrain from any military action in Cambodia.

Since that time, I have taken several steps in an effort to clarify my position on this most disturbing development in international affairs.

On hearing the Chief Executive's announcement, I sent a telegram to the President protesting American intervention and escalation of the war to this new level of intensity. The wire read in part:

Such involvement runs counter to your expressed purpose of reducing our commitments in Southeast Asia. After five years of futility in Vietnam, what policy lures us to intervene in Cambodia? This decision will result in increased suffering and loss of life, and will also increase the tensions and divisions within our own country. . . . It is clear that the end-solution in Southeast Asia can only be one that is worked out by the Asians themselves, not an American settlement.

In addition, I introduced a second resolution, House Resolution 986, to cut off funds in the fiscal year 1971 budget from being used to finance the operation of any U.S. combat or support troops in Cambodia or Laos, and to limit fiscal year 1971 Defense expenditures in South Vietnam 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 the fiscal year—June 30, 1971.

Finally, as a further expression of my continuing opposition to the President's expansionist course of action in Indochina, I voted against H.R. 17123, the \$20.2 billion military procurement authorization for fiscal year 1971.

Mr. Speaker, these recent actions I have taken are entirely consistent with my long-held conviction that America should move to disengage from direct military involvement on the Asia mainland, while making an effort to restrict our participation in Asian affairs to providing, in conjunction with an interested world community of nations, indirect assistance to affected countries in order to enable them to conduct their own affairs free from outside interference or domination.

Among the earlier actions I have taken along these lines are: the introduction of House Concurrent Resolution 187 on March 26, 1969, to express the sense of Congress that the United States should reduce its military involvement in Vietnam; joint sponsorship a year before that, on March 28, 1968, of House Concurrent Resolution 747, to repeal the Tonkin Gulf resolution of 1964; an urgent letter to the President on October 12, 1967, asking for a halt to the bombing of North Vietnam; followed by a sense of Congress resolution on October 25, 1967—House Concurrent Resolution 556—requesting the United Nations Security Council or General Assembly to support an immediate cessation of hostilities by all parties in Vietnam, and asking for the convening of an international conference to reach a permanent settlement to assure lasting peace in Southeast Asia.

On December 20, 1966, I wrote the President urging an extended cease-fire in Vietnam in an effort to create an atmosphere in which peace talks could begin and the war could be terminated on an honorable basis. Earlier that year, on January 19, I had issued a strong protest against the resumption of bombing of North Vietnam following a month-long bombing pause, which had been part of a worldwide diplomatic peace offensive.

And on June 3, 1965, shortly after the first major escalation of the U.S. military effort in Vietnam, I joined with 28 Members of the House in a letter to the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee to request that he initiate open, public hearings on the entire question of American involvement in Southeast Asia, with specific emphasis on the constitutional role of Congress in matters of war and peace, and in the development and implementation of U.S. foreign policy.

Mr. Speaker, I have listed this series of actions I have taken over a 5-year period because I think it is important to know that Congress has been working actively since the very beginning of this tragic conflict to prevent the expansion of the war, and to try to find means to bring the conflict to an end through a negotiated settlement that would allow the people of South Vietnam to determine the affairs of their nation in their own way.

At this time, I believe it is more important than ever for the Congress to reassert its constitutional prerogatives in the vital areas of military and diplomatic policy.

We can no longer afford to sit by and allow the Executive to make major foreign policy decisions, and carry out significant new military initiatives, with far-reaching implications for every citizen, without so much as consulting, or even informing Congress.

It is vital that the legislative branch of our Federal Government assume its rightful role as an active participant in the formulation and execution of all government policies and programs, in the foreign as well as domestic area.

In addition, I believe it is important for all Americans, including the President, to realize, once and for all, that

the United States cannot be a policeman to the world.

If there ever was a time when this was possible, or even desirable, that time has long since passed.

For instance, the problem of achieving political stability in the former French colonial states of Indochina is basically a local and regional problem.

Outside countries may be able to provide economic or military assistance to help these states help themselves.

Neighboring nations in the Pacific-Southeast Asia region should be willing to shoulder much of the responsibility for regional defense.

And the world community, acting through the United Nations, a new Geneva conference, or some other international mechanism, should be in a position to help guarantee the freedom and independence of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam.

In all of these local, regional, and worldwide efforts, the United States has been, and continues to be, ready and willing to assist.

But, without the primary efforts of the people of Southeast Asia themselves, and the support of like-minded neighboring nations, we cannot be expected to—and cannot—bear the major burden of maintaining peace and security in an area halfway around the globe from us.

This is not a form of neoisolationism, nor a return to the discredited doctrine of fortress America.

Rather, it is a realistic view of the world as it is—a sober evaluation of the absolute necessity for close international cooperation in today's nuclear space era.

No nation can operate alone. No nation can single-handedly reorder the universe to its own liking. But, together, the nations of a region can, and must, unite to achieve the basis of an enduring and workable peace in their part of the world.

In this way, we can join in working with the people of a Southeast Asia no longer ravaged by the terrible scourge of war, to turn the tremendous resources and energies of this entire area away from conflict, and toward the creative task of building a more secure foundation for a better way of life in the future.

SHAKOPEE FIRM SPARKS COMMUNITY CLEANUP

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on which I serve has been studying ways to improve our solid waste disposal program this month, and we hope to bring this important legislation before the full House of Representatives as soon as possible.

Our studies and hearings have revealed that the Nation has a real problem on its hands in finding ways to cycle and recycle solid waste materials that clutter

the landscape, adding to environmental decay.

So I have been particularly pleased to learn of a progressive company in my district which is moving independently to provide community leadership in cleaning up the cluttered outdoors. The Midland Glass Co., of Shakopee, Minn., on this Saturday will hold its second communitywide drive to collect used bottles from along roads, parks, and other public terrain. The company is paying for all bottles collected and will recycle the glass in its Shakopee plant.

I wish to express my thanks and appreciation to the management and employees of the Midland Glass Co. for their active concern and leadership in this enterprise. They are setting a fine example, and it is a pleasure to bring their endeavor to public attention as a means of encouraging similar activities elsewhere in the Nation.

As a further explanation of the Midland Glass Co.'s effort toward pollution control, I insert in the RECORD at this point a descriptive news release obtained from the Shakopee plant manager, Mr. H. D. Spurling:

SHAKOPEE, MINN.—Midland Glass Company will hold a second "Recycling Program Day" at its Shakopee plant on Saturday, May 16, 1970, from 9:00 a.m. to 4 p.m.

Midland will again offer 1/2 cent for each small glass bottle (16 oz. or under) and 1 cent for the larger bottles brought to the collection center located in the parking lot of their plant on Highway 101, 2 miles east of Shakopee. These bottles should be either amber or flint (clear glass) and free of the aluminum ring found on the Alcoa type caps (twist-off).

Midland's purpose in this program is two-fold. One is designed to attack that segment of solid waste disposal which relates to the highway and the community outdoors—litter. Midland is thus offering this nominal fee to encourage groups and organizations to hold clean up days and bring the glass to their plant, so the second phase of their program can be instituted.

The company realizes that glass is ideally suited for recycling; and the means of accomplishing this efficiently must be worked out. The glass will be recycled by reducing beer and soft drink bottles to crushed glass and remelted in the glass furnace. (This is why the glass must be free of foreign material.)

Midland feels that recycling their product offers one practical method to control and balance the influence of glass in waste, while also conserving a natural resource.

Midland's first recycling day generated very little results; however, since then numerous organizations have pledged their support, and the company appreciates this encouragement. Midland believes, though, that for this type program to be a success, in the glass industry, or any other, that it has got to be a "grass roots" endeavor. Everyone has got to be concerned and act to do their part in resolving this catastrophic problem of solid wastes.

CHAIRMAN EMANUEL CELLER
CELEBRATES BIRTHDAY

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 6, 1970

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished chairman of the House Commit-

tee on the Judiciary, the Honorable Emanuel Celler, recently celebrated his 82d birthday.

Especially as one who has worked closely with him, I have been an admirer of his intellectual integrity, his strength of character, and his devotion to the pursuit of justice.

Mr. Celler is a man who cares deeply for his fellow man. He transcends the boundaries of city and Nation. He is truly a man of all seasons and of all generations.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Celler's dedicated service and commitment to the rights of man continue to touch all who know him.

I extend my very warmest congratulations to him upon reaching this milestone and for the continued enjoyment of life's blessings and many more years of service to the people.

MANIPULATING THE STUDENTS

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, it would be amusing, if it were not so serious, to read references in the press to the serene, pastoral atmosphere at Kent State prior to the recent tragedy on that campus. Actually, during the 1968-69 academic year, Kent State had been the scene of four disturbances, two of which were violent, instigated by the Students for a Democratic Society—SDS. The Kent State disruptions had been the subject of investigation by the House Internal Security Committee, and a résumé of its hearing appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 4, 1970, on page 14038. Testimony by school officials divulged that no more than 15 to 25 "hard core" members of SDS out of an enrollment of 21,000 were responsible for the disruptions. This small number was supplied with films, pamphlets, newsletters, and directives by the Ohio regional SDS office in Cleveland, some 30 miles away. Here was an eloquent example, repeated too frequently in recent years, of the manner in which a small, calculating, militant group can cause disorder among a peaceful, unsuspecting student body many times its size. The chief victims, of course, were the students who lost collectively many school hours for which they had contracted.

Without prejudging the cause or possible instigation of the demonstrations which resulted in the deaths of the four Kent State students, it is safe to say that, although small in comparison to the four lives lost, the educational progress of thousands of students has been set back. No classes are at present being conducted at Kent State; students have returned to their homes, some in other States; and classes will not be resumed until the summer sessions in June. As in the case of the first disruptions at Kent State, a minority of students and possibly outsiders were responsible for the disorders that began on the Friday before the Monday tragedy.

On Monday, May 11, the Washington Star carried an article by Donald Smith

which further emphasizes how unsuspecting students are deceived by clever manipulators whose purpose is to cause trouble and alienation between young people and those in authority.

The scene was near the George Washington University here in Washington and the time was late at night. When militants threw fire bombs, rocks, and chunks of concrete and cinderblock at the police, the police responded with tear gas which enveloped students nearby. While the militants disappeared into the night, the students tried to disperse. The article states:

Screaming in fear, anger and disbelief at what to them seemed an unprovoked attack, the students fled.

Later the militants remarked that:

The next time, a lot of those people who got gassed will join us at the barricade. . . . We'll be back.

Here again, a small minority of radicals had seized an opportunity to pit unsuspecting students against authority, hoping to alienate an increasing number of young people and prepare them for future disorder.

It is important for the mass of sincere students in this Nation to realize that there are cool, scheming, vicious elements abroad in our land who will use and manipulate them to further their own violent ends. Without the aid of unknowing or deluded young people, the militants cannot succeed. Such groups or individuals must be quarantined within the school community, singled out and effectively removed from educational institutions. But the first step lies with the students: They must ask themselves just who are behind a particular demonstration, are they using the student body for their own devious purposes, and how far will their education be set back if the demonstrators succeed or get out of hand.

