EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE REVIEWS TRASH PROBLEMS, WHAT IS BEING DONE ABOUT THEM—SENATOR RANDOLPH SUGGESTS SCHOOLCHILDREN BE MOBILIZED TO CLEAN NEIGHBORHOODS

HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, Monday, the New York Times published a very informative story by reporter Gladwin Hill reviewing in detail the staggering problems presented by the Nation's growing production of solid wastes and of the attacks that are being mounted to cope with these problems.

Since the Earth Day programs of April 22, the Times reported, there has been a marked upturn in activity in cleansing our Nation of the trash that has been heedlessly scattered.

By coincidence, I was in New York Monday morning to address the American Management Association's timely and constructive environmental briefing on what business can contribute to the battle against pollution. The AMA conference is focusing attention on these problems by utilizing the talents and viewpoints of many people with diversified backgrounds. The ecumenical nature of the effort is indicated by the responsible and varied positions occupied by its principal officers. Dr. John N. Dempsey, the conference chairman, is vice president for science and engineering of Honeywell, Inc.; Putney Westerfield, cochairman, is publisher of Fortune magazine; and Phillip Berry, cochairman, is president of the Sierra Club.

From La Guardia Airport into the city and back again I observed the tremendous challenge faced by those responsible for keeping our cities clear of trash and garbage.

In my Earth Day speech at West Virginia University I said:

I am encouraged by the concern that is expressed daily throughout the Nation. It is likewise gratifying to see the active and leading role being assumed by the academic community—particularly by the students—in informing the public of the nature of the problems and encouraging action on solutions.

Mr. Hill's well-researched article further reenforced my observations on the role of students. In my address Monday I further suggested that the energy and enthusiasm of the millions of American schoolchildren be utilized to keep the country clean. I believe that individual schools could adopt projects, perhaps as extra-curricular activities, to keep their school neighborhoods clean of trash and junk, and prizes might be included as an added incentive.

I have received considerable mail from young people in West Virginia asking how they can help and have suggested similar projects be undertaken in my State.

Mr. President, I have spoken repeatedly of the need for a new awakening among the American people and the adoption of new attitudes if we are to keep our country clean and healthy. The report in the New York Times indicated that this is taking place with already noticeable results.

The magnitude of the problem is still enormous. So that the nature of the challenge we face will be fully understood, I ask unanimous consent that the New York Times article by Gladwin Hill be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the New York Times, May 25, 1970]

DRIVE TO CLEAN UP LITTER INTENSIFIES IN MANY AREAS—CONCERNED STIRRED BY EARTH DAY LEADS TO NEW PROJECTS—COST OF COLLECTING TRASH, HALF-BILLION A YEAR, SOARS

(By Gladwin Hill)

Public zeal against littering is on the upswing across the country, but not yet enough so to offset a costly worsening in the scourge of trash.

Solicitude for the environment galvanized by the nationwide observance of Earth Day last April 22, has inspired continuing cleanup projects in many places. It has also made public neatness more fashionable and stimulated stricter enforcement of antilitter ordinances.

But there are still many communities where apathy about "visual pollution" prevails and where officials despair of doing much about it.

Over most of the country, meanwhile, the "hidden tax" of cleaning up after litterbugs is rising steadily, by as much as 10 per cent a year. The annual national bill for carelessly strewn trash is probably upward of $500-million.

Those are some of the principal findings of an examination this month of litter problems in all sections of the nation.

Few people are aware of the cost of litter. Residents of Washington pay about $1.75 a year per capita to retrieve debris dropped on the ground instead of into receptacles.

William Roeder, associate director of the District of Columbia's Bureau of Sanitation Services says: "The District spends $3.5-million a year for street cleaning, and I'd say that better than half of that is for cleaning up litter."

In New York City, where the amount of litter has been increasing at a rate of 5 per cent a year, the annual cost of cleaning the streets amounts to some $9-million, or about $1.12 per capita.

Philadelphia spends some $2-million a year on such avoidable cleanup work—a per capita cost of $1.

And in Lincoln, Neb. (population 155,000) the expense works out to about $1.30 per resident.

The states must also spend money on litter. The National Academy of Sciences reported last year that in one month a typical mile of highway acquired 1,304 pieces of litter—59 per cent of it paper, 16 per cent cans, 6 per cent bottles and jars, 6 per cent plastics, and 13 per cent odd objects ranging from false teeth to refrigerators. Texas, as an example, spends $1.9-million a year to clean up its highways.

WIDE NEW AWARENESS

There are no official estimates of the total costs of picking up litter in the United States. But if municipal and state costs are added together the indicated per capita cost comes to well over $1 for each of the nation's 200 million people.

And added to that is the cost of disposing of the refuse once it is collected, which, according to the Federal Bureau of Solid Waste Management, runs several times the cost of collection.

In the aftermath of Earth Day, widespread new awareness of litter as a problem has become evident. Of 22 states canvassed, growing concern was reported in 14.

Charles Fahey, executive director of the Citizens Committee for a Cleaner Chicago, said that 500 civic groups concerned with litter there had stepped up their activities and were reporting that "young people who paid little attention before are interested and pitching in with important contributions."

Motorists along St. Louis' Lindberg Boulevard in the last few weeks have repeatedly come upon signs saying: "Caution—Students Picking Up Your Trash."

CLEANUP IN ST. LOUIS

On May 9, Mayor Alfonso Cervantes of St. Louis led a parade that was followed by a cleanup attack by 200 students on 110 blocks in the center of the city. On the same day there was a similar cleanup of 250 blocks in downtown Seattle.

A Maine salvage dealer attributed a recent rush of business to newly launched cleanup programs. "People are conscious of the fact of litter and the whole environment," Jack Silver of Portland said.

In San Mateo, Calif., the Sierra Club chapter has been sponsoring weekend cleanups of the beaches from San Francisco to Santa Cruz. Nearby San Leandro dispatches a city recreation director in a truck with groups of high school students on Saturdays to do similar work.

"The younger generation is spreading the consciousness of this," Robert Besant of the San Mateo Public Works Department commented. "There is less littering. The budget hasn't increased—it's just that the public is helping."

Near Tallahassee, Fla., state university students zeroed in on a cluttered cottage area called Alligator Point and touched off a communitywide cleanup effort. A resident said: "There's no adequate way to thank these students. Their help and enthusiasm are entirely responsible for evoking such tremendous community spirit."

SOME EFFORTS SPECTACULAR

"I think the kids realize the world is going to be left to them," said Allen Morgan, executive vice president of the Massachusetts Audubon Society.

Some of the zeal is spectacular. Before and since Earth Day, Mrs. Walter Craig of Philadelphia has had 350,000 citizens mobilized to keep 3,000 city blocks clean.

At Andersonville, a heavily Scandinavian suburb of Chicago, Chamber of Commerce activitists pace the streets at 10 o'clock every morning ringing bells as a signal to merchants to clean their sidewalks and gutters.

Some segments of business and industry have taken up the cause with vigor.

In North Dakota, the Auto-Dine drive-in concern this month paid $1,000 and 47,808 hamburgers in bounties to people in several cities who collected 682,000 beverage cans from roadsides.

The First Agricultural National Bank of Pittsfield, Mass., staged a week-long bottles-and-cans salvage campaign, offering children

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up to 18 years old one cent a piece for old beverage containers. Some 1,180,000 were brought in, for a payoff of $11,843—four times the expected response.

BOUNTY DRIVE IN OREGON

In Oregon, the Plaid Pantry Stores staged a similar drive with a half-cent bounty, expecting about 40,000 turn-ins a week. But in less than three weeks, 3.5 million containers were turned in, and the campaign had to be suspended, having cost the company $18,000 in bounties and $6,000 in promotion.

"We're still spending money advertising and we'll buy them back again if we have to," said John Piacentini, the company president. "But we hope to educate the public."

The State of Maine attributes a $29,000 decrease last year in its cost of cleaning 1,200 miles of state roadsides to a growing public conscience about litter.

But in other places a different picture emerges.

"The youth of today is a real menace," remarked David Damiano, Philadelphia's street sanitation engineer, referring to youngsters' propensity for scattering food containers.

Adults do not come off any easier, Leo Scherer, Mayoral assistant in Lincoln, Nebr., commented: "People are complaining but they're still throwing stuff around like they always have."

"We're really going after litter, but it's a never-ending job," New Orleans' sanitation director, John Casserino said. "Some people will litter just as regularly as they breathe."

'NOT GLAMOROUS ENOUGH'

"Litter is a problem, but it's not a glamorous enough problem to stimulate an all-out effort," said Larry Menchofer, chairman of Dayton's City Beautiful Committee in Ohio.

And Ralph Hulsey, superintendent of Atlanta's sanitation department, said: "Frankly, I can't see that Earth Day has left much of an impression. We have new containers at the bus stops and people still throw stuff on the ground. There just doesn't seem to be much concern on the part of the general public."

In Milwaukee, County Supervisor Fred Tabak, trying to sustain the Earth Day spirit, announced an antilitter rally at the Civic Center for May 2. Only 10 persons showed up—two supervisors, four high school students and four newspapermen.

And in Brookline, Mass., 2,300 high school students who had been all-out for Earth Day had to be warned this month that they would lose recess time if they did not stop littering school grounds.

"I think the antiwar demonstrations of the last couple of weeks have taken some of the impetus out of the antipollution campaign," James Spensley, one of the Earth Day organizers, said in Washington. "If Nixon gets the troops out of Cambodia in the next six weeks, maybe there will be a surge back to the problems of ecology."

PROBLEM CALLED PHILOSOPHICAL

A colleague, Steven Cotton, suggested the problem was philosophical. "Litter campaigns have only marginal success," he said. "People who want action against pollution are working with lawsuits and investigating corporations."

The nadir in public concern about refuse may well be in Kansas City, Mo., a metropolis of 555,000 that collects residents' garbage but still has no municipal trash collection.

In the last eight months, citizens have rejected both a proposed $2.50-a-month collection service and sales and payroll tax increases that would have financed the service "invisibly."

"We've had a tremendous increase in roadside dumping, even by the truckloads," said Myron Calkins, city public works director.

Less parsimonious residents of Cincinnati on May 5 voted an increase in the payroll tax from 1 percent to 1.7 per cent, which will permit the city to rehire 81 street maintenance workers, including litter-chasers, who had been laid off.

The cost of such work is constantly rising in most places. Maine's state highway cleaning bill has grown from $87,510 in 1962 to $220,420 last year. Massachusetts will spend $750,000 this year to pick up litter on 9,000 miles of state highways, 10 per cent more than last year.

LAWS HARD TO ENFORCE

The reason for such increases is illustrated by the situation in Atlanta, where the cost of freeway cleanup alone has grown from $104,000 in 1959 to $500,000. Eleven years ago, 14,600 cubic yards of litter was picked up; last year the figure was 20,800 cubic yards.

Most communities have anti-litter ordinances, generally providing for fines in the $25-to-$100 range, but they are difficult to enforce.

"The enforcing agent has to see the violation," Grover Green, Texas highway engineer, explained. "Officers won't arrest people because they think the penalty is too high." Loring Lovell, a Florida conservationist, said.

John Sutthoff, Cincinnati highway maintenance superintendent, commented that judges and juries needed to be convinced of the importance of littering so there would be more application of the city's $100 fine.

But sanctions have been tightening. A number of localities recently have increased the statutory fine. Delaware raised its maximum littering penalty this year from $50 to $250. Maine endowed all law-enforcement officers with authority to arrest litterbugs.

Along the Allagash, a rare "wild river" in Maine, state park rangers' arrests to littering have risen from 176 in 1965 to nearly 400 last year. Chicago officers last year handed out 70,000 warning tickets and 11,000 summonses for littering, mostly to business establishments.

FIVE CASES IN ONE WEEK

"Until last year, prosecutions were almost nonexistent, but in one week in April, we had five cases," Joseph Wine, a Dayton official, said. "The prosecution used to argue us out of pressing cases. But the public has been raising hell about ineffective waste collection, and he doesn't do that anymore."

Wide regional variations in the salvage market indicate the extent of the problem of establishing systematic recycling of materials. In Portland, Me., a scrap dealer, Jack Silver, said: "The price of metal is sky high at the moment—up from one-half cent a pound to one and a half cents just in the last six months. Everybody's bringing it in as fast as they can."

Yet in Washington another scrap dealer, Gilbert Freedman, lamented: "With inflation, the first thing that always goes down is secondary [junk] metals. People have the scrap, but they're saving it."

Although conservationists have been crusading against nonreturnable bottles and cans, redeemability does not appear to be a major factor in littering.

A recent check by the Florida Department of Highways showed that over 90 per cent of bottles picked up were returnable. And Dallas and Cincinnati, two cities where major bottling companies' business is still up to 90 per cent in returnable, do not feel they are any better off than places where disposable containers are big sellers.

A major cause of litter are food containers and accessories like napkins, and some officials think the recent craze of franchise fast-food take-out establishments has aggravated the problem.

HIGH IN "VISIBILITY"

Although all packaging constitutes only about 15 per cent of the nation's total urban solid waste, container makers are uncomfortable because of their high "visibility factor."

One answer has been a proliferation of used-container bounty campaigns (usually at one-half cent). An aluminum can recovery program pioneered by the Reynolds Metal Company several years ago has extended to other metal manufacturers and individual beverage companies. The Glass Container Manufacturers Institute has just started a pilot project in Los Angeles of paying a half-cent bounty on any sort of bottle or jar.

This sort of salvage costs the manufacturers money, but only a small amount compared to their outlays for advertising and public relations—or compared to the potential cost of restrictive and punitive legislation that they have been fighting off for years.

Two lines of defensive strategy are evident at the moment. One is community goodwill efforts. Thus the $40,000 budget of Stop Oregon Litter and Vandalism is financed one-third by the container industry, with the rest coming from other industries and conservation groups.

The other strategy is in legislatures, where countless attempts at restrictive container legislation have failed, usually in committee.

Currently, two gambits can be observed in various legislatures. One is to get any legislation deferred pending a year or more's 'study' of the problem. The other is an industry-sponsored "model litter law"—under consideration in the State of Washington among other places—that sets small fines and emphasizes such things as compulsory litter bags in vehicles, antilitter messages on products, and more trash receptacles along highways.

However, many observers feel that the only ultimate answer is the development of a public conscience about littering. The president of California's Luck Lager Brewing Company, Peter Widdrington, says "Preventing litter is to a large extent a matter of talking—of selling a very simple idea to a great number of people."

That idea, of course, is simply that if people put refuse where it belongs instead of strewing it around, everything would look nicer and there wouldn't be the effort and expense of picking it up.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE "END THE WAR" COMMITTEE

HON. ODIN LANGEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, in sending the American troops into Cambodia, the President may or may not have realized to what extent he was opening a Pandora's Box of controversy.

Nevertheless, the President's decision was taken as a challenge by some and became a rallying point for the many discordant forces and elements who wished to prove the Chief Executive wrong.

And so more demonstrations, more American flag burning, more marches on Washington, more pamphleteering, more handwringing, more political speechmaking, more choosing and dividing the electorate, more prognosticating—*x* percent of the American people oppose this or that.

The press is convinced of the President's folly, the students have been made suspicious of the establishment, and before national television, a group of Washington solons made a dramatic appeal for public support for an "amendment

to end the war." Viewer comments were solicited.

Undoubtedly public support was envisioned—after all who could possibly be for war? But for the sake of balance, let those concerned be apprised that their views do not enjoy universal public esteem.

I submit here a letter from a constituent which is most thoughtful and deserving of attention—could it be that the liberals do not have a monopoly on truth and morality?

The letter follows:

MAY 16, 1970.

AMENDMENT TO END THE WAR COMMITTEE,
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen: What more fitting day, or time, than Armed Forces Day (when our right has been denied, by "traitors" threatening violence, to honor our servicemen at our Grand Forks Air Base and members of the R.O.T.C. at the University of North Dakota) to respond to your nationally televised "politically gracious" invitation to the public to express their opinions (pro or con) of your presentation—but more specifically, a "dramatic" appeal (by means of signed petitions and financial contributions) for sympathy in your plea for support of your attempt to "betray" our servicemen serving to defend us, and the rest of the free world, from Communist trespasses. We have been among the "Silent Majority," lacking the courage or whatever it takes, to say or do anything about what so many of us are thinking. WE ARE NO LONGER SILENT!

The networks made it clear that the program was a paid presentation (on prime time). During your discussions, one of the "snow jobs" was comparing the "cost of the war" to the "needs of the poor," and yet you are not ashamed to ask the public for contributions to help pay the $75,000 program cost! What hypocrisy! Said Senator Hughes, "The President of the United States rightfully can command all media to bring a message to the people . . . ." It appears you feel that you should be given the same privilege, and that you have the right to assume "self-appointed" roles as "Commanders-In-Chief."

The "infiltrated" television media, through news commentator's interviews, guest programs (which often pay celebrity guests for appearing), and panel discussion programs all provide the opportunity to those who want to bring their message to the people. When one network hands over one full hour to riot-instigator Abbie Hoffman and gives infamous Jerry Rubin time to push his venomous propaganda into the nation's homes three days in one week; the writers for the most popular guest program of another network shove their "down-grade America" pitch into our homes; and a so-called "educational television" network ridicules the United States and our military, and attempts to white-wash Castro's Red dictatorship in Cuba, the remark by Senator Hughes is another example of the ludicrous methods used in "dirty politics."

A member of the former administration, immediately upon the completion of his term in office, began attacking every move and decision of the new administration, and condemned Mr. Nixon's Cambodia policy in ending "Johnson's War" (not "Nixon's War") as "atrocious"! Yet, not over three weeks later (apparently conveniently forgetting he is no longer a member of any administration, but still wanting to be a part of the Washington scene) returns from a short trip abroad and recommends that we intervene in the Arab-Israeli confrontation by selling aircraft and equipment to Israel. One minute we are told that we should keep our nose out of other countries' problems, and the next minute the exact opposite. Hypocrisy!

Quoting Senator McGovern, "This is not a . . . Congress resolution, it is not a debater's point. It is an act of law, which if carried, will put an end to this war in a systematic way". The "Whip Mansfield" has said that debate to cut off funds will be followed by action to repeal the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution, used by Mr. Johnson to send masses of U.S. armed forces into Southeast Asia. May I ask, gentlemen, why these actions were not taken before Inauguration Day 1969? Why did the revolutionists decide to wait until this same day to become concerned about a war that the new administration "inherited"?

Rep. George Brown of California said he has instructed his staff to examine the legal grounds for possible impeachment proceedings against President Nixon because of the President's action in sending American troops into Cambodia without "authorization from Congress". May I ask again, is Congress willing to share the responsibility in the "Bay of Pigs Incident"? Is it also willing to share the responsibility when Mr. Johnson sent our forces into Southeast Asia? People should keep their own closets clean before criticizing the closets of others! The "save face" tactic was used on your program as a "political hammer"! Who is really trying to save face? The transference of guilt is just another symptom in the syndrome characterizing the crippling disease of anarchy sweeping our nation in epidemic proportions.

I must admit you were all superb "actors" and, although Governor Reagan is much more talented, and has had much more experience, the "acting profession" can no longer be used as a "political facetious jab" against the few former acting professionals who are now in the political arena. I might add that Governor Reagan has proven himself a credit to the state of California and the nation. Your heart-rendering presentation, I am sure, soothed and gave much comfort to the "subversive elements" infiltrating every segment of our society.

These destructive, law-breaking instigators of violence can say and do anything they desire by abusing America's four "freedom" leniencies and are immune from any responsibility or punishment. Their choice of words, usage and connotation in verbal, written and pornographic form, is supposed to be condoned by the public. When our former president, "Dear Ol' Harry", wished to express himself with his profound vocabulary of profanity, it was simply overlooked as "humorous". Yet, when Mr. Agnew or Mr. Nixon "tell it like it is", without resorting to vulgarity or profanity, they are censored and condemned. The hypocrisy of the double standard! From the moment the oath of office was administered these two gentlemen have been crucified, and are being "Damned if they do" and "Damned if they don't"!

The professional revolutionists who are so actively recruiting followers on our college and university campuses, and elsewhere, deliberately creating situations for violence and destruction (then conveniently protecting themselves by getting out) and exploiting their results at the expense of the innocent; the drug pushers and users; the pro-Red professors who are polluting the minds of our gullible and easily-led youth with propaganda and encouraging and yes, even forcing, students who want classroom education, to participate in revolutionary movements (with either promises of immunity to punishment or threats of failing grades—it happened right here at U.N.D. last week); the permissive attitude of many parents who provide the money for tuition (and very often luxuries) but aren't interested enough to find out if their child is attending class, or is getting classroom education for which they have paid; the permissiveness of the administrative officials of our state-supported colleges and universities—(the President of U.N.D. felt he was being honorable on this day by calling a Grand Forks patriotic, fraternal, nationally respected organization and asking them *not to fly our American flag* because it might "stir up trouble"! I am happy to say that his request was denied by a former serviceman who held the rank of Major); immorality and the tied hands of the law officials, are all ingredients of ammunition just as capable as a bullet of killing and maiming, both physically and mentally, our youth on our own doorsteps. I have never heard a reporter, or commentator, ask an extremist, a revolutionist, radical or Hippy if he would be willing to defend the United States if we were attacked by the very enemy of our democracy whom they are supporting. I wonder who they would blame if, God forbid, this ever became a reality? Perhaps it would be the very ones who find it easier to "appease" now and given free rein to another Castro to secure sanctuary on American soil. Is it any wonder the Kremlin was so intensely interested in the 1968 election?

The Communist declaration that our nation could, and would, be over-thrown without firing a shot is becoming an imminent threat. I know that you are all familiar with the Communist Rules For Revolution, a copy of which was obtained by the Allied occupation forces in Germany in 1919. There are some Americans who are not familiar with this document, but I am sure you also know that there are many, former servicemen and others, like us (whose fathers, sons, husbands, brothers and loved ones served, defended and gave their lives for their country overseas in Korea and both World Wars), who are familiar with its existence, and which after 50 years, is still in effect. If these rules, and the present conditions in our society are coincidental, they are all too compatible for comfort, unconcern or apathy:

A.—Corrupt the young; get them interested in sex, make them superficial. Destroy their ruggedness.

B.—Get control of all means of publicity, thereby getting the peoples' minds off their government by focusing their attention on athletics, sexy books and plays and other trivialities.

C.—Divide the people into hostile groups by constantly harping on controversial matters of no importance.

D.—Destroy the peoples' faith in their leaders by holding them up to contempt and ridicule.

E.—Always preach true democracy, but seize power as fast and as ruthlessly as possible.

F.—By encouraging government extravagance, destroy its credit, produce fear of inflation and rising prices with general discontent.

G.—Promote unnecessary strikes in vital industries, encourage civil disorders and foster a lenient and soft attitude on the part of government toward disorders.

H.—By specious argument, cause breakdown of the moral fiber, honesty, sobriety, continence and faith in the pledged word.

I.—Cause the registration of all firearms on some pretext, with a view to confiscating them and leaving the population helpless.

It is an historical fact that there are so-called patriotic Americans who, for their own selfish and political motives, believe that wars bring prosperity and financial stability. The majority of the American public have nothing to gain by this premise, but a lot to lose. No one, except the above mentioned, wants war! We all want this undeclared war stopped and our loved ones home, but not at the risk of assisting the Communists wage an unprecedented "mass slaughter" for which they have been preparing under the protection of safe sanctuaries for much too long. You are asking the public to support cutting off funds to stop the war (using our men as cannon fodder), but here again, do not hesi-

tate to ask these same people to help pick up a $75,000 tab for your own "political motives." What an insult to the human intelligence of the American people and voters from whom you expect to get political support.

My family does not believe that "patriotism" is a dirty word and we are proud to display our flag every day. When we stand facing our flag to sing, or listen to our National Anthem, and give the Pledge of Allegiance, we are not just saluting or honoring a colorful red, white and blue piece of fabric! Just let anyone try to deny us this honor and right in our public schools and in public! The defamation of our flag was witnessed this past week during a demonstration in front of the Grand Forks Court House when a young man used the flag as a "rag" to wipe his dirty face and hair. To use our flag in such a manner to express dissent is nothing short of treason. If the police had attempted to assume their responsibility in enforcing the laws governing such actions they too would have been the victims of crucifixion. Benefits have been held to raise money to protect such extremist groups as the Black Panthers but no such benefits are held for policemen who have been killed or injured while performing their duty.

We do not condone extremists, either Left or Right, and rioting and revolutionary students do not make up the majority of our population, but we do resent their destroying what the majority does hold dear! We are the parents of a 16 year old son who is a potential, academically qualified, college student and draftee. We are proud to say he has not been influenced by anyone to follow the current fads just "to be in," and is not considered a "square" or a "loner" just because he happens to believe that neatness, respect, courtesy, common sense, good judgment, hard work, patriotism and "keeping the lines of communication open" are false virtues of "the establishment." However, we must admit that we feel fortunate that he is not now a part of the present college scene, not because he could be "swayed" by the radicals from "within" and "without" the Halls of Ivy, but because he feels as we do, that we, as parents, with his financial help, should not have to make sacrifices in order to provide tuition for an education in institutions where the privilege is being denied those who are sincere in their aims and efforts. The revolutionists are proving all too well that "education is not always on speaking terms with intelligence." Under these conditions, he has expressed the desire to attend a vocational or trade school which will prepare him in the field of his choosing and also for the future as a responsible citizen. If he is ever drafted we will be proud that he feels he has an obligation to defend the country which has been good to him He also agrees with us that the public has had their fill of these traitors and that this intimidation, violence and destruction must be put to an end.

A Grand Forks serviceman, who returned from De Nang in March, feels that the following bit of prose (author unknown) sums up his feelings, and those of many of his comrades, about the situation in this country and Vietnam:

"MY GOD, HOW CAN IT BE?

"That one boy lies rotting from malnutrition and torture in a jungle prison camp in North Vietnam and another boy spits and tramples on the flag of this country on the steps of learning.

"That one man lies sightless in a U.S. naval hospital from communist inflicted wounds—and another man uses a communist flag to drape himself in defiance of the laws of his country.

"That one man of medicine begins his 30th straight hour of standing over an operating table in pursuit of life for men serving this country—and another man of medicine encourages young men to refuse to serve their country.

"That one Negro holds the face of his dead comrade in his arms and cries pitifully in a dirty mudhole in Vietnam—another Negro screams with hate against his white brother on the streets of countless American cities.

"That one boy lies in a coffin beneath the ground because he believes in duty to his country—and another boy lies on a dingy cot giving blood to the enemies of his country.

"That one man of God shields a wounded boy from an enemy bayonet with his body and dies—and another man of God uses his cloth as a shield to preach hate, dissension and lawlessness.

"My God, how can it be?"

Perhaps your plan of action should be added to the above—"My God, How Can It Be?"

Mr. Nixon's integrity, dignity and honesty will outweigh any "political ambitions for glory and credit" by those who are looking ahead to 1972.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S COURAGEOUS DECISION

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, recently I delivered an address in Detroit setting forth my reasons for supporting President Nixon's decision to clean out Communist sanctuaries near the Cambodia border. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the RECORD.

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

ADDRESS BY U.S. SENATOR ROBERT P. GRIFFIN BEFORE THE ENGINEERING SOCIETY OF DETROIT

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. Recently, a major newspaper in Michigan ran an editorial entitled: "Senator Griffin Lets Us Down."

The editorial sharply criticized me for supporting President Nixon's difficult and courageous decision to send troops across the Cambodia border to clean out Communist sanctuaries that have been a menacing threat to the shrinking number of U.S. troops in South Vietnam.

Needless to say, members of the press are always free to criticize me—and they frequently do.

In this particular instance the basis of criticism points up a fundamental difference in viewpoint—a difference that deserves some analysis and comment.

First of all, I realize full well that, politically speaking, I could have been more popular with the press—and perhaps with the voters—if I had joined in the chorus of denunciation being led by some of my Senate colleagues.

But in good conscience I could not do so. I am convinced that I really would have let my constituents down if I had taken any course other than the one I chose.

With a tone of ridicule, that recent editorial referred to a newsletter I had written several years ago, and quoted this paragraph:

"In South Vietnam the free world is confronted with a naked Communist effort to conquer and control 15 million people by terror and force. One lesson of history ought to be clear: when an aggressor is allowed to succeed by such methods, he is only encouraged to try again."

That paragraph was quoted out of context. But even so, I believe it states a common-sense truism which has been demonstrated by current and past experience. And I stand by it. Indeed, I am frightened today—not so much by the growing threat of Communist power itself, as I am by the naive refusal of so many Americans to recognize it, and by the eagerness of so many to "cop out" and surrender—without any regard for the ultimate meaning and consequences of that action.

It disturbs me deeply that unless there is more support at home for our President in a situation such as the one that confronts us now, the Communists may yet win—in the United States—a war they have been unable to win in South Vietnam. If that should happen, it would have disastrous consequences for the free world and the ability of the United States to provide leadership for it.

Shortly before he spoke to the nation on television the evening of April 30, President Nixon briefed his Cabinet and Congressional leaders on the background and reasons for his historic decision.

Having been there in the White House for that briefing, I can say that no one realized more than President Nixon what the political risks *were* as he was about to speak to the nation.

I recall a particular point he made in that regard. He said one learns a great deal by winning elections—but oftentimes one learns even more when he loses. Having lost a few, the President was very conscious of the political stakes involved.

I recall a very personal reference by the President that evening as he visited with us just before going on the air.

He told of an incident, during the 1968 Presidential campaign, when a young girl asked if he couldn't do something about that face of his . . . because she said it didn't come through very well on television.

Candidate Nixon replied that he wished he could do something about it, but his face was a fact of his life and he would have to accept it.

That evening he had to face some facts as they actually were in Indochina and elsewhere in the world—and not as he or we might like them to be.

As Commander in Chief he gave an order for U.S. troops, in conjunction with the armed forces of South Vietnam, to clean out a string of major Communist sanctuaries near the Cambodian-Vietnam border.

This evening I wish to provide a further report concerning the reasons for and the meaning of that decision.

I do so, on the basis of regular military briefings and after a number of recent meetings with the President and Cabinet officers, including a recent two-hour session at the White House with all members of the Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations Committees of the House and Senate.

Over and over again in the past few weeks, I have heard news reporters and commentators speak of the U.S. "invasion" of Cambodia. Recently, one member of Congress even went so far as to describe the sanctuary operation as a U.S. "attack on Cambodia."

Such careless language not only provides valuable propaganda for the enemy but it is very irresponsible. The difference is not just semantic. The U.S. is not attacking the Cambodian government or its armed forces. We are not moving on or against territory occupied or controlled by Cambodians.

The operations are not directed against Cambodia or any territory it occupies—our forces are hitting sanctuaries located on geography that has been occupied and controlled for years by Communist North Vietnam and Viet Cong forces—occupied and controlled in direct violation of the 1954 Geneva Accords to which North Vietnam was a signatory. Indeed, one of the main reasons this war has dragged on so interminably is that the enemy has been able to

strike out at allied troops from those sanctuaries and then step back over a boundary line to safety.

Although it has filed a formal protest as evidence of determination to remain neutral, the Cambodian government is not unhappy about our action, and is *not* concerned about our intentions. Cambodians know, the critics here at home know, and even the Communists know that we are not "invading" or "attacking" Cambodia, and that we have no designs on Cambodian territory.

I believe it is important to say more about the precise nature and limited scope of the military operation against those enemy sanctuaries.

As I recently said on *Face the Nation,* and repeat here this evening, there is no plan or intention to send American troops to defend Phnom Penh or the rest of Cambodia in response to any request by Cambodia for military assistance. Whatever assistance we do provide Cambodia will be limited and American troops will not be included.

It is important to realize and recognize, then, that the action announced by the President was taken, not in response to Cambodia's request for military assistance, but rather in response to a growing threat which endangered our own troops in South Vietnam.

Of course, I do not mean to suggest that no benefit whatever accrues to the new government of Cambodia. Without doubt, this military operation will help to relieve the Communist pressure which has been building up against the Cambodian capital. It should buy some time for the weak 35,000 man Cambodian army to get better organized, better trained and better equipped. But that is a side effect—an important, indirect benefit—that also results from our action.

The real purpose of the operation is to save American lives, to buy time for the Vietnamization program and to make it possible for another 150,000 American troops to come home during the next eleven months *on schedule.* And I'm confident most Americans are for that.

Those who have been blindly generating opposition and deep devision here at home are making it more difficult to protect the very Americans we want to bring home. Although all critics do not use the rhetoric, it is obvious that some of them advocate—and would be satisfied with *nothing less* than—abject surrender and a Dunkirk-type evacuation without regard for the meaning or consequences.

President Nixon will not take that course. And for the sake and future of the free world, it is essential that Congress and the people support him in that fundamental decision. We are moving our troops out on an orderly schedule as the Vietnamization program progresses—on a basis that will allow the South Vietnamese people at least a chance to have a government of their choice.

Just *how limited is* the present U.S. military operation inside Cambodia? The answer is: it *is very* limited.

It is limited *geographically.* President Nixon has said flatly that our troops will focus only on the enemy sanctuaries and will go *no farther* than 21 miles from the border.

The operation is limited as to *time.* Because the monsoon season is about to begin, we are in a race with the rain. The President has said categorically that all U.S. troops will be out by the end of June. Several thousand are already out—more are leaving—most will be out by the middle of June—all will be out by before July 1.

The operation is *limited as to its objective.* There was no expectation that a vast number of the enemy would be killed. Nevertheless thousands have been killed so far. The primary objective is to find and destroy equipment and facilities including communications and headquarters bases.

The allied forces are capturing hundreds of tons of rice, thousands of trucks and vehicles, as well as all kinds of other supplies and equipment.

And in addition, they are capturing huge stores of rifles, millions of rounds of ammunition and thousands of rockets and mortars—all of which would have been available to aim at American troops in South Vietnam if this action had not been taken.

Once the rains come and our forces are out of Cambodia, the weather will effectively hamper the enemy until November when the rainy season will be over. Thereafter, particularly if they do not have access through the port of Sihanoukville, it will take the Communists months to move such equipment and supplies again over the Ho Chi Minh trail to restock and effectively reestablish their base camps.

It is estimated that this operation will set enemy plans back 10 months or a year. This is very valuable time which enables ARVN forces in South Vietnam to continue their impressive progress—to be ready and able to take over as we continue to pull our troops out.

However, there is no absolute guarantee that this time will be enough to enable Cambodia to save itself. Surely, the action will help immeasurably.

So far as Cambodia is concerned, I believe the real meaning of the Nixon doctrine, as I understand it, is now being tested; that fact will become more and more apparent. If Cambodia needs additional ground troops in order to save itself, those ground troops will have to come from other nations in that part of the world—other nations whose freedom is directly at stake.

Consistent with the Nixon Doctrine, as I said on Face the Nation, the U.S. may help Cambodia with limited military and economic assistance in conjunction with other actions—but there will be no massive military aid program and I am convinced that this President has no intention of allowing American troops to become bogged down in Cambodia.

Some have said that President Nixon is expanding the war. Exactly the opposite is true. It is obvious that the Communists have broadened their attacks and objectives to include all of Indo China.

But President Nixon took the action he did precisely because he wants to limit—and not expand—our participation in that war. He is protecting American troops in South Vietnam so he can get them out on schedule.

And, in the process, other nations in that part of the world—nations that could be the next Domino victims—are getting a clear message that it is time for them to come to the aid of their own countries.

In that regard, a very significant conference of free Asian nations has been called in Jakharta. This can be a very meaningful sign.

As I see it, a large part of our problem here at home is that some will not listen, and others, if they do listen, simply refuse to believe the President of the United States. This is not only unfair; it is very dangerous.

If our own people at home do not believe that the President means what he says, how can we expect the enemy to take him at his word?

And yet, the credibility of the President of the United States is absolutely essential to the prospects for peace.

When the Soviets and the Communist world are convinced that we say what we mean—and mean what we say—there can be hope for a peaceful accommodation. But if and when they doubt and miscalculate our real intentions, we can be in real trouble—not just in Southeast Asia—but in the Middle East and around the world.

President Nixon did not get us into this war. It was a fact of national life that existed when he took the oath of office. Since then he has devoted the major portion of all his time and effort to the objective of getting us out of that war.

He has been truthful and candid with the American people. He has communicated his decisions and actions at every important step of the way.

Instead of what we are witnessing, I believe the President is entitled a large measure of good faith support. He has earned the right to be believed—at least up to this point in his efforts and performance directed toward extricating us from this war.

If anything, I can tell you frankly that this Administration has underplayed and has toned down optimism in reports of progress, particularly with respect to the Vietnamization program.

In terms of cleaning out the Viet Cong infra-structure, land reform, improvements in agriculture, and in a number of other ways, the progress has been dramatic and very impressive.

This President has been very careful not to make promises on which he could not deliver. He has not been sending more and more American troops to Vietnam—he HAS been bringing them home—and what he asks for now is the chance to continue doing so.

I hate to say it, but I have no doubt that some of President Nixon's critics are deliberately playing politics with the war. They are determined to undermine and destroy this President, politically, no matter what the cost on the other hand, I am equally convinced that the overwhelming majority of those who criticise the President are not deliberately playing politics; but they are unfairly judging this President. They are judging him, not on the basis of his own performance in office so far—but on the basis of the track record of his predecessor in the White House.

It is unfortunate, but still it is a fact, that the Communists do not understand weakness—they only respect strength. If, in the past, the enemy had misinterpreted our Vietnamization and withdrawal programs as a sign of weakness, the President's latest move should serve to correct any miscalculation that may have creeped into Communist thinking.

I believe the President's action should serve to reinforce American credibility abroad. But obviously, it is difficult to reinforce credibility abroad if it is destroyed by our own people here at home.

Needless to say, the Soviets have given us cause for serious concern with the revelation that their pilots are actually flying operational missions for Egypt. This disturbing and provocative action points up the depths of the Soviet Union's involvement in the Middle East.

Make no mistake about it. The implications and importance of President Nixon's decision reach far beyond Southeast Asia—they reach into the Middle East and throughout the world.

During the past five years the United States has maintained a relatively static posture so far as strategic arms are concerned. But in the same five years, the Soviets have increased the number of their land-based ICBMs from 200 to more than 1200. We have just over 1000.

The Soviets are rapidly narrowing the American advantage in submarine missiles. They are testing a MIRV system for their SS–9 missiles, and the megatonnage of their warheads is far larger than ours.

The Soviet strategic arms strength is rapidly approaching our strength in some areas—and has already passed ours in other areas.

But far more important than our physical inventory of weapons at any particular time is our resolve as a people and a nation.

So long as the Soviets and the Communist world are convinced that as a people we do have that resolve—and that we do have firm leadership—then there can be realistic hope that we will not have to use those weapons.

It is unfortunate is some respects but nevertheless history teaches the lesson that we have a far better chance of avoiding war when we are prepared to go to war.

But, all the weaponry and all the missiles imaginable will not save a people if they are not willing to stand up and be counted in moments of crisis.

President Nixon needs support. Unless you, the American people, and we in the Congress, support him, his efforts to end the war in Southeast Asia, his efforts to negotiate successfully at the SALT talks in Vienna, and his efforts to keep a threatening situation in the Middle East from exploding—will be undermined and severely damaged.

These are times that call for the judgment, wisdom, and courage of a Winston Churchill. Fortunately, we have a Churchill leading our Nation—and he deserves our support.

We might like to live in Camelot—but we do not.

It might be nice if the USA were a third-rate or fourth-rate power. But we are *not* a third-rate or fourth-rate power; we are the world's leading free nation, and we do have awesome burdens to bear at home and abroad.

We cannot turn our back on the world. We cannot stick our head in the sand.

So, I am supporting our President at this critical hour in our history. Obviously, it is not an easy decision in some respects for the Republican Senator from Michigan.

Some of my Republican friends and supporters have been very critical of the President—and very critical of me for supporting him.

They say the President may be right—but they are concerned that the political damage will be devastating.

Perhaps that is true—although, frankly, it is very early to make such an assessment. But in any event—this is a moment of truth, as I see it, for those who are active in party affairs. It is a time to ask ourselves: Why are we involved in politics anyway?

Is it merely to elect politicians who can gauge the political winds and maneuver adeptly without principle to maintain themselves in office? Or are we involved in politics to elect public officials who can rise to statesmanship when the nation's interests call for it?

I believe that the nation's future really does hang in the balance. As far as I'm concerned, under such circumstances, I'll take my chances on the next election—rather than on the future of our nation.

Thank you very much.

WET IS NOT ENOUGH

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, in view of the acute need for accurate scientific information to utilize in our attack on the causes of our environmental crisis, the following article written by Lois M. Cox, science writer for the Utah Agricultural Experiment Station and Division of University Research is of timely interest. It describes the work of scientists at Utah State University involving two projects which carry great ecological significance, and I believe my colleagues will find the information contained in the article valuable:

WET IS NOT ENOUGH

(By LOIS M. COX)

We had to see most of our major lakes and rivers either clogged with sewage-fed algae or scoured of life by chemical pollutants—but now we know. Access to ample clean water is not a God-given right.

To support life, we need pure, "healthy" water—water that is more than just wet. But that kind of water is not going to be available simply because we *need* it. We will have enough good quality water only if we learn to reverse present trends. And that difficult goal is not likely to be achieved until we understand the ecology of water—wherever and however it occurs.

RESEARCH AS A TOOL

Scientists at USU have been doing research on water ever since the school was founded. Beginning with an emphasis on irrigation technology, the program has grown to include such topics as weather modification and statewide water management criteria.

Within the past 3 years, USU's water research program has incorporated two projects that have special ecological significance. One is being carried out on Amchitka Island in the Aleutians. The other is based in Logan. Both are producing results useful to people in and out of Utah who recognize the immensity of our evolving water problems.

WHY AMCHITKA?

Amchitka is one of the Aleutian Islands off the coast of Alaska that have been designated as a wildlife refuge. Amchitka itself was further designated by the Atomic Energy Commission as suitable for testing nuclear explosions.

The AEC's use of the island in 1965 was severely criticized because lack of preliminary evaluations made it impossible to adequately determine the effects of the nuclear blast on the island's ecology. Spurred by the criticism, the AEC decided to sponsor before and after studies in conjunction with their next detonation.

Two USU scientists were assigned to the responsibility for defining the freshwater vertebrate and invertebrate ecology of the island. In 1967 they began to establish basic baseline data about freshwater ecology as it then existed on Amchitka. The natural state of the island had already been changed by construction activity, human habitation, waste disposal, etc., so the original ecology could not be defined. But by cataloguing the 1967 situation, they hoped to be able to identify any specific effects of the next blast.

By the time of the October 2, 1969, one-megaton, underground detonation, the USU scientists, along with others from other institutions, had developed a satisfactory description of the area's total ecology. Within that total, the freshwater lakes and streams were found to have an ecology quite similar in type to that of waters in high mountain areas in the western states. The main difference is that the Amchitka ecology is much less complex and therefore easier to study.

Instead of dozens of fish species, Amchitka streams and lakes are populated primarily by only two. The Dolly Varden resembles a brook trout, and the three-spined stickleback occupies about the same position in the Amchitka food chain as the minnow does in Utah streams. The invertebrate and plant population are equally limited.

But despite the overt simplicity of the system, the USU scientists rather quickly found themselves with an intriguing mystery. Some of the Dolly Varden migrate to the ocean—precisely what determines which ones stay home is still unknown. It is also unknown whether the same fish make the trip each year. What *is* known is that a Dolly Varden that spends its entire life in an Amchitka lake or stream will be only about 7 inches long at 5 or 6 years of age. One that has gone to sea may measure 18 inches or more at the same age.

If detailed descriptions of the Amchitka area can be recorded over several years, they could provide insights into the likely effects of human activity on the ecology of our western, high-mountain streams and lakes. Eventually, the scientists hope to convert their data into equations that can be used to predict ecological events. For example, how much camping "use" can a high-country meadow absorb without deteriorating into a less attractive plant-animal ecosystem?

The Amchitka studies may also provide valid bases for predicting ecological effects if nuclear explosions are used to gain access to stores of natural gas. Nuclear force is being considered as a tool in extracting oil from oil shale. The Amchitka results should allow us to pre-evaluate probable side effects in such cases, too.

So the answer to "Why Amchitka?" is that it was available and funded for study. And, as with so much research, the geographic location of the project doesn't rigidly restrict possible applications of the results.

WATER AS A WASTEBASKET

The Logan-based research is even more obviously practical than the Amchitka work. Throughout the U.S. we are pouring 600 percent more wastes into our fixed supply of water than we were in 1900. This load has totally overwhelmed the capacities of many of our rivers and lakes—with the prime example being Lake Erie. But no part of the country has a monopoly on dead and dying water. So the search for efficient ways to convert wastes into assets is widespread.

The USU scientists working on this problem are using the Logan sewage system as a source of experimental data. Before 1967 the city's sewer system simply emptied into open ditches. During the summer, some of the untreated sewage was used as irrigation water, a potentially dangerous practice from a public health viewpoint. The rest was held in a large pond where much of the organic material was converted into phosphates and nitrates. During the winter, the pond was emptied and incoming sewage was discharged directly into the Logan River, again, a hazardous situation.

Between 1965 and 1967, the scientists made bacteria counts, took plant and fish censuses, and estimated insect populations at various locations during different seasons of the year. By 1967, when the new lagoon sewage system went into effect, extensive baseline data had been developed. The scientists knew where and when certain bacteria and invertebrates thrived—and died—and they had indications of how fish responded to these changes.

Over the past 2 years, continued sampling has provided information that is being used to evaluate the relative efficiency of new versus old. The general conclusion is that the Logan lagoon system will be exceedingly efficient as more is learned about managing the ponds. The data indicates that by keeping the inflow confined for specific times in specific ponds, the ultimate outflow will be stabilized all year at a low bacteria content. In fact, during the summer of 1968, bacteria counts at the last outlet were well within the range of comparable counts made near a Bear Lake swimming beach.

The next step is to convert the data into equations that can be used to predict what will happen over time and with changing circumstances in lagoon sewage systems, whether in Utah or any other state. As the equations are built into a "computerized

model," it should even be possible to predict how bodies of water, such as Bear Lake, will change if their pollution load is increased. This might help us keep all the "Bear Lakes" around the country from premature death.

Before the research is terminated, it also may be possible to identify which organisms in the system are most effective in transforming waste water into usable water. If these can be concentrated without affecting their usefulness, perhaps some of the 462 acres now serving as Logan's lagoons could be released for other purposes.

When the quality of the last pond is stabilized, the pond could become a fishery. A lagoon system in San Diego County, California, is being used to support fishing, boating, and swimming and to irrigate a municipal golf course. Perhaps the Logan system could be profitably incorporated into a park-golf course complex.

PARTNERSHIP FOR LIFE

Around the world, people are realizing that water will sustain its own productivity (and their lives) only if it is recognized as a partner, rather than as a servant to be exploited. USU's aquatic ecology research program is designed to help all of us learn to implement that truth as quickly as possible.

MARYLAND MAN KILLED IN ACTION

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sp4c. John A. Capasso, a fine young man from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend his courage and honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD.

MARYLAND MAN KILLED IN ACTION

Spec. 4 John A. Capasso, 20, of Rockville, died May 7 of wounds received when he stepped on a land mine near the Cambodian border.

Specialist Capasso was a paratrooper who had requested transfer to Vietnam "to find out what was going on," his brother Ralph W. Capasso, said yesterday. "He seemed to like Vietnam and felt it was his duty to put in his time there," said Mr. Capasso, who himself was wounded in Vietnam in September 1966.

Specialist Capasso was drafted into the Army in January, 1969. He had basic training at Fort Bragg, N.C., infantry training at Fort Gordon, Ga., and paratroop training at Fort Benning, Ga., where he was first in his training class.

He was then attached to the 82d Airborne Division at Ft. Bragg where he volunteered for duty in Vietnam.

A native of Takoma Park, he graduated in 1967 from the Richard Montgomery High School in Rockville, where he played football and won a letter in track. He worked as a printer for the IBM Corporation before he was drafted. He had taken up sky-diving as a hobby.

In Vietnam he served in the 173rd Airborne Brigade in the Central Highlands. He had been in Vietnam since January 16.

Survivors include his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Otto L. Capasso, of Rockville; his brother, Ralph W. Capasso, of Laurel, and four sisters, Mrs. Charles Homberg, of Silver Spring; and Janet, Patti, and Terri Capasso of the family home at 602 East Lynfield drive.

OPEN LETTER TO DEMONSTRATORS

HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, so much has been written by the liberal press in support of student rioters that it is indeed refreshing to hear from a constituent who very succinctly spells out what the students say they are for and what they actually do. In addition, the letter from Mrs. Gladys L. Nabors, of Atlanta, contains a note of caution that should be heeded by all; students, faculty and the public in general.

I commend Mrs. Nabors' thoughtful letter to all who are interested in the future of our country.

The letter follows:

ATLANTA, GA., *May 11, 1970.*

THE EDITORS,
The Atlanta Journal,
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

DEAR SIRS: This is an open letter to the demonstrators who advocate, condone and turn to violence.

You claim to be AGAINST war and violence but demonstrate your feelings by wrapping your hands with coat hangers—prong out, to use as hand-to-hand combat weapons on law enforcement officers called to keep the peace. You make molotov cocktails to burn buildings and unmindful of those who may be trapped by the flames, you block streets to keep fire-fighting equipment from reaching the scene. Some of you even become snipers against an unsuspecting public.

You claim to be AGAINST prejudice and discrimination but you call your handicapped schoolmates ugly names and mock the effects of their infirmities. You shun them in social activities in school, church and community and tag them social misfits and you are unconcerned about the hours of heartbreaking counsel required to remove the thorns of your prejudice and discrimination.

In your crusade against hate, you express "love" by putting people in hospitals with cuts and bruises from the "caresses" of your rocks, bricks and bottles; by breaking windows, burning and looting businesses of those who work for enough money to live and pay the taxes that help put you through school; by despising all symbols of authority and turning deaf ears to pleas for honesty, truth, dependability and morality.

You claim to be against poverty, but what do you know of wearing shirts or dresses made from flour sacks? Of tattered shoes, holes in your socks or jelly-biscuits for school lunch? Ask your parents. They know. Yet their love for you gave them strength to sacrifice and work harder to give you a better life than was bequeathed to them.

You are against "the establishment"—yet what does the establishment represent but a rule of ethics—a concept of right and wrong, without which society would revert to the code of the Old West where the gun was law?

You claim to be for education but you refuse to obey regulations established to maintain an orderly community; you intimidate professors and school officials; you occupy or destroy campus buildings; strike against classes and close these institutions' doors. You thwart another's chance for higher learning and evade the draft by playing at education and occupying a space on campus one more dedicated to learning might have had.

You claim to be for America but you burn your draft card because you are unwilling to fight for her. You tread her Flag underfoot, or burn it, while you march in the streets behind the flag of the enemy and salute the enemy's leaders. You take everything she has to offer and reward her with acts of assault and battery, murder, arson and theft.

One bit of caution: In all you do, look down the road far enough to see tomorrow, next year and the next decade or your own actions may become your Waterloo. If you are going to destroy, be sure you have found something better to take its place, and when you have found it, let the "squares" like me know what it is. We're not opposed to constructive, intelligent, peaceful change.

Sincerely,

G. L. NABORS.

GROUP NAMED ON TRANSITION TOWARD PEACE

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, one of the major problems—or perhaps I should say opportunities—confronting this Nation will be its adjustment from a defense-oriented economy toward a peacetime economy as the President withdraws our troops from Vietnam. What lies ahead for the returning veteran? Will he find the right job? What are his chances for a career? I am happy to report that Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird is preparing to meet this challenge, and has pledged that the Department of Defense will soon announce a new program to locate a job for every veteran.

I should, therefore, insert in the RECORD an article from the May 25 issue of the Republican Congressional Committee's newsletter describing the Secretary's plans. It follows:

GROUP NAMED ON TRANSITION TOWARD PEACE

Beating swords into plowshares isn't as simple as it once was, so the Nixon Administration has appointed a special committee to handle the Nation's transition from a defense-oriented economy to pursuits of peace.

Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird said the program will include finding jobs for returning veterans and cushioning the economic impact of defense-plant shutdowns across the Nation.

Laird pledged: "The Department of Defense shortly will announce details of a new program to locate a job for every veteran—a program which will be successful only if it has the support of citizens throughout our country." Estimates are that there will be 2 million veterans returning during the next two years, with 75 percent of them entering the labor force.

The Defense Secretary said a 20 percent cut in military procurement will peg defense labor needs at 6 percent of the work force by 1971, down from 8 percent when the Administration came into office. New jobs will have to be found for the 600,000 workers displaced by the cutback. Laird said a Program for Stability of Civilian Employment will provide laid-off Defense personnel with priority placement in new jobs.

The program will help conversion of surplus military bases and defense facilities into vocational schools, technical institutes, branches of colleges and universities, indus-

trial parks, airports, hospitals, Federal agency training sites, and parks.

President Nixon has created the Interagency Economic Adjustment Committee which will coordinate efforts by all Federal agencies to establish new payrolls and new uses for defense facilities that are shut down.

ARMED FORCES DAY SERVICE

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, on May 17—Armed Forces Day—Charlestonians were fortunate in being able to hear a wonderful and moving sermon by the Reverend Canon James R. Davidson, Jr. at the Cathedral Church of St. Luke and St. Paul in Charleston, S.C. I was so impressed by this sermon—and by its concluding prayer—that I wanted to share it with the Nation.

The sermon follows:

ARMED FORCES DAY SERVICE, CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. LUKE AND ST. PAUL, MAY 17, 1970

The service this afternoon is intended to honor and pay tribute to the men and women of the Armed Forces of the United States.

I am happy to have a part in it!

In common with thousands of other mature Americans, I have an abiding love for a second Trinity of values (other than the Holy Trinity) to which most Christians normally give their allegiance—which they serve and by which they are served!

That Trinity is the Church which nurtures me and those I love most deeply; Our Nation—the United States of America—which enables me to live and work as a free man; and the people of the Armed Forces who, in times of violent confrontation, free me and 200 million Americans from overt participation in armed conflict.

Virtually twenty years of service as an Air Force Chaplain (years of war and years of peace) attest to the deepness of my love for and service to this second trinity of values.

To me it was and yet is a personal blessing of the highest order to be permitted to serve God, Country, and the men who fight our Country's battles at one and the same time. From long habit and from a grateful heart, I, (continually) thank God for having given me such a deeply rewarding ministry and so many loyal and well loved friends in the *entire military establishment.*

My ministry was not confined solely to the Air Force! Five years of training as an Infantry Lieutenant endowed me with admiration and never ending respect for our men who meet the enemy *face to face* upon the *ground!*

The many blessings which were and are mine in the military family included frequent opportunities to bring the deeply needed solace of God's word and Holy Sacraments to men of Navy destroyers and the Naval Air Arm, who (in the remote islands of the Pacific) were not always located where their own Chaplains could reach and serve them. Committing to their final resting places in the soil of Africa, Sicily, Italy and Japan, comrades with whom I had flown combat missions, etched in my heart forever, a knowledge of the awful cost of war.

To be able, through the medium of the spoken word, to laud the men and women of our nation, who protect and defend the people of the United States, is a deeply moving experience, *a God-given opportunity.*

To direct and lead them, and those who love them, into the presence of their Creator and Sustainer God, is a *Priestly* duty and privilege undertaken humbly in the knowledge that God speaks relevantly and powerfully to those who bring their travail, their cares—their joys unto Him.

In order truly to *honor our men* and *women of the Armed Forces,* let up pray this afternoon—mindful of Christ's loving invitation: "Come unto me, all ye that travail and are heavy laden I *will refresh you.*" Thoughtful, involved, loyal Americans are today in travail and they are heavy laden! I am mindful of the fact that due to the recent turn of events in the war in Cambodia and in South Vietnam, many are perplexed, many are fearful and disturbed . . . some seem to be dismayed and a few are irrational and frantic. But also, many see a welcome light of hope in our new forthright and aggressive approach to an old protracted war, which has taken the lives of many of our men and threatened to take many more.

Time, that relentless weigher of the plans and deeds of men, will one day resolve our personal dilemmas and, I trust, dispel all lingering doubts. One day we shall know if we have acted wisely or not. We shall never doubt that we have acted with courage: The courage of human beings who do not possess Divine wisdom. Prayer is man's God-given solvent for his deepest anguish. Through prayer Man enables his God to refresh him. To uphold him and comfort him even in the vortex of war. So let us pray, quietly earnestly, from our hearts as Christians and Americans—with one mind and spirit—with one God given faith—Let us pray.

Almighty God, we Thy children are heavy laden, distressed, send us, we implore Thee, Thy divine refreshment. We pray for our President—for our Congress and for all people of this land. We pray that we may be granted—and that we may receive—the wisdom to know how to plan our overall strategy in the Vietnam war.

Let us pray earnestly, repeatedly, habitually, for our combat personnel—asking the Lord God of Hosts to ease the awful fears and tensions which assail men in battles on land, on the seas, and in the air. Gracious God, watch over, guard and guide our men who fly across the broad reaches of thy sky! God of celestial beauty, of sun swept seas which reflect thy glory . . . God of thy tempest tossed *mightly waters*—upon the bosoms of which move our vessels of war with resolute caution and requisite speed . . . to protect our land, our heritage and our people. Endow with courage, fortitude and faith in Thee all brothers who serve thee in our Navy.

God of the good and fruitful earth of life sustaining harvests of thy merciful goodness move across the war scarred land of Vietnam and Cambodia. Move, oh God, with our men of the Army and the Marines. Send forth thy Holy Spirit to strengthen and uphold them in their hours of mortal conbat and in their days of body healing rest and recuperation from the deep agony of close combat with a lethal foe! God of *tranquility* and *peace,* hasten we pray thee, the day when the violence of this war shall cease! *God of all wisdom,* reveal to the people of our land how we must think, live pray and plan to the end that (walking in thy way and heeding thy voice when it speaks to our hearts), we may achieve peace and henceforth cherish and preserve it for this nation and for Thy world.

Humbly we lift our prayers to Thee this day, asking Thy forgiveness for all that we may have done amiss in the past. Forgive us for the times we have acted without Thy guidance hastily or ignorantly, trusting solely the minds of men to lead us unto peace. Forgetful that Thou and Thou alone canst bestow peace. Peace that is noble, gracious and enduring.

Grant unto us, oh Lord, the humility and the grace to ask at every moment of our lives what Thou wouldst have to do. Finally, Mighty Lord of all nations, we pray that the night of warfare may soon pass from our lives and that our lives may then be lived in the glorious sunlight of peace. Then graciously give us the power to heal the broken hearts which inevitably are the heritage of war. These things, these blessings, we ask in the name of Thy Son, Jesus Christ our Saviour, The Prince of Peace. Amen.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ORDER OF LAFAYETTE, INC.

HON. MARTIN B. McKNEALLY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. McKNEALLY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include in the RECORD the following two resolutions adopted unanimously by the Order of Lafayette, Inc., in convention assembled on May 16, 1970, at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C.

I believe that these two resolutions on very timely subjects deserve the careful attention of each Member of this House.

The resolutions follow:

RESOLUTION OF THE ORDER OF LAFAYETTE, INC.

The Order of Lafayette in convention assembled on May 16, 1970 at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C., adopted by unanimous vote the following resolution and ordered that it be sent to each member of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.

Whereas, The Communists, fellow travelers, extreme radicals and anachists plan to destroy the United States by lulling Senators and Representatives to sleep in order to prevent the safeguarding of our international missile sites while Moscow protects its own, and

Whereas, The failure to protect our own missile sites would be an open invitation for a massive sneak attack for their destruction which would be immediately followed by an ultimatum to surrender or die, and

Whereas, This is our country, it belongs to the American people—Democrats—Republicans and Independents, who are against the surrender of our freedoms and the right to defend our own existence and the security of our people

Therefore, be it resolved, That we members of the Order of Lafayette regardless of party affiliations will openly oppose any candidate for the United States Senate or Representative in Congress no matter what party he represents who is not in favor of protecting and safeguarding our missile sites, which are designed for the defense of the lives of the American people, their government and the preservation of the freedoms of our country—the greatest and best in the world. The Honorable Clare Boothe Luce made the issue crystal clear, "Will mankind eventually stand in the light of freedom or crawl in the darkness of slavery?"

RESOLUTION OF THE ORDER OF LAFAYETTE, INC.

The Order of Lafayette, consisting of officers who served in World Wars I and II, in Convention assembled at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C. on May 16, 1970, voted unanimously to urge definite action by all college authorities, to issue a clear-cut statement that any student or faculty

member who participates in seizing college property and thereby interfers with the educational processes, or by violence, destroys college property, shall be immediately expelled. And further Resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the presidents of all major colleges.

POLITICS IN CIVIL SERVICE

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in the past 2 weeks, the administration has made much of its new willingness to listen. Were the utterances of administration officials to be believed, the President and his advisers are welcoming with open arms the views and voices from every part of the political and ideological spectrum. Just yesterday, one of the President's principal advisers, H. R. "Bob" Haldeman, spoke at the University of California in Los Angeles and he unqualifiedly stated:

"I am completely convinced that President Nixon is the most 'unisolated' President in recent times."

Mr. Haldeman declared that Mr. Nixon has gathered a staff of advisors that reflects a wide range of thought and "our whole staff effort is to get relevant information and opinion in, not to keep it out."

Unfortunately, the fact is that this administration is driving out those who disagree. Leon Panetta, former head of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, was forced to resign for pursuing an affirmative program of enforcement of the civil rights law. Anthony J. Moffett resigned as head of the Office of Students and Youth in disagreement with "irresponsible statements" by the President regarding student protest. Secretary of Interior Hickel, whose views on heeding dissent show a welcome enlightenment, has complained of his inability to gain access to the President.

But, at least in the instances of departing well-known administration figures, the headlines should make their views known to the President. Those in the lower ranks depart with less notice.

Moreover, policies which the administration has adopted in its hiring and employment practices are quite insidious. A determined effort is being made to weed out those civil servants who do not belong to the Republican party or possess acceptable views.

At the Office of Economic Opportunity, for example, party affiliation is a very serious matter. Anyone who applies for a job in the Office of General Counsel or in the Legal Services Division is at a major disadvantage if he or she is not a Republican.

Throughout the Government, persons who have "engaged in violent campus demonstrations" are ineligible for Federal employment. According to Kimball Johnson, director of the Civil Service Commission's Bureau of Personnel Investigations, if an applicant has been positively identified as having "been involved in disruptive activities on the campus or in the community," the likelihood is that he will not be hired.

Victor Cohn, in today's Washington Post, reports the same type of politicization of the civil service—and this is what the selective hiring practices being employed by the administration amount to—at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Is it not then hypocrisy for this administration to proclaim its openness? Not only is it insulating itself from the views of the general public, it is, as well, actively working to assure that within the executive branch there will be a like-minded bureaucracy: dissent, and disagreement, it is clear, are neither to be listened to from without nor tolerated from within.

At this point, I attach Mr. Cohn's article:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 25, 1970]

POLITICS, FUNDS CUT SPARK UNREST IN HEALTH AGENCIES

(By Victor Cohn)

There is trouble in the federal health establishment.

The effect on the nation's health resources, in the opinion of many officials, could be severe.

Among the troubles, as described by high and mid-level government doctors and health scientists are:

The Nixon administration's increasing injection of politics into hirings and firings in medical science and health fields—areas where political clearance never before was a factor.

An acute lack of funds. Health—especially mental health projects and training—have been among the hardest hit fields in anti-inflation Johnson and Nixon budgets.

Even worse, say the complaints, is "lack of interest." "I don't think the voice of health is being heard very clearly in the present administration," Dr. John Knowles, director of Massachusetts General Hospital, writes in the current issue of Look. "I don't think the President gives it a very high order of priority."

The ill effects, it is stated, are starting to show up in an exodus of dedicated health workers from key jobs.

Worse, it is added, the country is certain to suffer a growing shortage of doctors. "The full force" of recent research and training cutbacks "will hit us in the teeth" by 1971, Knowles charges. Many medical school deans think a whole generation of potential health scientists, teachers and medical specialists—all of whom are commonly trained in research programs—could be lost.

The health troubles began wtih the failure of Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Robert Finch to win backing for appointment of Knowles as his assistant secretary for health.

Dr. Roger Egeberg, who wound up with the job, has said privately that the long delay caused by the fight over Knowles "cost health agencies millions" because there was no top official to argue for health.

But both Egeberg and Finch have found themselves repeatedly overruled or bypassed on health matters by White House aides. Some officials give Egeberg good marks for intentions but bad ones for performance. Others say, "He's doing everything he can, but he's caught in larger problems."

HEW RESIGNATION

New among these is the aftermath of the resignation May 8 of Dr. Joseph T. English, a fast-rising psychiatrist who headed HEW's Health Services and Mental Health Administration. English quit while Egeberg was in Europe; Egeberg returned, canceling a Russian trip.

Asked about reports that he was asked to resign, English said last week: "Number one, no comment, Number two, I don't deny (it)."

Immediately on his resignation, his job was removed from civil service and made appointive. A high-level official in the same agency said:

"The politics is getting more naked. I can assure you there has never before been the political check there is now—down to the GS-14 level." (GS-14s start at $19,643 or more.)

The appointment of a new director of mental health services, Dr. Claude Thomas; the nomination of Dr. Morris Chafetz of Boston as director of alcoholism programs; the search for a new director of mental health training—all have received political checks.

"I'VE VOTED ON BOTH SIDES"

So, of course, did the appointment last week of English's successor, Dr. Vernon Wilson, director of health affairs at the University of Missouri. Wilson says: "I don't consider myself either a Democrat or a Republican, I've voted on both sides. From my point of view, this is not a political appointment."

But Wilson was clearly found "acceptable," said a Missouri Democratic congressional aide. "He's a good man. He has no discoverable politics. But he's not going to rock any boats."

The administration screening of health and scientific appointments is really no secret, according to Dr. Stanley Yolles, director of the National Institute of Mental Health. "It is the stated policy of this administration to appoint as many Republicans as possible. There is screening of scientific appointments throughout the department," he said.

According to repeated rumors, and many predictions by knowledgeable persons, both Yolles and Dr. Robert Marston, director of the National Institutes of Health, are currently being screened. Both are said to be "slated to go, inside months."

REPORT DENIED

Marston is out of the country. An aide called the rumors about him "untrue."

"No one has said a single, solitary thing to me," Yolles said. "But I've heard the rumors. There's one that my successor has already been picked."

Yolles is on the bad books of HEW higher-ups for two reasons. He opposes much of an on-going decentralization of NIMH activities to regional offices. Opponents call this "the start of NIMH's dismemberment."

Yolles or his aides last year helped inspire both House and Senate to insert in NIMH legislation a veto power for the National Advisory Mental Health Council—a citizen and expert board—over regional decisions affecting one of NIMH's proudest programs.

This is the program to establish and partly support community mental health centers, which are local clinics to give emergency and day care to help keep mental patients out of hospitals. By July, 490 such centers will have been funded.

Early in his administration, President Nixon ordered that as many federal programs as possible be returned to "grass roots" control. An HEW task force under Deputy Under Secretary Fred V. Malek is trying to do so.

"POWER PLAY"

It sees putting the mental health centers under HEWs 10 regional offices as "better administration, closer to the people." The program's directors at NIMH see it as a "power play" to put what has been an $80-million-a-year program under the real control of HEW's nonmedical regional directors—appointees close to state and local pressures.

In any case, mental health center construction decisions were regionalized March 31; staff matters are slated to be regionalized July 1.

The national advisory council—highly disturbed—is to meet with Under Secretary Malek in June. It also believes he intends to regionalize NIMH training grants, which support 65 percent of the training of all mental health professionals.

In a letter to Dr. Robert Stubblefield of the University of Texas, council secretary, Finch recently denied this intention. But a council member says: "That doesn't fit his directives."

"FUNDED LAST"

NIMH is an agency with a degree of independence and strength that mental health forces fought hard to create. Mental health, they claim, is commonly submerged under general medical or administrative direction, "funded last and least."

Take away the mental health centers and the $116-million training program, notes Yolles, and "about all you'd have left" is about $87 million currently financing research and a few other small programs, hardly a strong NIMH.

NIMH as a whole is to be funded at just $346.6 million in fiscal 1971 by the Nixon budget, well below 1970's $360.3 million. There are to be no new community mental health center grants.

Narcotic and alcohol addiction programs are to rise a bit from $29.4 million to $35.5 million. But "for community treatment of narcotics in 1970, I have just $4 million left," Yolles said, "and $18 million in valid community requests." As it happens Secretary Finch—in a memo to editors last week—said, "President Nixon has designated May 24 through 30 as Drug Abuse Prevention Week."

Staff appointments are not the only place there has been HEW political pressure. A year ago Dr. Jack Weinberg, director of the Illinois Neuropsychiatric Institute, was asked to accept renomination for an advisory committee on aging. Then he was asked about his politics.

"I said, 'I worked for Sen. McCarthy'," he reports. "I was not reappointed."

This happened "in some cases" but is no longer going on, said a department source.

Higher-ups forced the transfer of longtime civil servant Clifford Johnson as NIH public information director, presumably to make way for a political appointee. But last week Marston announced appointment of Storm Whaley, University of Arkansas vice president for health sciences—and a Democrat—as a new "director of communications" public and scientific.

"Since the news got out about Joe English," another source said, "people have been getting phone calls and tender care. We've seen appointments going through in the last few days after hanging fire since November."

The screening system, however, remains—this Republican administration's response, it seems, to the fact that a majority of mental health workers and academic research and health types happen to be Democrats.

Health Democrats and health doves are giving the administration still more problems. For months, there has been an NIH-NIMH clerk-and-professional Moratorium Committee opposing the Vietnam war—a bold move in a part of the government where there was rarely political expression before for fear of political retaliation.

Last week the movement spread to the NIMH-National Institute of Neurological Disease-National Eye Institute Assembly of Scientists—MDs and PhDs. They voted 164 to 23 to oppose U.S. involvement in Cambodia, the first time this group has ever taken a nonmedical political position.

"In every way," reported an Assembly doctor, "people here are getting more disturbed. "I'd predict you haven't seen anything yet in the way of rebellion."

THE ADMINISTRATION'S FAILURE TO LEARN FROM HISTORY

HON. ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, someone said that history repeats itself, the first time as tragedy, the second time as farce. It is hard to say whether with President Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia we are in the tragic or the farcical phase of the Vietnam war. Maybe we are in between, because as Mr. Nixon recited the worn arguments that have been used to justify so many mistaken actions one did not know whether to laugh or cry.

By now it is obvious to nearly everyone that our course in Vietnam has been based on demonstrably faulty political analysis, fallacious historical analogies, and outmoded perceptions of the international political landscape and our strategic interests within it.

I am inserting in the RECORD two articles that illuminate the tragicomical nature of the administration's failure to learn from history and its reliance on arguments and conceptions that have been repudiated by events. The articles—one serious, the other satirical—are by Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau, who has been perhaps the most profound and prescient critic of the war from its beginning, and Robert H. Yoakum. They appeared in the May 23 issue of the New Republic.

The articles follow:

SAVING FACE IN INDOCHINA:

I—MR. NIXON'S GAMBLE

(By Hans J. Morgenthau)

It would be uncharitable, and redundant, to dwell in detail upon the factual deficiencies and logical inconsistencies of Mr. Nixon's April 30th speech. What shall one say of an authoritative exposition by the President of the United States of the Cambodian situation that manages not even to mention the source of the trouble, the overthrow of Sihanouk? Or what shall one make of the President's statement that we are after "the heart of the trouble," the enemy's headquarters for all of South Vietnam, while, when these headquarters cannot be found, both the Vice President and the Secretary of Defense assure us that of course they cannot be found since they are mobile? However, Mr. Agnew assures us on "Face the Nation" of May 3 that we found a "laundry facility" and large stores of "freshly laundered uniforms," and Bob Hope warns us on the "Tonight" show of May 4 that if Cambodia falls India will go and "before you know it we will be fighting in Staten Island." Ostensibly Mr. Hope was not joking, but neither were Messrs. Agnew and Nixon; or were all three of them trying to be funny with tongue-in-cheek?

Yet the farcical aspects of these presentations only serve to give poignancy to the tragedy present and impending. Mr. Nixon is caught in a dilemma caused by two irreconcilable impulses. On the one hand, he wants to disengage from Vietnam; on the other hand he wants to disengage only in circumstances which, if they don't carry the substance, at least convey the appearance, of a political victory. And political victory for him means the stabilization of the Thieu regime as the legitimate government of South Vietnam. But this conception of political victory is predicated upon a military victory, which even Mr. Agnew, in the May 3 broadcast, has declared to be unattainable.

The issue that since 1954 has pitted the United States against the Communists has always been simplicity itself: Who shall govern South Vietnam? The Communists have claimed that government for themselves and the United States has denied that claim. Both of us have resorted to the arbitrament of war and war has left the issue where it found it: undecided. Consequently, the substance of the issue in its present stage is not susceptible to a negotiated settlement, no more than the claim of the two women to the same baby was susceptible to adjudication by King Solomon. Once one or the other side has given up its claim, negotiations can seek modalities with which the losing side can cover its retreat. Thus the futility of the Paris talks is not anybody's fault but grows from the nature of things negotiable and non-negotiable. Mr. Nixon has sought to combine withdrawal with at least the appearance of victory through the policy of Vietnamization. This policy has always been in the nature of an almost reckless gamble. The armed forces of the Saigon government, numbering roughly a million men (since the desertion rate is close to 20 percent a year, it is impossible to keep an exact count), with more than half a million American men bearing the brunt of the battle, have just been able to hold their own. Will these forces be able to hold their own when the American forces will have been reduced to say, 200,000 men? Mr. Nixon has answered this question in the affirmative on three grounds: the success of pacification, the weakness of the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong, and the improvement of the armed forces of the Saigon government.

The success of pacification, obvious as a present fact, depends in its lasting effect upon the validity of the two other arguments. Vietnamese peasants have traditionally taken a passive attitude toward a central government: They submit to whoever appears to have the power to hurt and protect them. The Saigon government is at present in the ascendancy in much of the countryside, but for what reason? Is it because of a drastic and permanent change in the strategic balance of power between the Saigon government and its domestic enemies? Or is it because of the latter's tactical self-restraint in order not to disturb the planned progress of our withdrawal?

The weight of military opinion on the spot supports the latter thesis. It is widely held that much of the countryside is, in a manner of speaking, controlled by the Saigon government because the Vietcong and North Vietnamese have for the time being chosen not to contest that control, but they are capable of doing so any time they choose. On the other hand, we have refrained from putting Vietnamization to a major test of battle because we are afraid the Saigon troops will fail it. It has been reported that the decision to send American rather than Saigon troops deep into Cambodia resulted from the fear that the latter would be "slaughtered" by the enemy. Here appears indeed to be the key to our invasion of Cambodia.

Mr. Nixon has promised to withdraw 150,000 troops from Vietnam by May, 1971, but he is not quite confident that the enemy is as weak and the Saigon troops are getting as strong as both are proclaimed to be. If that weakness and this strength were to prove as illusory as they have proved to be so often in the past, he would indeed expose the remaining American troops to mortal danger after the promised 150,000 men have been withdrawn. In consequence, he must create

a military situation so favorable as to allow him to withdraw these men even if the weakness of the enemy and the strength of the Saigon troops should not turn out what they are supposed to be. By doing this, he seeks to insure himself against the failure of the gamble of Vietnamization and thereby embarks upon another gamble even more reckless than the first; for the extension of the war into Laos and Cambodia is infinitely less promising and more risky than the withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam predicated upon Vietnamization.

Before the fall of Sihanouk and the ensuing civil war in Cambodia and the recent advances of the North Vietnamese in Laos, there existed in both countries a relatively stable political and military situation. That stability was shattered in Cambodia by the deposition of Sihanouk, for which ostensibly rightist and pro-American elements are responsible. In Laos, the responsibility for the disturbance of the status quo lies clearly with the mercenary army of Meo tribesmen, organized by the CIA, which advanced into territories which had been assigned by the Geneva Agreement of 1962 to the Communist Pathet Lao. While before the Pathet Lao had limited itself to sporadic forays for the purpose of restoring and securing the line of demarcation of 1962, it now occupied in permanence territory that in 1962 had been assigned to the other side. It had surrounded for a number of years the town of Attapeu, occupied by the royal army, without even seriously attacking it. Now it has taken it. However, the new instability in Laos is of minor importance as compared with that in Cambodia, caused by Sihanouk's downfall and Nixon's search of victory.

It taxes credulity that at this late date, after an experience of five years of futility, we should engage in yet another search-and-destroy operation, seriously believing that it will change the fortunes of war. Must it be said again that the enemy has an intelligence network that covers every town and every hamlet in South Vietnam? He has such a network because he is not a foreign invader but an organic part of the people. Hence, in contrast to ourselves, he is not easily surprised. He slips through the net we cast for him to reappear elsewhere or, after we have left, at the same spot where we thought he was. How often have we not cleared the Anshau Valley and how many times from how many hills have we not dislodged the enemy and how many brave and good men had to die to do it, and once it was done the enemy was back, and the gruesome, senseless game started all over again. Thus if the American troops found themselves in an "untenable position" because of the presence of Communist troops and supplies inside Cambodia, they cannot help finding themselves in that position again a little while after they have left.

However, the invasion of Cambodia is not only incredibly incompetent, but it is also unconscionably risky. Mr. Nixon's declared intention to limit the penetration of Cambodian territory to about 20 miles and to withdraw after a few weeks will turn out to be feasible only if the enemy is willing to play Mr. Nixon's game. But the enemy is engaged not only in a hide-and-seek game with the American forces but also in a civil war on behalf of Sihanouk against the new regime at Phnom Penh. That new regime can count upon the Cambodian army, which is but a neglible military quantity, and a few thousand mercenaries of Cambodian extraction who have been fighting in South Vietnam and were airlifted by the United States to Phnom Penh. These forces are no match for the opposing army, of which, it is reported, 30 percent are Cambodians loyal to Sihanouk. What are we going to do if that army marches on Phnom Penh in order to restore Sihanouk to power?

If we allow this to happen and return to South Vietnam according to Mr. Nixon's plan, then Sihanouk who will then rule over Cambodia will not be the Sihanouk we knew and whose deposition we welcomed. Sihanouk would owe his return to power to the combined Communist parties of Indochina and more particularly, to China, and his neutralism, always shrewdly adapted to the realities of power in Southeast Asia, would then be hardly distinguishable from outright partisanship for the Communist cause. If Mr. Nixon felt the situation in Cambodia, as it existed on April 30, sufficiently intolerable to justify a limited and temporary invasion, how much more intolerable must he find a Cambodia ruled by a government which is beholden to its Communist friends, especially China, for its return to power. If Mr. Nixon intervenes in order to prevent Sihanouk from ruling a Cambodia united under him, he will have still another civil war on his hands, which he can no more win with the methods thus far used than he could the civil war in South Vietnam. On a greatly enlarged scale, Mr. Nixon will then face the same dilemma which has stared him in the face in South Vietnam, barely concealed by the policy of Vietnamization: to withdraw regardless of the consequences to South Vietnam and Cambodia or to fight on to "victory."

In other words, the escalation of the war in Southeast Asia will not solve Mr. Nixon's dilemma; it will only serve to escalate it. By invading Cambodia, he has not escaped the dilemma between withdrawal with victory, real or apparent, and withdrawal without qualification; but he has made it more difficult to resolve. As long as he is wedded to the Thieu regime as the legitimate government of South Vietnam, which must be firmly in the saddle when we depart, he faces the worst of both worlds: The chase after an ever-elusive victory through ever-expanding war without end, or liquidation with the undisguised admission of defeat. It is extraordinary that a man so passionately concerned with saving face—"We will not be humiliated," we will not see "the nation accept the first defeat in its proud 190-year history," not counting the War of 1812—is unable to see the organic connection between a face-saving withdrawal and the establishment in Saigon of a government which is able and willing to come to an understanding with the other side, instead of one that has a vested interest in the continuation of the war.

Yet on a more profound level, the futile chase after saving our face—like Ahab chasing Moby Dick and with similarly destructive results—raises still another question that touches the very core of American existence: what will it avail us to save our face in a war without end if we cannot save our souls, if we cannot save ourselves as a nation worthy to be saved? And what kind of face would it be we would be saving at the price of our souls and our purpose as a nation? I can see that face: ignorant, violent, brutal, lying, ugly, and mean—the face of some American Hitler.

II—CHAIRMAN MAO'S BREAKTHROUGH

(By Robert H. Yoakum)

My Chinese acquaintance was impeccably dressed and spoke almost perfect English. I asked what kind of work he did.

"My work is traveling for the People's Republic of China," answered Mr. Hee. Then he added with a mischievous grin, "To see how things are going"

"And how *are* things going?"

"Very, very well. Your government's invasion of Cambodia was exactly on schedule."

"What schedule?" I asked.

"*Our* schedule," said Mr. Hee.

"I don't understand," I said, feeling irritated and embarrassed.

"Well," said Mr. Hee, "several years ago our great leader, Chairman Mao, made a major psychological - geopolitical breakthrough. He learned that Americans fear, above all other things, losing face. This discovery by itself would not show that Chairman Mao is a genius; it was the application he made of it.

"What we shall do," said Chairman Mao, "is to use this American fear of losing face to suck them deeper and deeper into a psychological-economic-political-military struggle that they cannot win. We shall help them to bleed themselves to death. And we shall do this without employing one Chinese soldier.

"This new policy was tested in a few small incidents," Mr. Hee continued, "the way you capitalists test products in local markets before selling them nationally. It worked perfectly. Then we launched the full program in Vietnam. From that point on you have been moving on our schedule.

"Our Chairman then further refined this plan. He called it the Self-Perpetuating Principle of Self-Destructive Face-Saving. It means that you make your enemy lose face in such a way that he thinks he is keeping it *while everyone else is watching him lose it.* He undermines his own prestige, and publicly humiliates himself—all the while talking loudly about how he will not be humiliated. It is the ultimate form of humiliation. And the enemy himself sustains the processes of his own unwitting suicide."

I shuddered.

"For example," Mr. Hee continued, "in the invasion of Cambodia it was necessary for President Nixon to say . . ." Mr. Hee pulled a newspaper clipping from his pocket . ."I would rather be a one-term President than be a two-term President at the cost of seeing America become a second-rate power, and see this nation accept the first defeat in its proud 190-year history.

"You understand?" asked Mr. Hee. "We tell the rest of the world that you are fighting in Asia, killing tens of thousands of Asians, because you are power mad and terrified of defeat at the hands of the ordinary people. You say you are fighting in Asia to help the Asians. But who do they believe when they read that your President has said he fears *American* defeat, and *America* becoming a second-rate power? The Asians see that you are mainly afraid of losing *your* face, not of their losing *their* heads. You do not see this. So you unwittingly hasten your own doom.

"Another example of how you lose face while you are keeping it: Your President says one day that he will withdraw 150,000 troops. Then ten days later he says it is necessary to invade Cambodia in order to protect American troops. If they are in such great danger now, how could he earlier have promised to weaken them by greatly reducing their numbers? That is precisely the kind of public announcement that is anticipated in the Self-Perpetuating Principle of Self-Destructive Face-Saving.

"Look at the results wrought by the application of Chairman Mao's Principle:

"First, your military men have been discredited. The more mistakes they make, the more ridiculous they look. The more ridiculous they look, the more face they lose. The more face they lose, the more they extend themselves, the more mistakes they make.

"Second, ten years ago there were almost no Communists in America. Now there are Communists in every slum and on every campus.

"Third, you have spent more than $100 billion on the Vietnam war, or the equivalent of about $3500 for each Vietnamese—an amount on which one could retire in that country. But instead of buying peasant prosperity, which could have ruined us, you have used the money on war and killing and face-saving, leaving yourself a legacy of hatred on which we will flourish.

"Fourth, you have not made South Viet-

nam into a showplace of capitalist glories, but rather into a showplace of continued poverty, disease, prostitution, and massive corruption.

"Fifth, your economy is beginning to come apart under the pressure of maintaining face everywhere, just as we thought it would.

"Sixth, your society is also coming apart because there are some Americans who do not care about saving face. The black faces, especially, do not care about saving white faces."

"But," I protested, "what if the people who want to save the country prevail over those who want to save face? Wouldn't your whole plan go down the drain?"

"Yes, it would," Mr. Hee admitted, "and we were concerned when President Johnson left Washington. No one worried more about saving face than he. But we need not have worried. The three most admired men in your nation, according to the Gallup Poll—President Nixon, Billy Graham, and Vice President Agnew—are all greatly afraid of losing face. We have nothing to fear."

Mr. Hee giggled, as though remembering something funny. "You know," he said, "until Chairman Mao made the breakthrough we had much trouble understanding you Occidentals. You look alike, you sound alike, and you hold life very cheaply. Even on the streets you attack one another, and your television each night dramatizes hundreds of horrible, violent, senseless deaths. You even let children watch. We had no idea how to deal with you.

"Now, after Chairman Mao's discovery, we still don't understand you very well, but we do know how to deal with you."

"Can you tell me what is planned for our future?" I asked.

"The future. . . ." Mr. Hee smiled scrutably; I could see that much had been planned for us. "Well, we shall wait until you are as mired in Cambodia as you are in Vietnam. Then Laos. Then Burma, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq. . . ."

"Wait!" I almost shouted. "You're taking us right into the Middle East. That might mean war with Russia as well!"

"Ah, so?" said Mr. Hee.

IMPACT OF WAR ON WISCONSIN ARCHITECTURAL FIRM

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, thousands of my constituents have written to me expressing their deep concern for the unenlightened foreign and domestic policies of this administration.

This concern is expressed by young and old alike. To the young, the policies of this and past administrations with respect to Vietnam have been bewildering. To them, a simplistic program of "Vietnamization" which ignores the brutalizing impact of merciless bombardment and chemical contamination of innocent, helpless people and their environment is incomprehensible. How can they reconcile the moral heritage of this Nation with the inhumanity of our conduct in Southeast Asia?

Many of our older citizens are also caught up in this moral dilemma; but, being more pragmatic, are particularly concerned that confidence of the United States in itself is being seriously impaired by its senseless involvement in Southeast Asia.

With an economy floundering due to the prolonged expenditure of astronomical sums for wasteful and ill-conceived military programs and adventures, American prestige and influence in the world is rapidly declining. Our citizens despair that our leadership is bereft of commonsense.

The following letter to the President from one of my constituents eloquently expresses the frustration felt by so many. I specifically call attention to this correspondent's experience as an employee of an architectural firm which has been forced, by present economic circumstances, to severely cut back its operations.

The letter follows:

MADISON, WIS. *May 22, 1970.*

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Mr. PRESIDENT: I am an architect with one of Wisconsin's largest architectural-engineering firms. Last year the personnel of the firm numbered about 120 people—today the strength stands at 78. After the second lay-off last week, the president of the firm announced an *unprecedented 10% salary cut for everyone,* blaming the lack of work due to the war, high interest rates, cutback of government funds for hospitals, etc., and business uncertainty. Other firms here in the building industry are in a similar plight.

Mr. President, you promised new leadership; you promised an end to the war. You promised to bring us together again, yet we are witnessing an enlargement of the war that is tearing the country apart with young people rioting and being shot down in cold blood as in tyrannical countries that we only know from history books. We are witnessing a lack of leadership that makes us suffer the agonies of severe inflation and depression all at the same time. We are witnessing a deliberate neglect of pressing domestic needs, a squandering of our national fortune to pursue this bankrupt adventure in Southeast Asia propping up a two-bit, corrupt dictatorship so historians can inscribe over the graves of our young (as at Concord) "They came X thousand miles and died to keep the past upon the throne." Nor is it only our men that we mourn for, the Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians are human beings also—what countless deaths and maiming have they suffered? For what?

Mr. President, listen to the young, listen to your people and stop it, stop it, stop this war for God's sake and the sake of this country! *Let us go back to work* building the needed hospitals and schools: Let us have peace!

Sincerely,

HELMUT SEAMAN.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 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 1,500 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

NIXON'S ANGUISH

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I attach herewith an editorial from the Paris, Ill., Beacon-News. The author of this is Ed Jenison, a colleague of ours in the 81st and 82d Congresses. Ed has continued to maintain an interest in what is happening in the body of which he was a Member. Nor has he lost interest in his country. That interest has been unflagging as has been his support of our country regardless of which party is in the White House or in control of the Congress. He is one true American patriot that will be just that and the same as long as he lives.

In view of the acquaintance of so many of our colleagues with Ed Jenison, I know you will be interested in reading what he has to say. It is indeed one of the most thoughtful editorials that it has been my experience to read.

The editorial follows:

[From the Paris, (Ill.) Daily Beacon-News, May 9, 1970]

EDITORIALLY SPEAKING: NIXON'S ANGUISH

Those who watched and listened as President Nixon met the nation's top echelon press representatives last night in a White House news conference could not escape sharing a measure of the anguish that must beset him as he labors to keep America on course in the preservation of freedom.

This week has, indeed, been one of the nation's saddest. Yet in the darkest hours the seeds of hope can take root.

The President faced his questioners at a time when it could be said, and it has been, that he is plagued with a war, recession and revolution, all at the same time, a period of crisis perhaps greater than at any time in the history of the republic.

Yet in a forthright confrontation with tragic issues, President Nixon managed to remain calm, display courage and reflect confidence. Surely the sympathy of his fellow Americans was with him in an overwhelming degree.

The nation is engaged in a war that has become increasingly unpopular, a war Nixon inherited, yet he had the courage to refuse to place the blame on preceding administrations. Castigating the past serves no purpose. The President properly addressed himself to seeking a solution. The controversial move into Cambodia he defended once again as a decision for which he accepted full responsibility, since only he can be in full command of all the facts involved. He believes he is right. The nation trusts he is right. Only time will tell.

On the domestic front, the President was equally candid—and equally firm. Those who resort to force and violence as an expression of dissent are more dangerous to the country than the enemy in the field of battle. The problem is not remote. It is as close as the campus of the University of Illinois at Champaign, and the campus of Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, where today Paris troops in the Illinois National Guard are deployed once again to preserve order.

Certainly the tragedy at Kent State University was a shock to the conscience of the nation. The slaying of four students by Ohio guardsmen summoned to halt disorder was a black page in the history of a free people. Yet it was the inevitable result of the necessity to mobilize troops with increasing fre-

quency to halt mob violence. Eventually mob action and military resistance were certain to trigger a tragedy. And they did. That innocent victims were among those slain is an additional sorrow, but it was bound to happen. And it will happen again, unless reason replaces destruction as an avenue of solution.

At the moment, it is obvious that America is sick. And it is sick because there are so many sick Americans. But that is not to suggest there is no cure.

For one thing, more Americans might pay more attention to a plea voiced by the President himself in his eloquent inaugural address. At that time he cautioned that we must stop shouting at each other and start listening to each other. This we have not yet done. It is high time we did.

The right of dissent remains unchallenged. But the right of destruction must be challenged by the majority of Americans who have remained too silent—and too tolerant—for too long. And that majority will rally to the support of a President who has demonstrated with clarity he will not sacrifice the survival of the nation for political expediency of the present.

This may be America's darkest hour. But it will be the fervent prayer of the great majority of Americans that this is President Nixon's finest hour. Peace and a return to law and order remain our goals. Unity of purpose can achieve them. Courage, from the White House to the public square can be the medicine that transforms a sick America into a healthy America.

MINNESOTANS IN SECOND CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS BY THOUSANDS

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, this spring I circulated an opinion poll to all postal boxholders in the Second Congressional District. I am pleased to report that more than 15,000 constituents—nearly 13 percent of all boxholders—have now participated in this important project. In fact, quite a number of husbands and wives have both responded on the same poll card, boosting the total number of respondents to a far greater figure than our single poll card count would seem to indicate.

I have now had these polls tabulated by computer through the services of Dr. W. P. Cortelyou, president of EPOCH, Everyman's Public Opinion Clearing House of Washington, D.C., and over this past weekend made public the findings.

One of the key findings is that 66 percent of citizens responding in the Second Congressional District have endorsed President Nixon's Vietnam policies, a very healthy majority. Twenty-six percent of those responding opposed the President's policies and 8 percent were undecided or gave no answer.

Another key finding is that my constituents have voted 62 percent to 32 percent against setting a fixed, publicly announced date for the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, with 6 percent undecided.

It should be noted that the questionnaire was circulated prior to U.S. military involvement in Cambodia and that most responses were received before American Armed Forces began cleaning out the Cambodian sanctuary areas. However, it must also be noted that the many thousands who have participated have provided more than an adequate sampling deemed necessary by any responsible pollster to indicate the basic, broad majority attitudes of the people of my district.

Other poll highlights include these findings: Second District citizens registered 86 percent support for putting limitations on payments to individual participants in the farm program. Eighty-four percent said Congress should reform the welfare system by establishing work or training requirements with an annual family assistance income, with only 11 percent opposed and 6 percent undecided. Eighty percent believed Congress should reorganize the Post Office Department for greater efficiency. Seventy-two percent said forced school busing from one district to another to achieve racial integration should be prohibited. Eighty-nine percent supported a pretrial detention provision and 76 percent supported a no-knock entry provision as parts of tougher crime control legislation. Eighty-four percent said Congress should enact tougher Federal controls to curb air and water pollution, including court-imposed fines for polluters.

Large majorities were also registered in support of automatic increases in social security benefits tied to cost-of-living increases and in support of permitting more retirement income to be earned annually without loss of benefits.

Support dropped substantially, however, on questions involving an all volunteer Army and ABM development. Sixty-one percent of citizens responding to my poll supported additional draft reform, including the eventual establishment of an all volunteer Army, with 31 percent opposed and 8 percent undecided. An even slimmer 55 percent said that development of the Safeguard antiballistic missile system should be continued, with 33 percent opposed and a large 13 percent undecided.

One interesting sidelight of the poll is that there may be less of a generation gap around than some might suppose. I compared the total poll results with responses received from 55 seniors at Adrian High School, Adrian, Minn., whose social studies class had participated as a unit. While the sampling of young people's views is admittedly too small for an adequate sample, it is nonetheless interesting to note that in all but one case, a majority of these young people shared the same view as a majority of their elders, though by differing degrees.

For example, the young people proved more enthusiastic than adults in support of such things as draft reform leading to the establishment of an all volunteer Army and Federal pollution control. But they were less willing to support welfare reform and postal reorganization, and more suspicious of controversial crime control legislation.

The only question turning up a genuine difference between students and adults involved whether limitations should be placed on indiviual farm program payments. Fifty-five percent of the students said there should be no limitation while 80 percent of adults favored limitations.

I include the complete results of the Nelsen opinion poll survey at this point in my remarks:

ANCHER NELSEN OPINION POLL

[Figures have been rounded to the nearest percentage, accounting for slight deviations from a 100 percent total on some questions]

[In percent]

Question	Yes	No	No Answer
1. Should Congress establish a Federal tax revenue-sharing program with States?	63	23	13
2. Should Congress reform the welfare system by establishing work or training requirements with an annual family assistance income?	84	11	6
3a. Should social security law be changed to increase benefits automatically when the cost-of-living rises by a fixed percentage?	69	22	9
3b. Should social security law be changed to permit more retirement income to be earned annually without loss of benefits?	74	18	8
4. Should Congress enact tougher Federal controls to curb air and water pollution, including court imposed fines for polluters	84	10	6
5. Should Congress reorganize the Post Office Department for greater efficiency?	80	13	8
6. Should Congress put limitations on payments to individual participants in farm programs?	86	9	5
7. Do you favor additional draft reform including eventual establishment of an all volunteer army?	61	31	8
8. Should forced school busing from 1 district to another to achieve racial integration be prohibited?	72	23	5
9a. As part of tougher crime control legislation, should courts have discretion to detain a dangerous individual without bail for a short period prior to trial if his release would jeopardize the community or lead to more lawbreaking? (pretrial detention)	89	7	4
9b. As part of tougher crime control legislation, in cases where a policeman's life might be at stake or evidence quickly destroyed, do you favor permitting law enforcement officials to enter a home without notice? (No-knock entry)	76	20	4
10. Should development of the Safeguard antiballistic missile system be continued to protect against nuclear attack?	55	33	13
11. Do you approve President Nixon's policies to end U.S. participation in the Vietnam war?	66	26	8
12. Do you favor a fixed, publicly announced date for complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam?	32	62	6

In conclusion, I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Cortelyou of EPOCH for his fine assistance in tabulating these polls by computer at a most reasonable cost. His organization, EPOCH, is a nonpartisan public opinion reporting service created to maximize the participation of the American people in their own Government. It is his contention that the efficient, low-cost data processing system should be more broadly and more frequently utilized by elective public officials to assure that the people's will is better understood. There is certainly merit in such a view, particularly in these especially troubled times.

While I decided that every single opinion poll from those I represent should be counted to assure fairness, accuracy, and completeness, Dr. Cortelyou counted a random sampling of some 400 of these purely for demonstration purposes. The

results of this random sampling of 400 proved remarkably accurate in relation to the results obtained through the full poll count. The maximum difference between the results amounted to only 4 percentage points on one question, and on all other questions the amount of difference varied only 1 or 2 percentage points.

Obviously, this demonstration proves that the expense of poll tabulations can be greatly reduced without distorting poll results or the will of the people when the random sampling is carefully and scientifically selected.

MULTIPLE USE OF RESOURCES

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. BUSH, Mr. Speaker, the Republican Task Force on Earth Resources and Population of which I am chairman, has been studying the national resource situation for the past 5 months. We have heard time and time again in the testimony of experts who have appeared before the task force that multiple use must be made of our existing resources if we are to accommodate our rapidly increasing population. Many companies are beginning to take the initiative in this area and are beginning to provide for outdoor recreational facilities. A recent article in the spring 1970 Action Report, published by the Chase Manhattan Bank, describes how many companies are using part of their facilities for the establishment of public parks, recreational areas, and wildlife preserves. This article is very helpful in showing both the example of a multiple use of resources and the interest expressed by many concerned companies.

Mr. Speaker, under previous permission I include this article in the RECORD at this point:

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 sightseeing 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.

Weyerhauser 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 snowmobiling 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 is 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.

MAN HAS DONE BAD THINGS TO THE GOOD EARTH

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, it is with pride that I salute my hometown and home-owned merchandising corporation, L. S. Ayres, for its outstanding example of civic responsibility, as evidenced by the following which was published to honor Earth Day, 1970.

MAN HAS DONE BAD THINGS TO THE GOOD EARTH

He has wasted its natural resources, polluted its air, cluttered its countryside and befouled its waters. Yet it is the only known planet where man can exist. It is a planet in a plight, and each person should rally to its defense and do his individual part toward a clearance of clutter, and end to waste and a solution to pollution.

EARTH DAY CAN BE A NEW BEGINNING

Support it Day-After-Day, As If Your Life Depended On It . . . FOR IT DOES!

L. S. AYRES & Co.

THE CRITICAL PROBLEM OF MERCURY POISONING

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, since my insertion of a number of articles in the RECORD on mercury poisoning recently, some Members of the House have asked me whether this was not an overblown problem.

I am inserting the following article because it indicates the tremendous effect that mercury poisoning can have on a small community largely dependent upon recreation for its summer livelihood.

I think this indicates again the old truism that it is much easier to prevent problems than to solve them, and it is yet another indication of the problems of environmental degradation to which we ourselves are contributing by the lack of understanding of what is really happening to the environment.

The above-mentioned article follows:

RIVER ROLLS ALONG DESERTED SHORES

(By Don L. Johnson)

PORT EDWARDS, WIS.—There's an efficient look to the factory just south of here, across the highway from the Wisconsin River. The clustered buildings are of concrete block and ribbed steel. Giant pipes, painted blue, loop from the earth near huge, domed tanks.

Nearby are rows of railroad tank cars, blue with yellow lettering.

All is encompassed by tall chain link fence, topped with multiple strands of barbed wire. And there is no noise. Only a distant, sibilant sound.

The sign at the entrance says:

Wyandotte Chemical Corp.

Port Edwards Plant

Key Chemicals for Industry

With an eye to enlarged tax base and payrolls, citizens of Necedah had invited the company to locate there. Officials of Stevens Point almost lured the plant to their city.

But it was Port Edwards, a little paper mill town, which won the prize that would really put it on the map.

ORDERED CLOSED

Last week Gov. Knowles ordered a 35 mile stretch of the Wisconsin River closed to fishing because dangerous amounts of mercury had been found in the river and its fish. The order included the vast Petenwell and Castle Rock flowages, around which a substantial recreation industry has been built.

The Wyandotte plant was named as the major source of the lethal metal. The Wis-

consin Department of Natural Resources issued a "cease and desist" order; then reported daily checks indicated compliance.

Now what? There is worry. The word "disaster" is heard everywhere. It is spoken by voices full of anger. And fear.

RIVER LOSES FILM

Below the Nekoosa dam and paper mill, the river slowly loses a scummy film and widens into Lake Petenwell, covering 32,300 acres, second largest inland lake in Wisconsin. It is formed by a dam completed by the Wisconsin River Power Co. in 1950. Much of the shoreline remains wild, but development has been growing.

"Nobody can put a price tag on how much this is going to affect them yet," says Len Tuttle, who for 15 years has sold live bait and rented boats at the Devil's Elbow on Hy. Z. Four years ago he and his wife added Arlene's Cottage Grocery to the site.

"It's a good thing now that we've got the store," said Tuttle, nodding toward a row of unused boats.

But many of the items in the store's inventory are for tourists:

"The local people won't buy these," says Mrs. Tuttle, showing some "Devil's Elbow" sweat shirts. "I hope when the ban is lifted it will get just as big headlines as when it was put on," she adds.

MAY BE ADJUSTMENTS

But when will it be lifted? Few people on the river believe their problem will be ended when the governor's 30 day emergency order has run its course. But there may be some adjustments, one way or another, in the boundaries of the banned area, they say.

"The damage is done, and I can't help but feel that we'll be feeling the effects of this for quite a while," says William Keifer, Jr., proprietor of the Hide Away Supper Club farther south on Z.

Kiefer was busy last weekend because of Mother's Day, but his parents, who operate the nearby Edgewater Resort, had some guests leave immediately and others cancel reservations as soon as the ban was announced. It is a familiar story by now.

Next door, Mrs. Alma Cooper looks morosely at the vacant parking lot in front of her Sands Motel. Her eight units have been empty for a week.

"It's usually a big month. The fish bite like crazy and you can't get near the place. I don't know what to do, or how I'll pay the taxes. . . .

"People are so frightened. One man wanted to know if he could drink water from his well. . . .

"People complained about the paper mills making the fish stink. Well, the mills have been cleaning up. The fish were never as good as they were this spring. So why did they let Wyandotte in here? Don't tell me they didn't know. . . .

"I never saw anything so lonely. You could crack up. Everybody's in shock. . . ."

Then, too, there are marinas, filling stations, and stores. There are restaurants and realtors, taverns and tackle shops. More than 200 businesses identify themselves closely enough with the lakes to advertise in a brochure distributed by the Castle Rock-Petenwell Lakes Association.

The river sprawls into the Castle Rock flowage below Highway 21. Another reservoir for Wisconsin River Power, it was completed in 1951, covers 23,300 acres and is the state's fourth largest lake. Much of its shoreline is wooded, cut by a few sandy roads, pocked with deer tracks, but there also is resort development.

At the Melody Waves Resort rows of neat, white cabins stand empty. There is a sign on the office door saying "Vacancy." The office is vacant too.

Farther down the road one car is parked at the Club Dell Aire. It belongs to John Thousand, the bartender.

Hardly anybody knows Harold Strand's first name. Everybody calls him "Happy." There is a rare scowl on his face, however, as he looks about his Edgewater Marine Service facilities at Dellwood on Castle Rock Lake resort and motel facilities in the settlement all look deserted.

"It's a disaster all right," he says. "It's worse than a tornado. After a tornado you can start rebuilding again. Here it might take years. We don't know."

Terry Hawkins, pumping gasoline at a Mauston filling station, says fewer fishermen are being seen.

Ben Little, state conservation warden stationed at Mauston for 27 years, reports he's had trouble keeping signs up along the river warning of the ban. What troubles him more is that many people are blaming the resource department.

"There was a meeting Monday night at Dellwood. One guy said, 'The fish don't stink, the department stinks'—and he got the biggest hand," Ben recalls. His weathered face is seamed as he grimaces with the pain of it.

There is another meeting called at the Mauston Courthouse for officers of the lakes association. Wilber Alexander, a Necedah tavernkeeper, is there. He is chairman of the County Board Industrial Recreation Committee, and has also been a longtime member of the State Conservation Congress. There too, is State Rep. Tommy G. Thompson (R-Elroy), and Dist. Atty. Ray Feldman. Both youthful; articulate. Jim Helm, a resource department biologist, has arrived from Madison. Questions come fast: Can we sue? Is there help? How long? Answers come slowly. Fred Fields listens quietly.

"My dog's been drinking that stuff every day and it hasn't hurt him."

MANY RUMORS

"We've got to stop rumors that swimming and boating is banned too . . . and that deer are dying."

"Getting declared a disaster area means getting low cost loans, don't it?"

"We need to make money, not to borrow it."

Facts are still scarce as they leave the room.

It is morning again, and the boat launching area below the Petenwell Dam near Necedah is empty. Rugged ramparts of rock are reflected from the far bank. Rain has dimpled the sandy trails. There are no tracks. There is no sound. Flowers bloom along the banks, but, for a few moments, not even a bird is heard.

And then you remember that less than a decade ago the late Rachel Carson wrote a controversial book warning of poisons in our environment.

And that she called it, "Silent Spring."

LAKE PEPIN LEVEL OF MERCURY SEVERE

MADISON, WIS.—The most severe mercury contamination found thus far by federal officials is in Lake Pepin, the state Agriculture Board was told Thursday.

Making the report at the board's monthly meeting was Norman Kirschbaum, food division administrator. Being tested by the Federal Food and Drug Administration in addition to lakes Michigan and Superior are the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers.

Carp and buffalo fish from Lake Pepin, a widening of the Mississippi River along Pierce and Pepin Counties, were found to have .42 parts of mercury per million. Lakes and streams are closed to fishing when the level reaches .5 parts of mercury or above. Some of the Wisconsin River fish registered 1.5 parts of mercury in tests by the Department of Natural Resources.

PASSENGER RAIL SERVICE

HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, America's transportation system is entering a critical decade. Passenger rail service is diminishing, while our highways and airways are dangerously overcrowded. As a member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, I have been deeply disturbed by the apparent ease with which rail passenger service is discontinued. I am also aware that in other parts of the world, most notably Japan, the United Kingdom and the Common Market countries, rail passenger service is flourishing, in part because the railroads in those lands are aggressive and up to date in their marketing methods.

For a nostalgic look at what riding the train in the United States used to be like—and could be again—I include at this point a column by Jenkin Lloyd Jones as published in last Saturday's Washington Star:

TRAINS LET US SEE U.S. GRANDEUR

(By Jenkin Lloyd Jones)

There's a bill in Congress now for a government subsidy to save some of the fast-vanishing railroad passenger trains. Mostly it would go to breathe new life into the ramshackle services in population corridors, for as megalopolis grows the expensive freeways fail and we are drowned in the proliferation of our private transportation.

But I hope that at least a skeleton skein of long-distance trains may yet be preserved. Young America may lose the savor of this great country unless now and then it can stir from its sloop in a Pullman berth and gaze with wild surmise on a landscape changed and alien from that upon which dusk fell.

Perhaps we loved this country better when its vastness awed us. We've lost the vastness. We travel 600 miles a day with ease upon an Interstate that is a green or brown tunnel through the land—a pipe of motion remote from barns and villages and manor houses, from glens and brooks and deep arroyos. We get there. But where have we been?

Or we fly. At 10 miles a minute America unrolls beneath us—way beneath us. It's a cocktail and half a steak from Houston until you cross the Rio Grande north of El Paso, and Texas is gone.

The pilot comes up on the intercom and says that's the Grand Canyon underneath. The man at the window glances away from his magazine for a moment—just for a moment. The Grand Canyon is only one-sixth as deep as he is high. Not much to look at.

It wasn't like this in the old days. I have a little brochure, picked up from a Chicago old-book dealer, which was put out by the Santa Fe three quarters of a century ago for the New England trade.

It advised timid Downeasterners that every Saturday from old North Station a special Pullman in charge of a "reliable courier" left on the Boston and Maine, destination Los Angeles. Four days later it would be possible to take "comfortable stages from Williams, Arizona Territory, to the Canyon's very brink." The Indians, it assured prospects, were not dangerous at all.

Quaint? Of course. But people who went that way had a feel for the romance of Arizona and they really saw the Grand Canyon.