I insert in the RECORD at this point the article, "A Midnight Encounter with Three Revolutionaries," by Donald Smith, which appeared in the May 11 issue of the Washington Star:

A MIDNIGHT ENCOUNTER WITH THREE REVOLUTIONARIES

(By Donald Smith)

It was after midnight. The three appeared suddenly out of the shadows. A short time before they had been hurling molotov cocktails over a flaming barricade they had erected on H Street NW near the George Washington University campus.

Their target was a force of policemen gathering about a block away at 21st Street.

Now it was quieter. "This is the beginning of a revolution here," the one in the buckskin jacket said. "I'm ready to lay down my life if I can take a couple of them with me."

It was Sunday morning, after the miniature battle of GWU had been decided. Small bands of youths, many of them students driven from their dormitories and rooming houses by tear gas, were seeking refuge in back alleys and hotel lobbies, trying to avoid the helmeted squads of policemen that were grimly mopping up the streets of the urban campus.

These three, flushed and breathless, were searching a deserted gas station on Virginia Avenue for a soft drink vending machine that worked.

Less than an hour before, they had been part of a group, eight or ten strong, that had overturned a panel truck in the middle

of H Street and set it afire. Then they had carried wooden benches to the street and arranged them in a chain and ignited them with their cocktails, which made splashing, liquid noises as they hit the pavement and broke and erupted in wide swaths of flames.

It was as if their only purpose had been to attract the riot-equipped policemen, who soon began to assemble at the corner.

About two blocks down H Street behind the barricade, unaware of exactly what was taking place on the darkened street except for the fact that there were flames, was a mass of three or four hundred GW students. Some were milling about in the street, having just come from a concert at Lisner Auditorium featuring Bo Diddley and Chuck Berry.

A tightly packed group of about a hundred was standing on the first-floor balcony of the Student Union building with Allen Ginsberg, the poet. He was leading them in chanting the syllable "Om," the hummed monotone that Hindus say is the sound the universe makes as it goes about its eternal work, at peace with itself.

Silently, the revolutionaries hurled their remaining three fire bombs at the police line, barely visible in the dark distance. Then they began picking up rocks and chunks of concrete and cinderblock from the debris-littered street and heaved them over the still-burning barricade and truck.

There was some commotion in the police line. White helmets ducked and scattered.

"Om," the sound continued from the opposite direction. "Ommmmmm."

The police charged, sweeping around the truck and past the barricade, hurling tear gas grenades and firing them high into the air, over the heads of the mass of students, with blunt, shotgun like grenade launchers.

Screaming in fear, anger and disbelief at what to them seemed an unprovoked attack, the students fled. Some stumbled and fell to the street amid exploding gas canisters. The air was thick with steel missiles, arcing overhead, sputtering and exploding.

Ginsberg and many who had been with him escaped inside the student union building, carrying the thick, stinging tear gas inside with them. A few, blinded, were led to water fountains where others helped them flush their eyes.

Later, down on Virginia Avenue, the young revolutionary in the buckskin jacket pushed coins into the gas station vending machine and said, "this is the beginning. The next time, a lot of those people who got gassed will join us at the barricade."

"We'd much prefer not to have violence, but we don't have any choice. We tried being nonviolent for five years, and where did it get us? We're right back where we started, only this time it's Cambodia instead of Vietnam. Nothing's changed at all."

The speaker was taller than the other two. He appeared to be in his early 20s. The other two were in their late teens. One was wearing a T-shirt bearing the word "Strike" in red letters. The other, who appeared to be of Latin American birth, was wearing a blue windbreaker. All said they were college students from New York.

The vending machines failed to produce any soft drinks. The three youths headed back toward campus, keeping an eye out for police and talking as they walked.

"This is just like the whisky rebellion," said the buckskin jacket. "The people rebelled because the government was abusing them. Troops came in and killed a lot of people and won. But this time, I think there are more people than troops."

As he spoke, the T-shirt picked up a fist-sized rock and hurled it through the window of an office building. It was a casual gesture, as one would light a cigarette.

Noticing the blue and silver sign in front of the building, the blue windbreaker said: "Hey! That's the State Department!"

"Man!" said the T-shirt. He picked up two more rocks and shattered two more windows. Down the street someone who had heard the sound of the breaking glass shouted: "For God's sake, stop it. That's no way, brother."

The three ignored him and continued walking.

"We want to replace the people in government and to reform it," said the buckskin jacket. "That's what we mean by revolution."

"We're not part of a group," the T-shirt claimed in reply to a question. He quoted a line from a Bob Dylan song, "Subterranean Homesick Blues," the same song that contains the line that gave the Weathermen their title:

"You don't need a weatherman to tell which way the wind is blowing."

"Don't follow the leaders. Watch your parking meters," the T-shirt quoted. "That means you should take individual action and not stay in one place too long."

They left the street abruptly and headed toward a building near 21st and F Streets N.W. before they disappeared inside, the buckskin jacket said:

"We're withdrawing."

"Watch your parking meters," the T-shirt repeated. The buckskin jacket smiled.

"We'll be back."

TEXAN ATTENDS U.N. COMMISSION ON STATUS OF WOMEN

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, at the recent meeting of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women in Geneva, Mrs. Evangeline Swift, a Texan who is an attorney with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, was a public member of the U.S. delegation, assisting Elizabeth Koontz, Director of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

Her remarks before the Commission are noteworthy and point out another facet of women's roles in the United States—a role that is uniquely American in its makeup and one which might be given further consideration within the context of the recent push for women's rights—volunteer service.

Mrs. Swift pointed out that—

Voluntary service, or work done without compensation by women, can be an effective means to enhance the status of women and to include them more fully in their nation's life. It provides necessary experience that has not always been available to women through executive management training, as they participate and hold office in these organizations.

These organizations can serve as an agency to bring together those segments of society with varying viewpoints in order to communicate their needs to individuals who can assist them in taking the necessary actions. Among the rewards of voluntary service cited by Mrs. Swift, would be the service experience itself accruing to the individual and used in lieu of employment experience should the woman decide to join the labor force.

Though many other countries have volunteer organizations, they are usually tied to charitable causes and many countries have "compulsory" volunteerism.

I think the United States can well be proud of the outstanding work that

women in this country perform outside the paid labor force and the contributions they are making to their communities. Certainly voluntary services should be encouraged by the Government and the public.

But even as the Commission found that the United States is far ahead of other countries in utilizing this important aspect of women's abilities to create a better society, it pointed out that the United States is far behind many other countries in developing the proper atmosphere for the participation of women in traditionally male-dominated fields such as the legal and medical professions.

At this point, I would like to insert the following in the Record:

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Morning News,
May 2, 1970]

AMERICAN APPROACH UNIQUE: TEXAN ATTENDS
U.N. COMMISSION ON STATUS OF WOMEN

(By Merikaye Presley)

WASHINGTON.—Volunteerism is uniquely American, Texas Van Swift learned when she attended the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women meeting in Geneva last month.

Back in Washington and at her job as attorney in the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Mrs. Swift discussed her role as a public member representing the United States at the world meeting.

She assisted the U.S. representative, Elizabeth Koontz, who is director of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

Mrs. Swift gave a speech at the meeting on the benefits of voluntary service by women and found that the representatives of other nations had a hard time understanding the American approach to volunteerism.

"We're the only nation in the world that has at its background this concept of voluntary service," she said.

Few countries have volunteer programs for women, she said, and those that do usually tie volunteer efforts with charitable causes. Other countries require women to perform "voluntary" service for a certain period of time.

This kind of service did not fit Mrs. Swift's definition of volunteerism. She noted that the representatives from Spain said they had so-called voluntary service, but said a woman couldn't get a passport or driver's license without performing this service.

She said most of the delegates from other countries wholeheartedly supported voluntary service, but they thought it should be compulsory. "To me, these two words are completely different," she said.

She pointed out, "in our country (volunteerism) is so much a part of the system, it built the whole west." She cited such things as barn raisings and quilting bees as examples.

The participation of men in voluntary service is also uniquely American, she learned from the discussion.

During her remark before the conference, Mrs. Swift said, "even though voluntary activity is not part of a given culture, it should be encouraged. Voluntary service or work done without compensation by women can be an effective means to enhance the status of women and to include them more fully in their nation's life."

She continued, "women often times have the intuitiveness and concern necessary to identify and help solve a nation's existing problems. This 'untapped resource' can through voluntary organizations, draw attention to common issues and assure the awareness by the general public of their concerns."

She said one benefit of voluntary service is that it can bring women from all segments

of society together. By working together and exchanging their varying viewpoints, they can learn from each other, she said.

She also noted that voluntary service by women in America 50 years ago resulted in women's suffrage.

Mrs. Swift was astonished to learn that not all countries have women's suffrage. Even in such a developed nation as Switzerland, women cannot vote in all elections.

She learned that the United States is far above most countries in legislation benefiting women, such as the equal pay act of 1963.

On the other hand, the U.S. is behind many other countries, even developing nations, in the participation of women in certain traditionally male-dominated fields. In several smaller and younger countries, from 25 to 50 per cent of the doctors and lawyers are women.

As special assistant to Dr. Luther Holcomb, vice-chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, Mrs. Swift is closely involved with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, especially sex discrimination. Her experience in this area made her a knowledgeable member of the U.S. delegation to the 32-nation meet.

And she counts her participation in the meeting as valuable experience. "It gives one a completely different perspective to look at your country through someone else's eyes," she said.

She also admitted her first venture into international relations taught her a thing or two about the beliefs and philosophies of the other peoples of the world.

REMARKS BY MRS. EVANGELINE SWIFT, PUBLIC MEMBER OF THE U.S. DELEGATION TO THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Madame Chairman, during the opening session, the delegate from the United States stated that "This Commission is looked to for leadership if it will accept the charge." If we are to accept this challenge, the Commission can indeed lead the way by providing its great expertise and able assistance so necessary in making a major impact in this very essential area of the status of women.

One way to do this is to examine thoroughly the issue on today's agenda, Women's Service as a means of enabling Women to work gratuitously for the benefit of the Community. Even though voluntary activity is not part of a given culture, it should be encouraged. Voluntary service or work done without compensation by women can be an effective means to enhance the status of women and to include them more fully in their nation's life. It provides necessary experience that has not always been available to women through executive management training as they participate and hold office in these organizations. Women often times have the intuitiveness and concern necessary to identify and help solve a nation's existing problems. This "untapped resource" can through voluntary organizations, draw attention to common issues and assure the awareness by the general public of their concerns. In order to accomplish this, governments should provide major encouragement to these organizations to provide services that otherwise would not be available and to support on a voluntary basis existing government programs.

They can work in many ways. Voluntary organizations can serve as an agency to bring together those segments of society with varying viewpoints; in helping people help themselves and to understand their own needs; and in communicating those needs to individuals who can assist them in making the necessary actions.

I have worked with volunteers helping with pre-school children that needed assistance in order to more fully participate in educational activities. The benefits flowing

to the children were many but the results that occurred with the volunteers from the local communities were very exciting to me. One could see a beginning sense of pride and achievement in learning how to articulate what their problems were in their community affecting their children and how to communicate effectively about those problems.

All women from all segments of society can participate in these organizations. The most illiterate can articulate her desires for family and self; is able to contribute her talent toward the total effort.

Whether this service is provided through personal services by religious organizations or professional groups, by activities relating to education or health or in the political process, the key is the service which is beneficial to each society and its goals.

I also noted with interest that the distinguished delegate of the U.A.R. said that among Egyptian women, volunteers' service was a way in which they entered into the political process.

Voluntary organizations in the U.S. are encouraged among men and women because we believe that men should be urged to take an equal interest and rule with women in voluntary service.

In the United States, the voluntary service of a small group of women set off the large-scale effort of women to obtain the right to vote. And 1970 marks the 50th Anniversary of woman's suffrage in the U.S. It is also the 50th Anniversary of the Woman's Bureau and the 50th Anniversary of the League of Women Voters whose purpose is to encourage women to participate in political affairs.

The President has shown his acknowledgment of the importance of volunteer organizations by establishing a special voluntary action program as a clearing house for organizations and individuals to gain information on how certain programs were begun, structured and operated, and succeeded.

It has been proven that voluntary organizations of men and women can not only serve as a forum to vocalize issues affecting the whole population, but volunteer organizations for women specifically can also provide the platform for women to speak to issues from all sides, concerning women in our changing world as seen by women themselves. For example, these organizations can be utilized as vehicles to help or educate women to understand the effect of their under-utilization and to change attitudes of men about the role of women in society while at the same time providing leadership and information that help raise standards of living.

The distinguished delegate from Liberia stated yesterday, "Ways must be found to show that women can fill jobs formerly performed by men." Participating in voluntary service can provide the evidence that women can perform many jobs that have been closed to them in the past and therefore serve as a training ground or first step toward full and equal opportunity with men.

The voluntary organization could bring before women role models to discuss how they had achieved a certain goal or how they advanced in their chosen field. Such a forum can bring women together to demonstrate to them what can be done in the area of child care in their communities. Further advantages of such a forum are the personally performed services under group sponsorship such as a) organized welcome activities to newcomers by location of markets, public services, bus schedules and the like; b) providing intergroup neighborhood plans for care of children needed to free women periodically for involvement as she works for other means of providing the service; c) providing tutoring service from woman to woman or

women where media does not permit; and d) helping with the problem of being able to volunteer due to lack of adequate transportation.

Voluntary organizations must be directed or assisted in most instances, by professional staff and even volunteers must sometimes have financial assistance for transportation and for food in order to share their talents.

On an individual basis, there can be other rewards to voluntary work such as the service experience itself being used in lieu of employment experience if a woman wished to re-enter the work force after her child rearing years are over or before if circumstances so demand. For example, voluntary service in hospitals can lead to becoming a technician, a nurse or a doctor. Church work can lead to paid employment in industry and a school aid or teacher's aid can lead to a career as a teacher. Child care at school can lead to becoming a director of such a facility and civic efforts can lead to a job in industry or interest in running for and holding public office.

International organizations should be urged to advantageously use their scope in encouraging greater participation by volunteers and by providing training education and tutorial service whenever possible, and by providing technical assistance in the know-how of organizing, if necessary.

I stress that evidence is available in our country that voluntary service, performed by women is a most effective way in which women can prepare for and enter the mainstream of their nation's life and break through barriers to non-traditionally held positions and jobs.

This Commission can be the key in assisting countries that endeavor to help women participate more fully—both collectively and as individuals in their societies.

SLEEPING BEAR DUNES NATIONAL LAKESHORE

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, several bills have been introduced to establish the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore in Michigan and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs has scheduled hearings for early June. I am pleased to be able to report that there is wide support for the establishment of this lakeshore and one of the organizations most actively working for the legislation is the Michigan United Conservation Clubs.

I include the text of a resolution adopted at the April 11, 1970, meeting of the board of directors of Michigan United Conservation Clubs relating to the Lakeshore at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

RESOLUTION RE: SLEEPING BEAR DUNES NATIONAL LAKESHORE LEGISLATION

Whereas, all Michigan Congressmen in the House of Representatives have joined in sponsoring legislation to provide for establishment of the Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore; and

Whereas, the administration has indicated that money would be available for national recreation areas; and

Whereas, MUCC has consistently supported the Sleeping Bear Dunes proposal:

Therefore be it resolved that MUCC reaffirm its stand and request that Congress approve and provide the necessary funding for establishment of a Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore in Michigan.

SUPREME COURT RULINGS HELP COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARIES

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Court ruling that our Government cannot restrict travel abroad by our citizens, even when such travel is clearly not in the best interests of our country, strains the rules of commonsense and credibility. The State Department is powerless under the law to restrict the exit and entry of revolutionaries without the enactment of legislation introduced in this session of Congress.

The following article from the May 4 issue of the Camden Courier-Post graphically illustrates the problem, and I commend it to you for your attention. My sincere congratulations to the editor of the Courier-Post.

The article follows:

OUR 687 RETURNING PILGRIMS

The 687 young Americans calling themselves the Venceremos (We shall Overcome) brigade who went to Communist Cuba two months ago ostensibly to help Fidel Castro with his sugar cane harvest have returned.

They have come back through Canada on the same route via bus and ship they took to Cuba. They now have scattered to a number of large cities throughout the United States, including Philadelphia.

The contingent claims to have cut more than 40,000 tons of sugar cane for Castro, who despite his police state dictatorship somehow can't seem to find enough Cuban workers to harvest the crops that somehow have dwindled since he came to power. Reportedly he hoped to have a 10 million ton sugar cane crop this year but won't come close to getting it.

His American volunteers told the world when they left home that their trip was a gesture of solidarity with Castro and the Reds, and at a farewell ceremony in Havana said they were returning home to "start a new struggle" for communism in the United States. It would be naive to believe that they put in all their time in Cuba in the cane-fields. It can be safely assumed that they put a good share of it in political indoctrination classes, in the manner set forth in a "mini-manual" recently published by the Havana-based Organization for Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The book advertises its aim as the instruction of readers in how to terrorize cities and "take the road of armed rebellion" in non-Communist countries.

One praiseworthy way down this road, as listed in the book, is kidnapping of political personalities or "dangerous enemies" of the revolution, as recently exemplified in Latin America.

City guerrillas are instructed in assaults, raids and penetrations, occupations, ambush, street tactics, strikes and work interruptions, desertions, diversions, seizures, or expropriations of arms, ammunition, and explosives; liberation of prisoners; executions, sabotage,

terrorism, armed propaganda, and war of nerves.

Our 687 cane-cutters now are back home to preach and practice this laudable litany of revolutionary accomplishments. They can hope that their stay in Cuba has given them added skill toward their aim of overthrowing the American government, American democracy, and the American system.

For this the 687 can thank one of those decisions of the Supreme Court in recent years which violated the rules of common sense, and ruled that our government cannot restrict travel abroad by our citizens even for such a purpose as this pilgrimage.

LABOR ENDORSES INTERNATIONAL BANKERS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the AFL-CIO Executive Council on the National Economy, meeting in Washington yesterday, called for the President of the United States to exercise the emergency powers authorized in the bill S. 2577 in a frantic effort to solve the money crisis.

The action urged upon the President by the AFL-CIO would turn complete credit control over to the dictates of the Federal Reserve Bank.

Mr. Speaker, in my speech on January 20, I called S. 2577 a "Blueprint for Financial Dictatorship"—page 501 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I said at that time:

The trap is set. All that remains is for the opinion makers to sell an unsuspecting people on the idea that while tight credit controls may hurt a little, it is for their own good, and that the international bankers who can manipulate such esoteric things as "paper gold" will make it all come out well in the end.

When the trap is sprung, the United States will join Great Britain and France as victims of the new financial colonialism, while the Federal Reserve System gains the same dictatorial powers as the Bank of England and the Bank of France, owned by the same private citizens.

The bill, S. 2577 bore the appealing title of "Lowering Interest Rates, Fighting Inflation, Helping Small Business, and Expanding the Mortgage Market." It was passed into law December 19, 1969, and now in less than 6 months the prophets of doom and hysterical "know-it-all" liberals have taken the bait and sprung the trap.

Additionally, the AFL-CIO "economists" striving desperately for answers as their working members feel the money crisis, have called for "extraordinary overall stabilization measures—all costs and incomes—including all prices, profits, dividends, rents, and executive compensation, as well as employee wages and salaries."

Creeping socialism has now broken into full gallop. Yet many Americans who have heard nothing but the mythical benefits of "controlled economy" will find solace in the AFL-CIO report and

quietly accept the mobilization for a complete socialist dictatorship.

Why under the Federal Reserve bankers—a privately dominated and controlled banking institution which profited at the workers expense while precipitating the money crisis? The policies of the monarch are the policies of his creditors.

It was to free our people of the money monopoly that I had introduced H.R. 17140 on April 21. H.R. 17140 now becomes urgent legislation. Perhaps this explains the press blackout.

Mr. Speaker, I include the AFL-CIO statement, related news clippings, and a copy of H.R. 17140 in the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF THE AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

The Administration's campaign against inflation has been a complete failure. Prices have gone up, unemployment has grown, and the nation has crossed the threshold of recession.

The time has obviously come for the Administration to abandon its bankrupt economic policies before the already grave damage to American living standards snowballs.

In April, unemployment soared to 4.8% of the labor force or close to 4 million workers—equalling the sharpest month-to-month rise since the 1960 recession. The jobless rate for Negro workers shot up to 8.7%; for teenagers, to 15.7%. In the four months since last December, 1.1 million workers were added to the swelling ranks of the unemployed—victims of the Administration's deliberate policy to slow production and employment.

Millions of additional workers have seen their paychecks shrink as the spreading effects of the squeeze on the economy has brought production cutbacks and reductions in working hours.

But living costs have continued to mount. The Consumer Price Index has risen at a yearly rate of about 6% since December.

The buying power of the weekly after-tax earnings of the average non-supervisory worker in private employment—about 48 million wage and salary earners—is less than last year and below 1965.

With unemployment rising sharply and industry operating at merely 79½% of its productive capacity, there is no classical inflationary condition of widespread shortages of goods and manpower that could justify government measures of severe, general economic restraint.

The Administration's policy—with the highest interest rates in 100 years—has been discriminatory, as well as ineffective, in combatting the rapid rise of prices. It has cut urgently needed residential construction—with housing starts down from a yearly rate of 1.9 million in January 1969 to 1.4 million last March. It has hit the expansion of state and local government facilities and smaller businesses. In addition, skyrocketing interest rates have raised costs and prices all along the line to the consumer—adding to inflationary pressures.