The Boston and Maine. In the mid-19th century the State of Massachusetts spent 21 years trying to punch a 5-mile tunnel through the Hoosac Ridge of the Green Mountains in order to achieve a low-grade rail route to the West. At every mile a new underground river was broken into and when it was finally completed it was a national triumph. The other day flying west from Boston I tried to locate the Hoosac bore, but a cloudbank intervened.

Maybe that's what our kids don't understand—how big the mountains were, how wide the rivers. They haven't seen the old switchbacks west of Denver that broke David Moffat's heart, or the way the B&O breasted the Appalachians with mule scoop, pick and black powder to achieve the Ohio at Wheeling.

They can never know now how it was when you stood at dawn on the rear platform of the old Havana Special, spinning from key-to-key on Henry Flagler's "railroad that went to sea." A hurricane took it all. But the magnificent Lucin cutoff across the Great Salt Lake is still there and so are Marias Pass and the Cascade tunnel and Horseshoe Curve and the climb up Raton.

The Pullman window is a way of drawing a shade on one kind of America and raising it on another. The first time I went to Florida as a wide-eyed kid darkness fell on Chesapeake Bay and the next morning as by a miracle here were roofless slave cabins and tall turpentine pines and the mysterious ferns of the Okefenokee. This was not the same as roaring down I-95 to a chaotic collegiate beach-bash at Fort Lauderdale.

In the effete East drinking places are deep in euphemisms. They are "taverns" or "lounges" or "tap-rooms" or "oases." But in the drying pools of the once-rugged West honesty still lives. A tall false-front facing the Southern Pacific station at Golconda, Nevada, carries the simple "Saloon."

We used to speak with awe of the wide, wide world, never dreaming we would see the day when an astronaut would get it all on the frame of a 35-mm camera. And when we sang "From sea to shining sea," we busted with patriotic pride because the country was so big.

It's smaller now, or seems so. And maybe that's why it's easier to belittle it. We travel it more, but perhaps we know it less.

And so I hope that two or three of the grand old transcontinental trains can be refurbished and kept alive—even if it takes some subsidy. The oncoming generation could use the view now and then from a Pullman window. It's a view of a spacious, varied, magnificent land. And it's a true one.

LETTER FROM LT. WILLIAM H. GODDARD

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, contrary to the opinions expressed by many of our young college and university students across the country today, there are many of our American fighting men who support President Nixon in his decision to move American troops into Cambodia.

One of these young men is Lt. William H. Goddard, who is serving with the infantry in Vietnam. Lt. Goddard is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Paul D. Goddard of Route 2, Dandridge, Tenn.

His love and devotion of his country are shining examples for others to follow. The members of his family are good friends of mine and I salute them.

Recently he wrote his parents a letter and accompanied with it another letter he has written to President Nixon.

I feel his letter to the President states very simply the attitude of our American fighting men. Indeed, their mental attitude in this terrible conflict is not as serious as many persons are being led to believe by the antiwar dissenters.

Mr. Goddard's letter is so outstanding that I am compelled to enter it in the RECORD.

NHA TRANG, RVN,
May 10, 1970.

MR. PRESIDENT: I am presently serving in Vietnam. I don't particularly like spending a year of my life over here away from my wife and family, however I want to do my part to defend freedom. This is a very mixed up war to say the least. Yet if we are going to fight a war, the only way to do it is to fight to win. At last a positive step has been made to do just that. I am referring to your decision to move U.S. troops into Cambodia. Everyone here is behind you 101%.

I heard news reporters asking you yesterday what good our troops are doing there. These people are either ignorant or are unable to read statistics. When I see all the supplies and arms that have been uncovered in such a short time, it astounds me. I guess these so called peace demonstrators in the U.S. cannot understand that for each rocket we capture in Cambodia, that is one less Charlie can shoot at me. Well, believe me, I can certainly understand that reasoning. My brother was here as a platoon leader in '68 when the bombing halt was called. He said that it was like stabbing our own people in the back because of the increased amount of supplies. I hope loud minorities in the states do not cause similar decisions in the future.

A year has passed since I was last on a college campus as a student. I really hope things have not changed as much as the news media would lead us to believe. The recent events are indeed tragic and I hope never occur again, however these students don't know how it is here.

From personal experience I know that many young impressionable students are greatly influenced by non-students agitators. Recently, statements from some of our so called responsible Senators have only added fuel to this fire. When I read Senator Mansfield's statement that students were placing "a lot of reliance on the Senate" and "we shall do our best to live up to their expectations", I thought is this man really the Senate Majority Leader. I hope someone in Washington realizes that a few hundred thousand G.I.'s in Southeast Asia are placing their lives not just some idealistic expectations in their hands.

I place a great deal of faith in you, my representative—Jimmy Quillen, my Senator—Howard Baker, and certainly Mr. Agnew. I cannot say the same for the other Senator from my state. Once again I am behind you 100%. There may be a lot of loud-mouths saying "Get out of Cambodia" but those of us over here say thank-you because we know that as a result of your decision we won't have to run for the bunkers nearly as often, and we won't have to pick up the pieces of our buddies because many rounds that would have landed here in the coming weeks will never make it. Thank-you.

WILLIAM H. GODDARD,
1Lt. Inf.

TRIBUTE TO LT. JACK BREWER, JR.

HON. M. G. (GENE) SNYDER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. SNYDER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to Lt. Jack Brewer, Jr., who was killed in action in Cambodia on Thursday, May 14.

Jack was the 109th northern Kentucky fighting man to give his life for his country in Southeast Asia.

Though the Nation is experiencing dissent over America's commitment, Jack Brewer answered the call to duty and honor. He paid the highest sacrifice for his country and for those of us whom he died defending.

It must be our hope and prayer that Jack Brewer died so that others could live—and remain free. I know I speak for the people of the 4th District of Kentucky—and for all Americans—when I convey my deep sense of loss and sympathy to the Brewer family.

The front page story reporting Jack's loss, which appeared in the Kentucky Post, Tuesday, May 19, by John Harris, follows:

BOONE OFFICER SLAIN IN CAMBODIA BATTLE

(By John Harris)

Newly expanded fighting into Cambodia has claimed its first northern Kentucky victim.

Army 1st Lt. William J. (Jack) Brewer, Jr. was killed last Thursday in an enemy encounter there.

"We don't know exactly how it happened yet," said his mother, Mrs. William J. (Jeanne) Brewer, Sr., 933 Piedmont Circle, Rolling Green Acres, near Erlanger.

"We got a telegram Monday. All it said was that he was on patrol and ran into a hostile enemy group."

The 23-year-old officer is the 11th victim of Southeast Asian fighting for Boone County and the 109th for northern Kentucky.

And it was another sad first for Boone County, which had also given the tri-county area's first life in the Vietnam fighting over 5 years ago.

Pfc. John W. Malapelli, 22, of Burlington, was the first northern Kentuckian killed in Vietnam. This was on February 9, 1965.

Young Brewer was an outstanding soldier and had planned to make the Army his career.

He had paratrooper training and was a Ranger as well as an expert in jungle warfare.

"We last heard from him of May 8," said his father, who is a mechanic with Day and Zimmerman Inc., Cincinnati.

"He was in Vietnam then—at firebases along the (Cambodian) border. He had been in (Cambodia) and back out.

"He said he expected to go into Cambodia, but (his letter) was just as pleasant as could be."

The young soldier was the oldest of six in his family.

A brother, James A. Brewer, 22, is a power engineer with Cincinnati Gas and Electric Co. He and another brother, Jerald, 14, live at home.

There are three sisters, Jennifer, 16, and twins, Robin and Melinda, 9.

Lt. Brewer was a 1964 graduate of Boone County High School and was graduated mid-term in 1969 from Eastern Kentucky University with a business administration degree.

While at Eastern, he was outstanding in the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, attaining membership in Pershing Rifles drill team and Scabbard and Blade honor groups.

He was commissioned an army second lieutenant upon graduation.

The following day he married Janas Mills, of Independence.

She now lives at 7050 Shenandoah Drive, Apartment 11, Florence, with a son, William Jackson Brewer III, who will be a year old later this month.

The young officer went to Vietnam on Feb. 1, serving as an infantry platoon leader and executive officer with the 1st Cavalry (Airmobile).

He won the Combat Infantry Badge and was nominated for a Bronze Star.

Lt. Brewer was a member of Grace Episcopal Church, Florence.

Other survivors include his maternal grandmother, Mrs. Lucille P. Latimer, of Evanston, Ill.

Stith Funeral Home, Florence, is in charge of arrangements.

GORDON FULCHER LEADS TEXAS POLLUTION FIGHT

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, because of the foresight and the strength and the daring of one man who was not afraid to buck the system, our State is now moving, and is ahead of most other States in cleaning up its rivers and streams, sewerage systems, and channels and bays.

Gordon Fulcher, chairman of the Texas Water Quality Board, is the man responsible for "Operation Clean Sweep" which has shaken up the industries and some cities in Texas who have contributed to our pollution.

Armed with laws that were tough in nature and tough to pass, Fulcher and his staff now go after violators with fines and firm legal proceedings.

The background of Gordon Fulcher is one of public service. For nearly 20 years, Gordon Fulcher was editor of the Austin-American newspaper, and here he was recognized as one of the State's most aggressive, energetic and productive editors in the State.

His newspaper was as colorful and delighted as the man himself. After a successful career in the construction business, Gordon Fulcher returned to his first love—newspaper publishing. Throughout these ventures, Fulcher brought a keen sense of humor, a brilliant insight to the workings of our democracy, and a firm dedication to the ideals of responsible government. Gordon Fulcher has always been a working part of his government—willing, fair, responsible, and lovable. He is a true friend of his State, and I have been privileged to share his friendship for over 30 years.

Mr. Speaker, as we know quite well, enforcement of our antipollution laws will require the concerted and coordinated administration of all legislation—Federal and State—and Gordon Fulcher is the kind of man that can maintain a purposeful partnership.

As further insight to his character and his ability, I would submit the following article from the May 17th edition of the Dallas Morning News:

POLLUTERS LISTEN, OBEY STATE NOW: TEXAS MOVES AHEAD IN FIGHT FOR CLEAN RIVERS

(By Robert Heard)

AUSTIN.—Nobody knew it at the time, but last Oct. 16 probably was the most important date in Texas history in the fight against water pollution.

It was on that date that *Gordon Fulcher, the salty-tongued chairman of the Texas Water Quality Board,* suggested in a rambling speech to the board that it should examine every waste discharge permit in the state.

From that speech came "Operation Clean Sweep," a watershed by watershed series of hearings that has shaken up industries and cities in half the state and is zeroing in on the other half.

A lot of people thought the day would never come when the board actually did anything substantial.

But this attitude was unfair, say Hugh Yantis and Joe Teller, executive director and deputy director of the board. From 1961 through 1965, the board had only three clerical employes, they say.

It got three more employes and a budget of $40,000 in 1965. Finally, in 1967, the board got $3 million from the legislature and began building a staff that now totals 130, about one-third what Yantis and Teller say they need.

Why did it take so long to get the legislature to approve enough money to make it an effective agency?

Fulcher explained: "In 1961, some members of the Legislature had to be promised there would be no staff and no money before they would vote to create the Water Pollution Control Board." The board's name was changed in 1967.

This gave the reluctant legislators credit for the agency's creation while at the same time placating major industrial polluters.

Therefore the agency has been in a position to do something substantial only since 1967.

The next question is why did it take two years to get the ball rolling? Some have criticized Fulcher's predecessor Howard Rose, an appointee of Gov. John Connally, saying he tended to be easy on industrial polluters.

Yantis disputes this. Rose was the right man to head the board until Fulcher took over in October, he says.

"Howard brought us into a modern operation. Maybe his temperament would not be attuned to what we're now doing. He did a whole lot to get this gun aimed . . . when Fulcher came along, the gun was loaded," Yantis said.

Among other things that Rose did, Yantis said, was get the legislature to approve the $3 million budget in 1967.

A long shakedown period followed, during which, statistical information was gathered.

The real beginning of Fulcher's drive dates back to last summer's Panola County grand jury investigation of the Sabine River.

The major question was Texas Eastman, a giant chemical company near Longview.

Fulcher, their board vicechairman, telephoned the company Aug. 1 and got it to shut down voluntarily in hours. The company has since spent millions to improve the quality of its effluent.

Rose's term expired and Gov. Preston Smith did not reappoint him. The board elevated Fulcher, publisher of a weekly newspaper in Atlanta.

Four of the seven seats on the board are held by representatives of state agencies who traditionally look to the governor's appointees on the board for leadership.

Fulcher says he and Jerry Brownlee, former city manager of Fort Worth and a Connally appointee, had felt for a long time that the agency had no real objective. "Particularly, you couldn't find out who was in violation of a discharge permit and who wasn't," he said.

"We gave our staff better direction than they had previously been given," he said.

But Fulcher is no critic of Rose. "I don't think Howard had in his previous board members two people as willing to hit at the snake as Brownlee and I were," he said.

Previous board members "walked on a lot of new ground. They were inclined to give industries and all permittees—to be too soft and to be too easy, to give two years for corrective action where they should have given two month," he said.

Even after Fulcher took over, it took time to get people's attention. He noted that a group of cities in Northeast Texas failed to send representatives to the November meeting as requested. They showed up in December, however, after city officials began to realize they could get into trouble.

The board can ask the attorney general to file suit against cities or industries that fail to comply with their discharge permits. Violators can be fined $1,000 a day for each offense. Industries can be enjoyed to halt pollution. The law even permits the placing of a city's sewage discharge function into receivership.

And Fulcher took on the big boys. After the Houston Public Works Director, E. B. Cape, said the board could do nothing but "raise a big stink," Fulcher had Cape stand up at the February meeting of the board to receive this blistering:

"I am amazed that a man holding such a position of responsibility as you do in one of the largest and most important cities in the world—the heart of an area from whence comes some 50 per cent or more of the gravest pollution problems with which we must deal—would make such a statement even in a facetious or jocular manner.

"To me, it was obdurate, indolent, ignorant, insolent and uncalled for."

In addition to sanctions the board could seek through state courts, Fulcher said the board could ask that federal funds be held up on pollution control, highway, housing and other projects.

Cape accepted his punishment in silence and sat down.

The agency is cracking, but now there is a new threat. Fulcher says. Federal intervention.

On April 15, Fulcher told a Corpus Christi audience:

"Despite all the strong lip service of President Nixon about the vital urgency of cleaning up pollution in this country," a federal official is hamstringing the Galveston Bay study.

David Dominick, federal, water pollution control administrator, refused to release $250,000 appropriated by Congress as this year's federal matching fund for the study. Dominick insisted that the money be tied to a strong enforcement program.

Fulcher calls this "a Republican gimmick."

Yantis says, "It's regrettable that the present administration chooses to play politics with it."

Teller says the federal people are "hung up on the lawsuit business. Potomac fever leads someone to think he can do the job better. They think of us as little bumbling children that don't quite know what they are doing.

"They've got senior people who have never seen a sewage treatment plant. They say enforcement is the only way. They filed suit against St. Jo, Mo., in 1955 for dumping raw sewage into the Missouri River. They

won the suit. Last year, St. Jo started construction of their primary sewage treatment plant. It took 14 years. Last August, it took 1½ hours for Texas Eastman to stop after one phone call."

Teller says lower echelon federal people list Texas, California and New York as having the three best state anti-population programs.

Fulcher notes that industries along the Houston Ship Channel are spending between $50 million and $100 million to clean up their effluent. Already there has been improvement, even before these projects are completed, he said. "The channel is cleaner today than it was 10 years ago."

A lot has been done, but much more needs to be done. Teller, for instance, says sewer lines that can keep out infiltration of rain water cost three times as much as pipes used today. And infiltration is a major problem because it place a tremendous burden on treatment plants.

"Most people push the lever on their commode and think, 'It's nasty stuff—I want to forget it,' " he said. But somebody has to think about it. And the leverpushers are going to have to pay for the bonds that build the lines and plants that take care of it.

Some of the key somebodies that are thinking about it are Fulcher, Brownlee, Yantis and Teller. And they lose money by doing it.

Fulcher and Brownlee make $25 a day plus expenses for the two days a month they average in board meetings.

Yantis, 56, makes $22,500. He has turned down a private offer of $50,000. "I'm doing what I want to do," he said.

Teller, 39, makes $18,500. He has turned down an offer of $32,500. "It sounds noble, I know, I enjoy what I'm doing and I think we're doing a good job. And it needs to be done. I'm making enough to live on.

"You've got to be dedicated. The phone doesn't ring but what it's somebody giving you unshirted hell. We're either doing too much or too little. Cities claim we're making them spend too much money. Nobody comes to us if they don't have a problem."

CUBA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I join my distinguished colleague from Florida, the Honorable DANTE B. FASCELL, chairman of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, in commemorating Cuba's independence.

On this occasion last year, I stated that many of us celebrate Cuba's Independence Day with mixed emotions. Today, I am sure that, while we join freedom-loving Cubans everywhere in honoring their homeland's long struggle for liberty, we cannot forget that a totalitarian regime rules in Havana.

We all remember the heroic leadership of Maximo Gomez, Antonio Maceo, and Jose Marti in Cuba's epic struggle to throw off the yoke of Spanish colonialism. However, a less honorable Cuban named Fidel Castro has undone the work of those great men and their fellow countrymen and has returned Cuba to the dark ages of human liberty.

The unfortunate condition of the Cuban people who labor under Castro's regimental reign of terror is well known. Although the Cuban dictator promises cornucopia in the dialectic of Communist doctrine, the plight of the inhabitants of Cuba has not lessened. Despite the claims of a successful socialist experiment, the majority of Cuba's population exists in a state of persistent want. Moreover, a dissenter to Castro's totalitarian policies is given the harsh choice of exile or prison.

Apart from extinguishing the flame of freedom in Cuba, Castro's regime has consistently recruited from other American republics and has trained in Cuba guerrillas to export the Cuban-type Communist agrarian revolution. Since the agrarian approach has met with little success, radical revolutionary elements in the hemisphere are turning increasingly toward urban terrorism in order to bring down the existing order.

Castro casts himself throughout the hemisphere as a leader of the down-trodden who is opposed to United States imperialism. However, it is clear that the Soviet Union presently has a large degree of economic and military influence on Cuba's ruler. Last year's visit of the Soviet fleet to Havana and the continuing presence of Soviet advisers is evidence of the closeness of the two governments.

Mr. Speaker, we deplore not only the existence of the totalitarian regime in Cuba, but also the danger it presents to all of the republics in the Inter-American system.

However, I am confident that the thirst for liberty, which is paramount in the hearts of the Cuban people, will again sustain them in their quest for freedom and independence.

Therefore, in commemoration of Cuba's Independence Day, I urge all free people throughout the Americas to encourage the Cuban people to continue their quest for liberty.

LETTERS DESCRIBE RIDICULOUS ACTIVITIES

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues two letters that appeared in the Evening Star of May 16 and 17 which I believe very effectively describe the ridiculous activities that have been conducted in our country in recent weeks.

The letter follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, May 17, 1970]

SIR: Why do you have so little faith in the American system of representative government. In a 2,500 word editorial you take the present administration to task at great length for not listening to the student dissenters. Why should it? If this were to become the proper way to determine government action we would not need Congress—why bother with representatives if our duly formulated policy is set aside by mob demands?

Of course, we unfortunate middle-class Americans who hold down jobs would have to give them up and devote our time to mass protests, to shouting obscenities over the White House fence, to burning automobiles and throwing rocks at policemen. We will if we have to. It would seem so much wiser, however, if we all stayed home, obeyed the law and participated in elections at all levels.

If the administration takes the easy way out and accepts the views of whatever group can create the greatest mess on the Ellipse, representative government will be a thing of the past.

CHARLES R. HUCKA.

BETHESDA, MD.

[From The Washington (D.C.) Star, May 16, 1970]

LAMENT

You cry for love, as you rob your mothers and hate the law which protects you. You cry for peace, as you murder your fellow students in the streets. You cry for communication, when your ears are obstinately closed to those who oppose you. You cry for freedom, when you are stifling the very freedom our brothers are dying for. You cry for population control, as you make love in the streets and bring unwanted babies into the world. You cry for anti-pollution and you leave tons of garbage on our Monument grounds and everywhere you go. And you cry for justice, when you are the most selfish and most unfair of all.

You are the confused and lost, and I am ashamed to be called "youth" in the same breath as you.

But the most painful, tragic thing of all is knowing that an ocean of blood covers this earth to give you the freedom, the right to wade in it and curse.

C. B., 17.

CAMPUS VIOLENCE AND COLLEGE SPORTS

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, it is perhaps not usual to look for political comment on the sports page, but Red Smith is not a usual sports writer. I was deeply impressed by the perception of his recent column concerning the great impact of the Kent State incident on college athletes and athletics throughout the Nation.

Many of our outstanding college athletes, like their fellow students, have been shocked by the recent displays of mindless violence at Kent State, as well as in Jackson, Miss. and Augusta, Ga. A rising number have declared a moratorium on participation in college sports because they no longer feel they can give full devotion to games at a time when their fellows can be shot down in cold blood with apparent impunity by those lawfully appointed to preserve the peace of our society.

Of the protesting college athletes, many of whom are very conservative in politics and life style, Red Smith wrote:

"They're bums. They just don't feel like playing games. I don't feel like writing about games. I'm a bum. An old bum. I try to think about sports and I just keep hearing a too familiar voice repeat-

ing on radio and television: 'I have a plan to end the war. I promise you I can achieve a just peace.'"

Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I introduce into the RECORD the article by Red Smith entitled "Wrong Time for Playing Games," which appeared in the May 8, 1970, issue of the Chicago Sun-Times:

BULLETS ON CAMPUS: WRONG TIME FOR PLAYING GAMES

(By Red Smith)

It is time for some of our professional sports leaders to declare that the games must go on because that is how these kids at Kent State would have wanted it.

This was the theme when John Kennedy was murdered and when Robert Kennedy was murdered and when Martin Luther King Jr. was murdered.

Indeed, Spec Richardson, the psychic general manager who minds store in Houston, knew so well what Robert Kennedy would have wanted that he slapped fines on Rusty Staub and Bob Aspromonte for refusing to play on the day of mourning for the senator. Joe L. Brown of Pittsburgh either did or did not fine Maury Wills for the same offense—he didn't have the guts to say—and Milt Pappas, the pitcher who led a protest by Cincinnati players, was swiftly traded to Atlanta.

Ken Fairman, athletic director at Princeton, isn't sure how the kids at Kent State would have wanted it, and isn't putting pressure on athletes who have suddenly lost interest in the playground.

"They feel very deeply about this," Fairman says. "They're dropping out because they feel they can't go out and have fun in sports . . . they always have a veto. They are not hired by us to play athletics."

WHO'S A BUM?

Princeton's unbeaten tennis team has quit for the year, eight lacrosse players have left the squad, three basketball players have packed it in, and so have three oarsmen on the heavyweight crew.

The Princeton track team is down to 18 athletes, and Herman Stevenson, the captain, is trying to organize a boycott of the Heptagonal Games this weekend at Yale. Steve Tourek, the crew captain at Dartmouth, wants all oarsmen to wear black handbands in the Eastern Spring Championships Saturday.

The Columbia baseball team cancelled last Tuesday's game with Manhattan College. At least one football player at Stanford stayed away from spring practice.

"These kids are for the most part very conservative kids," Ken Fairman says. "One kid says to our lacrosse coach, 'You told us not to play unless we have a 100 per cent commitment, and I can't.'"

They've bums. They just don't feel like playing games. I don't feel like writing about games. I'm a bum. An old bum. I try to think about sports and I just keep hearing a too familiar voice repeating on radio and television: "I have a plan to end the war. I promise you I can achieve a just peace."

Richard Milhous Nixon says what happened at Kent State was an "unfortunate incident" and implies that the kids who were slaughtered had nobody but themselves to blame because "when dissent turns to violence it invites tragedy."

Spiro T. Agnew says that what happened was "predictable and avoidable." That's the polysyllabic way to say, "I told you so."

To Mr. Nixon, young people who detest the war in Vietnam and oppose his invasion of Cambodia are "bums." To Mr. Agnew they are "tomentose exhibitionists." (Tomentose is a hotdog word for hairy.)

FEW REMAIN SILENT

In most colleges, athletes are regarded as conservatives, often correctly. Some are just muscular jocks with limited interests beyond the playing field, and most of them are kept too busy to have much time for campus movements. More and more of them, however, are speaking out against the notion that they are part of the President's "silent majority."

In fact, unless his hearing has failed badly, Mr. Nixon must be aware of voices of dissent in many quarters that have been quiet until recently, in his own party and even in his own cabinet. That was a remarkable letter he got from his Secretary of the Interior protesting the President's insensitivity and the Vice President's blackguarding of youth.

Walter J. Hickel is the Alaskan who said conservation was overrated, whereupon Nixon handed him the Interior Department, making him the national conservation commissioner. Now Walter has concluded that the President was overrated.

THE INCREASING COST OF EVERYTHING

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, in an excellent article in the Evening Star of May 25, Sylvia Porter gives us a close look at the effects of the current price inflation on the housewife's shopping list. She cites dozens of specific examples that indicate the drastic rise in prices that is still affecting food and practically everything else we buy. No longer is it a question of substituting hamburger for steak, says Miss Porter. The housewife now must decide whether she can afford hamburger.

How much more evidence does the administration need before it will act to institute tough guidelines to limit price increases as well as establishing limits on wage hikes and selective controls on credit?

The article follows:

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: LOWER PRICES RISING FASTEST

(By Sylvia Porter)

"Substitution" always has been a key weapon to help cut the cost of living—and since this inflation spiral took off in 1956 a policy of "substitution" for meats and other foods, for non-foods and services wherever feasible, has been widely promoted.

But now, ironically although understandable, adoption of this policy on a mass scale is driving up the prices of the popular substitutions more rapidly than the original higher-priced items. In short, as inflationary price increases drain our pocketbooks, we have fewer and fewer ways to protect ourselves.

To put it succinctly, while hamburger is a fine substitute for steak, cheese and dried beans are scarcely satisfactory substitutes for hamburger.

When the prices of the basics in foods, goods and services climb more rapidly than the prices of luxuries, the danger signals are flying very high.

To illustrate, between the start of 1969 and 1970, the cost of hamburger rose 11.9 percent—more than twice the 5.8 percent rise for sirloin steak. The average price of a pound of hamburger was 66c according to latest official nationwide Bureau of Labor Statistics figures.

Also during this same 12-month period, the price of hot dogs rose 13.6 percent—nearly double the 6.8 percent rise for roast beef. At latest official report, frankfurters cost an average of 83c a pound throughout the United States.

Several times during 1969 it was pointed out how big a bargain turkey was and how one could adapt turkey for year-round meals. Between January and January, though, poultry prices rose 9.6 percent—with the key factor behind this increase a jump of nearly 14 percent for turkey. The BLS now reports the average price for turkey at 56c per pound.

And so it has gone: Fresh and frozen fish prices rose 13.3 percent from January to January; pork, another traditionally lower cost beef substitute, rose 17.2 percent overall; beef liver was up close to 12 percent; liverwurst was up nearly 11 percent; sausage, 18; bologna, 13; eggs, 19 percent. As for bacon, this has entered the category of gourmet, condiment foods.

This is in direct contrast to the trend in the previous couple of years, for then, you may recall, the big increases were for sirloin steaks, roast beef, veal cutlets. And it was to beat these increases and still get sufficient protein that many consumers shifted from high-priced cuts of beef to hamburgers and hot dogs, chicken and fish.

And the same trend is evident elsewhere. Among vegetables, such old standbys as carrots, celery and tomatoes all increased 19 percent or more.

Among home ownership costs, prices are rising rapidly for such necessities as repair of furnaces and washing machines, replacement of sinks, reshingling of roofs.

Among transportation costs, public transit fares are rising more rapidly than any other major category. And traditionally bargain inter-city bus fares are climbing at a rate nearly four times that of new car prices.

Among personal care items, prices for do-it-yourself home permanent refills are increasing faster than prices of cold waves performed at the hairdresser. Among women's apparel costs, casual shoe prices are rising faster than evening slippers. Among alcoholic beverages, wine prices are rising four times as fast as whisky prices Among health costs, semi-private hospital room rates are rising faster than private room rates.

This 1969-70 period is murderous: Business recession, a stock market crash, climbing unemployment, mounting bankruptcies and now an inflation zeroing in on the basics.

And the most tragic aspect of all is that at the heart of it is a war which everyone says must be ended but which drags on and on endlessly.

GEN. WILLIAM C. WESTMORELAND DELIVERS ADDRESS AT ARMY AND AIR FORCE ROTC COMMISSIONING EXERCISES, TEXAS A. & M. UNIVERSITY

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Gen. William C. Westmoreland delivered a most inspiring address to the Army and Air Force ROTC cadets who are graduating from Texas A. & M. University and accepting commissions in the respective services.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of General Westmoreland's speech:

ADDRESS BY GEN. W. C. WESTMORELAND, CHIEF OF STAFF, U.S. ARMY, ARMY AND AIR FORCE ROTC COMMISSIONING EXERCISES, TEXAS A. & M. UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE STATION, TEX., MAY 23, 1970

I am proud to be a soldier . . . a member of the Armed Forces team. As a soldier, I am always pleased to welcome those who are about to be commissioned in the Services of our country. Your qualifications for service are well known. I congratulate you on your decision to serve your country in the great tradition of our Nation and the State of Texas.

Texas A. & M. has provided dedicated leadership—both civilian and military—to our Nation during the past 94 years. Over 50,000 officers have come from your Corps of Cadets since 1920. Like them, you are about to add your contribtuion to the leadership of the Army and the Air Force. I am confident you also will carry with you throughout the Services "The Spirit of Aggieland."

This spirit is personified by the distinguished officer and polished gentleman—a member of my staff—who came from Washintgon with me this morning, Major General Bill Becker, a graduate of this great institution. General Becker was Cadet Sergeant-Major on the staff of Cadet Colonel and Corps Commander Durwood Varner, your Commencement speaker, and succeeded him as Cadet Corps Commander.

General Becker is one of many of your alumni who are providing leadership in the Army today.

In accepting your commission as an officer, you have reached a significant milestone in your life. A vital part of your preparation for future responsibilities has been your enrollment in and successful completion of ROTC.

Your chosen path to this point has not been without deprecation from some. Yet in withstanding assaults from those who would deprive you of your freedom of choice, you have demonstrated fortitude, understanding and maturity. I am convinced you are better men for it.

During the past four years you have learned from the world of books; today you begin learning from the book of the world. Your education—in fact—has really just begun.

When you receive the bars of a second lieutenant, you accept the responsibility of a commissioned officer. Inherent in this responsibility is a trust far greater than that accorded most men.

You will be entrusted with the lives of Americans in uniform, men who are representative of the citizenry of our country. In them you will find both the strengths and weaknesses of our society and indeed of all humanity. But in this age of rapid change where many of our values are being questioned, doubted, and even rejected, your enlightened leadership is sought as never before. Accordingly, the responsibility thrust on you will be complex and demanding.

There was a time when unskilled, untrained men filled with passion could win battles . . . but those days have long since passed.

Today our American serviceman possesses the self-confidence—the skill—that comes from comprehensive training and reliable equipment. He is better educated, better trained, and better equipped than any who have ever worn the uniform of this country.

Nearly nine percent of Army enlisted personnel now have college degrees. For the last two years, about ten percent of our new enlisted men have been college graduates. Thirty percent of our enlisted strength have had some college training and eighty percent have completed high school. The average number of school grades completed is 11.8. But these figures are not representative of the Army alone, they indicate the level of education in all the Services.

Serving the well-educated American soldier is one of the largest educational institutions in the world.

The Army's school system, with 2 colleges, 22 branch schools, and 10 specialist schools offering over 650 courses of instruction on a campus located in 17 different states, is literally the largest campus in the world.

Under a civilian schooling program that was founded in 1867, the Army trains specially selected officers for advanced degrees at leading universities. This is done in order to meet our growing needs which demand the higher discplines associated with Masters degrees and Doctorates.

At present over 90 percent of our career officers hold Baccalaureate degrees—the goal is 100 percent. Some 25 percent hold advanced degrees. . . . And we estimate that during their service, approximately 75 percent of our career officers will have the opportunity to gain advanced degrees.

All of the great training facilities and educational institutions of the Army and Air Force exist for one reason: to make our servicemen and women better able to fulfill their oath of office. This oath that you will take today is the same oath taken by all servicemen and women, officer and enlisted.

The oath is unique . . . its charge is not for defense of any man, nor any partisan cause. Explicit in our oath is a solemn affirmation to defend the foundation and expression of the highest ideals of freedom for man . . . the Constitution of the United States. Implicit is loyal response to our Commander in Chief—the President of the United States.

Our Armed Forces have never swerved from honoring this oath. Moreover, and what should be extremely important to our citizenry, they have never acted as an instrument of coercion or force against our government. As a group they have remained subordinate to civilian leadership as set forth in the Constitution. No other major nation in the world can boast of Armed Forces that have shown such continued undivided loyalty.

The Armed Forces of the United States have never failed our country on the field of battle. Starting with our own Revolution, we have never lost a war.

Should our Armed Forces ever become weakened, our Nation will have lost one of its strongest sinews of greatness.

Essential to the strength of our Armed Forces are certain eternal values that cannot be compromised. And these are fundamentals to any society or any organization of people within a society.

Respect for lawful authority.

Discipline, including self-discipline.

Sacrifice—a willingness to set aside personal goals for the goals of the group.

And finally, absolute honesty and integrity.

These attributes are not hollow slogans. They are functional necessities for any human involvement. But they are uniquely required in the military where human life . . not money or prestige . . . is the stake. Because these demanding standards are vital to the national interest, we make every effort to maintain and enforce them. We hold those who would violate these values accountable in accordance with the law of the land, keeping in mind justice to the individual and justice to the Armed Forces.

You gentlemen will provide much of the leadership that ensures the continued viability of these principles in the Army and Air Force. Texas A&M has prepared you well for your leadership role. As leaders, you will discover that what you achieve is directly proportional to your individual determination. You must want to command. You must have the will to accomplish.

Gentlemen, individual determination or will has pervaded our fighting men in Vietnam. Will enables infantrymen to move through seemingly impenetrable leech-infested jungles. Will causes U.S. airmen to fly through missile-ridden skies to accomplish their missions. In a way, this same spirit is admirably exhibited here at Texas A&M by your tradition of the "twelfth man."

The Army, as part of our Armed Forces, has demonstrated its commitment throughout history to serve our country.

As our young Nation expanded West of the Appalachians, our Army mapped and surveyed the uncharted wilderness. Today the Army charts the moon.

As our young, growing Nation required increased arteries of communication, our Army Engineers planned and built roads, railroads, and canals.

As our Nation's population grew and her horizons expanded, the Army Medical Corps met the needs of national health.

And as our Nation reached beyond the earth's atmosphere, the Army developed Explorer I, the only ready satellite with which the challenge of Sputnik could be met.

Certainly the other Services can cite numerous similar contributions.

I am proud that the Armed Forces have always been pioneers. But they have done more than build roads and make maps . . . they have also, many times, led the way toward social change in our country.

Today, the Services give special training to those who ordinarily would not be eligible to serve in the Armed Forces through lack of education.

Today, the Armed Forces through Project Transition assist those servicemen about to be discharged by preparing them for civilian jobs in government and industry . . . training which improves their future prospects and adds strength to our Nation.

Moreover, the military has led the Nation in moving toward a truly integrated society where race plays no part and where any man can advance in accordance with his demonstrated abilities.

The humanitarian actions of our Armed Forces in times of natural disaster are well known.

I could cite numerous other contributions our Armed Forces have made to our society. But our primary mission is not social reform . . . It is to provide security for our Nation and its people.

I'm proud to be a part of a military organization that is an important instrument of a responsible government—a government which through its Armed Forces is capable of applying force with discretion . . . not irrationally as the case might be with an irresponsible nation.

But our Nation must have sufficient power at its disposal to disuade the use of power against us by another nation. Accordingly, we must measure our military needs by the military capabilities of potential enemies. This is extremely difficult when one attempts to measure the power of an open society against the power of a closed society. And yet I would have it no other way because it is the very openness of our society which our Armed Forces defend.

Like most professional soldiers, I am intensely proud of the profession of arms.

In the United States, the Armed Forces defend a free and democratic society where men have the privilege to choose their profession . . . where institutions such as Texas A&M provide educational opportunity to those who choose to contribute to the defense and security of our Nation.

Your own late President, Major General

J. Earl Rudder, exemplified the career of the citizen soldier . . . a career that permits the individual to develop through his own demonstrated ability. General Rudder was a dedicated, fearless soldier. But he was also a reputable scholar and an inspirational leader as well. For better than a decade, as you know, he headed this institution with great imagination and wisdom. His legacy is your enrichment. His career demonstrated the true meaning of service . . . the personal satisfaction that comes from individual initiative and imagination . . . that results from the pursuit of excellence.

The leader in the Armed Forces today is not just a manager of violence. He must also be a master of numerous skills.

At the operating level, officers must not only be able to master the machines of war and peace, they must also be managers of funds and other resources—business managers on a large scale. They must be experts in transportation, logistics, personnel administration, communications, and engineering. They must be able to look to our Nation's future needs in research and development and be prepared to administer these important and complex programs.

At the man-to-man level, our military leaders must be able to handle personal, often emotional problems . . . problems of the type found in every organization—indeed, in society itself.

But most important, at the individual level, the leader—himself—must be able to face the dangers that every man in uniform has faced since time immemorial. He must be willing to undergo the physical hardship not every man is willing to endure. In a society which more and more frequently rebels at any idea of regimentation, he must readily accept discipline. And what is often more difficult, he must frequently be the disciplinarian.

He must be willing to accept and adjust to a separated family life when the situation demands. And during a time when material things have become a principal incentive for the individual, he must take pride in accomplishment and service rather than remuneration.

Our Armed Forces require men of unusual motivation . . . men with the dedication to serve their Nation for the gratification that only service to one's country can give.

I firmly believe that you here today—after all is said and done—will be able to look back and know that the world is just a little bit better for your having served.

I am proud to be associated with an organization dedicated to the defense of the Constitution of the United States—

An organization that continues to serve the best interests of our country and holds national interest above self-interest . . .

An organization that recognizes the importance of discipline . . .

An organization that respects rule by law and order . . .

An organization that is steadfast and loyal to our Nation . . .

An organization that respects the idealism and fundamentals on which this great Nation was founded.

As you enter the ranks of our Armed Forces, you are joining an institution with a proud heritage that predates the founding of our country. Those whom you will lead will look to you for inspiration, good judgment, enlightenment and wisdom. Strength of character and integrity must be your hallmark.

Our servicemen deserve to be led by the best. I am confident that you can and will meet this obligation as you face the problems that lie ahead.

I am proud to wear the uniform of my country. You will soon share that same pride. Good luck and Godspeed.

THE WAR FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA IN PERSPECTIVE

HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, with President Nixon's decision to send American troops and military supplies into Cambodia, the questions are being asked again, Why are we in Vietnam? Why are we so heavily involved in Southeast Asia? What possible interests in Southeast Asia could this country have that would cause us to make such bloody and costly sacrifices in that remote area of the world?

In my judgment, the answers to these questions are part of the answer to a larger question; namely, why has there been such a history of conflict in the world? Perhaps a new perspective is needed even to raise this question properly, a perspective gained through a withdrawal from the daily turmoil of life. Such a vantage point surely would be afforded in the peacefulness of outer space, a peacefulness existing because the reaches of space are yet untouched by man's conflicting ambitions. As the astronauts travel through this void, or walk on the surface of the moon, they must gaze at an earth that appears to be so quiet and beautiful. They must ask themselves the question, why can't our planet be as peaceful as it looks?

I believe this question can best be answered by examining the existing situation in a historical perspective. Since the dawn of time, man has been at war with man. Although the struggle has taken different forms, depending on time, place, and circumstance, the underlying theme has been one of direct opposition of beliefs, of values, of life styles, of two opposing systems.

Some students of history have couched this conflict in basic terms of good against evil, God against the Devil, tyranny against freedom. Whatever its fundamental nature, however, since the early part of this century, the struggle has taken a highly ideological turn and has been characterized by a battle between communism and freedom.

In my lifetime, the Communists have waged a relentless battle to extend their influence and control over men and nations. In the process, countries have been treated as pawns in a global chess game that has as its goal the eradication of freedom and the establishment of a world order based on tyranny and atheism.

From the time they demonstrated their real objectives, the United States has attempted to counter and frustrate the Communists' conspiratorial designs whenever and wherever possible. Despite all efforts, though, the ideological map of the world has changed greatly in the last 25 years.

Although communism as a form of government emerged from the Russian revolution of 1917, it did not become a world threat until the close of World War II. After the war the Soviets consolidated a primary base of illegitimate power by ringing down the Iron Curtain in Europe. Behind this Iron Curtain millions of individuals in the 12 nations of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Rumania, East Germany, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, were forced to submit to the totalitarian will of the Communist state.

One of the first major postwar confrontations between the Soviet Union and the United States occurred in 1946. During World War II, Russia had agreed to withdraw its troops from Iran at the cessation of hostilities. After the close of the war, however, the Soviets refused to honor their agreement; they finally did so only after substantial political pressure was applied by the United States.

In the following year the Russians and their East European allies aided the Greek Communist guerrillas in their attempt to forcefully overthrow the Greek Government. This endeavor was defeated by American military and economic aid which was channeled under the Truman Doctrine to the embattled country.

During 1948 a direct confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States occurred in Berlin. In June, in a bold attempt to force the United States, Great Britain, and France to relinquish their joint control of the city, the Soviets blockaded Berlin. The allies responded with a counterblockade and initiated a massive airlift to relieve the beleagured city. One year later Russia lifted its quarantine and the Berlin crisis subsided.

These initial confrontations influenced the United States to reverse its traditional policy of avoiding permanent alliances. In 1949, the United States and 11 European nations signed the North Atlantic Treaty, and NATO was born. In this fashion, the countries of Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United States, with the subsequent additions of Greece, Turkey, and West Germany, banded together to safeguard the freedom of the Atlantic community.

During the same year, however, the Communist cause gained great impetus when China fell to a Communist revolution led by Mao Tse-tung. The United States continued to support Chiang Kai-shek and the Republic of China, which set up headquarters on Taiwan. Soon Taiwan and the offshore islands, notably Quemoy and Matsu, became a source of recurring international tension.

Faced with a new Communist threat from China, and fearing its growth in Asia and possible spread to Latin America and Africa, the United States instituted the Point 4 program. This was a program designed to share U.S. technological skills, knowledge, and equipment with underdeveloped nations in an effort to help them develop their industrial, agricultural, political, and human resource potentialities. It also encouraged the flow of U.S. private investment capital to these nations.

Despite U.S. efforts, however, the strife

continued, and in 1950, the most serious confrontation of the early cold war occurred. The scene was not Europe, but the Far East. In June of that year, North Korean forces with the support of the Soviet Union and Communist China invaded South Korea. The Free World swiftly responded and the United States, on behalf of the United Nations, intervened and waged a relentless battle until a cessation of hostilities was finally agreed to in 1953.

During the latter part of the fifties, the Cold War centered again in Berlin. In November 1958, Khrushchev initiated the second Berlin crisis by unilaterally renounicng the validity of the wartime agreements upon which the four-country occupation of the city was based, and demanding a new settlement strictly on Soviet terms. The United States and its allies resisted Soviet pressures, however, and the crisis temporarily abated when Premier Khrushchev and President Eisenhower reached an understanding at Camp David in September 1959.

When John F. Kennedy assumed the Presidency in 1961, this understanding evaporated. Once again Khrushchev began to build up international pressures over Berlin. The United States, Great Britain, and France resisted the pressures and prepared for all contingencies. A virtual stalemate thus existed until the fall, when Khrushchev abandoned his demands, and world tensions subsided once more.

In the following year, the Communists heated up the cold war again, this time almost to the boiling point. In September, Khrushchev placed intermediate-range ballistic missiles and medium-range bombers in Cuba, which had been secured as a forward Communist position by Castro's revolution of the late fifties. The United States responded by threatening to unleash its nuclear power against the Soviets if their offensive weapons were not removed from the island. After a week of crisis, the Russians removed the missiles and bombers and the world relaxed.

While the removal of these instruments of war from Castro's Cuba helped remove communism's sting from our shores, it did not help remove its influence from the Western Hemisphere. Since that time, both the Soviets and the Red Chinese have been using the island as a staging base to promote Communist revolutions in the countries of South America. The United States has reacted by refining some of its Latin aid programs and the Alliance for Progress. To date, our actions have helped combat the spread of communism in South America, but prevailing Latin economic and social conditions make any predictions of the future impossible.

Mr. Speaker, the United States has been waging the cold war for over 25 years. During that time we have joined with other nations of the free world and formed regional defense and security pacts. I have already discussed NATO; chief among the others are SEATO and SENTO in Asia and the Pacific, and the OAS in South America.

While these agreements provide a broad-based bulwark against communism, the United States has not been content to rely solely upon them. In an effort to contain the spread of Chinese communism, for example, we have helped certain Asian and Pacific nations build their social, political, and economic institutions. South Korea, the Philippines, and Formosa proudly stand today as dramatic proof of the benefits of some forms of American foreign aid.

In this process of nation building, we have also constructed an arc of defense posts in strategic areas of the world. Major U.S. strike bases are located in South Korea, Okinawa, Taiwan, the Philippines, South Vietnam, and Thailand, as well as the Pacific Islands of Guam, Marianas, Marshall Islands, and Midway. This line of defense has been drawn in Asia and in the Pacific, and not on the shores of the continental United States because, as was aptly stated by Gen. Douglas MacArthur, the islands of the Pacific are the stepping-stones to our defeat. Thus we will fight the enemy on our own shores only as a last resort.

The strength of this arc of defense is nowhere better illustrated than by our Okinawa airbase. There is enough nuclear firepower located on the island to reduce Red China to a sandy beach. Moreover, it is estimated that it would take only 400 atomic weapons to insure this total destruction. Of course, we would not unleash this nuclear holocaust unless forced to, but I am convinced that the knowledge that we have the power, and would use it if necessary, helps keep the Communists in line.

Mr. Speaker, based on the nature and history of the cold war, I submit it is obvious that the Communists are fomenting revolution in Southeast Asia as a means of facilitating the achievement of their goal of world conquest and domination.

It was to frustrate these conspiratorial plans that the United States became heavily involved in the Asian conflict. In this connection, our actions in that war-torn land are also proof to the free world that this country will not permit the destiny of beleaguered nations that ask for our assistance to be forcefully decided by alien aggressors.

For the greater part of the last decade, we have fought the Communists in Vietnam. In my judgment, this conflict could have been concluded in our favor years ago if our then national leaders had had the will and resolve to permit the military to win the war. This was the subject of a personal policy statement which I recently delivered supporting my concurrent resolution which calls on the President to promptly and systematically pursue a new policy of total military victory in Vietnam. I have requested the President to issue new orders to our military forces and our allies in the field. Orders that will remain in force until North Vietnam totally surrenders. I have also urged him to institute a plan of action of day and night bombardment that will assure the total destruction of North Vietnam's military and industrial installations; population centers after appropriate notices of intention have been disseminated; agricultural production lands; dikes and facilities; transportation and communications lines connecting North Vietnam to neighboring countries; Haiphong Harbor; and other shore facilities. In addition, a program of tactical commando raids by South Vietnamese into North Vietnam should be implemented. Finally, a total air, land and sea embargo on commerce between North Vietnam and other nations should be established.

In regard to halting Communist aggression throughout Southeast Asia, particularly Cambodia, I have urged President Nixon to supply that embattled country with sufficient U.S. military equipment and supplies together with a force of U.S. military advisers to enable the Cambodian Government to withstand the enemy onslaught. At present, Cambodian troops are ill-equipped and ill-trained. They also need our guidance. One without the other would be insufficient.

In contrast to our bitter experience in Vietnam, the U.S. assistance I have outlined should be accompanied by massive round-the-clock airstrikes, designed to destroy all strategic hamlets, staging and support areas utilized by the Communists throughout the embattled areas of Southeast Asia. Thus American power will be focused on problem spots at a minimum loss of American life and limb.

I think if these military policies were vigorously pursued the aggressors would soon be defeated, and a well-earned peace would settle on the area for the first time in over 20 years. The Communists have demonstrated that freedom for Southeast Asia can only be purchased by force. Since they have sown the wind with discord and strife, let them now reap a whirlwind of righteous American power and wrath.

Before leaving this subject, Mr. Speaker, I would like to make the observation that achieving peace in Southeast Asia does not necessarily mean that the United States will totally withdraw its military forces from the area. More than likely, residual forces would remain, as they have remained after the close of earlier wars. For example, although World War II was concluded 25 years ago, we still have about 300,000 troops stationed in Western Europe and in NATO countries. Another 39,000 men are based in Japan. Moreover, despite the fact that Korean hostilities ceased 18 years ago, 64,000 U.S. soldiers still remain in South Korea. It is on this basis that I predict that the current American involvement in Southeast Asia will probably take the form of long-term American regional presence, even after peace is arrived at.

Mr. Speaker, the President has recently sent allied forces on a tactical mission into Cambodia. The move was designed to clean out Communist sanctuaries and deny the Communists the unfettered use of Cambodian staging areas and supply depots. To date, the mission has far exceeded expectations. Enormous amounts of food, munitions, and medical supplies have been captured. Large numbers of enemy bunkers, staging depots, and command posts have been destroyed. Finally, thousands of enemy soldiers have been

killed, and thousands more captured. Accordingly, I think the Cambodian mission will yield the dividends the President expects and I believe it will be of material benefit in shortening the war and facilitating troop withdrawals.

Mr. Speaker, while our national attention and energies are focused on Southeast Asia, the Communists are dramatically increasing their presence and involvement in the Middle East. The Soviets are using Arab-Israeli problems as a means of extending Communist influence in that part of the world. This is not a new happenstance; the Russians mounted a program of expansion in the Middle East in 1955. At that time they agreed to supply Egypt with arms from Communist bloc countries. Following this agreement, Russia became an outspoken supporter of Egypt on the international scene. In addition, during the Mid East war of 1956, involving Britain, France, and Israel, the Soviets seized on the volatile situation and exploited it. They initiated far-reaching economic and military aid programs for the Arab States, and in the course of the next decade were able to fashion considerable influence and control in Arab councils.

Today, the Soviets are renewing their expansionist efforts in the Middle East. They are supplying Arab States with military advisers, combat pilots, ground-to-air missile experts, modern airpower, armaments and munitions. If these ominous trends continue, and if Communist influence in the Middle East is consolidated, the area could become hostile territory to U.S. and allied military forces. Should this happen, NATO security and the global balance of power would be greatly affected. In addition, the natural resources of the oil-rich Middle East could be denied to the United States and Europe thereby placing potential economic strains on the free world.

To avert such an eventuality is why the United States should weigh the course of events in the Middle East carefully, and cast its weight in strategic places and at appropriate times. Moreover, the United States has a vested interest in helping the nations concerned work out a mutually agreeable resolution to the conflict, a resolution that will insure the territorial integrity of the countries involved and that will preserve the East-West balance of power in the Mediterranean.

Mr. Speaker, by way of summary, for 25 years, the United States and the Communists have been locked in a titantic struggle that has spanned the globe. In the process some nations have been subverted, overthrown, and dominated by the Reds, while the sovereignty of other nations has been protected and preserved by the United States.

I predict that struggle will not be ended in Vietnam. Neither will it be decided in the Middle East. Instead, I believe it will continue until one side absorbs the other, until both sides destroy each other and the world, or until we learn to live together in peace.

For the present, however, I believe it is of crucial importance for Americans young and old to understand the nature, the background, and the present state of the struggle between communism and freedom. Understanding is necessary if the resources of this great country are to be fully focused on the battle at hand, a battle that has cost great losses of American life and treasure; a battle that will probably cost us more of the same in the years to come.

The mantle of world leadership falls heavy on the nation that wears it; the costs of freedom come high to the people who preserve it. Our Nation has not shirked its leadership responsibility in the past; our people have always proved equal to the sacrifices they have been called upon to make in the cause of freedom. I am confident such will be the case in the future.

Mr. Speaker, the United States is the only nation in the world today that possesses sufficient human, industrial, and military resources to lead the fight against communism. Should this generation of Americans decide that the battle between communism and freedom is not worth pursuing, and that the United States should surrender its leadership position, I believe this generation will not pass before the forces of communism dominate the world.

If the United States did not lead the fight for freedom, what nation would? If the United States faltered in its historic task, what nation would pick up the fallen standard?

REMARKS OF JAMES E. MERNA AT ANNUAL DINNER OF THE JOHN M. PERRY AMERICAN LEGION POST NO. 1044, SPARKILL, N.Y., ON ARMED FORCES DAY

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, because of student unrest, many Armed Forces Day ceremonies were canceled and I do not believe that our military men received the thanks and the praise which they so rightly deserve. Accordingly, I should like to include in the RECORD a speech delivered to an American Legion audience on Armed Forces Day by Mr. James E. Merna, who is a past president of the Marine Corps League:

REMARKS OF JAMES E. MERNA, AIDE TO THE NATIONAL COMMANDANT, MARINE CORPS LEAGUE, AT THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE JOHN M. PERRY AMERICAN LEGION POST NO. 1044, SPARKILL, N.Y., ON ARMED FORCES DAY, MAY 16, 1970

Congressman McKneally, Commander Weber, Program Chairman Joe Martorano, Distinguished Past Commanders, fellow Legionnaires, Members of the Ladies Auxiliary, Ladies and Gentlemen.

It's a real delight and honor to be here this evening. After seeing so many friends and familiar faces, my visit reminds me that time passes very quickly. I was a member of the Tappan Zee High School graduating class of 1950—one of my classmates then who is now one of your more notable members, is Bill Crable, recently named Captain of the Orangetown Police Force.

The last 20 years have certainly gone by quickly. In looking back, I only wish that old friend Bill had been connected with the Orangetown Police during our school days—when I seemed to be getting into all sorts of trouble—like the time when I was about 14 and "borrowed" Caputo's row-boat during a lunch-hour break in Piermont and rowed across the Hudson River—and stayed away from St. Agnes, AWOL you might say, for about 7 days. Some people in Piermont still call me "rowboat" to this day.