Moreover, this blunderbuss policy has not curbed business profiteering, while it boosts bank profits. Cuts in government appropriations, as those for medical schools which threaten to continue the shortage of medical personnel, will continue the soaring rise of medical costs. And the tight monetary squeeze has not curtailed the credit inflation of the banks, with their lines of credit to the blue-chip corporations and wealthy families for lendable funds.

The banks have been permitted to evade the monetary squeeze. In 1969, for example, the international banks increased their

"borrowings" from their foreign branches by \$7 billion and even modest government regulations were not imposed until September. Bank holding companies issued \$4 billion in promissory notes last year—and are continuing to issue such commercial paper, at present—at a very high interest rates, free of government regulation.

Thus, while credit for needed production, such as housing, has been drying up—or if available at all, at extortionate interest rates—business loans of the large banks are up 5% from a year ago. The nation's major banks have been extending loans for such operations as conglomerate take-overs, gambling casinos, unnecessary inventory accumulation and a continuing boom of business investment in new plants and machines, while more than 20% of industry's existing capacity stands idle.

Even if the money supply should ease somewhat, there is no assurance that such utter misallocation of available credit by the banks and other financial institutions will not continue or that interest rates will not remain at high levels.

The regular operations of the banks and other financial institutions are not meeting America's needs. Moreover, they have been adding a high-interest rate credit-inflation to the business profit-inflation of the 1960s.

The time is long overdue for a sharp change in the nation's economic policies. The pace of rising prices must be slowed, without a growing army of unemployed. The urgent need is not last week's reduction of margin requirements for purchases in the stock markets to stimulate increased speculation.

The government must channel available credit, at low interest rates, to where it is needed and curb the inflationary expansion of credit for purposes that are less important to society.

Last December, Congress passed a bill entitled "Lowering Interest Rates, Fighting Inflation, Helping Small Business and Expanding the Mortgage Market"—which grants broad authority to the President for selective measures to curb the specific causes of credit inflation, while expanding credit for needed facilities and business operations. It provides the government with flexible means to rebalance the nation's credit structure and to finance housing, schools, hospitals and other community facilities at low interest rates.

More than four months have passed and still the President has not exercised this authority.

The need for increased low- and moderate-income home construction, at reasonable interest rates, is not being met, forcing the government to initiate interest-subsidy programs that reward high interest rate policies at taxpayers' expense, in order to prevent the complete collapse of home-building. Small and medium-sized businesses have been hit by a lack of available credit at reasonable interest rates. The inability of local governments to obtain low-interest loans is resulting in postponing construction of needed schools, hospitals and other facilities, while available credit is being drained off for less-urgent investments and dubious objectives.

So prices continue to rise rapidly; layoffs and production cutbacks are spreading; urgent social needs are not being met.

Therefore we recommend the following steps to take America out of recession and end inflation:

1. Confronted by the President's failure to use his authority, we urge the Congress to direct the Federal Reserve system to establish selective credit controls, maximum interest rates on specific types of loans and the allocation of available credit to where it will do the most good for America.

2. To meet the goal of 26 million new and

rehabilitated housing units in ten years, the government should also require that a portion of such tax-exempt funds as pension, college endowment and foundation funds, as well as bank reserves, be invested in government-guaranteed mortgages.

3. To curb the price-raising ability of the dominant corporations, government action is needed to curtail the continuing high rate of business mergers, which has been greatly increasing the concentration of economic power in a narrowing group of corporations and banks.

4. The specific causes of soaring pressures on living costs, such as physicians' fees, hospital charges, housing costs and auto insurance rates, should be examined for the development of practical, sensible measures to dampen these pressures.

If the President, after exercising that authority voted him by Congress, determines he needs additional authority and decides that the situation warrants extraordinary overall stabilization measures, the AFL-CIO will cooperate, so long as such restraints are equitably placed on all costs and incomes—including all prices, profits, dividends, rents and executive compensation, as well as employees' wages and salaries. We are prepared to sacrifice as much as anyone else, as long as there is equality of sacrifice.

[From the Washington Evening Star,
May 12, 1970]

AFL-CIO CALLS NIXON POLICY ON ECONOMY MAJOR FAILURE

The AFL-CIO charged today that President Nixon's efforts to control inflation have been a "complete failure" and that the nation has "crossed the threshold of recession" under his economic policies.

The labor organization's executive council issued a statement denouncing his handling of the economy almost simultaneously with a visit by the President to AFL-CIO Headquarters here to confer privately with the council.

The council, in adopting a statement on the economy, renewed its appeal to Nixon to support legislation for across-the-board controls on wages, prices and profits.

The President spent 45 minutes with the council at the AFL-CIO headquarters to brief the labor leaders on his decision to send troops into Cambodia. He took with him a map of Asia which he has been using daily to illustrate the Communist threat to American forces in Vietnam.

The council statement asserted: "The administration's campaign against inflation has been a complete failure. Prices have gone up, unemployment has grown, and the nation has crossed the threshold of inflation."

The union chiefs also charged that the administration's policy has brought the highest interest rates in 100 years and has been "discriminatory as well as ineffective in combating the rapid rise of prices."

On the need of controls, the council commented: "If the President after exercising that authority voted to him by Congress determines he needs additional authority and decides that the situation warrants over-all stabilization methods, the AFL-CIO will cooperate, so long as such restraints are equitably placed on all costs and incomes—including all prices, profits, dividends, rents and executive compensation, as well as employees' wages and salaries."

"We are prepared to sacrifice as much as anyone else, as long as anyone else, so long as there is equality of sacrifice."

"Confronted by the President's failure to use his authority," the council said, "We urge the Congress to direct the Federal Reserve System to establish selective credit controls, maximum interest rates on specific

types of loans and the allocation of available credit controls, maximum interest rates on specific types of loans and the allocation of available credit to where it will do the most good for America.

"Prices continue to rise rapidly; layoffs and production cutbacks are spreading; social needs are not being met," the council concluded.

[From the Washington Post, May 12, 1970]
MOVE TOWARD EASY MONEY LACKED UNANIMITY AT OMC

Minutes of the February Open Market Committee meeting, the first chaired by Federal Reserve boss Arthur F. Burns, show that the easier money policy then voted lacked unanimous support.

Three members of the OMC resisted the move as "premature." They are board member Andrew F. Brimmer, New York Federal Reserve Bank president Alfred Hayes, and Dallas Reserve Bank head Philip F. Coldwell.

But the nine-man majority agreed that "it was appropriate to move gradually toward somewhat less restraint at this time." It was agreed, as well, that the shift should be "implemented cautiously," and operations modified promptly if the money stock and other aggregate measures grew at a more than moderate rate.

The Fed's relaxed policy is evident in a growth of the money stock in March and April at an average rate of 3.8 per cent, compared with virtually no expansion from June 1969 through February.

On the other hand, the majority directive called for "money market conditions . . . shaded in the direction of less firmness, beginning immediately, with a view to encouraging moderate growth in money and bank credit over the months ahead."

Actually, market interest rates have moved up, rather than down in recent weeks, although they are below peaks at the turn of the year. This upward trend in interest rates has been a disconcerting factor in financial markets.

In March, the money supply apparently increased much faster than planned, and the Fed took steps to slow down the expansion. This reversal contributed to tightness in money markets.

[From the Evening Star, May 12, 1970]

VOLUNTARY RESTRAINTS USED: DIRECT CURB WEIGHED IN CANADA FIGHT OF INFLATION

(By John Cunniff)

NEW YORK.—Canada, too, is having its problems with inflation, which suggests that the persistence of this malady in the United States economy may not be solely the result of an improper approach to the problem.

Canada, however, is attacking the problem a bit more directly. Unlike the United States, where the defeat of inflation is expected to be a natural result of an economic slowdown, Canada is considering direct credit controls.

Moreover, the Canadian government already has developed a program of voluntary restraints on prices and wages that has met with some success during the past few months, although the exact amount cannot be measured.

COMPARISON OF RESULTS

Here is a comparison of results in the battle against inflation:

Consumer Price Increases: In Canada, nearly 5 percent, in the United States close to 6 percent.

Unemployment: In Canada, slightly more than 5 percent on an annual basis. In the United States, 4.8 percent in April and rising swiftly.

Industrial Output: In Canada, continuing at a slow pace but showing signs of perking up. In the United States, at a standstill or even falling back some.

Budget: Canada is in surplus, meaning that the government is restricting economic activity. The U.S. budget also calls for a surplus, but many doubts are arising about the feasibility of this in either fiscal 1970 or 1971.

Perhaps the biggest difference is in the interpretation of economists. Many economists believe the United States is in the midst of a mild recession, based on declines in production. Canada's economy is still expanding.

The two economies are suffering from such similar problems, however, that the approach to the future in one country may have lessons for the other.

In Canada, the government is considering measures that would restrain the economy even more. Higher taxes are an outside possibility for later this year if prices and wages continue to rise.

CREDIT APPROACHES DIFFER

That possibility becomes less remote when the wage situation is reviewed. New wage contracts have averaged 9 percent higher this year, threatening to put inflationary pressures beneath prices. Contract negotiations involve twice as many workers this year as last.

The biggest difference between the United States and Canadian approaches is in the attitude toward credit. The government of Prime Minister Trudeau has proposed consumer credit controls and legislation is planned for June.

The big features of the proposed credit restrictions are:

Down payment of 20 percent on purchases of \$100 or more where credit is extended for more than a year.

Repayment within 30 months for automobiles and 24 months for other purchases.

The restrictions would apply to banks, sales finance companies, consumer loan companies and other lenders, and to department stores, automobile dealers and other merchants. Loans for business, farming, housing and education would be exempt.

"We would not propose to interfere with credit for small purchases," said E. J. Benson, Minister of Finance, "nor with ordinary charge accounts, payable within 60 days, nor with revolving credit or budget accounts requiring monthly payments that would repay the loan within 12 months."

NIXON AVOIDS RESTRAINTS

In the United States, the Nixon administration has carefully avoided the subject of credit restraints or voluntary limitations on prices and wages. It hopes instead to reduce inflation through a restrictive Federal Reserve policy, by limitations on government spending and by taxation.

The Nixon policy has slowed economic expansion, without a doubt anymore. Industrial production and unemployment statistics confirm this as fact. But the slowdown has produced little effect on rising retail prices.

With the economy facing enormous pressures for additional spending, and with consumers said to be ready to spend again, some economists speculate that it may not be long before the Nixon administration reaches some of the same conclusions as the Trudeau government.

[From the Evening Star, May 12, 1970]

KING EXTENDS \$40 MILLION IN CREDIT TO IOS
GENEVA.—Investors Overseas Services (IOS), the multi-million dollar mutual fund organization, has announced it will receive

up to \$40 million in credit from U.S. financier John M. King and his associates.

The troubled organization, whose chairman Bernard Cornfeld resigned Saturday, said the "agreement in principle" also provides King with warrants for equity participation in IOS at the price of \$4 per preferred share.

King acted in behalf of his own King Resources Co., of Denver, as well as one of his own European subsidiaries and "a consortium of U.S. financial institutions," the announcement said.

LOAN FINANCING

The aggregate credit provided for in the \$40 million agreement will be in the form of three-year loan financing, the IOS statement said.