Or the time when I actually borrowed Jug-Head Jessup's bicycle when caddying got slack one day at the Rockland Country Club, and he had forgotten that he had loaned it to me, reported it missing, and when I showed up with it later, was brought to a quick and thorough *accounting* for it at the Sparkill Police Station. I also got to know Bill's Uncle Jack Smith pretty well then, too. He was the one who was always picking me up along Route 9W or in New York City when I ventured forth from St. Dominic's or St. Agnes, without authorization. All I can say now is, thank God he brought me back. I'd hate to consider what might have been, had he not done so!

In preparing my remarks for this evening, I decided to follow a rule attributable to Winston Churchill who once said, "Treat an address like a skirt—keep it long enough to cover the subject, but short enough to be interesting."

Ever since leaving Rockland County, and with time out for Marine Corps service and college, I have been living in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C. While Washington is recognized as the center of political power, its very peculiarities, however, tend to insulate those who live there from the real problems—and more particularly—the vital contributions—of America. This is why I am pleased to be here in Hometown, America, *here in Rockland County, New York*, on this special occasion.

It's truly a great personal honor to share this evening with you. I mention this specifically because as Art Buchwald recently pointed out in one of his syndicated columns, the most popular speakers these days, at many other forums, are largely the student revolutionaries, black militants, those advocating the legalization of pot, or those who are back from cutting sugar cane in Cuba. I think it's a crying shame that there are fewer and fewer podiums being made available to anyone these days who speaks out in defense of America and her men in uniform.

Vice President Agnew said the same thing, in so many words, earlier this week when he was quoted by the Associated Press as saying that he would like to explain, discuss, and debate Administration policy on college campuses, but feels there is no chance now for him to be heard. He told the Governors Conference at the White House that he would like to appear on campuses himself, but faces the prospect of being shouted down by militants and not being heard. Isn't that a sad commentary of our times when those who scream the loudest about infringement of their rights would deny this same basic right of freedom of speech as guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution to our Vice President and to all others of our citizens?

I'm here tonight for another reason—ever since I heard another truly great American and a distinguished Marine, General Lewis W. Walt, Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps remark: "It's up to us, if we believe in this country, we'd better get out and start speaking up for it—and lead these people in the right direction." I sincerely believe that General Walt was directing these remarks to you—and to me.

Today being Armed Forces Day, a day set aside by the Congress in 1949 to honor the

Nation's military services, I thought it would be an approrpiate time to comment on the situation currently facing our military establishment.

Times has certainly changed. In the Revolutionary War, the American soldier was called a Minuteman. In World War I, he became a doughboy, while in World War II and Korea, the popular name was G.I. Now, in Vietnam, the name of the American fighting man has been changed to that of "fool."

Our Armed Forces today are not only under fire in Vietnam and at a few other hot spots around the world, they are also under heavy fire on the home front. Our troops are used to fire from an enemy, but the low blows being hurled at them from inside their own country hurts even more. Because of the constitutional arrangement which they would *never* want to change, our men in uniform cannot return such fire directly. But you and I and the overwhelming majority of America's 27 million living veterans can and must come to their defense. When each of us joined the service, we saw a freedom worth protecting and a way of life worth defending. *This same is no less valid or important today.*

A good friend of this Post and of so many people in this audience tonight recently voiced similar comments about this great American fighting spirit that has seen our Nation through thick and thin for almost 200 years. He's one who has had the greatest beneficial effect on me personally, in my lifetime, and is still guiding me and so many others, even to this day. I thought so much of this outstanding American, and still do, that I named my first son after him. I'm referring to no one other than the former Coach and Athletic Director at St. Agnes—Mr. Jim Faulk.

As you probably know, Coach Faulk and his wife Betty have been residing for the past few years in Orlando, Florida. And there's hardly an old-timer from Rockland County vacationing in Florida these days and over the years that hasn't stopped by to visit the Jim Faulk's. Their door has always been wide open—as wide as their hearts—and their number of friends is legion.

I mentioned in a recent letter to Coach Faulk that I had been invited to speak to the members of the John M. Perry Post tonight. I asked him if he had a message that he would like me to convey to you at this time. In addition to sending his greetings and best wishes to everyone here tonight, he expressed a few thoughts which I would like to pass along to you.

"One thing I would like for you to mention at the dinner, Jim," he said, "is that I first came in contact with the Legion when Mr. Marie Masucci came to the school at St. Agnes to present the Graduating Class two prizes—and that fine relationship continued through the years." "And most important," he went on to say, "that the people of that area—Piermont, Sparkill, and St. Agnes *represent what this America really stands for.*" "Their loyality was always unquestioned, their dedication 100 percent, and they proved to be the greatest fighters in the world." "Proof of their courage and sacrifice," he added, "is evident in the Sparkill Square on Memorial Day where so many crosses are on display." He concluded by saying, "No two towns in Rockland County together gave so many of their youths for the cause of freedom in World War II." In a P.S. he added, "Tell old Eddie Harlan I often refer to him at age over 70 marching 10 to 12 miles in parades carrying the American Flag when some of these punks want to spit on it and burn it."

That is the mark of the finest of men, a great leader and loyal American, Coach Jim Faulk, and the memories he treasures and the high tribute he has deservedly paid to the members of this Post.

He's still keeping quite active as usual in Florida, and as a matter of fact he recently helped organize the Orlando Detachment of the Marine Corps League and became a charter member. He also recently retired as a full Colonel in the Marine Corps Reserve. Now you can recall why so many St. Agnes men enlisted in the Marine Corps. We had early and proper guidance, not only from Coach Faulk and the good Sisters at St. Dominic's and St. Agnes but also from those who took a personal interest in us as individuals such as our beloved High School Principal Mr. Anthony G. Barone, and coaching greats Matt Rotelli and Nick Mottola, and the rest of the faculty at Tappan Zee. I wish the same could be said for some of our misguided youth in our country today.

We have cause to be concerned about some of our youth today, especially those on the side of the violent *New Left*—whose heroes are Che Guavera, Mao, and Lenin—who violate the law for political purposes—who seek maximum publicity for their actions but often do not care whether they attain their goals—who spout hatred for an economy that lavishes on them more comforts than earlier societies bestowed on their Kings.

These "new barbarians," as they have been called by an Assistant Attorney General of the United States, are found today on university campuses, in various public demonstrations and protests, and elsewhere, though they represent only a small minority of the numbers participating in these movements. They care nothing for our system of government and law. They believe that the relatively civilized society in which they live is so totally rotten that no remedy short of the destruction of that society will suffice. These are the type of forces that are hard at work today to capture the mind of the American serviceman and our society in general.

Time is a critical factor and Hanoi is looking at all of us here in the United States to see whether the American public has the will and the patience to stick it out in Vietnam. Compounding this problem is the fact that we are living in an era of impatience. Everyone—and young people in particular—more and more are demanding, or at least are being conditioned to expect, an immediate solution to their problems. Tomorrow is not soon enough. We have instant communications and want instant gratification of our desires.

Fortunately, we can all take great pride in the young men in our armed forces today, the vast majority of whom accept their service obligations conscientiously and without hesitation. The job that our young soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines are doing for us in Southeast Asia today and in other troubled areas of the free world is unparalleled—to a degree unknown in previous wars.

Over the past four years, I have had the opportunity and the privilege to meet and talk with hundreds and hundreds of young wounded Marines, sailors, and soldiers from Bethesda Naval Hospital and Walter Reed Army Hospital, many of whom paid a terrible and permanent price for their service. I have been to services at Arlington National Cemetery for scores of American servicemen who made the supreme sacrifice in Vietnam, I have visited, consoled, and counselled with many of their parents and widows, and just two weeks ago in Washington at a rally in Constitution Hall spearheaded by Senator Dole of Kansas and co-sponsored by your own Congressman Martin McKneally, I met some of our recently released Prisoners-Of-War and the anguished families of some of our 1500 Americans who are still missing in action or are being held captive by the North Vietnamese, some for as long as 6 years without a single word as to their fate or condition.

These are the men *whom we honor today* on Armed Forces Day—young men and women from all services, all walks of life, all races, and all parts of our country. Their morale is high—and they know what they're fighting for.

A young Marine from Pennsylvania, writing home from Vietnam last December, best explained it all when he said: "As far as the demonstrators and peaceniks go, I believe each man has the right to demonstrate, to say what he wants to and to take lawful action to achieve his goals . . . . it's up to them to live their lives as they wish, as long as in exercising their own freedoms, they don't infringe on the freedom of others. Let them call for peace, but let them know that there is a cost for peace. Would they be willing to pay for it? No man wants peace more than the guy who has bullets flying past his head. . . ."

Two months after expressing these sentiments, this 19 year old Marine was killed in Vietnam. This message I believe bears repeating time and time again, by you and I, to today's younger generation.

The United States is truly the land of the free, but only because of the brave!

"FACE OF NEW YORK" PHOTOGRAPHY EXHIBIT

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, Mrs. Javits and I were delighted that so many of my colleagues attended the recent reception in the Capitol to mark the opening of the "Face of New York" exhibit, including two of the Senate's most distinguished photographers, Senators GOLDWATER and BAKER.

The exhibit of 24 photographs is currently on display in the main reception room of my offices in the Old Senate Building. It is presented in cooperation with Famous Photographers School of Westport, Conn., and represents the photographic work being done by its home-study students throughout New York State.

The photographers and the titles of their works featured in the "Face of New York" exhibit are:

Mr. Bernard K. Baderian, New York City, "Winter."

Mr. John J. Bergeron, Poughkeepsie, "Catskill Farm."

Mr. Lawrence Berkley, Far Rockaway, "Terminal at Night."

Mr. William J. Bertoldi, Hopewell Junction, "Pigeons."

Mr. William T. Bossert, Pleasantville, "Indian Steelworker."

Mr. John L. Burke, Glen Oaks, "Ship on Brooklyn Waterfront."

Miss Patricia Gavanaugh, New York City, "Grant's Tomb."

Mr. William T. Dennis, Jamaica, "Autumn Forest."

Mr. Edward A. Frampton, Yorktown Heights, "Kitten-Mixed Breed."

Mr. John A. Gulardo, Brooklyn, "Sunrise-New York Harbor."

Mr. Charles W. Kelley, Jr., Greene, "Winter Scene of Farm."

Mr. Art Kilcup, New York City, "Boy Playing Ball in Park."

Mr. Wilfred-Alexander Lewis, New

York City, "The Young Ladies of Harlem."

Mr. Efton C. Masters, Bronx, "The Village."

Miss Alice K. Miller, New York City, "Fall."

Miss Marlis Muller, New York City, "Children on Step."

Mr. Marc Renard, Brooklyn, "Cathedral."

Mr. King Rich, New York City, "Wall Street Synagogue."

Mrs. Brenda Rowntree, Penfield, "Grape Country in the Finger Lakes, New York."

Mr. Robert W. Toerper, Chappaqua, "Winter Fun."

Mr. Harry T. Tong, Brooklyn, "Strolling on the Boardwalk."

Mr. Jose Valjalo, New York City, "Lower Manhattan."

Mr. Scott Webber, Stony Point, "Last Supper Scene—Metropolitan Opera."

I invite Senators and their staffs to stop by my office to see this fine exhibit of photographs by some of my constituents.

MINORITY VERSUS MAJORITY RULE

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, because of the many campus riots and disturbances, many of the colleges across the country have been forced to close. As a result of this, many of the students who are earnestly seeking an education are being denied this privilege and opportunity.

I think it is past time for firm action in dealing with that minority of students who are responsible for creating chaos on our campuses. The majority of the students who are not participating are the ones who are suffering the most. In our free society, citizens have the right to express their opinions and opposition to governmental policies with which they do not agree. But to engage in raucous, illegal and self-defeating conduct resulting in arson, destruction of property, and physical violence is not true dissent, but a trampling of the rights of others.

At this point, I would like to insert a letter I have received from a young man, Bill Harner, of my district who is a student and who is earnestly seeking an education. I believe he expresses the views of many of the students who are not engaged in illegal conduct on the campuses, but who, nonetheless, are being denied the educational opportunities to which they are entitled.

The letter follows:

MONROE, OHIO.

I think it is about time that people wake up and take an interest in what is happening around them.

A sad thing has happened in the state of Ohio; most of the universities, including the Miami-Middletown Branch Campus, have been closed. Why? Because of a minority of students. This minority yells that their rights have been trampled. Well, my rights and the rights of others are being infringed upon by these students.

I am a veteran of three years service with the United States Army; now, I attend night classes at the Miami-Middletown Campus as well as work full time at Armco Steel, and I take my education seriously. I am married, and my wife is due to graduate in June with a B.S. in elementary education. It now seems doubtful that she will graduate at all since the university is closed.

I was taught, while growing up, to respect people and their feelings and the government. If I disagreed with actions taken by people or the government, I could voice my disagreement non-violently. The rights of free speech and dissent should not be taken lightly as have been by the minorities.

It has been said that there is a generation gap, and this is the reason there is a lack of understanding between some students and some adults. I am a student; I disagree very much with the student minority's actions and opinion.

To me, it seems that the minority wants to be understood, but who do they try to understand? If the Establishment was not trying to understand them, the shooting incident at Kent State would have happened a long time before this.

They say that they want peace, but all they display is violence. Is this what we as Americans want? It seems that way because all we do is ask them to stop being violent and we will come to some kind of agreement concerning their demands.

When a student is arrested for destroying property, he is charged with disorderly conduct. Why isn't he charged with disorderly conduct, destruction of property, and, in some cases, charged with assault and battery? Some people say that better laws will come from student disorders. Are new laws what we need? If our law enforcement agencies were permitted to enforce the laws, new laws would be unnecessary.

The National Guard are being called killers, but are they? If the destruction of property had not taken place, I doubt very much whether the National Guard would have been called onto the Kent State campus. The fault of the four deaths rests absolutely with the radical leaders who provoked the riot. It should not be forgotten that the National Guardsmen are also civilians. The killings should not have happened, and the right to dissent should not be considered the right to destroy.

The minority in most colleges has asked for the removal of ROTC from their campuses. Don't they realize that they are restricting the rights of others still further? The removal of ROTC would deny some students scholarships granted by this program. They would be denying the right for any young man who might wish to enter the Armed Forces as an officer to do so. The ROTC program is not mandatory for any student. So, why should there be a demand for its removal? Several students have told me that it is symbolic of the Armed Forces. I hope that these students are not under the illusion to think that without an army there will be peace. As long as there is greed of any kind in human beings, there will be conflicts and wars. When the day comes that every country is at an equal balance in power, so as not to be a threat to each other, then, and only then, will there be peace.

If the students want a change so badly, why don't they study harder in school because from the colleges of today come the leaders of tomorrow, and then is the time for change, if necessary.

Are we, the majority of Americans, going to stand silently and allow a few people to incite a revolution which will destroy all that this country stands for, or are we going to counteract before it is too late?

C. W. (BILL) HARNER.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE ANNUAL HONOR AWARDS

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, a very impressive ceremony was held at the Sylvan Theater in Washington on May 19, 1970. The occasion was the presentation of the annual honor awards to employees of the Department of Agriculture. My colleague from Nebraska (Mr. HRUSKA), spoke about this, and his remarks appear on page 16742 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for May 22, 1970.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD foreword contained in the program for that occasion and written by our distinguished Secretary of Agriculture, the Honorable Clifford M. Hardin, and also the remarks made by Civil Service Commissioner James E. Johnson.

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

FOREWORD

Success is not an accident. It is created by people.

Today we honor people who have put "something extra" into their work—that "something" that makes the difference between mediocrity and excellence, between "sparkle" and "hum-drum."

Their achievements are cause for real satisfaction and individual pride for all of us in the Department of Agriculture.

As we recognize them today, we honor all members of the USDA organization—the thousands of dedicated employees of the Department. Their talents and devotion combined with their work place the Department in a position to move vigorously, enthusiastically and creatively into the decade of the Seventies.

In his State of the Union address, President Nixon referred to the 1970's as an era of the "greatest opportunity for progress of any people in world history." I know we count on your continued support and help in fulfilling that opportunity.

Let us dedicate ourselves in the year ahead:

To increasing farm income to a level nearer that of nonfarm income.

To an end of poverty-caused hunger in America for all time.

To creating a new kind of "countryside-urban living" in what we now call Rural America, providing it with enough good jobs to draw more of our people back from metropolitan centers.

To a new surge of effort and accomplishment in bringing added quality to our environment.

To research that brings new knowledge to bear on social, physical, and economic problems; to management of our public lands for the greatest public good; to enhancement of our forest, soil, and water resources; and to further improvement of our credit services.

And, recognizing the magnificent accomplishments of the Nation's agricultural industry, to continue to help all citizens enjoy the variety and abundance of the Nation's extraordinary agricultural output.

As private citizens and as employees of the Department of Agriculture, let us all pledge yet another year of achievement.

CLIFFORD M. HARDIN,
Secretary of Agriculture.

REMARKS MADE BY COMMISSIONER JAMES E. JOHNSON IN THE PRESENTATION OF THE WILLIAM A. JUMP MEMORIAL AWARDS ON MAY 19, 1970, AT THE SYLVAN THEATER

I am delighted to see a positive program in our country and that outstanding people are being recognized for their contribution. I think more programs of this type should be displayed throughout our country but I am very much hurt to find that we do not get wide coverage from our news media when we have a positive program. However, if I had announced that I was going to speak on Black power or the destruction of our Government and its system, you could hardly get into this area for stumbling over television cables, newspaper and radio people. I believe the news media could do this country a great big favor just by keeping some of those other negative programs off television and out of our newspapers and allowing a positive program such as this to take its place. In this country of ours we must start accenting the positive and eliminating the negative.

SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF OCEAN FLOOR

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 28, 1970

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most fascinating studies being conducted today in the field of innerspace exploration, is Tektite 2, under the auspices of the University of Texas. Tektite 2 engages a number of students under the direction of Dr. Robert Helmreich from the Department of Psychology at the University of Texas and nine psychological observers, who are capably and ambitiously compiling a scientific study of the ocean floor. From this study will come new and adventuresome ideas on developing and utilizing the resources of the seas.

The fact that our population is rapidly increasing while our natural resources are decreasing makes it imperative that we find new food sources and even more space for the future.

Because this is a most interesting concept and one which holds great promise for the future of our country and of the world, I think it would be worthwhile to reprint the following news about this valuable program at the edge of our next frontier:

TEKTITE 2

Great Lameshur Bay, St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands—If it's your hang-up that you can't work with someone peering over your shoulder, kindly of America's Aquanauts performing their scientific exploration of the ocean deep in the Tektite II Project.

There they are, living and working down on the bottom of the sea in a custom built house with a fantastic ever-changing view, members of a five-man scientific team carrying on an intensive 20-day study of a particular subject in their favorite discipline, with outside interference cut to an absolute minimum.

But watching over them constantly, even in sleep, as inconspicuous as a one-inch lens can be, is the ever-present round-the-clock surveillance of the behavioral program observers.

Under the direction of Dr. Robert Helmreich, assistant chairman of the Department of Psychology, University of Texas, are the nine psychological observers from that university.

Every six minutes—10 times an hour—the observers punch computer cards which note:

Territoriality—the amount of time spent where in the habitat (for example, sacktime, working at housekeeping or at their specific studies).

Solitude—frequency and location of solitary behavior. (No Aquanaut is ever allowed out of the habitat for a solitary swim. He must be accompanied by a teammate.)

Type of activity—direct marine science, science support work, habitat maintenance and repair, self-maintenance, Maintenance of others, group recreation, idling, solitary recreation, sleeping.

Gregariousness—type and duration of interactions with topside (through the communications systems) and with peers below.

Postural and motion date—record of postural and movement categories to provide an index of tension and energy expenditure.

Other recorded information includes the dive record (activities and time in the water outside the habitat, topside communication, sleep record, meal record (including participation in preparation and cleanup), and a number of other observations—including a self-report.

Dr. Helmreich visits the work program at intervals. In his absence, James Holland LeFan of Temple, a graduate student and a research associate to the assistant chairman, is the supervisor of the work.

In addition to the work as psychological observers, the eight other Texas students here with LeFan are certified scuba divers and between missions—when they have nothing to observe—help to take down to the habitat, the necessary supplies and equipment for the next mission.

Making up the Texas contingent now here are Daniel C. Pitts of 4316 Norwich, Fort Worth; Charles I. Fitzsimmons of 2902 Hemphill Park, Austin; Glen Ashworth, 700 S. Washington, Kaufman; Larry L. Lester, Fredericksburg; Jeb McNew of Nocona and Azle; Herbert Mark Althaus, 708 Texas Avenue, Austin, all seniors; Lucien H. Capehart, 104 Westhaven, Austin, a graduate student, and Barry C. Everett, 257 Park Place, Lancaster, a junior.

David L. Croft, a sophomore student at the University of Texas and a resident of Austin, is working as special assistant to Dr. James W. Miller, the director of Tektite II for the Department of the Interior.

Other University of Texas students who will be here before the aggressive program of scientific ocean-bottom research is ended November 1, are:

Kenneth W. Wilson of Victoria, David Lawlor of 217 Windcrest, San Antonio; Mike Sandidge of Fredericksburg; Fred Bidelspach of Henderson, Brian Owen Peterson of Austin; R. Bryan Perry of 3808 Parkwood, Waco; Gregory Warr of Center, all seniors.

Edward Malewitz of 4814 Braesvalley, Houston, and Brian Robinson of Dallas, both juniors; Larry Scherwitz of Roby and Michael Holm of Moulton, both graduate students, and Robert Hugh Pitts, brother of Daniel Pitts, of 4316 N. Norwich, Fort Worth, a sophomore.

VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW

HON. ED FOREMAN

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, contrary to most of the national news media criticism of Vice President AGNEW, the El Paso Times, El Paso, Tex., has expressed the consensus of the great majority of the citizens that I hear from. I include the Sunday, May 24, 1970, El Paso Times editorial for the review of my colleagues.

[From the El Paso Times, May 24, 1970]

CAUSE OF RIOTS

Vice President Spiro T. Agnew is not one of those who are puzzled by riots on U.S. campuses—he lays the blame on a "small hardcore of hell-raisers who want to overturn the system for the sake of chaos alone."

"They burn, pillage and destroy because they rebel against their lack of creativity. "Although they are few in number, they have had a shattering impact."

Agnew's remarks came during a speech in Houston, Tex., where he was appearing at a fund-raising dinner of Texas Republicans.

"Campus dissenters are encouraged by an equally small number of faculty members who apparently cannot compete legitimately within the system or do not choose to do so. It is my honest opinion that this hardcore of faculty and students should be identified and dismissed from the otherwise healthy body of college community lest they, like a cancer, destroy it," he said.

There is a world of truth in what the vice president says. It is difficult to believe that all of the campus troubles would have broken out by themselves and a pattern seems to emerge when you look at the overall picture. Some have charged that a small group of dissenters flit from campus to campus, inciting trouble, and fade out when the actual trouble begins. If there has been any actual evidence of this, we have not seen it.

Our complaint about the whole situation is that it will damage our educational system. Shut-downs or strikes or riots or sit-ins or what have you have certainly interrupted the normal routine of those who go to college to get an education. Too many weak-kneed college administrators have been giving in to outrageous demands without ever stopping to think of the consequences.

Agnew also had some remarks on his criticism of the news business.

He said:

"Every time I criticize what I consider to be excesses and faults in the news business, I am accused of repression and the leaders of the various professional groups wave the First Amendment at me.

"That happens to be my amendment too. It guarantees my free speech as much as it does their freedom of the press."

Whatever you may think of Spiro T. Agnew and his views, he stands up for what he believes and makes good reading.

THE COLUMBIA RECORD'S VIEW ON VIOLENCE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Columbia Record, the evening newspaper in the capital of South Carolina, recently published two striking editorials about the acts of violence which were committed at that university by a small band of anarchists. In the first editorial, entitled "A Cancer Operation at USC," the Record properly takes the position that the anarchists must be expelled from the campus if the university is to survive. The Record says:

A very small proportion of the student body has been involved. That portion of the university community must be removed from the campus with legal and surgical precision.

Mr. President, those who are guilty of illegal acts cannot be tolerated on university campuses if academic freedom is to be maintained. As the Record says:

Today, the University must not hesitate to place on probation, suspend, expel, or expel with prejudice guilty students.

If every university would take this advice, peace would return to the campuses.

In the second editorial, entitled "Using Bricks To Build or Destroy," the Record relates the history of the University of South Carolina campus and contrasts the destructive work of the band of anarchists with the constructive work of the generation preceding. This is a very striking editorial, and I recommend it to all Senators.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that these two editorials from the Columbia Record of Wednesday, May 13, 1970, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

A CANCER OPERATION AT USC

The illegal acts of a small band of anarchists at the University of South Carolina cannot be, and should not be, tolerated. Invasion of the administration building, willful destruction of state property, assault and battery upon the persons of law enforcement officials, detention of members of the board of trustees whose lives were imperiled are the deeds of barbarians.

No student engaged in these criminal actions can plead that he or she was demonstrating against an Indochina War, or campus regulations, or anything else. No intelligence was involved in the wanton, senseless invasion and destruction of the administration building.

A very small proportion of the student body has been involved. That portion of the university community must be removed from the campus with legal and surgical precision. A malignant cancer must be sliced away from the otherwise healthy body of the University before the whole is infected.

Let us remember that the preservation of the university itself is now involved. Academic freedom, in its truest sense, must be protected from the cancer.

Let us remember, also, that suspension or expulsion will be nothing new for the school. In 1822, Dr. Thomas Cooper of the South Carolina College wrote to his friend Thomas Jefferson: "The 'rights of boys and girls' are the offspring of democracy run mad. No professor of any reputation will stay at an institution where their authority is to be disputed inch by inch, and their lives put in jeopardy if they resist the encroachments of a set of hot-headed boys, whom no kindness can conciliate."

Cooper also declared that "in all these proceedings, about 10 or 12 lead the rest astray, and the defect of moral courage . . . renders the peaceable the tools of the turbulent."

Over a century ago, the institution was small in numbers, but the faculty and administration never hesitated to suspend or expell the unruly. In 1850, 60 juniors were suspended for burning chemistry textbooks. In 1858, students tarred seats and desks in the chapel and 97 students were suspended from March until October; another five were suspended from March until May.

The numbers of those suspended were exceedingly large for those days of a very small student body.

Today, the University must not hesitate to place on probation, suspend, expel, or expel with prejudice guilty students. Additionally, the University should seek legal restrainers which will effectively keep non-student militants off the campus—under the enjoinder of imprisonment.

Dissent has become illegal violence on the University campus. The academic freedom of the majority of students has been endangered or stolen by the anarchists who have no cause except total disruption of the learning process. Freedom of the many must not be surrendered to the tyranny of the few.

USING BRICKS TO BUILD OR DESTROY

Bricks and mortar do not make any institution, and that includes colleges and universities. People do. And the quality of the people is intrinsically important.

In this hour, a word about bricks at the University and the sense of honor and decorum among students may be quite pertinent.

Several decades ago, the University itself was dirt-poor. Many of its students were dirt-poor. And the "dirt-poor" description was quite literal.

The walkways on the fabled horseshoe, their paths dictated by students' habits of transit from dormitories to classrooms, were dirt. Some students and faculty members decided that brick walkways would be attractive. So, they decided to help build a "greater Carolina" by bricking over the dirt trails.

Brick by brick, students and faculty helped build. The late reconteur of the English faculty, Havilah Babcock, even assessed some of his vocabulary students ten cents' fines for missing words (payment was really voluntary) and the "contributions" were used to purchase bricks.

In those days, ten cents was quite as meaningful as ten dollars today.

On their hands and knees, students tediously and carefully placed each brick in place on the walkways—proudly and selflessly working for a "greater Carolina." As they worked in the summer sun, the President's lady refreshed them with lemonade from her home.

Many of those students who used the bricks to help improve their beloved institution are pillars of the Columbia community today. Many will reflect upon how they labored to purchase the bricks and to handplace them, as sweat poured from their brows, in the Carolina sand.

They built.

This week, another generation of Carolina students—a few in number—tore up the bricks. These students cracked the bricks into halves and pieces and threw them at fellow students, law officers and others in wild defiance and willful transgression of the law.

"Sticks and bricks may break my bones, but bad words never hurt me." Bricks thrown in hatred and malice are lethal weapons and death or injury is intended. Stones and bricks are among mankind's oldest arsenal of weapons of death and destruction.

Some students, in Carolina's past, used bricks to build a University. A few students, in Carolina's present, use bricks to try to destroy a University.

The bricks are inanimate objects. The people who use them and the way they employ them and the goals they seek reveal the character of the people involved.

IN MEMORY OF PAIGE ABBOTT

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, Colby Paige Abbott, chief photographer for the San Jose Mercury & News, died recently after suffering a heart attack while on an assignment for his newspaper. Mr. Abbott was a distinguished craftsman and his passing is a great loss to his colleagues and the community. Recalling their work together in World War II, Joe Rosenthal, who took the famous picture of the Marines raising the flag at Mount Suribachi, described him as "a real pro of the highest ability" who never shirked duty under fire.

A native of Bingham, Mass., Mr. Abbott went to work at the age of 18 for International News Photos in Boston. During Word War II he was war correspondent for INP and participated in the invasions of Guam, Saipan, Okinawa, and Iwo Jima, receiving the commendation of Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz, commander in chief of the U.S. forces in the Central Pacific. He became bureau manager of INP after his return to San Francisco, joining World Wide Photos when INP merged with United Press International in 1958. The following year he went to the Mercury & News. His death at the age of 52 was a tragic blow for his family and friends and a premature ending for an outstanding career.

NO TIME FOR PESSIMISM

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, in the wake of the tragic experiences at Kent State and Jackson State College, coupled with the demonstrations on hundreds of college campuses, and the large demonstration on the ellipse adjoining the White House, it is felt by some Americans that the foundations of our Nation are crumbling.

It is refreshing to have an expression to the contrary from a recent Swiss visitor, the well-known author, Max Frisch. His optimistic words about America's future should encourage Americans everywhere to rededicate themselves to both the vitality and promising future of our land.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I want particularly to direct the attention of my colleagues in this House to the editorial commenting on Mr. Frisch's visit which appeared in last Wednesday's issue of the Christian Science Monitor:

NO TIME FOR PESSIMISM

We are grateful to a Swiss visitor for having struck a sensible and sobering note about the United States. Max Frisch, the well-known author, has optimistic words about America's future. After a swing about the country, he sees no triumph for repression and expresses the conviction that the vitality of American politics will overcome the present problems traceable to the Vietnam war.

Since these views so strongly parallel our own, we are delighted to have them expressed by a shrewd and unbiased observer from abroad. For we remain firmly convinced that the present wave of hysterical predictions regarding America's immediate future are ill-founded.

On all sides we hear that the United States

is becoming rigidly polarized, that race relations are growing worse, that new class divisiveness is arising, that political paralysis between White House and the Congress looms, and that, in short, the whole fabric of American society is being rent apart. It almost seems as though large numbers of individuals were taking a kind of ghoulish delight in seeing who can be the most pessimistic about their country's future.

We do not for a moment believe that there are not extremely difficult problems ahead. The country is split in ways which have seldom been duplicated in the past. New forces, new demands, new dissatisfactions are making themselves felt with unwanted vigor. These must be met and answers found. Means must be worked out to restore a sense of national unity and consensus. And there can be no delay in tackling this challenge.

Yet we believe that those who have yielded to hand-wringing over America's future are overlooking the deep mental, spiritual, moral, and material strengths which underpin that nation. A nation, like an individual, sometimes goes through shaking experiences. But if both are strong and healthy, the result is a new insight, a new power, a new self-confidence. To use one of the most forceful illustrations, muddy river-beds need periodical stirring in order to purify the water.

There are, within the American experience and spirit, as yet untapped powers of adaptation, self-examination, improvement, which are now being summoned forth. The overwhelming majority of Americans wish to see peaceful, just and constructive solutions to today's great national problems. Such a desire will not go unfulfilled.

AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH BUNKER RECEIVES THE SYLVANUS THAYER AWARD AT THE U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Board of Visitors to West Point, I had the distinct honor to witness the presentation of the Sylvanus Thayer Award to Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker several weeks ago.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Ambassador Bunker's remarks on this occasion:

ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR BUNKER ON ACCEPTANCE OF THE SYLVANUS THAYER AWARD, U.S. MILITARY ACADEMY, WEST POINT, N.Y., MAY 8, 1970

Your committee has done me a great honor today. I am the more conscious of it when I read the list of distinguished Americans who have been thus honored in the past.

I confess that I always speak to a group of military men with some hesitation. For my military experience was somewhat modest. It consisted of serving three months in the summer of 1916 in the horse artillery as a member of Company C of the Yale battery. I had never been able to enlist as an undergraduate because of defective eyesight. But I had just returned home from graduation when I received a telegram from two of my roommates telling me that the battery was to be mustered into the National Guard and was to be sent to the Mexican border to help General Pershing capture Pancho Villa. I returned post haste to New Haven, my roommates procured an eyesight card for me which I memorized and within a few days became a raw recruit. We were promptly shipped off to Tobyhanna for training and that was as near as we ever got to the border. General Pershing seemed to think he didn't need our assistance.

It was here that I made a first serious error in judgment. We were given the option of being canoneers or riders. I didn't much like the looks of the nags some contractor had sold the government and having just gotten my degree I thought I might be able to master the 3 inch field-piece and so chose to become a canoneer. To my chagrin, on the first Sunday after the battery's arrival at Tobyhanna I found that canoneers had to do stable Police on Sundays. We thought that a rank injustice. But in reflecting on this experience I wonder whether what I had to shovel around on Sundays may not somehow have had some symbolism for the later career I have followed.

Mrs. Knowlton's father was my sergeant and his brother my squad leader. Since General Pershing thought that somehow he could manage without us, President Hadley was anxious to have us mustered out so that the undergraduates could get back to their studies. This was accordingly achieved and Mrs. Knowlton's father composed a song for the occasion, the first two lines of which I recall went: "Oh prexy, don't you weep, don't moan—Money and influence are bringing us home."

I am, of course, aware of the great influence Colonel Thayer has had on education, not only at the Academy, but far beyond its walls. His graduates filled chairs of civil engineering at many colleges, including Yale's Sheffield Scientific School from which two of my brothers graduated.

But it is to the product of the educational system of the Academy in later times, for which Colonel Thayer laid the broad foundation, that I should like to turn briefly. And here I draw on my personal experience.

It has been my good fortune to be a worker in the vineyards with many able and distinguished graduates of the Academy. Here I have found men not only trained in military science and the art of war but the catholicity of whose interests and accomplishments encompass a broad spectrum of the field of knowledge and human affairs. Here one can see in action the ancient Greek ideal of the employment of one's full powers in the practice of excellence—and the Latin proverb—"Homo sum, nihil mihi alienum puto."

Colleagues and friends come to mind—General Gruenther, whose brilliance of intellect and wide-ranging mind, whose integrity and broad human sympathies have carried him to the peak of his profession and to success in many other fields.

General Palmer, who won my unbounded admiration in the Dominican crisis when he served as Deputy Commander of the Inter-American Peace Force—and through his diplomatic skill literally kept the peace in that heterogeneous conglomerate and brought it to a high state of effectiveness.

General Westmoreland, the architect and organizer of the great force we have built up in Viet-Nam where, unlike any other war in which we have fought, we started with literally nothing.

General Goodpaster, now Commander of NATO, a man with superb intellectual equipment matched by a broad comprehension of world affairs.

General Abrams, imaginative and resourceful commander, skilled diplomat, a perceptive and sensitive human being, possessing that humility which is the accompaniment of greatness.

There were many others—Matthew Ridgeway, Maxwell Taylor, of course General Eisenhower, and men of a younger generation like General Weyand and your superintendent, General Knowlton.

I suppose one might say that the times produce the man. The times called for greatness and men were produced to match them. The United States had emerged from the miasma of doubt and fear spawned by the great depression of the thirties, passed through the fiery furnace of the Second World War, and found itself the World's most powerful nation, mankind's first nuclear power, and the provider of sustenance and hope to a world shattered by war. We had fallen heir to the mantle that Britain had worn for a hundred years between Waterloo and the First World War.

We emerged into a changed and changing world. A ferment was taking place. The ferment was in men's minds. Out of it new nations were rising on the ruins of the dead past, societies were being transformed, ancient cultures were taking on new vitality and validity. How were we to meet the chaos and anarchy which followed in the wake of war, and the problems and challenges of the new age—how deal with the proliferation of the new nations rising out of the ruins of the old colonialism—how create some unity out of a diversity of interests? In short, how would we accept the responsibilities of power?

I believe it is fair to say that we accepted that responsibility by the commitment we made—to ourselves and to history—to a peaceful world; a world free from aggression, where the rule of force would give way to the rule of law; a world in which man's creative energies can be directed toward conquering his ancient enemies of poverty, misery and disease, toward improving the quality of his life. Essential to the achievement of this is government by consent of the governed. This principle of self-determination runs as a thread through our foreign policy from the early days of the Republic.

This concept came face to face with a massive challenge—a challenge to the spiritual foundations on which our society has rested, the moral order and the rule of law on which it depends. The concept of man as an end in himself, as the ultimate reason for the whole apparatus of government was being denied by those who challenged us.

I shall address my remarks to one aspect of this challenge—the international sphere. I realize there are pressing domestic problems—of overcrowded cities, of racial tensions, of the environment, which call urgently for our attention. But as the world's most powerful nation we cannot escape the responsibilities of power.

President Nixon was profoundly right when he said "Let us not . . . pose a false choice between meeting our responsibilities abroad and meeting the needs of our people at home. We shall meet both or we shall meet neither."

The challenge has taken many forms; it has been psychological, in the struggle for men's minds; economic, in the competition for influence; military, in so-called wars of liberation; aggression, not only in the classical form of invasion but aggression by subversion, in the training of guerrillas and political cadres who are infiltrated across borders with the purpose of undermining and destroying legitimately established governments.

How have we met this challenge, how are we meeting it today?

As the challenge has been and is massive and varied so our response has taken many forms.

It has taken the form of commitment to a peaceful world and resistance to aggression in adherence to the United Nations Charter, to NATO in the Atlantic community, to SEATO in Southeast Asia, and to other undertakings for mutual cooperation and defense.

It has taken the form of economic assistance to the nations devastated by war and

developing countries in many parts of the world on a scale unprecedented in history. It is a recognition that in helping others to advance and prosper we water the roots of self-reliance and freedom. It is a recognition that the development and maintenance of open societies where people may live under governments of their own choosing at peace with their neighbors is in our own national interest.

You remember, I am sure, how often we have been called upon since World War II to respond to the third kind of challenge I have mentioned—the use or threat of aggression to encroach on the freedom of people who want to remain free.

One recalls the Truman Doctrine, the crises in Greece and Turkey, the threat to Iran, the attempt to blockade Berlin, Korea, the Congo, the Cuban missile crisis. In all of these, we held fast to our commitments and because of our steadfastness the crisis was surmounted.

I come now to Viet-Nam, one of the most complex and difficult tasks our country has ever faced. The moral ambiguities, where matters of conscience are concerned, are perhaps more deeply felt in this than in any previous war. People have been deeply divided about the policy we have pursued.

The difficulties and complexities we have faced and still face I think are obvious. It is a war new to the American experience. We are engaged in fighting a limited war, for limited objectives and with limited resources—a kind of war we had to learn to fight the hard way, as we went along.

It is a war in which the political, economic and psychological elements are as important as the military. Indeed Hanoi considers the military side of the war only as one of the means available to it to gain its ultimate political objectives.

In the midst of war we are advising and supporting the Vietnamese in their effort to carry out a social revolution which takes in the whole spectrum of economic, political and social development. Yet a substantial measure of success in all these areas is indispensable to achieving our objectives.

I want to make it clear that it is not our objective to win the war in the conventional sense. When we talk of winning the war what we aim at is a just and durable peace through negotiations leading to a political settlement. Our objectives, I think, can be quite simply stated. These are:

1. The opportunity for the Vietnamese people to choose freely the form of government under which they wish to live.

2. To help them build their own political institutions and develop a viable economy.

3. To make credible our obligations under the Charter of the U.N. and SEATO to resist aggression.

What progress have we made toward those objectives?

Let me say here that because this kind of war was new to the American experience it is clear that we have made mistakes. We did not in the beginning, I think, fully understand the complexities of this kind of warfare. Prior to Tet 1968 we underestimated the capabilities of the enemy. And we were slow in equipping our Vietnamese allies while the enemy was being equipped by the Soviets and Chinese with a wide range of the most sophisticated weapons.

Having said that, let me turn now to what we are doing toward achieving the objectives I have mentioned.

President Nixon has made it clear that we intend to pursue the path to peace through negotiations if possible, through Vietnamization if necessary.

In pursuing the path of negotiation we and the Vietnamese government have put forward constructive proposals for a settlement. We have proposed the withdrawal of all non-South Vietnamese forces; the holding of free elections under international supervision; mixed electoral commissions in which all political parties and groups would be represented. And President Thieu has made very clear his willingness to abide by the freely expressed will of the Vietnamese people, whatever the outcome of the elections. He has indicated readiness to discuss arrangements for a ceasefire. And he has said that he is prepared to meet privately and in secret with the NLF, in an effort to restore peace to his land. He has offered to discuss means for eventual reunification of both Vietnams.

But to achieve the kind of settlement we envisage we must get the enemy also to agree to something less than winning the war in the conventional sense. For the demands the enemy is making—unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces and overthrow of the present Vietnamese government—would only be justified if he had secured a military victory. From the very beginning of the Paris talks, through 66 fruitless sessions, the enemy has adamantly stuck to these patently unreasonable demands. In my judgment, before Hanoi will agree to a reasonable settlement we must convince them of three things: a) that continuing their military effort will not further improve their position and may worsen it; b) that the South Vietnamese government is a reality, won't collapse and is "here to stay"; and c) that the U.S. will not withdraw its forces prematurely.

This indeed is what Vietnamization is all about. For Vietnamization is not just equipping, training and strengthening the Vietnamese armed forces so that they can take over the burden of combat from us. It means far more.

It means creating and maintaining effective and stable constitutional government, developing the institutions and instruments of democracy.

It means expanding areas of security, carrying out a social revolution in the countryside—through the development of government at the village and hamlet level giving people control of their own affairs, getting them involved in their own economic development. It means turning the entire tenant population into land owners through the "Land to the Tiller" program.

It means dealing with economic problems—with the threat of inflation caused by growing government budgets as the Vietnamese take over more and more of the burden of war. It means stimulating economic progress as a means to political progress.

What progress have we and our Vietnamese allies made toward the solution of these complex and difficult problems?

I like to go back to two events of 1968 I look on as watersheds which stimulated progress in all the areas I have mentioned. The first was the Tet offensive, the second was President Johnson's statement March 31 ordering the partial cessation of bombing and withdrawing as a candidate for reelection.

The Tet offensive was a psychological victory for the enemy in the United States. In Viet-Nam, he suffered the first of a series of military defeats in which he took appalling losses. The Vietnamese Armed Forces, though below strength, fought well—as General Abrams has said, they fought probably better than they thought they could. There were no uprisings or defections, the government did not fall apart. On the contrary, it reacted strongly, quickly and decisively. It set about the task of recovery with great energy. The people themselves were alienated by the widespread death and destruction caused by the enemy and by his cruelty and savagery.

The result was to set in motion a whole series of developments which contributed significantly to the strengthening of the government, to increasing the confidence of the people in its ability to cope with the enemy, and to a determination by the government to take over more of the burden of the war.

President Johnson's statement of March 31 brought the Vietnamese face to face with the fact that our commitment was not open-ended, that one day they would be on their own. This realization had an important and subtle impact on the subsequent development of Vietnamese attitudes and events.

While there was some initial questioning as to what our ultimate intentions might be—which reappears from time to time when in Vietnamese eyes we seem too impatient—the net effect has been to contribute to a feeling of greater self-reliance and confidence.

The Vietnamese government, under the leadership of President Thieu, embarked on a broad program which affected the whole fabric of Vietnamese society and had a profound effect on developments in every area—military, ecnomic, social, psychological.

Full mobilization brought about a rapid expansion of the Vietnamese Armed Forces to nearly 1,100,000 today (this is as though we were maintaining an armed force of about 14 million), accompanied by an accelerated program of equipment, training, and improvement in leadership. Under President Nixon's policy of Vietnamization, this has the highest priority. This program has borne fruit and has shown encouraging results. The RVNAF—Vietnamese Armed Forces—are progressively taking over more of the burden of combat. Their losses are now running at 4 to 5 times ours. They are inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy. As General Abrams has said, "They are paying the price and exacting the toll."

This is not to say that as they take over more and more of the burden of combat, they will not meet some reverses. I do not wish to leave the impression the enemy has no remaining assets. He is still able to infiltrate regular forces, mainly through Laos and Cambodia, which remain as vital sanctuaries for him. He continues to be supplied by the Soviets and Chinese with a wide range of sophisticated weapons. He is still a military force to be reckoned with and has a variety of options open to him.

But he *is* under pressure. Both ARVN and U.S. forces regularly operate deep in areas once regarded as enemy territory. The enemy has taken tremendous losses and is suffering serious manpower problems. He has found recruiting in South Viet-Nam increasingly difficult. Former Viet Cong units have had to be supplemented by North Vietnamese "fillers." We have taken from him unprecedented amounts of weapons, ammunition, and food.

The enemy is achieving no purely military goals which would justify his heavy losses. But one must bear in mind that the enemy's objectives are essentially political and should be assessed in that light. He aims at keeping American casualties high, recognizing the pressures this creates in the United States. He aims at inflicting defeats on the Vietnamese Armed Forces in an effort to prove Vietnamization cannot work. And he aims to halt and reverse progress in pacification which is steadily eroding his remaining control over people in South Viet-Nam.

But the GVN also recognizes that fact that military success is only one aspect of the total effort to achieve our objective—a just and durable peace. It recognizes that fact that progress must be made in pacification and in the areas of political, economic, and social development or our military effort will be meaningless.

This has involved a major effort in all these areas, but in a small, developing coun-

try like Viet-Nam whose resources are fully engaged, priorities have to be selective. The result is that there has been a great deal of progress in some directions, less in others, and still other desirable programs have had to be postponed.

Progress in pacification, spurred by President Thieu's imagination and leadership, has continued despite the fact that it is one of the enemy's major targets. The "relatively secure" category of population under government control has grown from 60 per cent just after Tet 1968 to about 90 per cent at the end of March of this year. None of these figures are absolute, of course, but they do indicate that the trend line has been up in expanding areas of security; identifying and rooting out the infrastructure; rallying under the Chieu Hoi program; training and arming the People's Self-Defense Forces; training newly-elected hamlet and village officials in the process of local government; and getting people involved in their own self-help and development programs.

The People's Self-Defense Forces, "The People's Army," now numbering more than three million with more than half of this number trained and armed with 400,000 weapons, will eventually take over security in the hamlets, villages, and towns. The Regional and Popular Forces whose expansion, equipment, and training has had high priority have steadily improved in leadership and performance. It is proposed that in taking over security in the districts and provinces they will eventually release the Vietnamese regular forces for mobile and main force operations.

Two other developments have been of major importance. One has been the development of local government at the village and hamlet level, the other the enactment of a revolutionary "Land to the Tiller" program.

The development of village government accords with Vietnamese history and tradition. It is also laying the base for political development and support for the government at the grass roots level. This would seem a sound approach to the problem of political organization which is lacking in any meaningful sense. There are some thirty or forty small parties, many themselves faction-ridden, and with little influence in the countryside. In training the elected village and hamlet officials in government, in giving the villages autonomy and control of their budgets and in getting people involved in their own economic development the government is creating a base on which to build political organization.

The Land to the Tiller program, which was promulgated in March of this year, will eventually result in the free distribution of some 5 million acres to 800,000 tenant farmers. The objective of the program is to wipe out tenancy and to make every farmer a land owner. It is clear, of course, that land distribution in itself is not enough. Credit, fertilizer, improved seeds, light farm machinery, marketing facilities must go hand in hand with distribution. The provision of all of these elements is currently in the process of expansion by the government. The Land to the Tiller program should prove a potent weapon not only against the communists, but should also provide a broad base of support for the government among the rural population, still the majority in the country.

I should also say a word about a much misunderstood subject—popular support of the present government. While there is a lack of cohesion as far as political parties are concerned, there are nevertheless areas of broad support for the government. I have mentioned the development of village government and the Land to the Tiller program as two means of developing support among the rural population. One must include also the military, the civil service, and organized labor as other areas on which the government can count. When we talk of broad-based support for government, we usually think in terms of political parties. But in Viet-Nam, and perhaps in most of the less developed countries, where political parties are embryonic, this criteria is not applicable. One has to identify other areas of support. Those that I have mentioned as present or potential areas of support to the government indicate, I think, that its base is not a narrow one.

I have tried to outline very briefly some of the more important developments which have taken place within the last two years in Viet-Nam. I believe that the growing strength and effectiveness of the GVN together with a reasonable and flexible approach toward an acceptable political settlement gives us a reasonable expectation of success in achieving the objectives I have mentioned. As President Nixon has made clear, we intend to pursue the twin paths of negotiation and Vietnamization. We mean to pursue diplomatic efforts toward the search for a political settlement on all fronts. But the key element in deciding whether our investment in lives and treasure will achieve our objectives in Viet-Nam, objectives which I believe are important to our national interests, will be American patience and understanding.

I mentioned at the beginning the moral ambiguities which our presence in Viet-Nam poses for many and that these are more deeply felt than in any previous war. Whether or not we should have been there in the first instance, whatever the questioning or doubts about our commitment, the fact is that we are there; the fact is that we have made a very large investment in blood and treasure in order to achieve our objectives. I hope that the failures, frustrations, and skepticism of the past will not prevent our recognizing the truth of change and progress in South Viet-Nam. I have no doubt also that what we do or fail to do in Viet-Nam will affect not only our position in Asia, but that it will affect also the future of all the countries in that part of the world. It is relative to our position as a great power; whether we have the determination, the patience, and the will to accept the responsibilities of power. It is, it seems to me, relative to the commitment we made to history and to ourselves to the kind of world we envisage, where the rule of law shall govern. It is, I believe, relative also to man's never-ending struggle for freedom.

The burdens and the responsibilities of a great power are not easy and do not come cheap. President Nixon, I think, expressed it well on November 3 last year when he said, "We have faced other crises in our history and have become stronger by rejecting the easy way out and taking the right way and meeting our challenges. Our greatness as a nation has been our capacity to do what had to be done when we knew our course was right." I hope that as the greatest power in the world today we will stay the course.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY: A LEADER OF GREAT PROMISE

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, next week millions of Americans will remember—with deep sorrow—the second anniversary of the assassination of U.S. Senator Robert F. Kennedy, a leader of great promise.

Many Americans did not agree with the views of Robert Kennedy, but not one could ever doubt his great courage, sterling integrity, and deep compassion for people. He inspired people—especially the young—because his feelings against injustice were so fervent and strong. It was ironic that a man like him—so devoted to peace—was a victim of violence, something he detested.

Robert Kennedy often quoted Edith Hamilton—that "man is not made for safe havens." He could have easily lived in the "safe havens" of wealth, comfort, and security, but his hatred of injustice and his love for people drove him to public service, where he could work and fight for the things in which he so strongly believed.

Mr. Speaker, Robert F. Kennedy believed in the kind of America that all men of good will hope for, but he did much more than just hope. He worked, he fought, and he even died for his dream—a dream that was slowly coming true—a nation where a man could rise or fall on his ability and character, and not his color and guile.

A good education, decent housing, healthy minds and bodies, fair employment opportunities, and a nation strong and secure, not for the agonies of war, but for the blessings of peace—this was the dream of Robert Kennedy.

Some claimed that he was appointed Attorney General because of nepotism. But after he left that high and demanding office, the New York Times praised his distinguished record, and the Washington Post noted that Robert F. Kennedy guided more important legislation through Congress than did any of his predecessors in the past 30 years. Talented, dedicated, and tough, he will rank among the great attorneys general.

And in the Senate, they knew he was one of the rare ones—a man who belonged to no one—dominated only by his conscience.

Mr. Speaker, John and Robert Kennedy have left, but their ideals remain with us, for what they stood for never dies—truth and freedom, and justice and peace, and love.

They live on—and so does the unconquerable spirit of the unforgettable Kennedy brothers, who left America and the world with the most precious legacy of all—hope—for all mankind.

STATEMENT IN RESPONSE TO LETTERS IN SUPPORT OF AMENDMENT TO END THE WAR

HON. ALAN CRANSTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I have received over 100,000 letters supporting the amendment to end the war. In response to this significant outpouring of concern by thousands of Californians I am sending the statement which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD.

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

STATEMENT BY SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON

Every well-intentioned step deeper into Southeast Asia has been intended to save American lives. The result is 41,733 dead Americans, 322,750 American casualties and a deeply divided America. It should be clear after fifteen years of direct American involvement in Indochina that there is no quick way to end the military struggle there. Each quick one-shot effort which we were told would end the war has cost more in death and destruction. Each one-shot effort has increased the violence, not lessened it.

President Nixon's plunge into Cambodia threatens us with a prolonged war, more Americans dead and maimed, and a more deeply divided America. I am convinced that the only way to save American lives in Vietnam and elsewhere in Southeast Asia is to get our soldiers out, safely and systematically as rapidly as we can.

Thousands of persons of all ages across the nation and in California are asking what they can do now—of a constructive nature—against the war.

I am pleased to report to you that the Congress will act soon on a bipartisan Amendment To End the War. This is not simply a pious resolution. It is legislation resting on a sound constitutional base which enables Congress to exercise its power of the purse by cutting off appropriations and bringing the war in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam to an end.

The Amendment To End the War was originally introduced five days after the invasion of Cambodia by five Senators—McGovern, Hatfield, Hughes, Goodell and myself. Now, as I write to you, it has the support of 30 Senators. The Amendment needs the support of 51. It needs support in the House of Representatives as well as in the Senate.

As a concerned citizen, you can join us in this nation-wide effort by gathering signatures on the enclosed amendment in support of a Vote To End the War, and returning it to me. Congressmen and Senators must be made aware of the deeply felt demand in our nation that the war in Indochina should be ended as soon as possible.

With your help, we can work together so that the Amendment To End the War can become law.

AMENDMENT NO. 609 TO H.R. 17123—AMENDMENT TO END WAR

SEC.—(a) Unless the Congress shall have declared war, no part of any funds appropriated pursuant to this Act or any other law shall be expended in Vietnam after December 1970, for any purpose arising from military conflict; Provided that, funds may be expended as required for the safe and systematic withdrawal of all United States military personnel, the termination of United States military operations, the provision of assistance to South Vietnam in amounts and for purposes specifically authorized by the Congress, the exchange of prisoners, and the arrangement of asylum for Vietnamese who might be physically endangered by the withdrawal of United States forces, and Further Provided, that the withdrawal of all United States military personnel from Vietnam shall be completed no later than June 30, 1971, unless the Congress, by joint resolution, approves a finding by the President that an additional stated period of time is required to insure the safety of such personnel during the withdrawal process.

(b) Unless Congress shall have declared war, no part of any funds appropriated pursuant to this Act or any other law shall be expended after December 31, 1970, to furnish to Laos any military advisors, or to support military operations by the forces of the United States or any other country in or over Laos.

(c) Unless the Congress shall have declared war, no part of any funds appropriated pursuant to this Act or any other law shall be expended, after 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act, to furnish to Cambodia any defense article or any military assistance or military advisors, or to support military operations by forces of the United States or any other country in or over Cambodia.

(d) For the purposes of this section, the term "defense article" shall have the same meaning given such term under section 644 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

"REPRESSION," LATEST RED-COINED TRIGGER WORD

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, "repression" is one of the latest Red-coined trigger words that has overnight become standard jargon for the left.

Most Americans question how those who have seemingly unlimited exposure in the communications media to advance their repression fright can be repressed. For if repressed they would not have the freedom to march, riot, assemble, and the opportunity to make themselves heard and seen.

Most Americans also understand that those who are manipulating the repression scare seem most dedicated to achieving repression as a goal.

On the other hand, those truly repressed receive little or no publicity and even then distorted or biased.

Where were the cries of repression when freedom was snuffed out in the Southern States? They were there and still are, but those who now express concern were only interested in more repression.

Mr. Speaker, I insert several related clippings:

[From the Washington Post, May 23, 1970]

POST PUBLISHER FEARS NEW ERA OF REPRESSION

Washington Post publisher Katharine Graham charged yesterday that the Nixon administration has nurtured a repressive atmosphere potentially more dangerous than the era of the late Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy.

But she said she saw signs of a gentler mood in the performance of high government officials since President Nixon's decision to send troops into Cambodia.

"Recent events are, at least, encouragingly ambiguous," Mrs. Graham said in a speech before the American Jewish Congress here. "They (top officials) have met with the young; they have lowered their voices."

Mrs. Graham made her remarks before Vice President Agnew delivered a speech at a Republican event in Houston last night in which he vowed "to be heard above the din even if it means raising my voice."

Recalling the "ugly bitterness" of the McCarthy era, Mrs. Graham said she would still rank it "less potentially dangerous than the present."

The McCarthy era, she said, was "a one-issue conflict—the problem of Communist infiltration—whereas the issues dividing us today appear on all levels and . . . trouble all regions of our national life. They are not issues, moreover, that can be resolved by courtroom prosecution or congressional hearing."

Mrs. Graham—who is also president of The Washington Post Co., which owns Newsweek magazine—and former CBS producer Fred W. Friendly both spoke on "The Right to Dissent" at the American Jewish Congress's current biennial convention in the Shoreham Hotel.

Friendly said recent attacks on the press have all too successfully diverted it from more perceptive reporting and news display to a "news budget" chosen by its critics.

"The journalist fails when he allows himself to be diverted by the tactics of a skilled sleight-of-hand artist, like the Vice President," Friendly said.

"Mr. Agnew is so good at it," the former president of CBS News added, "that Wednesday's New York Times felt it necessary to devote four front-page columns, including a picture, to the Vice President beaning the director of the Peace Corps with a tennis ball, while burying on Page 29 a major report on sulfur dioxide which affects us all."

(The Washington Post devoted a four-column spread of pictures on its front page to the tennis match; the sulfur dioxide report appeared on Page 11.)

For this and other abuses of "a truly definition of news," Friendly suggested that the news media, including the broadcasters and their 22½-minute evening diets of network television news, were as much at fault as their critics, whether it be the Vice President, George Wallace or Jerry Rubin.

Now a professor at the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism and a Ford Foundation consultant, Friendly said he did not think the nation was entering an era of "a new McCarthyism" despite the shrillness of dissent and counter-dissent. The noise, he said, can still be punctured by voices of truth and reason.

Mrs. Graham suggested that the danger was still there.

She noted, however, that President Nixon has appointed an adviser to give him the views of the campuses and met with 15 black college presidents. Attorney General John N. Mitchell has also said he is willing to accept federal legislation guaranteeing the confidentiality of a reporter's notes or television film against courtroom subpoena.

Mrs. Graham called all these "heartening signs of perhaps saner and healthier times ahead."

[From the Washington Daily News
May 25, 1970]

PEACE GROUP PUSHES MILITANCY

(By Dale McFeatters)

A veteran leader of the organized peace movement is proposing a major change in antiwar tactics centered on the creation of a new, streamlined organization dedicated to militant civil disobedience.

The proposal comes from Arthur I. Waskow, one of several movement insiders who have concluded the May 9 mass rally before the White House was a failure, or, in one underground analyst's words, "a bummer of major proportions."

The peace movement long has been plagued by a split between leaders who favor large, peaceful and legal demonstrations and those who favor the tactics of confrontation and civil disobedience.

Until Mr. Waskow's proposal, the split has been papered over for the sake of unity within the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (New Mobe), a coalition of countless peace groups presided over by a coordinating committee.

Mr. Waskow, a member of the coordinating committee, has circulated a paper within the peace movement suggesting a new organization, purged of the more conservative New Mobe members and "open to much more militant mass nonviolent tactics . . ."

Mr. Waskow is a director of the Institute for Policy Research here and a founder of Resist, a peace group. Like a growing num-

ber of peace movement critics, he believes the mere fact of a huge demonstration tends to obscure the demonstration's purpose.

He and other critics of the May 9 rally, which attracted nearly 100,000 protesters against U.S. military operations in Cambodia and the Kent State killings, charge the rally failed to point up dramatically and forcefully the depth of dissatisfaction among the protesters.

The critics blame the failure on the conservative members of New Mobe, among whom they numbered Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party, and especially on the rally marshals, mostly college students trained in crowd control by New Mobe.

The marshals received high praise from D.C. police for helping to maintain order, but many of the protesters called them "apprentice pigs," charging the marshals acted more like police than the police did.

Specifically, the critics complain the marshals prevented, physically at times, a planned sitdown near the White House, several traffic blockades by protesters, and a potential "trash"—a hit-and-run, rock-and-bottle-throwing, window-breaking spree.

Mr. Waskow makes a clear distinction between nonviolent civil disobedience, which he advocates, and "trashing," as advocated by the more radical-minded members of the confrontation school of tactics.

The rally, Mr. Waskow and critics contend, did nothing to further the stated goal of the protest—a nationwide strike against the war.

He suggests that one of the civil disobedience tactics, as opposed to the rally method, might be to organize 50 squads of 300 demonstrators each to sit down at major intersections, tying up the city and government buildings. They would disperse quickly when police arrived and later regroup elsewhere.

New Mobe is only a year old, and on June 19 the peace movement chieftains will convene in Cleveland to chart the future of antiwar protest. The peaceful rally vs. confrontation argument is expected to be debated.

In the meantime, the Yippies, the perpetual outcasts of the peace movement, are planning their own demonstration in Washington July 4, featuring, according to Yippie pronouncements, an Insurrection City and a mass smoke-in of marijuana around the Washington monument.

Yippie leader Abbie Hoffman was one of the confrontation-minded demonstrators at the May 9 rally who was held in check by the marshals.

[From the Washington Star, May 22, 1970]

HARD-HAT DEMONSTRATION

On May 8, some members of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York disgraced their union by staging a flag-waving physical assault on student war protesters in the city's financial district. This week, the hard-hats set the record straight with a massive, noisy and nonviolent march on City Hall in support of the administration's Indochina policy.

It was, by all accounts, an impressive showing. Upwards of 100,000 marchers, a profusion of flags, cascades of tickertape, patriotic songs and passionate speeches. There were boos for those who disagree with administration policy, and special verbal abuse for Mayor Lindsay. But this time there was no attempt to convert dissenters by pounding them into conformity with fists and clubs.

It was, in short, a proper exercise of free assembly and free speech. But was it a positive contribution to today's society?

Demonstrations can have the positive effect of arousing an apathetic public to a specific wrong, as with the succession of civil rights marches of a decade ago. It can logically be argued that the student demonstrations served the purpose of shocking a complacent administration into an awareness of the depth of anti-war feeling. But the problem of the society now is not apathy or complacency. It is overexcitement that comes dangerously close to hysteria.

Perhaps the pro-administration marches in New York and elsewhere this week have served as emotional safety valves, allowing the participants to bear public witness to their beliefs and to work off a growing resentment. But aside from this possible minor therapeutic function, the demonstrations—for and against administration policy—are by now essentially negative and divisive.

Such mass outpourings dramatize the fact that this is a deeply divided society—a fact that needs no further demonstration. All that is accomplished is a further deepening of those divisions. And the demonstrations serve as well to fortify the twin fictions that anyone who supports the administration is pro-war, and anyone who demands instant peace is anti-American.

Everyone now has staged his impressive show. Everyone is fully aware of the areas of disagreement that exist. It's time to leave the streets and the parks, to start remembering the multitude of common interests that bind this society together, and to start bridging, with logic and discussion, the fissures that have opened.

[From the Washington Star, May 25, 1970]

THE PRICE OF SEGREGATION

President Nixon, presenting his emergency school aid act of 1970 to Congress, made the point that school desegregation requires something more than law enforcement. It requires, he said, an investment of money.

True enough. Nixon's plan of making school desegregation something more than a national talking point would peg the cost at $1.5 billion over the next two years. But it will take something in addition to laws, enforcement and money to eradicate the stain of generations of segregated education. It will require a carefully reasoned plan for spending the vast sums where they will do the most good.

The President, in his message to Congress, has provided the outlines for such a plan. It is realistic about the practical problems involved with the elimination of the remnants of the dual school system of the South. It is inventively pragmatic about the problems arising from the segregated housing patterns of the North. It demonstrates a full appreciation of the insidious nature of segregation, and the harm it does to the whole society wherever it exists.

Unfortunately, the presentation of the proposed bill by the President does not mean that the program is a reality. It still must run the congressional gauntlet and the reasonable expectation must be that it will come in for considerable sniping from both right and left.

To the Southern conservatives, the promise of massive federal aid to help local systems carry the financial burden of court-ordered desegregation will appear as a threat. It will undercut the chief complaint of segregationist politicians, that desegregation will bring financial chaos and will make a shambles of the existing system.

Some liberals will take a dim view of the provisions dealing with de facto segregation, and the legally and morally complex issue of busing. There will be little quarrel with the proposal for funds to help districts that establish voluntary programs of desegregation. But there has already been some carping by the proponents of cross-busing over the President's advocacy of busing to achieve temporary interracial activities, as a part of a school day, instead of promoting full permanent racial balance in all school systems.

There is, obviously, a conflict of philosophies in this area between Mr. Nixon and those who hold that busing is the only answer. The President has been quite frank in expressing his doubts about the advisability or the practicality of mass involuntary transfer of pupils to achieve integration.

But the bus boys would be making a tragic mistake if they should adopt an all-or-nothing attitude. The concept of integrated activities is a major step along the way. And it is, in fact, as far as the federal government can properly go until the legal confusions about busing, arising from the Civil Rights Act of 1964, are clarified by the Supreme Court.

The President has made the important first move in transforming the fine words of his education message into reality. Congress should, as requested, prime the pump with an immediate appropriation of $150 million. And even though not everyone will be completely happy, the legislators should recognize the overriding importance of the President's plan, and should give him what he asks.

[From the Washington Post, May 23, 1970]

SEGREGATED SCHOOLS AND TAX DEDUCTIONS

Until we read the Justice Department's brief defending a ruling of the Internal Revenue Service, we did not realize that the federal government had an attitude of "benevolent neutrality" towards private schools set up to evade court-ordered desegregation of public schools. Yet that is what the Justice Department says in supporting an IRS ruling that contributions to a host of newly created schools in Mississippi are tax deductible.

Questions about the tax laws are always highly complex and it may be that IRS is right—although we doubt it. The law says contributions to nonprofit corporations organized "exclusively" for educational purposes are deductible, and the new schools in Mississippi seem to us to have been organized primarily for a quite different purpose. Be that as it may, however, what is most troubling is the eagerness with which one section of the Department of Justice has leaped to defend these tax benefits while another section has been busy attempting to eliminate the financial aid the state government has given those same schools. The Justice Department's brief in the tax case won't even concede that the new schools are segregated and ignores the substantial role played by the state government in their creation. This may be the proper stance of a federal government that is benevolently neutral towards schools such as these. But we had thought the policy of the United States was to encourage public education in desegregated institutions, not stand and watch benevolently as public schools are downgraded and replaced by private, segregated schools.

[From the Washington Star, May 24, 1970]

NEGRO HEADS NATIONAL YMCA

PITTSBURGH.—Donald M. Payne of Newark, N.J., will be installed tomorrow as the first Negro president in the 125-year history of the national YMCA.

Payne, 35, was elected yesterday at the annual convention of the 5.6 million-member service organization. He ran unopposed.

The president-elect, named "Man of the Year" by the Newark Chamber of Commerce in 1968, has held several YMCA posts, most of them in Newark.

[From the Washington Daily News, May 20, 1970]

ORDERS FROM PRAGUE?

(By Henry Taylor)

Are part of the campus disorders a Red plot? You be the judge.

The CIA and FBI know that the center for planning student disorders is in Prague, within the shadow of the Ruzyne airport. There the immense International Union of Students (IUS), financed and brain-trusted by Moscow, is supporting university anarchists here and thruout the free world.

The Kremlin departmentalizes this place into "country desks." Each section supervises a country. Cunningly, each tailors the "issues" for each country. Naturally, the IUS drums on the Vietnam issue here and "Peace! Peace! Peace!" to further a Red victory in Southeast Asia.

A Pole, Vlod Konarski, a man with a bite like a saber-tooth tiger, supervises the British thrust. The IUS vehicle there is the militant Radical Student Alliance in London. Two subdivisions are supervised by Jean Bougareau, a Frenchman, and Martin Abeln, who is Dutch.

In Eire the IUS thrust, locally called The International Movement, is based at Trinity College, Dublin. The IUS supervisor is Hardial Sinh Bains, a naturalized Canadian born in India.

A Bains sidekick is Ralph Schoenman, 34, the student shepherd of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation—the man who concocted the mock trial of President Johnson in Stockholm in protest against Vietnam. Ironfisted Schoenman served a "martyr" stretch in Montjoy Prison, Dublin. Britain banned Schoenman and Scotland Yard caught him. To the dismay of the CIA and FBI, Schoenman had an American passport.

In West Germany the Berlin police documented the IUS's control of Rudolf Dutschke ("Red Rudi") when Dutschke was arrested on April 11, 1968, during riots in nearly all the West German universities.

In France the IUS thrust is supervised by Daniel Cohn-Bendit ("before you can build you must destroy"), who is not even French. He's German. The success, typified by the March 3 Nanterre campus mayhem which saw Dean Paul Ricouer kidnaped and 125 policemen injured, has all but paralyzed French education. University faculty members are brutalized and kidnaped almost daily.

I had lunch in New York not long ago with Italian Foreign Minister Aldo Moro. Italy, after France, has enacted a new university reform law. Mr. Moro, himself a professor, sponsored it. "But what can we do?" he asked. "In my country, as in France, your country and thruout the free world, the Reds' technique is always to up their demands with every concession they gain."

Japanese Premier Eisaku Sato spoke similarly on his visit here. He said that last year student arrests in campus disorders exceeded 14,000 (ours exceeded 3,600) and that the IUS thrust has reduced Japanese education to a shambles. The IUS vehicle there is the immense Zengakuren student organization along with five other factions.

The IUS also runs terrorist training centers for African students. The CIA has uncovered them in Budapest and Warsaw and in Leipzig, Bernau and Bautzen, East Germany. These have trained and sent back to their African homelands more than 1,000 student insurrectionists in the past six months.

There's no great mystery in what is happening here. Our enemies are promoting a civil war in the United States. "It can't happen here" is a totally dangerous philosophy.

[From the Washington Post, May 23, 1970]

FOGGY-BOTTOM TERM JUSTIFIED BY PEACE GUERRILLAS AT STATE

(By William S. White)

President Nixon is learning the bitter and almost unbelievable lesson that, to this columnist's direct and personal knowledge, so often caused his two immediate predecessors to curse softly in the nighttime.

This is that if only he could beat the antiwar, anti-President guerrilla band within his own State Department he just might have some improved chance to defeat the Communist guerrilla invaders of South Vietnam and Cambodia.

In private, John F. Kennedy turned to the saltiest language of the Boston Irish when he spoke of "that place"—meaning the Department of State. Lyndon B. Johnson had recourse to words that will never be found in any dictionary, even by today's standards.

In brief, for many, many years the State Department's career service has turned out not only many good and patriotic and intensely loyal officers. It has also turned out more than a fair number of petulant types who sincerely believe they know more than any Secretary of State or any President. Such types persistently undercut Mr. Kennedy as to Vietnam. Such types even more savagely undercut Mr. Johnson as to Vietnam. Such types are now even more determinedly undermining Mr. Nixon as to the most recent permutation of Vietnam, which is Cambodia.

There is no doubt that a considerable number of junior career officers are feeding out anti-Cambodian policy propaganda whenever and wherever they can—and sometimes even in public. To its intense embarrassment, the State Department has had to acknowledge as much.

Alexis Johnson, the Under Secretary of State, has been forced to put to 50 such characters who wrote a letter of "protest" to Secretary William Rogers the following self-evident proposition: While everybody has a right to his own opinion, and to express it within the shop, no member of the foreign service of the United States has any conceivable right to obstruct national policy once it has been made and no right either to repudiate the President of the United States.

In the first place, the foreign service officer is protected by an entrenchment similar to that of a full professor. Neither can be fired short of the most outrageous conduct and without the expenditure by his superior of time he simply cannot afford in order to make out the required case.

In the second place, any Secretary of State naturally does not want only yes-men and, in consequence, encourages no-men and devil's advocacy—up to the point when the President has finally decided an issue. Right now, for example, there is a readily available "open forum" through which younger officers are invited and even urged to forward their ideas to the Secretary.

The difficulty, of course, is that no kind of "open forum" has for a long time been enough for the "peace" guerrillas. They take the view so often taken by the more strident student protesters that they must not only be "listened to" but that what they say must instantly become the public policy.

John Kennedy felt the beginning pressures of this new philosophy. Lyndon Johnson felt them as they greatly heightened. Richard Nixon now feels them at the very crest of their arrogance.

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL TRAUMA SYMPOSIUM: CONCERN AND CARE FOR THE INJURED

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, as chairman of the Health Subcommittee, I am deeply involved in the health needs of this Nation and in the problem of treatment and care facing the medical profession.

A major—and a most urgent—health issue facing the Nation are injuries from accidents. Injury-causing accidents occur on the highway, on the job, and in the home. It appears there is the potential for an accidental injury at any time and in any place.

While accidental injuries are a serious problem for the United States, they are also serious problems in the other nations of the world.

This week experts in the care of the injured are meeting in Washington in the First International Trauma Symposium. The theme of the symposium is research on the care of the injured. The symposium is sponsored by the National Institute of General Medical Sciences. I congratulate all who organized, sponsored, and led this first International Trauma Symposium. It was long overdue. It should be an annual symposium.

On the night of Tuesday, May 19, I had the honor of addressing this great international symposium.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the program from this international meeting and the text of my remarks be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

INTERNATIONAL TRAUMA SYMPOSIUM: RESEARCH ON THE CARE OF THE INJURED

(Sponsored by: The National Institute of General Medical Sciences)

General Chairman: Dr. J. Englebert Dunphy, University of California Medical Center.

PROGRAM PLANNING COMMITTEE

Chairman: Dr. William I. Gay, National Institute of General Medical Sciences.

Dr. William A. Altemeier, University of Cincinnati.

Dr. Emilie A. Black, National Institute of General Medical Sciences.

Dr. J. H. U. Brown, National Institute of General Medical Sciences.

Dr. Lars-Erik Gelin, University of Goteborg.

Dr. Fraser N. Gurd, The Montreal General Hospital.

Dr. Carl Hirsch, Karolinska Institutets.

Mr. D. Mac G. Jackson, Birmingham Accident Hospital.

Dr. Edgar Lee, Jr., National Institute of General Medical Sciences.

Miss Helen Neal, National Institute of General Medical Sciences.

Dr. Ayub K. Ommaya, National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Stroke.

Dr. Jonathan E. Rhoads, University of Pennsylvania.

Col. Lawrence R. Rose, M.C., U.S. Army Medical Research and Development Command.

Dr. G. Thomas Shires, Southwestern Medical School.

Dr. Frederick L. Stone, New York Medical College.

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Chairman: Dr. William I. Gay.

Dr. Emilie A. Black.

Dr. J. H. U. Brown.

Mrs. Vivian F. Dobson.

Dr. Edgar Lee, Jr

Miss Helen Neal.

Herbert C. Stickney.

Symposium Director: Kenneth M. Coggeshall, Management Communications, Inc.

The National Institute of General Medical

Sciences and the American Trauma Society acknowledge the generous assistance of the following companies which contributed to the support of the International Trauma Symposium:

Fairchild-Hiller Corporation; Winthrop Laboratories; and Hoffman-La Roche, Inc.

Four years ago the National Academy of Sciences brought together a group of scientists to define and outline the most pressing research needs of our time. Trauma was identified as a problem of major public health importance. A landmark report was issued by the National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council, Accidental Death and Disability: The Neglected Disease of Modern Society, which termed trauma the nation's most important environmental health problem.

In 1969, while I was the Director of the National Institute of General Medical Sciences, the plan was formulated for this International Trauma Symposium. Its purposes are three-fold:

To establish a definitive "state of the art" baseline for trauma care and research;

To detect any significant deficiencies in present knowledge and research, and

To stimulate research with clinical goals in new or neglected areas.

The epidemic of trauma presents a challenge which can only be met with new, widely distributed and clinically useful knowledge.

FREDERICK L. STONE,
President, New York Medical School.

MONDAY, MAY 18

Morning

Empire Room

9:00—Welcome: General Chairman: Dr. J. Englebert Dunphy.

Organizational and Social Problems of Trauma

9:30—Keynote Address—Trauma as a Disease: The Honorable Lawrence J. Hogan, United States Representative, Fifth District, Maryland.

10:00—The Costs of Trauma as a National Health Problem: Clyde F. Schlueter, President, Employers Insurance of Wausau.

10:20—Road Accidents in Sweden: Dr. Bertil Aldman.

10:40—The Challenge of the Trauma Problem to Organized Medicine: Dr. Oscar P. Hampton, Jr.

11:15—Panel Discussion: The General Organization for Trauma Care and Study.

Moderator: Dr. Curtis P. Artz.

Panelists: Dr. Oscar P. Hampton, Jr.; Mr. P. S. London; Dr. Jorg Bohler, and Dr. M. V. Balkov.

Afternoon

Fundamental Problems in the Management of the Injured

2:00—Reaction of the Body As a Whole to Injury: Dr. Lars-Erik Gelin.

2:30—Initial Care: Resuscitation, Assessment, Multiple Injury, and Satellite Units, Dr. G. Thomas Shires.

2:40—Intensive Care of the Critically Ill: Dr. John M. Kinney.

3:00—Panel Discussion: Monitoring.

Moderator: Dr. Samuel R. Powers, Jr.

Panelists: Mr. Heinz S. Wolff; Dr. John E. Jacobs, and Dr. John J. Osborn.

4:15—Rehabilitation Begins With Initial Care: Dr. Robert A. Chase.

4:35—Reflections on Some Problems in the Pathology of Trauma: Dr. Simon Sevitt.

4:55—Management and Study of Psychological Response to Trauma: Dr. James L. Titchener.

Evening

Special Workshop—Tudor Room

7:30—Neural Trauma.

Chairman: Dr. Ayub K. Ommaya.

Co-Chairman: Dr. A. Earl Walker.

Rapporteurs: Dr. Charles E. Brackett and Dr. Thomas W. Langfitt.

TUESDAY, MAY 19

Morning

Introduction to Special Problems of Trauma—Empire Room

8:30—Nervous System Injury and the Total Body: Dr. Ayub K. Ommaya.

8:50—Burns As a Special Problem in Trauma: Mr. D. MacG. Jackson.

9:10—Mechanical Forces in Injury: Dr. Carl Hirsch.

9:30—Wound Healing: Dr. Thomas K. Hunt.

9:50—Introduction to the Workshop Dr. Edgar Lee, Jr.

Concurrent Workshops 10:30–12:00—Club Room B

Emergency Medical Evacuation and Transport of Injured:

Chairman: Dr. James Schamadan.

Rapporteur: Dr. Sam Seeley.

Heritage Room

Mechanical Properties, Musculoskeletal System:

Chairman: Dr. Carl Hirsch.

Rapporteur: Dr. Victor H. Frankel.

Empire Room

Lung:

Chairman: Dr. Samuel R. Powers, Jr.

Rapporteur: Dr. Henrik H. Bendixen.

Executive Room

Burns:

Chairman: Dr. Curtis P. Artz.

Rapporteurs: Mr. D. MacG. Jackson; Dr. Bent Sorensen.

Council Room

Endocrine Response:

Chairman: Dr. Richard H. Egdahl.

Rapporteur: Dr. William R. Drucker.

Press Room

Trauma in Children:

Chairman: Dr. J. Alex Haller, Jr.

Rapporteur: Dr. James L. Talbert.

Afternoon

1:30–4:30

Council Room

Cell Biology of Injury and Wound Healing:

Chairman: Dr. Earl P. Benditt.

Rapporteur: Dr. Tomas K. Hunt.

Club Room B

Long-Range Management and Rehabilitation:

Chairman: Dr. Robert A. Chase.

Rapporteur: Dr. Daniel J. Feldman.

Empire Room

Lung (Continued from morning session):

Co-Chairman: Dr. Frank E. Gump.

Rapporteur: Dr. Henrik H. Bendixen.

Executive Room

Burns (Continued from morning session):

Co-Chairman: Dr. Charles Baxter.

Rapporteurs: Mr. D. MacG. Jackson; Dr. Bent Sorensen.

Heritage Room

Metabolic Response to Trauma and Nutrition:

Chairman: Dr. John M. Kinney.

Rapprteur. Dr. Stanley J. Dudrick.

Club Room A

Neural Trauma:

Chairman: Dr. Ayub K. Ommaya.

Co-Chairman: Dr. E. S. Gurdjian

Rapporteurs: Dr. Charles E. Brackett; Dr. Thomas W. Langfitt.

Evening

Diplomat Room

6:00—Reception: Participants, Wives, and Guests.

Palladian Room

7:00—International Trauma Symposium banquet:

Presiding: Dr. William I. Gay.

Speaker: The Honorable Ralph W. Yarborough, US. Senator, Texas.

WEDNESDAY MAY 20

Morning

Concurrent Workshops—8:30–10:30

Board Room

Kidney Response to Trauma:

Chairman: Dr. Charles Baxter.

Rapporteur: Dr. Samuel R. Powers, Jr.

Club Room B

Fat Embolism:

Chairman: Dr. Leonard F. Peltier.

Rapporteur: Dr. Simon Sevitt.

Executive Room

Shock: Discussion of Rheology and Oxygen Transport:

Chairman: Dr. Lars-Erik Gelin.

Rapporteur: Dr. John R. Border.

Council Room

Infections, Immunology, and Gnotobiotics;

Chairman: Dr. William A. Altemeier.

Rapporteur: Dr. Stanley Levenson.

Press Room

Liver and Pancreas in Injury:

Chairman: Dr. William R. Drucker.

Rapporteur: Dr. Theodore Drapanas.

Club Room A

G. I. Response to Trauma:

Chairman: Dr. Fraser N. Gurd.

Rapporteur: Dr. Robert N. McClelland.

Empire Room

11:00—Presentation of summaries of Tuesday morning workshops.

Afternoon

Empire Room

1:30—Continuation of summaries.

3:30—Summation and critique:

Presiding: Dr. J. Englebert Dunphy.

DELEGATES

Dr. Bertil Aldman, Trafikmedicin, Fack, S–104 01, Stockholm 60, Sweden.

Dr. William A. Altemeier, Department of Surgery, Cincinnati General Hospital, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dr. Curtis P. Artz, Department of Surgery, Medical College of South Carolina, Charleston, S.C.

Professor Mstislav Vasilevich Balkov, Central Institute of Traumatology and Orthopedics, Ministry of Health, USSR, Moscow A–299, Novaia, Ipatovka 8, USSR.

Dr. Charles Baxter, Department of Surgery, University of Texas, Southwestern Medical School, Dallas, Tex.

Dr. Earl P. Benditt, Department of Pathology, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.

Dr. Henrik H. Bendixen, Department of Anesthesia, University of California, San Diego, Calif.

Dr. Jorg Bohler, Accident Hospital, Linz, Blumauerplatz 1, Austria.

Dr. John R. Border, Department of Surgery, State University of New York, Buffalo, N.Y.

Dr. Charles E. Brackett, Department of Neurosurgery, University of Kansas Medical Center, Kansas City, Kans.

Dr. Robert A. Chase, Department of Surgery, Stanford University School of Medicine, Palo Alto, Calif.

Dr. Theodore Drapanas, Department of Surgery, Tulane University School of Medicine, New Orleans, La.

Dr. William R. Drucker, Department of Surgery, The University of Toronto, Faculty of Medicine, Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada.

Dr. Stanley J. Dudrick, Department of Surgery, University of Pennsylvania, School of Medicine, 3400 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. J. Englebert Dunphy, Department of Surgery, University of California Medical Center, San Francisco, Calif.

Dr. Richard H. Egdahl, Department of Sur-

gery, Boston University School of Medicine, Boston, Mass.

Dr. Daniel J. Feldman, Casa Colina Hospital for Rehabilitation Medicine, 255 East Bonita Avenue, Pomona, Calif.

Dr. Victor H. Frankel, Division of Orthopaedic Surgery, Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dr. William I. Gay, National Institute of General Medical Sciences, National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Md.

Dr. Lars-Erik Gelin, Surgical Department 1, Sahlgrenska Sjukhuset 1, University of Goteborg, Goteborg, Sweden.

Dr. Frank E. Gump, Department of Surgery, Columbia University, College of Physicians & Surgeons, New York, N.Y.

Dr. Fraser N. Gurd, Department of Surgery, the Montreal General Hospital, Montreal 109, Quebec, Canada.

Dr. E. S. Gurdjian, Department of Neurosurgery, Wayne State University, School of Medicine, Detroit, Mich.

Dr. J. Alex Haller, Jr., Department of Surgery, the Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

Dr. Oscar P. Hampton, Jr., American College of Surgeons, Committee on Trauma, 3720 Washington Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo.

Dr. Carl Hirsch, Karolinska Institutets, Ortopediska Klinik, Norrbackainstitutet (Vanforeanstalten), Box 6403, 113 82 Stockholm, Sweden.

Dr. Thomas K. Hunt, Department of Surgery, University of California, Medical Center, San Francisco, Calif.

Mr. D. MacG. Jackson, Birmingham Accident Hospital and Rehabilitation Centre, Bath Row, Birmingham 15, England.

Dr. John E. Jacobs, Biomedical Engineering Technological Institute, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

Dr. John M. Kinney, Department of Surgery, Columbia University College of Physicians & Surgeons, New York, N.Y.

Dr. Thomas W. Langfitt, Division of Neurosurgery, Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania, 3400 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. Edgar Lee, Jr., National Institute of General Medical Sciences, National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Md.

Dr. Stanley M. Levenson, Department of Surgery, Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Eastchester Road & Morris Park Avenue, Bronx, N.Y.

Mr. P. S. London, Birmingham Accident Hospital and Rehabilitation Centre, Bath Row, Birmingham 15, England.

Dr. Robert N. McClelland, Department of Surgery, University of Texas, Southwestern Medical School, Dallas, Tex.

Dr. Ayub K. Ommaya, National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Stroke, National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Md.

Dr. John J. Osborn, The Institute of Medical Sciences, Pacific Medical Center, Clay and Webster Streets, San Francisco, Calif.

Dr. Leonard F. Peltier, Department of Surgery, University of Kansas Medical Center, Kansas City, Kans.

Dr. Samuel R. Powers, Jr., Department of Surgery, Albany Medical College, Albany, N.Y.

Dr. James L. Schamadan, College of Engineering and Technology, Arizona State University, Tempe, Ariz.

Clyde F. Schlueter, Employers Insurance of Wausau, 2000 Westwood Drive, Wausau, Wis.

Dr. Sam F. Seeley, Division of Medical Sciences, National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Dr. Simon Sevitt, Pathology Department, Birmingham Accident Hospital and Rehabilitation Centre, Bath Row, Birmingham 15, England.

Dr. G. Thomas Shires, Department of Surgery, University of Texas, Southwestern Medical School, Dallas, Tex.

Dr. Bent Sorensen, The Burns Unit, Kommunehospitalet, 1399 Copenhagen K, Denmark.

Dr. James L. Talbert, Department of Surgery, University of Florida, College of Medicine, Gainesville, Fla.

Dr. James L. Titchener, Department of Psychiatry, University of Cincinnati, College of Medicine, Cincinnati, O.

Dr. A. Earl Walker, Division of Neurological Surgery, The Johns Hopkins Hospital, 601 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md.

Mr. Heinz S. Wolff, Division of Biomedical Engineering, Medical Research Council, National Institute for Medical Research (Hampstead Laboratories), Holly Hill, London, N.W. 3, England.

"ACCIDENTAL INJURY: A MAJOR CHALLENGE TO MEDICINE"

Mr. Chairman, fifty million injuries a year; 115,000 deaths; 400,000 permanently disabled; a personal financial cost of $13.6 billion, all in the United States alone.

These figures make accidental injury a major and urgent health issue. Of this toll, auto accidents account for half. Home accidents account for 24%, and injuries at work account for 12%. These men, women, and children occupy more hospital beds than do heart patients, and 4 times more than cancer patients. Accidental injury is the fourth leading cause of death in the Nation, and the leading one for the first half of lifespan. It strikes the young hardest, and is the leading cause of death in the population age 1 to 37. But unlike other great killers, there has not been the unfied response that has brought other killers under control, and reduced their toll.

I believe the reason for that difference is the clear objective that goes with finding a biological cause of disease, and then the means of prevention. This is not the case with accidents. Prevention is an immensely diffuse thing, requiring not only medical research, but engineering and design research, and control of many phases of industry and transportation.

One preventive measure needed is higher standards for industrial safety. We are working on a bill for this purpose now in the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, and I am pleased to be a co-sponsor of it.

MEDICAL RESEARCH ON TRAUMA

But the great challenges of trauma to medicine are, (1), to find the most effective means of treatment, and, (2), to organize medical services to reduce the toll of death, suffering and loss.

For you, there is no neat solution of vaccine. There is only the detailed, tedious task of testing and evaluating treatments.

For this work, the National Institute of General Medical Sciences devotes $1,568,000 to support 7 trauma research centers, and $1,440,000 for 30 additional projects. I am very familiar with one of these—in the Parkland Memorial Hospital in Dallas, Texas, the hospital where President John F. Kennedy was taken after the tragic events of November 22, 1963.

The $3 million for trauma research comes out of a shrinking budget for the Institute of General Medical Sciences. That budget has declined from $163 million in fiscal 1969 to a request for only $148 million next year.

Three million dollars for research on the fourth leading cause of death is but a pittance. Unless Congress acts to add money for this Institute, trauma research will proceed on a small-scale basis, leaving millions of Americans to a lifetime of unnecessary suffering.

ORGANIZATION OF TREATMENT

Second to research on the effects and appropriate medical response to trauma, prompt care is vital to accident victims. Here, hospitals and other health units are even more deficient than is research.

A handful of hospitals have developed an intensive care unit where burns and other injuries can be treated on a unified, emergency basis. But for most hospitals, an emergency room still consists more of diagnosis than comprehensive application of advanced methods of care, regardless of the type of trauma.

In an effort to help hospital administrators develop the intensive care unit for injured persons, I have included a provision for this purpose in my bill extending the Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Program. Although the version passed by the House of Representatives had no emergency room feature, I am pleased to report that we have gained general acceptance for it from the House Conferees. It will permit Federal matching grants up to 50% of the cost of establishing emergency rooms.

Borrowing from the military medical advances in the Vietnam warfare, we also permit this money to be used for helicopter service as a means of transporting patients. Other forms of ambulance service and communication can also be financed with this Federal matching grant. My bill provides $20 million a year under this Section.

But making money available is only a small part of this job. The real work lies with local governments and health administrators. It is they who must coordinate emergency communications and transportation among several agencies and many hospitals. There is nothing more wasteful than the human life that is lost because an ambulance carried an accident victim to the other side of town, or because attendants are not adequately trained.

An enormous task remains in this field of health care. Research is one part. Another is getting across to health administrators the urgency of dealing with injuries as a unit of health care. Local officials must be impressed with the need to organize their emergency services for the benefit of victims, not the rivalries of jurisdictions.

"We can take justifiable pride in our achievements in the field of medicine," said President Kennedy in 1963. "But measured against our capacity and capability in the fields of health and medical care, measured against the scope of the problems that remain and the opportunities to be seized, this Nation still falls far short of its responsibilities."

This assessment is especially true of accidents.

It will take the best efforts of all to reduce the toll of injury, to relieve the suffering, to restore victims to useful, productive lives.

SURVEY SHOWS THE PEOPLE SUPPORT THEIR PRESIDENT

HON. EDWARD HUTCHINSON

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, as of mid-April, residents of the Fourth Congressional District of Michigan approved of President Nixon's Vietnamization policy—as a way to end U.S. military involvement in Southeast Asia—by a margin of nearly 2 to 1.

An independent data processing firm has just completed tabulating results of my annual public opinion survey, and I would like to share them with my colleagues. Most significantly, perhaps, they show that 59.81 percent favor the President's Vietnam policies and 30.39 percent do not.

The majority of questionnaires were received prior to the President's April 30 decision to send U.S. troops into the Cam-

bodian sanctuaries. Those received after that date were kept separate from the earlier returns and they showed a substantial shift in opinion on the issue. Support for the President increased nearly 3 percent, rising from 59.91 percent to 62.74 percent. Opposition declined from 30.39 percent to 27.30 percent.

Response to this year's survey was very gratifying. More than 17,000 questionnaires were returned to me and, of this number, 73 percent took advantage of the provision for "his and her" votes on each question. As a result, the total number of votes tabulated came to nearly 30,000.

Complete results of this year's Fourth District survey are as follows:

FOURTH DISTRICT SURVEY

[In percent]

	More	Less	Same
1. Federal spending for these purposes should be:			
(a) Defense	13.60	40.06	41.18
(b) Space program	6.43	59.59	30.20
(c) Foreign aid	2.05	71.40	22.31
(d) Poverty program (OEO)	25.53	39.35	29.01
(e) Federal aid to education	40.80	23.87	30.87
(f) Crime prevention	80.47	4.08	12.52
(g) Antipollution	74.68	7.62	13.75
(h) Welfare (ADC)	8.77	60.64	25.97
(i) Housing	26.28	33.86	33.93
(j) Food stamps	15.44	45.89	31.95
(k) Health programs	46.36	15.89	32.38
(l) Narcotics law enforcement	79.74	5.72	11.41

	Yes	No
2. To check inflation, would you impose wage and price controls?	60.96	30.39
3. The federal farm program should be:		
(a) Phased out over 5-year period	52.07	16.02
(b) Allow a set-aside program permitting more freedom in crop planning but reduce parity	47.72	13.66
(c) Make the 1965 Agricultural Act permanent but increase benefits to farmers under the act	20.47	34.13
4. Do you approved of President Nixon's policy of Vietnamization as the way to end our military involvement in Southeast Asia	59.81	30.66
5. Do we need stricter Federal laws against obscenity and pornography	74.11	21.91
6. Do you think the Post Office should be turned over to a Government-owned corporation for operation?	53.09	37.85
7. Do you favor busing of students for the purpose of achieving racial balance in schools?	7.76	87.62
8. Should criminal penalties for the use of marihuana be:		
(a) Reduced	17.15	36.80
(b) Repealed altogether	7.87	28.24
(c) Kept stiff as they are	73.01	10.30
9. Do you approve of congressional questionnaires such as this?	92.35	2.57

WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to offer a few words of praise in the memory of Congressman William L. St. Onge who has left these Halls—a quiet man gone in a moment of turmoil.

Bill St. Onge was a devoted father who will be sorely missed by his five handsome children, William, Mary, Suzanne, Constance, and Anne and by his loving wife, Dorothy.

Schooled at Tufts University, trained to be a lawyer at the University of Connecticut School of Law, a World War II veteran of the North African and European campaigns, Bill St. Onge returned to this country determined to serve it as a public official. He became a judge of probate, a State representative in Connecticut, a member of the board of education in Putnam, the mayor of Putnam, and a judge in the city court of Putnam. In all of those capacities he served the people selflessly and competently, and leaves behind many who miss him deeply.

Bill St. Onge was a deeply compassionate man, a reasonable man. He never wanted or pretended to be anything other than exactly what he was: a deeply religious man who believed in hard work and objective thought.

Those of us in the Congress at this time should pause to mark the passing of this man, not only because of his virtue in life, but because in death he remains as an example of how quietly and reasonably we may conduct ourselves as Members of the National Legislature, beset with trouble from abroad and here at home.

In the passing of Bill St. Onge I have lost not only a colleague but a very good friend.

ONE MAN'S VIEW: SAMUEL I. HAYAKAWA

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, during all the heated debate of recent months regarding campus unrest, there has been almost unanimous agreement that Mr. Samuel I. Hayakawa, president of San Francisco State College, has distinguished himself by the way he handled the disruptions at his own school as well as for his pointed and knowledgeable comments relating to the root causes of this unrest at campuses throughout the country.

An interview with Dr. Hayakawa appearing in the 1970 summer issue of the magazine, "Business Today," provides some thought-provoking ideas and suggestions which might well be heeded by Dr. Hayakawa's colleagues who are responsible for direction of colleges and universities throughout the land.

In reading questions one and two, it is clear that the interview took place before the recent tragedy at Kent State University, but nevertheless I commend the text of the interview to my colleagues and place it in the RECORD at this point:

ONE MAN'S VIEW: SAMUEL I. HAYAKAWA

To middle America, San Francisco State's president symbolizes law and order, but many students equate with him cops on campus.

This has been a relatively quiet year on America's college campuses. Can you tell us why?

I think that discontent is spreading to the outside community rather than just to the college campuses right now. This is partly because the campuses have organized themselves for defense much better than they were a couple of years ago. Violence seems to be turning to the outside; much of it going to Chicago, New York and a couple of other cities.

Do you think, sir, that students' support for campus radicals is as substantial today as it would have been, perhaps, one year ago today?

Student support for campus radicals has declined enormously. For example, when people here tried to set up a rally, the rally often fizzled out for lack of support. Also students are more leery about being caught in the action as bystanders.

THE 1 PERCENT

How many of America's students would you say are essentially disruption minded? Might you be able to term these the hard-core radicals?

Less than one per cent. That is, the real hard-core. Let me say that I think there are many many more who are disturbed by things as they are, who are willing to argue, debate and demonstrate against the existing order. But those who are really dedicated to violence are in the minority.

What percentage of students, then, would you say are potentially sympathetic to radical demands that could be made on America's campuses?

Most students are sympathetic to most demands like better racial equality, better educational opportunity for the underprivileged, reform of education in the direction of greater student participation in the learning process. All of these are reasonable goals and most students would be in favor of them.

A TIRED CONDITION

How well are the radical students tailoring their demands to the sympathies of the moderate or liberal students?

As a matter of fact, radicalism at the present time is a tired condition. They have said most of the things they can say about the wickedness of the war in Vietnam, the rottenness of the capitalist system, and the deterioration of our society. It's something like a stuck record and students are bored with hearing it.

Can you think of any potential case in which you, yourself, would call student disruption a legitimate action?

No. I can hardly think of any. That is, unless a professor or an administration commits real acts of physical brutality or tyranny. I believe in absolute freedom of speech, freedom of demonstration; but I also believe that demonstrations must not interfere with the rights of others to do their study or their work. I think we are entitled to freedom of protection on college campuses just as much as in an airport or a bowling alley. I can't

conceive of the university doing anything that would require violence to redress a wrong.

THE CAMPUS AS A MARKETPLACE

Students are obviously affected—in terms of the quality and direction of their lives—by the universities that they attend. You would agree that students do have rights to have an input into the governance of the institutions which so directly affect their lives?

They always have had that right, for that matter—to a degree that is not often recognized. After all, if students fail to enroll for an elective course, that elective course is dropped. If they enroll in large numbers for an elective course, then we provide additional sections of it. There is always a kind of marketplace going on in which the student as a consumer makes choices which affect what is available on that market. In addition to that, there are enormous consultative processes that we at this college, for example, have always undergone with students. For instance, we are the one college campus which was outstanding years ago for starting the experimental project involving the substantial student participation in curriculum pattern, course pattern and so on. Our disruption wasn't due to a lack of student participation—it was because we have student participation. Student radicalism has generally hit hardest at those places where educational changes in this form has been going on most rapidly.

A QUESTION OF MOTIVATION

You have previously stated that you believe that student radicals are largely elitists in privileged institutions, out to save the less fortunate regardless of whether or not they want to be saved. Do you think that is still accurate today?

Yes. I think it is very accurate still. It is at elitist colleges like Columbia and Harvard where you continue to find the hard-core dissidents, the real violence. The real ugliness is in MIT and Swarthmore and Chicago—all first-rate institutions. You don't get the disruptions in the more provincial universities in the boondocks. They are all nice and quiet.

To what would you attribute that substantial degree of quietness?

There are fewer elitists in the undistinguished or provincial colleges and universities. There are, instead, young men and women who are anxious to get ahead because they are of modest financial and social position and look forward to a better place in the culture. They are not trying to destroy the culture. They just want to get into it. On the other hand, the elitists are those who have received everything that the culture has to offer—including a chance to get into Harvard—and then they want to blow the place up.

A BIGGER, BETTER SHARE

One of the elements of your criticism of the radical movement seems to be the assumption that the poor, the underprivileged workers, and the blacks do have adequate influence in the government of this country. Do you believe that a random sampling of 2000 poor Americans have as much to say about the running of their country as do the presidents of the 2000 largest corporations in the country?

Of course not. The poor are disadvantaged by the fact of being poor. They are with relatively little influence and they have a legitimate gripe against the world. But the whole history of the United States has been the organization of the poor in order to get themselves a greater share of what this country has to offer. The poor Jews in New York, the poor Irish in Boston, the poor Poles and Hungarians in Chicago would band together in political machines whenever necessary or put their money together and eventually acquire influence and power. But they started out with as little influence and power as any poor Negro has now.

You think then that the relative success of other groups to be effectively integrated within the society is one reason for the failure of students to be able to communicate in their "revolutionary" demands to the workers themselves?

The workers themselves are terribly uninterested in the revolutionary demands of the students. For example, there was a strike going on up here in San Rafael, California the other day and the SDS tried to do some demonstrating on behalf of the strikers. The strikers walked off and completely disassociated themselves from these elitist students. They said, "Look, we are workingmen, we are striking about something legitimate, we're not trying to bring about a revolution." The students have very little in common with the workingman and the workers are the ones who know this best of all.

THE UNIVERSITY'S ROLE

The University of Connecticut president has said that an important reason for student dissidents today is the questioning of the university's role in a larger society. What role ideally should the university play in what we might call the "real world?"

I don't know how you can answer that question. The university plays many many different roles. It passes on the cultural monuments of the past. It trains people for jobs that need to be done in the world today—like engineering, nursing, medicine, law or commerce. More importantly, it provides a constant stream of criticism as to what is wrong with society so that students and faculty can dream of a better world in the future where things can be improved and prejudice and injustice can be wiped out. It seems to me that the universities are doing all of these things; not just any one of them. When the left-wing charges that colleges merely fit people as little cogs into the great military-industrial machine, this is simply nonsense. This is one of the things the university does, but it is only one. For example, in liberal arts the social science department constantly criticizes the society to show in what respect it is unjust and how it can be improved. Constant critiques of society are going on in any university or college.

One of the major criticisms often leveled by groups like SDS, is that a university which runs, for example, the ROTC program and does research for the Pentagon cannot conceivably call itself apolitical and, therefore, should realign its politics—since it definitely has them—toward a more popular stance, one that helps the people more. Do you find any sympathy with that belief?

I believe that insofar as a university is tax supported, such as this one is, we owe a certain debt to our government and if the government asks us to do certain kinds of research in the national interest, I think we ought to do it. On the other hand, I think as a university, we also have to give the entire scientific world free access to the fruits of our research. Therefore, I believe that we should do research when called upon by the government, but I do not think it should be classified or secret research.

PROVIDING DIRECTION

A student scribbled on a Columbia University hallway these words: "I am sorry about defacing the walls but babies are being burned and men are dying and this university is at fault quite directly." You wouldn't find much agreement with this sentiment then, would you?

It is because babies are dying elsewhere in the world—or somewhere in the world—that is necesary for universities to continue so that we can better solve the problems that result in babies dying. Without intelligent research and thought conducted at the universities, we'll never find the solutions to human problems.

You are arguing, then, that it makes more sense to use the university as a reform tool rather than a basis for revolution?

What are you reforming the world for? In what direction do you want to reform it? The trouble with revolutionaries is that they have this wonderful, wonderful eagerness to destroy. But it requires an awful lot of hard thinking to decide what you want in place of what was there. In what way can the institutions be improved? Where I quarrel with the revolutionaries is that they won't bother with that question. As Mark Rudd once said, "Well, first we'll have a revolution and then later on we'll figure out what for." This is the most superficial, childish kind of revolution and nothing good can come of any of this.

TO EQUAL THE FATHER

What, in your opinion, motivates students to disruptive tactics on a university campus?

I am playing with a theory that I'll pass on to you. This is the first time I have stated it publicly. So often we find out that students who are in the middle of disruptions are sons of prominent men and women—professionally, intellectually or politically prominent. I wonder to what degree the sons of these prominent men are afraid that they will never be able to equal the accomplishments of their parents in the culture and, therefore, instead of trying to fill their father's shoes they will prefer to believe that the shoes are not worth filling, that father's culture is no damn good and the best thing to do is to destroy it? In that way the son is not faced with the challenge of equalling his father's accomplishments.

A NATIONWIDE CRACKDOWN?

Is it your expectation that more drastic nationwide policy against groups like the SDS will ensue?

I think that insofar as people like the Weathermen and outfits like that go around destroying businesses, burning down banks, blowing up skyscrapers in New York, they are going to have the culture turn against them in a very, very serious way. They want that to happen in one important way. Their rationale is that if they can produce a kind of fascist repression as a result of these disruptive activities, this may hasten the time when everybody will get sick of the government and rebel against it. They want to hasten the revolution by making people more discontent with things as they are. But I don't think that is going to happen. I think that we will turn rather sharply upon these radical destructivists and before you know it the fashion will run out. The institutions of this country are much more powerful than people give them credit for. There is an incredibly beautiful system of checks and balances. When business becomes too strong or labor unions become too strong or government becomes too centralized, reactions begin to set in and we do begin to balance things out. This has resulted in the fact that we have had a remarkably stable government in spite of the huge social changes we have undergone since the end of the Civil War.

Do you think it makes sense to say that the radical movements on the American campus today have served a useful function in terms of establishing a role as a critic?

I don't think they have served a useful role whatsoever. They slowed down educational reform and destroyed intellectual discipline in many courses. They have slowed down and pushed back literary and social research by diverting people from scientific endeavors to political pamphleteering. The radical movements have done no good at all that I can see.

Do you foresee an increased building of student counter groups to work against the goals of radical groups?

There is the beginning of such a counter group among quite liberal students at this campus. How strong it is I cannot say, but

at least it exists and I think it is developing on other campuses as well.

TOWARD PREVENTION

There are certainly universities today that don't totally involve the students in the consultation process that you mentioned you have at your campus. How far do you predict these universities will be willing to go in democratizing the governance of the university in the near future?

One important step we are taking in democratizing decision-making here is to develop a system for student evaluation of teachers. I think this is one respect in which students get a very raw deal. That is, they can have very poor teachers for a long time without being able to complain about it, and we are trying to establish a student evaluation system for the teaching staff and the records of that evaluation will become part of the documents that people have to examine in recommending a teacher's promotion or tenure.

One more question. Can you think of any general policy that might help university administrators to deal with the problem of disruptive influences on their campuses?

There is only one original idea I have to contribute and that is when there is a real threat of violent disruption, I do not wait for the disruption to take place before asking the cooperation of the police. I believe in having the police there the day before the disruption starts and I believe that much of the success of this administration in keeping things cool here at San Francisco State College has been the fact that the police are here first and they have a preventive function which has been very powerful, very good.

OHIO STATE AND KENT STATE UNIVERSITIES—THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, much has been written about the campus riots at Ohio State University and the deaths of four students at Kent State University. As a result, some of the news media has concentrated its attacks upon the actions of members of the Ohio National Guard.

The other day, I saw a letter which tells the other side of the story—a side of the story that has not appeared in the local press. It is a first-hand account of the riot and the reaction of the people who live in and near Kent State University.

I include this letter in the RECORD with the names of individuals removed. I call the attention of every Member of the House to the last paragraph of the letter. It tells some things that have not heretofore been told about the riot at Kent State University.

I rather imagine this letter more closely reflects the views of the American people than does the news media referred to in the last paragraph of the letter.

The letter follows:

MONDAY, MAY 11, 1970.

DEAR ———: Your last letter was written shortly after the Apollo 13 episode—frightening, thrilling, and seems to have captured the attention of the whole world. Our country never seemed so united. Then a few weeks later, it has never seemed so divided. What an appalling mess. We are very close to it because of Ohio State and Kent being so near. I could write volumes about it all—no one seems to talk about much else. But I will just hit the high spots from our end, and add some stories I have heard that haven't been in the papers.