IOS said negotiations are proceeding with "respect to the participation of leading European financial institutions." It said the first phase of the operation should be closed this week.

Both IOS and King made it clear in the announcement that attempts would be made to get IOS into the fund-selling business in the United States.

"We intend to consult promptly with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission with a view to securing requisite SEC approvals, as well as the resolution of all IOS matters now pending before the commission," King said in a personal statement included in the overall declaration.

"CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE"

"My associates and I look forward to joining with IOS in the further development of the company. We intend to play a constructive role in the interests of all IOS shareholders and clients," King said.

Cornfeld said in a joint statement with his interim successor as board chairman, Briton Sir Eric Wyndham White, that the transaction marks a "turning point" in IOS history.

They did not reveal how much preferred stock would be obtained by King and his associates.

Cornfeld, still a board member, owns about 14.4 percent of preferred IOS stock. Sources said this would probably be placed in a voting trust for the three-year loan period.

ABOUT \$2 BILLION

IOS manages about \$2 billion through its mutual funds.

Shares in the IOS management company and in the IOS parent company slumped badly over the past four weeks, creating a crisis among investors as well as within the company itself.

The statement also did not make clear who will actually run the company. But IOS officials stressed that a takeover as such is not involved.

They said King obviously will "get a slice of the cake" but will not have control over IOS fund management.

The main object of the deal was to restore investor confidence in IOS and among its worldwide force of salesmen.

The company is slashing operating costs, dismissing additional employees and cutting out all but essential activities.

[From the Evening Star, May 12, 1970]

ROMNEY URGES SAVINGS BANKS TO AID HOUSING

NEW YORK.—Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George W. Romney has proposed that mutual savings banks help to bolster housing construction by increasing their investment in mortgage loans.

Speaking at the 50th annual conference of the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks, Romney said that loss of mortgage

investments has resulted in a sharp decrease in housing starts.

Although interest rates have increased and money has become tighter Romney noted that savings deposits decreased last year as depositors sought other areas of investments.

But, he added, savings bank assets have increased. He hoped that by 1978, investments in mortgages by mutual savings banks would exceed the \$104.5 billion projected by Romney's department.

He reminded bankers that the vacancy rate in many major Eastern cities, like New York, is about 1 percent among single-family and multi-family dwellings. Thus, he said, low and middle-income families are pitted against each other for housing, and that this could result in "an explosive situation."

[From the Washington Post, May 12, 1970]

SPENDING CONTROLS BACKED

(By Hobart Rowen)

The Treasury Department's top economic adviser yesterday called for tough controls on Government spending, but stopped short of recommending new taxes if the budget should slip into deficit.

Murray L. Weidenbaum, assistant secretary for economic policy, warned that even with recent additions to federal spending, the federal budget will have a "real" deflationary impact in 1970 and 1971. The implication of his remarks was that further restraint could be excessive.

In the past few days, both Treasury Secretary David Kennedy and Budget Director Robert P. Mayo have said specifically that larger federal expenditures could force the Nixon administration to consider higher taxes.

Weidenbaum said that the economy "is marking time right now" in terms of physical volume, but that "prices are still under strong pressure from the cost side." He said frankly that "we are running behind schedule in terms of visible relief from inflation."

Although expectations for 1971 "are somewhat brighter" than for this year, "1971 is not likely to be a boom year," he suggested.

Among less favorable economic news, Weidenbaum noted that productivity in the first quarter of 1970 had edged down fractionally, after rising in the 4th quarter, 1969; and that unit labor costs were going up at an 8.5 per cent annual rate.

He revealed that a subcommittee of the Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy had been studying "the implications for financial markets" of the growing volume of federal credit programs not counted in the new "unified" budget presentation.

Borrowing to finance Federally-assisted credit programs now run about twice the volume of the municipal bond market, he said. While no conclusions have yet been reached, the Treasury official, who chairs the subcommittee, said alternative ways of reviewing such programs "so as to permit more effective allocation of credit resources" are being explored.

Weidenbaum addressed the 50th anniversary meeting of the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks in New York City. A text of his remarks was released here.

H.R. 17140

A bill to vest in the Government of the United States the full, absolute, complete, and unconditional ownership of the twelve Federal Reserve banks.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States is hereby authorized and directed forthwith to purchase the capital stock of the twelve Federal Reserve banks and branches, and

agencies thereof, and to pay to the owners thereof the par value of such stock at the date of purchase.

(b) All member banks of the Federal Reserve System are hereby required and directed to deliver forthwith to the Treasurer of the United States, by the execution and delivery of such documents as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, all the stock of said Federal Reserve banks owned or controlled by them, together with all claims of any kind or nature in and to the capital assets of the said Federal Reserve banks, it being the intention of this Act to vest in the Government of the United States the absolute, complete, and unconditional ownership of the said Federal Reserve banks.

(c) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any funds not otherwise appropriated, such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

PRINCETON MOVEMENT TO ELECT A NEW CONGRESS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, each of us in the House, and each of our colleagues in the Senate, has received a letter reporting on the formation of a movement to elect a new Congress.

This project originated at Princeton University. It was started in response to the invasion of Cambodia and the resumption of bombing of North Vietnam.

I admire the highly motivated originators of this far reaching, intelligent, and responsible movement. Following are the names of the 1,468 members of the Princeton University community who signed the letter which launched this dramatic effort to make government by the people a reality.

The letter and names follow:

PRINCETON MOVEMENT TO ELECT A
NEW CONGRESS, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Princeton, N.J., May 6, 1970.

HON. DONALD M. FRASER,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FRASER: The invasion of Cambodia and the resumption of bombing of North Vietnam has so shocked and dismayed the Princeton University Community that normal activities have been suspended to devote the community's resources to achieve an immediate withdrawal of all American forces from Southeast Asia, to reassess the role of the military in American life, and to end domestic repression.

To implement these goals, the Movement to Elect a New Congress has been formed. This involves the following: (1) researching, monitoring, and publicizing the votes and public statements of individual legislators, (2) raising funds and canvassing in individual primary campaigns and the November elections, (3) effecting coordination with other university communities to broaden the movement to Elect a New Congress into a national organization.

Hundreds of students are now leaving this campus to campaign in selected primaries throughout the country for candidates who oppose the war.

A list of the 1468 signers of this letter will be read into the Congressional Record.

(List of names follow:)

John R. Stear III, Charles Dressel, Jan Conroy, John D. Block, Punky Brewster, Robert Barber, John T. Rieffe, L. Deamore, R. Gledraye, M. Neuhaus, David C. Stark, Lloyd Shinner, Michael L. Stoll, Richard Hinchcliffe, Philip Sterne, Jr., Rodney Oller, Cameron Walker, Barbara E. Westlake, William A. Lutz.

Fred Shepard, James Robbins, Hugh Thompson, R. E. Floeder, Richard H. Black, John Chitty, Barbara Julius, Arlene Julius, Skitch Donald, Peter Neuman, Jeff Montange Ken Jacobson, S. N. Xenakis, Carin M. Laughlin, Joseph A. Dalton, Russell B. White, Robert M. Browne, H. M. St. John, David Taggart.

Mac Barnes, Joseph Maryorck, Chip Trieshman, James C. Krieg, Michael I. Luger, Lynwood C. Murray, Jr., Fred Coclestone, Maxing M. Young, Herbert N. Lape, Stephen W. Brice, Stephen Garner, George A. Dleo, Michael S. Smith, Samuel P. Bohnard, Murray Goff, Dennis B. Murphy, Martin Camargo, Christopher P. Deer, Mark J. Flannery.

Richard D. Heldenfike, Brian J. William, Richard H. Block, Jeffrey Kogick, Richard B. Herndelton, Joe Murchison, Peter Chamber, Tad Blundon, Richard Taber, Jerry Goldberg, R. A. Woodard, Charles Fried, Thomas Brown, Fred Gray, Chuck Carr, Jim Harro, Edward Scudder, James Mochlin, Dan Goodin.

Paul Kennison, Mark Hausberg, Rich Hauck, Randy Page, George Kapelos, Richard E. Manting, Miguel A. Firpi, Edward L. McCord, Marshall Devor, Robert E. McBain, Paul F. Danello, Philip Parnell, Roberto del Vento, Stephen C. Cook, Wayne H. Bladh, Reid Beltrussen, A. Garsoner, Michael Sign, Tom Stubbs.

Robert E. Fredrickson, Mark H. Buntz, Paul J. Miller III, Thomas M. Marsh, Carl W. Hunter, Thomas J. Hutchinson, W. Keith Palie, R. Bruce Bediner, Stephen C. Nippert, Mark Epstein, Bob Elchner, Jim Johnson, Rich Noble, Bill Paul, Michael Toole, Ronald Chandler, Mark Stevens, W. O. Ollwerther.

James L. Dorsey, Frank LaMay, Raymond N. Valem, Steven L. Buening, Frank C. Marlay, Jr., Richard J. Balfour, Andrew J. Raubitschek, Alan Lightman, Jim Thornbery, Michael Fischer, Kenneth G. Weaver, Jr., Lynn T. Nagarato, C. W. Leomus, Phebe Miller, Luther Munford, Allen Bark, Bany Timon, Peter Malcolsen, David R. Brown.

Eric Sander, Gregory Paul Nelson, Varel D. Freeman, James Anthony Testa, Linda L. Carroll, James L. Anderson, James Von Schilling, Gerald Grossman, Jon Stein, Ronald B. Krueger, Neil Kurday, William K. Fung, Jeff S. Tubino, Larl Tolleson, Walters Kemp, Joseph Stuart Braswell, Margaret Wolf, Jeffrey C. Gaal.

Robert J. Hodrick, Edward T. Wroe, Theron L. Marsh II, Richard D. Affats, William P. Stengel, J. A. Hardie, R. Early, D. Gray, F. Hamilton Hazelhurst, Jr., Mark Van Plut, Henry M. Holoszyk, Thomas W. Collins, H. R. Pietroccini, Kenneth G. Leoncys, Steve Gripper.

Bill Gardin, Robert Irwin, Robert Glown, Frank Demmler, Peter Heath, John Csapo, G. Michael Schmidt, Thomas J. Grover, Bill Sedgwick, Francis Bagbey, Barry Berg, Stuart Slarey, Thomas Masland, John Myers, B. Kenneth Lidiger, J. Whitney Huber, Andrew J. Kappel.

Gene Halton, J. Schneker, Lawrence F. Cliske, Michael M. Strauss III, Stewart Mittracht, John Hart, Kenn Alexander, James A. Fleischman, Lawrence H. Sanford III, R. K. Hudson, Fred E. Cunningham, David L. Archison, Roger F. Gordon, F. Pat Holmes, Jr.

Richard J. Weir, John R. Heerwagen, Paul E. McNamarr, John P. Shaplin, James J.

Mott, John Del Rosso, P. J. Jacobson, D. W. Beele, Irwin B. Fischel, R. Wade Paschel, Jr., Richard Kitte, John G. Buchanan III, David W. Whittaker, Duncan Andrews, Vasil James Pappas, Jim Robinson, Stephen R. McCrae, Jr.