Ohio State erupted long before Kent did——— was home the weekend of April 25th. Had to get out. The riots there started that Wednesday. The mob on the oval (main part of campus) was dispersed by National Guard by tear gas and they all ran up 15th Avenue where the sorority and fraternity houses are. They refused to leave the scene and much more tear gas, pepper gas and mace were used. The ——— house is at the end of 15th nearest the campus. The place was full of gas so the kids couldn't breathe. The next day she went to one class escorted by the National Guard, but when she got out of that, the mob was assembling again. At 11:00 her friend ———, who lives in Bexley, called and said she would try to come in to get her, but if she couldn't get close enough (the guard had the area pretty well sealed) her dad would send an ambulance for ———, as that was one vehicle that COULD get in. ——— made it within one block of the house and took ——— out of there. Then ——— got a bus home. Went back Sunday and all was quiet, but the kids were still parading. This was the state of affairs there until Kent blew up and all the schools were closed. We went down Thursday morning to get her and brought nearly all her stuff home. At this point, we don't know if OSU will open or whether they will finish by correspondence, or what. Hate to think of that whole quarter wasted. Wait and see.

The Kent thing has made people furious. Mostly against the kids. Everyone we know is for the National Guard. Tempers are hot and I think it is well the schools are closed. I talked to young ——— who lives in Kent. He said that if the National Guard is called out again in Kent, it will be to protect the kids against the townspeople. They are really up in arms and ready to take up against the kids. Can't blame them. Their businesses have been attacked, and their lives. Their town is almost shut down. ——— said that most everyone agrees with him, but one man. So ——— told him that he had an M–1 rifle, and the guy could hold it, loaded. Then ——— would stand at 30 feet and throw at him and they would time how long it took the guy to want to pull the trigger.

Things one never sees in the paper: There were many railroad spikes found on the campus grounds, that the kids were hurling at the NG. Cute. They also had coat hangers wrapped around their wrists with the hook out front, for hand-to-and combat. Friday night when the kids broke up the town and burned the ROTC building, an elderly couple was driving through town. The kids broke the car windows, and turned the car over, with the people in it. I hear they are still in the hospital. The news media stinks. Although there has been such a hue and cry about it that they are now printing pages of letters to the editors supporting the National Guard. I could go on and on, but you get the idea.

HEARINGS ON CIVIL COMMITMENT OF NARCOTIC ADDICTS

HON. BYRON G. ROGERS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I would like to announce that Subcommittee No. 4 of the Committee on the Judiciary has scheduled public hearings on the following proposal to commence June 17, 1970, at 10 a.m., room 2141, Rayburn House Office Building: H.R. 17269, to provide for the mandatory civil commitment of certain narcotic addicts, to provide for more facilities for treating, supervising, and controlling narcotic addicts, and for other purposes.

Those wishing to testify or to submit statements for the record should address their requests to the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, room 2137, Rayburn House Office Building.

YOUTH, FULL PARTNERS IN A BETTER TOMORROW

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend it was my pleasant experience to hear a short speech by a fine young man by the name of Robert Spinck from my Congressional District. Under the auspices of the Green International Optimist Club. With this speech, he won first prize in the Colorado-Wyoming District Oratorical contest of Optimist International. I wish to publicly commend Mr. Spinck, the other young men who competed, and Optimist International on a job well done.

Speech follows:

YOUTH, FULL PARTNERS IN A BETTER TOMORROW

Tonight, I a youth, stand with my hands extended to you my partners. These are helping hands—Hands that are willing to join with yours in building a better tomorrow for us all. These are hands willing to join with youth as well as adults in making our great society a better one.

Tonight as the news media is focused on youth participating in the sensational and often controversial fields of drug abuse, campus rioting and social anarchy, it is time for the rest of youth, the majority of youth, to stand up and be heard in a constructive, not destructive manner.

But what can we as youth do constructively to help build a Better Tomorrow. Today we must take full advantage of the outstanding educational opportunities that have been given to us. This certainly is the most important gift we have. For after all, an educated society is the building block of a great nation. If we as youth can accomplish this educational process, then when it comes time to change hands and for youth to take on new roles we will be ready and willing to further the goals of our country.

But in the meantime, our hands are not completely bound to getting a formal education. There is still room for us to become involved in building a better tomorrow. There are many problems confronting us, and they are too large and too numerous for any one person to handle. Emerson once said, "It is by words that man is heard, but by his actions he is known." Therefore, it is crucial for us not just to talk about the problems, but to act—in full partnership in solving the problems which confront us.

On one hand we have domestic problems. One such dilemma is poverty. This social disease engulfs nearly 26 million Americans. And if this is allowed to continue, our tomorrow will be a dim one indeed. As most

citizens, I am aware of the problems and causes and I am also willing to give a hand. This may involve working during the summer in numerous volunteer programs aimed at helping the underprivileged. But what is important to remember, is that we all as full partners must give a helping hand in solving this dreaded problem.

Another domestic problem is that of racial inequality and the lack of true understanding. We as youth recognize this problem, and are striving ahead in this area. We have been taught by our parents and the adults to love one another, and because we have followed this policy seriously, we shall live to see black hands, white hands, big hands and small hands, calloused hands and jeweled hands joined together in making a better tomorrow.

On the other hand we have the International problems. Certainly war is the largest problem in this scene. War has created such deep and serious wounds that it has affected each and every one of us in some way or another. Whether we know it or not, we all must act in full partnership in bringing about a just peace, so that we will have something left to hand down to tomorrow's youth.

I am optimistic that with the wisdom, maturity and experience of the adult world joining in full partnership with the idealistic views, energy and aspirations of youth we will truly share in building a Better Tomorrow.

SIMEON GOLAR CRITICIZES NIXON HOUSING POLICY

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on May 7, 1970, Simeon Golar, chairman of the New York City Housing Authority, delivered an extremely important address at the 1970 annual conference of the Middle Atlantic Regional Council of the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials—MARC–NAHRO. The address was a highlight at the conference's banquet honoring Ira S. Robbins, retiring vice chairman of the New York City Housing Authority.

Mr. Golar's speech should be well noted on two counts. First, it pays tribute to a valued public servant, Ira Robbins, whom Mr. Golar properly described as "one of the pioneers who threaded the concept of public housing through the political labyrinth of the thirties," ranging "the Halls of Congress, the corridors of the State legislature and of city hall."

And second, Mr. Golar delivered a powerful and meaningful criticism of the Nixon administration's public housing policy. He very aptly described the present situation when he said:

I think we find now that the engine (of progress in public housing policy) was turned off on election day in 1968, and we were just coasting. Now, I think we are stalled on a trestle—and the 1970 Housing Act, introduced in the Congress (as the Administration bill), is a time bomb with a very short fuse, that will blast the train off the trestle if it is enacted into law, and destroy public housing nationally, unless I am greatly mistaken.

I commend Mr. Golar's speech to my colleagues. It brings to bear the intelligence of an informed and concerned public servant upon the administration's misguided, unjustifiable policy, which Mr. Golar describes thusly:

In summary, then, on the basis of this bill and other abundant evidence, we are faced with a national administration that is paralyzing new contruction of public housing in the face of a grave housing crisis. We are faced with proposed legislation which can only have the effect of ultimately destroying even the low-rent public housing which now exists. We are faced with an administration that chooses to fight inflation with the shelter of the poor and that subverts the plain intent of the Congress.

Mr. Golar's speech follows:

ADDRESS OF SIMEON GOLAR, MARC-NAHRO CONFERENCE

Toastmaster Herman Hillman, Msgr. Byrnes, our guest of honor Ira Robbins, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I am sure your affection and respect for our guest of honor would cause you to indulge me if I were to hold forth for a long time about my friend and colleague and yours, Ira Robbins, cataloguing one of this country's most remarkable careers in the field of housing. But I will resist the temptation of repeating so many things you already know.

However, we must recall in a general way on this occasion when we honor him his years of commitment—more than forty—when he applied his extraordinary talents as an administrator, lawyer, lecturer and writer in the fight for better housing for the millions of Americans trapped and dehumanized in wretched housing and homicidal slums.

We must recall his singular crusades in the forums in and out of government, long, long before the concept of public housing had credibility in our nation, and we must recall that no one understood better or understood earlier the importance of proper shelter for the poor as the foundation of a healthy nation and the obligation of a just society.

Ira Robbins laid our groundwork. He was one of the pioneers who threaded the concept of public housing through the political labyrinth of the Thirties. Ira Robbins ranged the Halls of Congress, the corridors of the State Legislature and of City Hall.

And, of course, we at the New York City Housing Authority take special pride in his twelve-year association with the Authority. He was first appointed as a Member in May 1958. He was reappointed by Mayor Wagner in 1961 and by Mayor Lindsay in 1966.

And all of these years he had a passionate concern not only for the physical development of housing, but also for the social welfare of the people who were to live in the houses he helped to build.

This quality characterized and distinguished his role as Member and Vice-Chairman of the Authority. He was a father of the Authority's Department of Social and Community Services and he holds a special place in the hearts of the many thousands of public housing residents for the unique contributions he made to the Authority by raising over one and a half-million dollars in private grants to finance physical, cultural, and aesthetic improvements and social programs in housing developments and their communities.

Innumerable community centers and their programs, the Plaza at Stephen Wise Towers, the Plazas and Amphitheatres at Riis and Carver Houses, the greenhouse at Drew-Hamilton House, and Spring Row, a fifteen-block border of flowering trees and shrubs along the East River Drive, are monuments to Ira's vast concern for people and the quality of their living environment.

In New York City at this moment, 171 public housing projects stand, and in them over a half-million people are sheltered well. This is, in large measure, Ira's contribution to his city and his nation and for that, we salute Ira Robbins here tonight.

And so this should be a happy and joyous occasion as we honor a friend and colleague, Ira Robbins, and celebrate his marvelous contributions to housing and to the lives of vast numbers of people. And I, and Aramis Gomez, his colleagues on the Authority ought, ordinarily to delight in the privilege of carrying on the work that Ira has advanced so nobly and unselfishly for so many years.

And yet I woulder if this is not in a number of ways a very sad occasion for Ira Robbins and if it should not be for all of us. Not just because, perhaps, he is putting aside a long labor of love. But I think, also, he might know that pain of seeing, and he and I have talked about this recently—in the words of Kipling's poem—of seeing the things he gave his life to, broken. You will recall that Kipling says: "If you can bear to see the things you gave your life to broken, and stoop and build them up again with worn out tools. . ." And perhaps he sees the tools themselves being broken.

For this is a difficult, uneasy and ominous time in our country. And after a good deal of thought and some good counsel with Ira, I decided to take this occasion to talk to you about some of my, and Ira's I think, apprehension and fears about the present and future in our country in general, and about public housing in particular.

I think it is fair to say that a great many Americans have the uneasy conviction that there is something very wrong in the administration of their federal government. The feeling manifests itself in response to a slow suppression of our freedoms, open attack on the country's press, repressive court proceedings, a growing, endless lunacy in Southeast Asia, and so-called southern strategy that has allied public policy with ancient bigotry and racism.

But every bit as dangerous have been the subtle, unnoticed changes in public policy masked by bureaucracy that are rationalized by concern about inflation and the like. These changes, I think, begin to spell out a pattern that threatens to reverse the historic social and humanitarian goals of our nation. And increasingly we see the specter of having those things so many here have given so much of their lives to, broken—our national commitment and progress toward full and dignified employment, integrated education—and of particular interest to us here tonight, the goal first announced as national policy in the Housing Act of 1937, and restated and reaffirmed in the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1968, of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" culminating in the promise by the Congress and President Johnson just two years ago; of 26 million new homes over the next decade. And not just housing we were going to build, but communities, with services for people. For the '68 Act authorized some 40 millions of dollars just for tenant services for residents of public housing.

Also add the Section 23 Leasing Program enacted in 1965; instant housing for the poor that accounted for ⅓ of all public housing rentals in this nation since then.

And along the way there was Model Cities in 1966—a total assault on the slums across our nation.

What a marvelous view of the promised land after nearly forty years of struggle in the wilderness for decent homes and communities for all Americans!

And then the national elections of 1968 and a new national administration, and a President that enjoined us to "go forward together."

And those of us in the public housing business watched and waited and hoped.

In 1969, with deficits plaguing nearly every Housing Authority in the country and the necessity of meeting operating expenses out of rental income, we delighted at the Brooke Amendment that meant no poor family in public housing need pay more than 25% of income for rent, and the Sparkman Amendment which would cover operating deficits and help us maintain the low-rent character of public housing. We were still going forward, or so we thought.

I think we find now that the engine was turned off on election day in 1968, and we were just coasting. Now, I think we are stalled on a trestle—and the 1970 Housing Act, introduced in the Congress, is a time bomb with a very short fuse, that will blast the train off the trestle if it is enacted into law, and destroy public housing nationally, unless I am greatly mistaken.

It is this new Housing Act I want to talk about, but let me point out first the following:

1. Brooke and Sparkman, although the law of the land, have not been implemented, in accordance with the intent of Congress. In that regard, I charge that the administration is subverting the plain and manifest intent of Congress.

2. The Section 23 Leasing Program has been virtually scrapped to "fight inflation", and the New York City Housing Authority was recently turned down, after waiting about eight months for an answer, on an application for just five-hundred units, when we have the need for thousands.

3. That marvelous provision for tenant services has not been funded, Mr. Romney having asked for no money in 1969 and only $5 million for the entire nation this year.

4. We have been waiting months for Washington to approve three badly needed projects, with no approval or announced criteria to date, although they suggest they are unhappy with our costs. So are we, and while we wait, those costs go up one percent unfailingly, each and every month. But this is just the tip of the iceberg. All of our agonies, at best, will build only 880 apartments. In point of fact, we have some 40,000 units of public housing in the New York City Housing Authority pipeline, in various stages of design and development. The prospects of building them, given what we've faced in these three projects, are nil. Nil! That's a startling word when you consider the 135,000 families on the *current* waiting list for public housing in the City of New York—and the tens of thousands of others living in one level of hell or another.

5. And regarding Model Cities, while New York City has led the nation in appropriating some 25 million for land acquisition, design and planning, we now hear from Washington that 500 million of some 575 million available for the nation is to be diverted to education, the administration having only a few short months ago opposed increased appropriations by the Congress for education. It is a cynical fraud on the poor.

6. And lastly, from Mr. Jerris Leonard, apparently speaking for Mr. Mitchell who, unhappily, apparently still speaks for Mr. Nixon, we learn that new national housing policy will be to build low-income public housing only in the suburbs; no more in the cities. Which means that for the reasons I have enumerated and others I shall get to—and in view of obvious political realities, since housing officials appointed by suburban mayors answerable to suburban constituencies probably won't be approving public housing programs in their lily-white suburbs for the next hundred years. This is another way of saying that we simply won't be building any public housing at all.

Now, as if that is not enough, let me go to the 1970 Housing Act.

President Nixon has submitted to the Congress a document which can only be described as an epitaph for low-income public housing. The net effect of the administration bill for 1970 will be to greatly increase the rents for the majority of our tenants, make further public housing construction in New York City and other cities virtually impossible, and render large numbers of our City's poor families ineligible for admission to public housing.

The section of the bill that applies to rents would establish a national formula which would determine the rents to be paid by families in public housing. This formula would require families to pay at least 20% of the first $3,500 of their income plus 25% of any income in excess of $3,500. Each family would be required to pay a rent equivalent to at least the total operating costs for its apartment but not in excess of ¼ of its income.

This provision, by our calculation, means that practically all families having less than $3,500 of income will in fact pay 25% of their incomes in rent. Rent increases throughout public housing will be substantial. Increases in rent will range in New York City to above $100 per month for many families. The formula, if implemented, will virtually destroy the low-rent character of public housing throughout America.

Another effect of this new rent formula will be to wipe out the concept of rent subsidies mandated by Congress in the Sparkman and Brooke Amendments. Further, it will also wipe out subsidies now provided by law for the elderly, large families, families of unusually low income, displaced, disabled and handicapped persons.

The rent aspects of the bill are at best thoughtless and unrealistic. At worst, they signal an effort on the part of the administration to destroy the low-rent character of public housing.

Then there's the matter of how this bill affects new construction. The bill starts out by calling for a "prototype" to be developed by HUD and priced by HUD. I do not have to tell you that when we bring that prototype to New York and face New York construction costs, we are simply not going to be able to build.

The new bill changes the cost limit to include, in addition to a statutory room cost limit, a development cost ceiling which says that non-construction items such as land costs, relocation, financing, demolition and architectural fees, must not exceed 35% of the total development costs. Now if you take a hard look at the economics of building new housing in the City of New York, you immediately discover that the 35% figure can effectively stop the construction of public housing in this City.

The bill also would compel the lowering of standards for public housing construction and in effect mandate poor housing for poor people through the device of limiting the cost of construction of public housing to 55% of the cost of non-subsidized FHA housing.

That is roughly equivalent to saying that not only are poor people second-class citizens, but they have a housing entitlement exactly 55% of that of other citizens. The bill actually mandates what it calls "modest" housing for the poor and takes us back more than 30 years to the days when we built housing for the poor without doors on closets and without seats on toilets. A roof and four walls was good enough for poor folks!

The portion of the bill that deals with admission income limits has further devastating effect. Specifically, it eliminates local responsibility for fixing admission income limits which are relevant to the particular community involved, eliminating hard bought gains we won in 1959. It establishes a national formula with the following drastic effects:

The new language bases income limits for admission upon the median incomes of families for the area and will undoubtedly make for income limits which are considerably lower than those now in effect.

The present law requires that admission income limits relate to the ability of the low-income family to obtain decent housing at a price it can afford. The new bill would establish an arbitrary standard based upon the relation of the tenants income to median incomes in the community. The net effect of this, as we would apply it in New York City, would be to render countless thousands of families on our waiting lists ineligible, with no decent housing options elsewhere.

Finally, there is nothing in the bill authorizing funds for the continuation of the public housing programs in the country. The bill simply ignores the need for new money.

In summary, if this piece of legislation is enacted and signed into law, it will force rent increases by establishing a national percentage formula, mandate a decrease in the quality of new construction of low-income housing, impose new cost limits further limiting our ability to build, change income limits in such a way as to prevent many poor families from being eligible for public housing and, finally, does not authorize the money necessary to continue the planning and construction of public housing. It is a bad bill, a destructive bill with a half-dozen "secret" agendas which will favor FHA and private housing over subsidized housing and will damage public housing now and in the future. The bill must be fought, and it must be defeated!

In summary, then, on the basis of this bill and other abundant evidence, we are faced with a national administration that is paralyzing new construction of public housing in the face of a grave housing crisis. We are faced with proposed legislation which can only have the effect of ultimately destroying even the low-rent public housing which now exists. We are faced with an administration that chooses to fight inflation with the shelter of the poor and that subverts the plain intent of the Congress.

We, as public officials and as private citizens—you and I—cannot submit silently while we watch the things Ira Robbins, Herman Hillman, and so many of you here tonight and others not here, gave their lives to, broken. Nor can we endure the specter of the broken lives of those who wait and dream and hope for decent homes.

I have talked tonight specifically about housing, low-income housing, which is being dismantled and destroyed as a social program. But the net of the reactionary is cast much wider than this in our nation. And because it has the sanction and the power of government, it must be feared and fought in new and difficult ways, and this fight is manifestly a fight for the character and integrity of our nation.

I decided to make this statement in an effort to begin to rally those in this city and our country who feel as I do and who feel they perhaps are without recourse.

This is a great nation. There is recourse, and God willing we will find it.

U.N. SUPERVISION PREREQUISITE TO WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 613 which would declare national policy in support

of the establishment of a United Nations supervisory force to effect and maintain a cease-fire in Indochina during which time the disputants would withdraw according to a timetable. The resolution also urges the calling of an international conference to negotiate a political settlement of the conflict and the establishment of a United Nations relief agency to solicit funds and volunteers to help in the recovery and development of the ravaged areas.

I am pleased that 16 Members joined me in cosponsoring this resolution on May 21 and an additional Member is joining me today in supporting this resolution.

Marquis Childs, in his column carried in the May 22 Washington Post, develops the theme that United Nations supervision of the abrupt withdrawal of American troops would be necessary to avert mass killings by the Vietcong and North Vietnamese in any area which they might overrun. I submit the article for the RECORD.

U.N. SUPERVISION PREREQUISITE TO WITHDRAWAL FROM VIETNAM

(By Marquis Childs)

Like the ghost at the banquet, whether it be a banquet of doves or hawks, the very words "blood bath" strike fear to the heart. In his press conference after the decision on Cambodia President Nixon said that precipitous withdrawal as advocated by "many of our very sincere critics" would allow the enemy to come into Vietnam and "massacre the civilians there by the millions."

That is not the first time the President has raised the peril of mass slaughter in the event of a rout of American forces or a pull-out so abrupt that the South Vietnamese could not defend the country. Not an idle bogey serving scare purposes, it deserves more serious consideration from those in Congress pushing for a quick end to American participation in the war.

As Sen. Harold Hughes (D-Iowa), noted in the joint broadcast of the four principal sponsors of the end-the-war amendment, that amendment provides that funds may be used after the cut-off for the safe and systematic withdrawal of United States military personnel, the exchange of prisoners and "for the arrangement of asylum for Vietnamese who might be physically endangered by the withdrawal of United States forces." This last has been a concern of Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) since he put in a resolution providing for asylum a year ago.

From talking with McGovern, however, it is clear that the proposal for asylum has not been formulated with anything like the definition or on the scale required.

A report has just come out on the "Vietcong strategy of terror" that deserves the most sober consideration. One reason is that the author, Douglas Pike, has earned in his years in Vietnam a reputation for careful judgment. His last book, "War, Peace and the Vietcong," was praised by those on both sides of the issue of American involvement. Since 1958 he has been an officer of the United States Information Agency.

His detailed description of the unearthing of the bodies of civilians massacred during the 1968 Tet offensive at Hue is spine-chilling. The estimated 5,700 civilians were killed, Pike was convinced by his on-the-spot investigation at Hue, as a calculated effort to liquidate all opposition.

After about three weeks the Communist grip on roughly half the city, the cultural capital of Vietnam, was broken. Only over a period of months were the mass graves uncovered.

"The first fact," he writes, "and perhaps the most important, is that despite contrary appearances virtually no Communist killing was due to rage, frustration, or panic, during the Communist withdrawal at the end. Such explanations are frequently heard but they fail to hold up under scrutiny. Quite the contrary, to trace back any single killing is to discover that almost without exception it was the result of a decision rational and justifiable in the Communist mind. In fact, most killings were, from the Communist calculation, imperative."

From his analysis of the Hue massacre Pike outlines what he believes would happen if the Communists were to win decisively in South Vietnam and he stresses the word decisively. First, all foreigners would be cleared out immediately and especially the several hundred foreign newsmen reporting from there. A curtain of ignorance would descend and the outside world would know little or nothing of what was happening.

Behind that curtain the night of the long-knives would begin. All political opposition, actual or potential, would be systematically eliminated. Then would come personal revenge, a small wheel turning within the larger wheel of Communist retribution, as Pike puts it.

Since this report was prepared for the U.S. mission in Saigon it may be discounted. In the opinion of this observer, a carefully planned and thought-out program of asylum, with far more reality than is now in sight, must be evolved. United Nations supervision is surely the smallest prequisite.

THE COURSE OF THE ECONOMY

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to hear some of those whose support and votes have helped bring about the economic conditions we now face condemning President Nixon for the entire problem.

I have asked consent to insert in the Record the May 25 editorial from the National Observer which is not only illuminating but most interesting. It follows:

THE COURSE OF THE ECONOMY

Pessimism, like optimism, feeds on itself. The current downturn of the economy, which now appears to be sharper than most experts anticipated, has Government and business decision-makers saying and doing the things that inadvertently reduce public confidence in the nation's immediate economic prospects.

When the President of the United States, taking note of what was developing into the worst bear market since Depression days, says he would buy stocks if he had the money, people begin to get nervous. Ever since Herbert Hoover spoke enthusiastically of the soundness of the economy shortly after the Crash, Americans suspect trouble when a President feels the need to deliver an upbeat economic pronouncement.

When important newspapers run editorials explaining why 1970 is very different from 1929, Americans begin to perspire. Many readers probably never even considered the serious possibility of economic disaster until reading that such a disaster is not a serious possibility.

Most importantly, there is the evidence of recession that the people can clearly see and that prompted the cheerful-tearful statements in the first place. Unemployment is rising, profits are falling, hopes for a balanced Federal budget are put aside, corporate expansion plans are trimmed or shelved, consumers postpone the purchase of automobiles and other big-ticket items, and a recession psychology gradually insinuates itself.

And all the while prices keep going up. The Nixon Administration's effort to bring inflation under control has apparently succeeded in cooling the economy without achieving the main goal of stabilizing prices. The average American has a right to wonder what is happening and why.

The high inflation rate was caused by the combined bad judgment of the Johnson Administration and the Federal Reserve Board. Between mid-1965 and mid-1968, for instance, Federal expenditures increased $53 billion, with somewhat less than half the increase attributable to the Vietnam War. But President Johnson didn't even ask for a tax increase until January 1967, although the wholesale price level had been climbing steadily for the previous 30 months.

Meantime, while the Johnson fiscal policies were creating massive inflationary pressures, the Federal Reserve unaccountably adopted a more liberal monetary policy with the result that the money supply during 1967 increased more than 7 per cent. That amounted to the fastest rate of growth in the money supply anytime since World War II.

The policies of the Government in the late 1960s guaranteed the high inflation rates of the past few years. So fierce were the inflationary pressures that measures such as the surtax on income were much too little, much too late. President Nixon knew he had to take far stronger action if the wage-price spiral was to be brought under control.

This being the case, his Administration began the difficult—and politically thankless—task of moderating the nation's economic activity.

In this period of economic readjustment, everyone looks to the stock market to see how it's reacting to the treatment. And, the market being the market, it's reacting like a cranky patient. The market is feeling rotten, thank you, but it keeps everyone acutely interested by mixing in an occasional good day with its more frequent sessions of moaning and groaning.

There is such a thing, we believe as taking the stock market far too seriously as an economic indicator. Since November 1968, the Dow Jones Industrial Average has declined more than 300 points. Just since the beginning of this year, the market value of equities traded on all exchanges in the country has dropped some $150 billion. This unquestionably works a fearful hardship on investors, but does it really reflect the health of the economy?

It would be absurd to think so. The market, as a matter of fact, is often wrong. Attorney General John Mitchell last week quoted someone's comment that the stock market has predicted "11 out of the last 4 recessions."

It is the nature of the mechanism to overreact, to make specific bad events seem like general bad events. It is as if you took a room thermometer that was registering 72 degrees and held a cake of ice next to it. The instrument would soon show a reading of 60 degrees or less. But you would hardly infer from the experiment that the temperature of the whole room was 60 degrees.

We don't think it's necessary to list in detail the reasons why we believe the nation's economy is in a relatively steep but temporary decline. Most Americans are aware that it is the deliberate policy of the Administration to cool things off so that the value of the dollar can again be relatively stable. Most Americans, too, are aware of the tremendous leverage the Government has to

ignite a boom in the 1970s once the recession has put the brakes on inflation. Actually, it is more likely that the energy and self-confidence of the people will handle the job in natural fashion.

The United States is today paying the price for the ill-considered fiscal and monetary policies of the late 1960s. As for the stock market, it will go back up again. And if you doubt that, you're likely to lose money.

LEGISLATION TO AID SMALL BUSINESSES

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation which I feel is long overdue.

One of the historic traits of our Nation is its ability and willingness to commitment in reaction to an emergency. We see this in our national issues such as civil rights, foreign trade, natural disasters, pollution, and consumer protection.

When an emergency arises we react, strongly and totally, although in some instances we are extremely lucky that our cures do not kill the patient.

We have come a long way in the past few years in the areas of consumer protection, with Truth-in-Lending and the Wholesome Meat Act; and environmental control, with the Solid Waste Disposal Act, the Clean Air Act, and water pollution control. In varying degrees, we are making progress in these areas, and we are beginning to catch up with our technology. However, what we must be aware of are the side effects of what we are doing in our effort to make these long-overdue corrections.

This situation became quite evident in the early days of our urban renewal programs, in which it has since been corrected.

When a neighborhood was declared an urban renewal area, older people who had paid for their homes, and many poor young families, had to shoulder the financial burden of relocating in more expensive homes elsewhere. Now, when this situation arises, the Federal Government provides financial assistance by paying allowances to make up the difference between the cost of the previously-owned home and the newer, more expensive one.

Gradually, this same theory was applied to another important social and economic component of the neighborhood, the small business. The rate of failure of small businesses is historically high. To add an additional burden, one not of their own making and one usually affecting an established small proprietorship, was not fair. Now, when a small business is forced to relocate because of urban renewal, financial assistance in the form of long-term, low-interest loans can be arranged.

It is this principle of assisting the innocent bystander that I advocate in my bill: When we pass a new law that requires plant facility changes, or the purchase of new equipment, we in effect are passing a law that establishes retroactive guilt and charges a fine for that guilt.

As an example, the Wholesome Meat Act cost the private sector of our economy millions of dollars, because with a stroke of a pen they were, for all practical purposes, found guilty of a crime they had never committed. This is an immense burden to put on any business, but it is particularly hard on a small business that does not have the equity or collateral to finance such sweeping changes. Nor do many small businesses have the ability to carry high-interest loans because of their already high debt-to-income ratio.

My legislation will correct this inequitable situation by permitting a small business, forced to relocate or conduct substantial expansion or alteration as a result of a new Federal law, to receive low-interest, long-term loans from the Small Business Administration.

Mr. Speaker, I sincerely hope that my colleagues will receive this legislation favorably.

A TRIBUTE TO CHARLES H. WILLIAMS, RETIRING PRINCIPAL OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN HIGH SCHOOL, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, on June 30, 1970, a distinguished educator will retire after 20 years as principal of Abraham Lincoln High School, in Philadelphia, Pa. Adding a prior 8 years as a principal, this record constitutes the longest senior high school principalship in the history of the Philadelphia public schools, and it belongs to Charles H. Williams.

Abraham Lincoln High School students, faculty, Home and School Association parents, and the northeast Philadelphia community, each group individually, and in concert with one another, have planned tributes this month in an attempt to honor Charles H. Williams, their principal, a man who shies away from praise.

The retirement of Charles H. Williams makes it highly appropriate to pay tribute to a man who is responsible for the continuous advancement of Abraham Lincoln High School. Prior to coming to Lincoln in 1949, Mr. Williams was principal of the Benjamin Franklin High School, where he not only headed the day school, but the Standard Evening High School, the Veterans Day School, and the Veterans Evening School, all at the same time. The Veterans School, which permitted veterans to enroll at any time and to proceed with their high school education at their own rate, was originated and developed by Mr. Williams from 1945 to 1949, and served thousands of veterans. This unusual program attracted worldwide attention and received praise from every corner of the earth.

Mr. Williams was active in the planning of the actual building of the Abraham Lincoln High School, in the ordering of the equipment, furniture, supplies, and textbooks. He worked hand in hand with the architect in the design of much of the building. His strong personality attracted many fine teachers to the school from its very beginning and his ideas and desires began to take a practical form at the birth of the school. There was vigorous and competent leadership applied to the school at its inception and the school has had the continuous benefit of the motivating and driving force provided by an outstanding, capable, energetic, and conscientious principal.

Mr. Williams displayed an unlimited physical energy which he devoted completely and unstintingly to the school and gave unsparingly of himself to the school as no one else did or could.

The school's relationship with the community began in a controversial atmosphere as a result of the name given the school. This led to a rather cold acceptance of the school on the part of some of the community leaders. Here Mr. Williams stepped into the picture and spent night after night meeting with, and talking to, community groups and uniting them behind him and the school with his magnetic personality, and his straightforward desire to provide educational opportunities for the children of the area that would lead them and their families to higher academic and cultural levels. Gradually the controversy over the name of the school was buried in the healthly desire of the community to participate actively in the life of the school. Here was laid the foundation for the home and school association, and the means of combating some of the undesirable publicity that attached itself to the school.

Mr. Williams' personal characteristics, in addition to his training and background, have played a major role in the life of the school and the achievements of its students. He is very intelligent and scholarly, with the greatest respect for solid academic achievement, and he believes the basic reason for the existence of a high school is the intellectual growth of the students. This has led to an emphasis on classroom work, to a grouping of students by ability, to a group of teachers specializing in college guidance and essentially to a high level of attainment on the part of our students while still in high school and later on in colleges throughout the country.

Mr. Williams was a top notch athlete and coach, and still maintains an intense interest in athletics. While teaching English at Pottsville High School, Chestnut Hill Academy, where he served as athletic director; Central High School, and Benjamin Franklin High School, Mr. Williams also coached football, basketball, baseball, and track.

Our teams have received every ounce of support possible from the principal, and, in addition to being well-equipped, have been exceptionally coached. The development of our athletic program, the early and continued leadership the school teams exhibited in high school competition, the wide degree of participation on the part of the student body in intramural sports, all came about as a result of the determined desire of this man who knows and loves sports and allowed no obstacle to stand in the way of the physical development of our student body.

Mr. Williams' interests and abilities are wide and deeply rooted in a firm foundation of personal participation and accomplishment. He plays the piano and in addition to a knowledge and appreciation of orchestral and choral music, he has a highly developed taste for many forms of art. Our school's excellent musical groups, the junior and senior orchestras, the choir and the band, and the musical program which reaches the entire student body are all the result of active planning and promotion on his part. In addition, the awards and prizes won by our students in the field of music and art are a reflection of the leadership given the school in these areas.

Mr. Williams is mechanically inclined and has done a great deal of physical work on his own farm. The outstanding shop program at Lincoln, the host of opportunities offered to our industrial students, and the nationwide prizes won by our students are a tribute to the support and leadership of Mr. Williams.

Mr. Williams exerts a strong and motivating influence on the staff at the school. When the school first opened, his reputation attracted many fine teachers to the school. As the school developed and established itself, an increasing number of the better teachers in other schools transferred to Lincoln High School. Mr. Williams has that rare ability of getting the most out of people, of getting his teachers to want to give of their best, and he sets an example for them to emulate in his own continuous service to the school. The teachers in turn take pride in their work, and in the school, and in the opportunity to be part of a great organization. What sets Lincoln High School above and apart from other schools is the extra work and extra energy put into it by the faculty as a result of the inspiring leadership provided by the principal. The teachers are stimulated to do their best, and the educational atmosphere is provided whereby obstacles of organization, of time, and of money are overcome in the interests of the student.

One of the outstanding assets that Mr. Williams possesses in the operation of the school is his genuine deep-seated interest in young people. He knows many students by name, by achievements in a variety of activities, by academic ability and accomplishment, by family connections, and his knowledge of the students is rooted in his desire to promote their welfare.

Mr. Williams, who is married and has two sons, attended public schools in Pottsville, Pa., and entered Brown University in 1923. After graduating from Brown, he took graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania receiving his M.A. degree.

Mr. Williams is a member of the Brown Alumni, the Delta Upsilon Fraternity, the Schoolmen's Club, and the Philadelphia Principals' Association. He has also served on the Board of Directors of the Northeast Communities Y.M.C.A., as chairman of the Planning Committee of the Northeast Area Community Chest—Health and Welfare Committee, and has been active in many community affairs.

From 1955 to 1964, Mr. Williams served as education director of the American Institute of Banking.

Through the past 35 years, Mr. Williams has devoted himself unsparingly to the welfare of the Philadelphia School system. Thousands of students have benefited from his devotion, and Lincoln High School's success is a result of this devotion. The Northeast community has gained a great deal from his presence here.

Nothing said or written could be an adequate tribute to this man, but the school itself, its daily operation, its past performance, its unusual growth, the opportunities afforded the thousands of past and present students are a living tribute to this remarkable man.

MAYOR BYRNE'S DECISION

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, in June 1970 Mayor Thomas I. Byrne will conclude 4 years of service to the people of St. Paul, Minn. Mayor Byrne chose not to run for reelection as the chief administrator of our fine city. During his tenure as mayor, I have had the opportunity to work closely with him on countless projects of benefit to that community. I came to know him well, therefore, both as a capable public servant and a fine human being.

On several occasions Mayor Byrne headed delegations of citizens from every walk of life in visits to Washington on behalf of programs for civic betterment. He was successful in these efforts to mobilize constituents and help make the case for Federal participation in St. Paul's dynamic record of progress.

His vision, his leadership, and his dedication to the arduous job of mayor will be sorely missed. He will be remembered, however, for the outstanding accomplishments of his two terms in office. Four years ago Mayor Byrne told me that he would voluntarily leave office if he could gain certain objectives for our city. Four years later Mayor Thomas Byrne voluntarily leaves the office of mayor having met the goals he set for himself. I thought I ought to bring this to the attention of my colleagues along with a copy of an editorial from St. Paul's fine labor newspaper, the Union Advocate. The article spells out the many achievements of Mayor Byrne alluded to above, and I submit that his is a record seldom matched in city government. The article follows:

TOM BYRNE'S DECISION

Last week, to the surprise of few who have watched his earnest efforts to find solutions to the vexing problems that go with governing a modern city, Tom Byrne announced he will not be a candidate for Mayor this year.

We're sorry. But we don't much blame him. WCCO's George Rice said it pretty well the next day when he observed that being mayor of a big city is bound to be a frustrating experience.

"His powers," said Rice, "are scarcely ever equal either to the prestige of the office, or to the expectations of the electorate."

This is true because he is boxed in by a charter long out of date, and because much he wants to achieve must be ok'd in advance by a legislature that doesn't seem to care.

As a result, the Mayor takes the heat for everything that goes wrong, even when there isn't a single thing he can do about it.

But, despite these handicaps, which are severe, Tom Byrne brought to his post a willingness to work hard at the job, a deep faith in his city and its possibilities, confidence in its people and the courage of his convictions.

As a result, he has piled up a remarkably good batting average. It's a target his successor will find hard to match.

Among the achievements:

Progress on downtown St. Paul's "new look," with the Capital Centre development bringing something like 5,000 new jobs into being in his first term; a fiscal reorganization, with public budget hearings; substantial progress on a new civic center authority; a citywide program of neighborhood blight prevention; a program of code enforcement with a code appeals board; a professional committee on drug abuse; a new human rights law and human rights department; a junior college task force; a long-range capital improvements plan with a plan for financing it; a Model Cities program with needed federal funds; thousands of new housing units for low-income citizens, including livable dwelling space for the elderly; revision of taxing limits from a dollars to a mills basis; a new snow removal budget; Port Authority growth; renewal and rehabilitation programs in census Tracts 9 and 10 on the East Side; in the Concord Terrace area on the West Side; in the Summit-University area; progress in finding non-property tax revenue sources.

The list is longer still, and it's a record the Mayor can feel pretty good about as he winds up his second term.

We hope that whatever Tom Byrne decides to do he'll make his experience of these years available to his successor, and hopefully to other mayors in the metropolitan area, so that some future legislature may be persuaded to work out a rational plan for enhancing the quality of life in Minnesota's cities.

OUTLOOK FOR LABOR RELATIONS IN THE SEVENTIES

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, this week in New York has seen

meetings of the Second Annual Collective Bargaining Forum, sponsored by the Institute of Collective Bargaining and Group Relations.

One of the highlights of the forum has been the address on Wednesday, May 20 by George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO. Mr. Meany's remarks about the collective bargaining process in America are particularly important. He says:

Collective bargaining, like the idea of democratic government, is based on consent and acceptance. It assumes that two parties to a dispute can reach a reasonable agreement that both parties can live with. It assumes that agreement can be reached by the exercise of reason, by give and take at the bargaining table, instead of by all-or-nothing confrontations in the streets.

Ultimately it assumes that not only grudging accomodation but harmony is possible.

It is not a perfect instrument. It rests on the somewhat fragile foundation of mutual confidence and good faith among human beings. But like all truly democratic institutions it has the great virtue of strengthening its own foundation as it is used.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the complete text of President Meany's address:

OUTLOOK FOR LABOR RELATIONS IN THE SEVENTIES

One thing I have learned, through fairly long experience, is that 10-year forecasts are safe and reliable for just about as long as it takes to deliver them.

So I am not inclined to indulge in very much crystal-ball gazing. There are just two predictions that I feel confident in making.

First, that over the next 10 years labor and management will continue to engage in collective bargaining will still be with us is because collective bargaining, as it has grown and evolved in this country, is the most effective instrument the mind of man has so far devised for reaching mutually agreeable solutions to conflicts of interest of concern to employers and employees.

Collective bargaining, like the idea of democratic government, is based on consent and acceptance. It assumes that two parties to a dispute can reach a reasonable agreement that both parties can live with. It assumes that agreement can be reached by the exercise of reason, by give and take at the bargaining table, instead of by all-or-nothing confrontations in the streets.

Ultimately it assumes that not only a grudging accommodation but harmony is possible.

It is not a perfect instrument. It rests on the somewhat fragile foundation of mutual confidence and good faith among human beings. But like all truly democratic institutions it has the great virtue of strengthening its own foundation as it is used.

Now one of the best reasons to hope for improvement in collective bargaining, in my opinion, is the existence of this forum and the maturing attitudes that make it possible.

Sometimes change comes so slowly that we don't recognize it until we look back and see from where we have come. Ten years ago, if you remember, there were a number of collective bargaining seminars and conferences. But there was this difference: Management representatives met in one place, behind closed doors, and union people met elsewhere. On both sides we were doing a great deal of talking *about* each other and very little talking *with* each other.

Ten years ago I don't think it would have occurred to anybody—even an optimist like Ted Kheel—to invite Jim Carey and Lemuel Boulware to share the same rostrum and tell a group like this what they were learning from each other.

And yet, 10 years later, only a few months after a major collision in the General Electric strike, Virgil Day and Paul Jennings agreed to do just that. They agreed to analyze that strike from their different perspectives in the hope that labor and management negotiators might learn something of value from their painful experience.

I read that as real change and real progress. I believe it means that there is a growing recognition, on the part of both labor and management, that collective bargaining is a two-handed tool, that both sides have a tremendous stake in making it work, and that neither side can make it work unless both sides want it to.

So it is right and proper for union and management representatives to get together to study the laws and the issues and the procedures within which agreements have to be reached.

These are the tools we have to work with, and we should understand them to the best of our ability. We need the best thinking from the legal profession and the academic community to help make collective bargaining more effective.

We need more forums like this one. It would be very fruitful to step up this kind of dialogue all along the line, in as many areas as we can. Anything that can be done to increase mutual understanding and to increase the skills and flexibility of negotiators is a net gain.

Another improvement we have been seeing, is a growing respect for the skills of middlemen—the mediators and arbitrators.

Almost certainly, the General Electric strike would have lasted longer than it did except for the good offices of Curtis Counts and his team of federal mediators.

And there is no doubt in my mind that the GE collision might have been averted entirely if the company had accepted the union's repeated proposal that all unresolved issues be submitted to final and binding voluntary arbitration.

I stress the word "voluntary" because it makes the crucial difference between what is collective bargaining and what is not. There must be consent. There must be freedom on both sides. Anything else, no matter how you disguise it, is tyranny. Compulsory arbitration is the antithesis of collective bargaining. It can do nothing but undermine all of the democratic principles by which this nation lives.

Labor fought the *ad hoc* legislation—bad legislation—by which the government tried to break strikes in the airline and railroad industries. We will never stop fighting that sort of thing, and it makes no difference whose ox is being gored.

Now in the GE situation, the unions wanted to persuade GE to arbitrate so they would not have to strike. But they would have fought any effort to impose arbitration without the company's consent. And the AFL–CIO would have fought it, too.

So there are no shortcuts and there are no substitutes for free collective bargaining. And strikes and lockouts are a normal and natural and necessary part of the collective-bargaining process.

No body enjoys a strike. They are painful and expensive, and sensible unions and sensible employers do everything they can to avoid them. The reason we work so hard to upgrade our skills at the bargaining table is to find ways to reach agreement before we come to that last resort.

But it is necessary to be able to exercise that last resort. Unless both sides are aware that serious consequences flow from misjudgments or breaches of faith, bargaining is a charade—an exercise in futility.

The labor movement is convinced that what this country needs is more and better collective bargaining, not less. It is our goal, as it always has been, to extend that right and that principle to every worker in the land.

We are convinced that every worker has a right to join a union and to have a responsible voice in his own destiny. To deprive him of that right is to close the gates of hope for a better future. We read history as one long catalogue of evidence that when hope is gone, when one man finds himself at the mercy of another, he will sooner or later have no choice but to rebel.

We can see no reason whatsoever why farm workers or government workers or any other workers should be singled out to be deprived of the right to meaningful collective bargaining.

And in this area we have seen real progress recently, and I think we have reason to hope for more.

The despair that farm workers have lived with so long is beginning to lighten. With each success of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in winning fair contracts, the day comes closer when migrant workers will stop being victims of this society and become participating members of it.

The same is true for government workers. Postal employees, as you know, have just become the first federal employees ever to negotiate with the executive branch of the government—with a Cabinet member, no less—on their own wages and working conditions. Those negotiations followed the same form and covered the same items as any labor-management discussions in private industry. They brought the same kind of reasonable agreement, just and fair to both sides, that collective bargaining always aims at.

And I think those discussions set a pattern—the pattern of free collective bargaining on all aspects of employment—that ought to be followed in every federal department and agency and in every state and county and city and town. I think that is the simple, obvious solution to a dangerous situation.

Public employees all across the land have been making themselves heard lately. It seems to have come as a surprise to some that teachers and clerks and policemen and sanitation workers are not happy. That they feel they are underpaid and exploited and excluded from the mainstream of American economic life.

Well, they are excluded, and nobody should be surprised that they resent it.

Farm workers and public employees are not asking for anything more than other American citizens already have. They want to share in the affluence they keep reading about. They want workable grievance procedures. They want the right to pursue ordinary human goals through the orderly procedures of collective bargaining.

I think it is wrong for Congress to sit back and watch the farm workers wage their uphill battle for simple equity, unprotected by law. I think it is wrong for Congress and state legislatures and city councils and school boards to try to legislate their employees into voiceless, powerless second-class citizenship.

We in the labor movement only recognize one class of citizenship: first class.

A first-class citizen has a voice in the political life of his country, which he exercises through the representatives he elects at the polls. He has a voice in the nation's economic life, which he exercises through the representatives he elects and sends to the bargaining table.

Those two things are equally important. It is wrong and it is dangerous to deprive any class of citizens of either of them.

So it is disheartening to read the report of the Advisory Commission on Governmental Relations. All that commission had to recommend, after a year of examining the problems that exist in public employment, was that

public officials should "meet and confer" with their employees' unions. That is not much of a contribution. It is timid and it is short-sighted. It does not begin to address itself to the problems of employment in public service.

We need laws to bring all employees of all levels of government under the same protection that workers in private industry have enjoyed since 1935. I don't know of any way to bring stability to public employment except by mutual agreement between employers and employees through free collective bargaining.

Now I don't want to leave the impression that I think collective bargaining is a panacea for all our social ills, or that it can cure many of the areas of unrest that disturb us.

It can't do that. It won't work for campus revolutionaries or demagogues or for anybody who is more interested in aggravating or perpetuating conflict, than resolving it.

It won't work for people who say "take it or leave it" and it won't work for people who submit "non-negotiable demands."

It is a tool for reasonable people who believe in democracy and who respect each other's right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It is a tool for flexible people who respect history, who set reachable goals, who are willing to make and keep firm agreements for specific periods of time and then re-examine their goals, modify their agreement and move forward for another period of time.

This kind of approach, it seems to me, is particularly useful in our time, when there seems to be a curious, two-headed effort to bring time to a stop. We have young rebels who seem to think that the cure for problems is destruction. They want to throw overboard everything that we have learned and sever themselves from the past and the present in the name of the uncertain future.

And we still have in our society those who refuse to look at today, and who want to make tomorrow a carbon copy of yesterday.

It can't be done. Yesterday and today and tomorrow make a single pattern of growth and change.

Nobody claims that we solved all of yesterday's problems. But we have solved some of them. Today is better than yesterday. And tomorrow must be better than today.

We have, labor and management together, succeeded in building an amazingly productive nation. And we are far from finished building it.

It has been a costly and painful process. We learn slowly, but we do learn. We know that divergent interests can be reconciled. We know that conflicts can be resolved. We know that human problems have human solutions. We know, too, that some solutions even create new problems.

But these too are problems that can be solved.

And I believe—and the trade union movement believes—that we can—we must—and we will build upon what has already been accomplished.

We've come a long way and we still have a long way to go. That's what this conference is all about—getting on with the job of making tomorrow better than today.

EARLY EFFORTS AT FLYING MADE IN MERIDIAN, MISS.

Hon. G. V. (SONNY) MONTGOMERY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents and close friends, Mr. John H. O'Neil, from my hometown of Meridian has brought to my attention an article that appeared in the October 23, 1936, issue of the Meridian Star. The article concerns attempts by a local man to fly approximately 3 years prior to the successful efforts of the Wright brothers. I believe my colleagues will find the article interesting reading. It is as follows:

[From the Meridian Star, Oct. 25, 1936]

MERIDIANITE IS PIONEER IN ATTEMPT TO CONQUER AIR; MAKES PARTLY SUCCESSFUL TEST 3 YEARS BEFORE WRIGHTS' EFFORTS

The Wright brothers and Dr. Langley were not alone as pioneers in attempts to conquer the air, nor were Kitty Hawk, N.C., and the Potomac River the only testing grounds.

In gathering material for the American Guide, soon to be published, the Federal Writers Project has brought to light a carefully planned and near-successful trial made in Meridian even before the experiments of Wilbur and Orville Wright at Kitty Hawk in 1903.

EMPLOYED IN MERIDIAN

R. G. V. Mytton came to this country from England, being a graduate of Queen's College, London. He was employed as mechanical engineer by the old New Orleans and Northeastern Railroad company in Meridian at the close of the nineteenth century and began experiments on what he called a "flying machine." He said that he received the idea from seeing a mechanical bird flying around over the heads of the audience in a London theatre. For many months, Mr. Mytton made drawings and laid plans for the construction of his flying machines.

At this time he was boarding at Rhodes' boarding house on 5th Street and 38th Avenue. Every afternoon he would turn loose paper gliders from an upstairs gallery and have boys in the neighborhood retrieve them. By placing thumb tacks underneath these gliders in various positions, he was enabled to determine the length of the glide and later used these calculations to proportion the distribution of the weight of his machine.

WATCHES FLYING BUZZARDS

Next, Mr. Mytton began to observe the flight of buzzards. He noted that they could sail and circle for hours without flapping a wing and he took hundreds of pictures of these birds in flight, noting at the time the wind velocity and direction. Most of these pictures were taken from the top of Mount Barton, on the southern edge of Meridian, and from the top of the office building at the shops.

At the time, it was against the law to kill a buzzard. Mr. Mytton first went to the sheriff's office and paid a $5 fine. He then obtained a Winchester rifle and killed a buzzard. He weighed the head, the body, the feet; noted the spread and length of the wings and tail, obtained the proportion of weight and even weighed the feathers. From these calculations and measurements, he constructed a glider, using the weight of his own body as a basis. In other words, the machine was not only proportioned to the weight and measurements of a buzzard, but also to the weight of Mr. Mytton's own body, which was about 125 pounds.

So sure was Mr. Mytton that his flight would be successful that he purchased perhaps the first flying togs in America: plus-fours, stockings with Scotch plaid design, spiked shoes, khaki shirt, and a checkered English cap. He also wrote D. D. Curran, president of the railroad, not to be surprised should he, Mytton, pay him a visit in New Orleans. This was in 1900.

The machine was an exact replica of a buzzard with outstretched wings. The framework was of wood with covering of silk. Leather hand-holds were provided underneath the wings and included a trapeze affair upon which Mr. Mytton could sit and lean backward or forward.

EXPERIENCES MANY FAILURES

The plane was powered by a single cylinder motor of aluminum alloy, having about a six inch bore and stroke. This was developed only after numerous failures, the inventor having first tried to use pure aluminum but finding it too soft, and the model finally adopted was about the ninth attempt.

The contraption was loaded into the Phillips family surrey along with the inventor and his friends, the late Columbus Phillips, designer of the locomotive Pauline and inventor of the Phillips boiler check, his two small sons, Casper and William, and Howard Rhodes.

The party was conveyed to an eminence just north of where once stood the old Central school, Twenty-fifth Avenue and Fifteenth Street, for the initial flight.

Mr. Mytton, after bidding everyone goodbye and stating that he was going to fly to New Orleans, donned his wings and leaped off a high embankment. The machine sailed for about 100 yards at a height of some 25 feet and then took a nose dive, crushing one of the wings. Mr. Mytton was not injured but was knocked breathless and it was some time before he could arise from the ground.

This concluded the would-be inventor's experiment.

Mr. Mytton later went to California where he died about 25 years ago.

The article for inclusion in the Guide, was written by Mrs. Marjorie Woods Austin of Meridian, district supervisor of the Federal Writers project. It was verified by Howard Rhodes, Henry Woods, and Joseph Montgomery of Meridian and William Phillips of Birmingham.

OUR ROADSIDES: A GARDEN OF FLOWERS AND LITTER

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, Earth Day has come and gone. In its aftermath, we can hope that a far greater sense of public awareness and concern will exist regarding the alarming state of our rapidly deteriorating environment. A sense of outrage among the population can and should be a strong weapon to be used in the effort at all levels to promulgate laws and policies which will result in actual progress toward reversing the tide of pollution and cleaning up the country once and for all.

Gas masks were a common sight on Earth Day, as were many other symbolic gestures to indicate just how far down the road to ecological ruin we have traveled. Air, water, and noise pollution occupied center stage throughout the pageant of concern which was a coast-to-coast affair. Another form of pollution, which is mentioned less often but is nevertheless a real and persistent problem, is the ever-mounting national trash pile. The many manifestations of what a truly wastemaking society we are can be seen almost everywhere.

Abandoned cars rest beside highways

and line city streets. One auto manufacturer, trying to push quality, has even structured an entire ad campaign around the increasing number of junked cars one sees along the roads. Everywhere, the new "one way" containers are being touted as the newest and greatest advance in packaging. Never mind that some people have told us the aluminum can is virtually indestructible no matter how long we wait for it to decay. Plastics, as we learned in the film "The Graduate," are the way of the future and also share the dubious distinction of being everlastingly durable. The glass bottles which used to have recycling and a cash deposit as their major virtues have largely been replaced by the throwaway versions, which are rapidly coming back to haunt us with their number and volume.

The dumps are overflowing. Landfill projects race through their cycles with incredible rapidity. Junked cars are stacked up like hotcakes. And, worst of all, as the volume of thrown-out trash continues to outrace our ability to find ways to invent self-eliminating packages and dispose of the trash that now exists, more and more of our discards end up littering the countryside. While we must rely on technology to cope with the major aspects of the trash problem, I believe there is something we can do to attack the ever-present litter problem.

By far the greatest mass of litter comes from automobiles. The family car now serves as everything from a mobile restaurant to a cross-country tourmobile. Along the way, all sorts of trash comes into being within the automobile, as its ever-consuming occupants roll along their way. Where does it all end up? A look at what some people had to do on Earth Day will answer that question.

Throughout Vermont, the residents joined in a massive effort to clean up their State's highways. Putting aside rhetoric and debate, these people succeeded in having the State close major arteries in order that they could undertake the project. As an indicator of what litter costs, let alone how it looks, Vermont officials claimed that the job the citizens did saved the State's coffers about $200,000. In Stanislaus County, Calif., citizens embarked on a similar effort to clean up the roads and highways and were similarly shocked at the tremendous volume of trash that they encountered. Across the Nation, individuals who participated in litter cleanup projects shared the amazement at the amount of trash which they had to remove. In addition to the run-of-the-mill litterbugs, people discovered the work of the bigtime trashmongers who turned their cars into luxurious dump trucks long enough to deposit large, ugly piles of junk beside the roads. Most trash, however, was of the day-to-day throwaway variety.

With the magnitude of our Nation's litter problem clearly obvious, I am today introducing legislation which I think will have a positive and measurable effect on reducing roadside trash. I am proposing an amendment to the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act of 1966, which would require the inclusion of an easily emptied litter container of at least one-half gallon capacity in future automobile designs. With their ingenuity, I am certain that the engineers and other technologists who plan the interiors of modern passenger cars could find space for a usefully designed container in the dashboard or another convenient location. The cost to the consumer could be minimal, if not nonexistent. The benefits, however, in terms of having a convenient spot to toss anything from a paper cup to a cigarette wrapper, would be a blessing to anyone who has ever noticed the frustration of disposing of such items without littering. This may seem like a small thing but I believe it could lead to a big improvement toward eliminating litter.

I might add that this legislation was originally suggested to me by my good friend, Mr. Douglas Ayres, the very capable city manager of Inglewood, Calif., located in my district. Citizen participation and concern, such as his and that of the many citizens who participated in Earth Day cleanups, is the backbone of our form of government, often leading to productive legislation which can make life a little better for all of us.

CITIES SUPPORT FARM PROGRAMS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the number of congressional districts which may be defined as "rural" continues to decline. Migration from rural America has filled our urban areas, and they are growing larger. More and more it must be recognized that the people of metropolitan America—as a result of superior voting power—are deciding the fate of the Nation.

This does not, however, leave rural America without hope. Its cause is just. Many people in the cities have roots in the rural areas—through relatives who live there, or simply through a cultural tie that goes back for generations. Rebuilding rural America can take some of the pressures of population—and problems—off the big cities. And we know that the prosperity of the cities cannot continue without a healthy rural economy as well.

Mr. Speaker, two thoughtful articles exploring the ties between rural and urban America recently appeared in the Farmers Union Washington Newsletter. I strongly recommend these articles, which I include at this point in the RECORD, to my colleagues:

LETTER TO A CITY COUSIN

Dear Cousin Sara—The debate over the farm program is reaching a critical stage in Washington. Some people say the farm program is too big and complicated and costly, and that city people are getting tired of it and won't support it. I don't think any of this is true. Let me ramble on for a few pages about some thoughts I've had. I think you'll be interested because I know you go to the supermarket once or twice a week, and are concerned about how much of your money you leave there. The truth is, though, that you spend less for food than for some other things. If your income is average, you spend only 16½c of each dollar you have to spend on food. Since your income is above average, you spend an even lesser portion, of course. Food is one of your best bargains. Equally important, you don't have to stand in line to get anything you need, as people in some other parts of the world do. The chances are that the interest you pay on your house and car loans is more than your grocery bill. In other words, the banker is taking a bigger bite than your grocer. And when you consider that only a little more than a third of your grocery bill gets back to the farmer, you begin to see one of the farmer's problems. But cheap food—and plenty of it—is a direct result of our farm program.

The farm program is quite simple. It deals with only two main problems. First, the government tries to take some of the pressure off the farmer so he won't have to sell at harvest time, when the market price is likely to be at its lowest. The government advances him a loan on his crop when he harvests it. The loan tides him over for a few months. He can use the money to live on, pay debts, or buy supplies and equipment for the next season. If the price of his wheat or cotton, or whatever the commodity is, rises during the term of the loan, he can sell, pay off the loan, and keep the difference. If the price doesn't go up, the government forecloses when the loan is due, and sells the commodity later. Some people like to say the government has lost a lot of money on the crops it has taken over. This isn't true. Sometimes, it has even made a profit, because the price went up later. The amount per bushel or pound the government will lend the farmer tends to become a floor under the market price, of course. Obviously, no shipper or processor can go out and buy a farmer's commodities at a price lower than the loan level.

The second problem the government tries to deal with is the farmer's inability to plan his production to fit the needs of the market. He has to plan six months or so in advance of harvest, sometimes longer, and he has to try to guess what every other farmer is going to grow. He can produce more than he can sell. So the government tries to take some of the economic pressures off him that tend to make it necessary for him to plant from fence to fence. After all, he's got the land. He bought it, or inherited it. He pays taxes on all of it. He has to live off what he earns. Expecting a farmer not to plant all of his land is like expecting a stockholder in General Motors not to collect dividends on all of his stock. Some way must be found to make it possible for the farmer to set aside every fourth or fifth share of his investment—and still make a living. Unlike most workers in town, he doesn't have unemployment compensation to help when he is out of work. Instead, the government makes it possible for the farmer to cut back his production through a system of payments. He is paid not to plant a certain percentage of his land in crops. The reason for doing this is to prevent overproduction, and bankruptcy for a lot of farmers. It makes sense to try to keep the industry healthy. It is generally agreed that we will need it in the not too distant future. In the long run, the farm program is a cheap way to stabilize agriculture. We "stabilize" our airplane and arms industries by spending 20 or 30 times as much money as we spend on the farm program.

A troublesome problem arises as the government tries to deal with overproduction. If a big farmer cooperates, he may have a very large acreage to take out of production. This means he gets a very large payment. It doesn't seem right somehow for a farmer to get a hundred thousand dollars, or a million dollars, as some do, for "not growing" something. Many people say there should be a limitation of such payments. I think so, too. So does the Farmers Union, but as far as I know it is the only farm organization to face up to the issue.

The farm program seems complicated to some because it differs somewhat from commodity to commodity. Farming is not one big business. It is many smaller businesses centered around crops or commodities. Each has its own growing cycle and its own market system. Each requires different solutions to its problems. You can't limit the production of a crop by merely retiring farm acreage. The farmer may decide to grow all feed grains, or all cotton, with what land he has left. So you could wind up with overproduction in those crops, and shortages in others. You have to deal with overproduction on a commodity-by-commodity basis. Some commodities require entirely different approaches. For example, you can't store Grade A milk. It isn't easy to take a cow out of production one year and put her back in the next. The system for protecting the dairy industry consists of establishing federal market order areas around population centers. The government determines how much milk is needed and fair prices for it. A hearing is held. The farmer participates, of course. It is a kind of bargaining. The farmer isn't left at the mercy of the market. The system has worked well. Not only is the dairy farmer protected, but so are you—and the milk shelf is always full in your supermarket. Many of us believe this system might be extended to other commodities. The Coalition Farm Bill provides authority for this—if and when farmers want it. The Coalition Bill has the backing of 32 grassroots farm organizations.

Another feature of the Coalition Farm Bill would sharpen up the supply management program, as well as protect you, the consumer. One monkey-wrench in production planning is the threat of crop failure or other unforeseen event that might bring about a shortage. Planning must always be on the plus side, and we sometimes have surpluses in spite of planning. Yet, a standard device is used throughout our economy to provide for the unexpected. It is reserves. We have reserves of strategic metals, oil—and even money in banks. Why not reserves of food and fiber? The Coalition Bill provides for "consumer protection reserves" of wheat, feed grains, soybeans, and cotton—all insulated from the market, but there to be used if needed.

I have left to the last one of the main reasons for the farm program. It has special meaning to you and me. Both of us now live in cities. The land in the farms where we lived as kids produces more now than ever before. Yet we can't make a living on it. I wish we could. The newspaper in town—which I might be editing today—is gone. The three doctors and the dentist who were there when we were kids are gone. Main Street has two pool halls, a furniture store, a small variety store, and a branch bank. Two grocery stores are left. There is one cotton gin and one grain elevator, instead of three each. A new post office has been built, though the mail is no longer delivered in town. A big crowd is there when the social security checks come in. Most of the people left in town are old. I wish jobs were available back home. Some way must be found to create more opportunity in rural areas. Too many of us live in the big cities. The farm program we have hasn't worked as well as it should. It should be improved. That's the sense of the Coalition Farm Bill I mentioned. Sara, I wish you would do me a favor. Please write to your Congressman and your Senators, and tell them how you feel about this. Regards.—V.

ARE THE BIG CITIES FOR THE FARM PROGRAM?

One of the most frequent excuses offered as a reason for weakening the farm program is that big city Congressmen and Senators won't support a good bill. It is a phony excuse. Voting records over the past decade show that strong support has always come from the big cities. And the situation has not changed. It may have improved because of the growing plight of the cities, overcrowded with people displaced from rural areas. A check of voting records for the last two years—the second session of the 90th Congress and the first session of the 91st—is particularly revealing. The best voting records, not the worst, are from the big cities. On six issues of direct concern to agriculture (program, food, and appropriations), 108 Congresmen from the largest cities of the nation cast 416 votes for and 153 against. This was a 73% favorable vote. Only 12 Congressmen cast more votes against the six farm issues than for them. For the record, these were: George Brown, Los Angeles; Hugh L. Carey, Brooklyn; Leonard Farbstein, Benjamin Rosenthal, William F. Ryan, New York City; Andrew Jacobs, Indianapolis; Richard D. McCarthy, Buffalo, N.Y.; Thomas M. Rees, Beverly Hills, Calif.; Donald Clancy and Robert Taft, Cincinnati; and Robert Corbett, Pittsburgh, Pa. None of these 12 were unanimously against. Significantly perhaps, 9 of the 12 had from good to excellent records on the 30 issues selected by the Farmers Union as being of general importance to agriculture.

The record of Senators from the largest cities was even better. Of 12 big-city Senators, not a single one voted unfavorably more often than favorably. On six issues selected as especially important, 47 votes were cast for, only 9 against. This was an 84% favorable record. The Senators read like an honor roll for agriculture. They are the Senators farm groups have come to count on not just for support, but for leadership. Those with 100% records were: Edward Kennedy, Boston, Mass.; Eugent McCarthy, St. Paul, Minn.; Walter Mondale, Minneapolis; Gaylord Nelson, Madison, Wis.; Stuart Symington, St. Louis, Mo.; Stephen Young, Cleveland, O.; Ralph Yarborough, Austin, Tex.; and Alan Cranston, Los Angeles, Calif.

In the House, perfect records were racked up by Congressmen Frank Annunzio, John Kluczynski and William T. Murphy, all of Chicago. The big cities of Texas sent the Congressmen with the best voting records from that state: George Bush, Bob Casey, and Bob Eckhardt of Houston; Earle Cabell, Dallas; Jim Wright, Fort Worth; Henry Gonzalez, San Antonio and J. J. Pickle, Austin. The St. Louis area was notable: Mrs. Leonor K. Sullivan and James Symington on the Missouri side, and Melvin Price of East St. Louis, Ill. Baltimore sent two with 100% records; George Fallon and Edward Garmatz. The delegation from heavily industrialized Pennsylvania had one of the best records; Joseph Vigorito of Erie and Daniel Flood of Wilkes Barre (both 100%), and near-perfect records for Joshua Eilberg and William Green, Philadelphia; William C. Moorehead, Pittsburgh; Thomas E. Morgan, Frederick town; and Fred Rooney, Bethlehem. The New York City area was excellent—with John M. Murphy of Staten Island (perfect), and near-perfect records for Mario Biaggi, Bronx; Frank Brasco and Emmanuel Celler, Brooklyn; and James J. Delaney, Long Island City. John Dingell of Dearborn, Mich. had a perfect record, and Henry Riegle of Flint, Mich. was near-perfect. Southern cities had excelint farm representation—including Hale Boggs and Edward Hébert of New Orleans, and Dan Kuykendall of Memphis. The Far West had good farm representation in John Tunney of Riverside (suburban Los Angeles), and Charles H. Wilson of Los Angeles.

The six issues selected were gut issues for agriculture. They indicate that city Congressmen and Senators can be counted on to support a good farm bill. The cities—already too full of people from rural areas—need a farm program that will restore rural America. Consumers have a vital interest. Those who falsely charge the city Congressmen and Senators with being unfavorable to agriculture should take another look.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, Reuben E. Olson, director of the Anselm World Forum, of Gary, Ind., submits the following message and sermon entitled "Revelations Into Our Future."

Dr. Donald G. Capp, pastor, delivered this sermon from the pulpit of the Gary, Ind., 43d Avenue Presbyterian Church:

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

These past days it has been my privilege to spend several hours with some of your sons and daughters who have been home from college. These young men and women are idealistic and visionary. Like Martin Luther King—they have a dream. A dream for a world where every man is free. Free from war—free from want—free from every kind of oppression. A world where every man will be able to determine his own destiny and his own life.

I cannot help but believe that these young people have caught the real meaning of Advent. A season of expectancy and hope.

A new heaven and a new earth—a world at peace—free from every kind of evil and oppression. This is Advent; a season of expectance and hope. This is the hope of the Christian faith. The possibilities are now ours. We are on the verge, if we wish, of wiping out every kind of disease, doing away with war, and eliminating poverty. We have within our future the ability to usher in the utopian dream of every man.

PUSH-BUTTON LIFE

Business Week forecasts what could be ours within this next decade. A day in the life of the average American businessman could look something like this:

"He will spend the afternoon running simulations of new marketing strategies for Indonesia through the company computer, working, of course from a terminal at his own desk. With his plans perfected, he will instruct the computer to transmit them to Tokyo for branch office attention.

Leaving the office, he will pick up his all-purpose electronic identification card from his secretary, who had been using it to order his wife's birthday present. He also will pocket a couple of TV tape cassetts containing inter-office reports and his homework for the evening, an instruction tape on new applications of probability theory to market research.

A high-speed turbotrain will rush him to his suburban stop, and at the station parking lot he will unplug his electric runabout from the combination parking meter and battery recharger. There will be no need to feed in quarters because both the parking fee and the electricity will be billed by direct wire to his bank account where he puts his ID card in the slot.

On the way home, he will stop by his doctor's office for a booster shot of anti-cancer vaccine. Coming out, he will note with approval the demolition of the electric transmission towers on the hill behind town is proceeding rapidly. All transmission lines will be underground by then.

At home, after a quick supper, he will look over some bills and his daily bank statement, all transmitted over the printer attached to his television set. Then he will settle down for a couple of hours with his tapes. Toward the end of the evening he will call an old friend by Picturephone and play Scrabble with him for an hour. And so to bed."

A few weeks ago I was at a conference sponsored by the Presbyterian Institute of Industrial Relations at Louisville, Kentucky. I saw and heard many exciting things. Doctors speak of being on the verge of a biological revolution which will bring forth more dramatic results for mankind than the nuclear revolution a generation ago. They speak of a life span of nearly 100 years.

I heard of events that will revolutionize the family and the home. Cable TV is a big new industry. At present the concern is pay TV, but it is much more than that. A doctor might give you a complete physical over the telephone. The housewife will be shopping and forget the time. Dial her home phone and her oven will be turned on, her dinner prepared and ready when she arrives at home. Newspapers from all over the world will be delivered on the TV screen.

And other exciting things—a society where cash will become obsolete and every financial transaction will be handled by a computer. New towns are now in the planning stages that can help solve many of our urban problems. A world where there shall be no more death, nor sorrows, nor crying; neither shall there be any more pain, for the former things have passed away. What a dream the Christian Church has had! And sadly this may be all it is—a dream.

BUSINESS IN 1980

Only a dream? For Business Week gives this alternate picture of our average business man in the 1980's:

"All in all, it does not sound like a bad world—a little lacking in fun, maybe, but that is a matter of taste. Technological projections, however, are only one way of looking at the future. For an alternate picture of the businessman in 1980, try this:

He will spend the afternoon working on plans to protect company property from vandalism, and before he leaves there will be a meeting to consider the new government order shutting down three of the company's biggest plants because of an air-pollution emergency. The chief of Indonesian marketing will report that the new nationalistic regime is demanding 99% ownership of all foreign operations.

On the way to the station he will make a detour of several blocks to avoid a confrontation between the police and a militant new group agitating for 'poverty power.' His commuter train will be two hours late, and his car will be balky because the last mechanic to work on it had no idea what he was doing.

On the drive home, his nose will start dripping and he will suspect that he is catching another cold. On arrival, he will find his wife waiting with her coat on.

'We'll have to go out to dinner, dear,' she will say. 'The power has been off again since three o'clock and I can't cook anything. I tried to phone you but all the circuits were busy.'"

THE COLLEGE SPIRIT

One of these college youth I spoke to said to me: "You and the Christian Church has had 2,000 years to fulfill your dream, and you haven't done a damn thing—now we are going to take our chance at it without you." Or, as someone else has said: "This age will be the re-birth of man or he will write his final obituary."

This Book of Revelation that gives to us the vision of the new heaven and the new earth also reminds us of the four horsemen of the apocalypse. Do you remember them? War! Famine! Disease! Death! Before the new age can be ushered in these must be conquered and dealt with. To these our modern age has added—Racism—Pollution—Population. Our young people and the Christian gospel say that it is our task to eliminate these horsemen of the apocaplypse. If we don't, then Armagedgon will be a reality and not just the vision of a man in exile on the isle of Patmos. Think about a few of these problems.

OUR PROBLEM IS WAR

With all of our scientific and technological know-how, war is no longer a game. Kenneth Boulding has said that the "Second World War was the last of civilized wars." Imagine, with all of the hundreds of thousands killed he still calls it a "civilized war." Why? Because it is now technologically possible for man to build a device which will eliminate all life on earth. Our research and development has led us to what Herman Kahn has called the "Doomsday Machine." My youngsters watched the Late Show the other evening; a movie entitled, "The Day the Earth Burned." This is no longer science fiction—this is FACT.

Because of this, a stable peace becomes absolutely necessary. With our ICBM, or whatever alphabetical twist we give to our missiles, armies and navies need never leave home. All that needs to be done to obliterate mankind is for someone to push the panic button in Moscow—in Peking—or in Washington.

It is no longer just one bullet killing one man, nor is it just one bomb killing a few thousand. It is a bomb that can destroy Chicago—New York—Los Angeles—Moscow—Peking. And when they're gone—what then? As long as that panic button exists, then we will go on playing the game, "Button, button, who will push the button." As long as the button exists the possibility of total destruction exists.

If we believe in prayer; if we believe in God's intervention in the affairs of men; if we believe that the incarnation of Jesus Christ means that God invaded this world to say He cares: then the most important conference taking place in the world today is the conference at Helsinki. If ever a conference needed to succeed it is this one. Nations at last are sitting down to talk about disarmament. God, how we should pound the gates of heaven so that the Spirit of the Prince of Peace might invade that conference and the message of old of "peace on earth" might become a glorious reality and not just a dream! For if peace doesn't come and that button remains on the wall, someone—some day—might just get mad enough and push it. What then?

Our problem is people!

Possibly it is an even more difficult problem than war. It is the problem of our population explosion. As we win the fight against all kinds of sickness and disease, we lower the infant mortality rate and increase the longevity of all peoples. The life span in many areas has now reached the Biblical three-score-and-ten and it is within our grasp to extend it to a hundred years.

WORLD POPULATION 7 BILLION IN 30 YEARS

Business Week forecasts "that when the bells ring at midnight on December 31, 1979, there will be some 231 million people in the U.S.A. to hear them; 27 million more than there are now." Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona reminds us that it "took 180 years to go from four million Americans to 200 million. By the year 2000 (only thirty years from now) we will have hit 318 million."

Our world population over the next thirty years will increase by 4 billion, giving us a population of 7 billion people. One out of every two people at that time, I have been told, will be Chinese. And these figures cannot be altered to any extent. The present growth rate will bring them about. It is simply a problem of sheer arithmetic. It is an arithmetic that cannot be denied though most of us wish to deny it.

Listen to what Representative Udall says about the problem here in America: "These Americans are not just statistics; they are people. They have children and build houses. . . . Each adds 120 gallons a year to local sewage treatment plants and four pounds of solid waste to be disposed of and three pounds of air pollutants. Each throws away 250 cans and 135 bottles a year." Multiply these figures by 3 million and you see part of the problem.

The problem that will be ours world-wide is almost too great for me to fathom; it will be even more serious. Hunger could well become a major problem. The black horse of the apocalypse—Famine—will sweep through the world as we have never seen it before. Take these 7 billion people and let your imagination run free—see for yourself the problems that we will face. Imagine, if you can, the sewage problem—the garbage disposal—the housing—the educational problems.

POLLUTION

As we progress we create new problems. I guess that this is the price that we pay for progress. To increase our food supply we manufactured DDT. Now there is hardly a fish caught in the rivers and seas, or an animal killed on our land, that does not have traces of DDT. And now reports indicate that even a mother's milk has traces of this insecticide. The U.S. alone pours 140 million tons of contaminants into the environment every day. Attorney General William S. Scott of the State of Illinois is fighting a war against pollution with the air lines and the great industries of the Chicago area. Says Scott, U.S. Steel, only one out of 21 corporations, pours 487 million gallons of pollution into Lake Michigan per day.

One jet, idling at O'Hare Field, sends 70 pounds of pollution into the atmosphere. This is equal to 10,000 automobiles. What effect? Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* is rapidly coming to pass. Lake Michigan is rapidly dying. Lake Erie is all but choked to death. Our lakes and our rivers and our woodlands are dying. The great Ponderossa Pines in California are dying by the acres. The tops are turning yellow. The most recent report is predicting that by 1985 Americans will be wearing gas masks or will be living in domed cities. Places like Los Angeles are so bad at times that people can't even see the sun. Some scientists say it is already too late to reverse the process.

Yes, our college people have a dream—and the Church has always had a dream—a dream of a new heaven and a new earth. The question we must ask is—will this dream come true? Is this the re-birth of man or are we writing our final obituary? Now, I'm not a prophet of doom. I believe in the future. And I believe in the future with this college youth. I don't always believe in their methods, but I believe in them. And I believe in the future because I believe in the Church. I still believe that the Church has some thing vital and important to say to the world. I cannot agree with the young man who said to me that the Church has had 2,000 years and hasn't done a thing. The hope of tomorrow is still with the Church.

The problem is—do we really want to do it?

The problem is—are we willing to take Christ seriously?

The problem is—will we walk in this world as He would have us walk?

If we are going to have this new heaven and new earth and change this world for the better then we have got to take the ethics of the Christ seriously. That is, the human life becomes the most important thing in the world. More important than our profit system. More important than capitalism. More important than the dollar that most of us worship. The New Testament says that if a new age is to come, then our whole value system needs to change. People become more important than things. People become more important than nations. People become more important than race.

Regardless of the outcome of the Pinksville incident, the important thing to realize is that in war life becomes cheap. War makes us do some very inhuman things. As I read my New Testament life is never cheap. Every man wears a crown—a leper—a prostitute—a publican—a lame man—a blind man—the rich and the poor. Every man has the right to live in a world where there is no sickness—no hunger—no war—no pain.

It is no easy task and there is great risk involved. It will be an unpopular cause. It might well mean for many of us a crucifixion. We may have to lay our life on the line. But is this not what the one whom we call Master and Lord did? It means that where we have the opportunity to speak out against injustice and prejudice, and the evil practices in our communities, that we do so. It means that if we are in positions of authority and decision making in these great corporations that surround our city, we use these positions to guide them to take action now and stop belching into our atmosphere all these poisons. It means that if we are stockholders we lose a few dollars a year so that our dividends can be put back into the corporation to change things for the better. It means that whenever possible we begin to help make the decision and bring new directions to our industries and to our communities. It means that we serve gladly on our committees and boards and fight for better housing, better schools, and better health facilities. It means possibly that we spend the billions used to put a man on the moon, exciting as it is, and clean up our lakes and rivers and land and our air. That we use the money on solving our problems of hunger and sickness here on earth. It is, you know, the only earth we have. It means that we take the risk for peace just as we risk war. We risk building larger and better bombs and go to Helsinski in an honest effort to disarm. It means that as Christians we work hard and work harder yet to make a better tomorrow.

For the future is in our hands. It is always in our hands, if we care enough. The means exist—the moral and spiritual means—for our seeing that the poor and the hungry of the world do not remain poor. The means exist—the moral and the spiritual means—to use our scientific and technological knowledge for the earthly redemption of this generation. The means exist—the moral and spiritual means—to use our affluence to make life good and worthwhile, not only easier. The means exist—the moral and the spiritual means—where fear and hatred and prejudice can become a thing of the past if we wish to take the love of God seriously.

No one pretends that this is easy. But God does not call us to be Christians because it is the easy thing to do. Instead, he said; "Take up a cross." He said: "Be crucified with me." He said; "Present your bodies a living sacrifice." He said: "Die, if necessary, so that the world might live."

Advent is a season of hope. I have great hope for the future for I have hope in the Church. This great Book of Revelation closes with what is truly an Advent prayer—"Come quickly, Lord Jesus."

The future is ours—what shall we do with it?

IN VIETNAM, THE SOUTH IS RISING

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of my colleagues the following article concerning the rising South Vietnamese effort, written by Robert Pearman, national world editor of the Kansas City Star, following his fourth visit to Vietnam. The article was published May 24, 1970, in the Kansas City Star magazine:

IN VIETNAM, THE SOUTH IS RISING

(By Robert Pearman)

The face of the president, Nguyen Van Thieu, mouth fixed in the familiar, expressionless, wooden smile, stared down from the picture frame on the wall high above the podium.

A Vietnamese lieutenant colonel, starched and polished, briefed the visitors in clipped, harsh bursts of Vietnamese, tapping his pointer on the map occasionally for emphasis and pausing periodically to allow an interpreter to translate.

"Good morning, gentlemen," the interpreter recited. "I am Lieutenant Colonel Khiem, chief of staff of the 23rd division headquartered here in Ban Me Thout."

Snap.

The metal-tipped pointer rapped the surface of the map, landing squarely on the oakleaf shape of Quang Duc province. The story came out in short staccato bursts like the test firing of a machine gun:

"Mid-October 1969 . . . the Communists, with a tremendous force . . . 7,000 men in strength, infiltrated from Cambodia and staged numerous attacks on the Bu-Prang, Duc Lap outposts . . . the battle lasted 28 October 1969 to 28 December 1969 and the enemy used large weapons such as 107 and 122 mm rockets . . . 105 mm cannon . . . 120 mm mortars.

"These attacks, however, were all crushed by the 23rd Infantry division . . . 1,838 enemy were killed.

"This victory exemplifies the growth of the ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam) and its determination to defeat the Communists."

The colonel might have said more but did not. The Bu-Prang, Duc Lap battles were extremely costly to the 23rd division and other South Vietnamese units engaged. And they were significant as the first test of the army which President Nixon now insists is able to handle its new assignments in Cambodia and later will be able to defend South Vietnam in spite of gradual withdrawal of American troops.

The colonel might have said, but didn't, that when the bloody chain of battles along the border in Quang Duc province was over it was the North Vietnamese who backed away—retreated across the border into Cambodia to reorganize and replenish. The ARVN had won the first test.

In President Nixon's reports to the nation on Indochina he probably provokes the most skepticism among Americans when he talks about the capabilities of the South Vietnamese army—"We can say with confidence that the South Vietnamese can develop the capability for their own defense. We can say with confidence that all American combat forces can and will be withdrawn."

A man from Johnson County scowls over the top of his coffee cup and lets fly—"I believe him just the same way I believed McNamara. They can't do it with all the weapons and with all the help we could give them. They can't ever do it."

What he is expressing in his frustration is that charity forbids recounting the frequent past predictions for the "coming of age," of the South Vietnamese army and when now at last it is happening no one believes it. Not even when the President of the United States says that it is true.

It is the "cry wolf" story of 1970 set in the jungles of Vietnam and in the main streets of America.

Long ridiculed and maligned, and often with good reason, the Army of the Republic of Vietnam is now committed to both defense in South Vietnam and offense in Cambodia.

Can ARVN eventually do the entire job, releasing all American combat forces?

Consider the "binh si," the South Vietnamese soldier. He is a peasant in a peasant army who probably has never been to Saigon and has only the vaguest kind of idea where it is.

He is 5 feet, 3 inches tall, and weighs 98 pounds (you can put twice as many of them in a helicopter as Americans). Ready for combat he looks like an overloaded Cub Scout on a weekend hike.

He is paid $25 a month. He likes to take a nap after noon, but goes five days on 23 cents worth of rice a day. He is asked to serve in the army until the war is over, or until he is killed or until he is wounded so badly he can no longer be a soldier.

He knows that his enemy the "bo doi," the North Vietnamese infantryman, is considered by many as the best light infantryman in the world. But, says Maj. Thomas Henderson, a Texan with seven years in Vietnam: "I haven't seen a 'binh si' chicken out yet."

Bu-Prang, Duc Lap was the first test of the new ARVN and they met it. The only Americans were a handful of Special Forces men and the regular unit advisers. The Saigon troops had American air and helicopter support but Vietnamese pilots flew about one-half the strikes against enemy positions.

In recent months the Fifth ARVN division, on its own since the 1st infantry division was brought back to Ft. Riley, has had to meet the test in Tay Ninh province on the Cambodian border. When the 9th division, the other Ft. Riley trained division sent to Vietnam, was plucked from the Mekong delta and disbanded, the 7th ARVN division, once referred to by Saigon wags as the coup division, sat back on its haunches and guarded its perimeters. As the Mandarin-style commanding general observed, there was no need to alarm Saigon with high casualty reports.

The Viet Cong rebuilt in the 7th division area, pounced on the 10th regiment of the 7th at Ben Tre and nearly annihilated it. President Thieu found a division commander.

"He's all military," says the American colonel adviser of the new division commander. "Not a political bone in his body."

Some South Vietnamese fighting units—elite Marines, air-borne troops and some battalions of rangers—have long held the admiration of Americans in Vietnam. So have some well-led ARVN divisions—the 1st in the far north, the 21st at Bac Lieu.

Gen. Creighton Abrams, the commander of U.S. forces, calls the ARVN 1st one of the finest divisions to take to the field of battle. The enemy who are in the ultimate position to judge, call its commander, Maj. Gen. Ngo Quang Truong, 39, the best division commander in Vietnam.

The Hac Bao, the Black Panther assault company of the 1st, held the Hue airfield against a North Vietnamese battalion in the

Tet offensive and later emerged victorious from a 72-hour battle with overwhelming enemy forces with only 19 of its 240 men alive. The Hac Bao were the first friendly force to re-enter the Hue Citadel, captured by the Communists during the Tet offensive.

Other ARVN units are and have been less illustrious. Until about a year ago the Joint General Staff in Saigon candidly conceded that the ARVN 25th was probably "the worst division ever to enter any battlefield east of Suez." The 25th operated in the tradition of the Oriental war lord—hold strong fortified positions and do not expend equipment and manpower in combat.

I once met a roughtough U.S. Army ranger major who served as an adviser to the ARVN in those days, who calculated that the only solution to the problem was a "Russian Army Day." On Russian Army day, as he outlined it, every month an adviser would be given a .45-automatic with a full clip of ammunition and license to eliminate all of the incompetent officers.

Over the last few months President Thieu has quietly conducted his own style of "Russian Army Day," without such extreme measures as the American major jokingly suggested. Thieu and Thieu alone appoints the army corps and division commanders and the military province chiefs. And one by one those who held their jobs from politics and money have been reassigned. New officers, proven battle leaders, got the jobs.

What made the ARVN so bad and what now makes it better?

In a very real sense the South Vietnamese army was born in a kind of deceit and betrayed at Geneva. The French had enlisted some Vietnamese battalions, mostly Catholics and southerners, to fight on their side against the Viet Minh. Early in the war, in 1948, it officially became the Army of the Republic of Vietnam.

As the war went on and became more and more costly the French inveigled the Vietnamese to form more and more battalions to fight with the French Union forces.

But at Geneva the French cast their Vietnamese allies aside, did not consult them in the negotiations, and finally signed a ceasefire without their approval and their signature.

No signature was necessary, for at this point the national army was still under French command.

The South Vietnamese negotiating team cabled Saigon offering to resign.

"We have totally failed in our mission," they told Ngo Dinh Diem.

Out of these ashes Diem with much American advice and assistance began to fashion his army. It was shaped to meet a conventional thrust from the north, like the attack across the 38th parallel in Korea. The guerrilla war caught it clumsy and roadbound.

In January, 1963, in the northern Mekong delta Viet Cong guerrillas hiding in a tiny palm-fringed hamlet named Ad Bac, fought off an attack by a dozen Saigon armored personnel carriers and shot down five helicopters. It was obvious that the insurgency in the South, rising since 1956, had become dangerous and that ARVN was extremely vulnerable.

Beset by political uncertainties, lacking leadership, and seldom with any real will to fight, ARVN was pummeled by the Viet Cong and increasing numbers of North Vietnamese infiltrators, and by the fall and winter of 1964–65 had abandoned much of the countryside, barricading itself in the cities and fortified compounds.

Then came 1965—the first big year of the Hawk—and the initial waves of a tide of Americans. The American fighting man walked into Vietnam with all of the confidence of a nation certain that 100,000 of its best men could quickly turn the balance in a war against a rag tag peasant army.

Coming operations were often carefully shielded from our Vietnamese allies for fear of security leaks, deception and ambush.

ARVN, in effect, was told to stay out of the way while we finished the job. In 1965 more than 9,000 Saigon soldiers were listed as missing in action. They had found their way out of the war.

Finally in 1967 came the umpteenth new Pacification program and the "bench sitting" was formalized. It was announced policy the American troops would fight the growing members of North Vietnamese army and main force Viet Cong units while ARVN guarded the pacification teams working in the villages.

How well this was working never was fully tested. The RD teams (Revolutionary Development) were suffering heavy casualties at first, but before any conclusive evidence could be drawn came Tet in 1968.

The enemy hurled 84,000 troops in a general offensive that stretched from one tip of Vietnam to the other and drove deepest into Hue and Saigon.

It was the turning point for South Vietnam's army. Now they saw that all the Americans with all their equipment could not or had not kept the enemy from launching an attack no one thought possible. Now he was in Ben Tre and My Tho and Pleiku and Ban Me Thout, in the ancient Citadel in Hue and in Saigon and Cholon itself. The Phu Tho race track where idle ARVN officers dallied at the betting windows on weekends was suddenly, overnight, the enemy command post.

Some American units were engaged, but for the most part the job of clearing the cities fell to the South Vietnamese. Half of the North Vietnamese-Viet Cong attacking force was killed, 20,300 by the Vietnamese, 18,581 by the Americans and other allies.

In the weeks that followed President Thieu put the country on full mobilization for the first time in two decades of war. Before the summer was out he had added 220,000 to the armed forces, 161,000 had volunteered. More than 3 million people in the countryside put their very lives on the line by signing up to defend their communities, passing a single weapon from guard to guard.

In Hue, breeding ground of Buddhist discontent and a city almost totally alienated from Saigon before Tet, today 18,000 civilians stand guard, three shifts a day. In Saigon, once the city that simply removed itself from the rigors of war, there are trained civil defense units active on every block.

When the President started ordering American divisions home the ARVN troops were sent to face the enemy where the danger was highest . . . in the north near the DMZ, and in Cambodia. Some Vietnamese division commanders said the Americans were pushing too fast, expecting too much. But the transformation went on. Last year 9,414 Americans were killed in Vietnam. Saigon forces lost 21,833.

What do the Americans who work with the ARVN really think about its ability to do what President Nixon says?

"As things are now the ARVN can handle the situation in South Vietnam," says Col. Maurice Price, adviser to a regiment of the 5th division, the replacement for the Big Red One.

Colonel Price made it clear, however, that in his opinion the Army of the Republic of Vietnam could not deal with a major emergency beyond the scope of its previous commitments.

Others say the same thing less categorically, believing that South Vietnam will need American helicopter, air and some logistical support for another two or three years, but after that can probably handle North Vietnam's best on its own.

No one sees a miracle. The South Vietnamese army and other fighting forces they know will, in the coming months, probably face defeats, lose bases and defended positions, and on occasion perform in the manner which most Americans over here have come to expect. But in the long pull they are banking on the new ARVN, they are counting on the "binh si," and a people who have somehow now endured a quarter of a century of war and still have the will to go on with this one whether the Americans go home or not.

President Nixon told the nation on April 20 that American casualties in Vietnam had reached the lowest point in five years. The following table reflects the rising South Vietnamese effort.

1st quarter of year	U.S. battle deaths	SVN battle deaths	Estimated enemy battle deaths
1968 (Tet offensive)	4,869	10,500	72,455
1969	3,184	5,922	44,846
1970 (through Apr. 4)	1,246	5,044	28,350+

RIGHT-TO-WORK A DEFINITE ISSUE IN POSTAL REFORM BILL

HON. DAVID N. HENDERSON

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I was most interested in reading in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Friday, May 22, 1970, beginning at page 16814 the remarks of my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. UDALL) regarding "right to work" as an issue in the currently pending postal reform bill.

The gentleman from Arizona and I have served together on the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee ever since his election to the House and he knows, I have a very high personal regard for him and a great deal of respect for his opinions.

In this instance, however, in saying, as he does, "Let me say here and now that 'right to work' is not an issue in postal reform. The bill reported by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service neither advanced nor retards the 'right to work' movement; it leaves it precisely where it is now. It retains the status quo." My colleague is completely in error.

We are not dealing in the postal reform bill with employment in the private sector. I agree that the postal reform bill does not alter the Taft-Hartley Act. But what it does is to extend the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act for the very first time to Federal employment.

The status quo of Federal employment is that there is absolutely no way, under existing law, for union officials and Federal management executives to negotiate or otherwise bring into existence a union shop in the Federal service.

To spell it out even more plainly, under the presently existing law, there can be no union shop or agency shop where Federal employees are concerned.

Under the provisions of H.R. 17070 as reported by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, for the first time, the issue of a union shop or agency shop would be subject to negotiation.

Likewise it would be an issue subject to binding arbitration.

While it is true that section 14(b) of the Taft Hartley Act which prohibits the negotiation of union shops in States having "right to work" laws, is incorporated into H.R. 17070 with the other provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, there are at least some States whose "right to work" laws are so worded that they would be inapplicable to this situation.

Then, of course, there are the Federal employees outside the 17 "right to work" States who now have the protection of Executive Order 11491. Section 1(a) of that order states: "Each employee has the right, freely and without fear of penalty or reprisal, to form, join and assist a labor organization or to refrain from any such activity, and each employee shall be protected in the exercise of this right."

It is not my purpose to defend the National Right-To-Work Committee or its executive vice president, Mr. Reed Larson.

Neither do I have any opinion or any basis for an opinion as to whether his vote on the "right to work amendment" was a factor in the defeat of our good friend and colleague, the gentleman from Nebraska in a primary.

I am confident that Mr. Larson, the Right-To-Work Committee and our colleague, the gentleman from Nebraska are quite capable of defending themselves.

But I must take issue with my colleague when he suggests that H.R. 17070 does not change the status quo with regard to the "right-to-work" issue.

I am completely confident that he will agree with me when I say that for the first time in the history of the Federal service, if H.R. 17070 in its present form becomes law, a union shop can be negotiated (or put into effect through binding arbitration) with the result that a man working for the postal service can be required to pay union dues or lose his job.

This certainly is not the status quo.

AGRICULTURE, THE CONGRESS, AND THE AMERICAN CONSUMER

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, altogether too many Americans dismiss the problem of agriculture as being something in which they have no concern or interest. In this they are in error. Agriculture is still by far the largest single industry in the United States and it generates jobs for nearly 40 percent of the employed workers of our Nation, either by providing the raw material on which they work, or by providing the market for the implements or commodities which they produce.

In earlier days there was a common and probably rather accurate statement that nationwide economic depressions all begin on the farm. Certainly, even today, we cannot safely ignore the health of an industry which so directly involves so many of our workers and which provides such a large portion of the market for our industrial production; nor can we ignore the maintenance of the tremendous productive power of our agricultural plant and of the farmers who operate that plant. There is twice as much investment per capita behind each agricultural worker as there is behind each industrial worker—$50,000 per worker in agriculture as against approximately $25,000 in industry. This, of course, makes possible the tremendous productivity of American farmers. One man on the farm is today able to feed 44 people in the city. Only through this spectacular productivity has it been possible to build our great cities.

In the Soviet Union, where one worker on the farm supports no more than two in town, it has been impossible to develop the kind of urban industrial society which exists in the United States.

Nor can our American housewife escape grave concern with the success of agriculture when she realizes that she is buying more and better food for a smaller percentage of her disposable income than the housewife in any part of the world at any time in history. Actually today the expenditure in our grocery stores is only about 16.5 percent of the average family's disposable income. In Western Europe this is between 20 and 25 percent, in the Soviet Union between 40 and 50 percent, and in the Far East as much as 75 or 80 percent. No more convincing evidence can be presented that our farm program has worked and is working than the benefits it has bestowed on our consumers.

If we will but provide the American farmer with the cost of production, and a very meager incentive, we need not fear that Americans will go hungry. Our farmers will then provide all the food needed at home and a large part of that needed abroad. But that cost of production must be forthcoming from one source or another. We have the techniques. We know how to produce food and fiber abundantly and cheaply. But even though the American farmer is the most efficient in the world, he must pay interest on his very large investment of land and equipment, he must buy modern machinery, he must buy fertilizer, insecticides, and so forth.

We all know that farmers have historically bought in a protected market. They pay the American price for everything they use. They sell in a free or competitive market. They receive prices fixed by producers in lands where the wage scale is only a fraction of what it is in our country. It has been repeatedly pointed out that if farmers could buy in a completely free market they would have no right to ask for assistance, but if they must continue to buy in a controlled market, they must either sell in such a market or the Government must make up at least part of the difference.

Whatever things the farmer buys to meet his production needs must include the cost of our high American wage scale. These costs are constantly going up. On the other hand, the price of most farm products is actually lower today, per pound or per bushel, than it was 20 or 25 years ago. Wheat, corn, and cotton bring just about one-half of what they formerly brought. Do you know of any other large group of workers or investors who are today getting less per hour for their work, or less per dollar for their investment, than they did a score of years ago? It has been possible to continue to produce farm crops only because for a good many years the Government has contributed to the cost of production. For the past several years this Government contribution has been just a little over $3 billion per year.

This is not to condemn high wages. I believe in a wage scale in keeping with our American standard of living. I do not propose to reduce the income of either labor or industry. I only ask that the returns of agriculture be placed on the same high standard.

Virtually every segment of the economy other than agriculture has received subsidies in either direct or indirect form. Railroads, steamships, and airlines long have enjoyed subsidies. Just last week the House voted overwhelmingly for a vast direct subsidy for ocean shipping. I voted for it, recognizing the dependence of all our people on our merchant marine. Tariffs and quotas which protect American manufacturers from ruinous competition of foreign-made goods are an indirect subsidy and clearly increase the cost of things farmers as well as city people must buy. The huge postal deficit each year is in large part accounted for by subsidized rates for magazines and advertisements. Incidentally, probably the largest of the postal subsidies—2½ times what any farmer draws—goes to one of the most violent critics of our farm programs.

Were we to remove all Government subsidy from agriculture it is obvious that farm production at the present rate could not be maintained. There simply would not be enough money left after paying interest and taxes to enable farmers to continue to buy and operate the equipment and supplies essential to the production of adequate food and fiber for the American people. In other words, it is not simply a matter of price, it goes further. It involves our physical ability to produce all the food and fiber needed. That food and fiber can be produced, but not with walking plows or horse-drawn cultivators, and not without fertilizers, insecticides, herbicides, and so forth, and these all cost tremendous sums of money. The only other way of maintaining this needed production would be by raising the price in the marketplace.

Certainly many farmers would like this, but what of our consumers, the 100 percent of our population who eat?

They would find that they would of necessity be paying substantially more, and I have an idea those who have been the loudest in their denunciation of subsidies would be the first to resent the increased prices in the marketplace. Again, we are reminded of the tremendous misunderstanding which exists among nonfarm people. Farm subsidies may, and I think do, help farmers, but they do a great deal more for consumers in our cities than they have ever done for people on our farms. They have made

it possible for American consumers to enjoy more and cheaper food and fiber than consumers anywhere else in the world.

We must also remember that the farmer only receives about one-third of what the housewife spends in the grocery store and that that share is constantly decreasing. Therefore, if the farmer now receives $3 billion subsidies, is it not likely that this expenditure is reducing consumer costs by something like $9 billion? In any event the consumer has a tremendous stake in the maintenance of our farm programs.

Nor can we overlook the constant aggravation of the problems of the cities by the flow of penniless migrants from the farms. Of course, it is recognized that some of this movement is inevitable as farms increase in size and some of it is desirable as supplying necessary new blood and manpower in our growing cities, but most of it is very undesirable and it is even more undesirable in direct proportion as these people are forced by sheer poverty to migrate. To the extent that we can keep people making a living on the farm we are helping the cities—and that is what our farm program is trying to do.

The question now arises, how do we maintain this program which has meant so much to all the people of America? Obviously it is going to be necessary to pass legislation of some kind and pass it this year. If we do not do so we will go back to the act of 1958, with various amendments. Basically this means a cotton loan of 30 cents per pound.

This is a poor return to the cotton grower, but its worst feature is that it would raise the price of cotton both abroad and in American mills by almost 50 percent. This would be disastrous both to the public as consumers and to cotton producers who would, of course, lose the bulk of their remaining markets to synthetics at home and to foreign growths abroad. The 1958 act would mean that two-thirds of the wheatgrowers would have to give an affirmative vote in the referendum which has already been called in order to maintain wheat prices at even 65 percent of parity. And it would probably mean complete chaos for feed grain growers.

Yet there are those who suggest that this is what we should do. Their reasoning is that in this way we could create a crisis which would force action. Some of us are not so sure that it would force any action, and if it did, we are afraid that it would be the kind of action we usually get in times of crisis and emergency—some stopgap program which would leave our basic problems all unsolved.

Then there are those who suggest that we should assure every farmer full parity on all he can produce. This has a great deal of appeal. I would be happy to see the fulfilment of this rosy dream. But I cannot believe that it is practical or that we can get the votes necessary, and I cannot believe that we should in this way jeopardize the entire program. Every time that we portray ourselves as either unrealistic or as politically motivated I think we weaken the entire cause of agriculture.

There are others who urge that we should simply continue the present law. I think this is a worthy proposal. I think the present law has worked well. I think it is understood. I introduced legislation to bring about a continuation of this act on a permanent basis, but the present administration did not sponsor this legislation when it was adopted, and for at least 3 of its 5 years' operation those now in control of the executive department were very critical of this program. They feel they cannot put their endorsement on its continuation because of their previous criticism. They prefer some new name which will disassociate them with the past programs. They have suggested the so-called "set-aside."

I think the "set-aside" is an inexact unselective, and expensive method of retiring the needed acres, but I realize that we must cooperate with the administration. I believe "set-aside" can be made to work—at a price. If they want to pay that price, I feel it is well to go along with them on this issue if they, in turn, will support the needs of our farmers on other important issues.

Secretary Hardin has stated that his administration was prepared to put "approximately the same amount of money" into each of the three major commodities—wheat, feed grains, and cotton—that has been going into each program in recent years. He does not want to do it exactly as I would do it, but he has made many concessions. I have thought that if he would accord to cotton, and, if the feed grain people want it, to feed grains, the same type of treatment that he has agreed to accord to wheat—that is, to relate the support price on these commodities to a percentage of parity—that it would be possible for most farm people to join in supporting the bill. We are almost to that point, but as this is written we have no assurance that the administration will accept the same treatment for the three major crops.

If they do, Secretary Hardin and we on the committee recognize that for practical purposes there must be limitations placed on the size of the payments made to any one beneficiary of the program. I am convinced that any such limitations make the program less workable and more costly. Such limitations simply mean that for every major operator who is forced out of the program, many small operators must reduce their plantings more than they would otherwise be required to do. This, however, is a point on which there is so much emotional hysteria that we can hardly expect much logical reasoning. We can only hope that whatever limitations are imposed, they will not be so burdensome as to completely destroy the farm program. Farmers should, however, recognize that no matter what our view may be, limitations are going to be imposed. It is clear that no program can be passed without such limitations.

Of course, predicting what will be in any bill before it is actually reported is like predicting when it will rain in Texas or who a woman will marry. But as of this moment it seems clear that the farm bill most likely to be reported will contain not only the basic provisions, heretofore, mentioned—that is, the control of production through the "set-aside" acres, support for the domestically consumed portion of the production of cotton, wheat and feed grains, and a limitation on the size of individual support payments. But it will also extend the Wool Act; it will extend and clarify the class I base plan for milk; it will extend Public Law 480—the food for peace program—it will provide a pilot program which would assist farmers who, because of advanced age, poor health or other reasons, decide to retire from farming but wish to continue living on their land.

The committee has agreed upon an extension and very substantial enlargement of the food stamp program, and as of this moment there has been no final decision as to whether this should be included as a part of the general farm bill or should be brought in as a separate piece of legislation, but the committee is committed to an extension of the food stamp program at this session.

I feel that it is time that we brought all this legislation to the floor. The Agriculture Committtee has agreed on details of most of the programs involved. I hope decisions will be made on the others within the next week.

No bill is going to satisfy every Member, and probably every Member will find something to criticize in any bill, but it seems clear to me that there are so many vital and worthwhile interests involved in the passage of this legislation that it must be moved without further delay.

It is not going to be as generous in its assistance to farmers as some of us would like—I would personally like to go further, myself—but it is going to involve greater commitments than the administration at first felt was desirable. In my opinion it is going to be a bill which will make it possible for millions of farmers to continue to farm and it is also going to enable the American consumer to continue to buy food for the smallest part of his disposable income of any people in the world. It is going to contain some provisions which I personally feel are either undesirable or economically indefensible. It is not going to give producers some of the protection to which I think they are entitled, but it is going to go much further in this respect than some other Members and some of the administration officials have felt was advisable. There has been a great deal of give and take on each side. I think this is the only way we can hope to get any bill.

In spite of the assurance by the Secretary that he was willing to put "approximately the same amount of money into each of the three major commodities" and in spite of the fact that I accept his sincerity in this commitment, I am convinced that his program will not put quite as much money into agriculture as we have been putting—he has made every calculation of variables in favor of the Treasury rather than in favor of the farmer—and certainly it will not assure an increase in agricultural income in proportion to increases in the cost of living, as I think it should. But it does mean that there will be about $3 billion of Federal money added to whatever the market pays for farm products. I think this is of tremendous importance,

and I do not propose to lose this very substantial help to farmers, to consumers and to our economy just because I believe that we should get some additional but comparatively minor benefits.

Unless our entire price structure collapses, the new program is going to cost somewhat less than we have been spending. Whether the new method of retiring acres is as effective as its proponents feel it will be only time will tell, and this is one of the reasons for limiting the program to a 3-year bill. If this new concept proves itself ineffective, as I fear, or unduly expensive, it will at that time be reviewed by the Congress, and in the meantime there are what we believe to be adequate mechanisms in the bill to enable the Secretary to make any needed adjustments on the second and third years' programs in the event experience shows them needed.

Finally, whether or not we accept the thesis that depressions always start on the farm, we must all surely recognize that during a period of financial uncertainty, inflation and high interest such as we are now facing, it is, to say the least, extremely unwise to keep the Nation's largest single industry in uncertainty and doubt as to its future. A prompt decision on the matter of farm programs will give a needed degree of stability to our general economy.

THE STUDENT IN THE UNIVERSITY AND SOCIETY OF TODAY, NO. 9

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, before Cambodia, Kent State, and the other traumatic events of this month, I had been gaining insights into causes of campus unrest in discussions with students from the State University of New York who had come to the Nation's Capital for a firsthand study of our governmental processes and procedures. The names and home cities of these young people are included below, and I want to express my deep appreciation to them for the opportunity they gave some of my colleagues and me to learn more about the roots of some of their frustrations apart from the Southeast Asian situation.

Shortly before they returned to their college campuses to complete the school year, these young people were good enough to respond to my invitation to address Members of Congress in one of our hearing rooms on problems of tenure faculty, relevance in curriculums, overcrowding, the "publish or perish" question, and other matters under the general topic of university reform. I am grateful to my fellow Members, Mr. COUGHLIN, Mr. GOLDWATER, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. MATSUNAGA, and Mr. SMITH of New York for joining us on that occasion and for the contribution each of them made to the discussions.

Mr. Speaker, in the aftermath of the month's tragedies, I hope we will not allow ourselves to be diverted from the urgent need for reform in the Nation's universities and in the Nation's legislative process if we are to prepare young people for positions of responsibility in tomorrow's world and if we are to assure that they will have a viable democratic form of government through which they can work to solve some of the pressing problems in the society.

The young people who participated in the spring 1970 Washington semester program of the State University of New York believe the system can be made to work better, they fervently want an opportunity to test their skills and energies in that belief, and I am greatly heartened by their evident sense of responsibility and determination to shape peaceful solutions in an increasingly violent world.

I want to express my thanks to the "SUNY kids" of spring 1970 for the good work they did in Washington and for the glow of spirit they left here. I want to take this opportunity also to express my appreciation of their director and professor, Mike Weaver, and the assistant director of the program, Walter Oleszek, who have worked so hard to provide this very meaningful learning experience for these students.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK—WASHINGTON SEMESTER PROGRAM

NAMES AND HOME CITIES OF SPRING 1970 PARTICIPANTS

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TRIBUTE TO GENERAL ANDERS

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, the recent death of Gen. Wladyslaw Anders saddened thoughtful Poles and friends of Poland. Among the many tributes to General Anders perhaps the most eloquent appeared in the May 15, 1970, issue of the Polish Daily News of Detroit, edited by Mr. Stanley Krajewski.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, a translation of the tribute appears below:

GENERAL ANDERS

The news of the death of General Wladyslaw Anders shocked the Polish Community. The fact of his passing was difficult to accept even though it had been known for some time that he was living on borrowed time. Despite failing health he marshalled his strength to give a speech commemorating the 30th Anniversary of the Katyn Massacre, a speech which recalled the gehenna (suffering) of the Polish soldier in Russia. He himself had shared the bitterness of Soviet prisons and was among those who survived. Providence favored him and allowed him to play a further role in history.