Gregory J. Winsky, T. G. Schrader, L. R. Hernandez, John R. Moffat, Herrick Chapman, Ed Berenn, John T. Pottenger, Jr., Sam L. Lipsman, Robert V. Kuenzel, Steve C. Charen, Kem R. Loughlin, Kim Boone, Kevin T. Banle, Steven A. Massad, Bruce M. Nickerson, Timothy Rod Johnson, Howard S. Rodsten, David Franks, Andrew J. Parrott.

James R. Todd, Carter B. Simpson, Thomas B. Yoder, Eugene E. Brissie, L. Mark Testi, Douglas S. Poen, Charles F. Willson, Lawrence H. Phillips II, Dave Kurtz, Alan F. Hobner, Jay K. Luckner, Ann G. Slum, Allen Uzedon, Douglas Noll, Paul A. Pelosi, Jeffrey Cohen, Donald A. Manam, Steven Ferzoko, Robert L. Daniels, Frederick W. Kunz, Charles Kohl.

John P. Lily, Jr., Ron Hartman, Robert D. Porter, Marc Tucker, Neil Rooblin, R. J. Halfnight, Duncan Spelman, Robert W. Scully, David C. Mercer, Peter Laundry, Timothy J. Howard, C. T. Hallmuth, J. Collins Landstreet, Brian J. Williams, David H. Shore, Thomas C. Hoster, John J. Griffin.

John P. Callison, Mata Minerva, Eric Melum, John Solle, August J. Moretti, Bob Boudreau, William T. Torpey, V. A. Dougall, P. W. Cobb, Richard A. Sun, John S. Oyler, G. Fred Dunn, Paul C. Ruester, Jorge E. Otero, Jeffrey K. Smith, Donald M. Prowler, Mike C. French, Bill Brockman, Don Fraser, Bob Hollis, John C. Van Horne, Peter S. Unger, Eric G. Brook.

John Griffin, Bill Warfield, William Weeder, Bruce Rodwin, Stephen L. Adin III, D. Sweeny, T. Wellington, Margaret W. Wilers, Robert L. Mickel, John Hardy Jr., Howard Kennedy, Liz Cohen.

Eugene Lowe, Charles Henderson, Thomas Weed, Paul Fowler, Harold Bursztajn, Gil Schaeffer, E. Michael Heumann II, Kathy Grantham, Rick Sanders, Todd Sitome, Bruce Farwell, John P. McMaron, Eugene Lugano, Debbie Coda, Margo Constable, Thomas M. Gorrie.

Bob Douthill, Rick Schnure, Charles Goldberg, David Hoffman, J. O. Hatch, Michael R. Corbett, Dave D. Witten, Mark Ethridge III, Claire Montgomery, Michael Carrigan, John Rea, Hunter Cushing, T. Lyman Martin.

S. G. Saunder, Steve Tobolsky, Bill Koch, Kevin McCarthy, John Allen, Richard A. Lewis, Tom Mueller, Walter Baker, Douglas A. Grover, Robert E. Hall, Ronald Taylor, Robert B. Washburn, Nyntas Zdanys, Peter Reynolds, Marion G. Sleet.

Thomas LaBlanc, Elizabeth Abel, Wayne Mullin, Gary T. Back, John Holmes Ryan, Raphe Fouenshein, Saun Tully, E. R. Todes, Jr., Mashan, Graham Grass, Ndjsa Neilsow, O. J. Rothrock, Lee C. Edds, Henry W. Asbill.

James R. Proud, J. C. Adamson, J. F. Beardsley, Hohn A. Rossback, Mark Cegalle, Andreas A. Schneider, Eric Newman, Abyssus Amennious, Rollin Olson, Vivian Lyn Ericson, Doald W. Clouson, James E. Flynn, M. Sohn, Maurice Lee.

Gregory Kent Bergey, Barry R. Noon, Marc J. Abrams, R. A. Johnson, Bruce A. Hughes, Andrew J. Levada, W. David Graham, Ronald N. Hochman, Michael E. Henschirf, Dic: Bingham, Theodore M. Brown, J. A. Henrletta, Mark P. Smith, Charles P. Whitin.

Robert I. Tate, Dori F. Stickney, George Hardy, Jeff Hardy, Yaffe Ventura, Albert Ahooody, Edward Brencliff, Robert L. Zweibel, Mark Eplotes, Glen Carter, Chris Milner, Richard Evans, Mark Thompson, Charles Chastel, Anne M. Bowen.

J. O. Hatch, Michael R. Corlisset, Kare D. Mitro, Mark Ethridge III, Claire Montgomery,

Michael D. Carrigan, John Rea, Cladine Serre, Victor Sappinkoff, Hunter Cushing, T. Guyman Martin, S. G. Saunderson, Steve Tobalsky, Bill Kooff, Kevin McCarthy.

John Allen, Richard A. Lewis, Tom Mueller, Walter Baker, Douglas S. Groves, Robert E. Hall, Ronald Taylor, Robert B. Washdrafer, Nyntanta-Zdanya, Carolina E. Paup, Peter Reynolds, Marion G. Sleet, L. J. Commen, Bob Beja, Thomas M. Gorrie.

Rod Kellems, Gary Sikora, M. Eyston, Daniel E. Call, Richard Matteson, Edward J. Buckbee II, Gregory Coleman, John Liegel, James Duguid, Claudio Breeney, R. S. Berry, H. D. Collums, A. H. Summerville, Marcia C. Boraas.

Ronald C. Ohert, Claude Swanson, Joan Ozark, John H. Pruitt, L. C. Carson II, Y. Nakagawa, Pat Lyons, Phyllis A. Totten, Ellen Chances, Mary H. Kay, J. B. Savage, E. Ulener, Richard Pocer, George Sallis, Lawrence M. Shea.

D. Griffiths, Frank Sommerville, Charles F. Scott, F. E. Aeri, Frances B. Weeskapf, Kristine Brightenback, David L. Tharp, I. Ophelg, Frank Weinstein, Allen Krathen, William C. Wickes, Warren Knoff, Donald M. Whaley.

Wm. C. Haddad, F. White, Robert Ephraim, Timothy J. Butts, Jean E. Thomson, E. Shiffman, Sharon Frachtenberg, Toby A. Simon, Belgin Tebee, Ellen Weaver, Grace H. Armstrong, T. Reed, Tim Keiderling, Gregory M. Dobbs, John R. Guerlin, M. Maston.

Alvin Silverstein, B. Peck Aespl, Jeffrey A. Johnson, Katrin Nortin, M. Kerst, Kathleen Skiba, Sen-tair Jou, Demetrios Christodonto James B. Lindheim, Jeffrey Freedman, Charles C. Ellis III, Timothy H. Carter, Bryn Reeves, Christine Choy.

K. Frost, E. Milewki, Anna L. Staley, P. Tenn, Dorothy Holland, Eli Harari, T. H. Trevin, Mark Greer, Bruce Kohn, David E. Langsam, Ann Y. Carter, Michael Ann Turner, Robert S. Meerley.

Peter C. Hunter, Alex R. McKay, Robert Werner, George Robertson Laurence M. Seezer, Jerome Davis, Richard D. Cagan, Richard E. Dohal, Thomas G. Gallatin, Jr., R. M. Westerfield, Francesca V Longhi, Nilan H. Sigal, Neil Pederson, John H. Hendeman, John Lill Stanley, Jr.

Thomas Alder, John W. Craynoch, Thomas R. Hyde, David Y. Hist, W. James Hart, III, Tim Tosta, Stephen J. Powers, Olaf Oglad, Alan Makovsky, John R. Flippini, Robert B. Maguire, Denis M. Guzzinski, Natt Schaubacher, Bill Ryan, Scott Brumfield.

Jeffrey Hunter, John A. Good, Matt Meyers, Richard Kelly, Michael Glutz, David Elkind, John K. Gaffney, Robert Baker, James Meserow, Kevin Dean Ashley, Bruce Jay Nasser, William C. Lillydehl, William Schultz, G. Michal Hannon.

Robert L. Shmish, William B. Brown, Joe Verballs, John Batekta, William D. de Gohan, Rich Higgins, Edwin Nesbit, John Peyton, Diane Eisenberg, Chic K. Sole, Joseph P. Alnould, Maria Basan, Priscilla Read, Ken Christian, Stevin J. Laner, Jon W. Bower.

Peter Pouillada, Charles Murphy, J. Pofalt, Adele Ellis, Carter McAdams, Jeff York, Jim McGarry, Robert F. Dymek, Diana Blavo, Michael Janoski, James Nye, Malcolm Harris, Richard D. Holton, Richard Walker, Lurker Gamberti.

Sara-Linda Hoeken, M. Gella, Marshall H. Rose, Donald Brassio, Mary Lafuret, S. J. Collins, Jr., Alan S. Rosenthal, Bill Kuhn, Q. Scott Berg, G. Mary C. Smith, Jay F. McCutliffe, Ned Claxton, William J. Talbott, Jr., Rande Brown, Raymond Browne.

Neal Goodwin, Robert R. Watson, Richard R. Ellis, Alan Lyanoff, Mark W. Lebmman, Allan Cusla, Ralph Sobel, Doug Everett, J. Andrew Robbins, Don Szejner, John Slater, David Fischer, Lawrence F. Gilbert, John E. Brower, Tony Vicoto.

Ling Grazziano, Jeny Stockdale, Gary L. Berg, Wendy Cogan, Geoffrey C. Packard, William Stevens, Robert S. Butts III, Jack Hines, Ed Perraut, Jr., Michael Knight, Stu Namy, Steve Walrod, Tom Wood, H. W. Smith, John A. Roorbach.

Douglas Hinson, K. R. Loughlin, Thomas F. Russell, Vito R. Sessa, Margret L. Schwartz, Peter Waldman, Gretchen Ziolkowski, Kerry Wilson, Jeffrey Holmes, James Harris, Robert H. Ever, Jr., P. Johnson, Jim Childs, David W. Lyon, Steve Mather.

Lorraine Tedeschi, Stephen C. Chatain, Ellen Fineberg, Alan Brinkwitz, Dennis P. Wilkinson, M. Keith Payne, Geoffrey White, Nell N. Neulin, Steven L. Lester, James M. Gorman, B. Sanchi Lopez, William G. Sayen, Ford Martin, David Spann, Anne S. Charrier, F. Baldwin.

Oscar Grenntz, Edward Labowitz, Brian R. Smith, Stephen M. Olsson, Steven L. Dfelin, Nancy Waldman, Jan Ziolkowski, James Stevens, Gary Hoarlan, Ed Andrey, Michael Donnas, A. W. Steinman, Bruce E. Blachadar, Kevin T. Baine, Michael D. Henderson.

Theodore Tedeschi, Christopher Richardson, E. Michael Heurmann II, Andrew Marks, Robert W. Blair, J. T. Wagenknecht, Bob Alfson, R. D. Hume, J. Hemor, Richard A. Tina, Edmond A. Tiyah, Jana Samlas, Gerry Spann, David M. Armstrong, Nancy Lambert, D. E. Gratehoff.

Mark DeCarlo, Bruce Cogsil, G. E. Hubler, Paul N. Watterson, Jr., Theodore C. Marza-keotis, Anne Bocel, Howard Z. Skidmore, Frances Zwich, Walt Blisser, Tim Nichols, Michael M. Barry, Ed Smith, Morris Weinberg, Jr., William R. Kuntz, Jr.

Silas Kojif, James W. Anderson, John K. Spencer, Mark D. Ponnell, Frank Nickery, Ralph A. Simmons, Thomas Stoll, Stuart E. Rickerson, Bruce Corcoran, Douglas Boynton Quine, Andrew Napolitano, Charles H. Lippy, Steve Del Vecchio, Philip Barbaccia, W. H. Wilcox.

Dave Calkins, Kenneth A. Thomas, Henry Williams, R. Sanders Williams, Charles Goldberg, Meg Switzgable, James Easton, John Calkins, Paul Ryder, Jake Feldmeier, L. Erb- nizer, Allen F. Steere, Andrew Brown, Theodore J. Rueste.

Dan Cunningham, Jeffrey A. Brown, Kenneth K. Gill, Jr., Wilson Prichett III, Gary Ulmer, Olden Sprowls, Horace G. Sneed, Gary V. Sagul, Burrell C. W. Leonard, William Hugh Stuart, Robert Henry Caldwell, Jr., Allan Hogate Ferrin, Emil A. Deliere, Andy Wilson, Norm Duffet.

Frederic A. Ridder, William A. Latin, Richard G. Wallace, Jeffery L. Campton, Kathy Bloomgarden, Russell Vassie, Robert J. Bernstein, M. Bruce McKay, Jane Louise Hoffman, Marcus L. Rice, Anita L. Waddingham, William Cox Bowman, Brian Langston, Lamar Oxford.

John F. Padgio, John K. Priotte, Bradford N. Johnson, Roberta Miller, Robert Eli Sandfeld, Charles R. Stille, David W. Anthony, David Dwall, Robert W. Walbridge, J. D. Hosterman, William C. Libby, Wayne S. Maxson, Joe Reidy, W. Dale Allen, Rush D. Greenslade.

Larry Thompson, William F. James, Ben H. Durfer, John Hulamed, Louis Cox Jr., John Stuckey, Thomas Hanna Jones, David J. Grals, Rob Hartshome, Roy Herndon Smith, Robert F. Peake, Malcolm J. Curtis, Gary M. Scharff, Marilyn Schlachter, Michael D. Carrigan, Robert Singe, Lanier E. Williams, David A. Dalley.

Nancy K. Hall, John M. Christian, Larry Vinson, Charles Wright, Bill Keslar, Joseph Lettiere, W. Robert Kemp, Susan Pack, John W. O'Donnell, Randall J. Turk, Edward A. Holland, Michael Pepper, Debra Drogin, Walter N. S. Pfauamer, John W. Anderson, Emily Bonacarti, Robert Miles.

Carl J. Dahiman, Gregory Hodak, Sanford

M. Greenberg, Joel Coppelbaum, Kathy Maloney, Tony Battoglio, Richard Linowes, Dan Trifan, Chris Rogers, Stephen J. Long, Patricia Sohl, David Train, Billy Charg, Akwasi Osel.

Bill Ginsberg, Michael A. Marrese, Don Fineberg, Brian Hamasaki, Tom Hill, R. A. Patterson, Bob Wolfe, Arthur B. Carey Jr., Eyra Shapiro, Don Paxton, Michael Olmstead, John McLean, Roderick S. Ferris.

Larry Weissman, Nab Wood, Crispin S. Perdue, Dennis Lee Ritchie, Jeff Jones, Daniel H. Dall, William V. Engel, Richard L. Papiel, Harry N. Burton, Charles D. Burkam, Ed Szurong, A. J. Piecoville, Eldon Loblein, Tom Roy, W. P. Kelly.

Robert S. Kettering, Jon M. Hobson, Brian C. Tempasso, Steve Pierce, Rick Pieters, Steven R. Kunz, Robert H. Nelson, Theodore A. Wood, Howard Ziederman, Diane M. Di-Toazla, John Dietel, Marshall H. Rose, Richard Stockbridge, Carolyn Upshaw, Willa Logan.

Arch McCall, Allison Young, Peter McLaughlin, Rich Keating, Dick Wasserman, G. Martin Wagner, Ted Walkenhorst, D. Heitzman, Jeffrey D. Levine, John N. Krieger, James J. Bruce III, Lennie Coleman, David J. Gullen, John Fitzsimmons.

Mimi Druix, Paul J. Holzer, M. A. Camp, Brian Flenner, Zack Stay, Carol Feld, Charles S. Lawson, Jerel Zoltich, Robert W. Hobb, Toby Mountain, J. Edinger, B. Stone, Tzaidar van S. Clazett, Sue Morrison, David Motts, D. Tristram Coffin.

James Campbell, Jr., David O. Whitman, Robert P. Turner, Gregory L. Dilnt, Peter G. Brown, Thomas R. Leuner, George M. Peterman, Peter N. Doyle, Arthur H. Thornhill III, Ed Bauer, Marcia Honig, Alex Geiger, Roberta Wyper, Ellen W. R. Woodbury, Bill Lewis.

Paul Balaran, Steven Anton, P. Wilson Boswell, Sharon Harrison, John L. Hillay, Ed Freedman, Bruce Funkhereser, Harry L. Jacobson, Shirley S. Holmes, Kathleen L. Holmes, W. P. Groos, Jeffrey J. Thebel, David Rendall, Heidi Rendall, Jeff Weil, Tom Yunk.

Herb Simmers, Russ Orlando, Ray Grimmer, Jim Hundley, Muto Braun, T. Randolph Smith, Stephen R. Clausen, Walter Bode, Michael J. Curtin, Stephen P. Hamilton, Michael Morgan, Josephine Mineo, Michael H. Bartlett, Branch Coslett, John Hummer, George Tombullin, Jr.

Steven Feldman, W. R. Elfers, Peter H. Simpson, Geoff Miller, Tracy Eddinger, Cator Johnson, Jim Beha, M. Duncan Grant, Jonathan Wiglyf, Douglass Miller, Steve Allen, Rebecca Herb, Bruce Daniels, Steve Fuzesi, Judith Selverstone.

T. William Feuerhell, Malon Kit, Margery Hite, Ann Emily Hebnor, Sharon Frachtenberg, Lynn Y. Ladd, Stephen F. Cramer, Steven Handelman, Charles Alder, Larry Kuntz, R. Phillip Shinn, David Johnson, Ben Magurie, Mike Gage.

Merrick, Bob, Don G. Broun, T. Maneka, Ken Tayarr, Craig Shiffner, James H. Moor, John A. McColl, Richard C. Simons, John Benjamin, James L. McDonald, Andy Malcolm, Alastian S. Gardor, Thomas H. Neuberg, Paul Nabin.

Nana Feldman, Nicolas Knour, Kim NacCall, Eluzabeth Rowland, Douglas Eisenhose, Judith Ritvo, Peter Dickson, Tom Siemmer, Dennis Z. Edelman, Marc E. Minardi, Ama Stuart Eno, Chris Connell, Bill Crowley, Willis Minos, David Buck, John Joseph Armadio, Richard Wasserman, Mark Markiewicz, Arthur Steingold.

Steven Snyder, S. Gerber, Michael Miller, Ajuibro Naheazawa, C. Robinson, Anne Joachim, Stephen C. Mann, Ron Beilin, Rob Slocum, Anthony L. Cardoza, Lillian Lloyd, Craig R. Webb, Gail Smith, Robin M. Lloyd, Cathy Tan.

Eric Bates, Bruce Caplan, Thomas Grotton,

P. Niyinnes, Richard W. Jones, Diana Blair, Vance Prewitt III, Ron Kermon, Sandy Duryee, James S. Cunningham, Ben Ekilif, M. Pytolwamy, Catherine Scherrer, J. Dehais, Carin Laughlin, Ruben Cachnell.

Paul Parker, Craig R. Stevens, Sarah Wolf, Maribo Shimomura, Graham Harrison, Liz Abbott, Ann Paschke, A. L. Jackson, Scott Rogers, K. R. Hall, Tisha Baird, David Ofman, John Yellen, Philippe Ferry, Libby Farr, P. D. Kirdor.

G. Hubitz, K. V. Wilker, John Rinfel, John V. Rizzer, William B. Samuels, F. W. Kittler, Jr., H. P. Cooper, Stephen Briggs, Conway R. Miller, Jr., Mary Gibson, Ingrid Anderson, W. N. Lanndisk, Vadette Kedenburg, Ronald A. Guton, Missy Scherman.

Virginia M. Green, Maureen Ferguson, Marsha A. Levy, Beth Rom, David Lillie, Mary R. Yu, Aaron L. Kaufmann, Leigh W. Hoagland, '72; Charles H. Brown, '72; Christopher Acker, '73; Lonnie Crowder, '72; Henry William Hall II, '73; Charles Wellmann, '72; Sidney G. Hill, '72; Stuart H. Berthoner.

Jean Berner, '73, Barbara Sall, D. Williams, Charles Meyer, Peter S. Milhaupt, William R. Zwecker, Jr., John Hoffstutter, Joseph O'Hen, H. Curtis Colby, Helen Fields, Richard Deckard, Betsy Lander, Stephen Briggs, Darel C. Hook, Phil Seib.

Gail Finney, Stephanie Merrim, Deborah Tegarde, Melinda Ruderman, Marie Watson, Keith A. O'Conner, Stephan V. Weher, Rodney M. Fogelman, '70; Robert Leggett, '72; Tom Swelting, '73; Neil G. Lebor, '72; Earl L. Carter, Jr., '73; David Plaisie, '71.

Kenneth Griffin, James L. Rudolph, Howard Zien, '71, Mike Decker, Christopher Montgomery, Charles K. Sakamoto, Philip C. Hawley, Ed Perraut, Jr., Nichovan Stanojerich, Edwin A. Hetherington, Roy H. Winnard, William Pel, Fred Tullis, Chris Stirling, Tom Pettus, Mark Boardman, Howard Rossman.

Carlton E. Wynter, Jr., Ian G. Langham, James M. Gorman, Caroline Seidl, Pam Rosigs, Sandra Abel, Robert H. Rossen, William W. Richardson, II, David Rogosa, H. E. Finger, Sally Aloff, W. Browder, Tom Laquin, David Douglas.

Norman Goldberg, Kenneth Gewertz, Michael P. Sowker, Nancy Murdock, Christine Stansell, P. L. Lang, Jr., Evan M. Meliadi, Michael A. Gill, Theresa McLean, Anne Mariella, '72, Thomas C. Greiner, Jr., Bonnie Barnes, Charmaine Andre, Christine Brim, Janice Klein.

Robert M. Millamay, Wallace E. Oates, John Lindquist, Arthur J. Garrett, Daniel Steinhauer, Thomas E. Bower, William M. Drabkin, William F. Gilley, Mark H. Lin, Simon Aloff, Brad Hanson, Carolyn Hope Magid, David Hills, Eugene A. Scarzofara.

Christopher C. Reilly, Irene Diamond, Martin Summerfield, Elaine J. Schumann, Lawrence Lavenoich, Lewis J. Bernhardt, Robert S. Knapp, Glenn A. Herrick, Susan Nugent, Barbara Weinstein '73, Emily Fisher, Caroline Acker, Crawford Lindsay, Barbara Dash, Katherine E. Faulkner.

Fred Drabker, Augustina Carbonell, Gerald W. Woloship, Thomas W. Dyott, Mark Paris, Philip Teich, Marsha Jean Falco, Richard F. Samson, Freel Van Lente, Peter Schaffer, James E. Richardson, Jr., Robert S. Wetmore, Sofanery Noral.

Howard Rassin, B. Hingerty, Paul Souder, E. Nelson, David Lewis, W. Whitebread, John G. Hand, Dorothy Axel, Thomas J. Lipsman, Carol L. Ruschnitz, Jean M. Ward, John Barton, Elmer L. Corohl, Donald E. Campbell, Leonard Nissim, Robert Miers.

Leight Laughlin, Christopher R. Lipsett, Robert E. Falco, Karen Dakin, Elliot Kaufman, Paula Darin, Jane Warren, Anne Y. Samson, Thomas J. Rice, Jon W. Bauer, Andrew B. Davis, Richard C. Garrison, J. B. Robertson, J. H. Mitzy, Edward L. M. Lord.

Terry Leon Stengle, N. Zomgley, Stephen A. Fruhling, John D. Porte, Harold Burzstein,

Curry Hoover, Ira D. Silverman, Bert de Ving, Neil D. Sosnov, Cornelia Brandt, Richard P. Cornwall, Kenneth Uchty, Joseph H. Grassier, Jr., '71, John Rundle, '72.

Thomas Karr, John M. Rebel, Ronald J. Brachman, John Kamm, Fran Hopenwasser, J. C. Swage, Cheryl Hoffman, Tom Bolton, Brad O'Brien, Christopher D. Janney, Barry Gruber, Edward B. Wilson, Posey Pricoffes, David Petlet, Jim Roper.

Irene Ramp, Steve Pickrel, W. T. Matson, Joe Izzo, Art Veffan, Scott Early, Brad Rollings, Carol C. Dorsey, Fred B. Alexander, Patricia Kidd, Stephen C. Hitz, H. Jeffrey Engler, H. Dean Kedenburg, Ellen Bernstein.

Gary L. Takors, David Ulansey, Allan D. Smith, John Schuster, Michael Gron, Jeff Petrie, Marc Murphy, Kirk Nelson, David Chapin, Richard R. Clifton, Henry J. Svanger, James Hinton, Robert Plotnick, Chuck Oleson, Peter Hauck.

Barbara C. Fugus, Jim Schwarz, Jim Corbel, Dave Garretson, Bob Cohen, Von Furstin, Perry Cars, Warren D. Malthel, Scott Labun, Duncan W. Braun, E. Allen Zask, Richard A. Hesel, William J. Murphy, Frank R. Kiej.

Katherine E. Meyers, Barbara Wolfson, William B. Corwell, Douglas L. Blair, Albert H. Waly, Richard Deneson, Dave Grant, C. Hunt, Frederick L. Dixon, Gregory B. Allen, P. Michael Kozma, R. Douglas Rohn, Romulus Staton, Bill Fennell, William G. Daake.

Stephen J. Gladden, K. Wescoert, S. Coryn, T. Allaby, James J. Donnell, Bill Lucas, John E. Gummis, Alan R. White, Randall Mathieson, Sam R. Dickerson, Dan Ruchman, William F. Hanna III, Richard Denisen, James L. Montgomery, G. L. Drumm.

Phillip G. Connell III, Laird H. Hayer, Dennis Kelly, Thomas J. Main, Michael Buchman, Chip Deffea, Sam Wesley Denham III, Patrick L. Renny, Carl Barclay, David N. Huntington, Bob D'Acquisto, J. E. Kallil, F. B. Oleson, Ronald R. Rich.

Richard Bringuist, Jack Derovanesian, Gerald S. Couyens, Gary H. Fisher, Ronald Brown, David M. Soble, Edmund M. Girmingsil, John B. Ulam, Donald S. Gerber, Bruce G. Harris, John F. Adams, Kenneth Caneva, Leon Axel, Mary L. Azey, Ernest E. Norris, E. Griffin.

Sue J. Lee, Louis E. Jankauskas, Henry M. Lerner, Albert Baybien, Jr., L. B. Halbert, P. B. Caton, David Lemon, Sander M. Bieber, Stephen G. Gould, Nicholas Hammond, Michael H. Harity, Robert M. Thompson, Mangul, Bob M. Seun.

Glenn Scott, Robert Fish, Christopher Crimbals, Paul Bradshaw, Robert A. Wyper, Arthur A. Lehman, Dennis Farley, Jeff S. Arbogast, Pamela Houghtaling, Stephen L. Turk, Richard T. Wright, Randy Harns, Lauren C. Dubley.

Thomas H. Potts, Dennis J. Burns, John Kaysen, Michael Hough, R. Tomlinson, Jim Levy, Barry Feldman, Charles H. Robinson, Jr., Christopher Montgomery, Carey Davis, Roger Saltman, Stanley A. Lefkowitz, Nmamiji, Drew S. May.

Dennis M. Papard, James Brazell, Casey Wolff, Stuart Taylor, Jr., John R. Dwir, Royce O. Johnson II, Barbara Elkins, Jean H. Kroll, Gerald Goey, Art Dicker, Tim Ollan, Raymond LaSala, Greg West.

POLISH THIRD OF MAY CONSTITUTION DAY

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, on May 3, people of Polish descent in the free world marked the adoption of the Constitution

through which Poland was transformed into a modern state in 1791.

Polish Third of May Constitution Day is a holiday that is observed through the month of May, to remind Americans that Poland was one of the pioneers of liberalism in Europe.

On May 3, 1791, Poland adopted a new constitution. It came at a critical time in Polish history, for in 1772 Russia, Prussia, and Austria had annexed large portions of Polish territory. Facing possible dissolution, all forces in Poland united behind the constitution. The reforms made in this constitution stand as a tribute to the liberalism of the Poles. It eliminated most social inequities in Poland, and was greatly influenced by America, England, and France.

This constitution established the sovereignty of the Polish people, and separated their ideology from Russia, where the state, not the people, is considered sovereign.

On this occasion, we are reminded that Poland is deprived of the right to pursue her own destiny, in spite of the enlightened attitude of her people. We in the House of Representatives hope that the repressive shackles are lifted soon, and join with Polish-Americans in commemorating the May 3 constitution.

STRONGER ACTION BY THE UNITED STATES TO OBTAIN RELEASE AND RELIEF FOR AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR FAVORED BY 95 PERCENT IN MISSISSIPPI

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, Hanoi should get the message that Americans are outraged over Communist treatment of our prisoners of war. Recently the reader poll of the Jackson Clarion Ledger contained this question: Do you favor stronger action by the United States to obtain release and relief for Americans being held as prisoners of war in Southeast Asia?

The results were:

	Percent
Yes -----	95.63
No -----	2.39
Undecided -----	1.94

I think this poll reflects public opinion throughout the United States that strong action should be taken to obtain the release of American POW's.

LEGISLATION TO AMEND THE FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ACT

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, in the past few weeks, several reports have become

available as to the pollution problem which can be attributed to the use of phosphates in detergents.

These reports show that manufacturers can, and some are, producing detergents at close to minimal levels of phosphorus. Detergents contribute approximately 70 percent of the phosphorus in municipal

wastes which in turn foster rapid growth of algae and other underwater vegetation.

Under new regulations, municipal waste treatment plants are now required to eliminate phosphorus, which makes the construction and maintenance of plants more costly.

There is a solution, and I am today introducing legislation to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to require that synthetic petroleum-based detergents manufactured in the United States or imported into the United States be free of phosphorus.

Polish people, for in 1913 Poland, before the war, was a leading nation in the world in the production of phosphorus. This was due to the fact that the Polish people, and especially the Polish people in Poland, were very interested in the production of phosphorus. This was due to the fact that the Polish people, and especially the Polish people in Poland, were very interested in the production of phosphorus.

On this occasion, we are reminded that Poland is a country of the people, and that the Polish people, and especially the Polish people in Poland, are very interested in the production of phosphorus.

On this occasion, we are reminded that Poland is a country of the people, and that the Polish people, and especially the Polish people in Poland, are very interested in the production of phosphorus.

EXTENDING ACTION BY THE UNITED STATES TO OBTAIN RELEASE AND RETURN FOR AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR FAVORED BY THE CENT IN HAITI

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. Griffin. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the fact that the United States is currently holding 15 American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I am sure that the American people are very concerned about the fate of these men. I am sure that the American people are very concerned about the fate of these men.

Mr. Griffin. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the fact that the United States is currently holding 15 American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I am sure that the American people are very concerned about the fate of these men. I am sure that the American people are very concerned about the fate of these men.

LEGISLATION TO AMEND THE FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ACT

HON. JOHN M. WACH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. Wach. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that I have introduced legislation to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. This legislation is designed to ensure that synthetic petroleum-based detergents manufactured in the United States or imported into the United States are free of phosphorus.

Mr. Griffin. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the fact that the United States is currently holding 15 American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I am sure that the American people are very concerned about the fate of these men. I am sure that the American people are very concerned about the fate of these men.

Mr. Griffin. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the fact that the United States is currently holding 15 American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I am sure that the American people are very concerned about the fate of these men. I am sure that the American people are very concerned about the fate of these men.

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LEGISLATION TO AMEND THE FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ACT

HON. JOSEPH C. ALBANI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. Albani. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that I have introduced legislation to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. This legislation is designed to ensure that synthetic petroleum-based detergents manufactured in the United States or imported into the United States are free of phosphorus.

Mr. Griffin. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the fact that the United States is currently holding 15 American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I am sure that the American people are very concerned about the fate of these men. I am sure that the American people are very concerned about the fate of these men.

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Mr. Griffin. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the fact that the United States is currently holding 15 American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I am sure that the American people are very concerned about the fate of these men. I am sure that the American people are very concerned about the fate of these men.

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Mr. Griffin. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to the fact that the United States is currently holding 15 American prisoners of war in North Vietnam. I am sure that the American people are very concerned about the fate of these men. I am sure that the American people are very concerned about the fate of these men.

LEGISLATION TO AMEND THE FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ACT

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IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, May 13, 1970

Mr. Albani. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that I have introduced legislation to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act. This legislation is designed to ensure that synthetic petroleum-based detergents manufactured in the United States or imported into the United States are free of phosphorus.