Anders was a soldier almost from the cradle. During World War I he was already an officer in the Czar's Russian Army. He then joined the Polish Army formed as a result of the revolution. The Army was the focal point of his life which stretched to 78 years.

In independent Poland he had reached the rank of Brigadier General when the war began. In that bitter September of 1939, he fought to the last possible moment, commanding the Army of the eastern front until he was wounded at Lwow. As often happens in the life of an ordinary man, so too in the career of a professional soldier there are certain moments which decide his fate.

Anders eluded death in a Soviet prison as a result of the Sikorski-Majski Agreement. For a short time Moscow and the Legal Polish Government operating in London established favorable relations. The discovery, in April, 1943, of the Katyn Massacre breached these relations but by that time all the Poles who had been affected by the agreement had been able to get to Persia and form a new army to assist the Allies in the West.

Anders stood at the head of this army, an army resurrected by a seeming miracle. It later became the II Polish Corps and became famous by capturing Monte Cassino. That magnificent victory, while perhaps not fully appreciated in some quarters, was the high point in the career of Anders and the Polish Army in World War II.

Twenty-six years have passed since that great moment when the White and Red standard was unfurled on the battle-scarred summit of Monte Cassino. The victory opened the Road to Rome, which fell without destruction. The victory at Monte Cassino was so great that Poles rank it with Sobieski's victory over the Turks near Vienna. Morally, it seemed as great as the Miracle at the Vistula. And Anders became a hero.

When we consider the history of the Polish Nation in World War II, we remember the hell of Nazi and Siberian camps, the latter filled with Poles from lands east of the Bug, lands which fell into the hands of the Russians as a result of the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. We also remember that within Poland a daring struggle was carried on by the Armia Krajowa while in the West their brothers fought from Dunkirk and Narvik and Tobruk to Monte Cassino and Arnheim.

Teheran and Yalta were a tragedy. The sufferings and the military contributions of Polish men and women were not given sufficient heed. Even the enormous efforts of Polish pilots, that brave line which formed the most successful wing of the R.A.F. during the critical "Battle of Britain," have not yet been rightfully acknowledged.

At Monte Cassino, Hitler suffered one of his greatest defeats. It came at the hands of men representing a nation he and Stalin had scornfully believed they had crossed off the map of the world in 1939. Anders was a good leader, he was proficient in his chosen profession, and he understood the psychology of his Russian antagonists. Such was his antipathy to Communism that he could not and would not return to a Poland governed by agents of Moscow.

Anders chose emigration in order to continue the fight for true freedom. Settling in England he threw himself into a great whirlpool of work.

In 1954, as a result of political differences, Anders left the Legal Government and joined others in the so-called Zjednoczenie (Union). No one will deny that this caused a split existing to this day, and sadder still

because of the ranks of the Independents have been thinned not by war but by time. One by one they have left this world, soldiers whose only thought was a truly free and independent Poland. So long as they fought the foe, unity prevailed. But when it came to politics they could not agree.

Anders is gone. As a soldier history will speak well of him. As a politician he awakened doubts and was condemned by some and glorified by others. General Anders was a Pole and a soldier who sincerely loved Poland. An era is ending which will be closed by President August Zaleski, who has outlived them all. It has befallen Anders to come to rest in a foreign land and that is the greatest drama of a soldier.

A FINAL TRIBUTE TO CONGRESSMAN CLIFFORD R. HOPE, SR.

HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 18, 1970

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, last Tuesday, May 19, it was my honor and privilege to represent the Kansas congressional delegation at the funeral services in Garden City, Kans., for the beloved Clifford R. Hope, Sr., who served the State of Kansas for 30 years, in the House of Representatives.

As the membership of this great body knows, Clifford Hope enjoyed the respect of his colleagues to the extent that he was known as "Mr. Agriculture." He was a statesman, a true Christian gentleman, and a wonderfully warm and human man to all that enjoyed the privilege of calling him a friend.

I know that many of his former colleagues here in Washington and his friends throughout the world will be pleased to know the services in Clifford Hope's honor were most fitting and reflected the measure of this great man.

The eulogy was given by his close friend and minister, Rev. J. Merion Kadyk of the United Presbyterian Church. Reverend Kadyk, I am sure, spoke for all of us who knew Cliff Hope when he said, "He has opened for us a better way."

The following newspaper article from Cliff Hope's hometown newspaper, the Garden City Telegram, gives the full account:

HE HAS OPENED FOR US A BETTER WAY

"He prepared for the day in which we now live."

With these words of the Rev. J. Merion Kadyk, the Honorable Clifford R. Hope was memorialized yesterday afternoon in a funeral service at the First United Methodist Church.

The Rev. Mr. Kadyk, who recently retired as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of which Mr. Hope was a member, applied the words yesterday said many years ago of Abraham Lincoln: "Now he belongs to the ages."

He said these words were applicable to Mr. Hope "for he has opened for us a better way, a better way for this community, state, and the United States, and, indeed, for the world."

To the surviving members of Mr. Hope's family—his children, grandchildren, brothers and sisters—the minister said:

"We want to share your bereavement, but also want to share the joy and appreciation of this great man . . . Of Clifford Hope, it can be said his was the way of love. In this sense, we share your joy as well as your love."

He said Mr. Hope had a "philosophy and understanding that qualified him for God's call for national and international service." He termed the former congressman as a "light-giving and enriching person," and said he was a "Christian gentleman and statesman in every sense of the word. He belongs to the nation as well as to his own state."

The Rev. Mr. Kadyk has served as pastor of the church in which Mr. Hope worshiped regularly for approximately nine years. In tribute to Mr. Hope's major role in passage of Public Law 480, known as the "Food for Peace Program," his former pastor said:

"It was through Clifford Hope that little children were fed."

Mr. Hope was an avid flower gardener, and was termed as a "man who loved the touch of flowers" and one who wanted to "share the beauties of this community with future generations."

The funeral, originally set in the Presbyterian Church, was moved to the Methodist sanctuary for its larger seating capacity. It was about three-quarters filled.

Mr. Hope was buried in Valley View Cemetery beside his wife, Pauline, who died about a year ago. He was a veteran of World War I and was given a military funeral and burial by an American Legion color guard and firing squad.

Special music was provided during the service by Charles Larson, also a member of the Presbyterian Church, who sang two hymns, "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," and "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Mrs. Howard Blanchard was organist.

Eight long-time friends of the deceased served as honorary pallbearers—George H. Anderson, P. A. Burtis, former U.S. Sen. Frank Carlson, O. C. Hicks, Lee Kemper, C. A. McAllister, Lester McCoy and Raimon Walters.

Active pallbearers were John R. Burnside, L. C. Crouch, Howard Hardy, Taylor Jones, Bert H. Vance, and E. F. Ware. Ushers were Lloyd Haag, Dale Saffels and John D. Osborn, all of the Fleming, Haag, Hope, and Saffels law firm.

Mr. Speaker, throughout this past week, the Kansas press has been replete with tributes to Cliff Hope. As I stated before, he was known to those throughout rural and small town America as "Mr. Agriculture," a term he never took seriously himself, but one that fit him perfectly nevertheless. Cliff Hope was the kind of Congressman who could serve as chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, draft our Nation's farm legislation, and at the same time, be known and loved by the individual family farmer as "my personal representative in Washington." His combination of greatness and personal humility touched the lives and hearts of all he represented and who knew him.

The following articles from the Telegram describe his contributions to agriculture and the esteem in which these contributions were held:

"MR. AGRICULTURE," AND RIGHTLY SO

To many, Clifford R. Hope was "Mr. Agriculture," and rightly so.

In his 30 years in Congress, he served continuously as a member of the House Committee on Agriculture. He was its chairman in the 80th (1947–48) and 83rd (1953–54) sessions, and was ranking Republican on the committee from 1932 until his retirement in 1956.

He had a part in the formulation and enactment of most agricultural legislation during the time he served.

In 1945, he was a member of the United States delegation to the first meeting of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in Quebec, Canada. He also served as a member in 1946 when it met in Copenhagen, in 1949 in Washington, and in 1951 and 1955 in Rome.

He was a member of the U.S. delegation to the Interparliamentary Union meetings in Stockholm in 1946 and in Istanbul in 1951. He served as congressional advisor to the U.S. delegation at the Inter-American Conservation Conference in September, 1948, and to the American delegation to the International Wheat Conference in 1948, 1949, and 1952.

President Truman appointed him as a member of the Missouri Basin Survey Commission in 1952.

Mr. Hope initiated the Farm Credit Act of 1953 which increased the farmer ownership and control of the federal farm credit system. He was the coauthor of the Hope-Aiken Watershed Act which has enabled land owners across the nation to develop watersheds with federal aid and conserve water and top soil.

In 1936, he co-authored the Research and Marketing Act, and in his later years advocated a bureau of food utilization to help reduce farm surpluses.

It was much-talked-about that he would receive the nod for secretary of agriculture in the Eisenhower administration, and received support from several individuals and newspapers, including the Kansas City Star. However, Mr. Hope, in 1952, was quoted in the Garden City Telegram as saying "my only ambition is to be elected representative of the Southwestern District."

In 1956, his last year in Congress, his portrait was unveiled in the House Agricultural Committee room. Harold Cooley, chairman of the committee, said, at the unveiling:

"This, ladies and gentlemen, is the portrait of the grand champion of agriculture. Mr. Hope is the best qualified person on agriculture legislation in the nation today. His life has been a blessing and benefaction, not only to the American farmer, but to all the citizens of the nation and the people of the world."

In his years in Congress, Mr. Hope also served as a member of the House Committee on Labor, on several special committees including the one on post war economic policy and planning for which he made surveys of Russia, Iran, Egypt, Greece, Italy and most countries of Western Europe.

He was a member of the Republican Congressional Committee from 1933 until 1946, secretary of the Republican Conference of the House of Representatives from 1934 to 1945, and was a member of the Republican Policy Committee in the House.

CLIFFORD HOPE WON QUOTED RESPECT OF SEVERAL EDITORS

During his many years of public service, Clifford R. Hope won the quoted respect of several newspaper editors.

Here are a few, as listed in Garden City High School vice-principal R. Dean Nolte's thesis for his master's degree, entitled "An Analysis of Selected Speeches by Clifford R. Hope Sr.":

". . . a man of exceptional ability, and an articulate one. But he has never imposed his views on unwilling ears. He has never ranted and raved and beat his breast in the House forum. He never indulged in tiresome tirade or engaged in filibuster. Instead, he has gone his congressional way—a calm, poised, reasonable man of unimpeachable honesty. While he has been diligent in behalf of his

constituents, he served as no errand boy."—The Wichita Beacon, July 10, 1956.

"Cliff Hope demanded an end to horse play. Flayed in cool, well-spoken language the minority complex of certain Republican as well as Democratic leaders, Hope left no doubt as to his feeling that the farm legislation should not be a political football."—The Topeka Capital, Feb. 21, 1936.

"Hope is the voice of the wheat farmer. They have followed his advice because the long association has shown he represents The Topeka Capital, July 5, 1956.

"Honorable Clifford Hope from this district was greeted with a most enthusiastic crowd when he appeared in Scott City last Friday evening for an address. Clifford R. Hope has always been a favorite with Scott County people and the reception with which he was accorded last Friday evening would indicate that he has lost none of his popularity. His speech was well received and there is every indication that he will carry the county by a big majority next month. Hope is a most untiring worker for the farmers throughout this section of the state. He knows their needs and they know that he can always be depended upon to do everything possible for their advancement."—Scott City Record, Oct. 27, 1938.

"Some people differ with Mr. Hope, and some did not see eye to eye with him on many points, but none ever questioned his sincerity and his obvious determination to do what he thought best, for the best interest on the part of Kansas."—Dodge City Globe, May 29, 1950.

"We are really thankful he (Hope) lacks that something which is so outstanding in so many wheel-horse politicians that brands them as 'just a politician' and nothing else . . . Clifford Hope is where he should be—in Washington doing what he can for his government and his people in time of need."—Garden City Weekly News, Sept. 5, 1940.

"Clifford Hope is an exceptional servant. For the more than 20 years he has served in Congress, he has been doing a superior job of representing the people of his districts. We have gone to him many times, even as a youngster, with always the same results—prompt and complete satisfaction. What's more Cliff Hope sticks to his job most religiously. While many other Congressmen are out building many political fences, making speeches, seeking the lime light, Mr. Hope has stuck to the less exciting, sometimes dull, chores in the House to represent his district in Washington."—Wellington Daily News, July 7, 1952.

"He is a man who stuck to his business, with honesty and simplicity. Firm to his beliefs, he was never afraid to buck the GOP administration when he felt it wrong. Clifford Hope gave 30 years not only to Kansas and the people of the Southwestern District, but to his country. His record stands as a dedicated public servant."—Southwest Daily Times, Liberal, June 10, 1956.

Mr. Speaker, I would also like to touch briefly on an early experience in Cliff Hope's life that I think exemplifies the great meaning this man's life has for all of us today, especially our Nation's young people.

After Cliff completed the eighth grade in Ripley, Okla., there was no high school to attend. The next fall, not content with what he had learned, Cliff simply reenrolled in the eighth grade just to learn more and increase his education. His example is mindful of great Americans in our Nation's past who felt education was indeed a privilege and not a right.

Just before his untimely passing Clifford R. Hope received a distinguished service award from the National Association of Conservation Districts, an award that was to be the last among many high honors and tributes paid to this great man.

This award was a most fitting tribute for it represented the essence of what Clifford Hope's life means. The ideas he has sown will mean a better America for all of us. To accomplish this, he chose as his life's vocation the means by which we can feed the hungry and save and improve our environment for future generations—he chose agriculture.

Mr. Speaker, this is what life is all about. The fact Clifford R. Hope was here among us made our State and Nation a better place. His example is truly a fitting challenge to all Americans to contribute the same.

VIETNAM FACT SHEET RELEASED

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, at this moment when our President is in the process of escalating our involvement in Southeast Asia, another thorough study of the facts leading to the Vietnam quagmire is in order.

A new fact sheet prepared by the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars at Cornell reveals the fallacies and errors of judgment under which U.S. policy has been determined.

I take this opportunity to place this valuable checklist into the RECORD.

FACT SHEET ON VIETNAM

FRENCH RENEGE ON AGREEMENTS—INDOCHINESE WAR BEGINS—1945–54

1945—Japanese surrender. Ho Chih Minh declares independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

1946—French forces return, recognize authority of Ho regime over North, promise plebiscite in South. Later French establish separate puppet government in South and issue ultimatum to Ho to disband all Vietminh military forces in North. Ho's refusal results in open warfare.

1949—French attempt to rally popular support, establish autonomous State of Vietnam based in Saigon under Emperor Bao Dai.

1950—U.S. and allies recognize Bao Dai government and U.S. begins economic and military aid. Russia and China recognize Ho regime.

1954—Dien Bien Phu symbolizes final defeat of French.

GENEVA ACCORDS PROMISE ELECTIONS—DIEM AND U.S. RENEGE—1954–56

1954—Geneva Agreement provides for two temporary military regroupment zones, French in South and Vietminh in North. Reunification promised after nation-wide elections scheduled for July 1956. Political reprisals and foreign military bases or troops prohibited; U.S. refuses to sign but agrees to honor agreement.

1954—SEATO established. S. Vietnam designated as a "protected state."

1955—Diem (Prime Minister under Bao Dai) refuses Hanoi proposal to consult on promised elections and proclaims self President of independent Republic of Vietnam.

DIEM REGIME ALIENATES VIETNAMESE—U.S. INVOLVEMENT INCREASES—1956–63

1956—Diem ordinance allows arrest of anyone considered dangerous to public order. Elected village councils replaced by government appointees. Last French troops withdraw; U.S. military advisory group remains to train and equip S. Vietnamese army.

1958—Clandestine radio (Voice of S. Vietnam Liberation Front) begins operation in South. Denounced by Hanoi as provocative.

1960—Anti-communist leaders in South condemn Diem undemocratic policies. Hanoi sanctions formation of United Front and overthrow of Diem regime. National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLF) formally established.

1961—Visits of Vice-President Johnson and other officials to S. Vietnam result in increase in U.S. advisors to 18,000.

1962—NLF calls for implementation of Geneva accords, withdrawal of U.S. military personnel, and coalition government in South with neutral foreign policy.

1963—Buddhist uprising against Diem. Kennedy calls for popular reforms in S. Vietnam and suspends U.S. aid. Diem regime overthrown.

NEUTRALIZATION PROPOSALS REJECTED—U.S. BEGINS WIDE SCALE BOMBING—1963–65

1963–64—NLF proposes negotiated ceasefire and general elections. U Thant supports. Johnson labels neutralization "a Communist takeover." Antineutralist elements overthrow Saigon government, reject NLF proposals for negotiations. U Thant suggests reconvening Geneva Conference. Johnson rejects this as a conference to "ratify terror." U.S. military mission increased to 21,000.

1964—(August) Gulf of Tonkin Incident. Johnson orders retaliation before Navy has determined that attack on U.S. destroyers did in fact occur. Congressional resolution authorizes "all necessary measures."

1965—(January–February) Continued instability of Saigon government results in armed forces control of regime under Thieu and Ky. U.S. begins widespread bombing of North and NLF areas in South. U.S. marines land in South. U Thant again appeals for reconvening Geneva Conference.

HANOI PEACE PLAN REJECTED—U.S. INSTITUTES BOMBING PAUSE—1965–66

1965—(April–May) Hanoi four point proposal; withdrawal U.S. military; cessation hostilities against North; honor Geneva accords; Vietnamese to solve own problems. U.S. orders bombing halt conditional on reduction in hostilities by other side. Bombing resumed in 5 days.

1965—(July–December) Johnson offers "unconditional discussions" with "any government" and announces U.S. troop increases to 125,000. Saigon refuses to negotiate with NLF. Repeated peace feelers from Hanoi brings U.S. request for "clarification" while U.S. carries out first air strike on Hanoi-Haiphong complex.

1965–66—(December–January) Second U.S. bombing halt. N. Vietnamese forces cease most aggressive actions in South. U.S. launches major offensive. Administration ignored Senate appeal for continuation of bombing pause. Hanoi calls for implementation of Geneva accords.

ELECTIONS HELD IN SOUTH—TET OFFENSIVE SHAKES U.S. CONFIDENCE—1966–68

1966—(March–September) Buddhist demonstrations in Hue put down with American military support and Saigon promise of national election. Only candidates acceptable to government allowed to participate in Constitutional Assembly elections; Buddhists boycott.

1966—(October) At Manila conference, U.S. agrees to withdraw troops 6 months after Hanoi and NLF withdraw to north of 17th parallel. U.S. troop strength reaches 385,000 (8 times the number of N. Vietanmese troops).

1967—(February) Johnson refuses to stop bombing until North stops all infiltration into South. Bombing resumed before reply received.

1967—(September) Vietnamese presidential elections result in Thieu-Ky victory with 35% plurality. All known advocates of peaceful settlement or negotiations with NLF are banned.

1967–68—"Free fire" zones established, resulting in estimated 4 million refugees (25% of population).

1968—(January–February) Tet offensive. Vietcong and N. Vietnamese troops attack 36 of S. Vietnam's 44 provincial capitals, holding major portions of Saigon and Hue. In heavy fighting over Hue, civilian casualties estimated at 3600.

JOHNSON ANNOUNCES BOMBING HALT—PEACE CONFERENCE BOGS DOWN—1968–69

1968—(April–June) Peace moves in U.S. escalate following Tet Offensive. Johnson announces bombing halt north of 20th parallel as first step to "de-escalate the conflict" and "move immediately to peace through negotiations." Total halt to follow signs of restraint from other side. Hanoi agrees to meet U.S. representatives in Paris; talks begin in May. Subsequent decline in N. Vietnamese offensive operations.

1968—(October) Johnson announces total bombing halt on election eve. NLF and Saigon governments to join peace talks.

1969—(January) Four-party talks begin in Paris.

1969—(April–May) Peace talks stalemate over issues of troop withdrawals and interim government. Hanoi/NLF demand U.S. commitment to total withdrawal of U.S. forces and call for provisional coalition government representing all who favor peace, independence and neutrality.

1969—(May) Nixon announces start of gradual troop withdrawals (U.S. troop strength in Vietnam 540,000).

1969—(November–December) U.S. and world opinion shocked by news of U.S. troops killing Vietnamese civilians at Mylai.

STALEMATE IN PARIS AND VIETNAM—ESCALATION IN LAOS AND CAMBODIA—1969–70

1969—(December–March) Senate Foreign Relations Committee increasingly critical of U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. Senate-House Conference Committee proposes legislation barring use of U.S. combat troops in Laos.

1969—(December) U.S. chief delegate to Paris talks (Lodge) resigns; neither he nor deputy replaced. No progress in negotiations. Thieu government closes two Saigon newspapers, seizes 15 student leaders, purges and imprisons three critics in House of Representatives. Vice-President Agnew, on Asian tour, deems it inappropriate for U.S. to press Thieu to broaden his popular support.

1970—(January–February) Administration states that infiltration from N. Vietnam decreases. U.S. carries out retaliatory bombings on North for attacks on U.S. reconnaisance planes.

1970—(January–March) Increased fighting in Laos, with U.S. bombing wide areas in support of Laotian government troops. Numerous civilian casualties and large numbers of refugees. Deep U.S. involvement in training, arming, financing and directing clandestine army of Meo tribesmen (non-Lao hill peoples) revealed. Laotian government requests reconvening of Geneva Conference; Pathet Lao (Pro-communist forces) seek to open direct negotiations with Laotian government and demand end to U.S. bombing.

1970—(March–April) Coup in Cambodia deposes neutralist leader Prince Sihanouk, calls for military actions against Vietcong and N. Vietnamese bases in Cambodian border areas. S. Vietnamese forces begin attacks on suspected Vietcong base camps in Cambodia with U.S. helicopter support. Many members of Cambodia's Vietnamese minority killed as consequence of anti-Vietnamese campaign undertaken by new military regime in Phom Penh. Vietcong offensive moves westward close to capital; Cambodia appeals for foreign arms aid.

1970—(April 20) Nixon pledges to withdraw an additional 150,000 troops from Vietnam during 1970 because progress in "Vietnamization" exceeding expectations.

1970—(April 30) Nixon Administration announces that U.S. and S. Vietnamese forces have launched first of 6 major attacks into Cambodia to root out Vietcong and N. Vietnamese bases in order to make "Vietnamization" policy successful and insure continuing withdrawal of U.S. troops.

STUDENT ASSAYS MOOD OF AMERICAN YOUTH TOWARD VIETNAM WAR

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, Mark D. Nozette, a student from Colgate University who has been an intern in my office this spring was accorded the honor of testifying on Vietnam before the House Foreign Affairs Committee recently.

Mark is vice president of the student body at Colgate and, I believe, is representative of many sensitive young people who have visited Capitol Hill in the past few weeks to express their dismay over the course of American foreign policy.

I therefore submit Mark's testimony, which I think is as enlightening as it is eloquent:

STATEMENT OF MARK D. NOZETTE

MR. CHAIRMAN: I want to thank the Committee for affording me the opportunity to speak this afternoon. I believe your initiative is a good one and I am sure you realize that the success of these hearings will not be measured by the number of witnesses that appear or the number of statements you illicit, but rather by the affirmative action you take after we have gone.

The enormous and spontaneous campus reaction to the President's invasion of Cambodia and the murders at Kent State illustrate beyond any doubt that sheer depth of feeling held by many young people against the current direction of American foreign policy. The heart of the matter is really very simple: many of my peers do not wish to see lives taken—be they Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian, or their very own—for what they consider to be a worthless cause. What you have been seeing on the campuses then is no youthful fling, but concern and frustration over a matter of life and death.

The actions taken to protest this latest escalation have been as varied as the campuses which have initiated them. Yet, other than creating a sense of turmoil or crisis, I doubt whether these exercises have been very fruitful. The war goes on, lives are lost, and the nation's malaise deepens.

We at Colgate have had our own special project. More than half of our student body asked one of our alumni, Secretary of State William P. Rogers, to resign either from the Cabinet or from Colgate's board of trustees. Our hope, however impolitic, was that his departure from the Nixon Administration over a policy with which he was not in agreement, would underscore feelings against the war and raise doubts in the minds who have heretofore remained silent.

While we failed to get the Secretary's resignation, two points did become abundantly clear to us.

First, there is no communications gap between the Nixon Administration and that segment of youth opposed to the war. They know what we're saying and we know what they're saying. The difference is one of basic policy—of admitting a mistake and acting accordingly, or of clinging to the same outworn slogans and premises which have been so manifestly disastrous and tragic in the past.

Secondly, we learned that regardless of how courteous this Administration has recently been, it is not going to heed a bunch of students, especially when they have no political clout.

We all know how successful the President has been in using the media; we all know how easy it would be for him to isolate or discredit any one segment of opinion—especially youthful antiwar sentiment; and we all know how much this ability has allowed him to continue to hope for some kind of victory.

This increasing power of the President corresponds with the declining power of the Congress—a theme with which I am sure you are familiar. Besides all its other effects, this war is raising serious questions regarding the viability of a system of diffused power. The Executive is clearly the one closest to the people. And he shapes the opinion in your district, opinion which you then follow. Is this what is meant by an independent Legislative Branch?

We on the campuses and you on the Hill are thus in very similar predicaments. Neither one of us has been able to move popular opinion; neither one of us has been able to get the President to end this war. As long as he continues his slick and singular use of the media he will control popular sentiments. And as long as Members simply follow those sentiments, he will control the Congress as well.

Regardless of how you might wish to label yourself; regardless of how you might feel about the opinions expressed during these hearings; I am sure you cannot help but realize your own position. We are witnessing a crisis in leadership, a crisis stemming from the ability of the President to make the Congress his prisoner; and the inability or unwillingness of the legislative branch to escape.

This fall, students in all parts of the country will be working to change the situation. Elections are the only means which provide such an opportunity. We will be attempting to gain that illusive political power for ourselves by restoring the legislative branch to a responsible position in the execution of foreign policy. We will be challenging members who have sat passively by while lives have been needlessly spent.

I believe, however, that this situation need not be one of confrontation for I think that your interests and ours correspond. There is no reason why you cannot use the opportunity of this fall's election to speak out—if not against policy then certainly against the process of its formulation.

Maybe this will force you to lead your district instead of follow; maybe you will have to endure political or personal discomfort for it is not an easy thing to oppose an incumbent President on foreign policy. But this war demands that kind of action, for considerations here go beyond military tactics to the heart of the constitutional system. I suppose I may even be asking you to risk your career but gentlemen, you have been asking us to risk our lives.

REVOLT AGAINST RATIONALITY

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, much has been said and written in recent weeks about the causes of the unrest that seems so prevalent in our Nation today. An editorial in the Wall Street Journal of May 22, however, stands out as one of the most cogent and thoughtful analyses of the problem, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

REVOLT AGAINST RATIONALITY

Is American democracy finally coming apart at the seams, as so many observers—and portents—seem to suggest?

We ourselves have always entertained a certain skepticism about the democratic experiment. Not, we hasten to add, because we considered it poorly conceived; on the contrary, the blueprint uniquely combined high idealism with a shrewd understanding of how to cope with man as a political animal. It has worked remarkably well, giving the U.S. one of the most stable, long-lasting political structures in history, giving the people liberty within a framework of order.

Rather, our doubts were more or less the kind that troubled Tocqueville, Macaulay, Jose Ortega y Gasset, among others: That our form of democracy is indeed an experiment, a rarity in the rough record of political entities. More, that by its nature it produces mass man, who eventually, it was feared, would succumb to individual or group greed and envy, dissipating the tolerance and mutual respect on which the whole depends.

The framers of the Constitution were acutely aware of the dangers and strove mightily to avert their materializing. They would, as Jefferson reckoned, bind down the Executive in the chains of the Constitution, for they were especially cognizant of the possible peril of the emergence of an individual tyrant. But they would also see to it that power was so distributed in the Government that tyranny could develop nowhere.

They were even more subtle. They would use some of man's less noble drives to help preserve the democracy they created. Thus Madison, writing extensively about the menace of factionalism, reasoned that there would inevitably be factions but that in their own self-interest they would tacitly, peacefully negotiate with each other, in effect canceling out each other as threats to the political system.

Yet today, sad to see, we do have individual and group greed and envy ascendant, have a sort of sourness in the national spirit, have rampant factionalism. Factionalism, whether it be of the black separatists, the student militants or the construction workers on Broad Street battling the anti-war demonstrators. It is by no means confined to this country, but it is bad enough.

All this ugliness could probably be managed and gradually moderated within the democratic process, and rational men obviously hope it will be. Unfortunately, an additional element has intervened, one that apparently no one fully anticipated but that to an extent derives from the democratic concept itself. It is that many people today are in fact not rational; not only not interested in rationality as a manifest humanistic desideratum but deliberately in revolt against it.

The phenomenon is most evident, of course, among the university radicals. They reject the whole range of values of Western civilization, not least the value that civilization puts on the quality of reason. They loathe their own country and its institutions. They want to pull everything down, and they boast that they have no idea what would replace the present society.

Now it is sometimes remarked, correctly, that these students are a minority—but their capacity for havoc can hardly be discounted. Unquestionably this relative handful of fanatics set the stage, among numerous other disruptions, for the deplorable shooting of the innocents by the National Guard at Kent State. They are in no small part responsible for the closing of many universities.

The upshot is that the non-radical students, the ones who want to get an education, are being deprived of it. Even on the campuses that are still open, in many cases there is so much turmoil that little studying can be done. So a question about the future of a democratic society is whether, between the radicals who want to destroy it and the normal students who are perforce coming out ill-educated, the nation can expect to have competent leadership in all fields.

Many blame anti-intellectual, antidemocratic professors like the ineffable Marcuse for the sorry state of academe, and they richly deserve the blame. The deterioration, however, is also an aspect of democracy; that is, if the society tries to practice equality of opportunity, it is natural enough that it will assume that practically everyone should have a college education.

It is a mistake, though. The nation's campuses are overloaded with people who have no business there, who have no affinity for the intellectual life, who would be better off in vocational schools or at work. They surely are not all rabid radicals, but their fundamental incompatibility with academic pursuits greatly contributes to the boredom which in turn contributes to campus unrest.

Well, we certainly are not about to give up on the democratic idea, despite the omens; we agree with Churchill when he said that democracy is possibly the worst form of government, except for any other. All the same, it seems increasingly clear that if there is to be much basis for genuine hope, a lot of Americans are going to have to relearn what democracy—and human nature—are all about.

IRONIC DELIBERATIONS

HON. ED FOREMAN

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, no one has so clearly defined the real issue under consideration of the "amendment to end the war" and President Nixon's forthright leadership as has the Farmington Daily Times of Farmington, N. Mex. I include their excellent editorial for the review of my colleagues:

[From the Farmington (N. Mex.) Times, May 19, 1970]

IRONIC DELIBERATIONS

A move is underway in the U.S. Senate to cut-off or drastically limit expenditures for American military operations in Indochina.

Since President Nixon announced April 30 the necessity of routing out North Vietnamese and Viet Cong installations in Cambodia, there has been renewed opposition within the U.S. to the American policy in Southeast Asia.

Despite all reports that Nixon's plan to send American troops into Cambodia—and he accepted full responsibility for the decision—is bringing about the desired results, there remains a vociferous segment of the population which seems determined that the U.S. surrender in South Vietnam.

The President explained to the nation and the world on April 30 that the Cambodian action was designed to curb the Communist capability to wage war in South Vietnam. If that capability could be curbed, it was reasoned, the U.S. timetable for troop withdrawals could be kept and possibly speeded up. It was also hoped that Hanoi, recognizing it had no chance of a military victory, might at last decide to talk sense in Paris where so-called peace talks have been underway for two years.

Dismissing the logic of the Nixon policy, the anti-war anti-establishment sector of the population took the Cambodian situation as a cue for renewed efforts which, in effect, tend to aid the Communist cause and prolong the war.

It is ironic that some of the doves in the U.S. Senate now call for cutting off funds for America's participation in the Southeast Asia mess.

Most of the Nixon-critics were in a position to cut-off those funds years ago when it was apparent that the U.S. was becoming increasingly involved in Vietnam.

One cannot help but wonder why these senators did not take their present position five years ago when a Democratic President was also trying to extricate the U.S. from the South Vietnam situation.

We suspect there are those who would oppose any proposal offered by Nixon to solve the Vietnam problem.

Congress is presently controlled by the Democrats. It will be a tragic commentary if history records the fact that many of our national legislators placed their personal political aspirations on a higher level than what they honestly believed was best for their country.

It is already a sad commentary that some leaders in what is considered the greatest deliberative body in the world have seen fit to attempt to destroy the President's hopes of de-escalating the war through the Cambodian maneuver.

We suspect that Communist leaders in Hanoi, Moscow and Peking are anxiously waiting to see if a small minority of Americans can really accomplish what the Red hordes have been unable to do. That is to force the U.S. to abandon Asia to international communism.

THE LATE HON. CHARLES A. VANPRETER, EAST ALTON, ILL., MAYOR FOR 35 YEARS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. PRICE of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, last Monday, the Honorable Charles A. Vanpreter, mayor of East Alton, Ill., died of a stroke. His death ended a 35-year mayoral career that saw East Alton, under his dynamic leadership, change from a dirt street, backwater village to one of the wealthiest communities in the State of Illinois.

Referred to as "the Man," Charlie Vanpreter had a determined vision of what his community should be. He was not to be denied. Economic development, expanded public services, and above all, colorful leadership brought East Alton into the 20th century.

His devotion to public services was a

family trait. Before him, his father served two terms as mayor. Then during the depression "Charlie Van" became politically active and was elected to his first term as mayor in 1931 and went on to serve 11 more terms as mayor.

Charlie's influence on political life extended beyond the corporate limits of East Alton. Long Active in county politics, "Charlie Van" was one of the leading Democratic figures in Madison County and served two terms as Democratic county chairman.

With his death, southern Illinois has lost one of its most powerful leaders. True to form and in keeping with his wishes, "Charlie Van," at age 71, died with his boots on.

He is survived by his wife and son, a sister, and four grandchildren.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD, I include the Alton, Ill., Evening Telegraph article of May 19 about Mayor Vanpreter:

COLORFUL MAYOR VAN OF EAST ALTON DIES

(By Bill Lhotka)

"The Man" died at 10:15 p.m. Monday and an East Alton era ended with him.

The Man was Charles A. Vanpreter, 71, East Alton's colorful and controversial mayor who suffered an apparent stroke and was rushed to Jewish Hospital in St. Louis where he died Monday night.

Death ended a 35-year mayoral career that saw the Village of East Alton rise under "The Man's" reign from a dirt-street hitching post to "the richest little community outside of Chicago.

The Mayor became ill as he was eating lunch in an East Alton restaurant Monday after a morning on the job. Vanpreter drove himself home, and then was rushed by ambulance to the hospital at 2 p.m.

"I want to go with my boots on," Vanpreter used to privately tell reporters. Monday he got his wish.

Seventy years had passed since Mrs. Lizzie Vanpreter brought along a one-year old son while she sold fresh vegetables throughout the poor, dirt-street village.

In 1906—seven years before electricity came to East Alton—Thomas and Lizzie Vanpreter opened a dry goods store in the village.

The Vanpreter family took the lead in community affairs, and Thomas Vanpreter served two terms as mayor, elected to the post in 1917 and again in 1923.

"Charley Van" entered the political arena as the depression struck the community. He was elected mayor for the first time in 1931.

Thirty-eight years later, Vanpreter defeated Jerry Lamar for mayor and began his twelfth term in office. Only once, in 1949, was Vanpreter turned down by East Alton voters. He lost to Otto Brazier by less than 100 votes, then regained his position by ousting Brazier in 1953.

Vanpreter was proud of his community and viewed himself as a kindly father presiding over a household. He brought East Alton into the 20th Century.

The development of Olin Corp. into a major industry and the advent of several shopping center complexes brought tax funds pouring into the village coffers.

Vanpreter spent the monies and East Alton was the beneficiary. Paved streets replaced dirt roads. A million dollar sewer system and disposal plant was erected, and a senior citizen home was completed.

During his last term in office, "The Man" built a major municipal complex—two edifices housing the village offices, fire and police stations, courtrooms and an auditorium.

Vanpreter, who followed Madison Mayor Stephen Maeras in death by less than three months, was the last of the old-time politicians in the Telegraph area.

Often compared to Frank Skeffington in Edwin O'Connor's novel, the Last Hurrah, Vanpreter was one of Southern Illinois' most colorful characters.

"I take it as a personal insult," Vanpreter stormed in 1965 when a political opponent referred to East Alton as "grimy."

"It is an insult to all the people—and I mean the churches, the shopping centers, the stores, the industries and the residents—to call this a grimy town, which infers it is dirty."

Vanpreter made his presence felt in county politics and at one point served two terms as Democratic county chairman during the early 1940's.

But as the Democratic power base swung to the south end of the county, "The Man" bowed out. "Like Calvin Coolidge, I do not choose to run," was the Mayor's terse comment.

Defeated in a bid for Democratic state central committeeman in 1950, Charley Van stayed close to home thereafter but his political abilities continued to be respected by south county politicoes.

In 1966, for example, a controversy raged between proponents of a harbor and backers of a park south of Hartford. At a meeting of the Southwestern Council of Mayors, Maeras and Dr. John Lee attempted to ram through a resolution supporting the harbor proposal.

Vanpreter slowly began a series of parliamentary maneuvers that startled the south county power base, and after the smoke cleared, Vanpreter was named chairman of a seven-member committee. A majority of the committee, to the chagrin of the harbor backers, contained park supporters.

Vanpreter's solutions to everyday East Alton problems were equally entertaining. When the village police were accused of wasting too much gasoline, "The Man" refrained from issuing the usual lecture on economy.

Instead, he locked the gas tanks on the police cars. Within a week, one patrol car had run out of gas. The officer was driving it too much, Vanpreter declared.

The last five years of the Vanpreter era were marked with repeated clashes between the Mayor and two village trustees, James Greene and Don McPherson.

UNITED NATIONS FACING CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the United Nations Organization is now acknowledged to be facing a crisis of confidence. Who says so? Of all people, the U.S. State Department. The interesting suggestion for solving the crisis is said to call for "reforms"—which U.S. taxpayers should know by now simply means more U.S. tax dollars.

Perhaps the State Department's call for "reforms" explains the latest activity to place the high seas under an international trusteeship. Perhaps this international trusteeship could be the United Nations Organization and the offshore oil and mineral royalties would be the source of revenue for the United Nations Organization reforms. Image making costs money.

I insert two news clippings:

[From the Washington Post, May 24, 1970]

UNITED STATES SAYS U.N. FACES CRISIS, CALLS FOR REFORMS

NEW YORK.—A high State Department official said yesterday the United Nations is facing a crisis of confidence and called for reforms to make it more efficient and responsive.

Asst. Secretary of State Samuel de Palma said he was speaking for the Nixon administration in reaffirming government support for the U.N. while also voicing what he termed constructive criticism.

De Palma set forth the current U.S. policy toward the U.N. in a prepared speech for the United Nations Association of the U.S.A.

"We all know there is a crisis of confidence . . . from which the United Nations is now suffering," he declared.

He said there is much evidence of declining public support for the organization and that many believe it has not achieved its central purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

The U.N. has become "a conglomerate which lacks a central board of directors," de Palma said, adding that it should organize itself "so as to provide more information to member governments, more central direction and a common order of program priorities."

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle-Herald, May 24, 1970]

PRESIDENT SEEKS HIGH SEAS TREATY

WASHINGTON. (AP)—President Nixon proposed Saturday that all nations renounce claim to natural resources beyond where the high seas reach a depth of 200 meters and put them under international trusteeship.

"At issue," he said in a statement proposing a treaty, "is whether the oceans will be used rationally and equitably and for the benefit of mankind or whether they will become an arena of unrestrained exploitation and conflicting jurisdictional claims in which even the most advantaged states will be losers."

The 200-meter depth—about 656 feet—is on most seabeds of the world the outer limit of the continental shelf.

John R. Stevenson, State Department legal adviser, told newsmen the 200-meter depth varies greatly in distance from the shoreline but averages about 50 miles. Off California and the West Coast of South America they are as narrow as a few miles and off the United Kingdom, Argentina, Alaska and New England they are several hundred miles wide.

The new treaty would be apart from the one being negotiated to limit to 12 miles from the shore the sovereignty a nation can claim over its ocean boundaries. The United States has kept to its three-mile limit but said it will accept the 12-mile limit if enough nations agree to it and the treaty provides for free navigation through international straits.

In calling on all nations to renounce claim to resources beyond the continental shelves, Nixon's statement said: "the United States as a major maritime power and a leader in ocean technology to unlock the riches of the ocean has a special responsibility to move this effort forward."

The treaty would set up an international organization which would "provide for the collection of substantial mineral royalties to be used for international community purposes, particularly economic assistance to developing countries."

"It should also," Nixon said, "establish general rules to prevent unreasonable interference with other uses of the ocean, to protect the ocean from pollution, to assure the integrity of the investment necessary for such

exploitation and to provide for peaceful and compulsory settlement of disputes."

Each coastal state would receive a share of the international revenues from the zone in which it acts as trustee.

Nixon said the United States will introduce specific proposals at the next meeting of the United Nations Seabeds Committee.

Conceding that negotiation of such a complex treaty may take some time despite the urgency of the problem, Nixon said: "I do not, however, believe it is either necessary or desirable to try to halt exploration and exploitation of the seabeds beyond a depth of 200 meters during the negotiating process."

"Accordingly," he said, "I call on other nations to join the United States in an interim policy. I suggest that all permits for exploration and exploitation of the seabeds beyond 200 meters be issued subject to the international regime agreed upon."

Nixon suggested that "a substantial portion of the revenues derived by a state from exploitation beyond 200 meters during this interim period should be turned over to an appropriate international development agency for assistance to developing countries."

FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES MUSEUM IS FEATURED

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, there is a splendid and relatively new museum in Muskogee, Okla., devoted to the heritage of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians—the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole.

These proud tribes were removed from their original homelands in the Southeastern United States and brought into Indian territory in eastern Oklahoma. With them they brought a highly developed culture. They established nations with legislative and judicial branches. They established and operated excellent public schools. Their accomplishments have been outstanding in many fields.

The Five Civilized Tribes Museum at Muskogee contains art, documents, photographs, clothing, and tools which tell the story of these great people and their history. The Muskogee museum also features one of the finest collections of work by present-day artists who are members of these tribes.

I was delighted Sunday to find an excellent story on this museum in the Daily Oklahoman. The story traces the efforts made by the tribes and the people of Muskogee in getting the museum established, and deals at length with its features. I would like to have this story by the Oklahoman's women's editor, Miss Joan Gilmore, appear in the RECORD. I am only disappointed that the excellent color pictures which accompanied it in the newspaper cannot appear also.

The article follows:

INDIAN HERITAGE

(By Joan Gilmore)

High on a wooded hill, overlooking the land of the people for whom it's named, is the Five Civilized Tribes Museum. Located on Agency Hill in Muskogee, the museum is housed in a building constructed in 1875 as the Union Indian Agency, the first building ever erected by the U.S. government for the superintendency of the five tribes—Cherokee, Seminole, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Creek.

The small museum is a treasure house of history. Photographs, clothes, art objects, documents and other data trace the history and accomplishments of the Five Civilized Tribes.

In the last century, the Creek Nation held ownership of the building. In 1909 it was conveyed to Muskogee for park purposes and in 1944, the city gave it to the U.S. to aid facilities at the Veterans Hospital located near the building.

During the early 1950's, the Da-Co-Tah Indian Club in Muskogee, with membership of women who trace their Indian ancestry through official tribal rolls, began working for the return of the building to Muskogee. This took congressional and presidential intercession but was accomplished in 1954. Under Da-Co-Tah sponsorship, the Five Civilized Tribes Museum was incorporated in 1955.

The museum is managed by a board of nine elective and seven ex-officio trustees, with John T. Griffin of Muskogee as president. Restoration of the building and maintenance costs are borne by the membership fees.

Official opening date was April 16, 1966. By that time, some $94,000 had been privately raised for restoration of the building. To this day, it is privately maintained by donations, with no assistance from the government or a foundation. Nearly 300 volunteers, male and female, donate their time as hostesses and tour guides or as sales personnel in the gift shop.

The first level contains special historical displays for each tribe. On the second level are a library, art gallery and photo room. Only items pertaining to the Five Civilized Tribes are displayed.

New to the art gallery is a clay sculpture of an Indian stick ball player, on loan from Mrs. Jerome Tiger, widow of the late Indian artist who died before it was completed. Nearly life-size, the clay figure is the largest Tiger ever attempted. The museum board hopes to be able to purchase it as a permanent exhibit.

Other sculpture in the gallery is by the famous Indian artist, Willard Stone. They represent different periods in his work, the earliest being represented by a madonna head done in 1938. The artist donated the wood sculpture to the museum in memory of Mrs. Grant Foreman, early civic leader. The wood is from a cedar tree on the Bacone College campus. The tree burned and had to be removed. A piece of the wood was given to Stone, a former student.

On the walls of the gallery are numerous drawings, water colors and oils of and by Indians in the Five Civilized Tribes. Mrs. Spencer Denton, hostess at the museum, said, "The museum is an outlet for Indian crafts, the only one in the world just for those of the five tribes. We've sold nearly $40,000 worth of art for them since the museum opened four years ago."

Mrs. Paul Rowsey and Mrs. Griffin, wife of the board president, leaders in the continuation and improvement in the museum, have secured expert help in their art gallery displays. Through their efforts, Gloria Schumann, a nationally-known artist who now lives in Muskogee, consented to serve as consultant. She arranged the circular setting for the Tiger statute in the center of the gallery.

Miss Schumann has become so interested in the museum—and the Jerome Tiger sculpture—that she's agreed to donate her fee for one portrait per year for 10 years to cover the expense of puchasing it.

The lower level of the little gem of a museum is a marvelous place to prowl and browse. The gift shop is located on this floor, too. A nominal admission fee is charged but it's well worth the price to enjoy—or research—the early beginnings of Oklahoma history.

You can even bring a picnic lunch and stay the day. The Five Civilized Tribes Museum is right at the entrance to one of Oklahoma's prettiest parks, Honor Heights.

Small museums like this one deserve attention. They usually represent the combined efforts of many people and they often contain little highlights that can't be found elsewhere. We loved our tour of the Five Civilized Tribes Museum on Agency Hill. Next time you're near Muskogee, give it a look-see. We think you'll like it too.

EX-LAWYER BOUND FOR INDIA MISSION

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, the Medical Mission Sisters, an international organization, has its world headquarters in my district at 8400 Pine Road, Philadelphia, Pa. This is a private missionary group which specializes in medical health in the most deprived countries of the world. Other projects include the training of local people to handle their own medical problems.

This is a nonproselytizing order, very modest, and one that is entitled to the respect of every human being. They ask for little help and do a tremendous job for humanity.

One of the outstanding citizens of my congressional district is, without a doubt, Sister Anne Cummins, who is about to go to India as a sister in this order. Her activities are explained in the following newspaper article which appeared in the Philadelphia Sunday Bulletin on May 17, 1970:

EX-LAWYER, NOW A NUN, IS BOUND FOR INDIA MISSION

(By William T. Keough)

Hannah Mary Cummins gave up a successful law career after eight years of practice to become a nun.

Now she is Sister Anne Cummins, and preparing to go to India on May 27 to coordinate 600 Catholic medical facilities in that country.

"I think this is the kind of work Christ would do if He were on earth today," she said. "I know there are lots of problems here and in other nations, but the problems of India are so vast and there is such misery there, that when I thought about it I knew Christ would want me to go there."

She said she feels her decision to go to India is tied into her decision to give up her law practice two years ago to join the Medical Mission Sisters at 8400 Pine road, Fox Chase.

FOUND VOCATION

"Something came over me that made me want to change my life," she said. "It's really hard to explain. St. Paul fell from a horse and changed his life. I made a retreat and I was so bowled over by the love that the retreat master put over and made all of us feel that I asked myself, "What is thi swhole marvelous Christian dimension that I don't seem to feel?' "

Sister Anne was brought up in Northeast Philadelphia and sent to Presentation Grade School in Cheltenham. She later attended

St. Joachim's Grade School and Little Flower Catholic High School where she played on the girls' basketball team.

STUDIED EVENINGS

She took a job as a secretary with the law firm of Obermayer, Rebmann, Maxwell and Hippel. "When I saw what the lawyers were doing I decided I'd rather do their work than be a secretary," she said.

She studied evenings at St. Joseph's College and at Temple University Law School. She was graduated from the law school in 1960 and admitted to the bar the same year.

From 1961 to 1965 Sister Anne was an assistant attorney general assigned to the Department of Labor and Industry. She was an assistant city solicitor of Philadelphia from 1965 to December, 1967. She joined the Medical Mission Sisters in 1968.

"My legal training is very useful to the order," she said. "It's big business today to run hospitals and missions."

SHE HAS A DREAM

At New Delhi, India, she will work with Edward Naebert, a Lutheran hospital administrator from Canada, and Dr. Ernest Sundaran, a Methodist physician from India.

"We'll be coordinating the work of physical therapists, laboratory technicians, social workers, psychologists, doctors and nurses throughout India," she said.

"Part of our work will be to provide seminars in hospital administration for Indian lay people," she added. "We also want to hold seminars in personnel management as it applies to hospitals and continuing education programs for lots of people. Eventually we want to set up state and regional boards of coordinating health facilities. I know some of these things are dreams. But they're real dreams. They're very real to me."

A BIG JOB

Her assignment in India is for an indefinite length of time, Sister Anne said. "But when I think about how big India is and how many cultures and problems it has it seems to me the need for missionaries will go on there long beyond my lifetime," she added.

She said, however, that nothing would please her more than to someday be able to turn her job over to an Indian national.

"If Indian nationals can replace me someday, amen," she said. "We want that. That's what missionaries are supposed to do. If we could train Indian nationals to carry on the work then my work there would be finished and I could move on to something else."

MR. LAIRD ON THE ABM

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 25, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, an article by I. F. Stone appears in the June 4, 1970, the New York Review of Books. Mr. Stone's rebuttal to Secretary of Defense Laird's April 20 speech at the annual luncheon of the Associated Press is a very important contribution to the debate about the ABM and Soviet versus U.S. strategic offensive strength. It is tragic that this debate is needlessly complicated by misleading statements emanating from officials of the Department of Defense.

The article follows:

MEMO TO THE AP EDITORS: HOW LAIRD LIED

(By I. F. Stone)

Secretary of Defense Laird's recent speech to the editors of the Associated Press on April 20 recalls a legendary exploit in military-political annals: the villages Prince Potemkin built for Catherine the Great's tour of the Russian countryside. Laird's description of the Soviet nuclear arsenal bears about as much relation to reality as the rosy-cheeked peasants trotted out for inspection by the delighted and bamboozled Empress.

The inner circle of the Kremlin, hearing from Laird that the U.S. is in imminent danger of becoming a second-rate power, that its nuclear forces have declined so far as to put us (in Laird's words) "literally on the edge of prudent risk," must wish—like Catherine's courtiers—it were only so.

Secretary Laird began his address by commending himself on his honesty. "When I assumed office fifteen months ago," he told the AP editors at their annual luncheon, "I immediately established as a top priority goal the restoration of credibility in the Department of Defense." Ever since he assured them, he had followed "President Nixon's desire to make more information available to the American people." Copies of his address were placed beside the plates of the 1,500 editors who heard him, and they were urged to take the copies home for further dissemination. Rarely has an Administration been so anxious to spread bad news.

I have prepared this article as if to serve as a memorandum for the AP editors who heard the Secretary. It sums up one Washington newsman's efforts to check on Laird's presentation. The hope is that AP editors will be led to recheck all of this for themselves, to put their staff men onto the Pentagon briefing officers and the documentary sources herein covered, and then report the results of their own investigation to their readers.

The Laird address struck the theme of an alarmist campaign soon joined by the President himself and the Pentagon's chief of research and development, Dr. John S. Foster. The immediate purpose is to stem the growing effort in Congress to block the ABM and MIRV. The Administration's campaign also reflects a fear of public pressure for a moratorium in the deployment of ABM and MIRV in order to assure the success of the SALT talks. (The Senate on April 9 voted 72 to 6 for a resolution urging Nixon to propose a mutual freeze on strategic nuclear weapons.) A measure of Laird's frantic mood is the memo he sent his Pentagon aides two days after the AP speech stamped "Secret . . . Sensitive."[1] The text which leaked to the Washington Post, May 10, said:

"It has come to my attention that misleading and even erroneous information is being disseminated concerning our negotiating positions at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks in Vienna. In particular, information which indicates the desirability of a moratorium on MIRV and ABM deployment is harmful.

I do not believe that Department of Defense officials have been involved in indicating any position which could be construed as favorable to a MIRV or ABM deployment moratorium. I want to be sure you understand, however, there must be *no* speculation which would indicate, or even imply, that a MIRV or ABM deployment moratorium is desirable."

This secret memorandum puts in perspective the alarms which followed from Dr. Foster and the White House. In a speech April 23, Dr. Foster told the American Newspaper Publishers Association that "the Soviet Union now is about to seize world technological leadership from the United States." President Nixon in a briefing that evening for Congressional leaders warned that the Soviet Union might soon become the greatest military power on earth and then "the American position in Europe and the Far East will crumble overnight."[2] This campaign hardly provides the ideal accompaniment for the SALT talks, which reopened in Vienna only four days before Laird spoke. If it were true that America is in such imminent danger of becoming a second-rate power, we ought to be spending billions more on arms, not talking about disarmament or arms limitation at Vienna. That seems to be the message Laird is trying to get across.

The Washington Post in a brilliant editorial May 1 has already exposed the fact that Dr. Foster's alarms rested in no small part on two sentences from a recent speech by Soviet Communist Party Leader Brezhnev. These were quoted out of context as if he were talking about the nuclear arms race. The Washington Post reproduced the passages in between the two sentences and commented that from Dr. Foster's presentation, "you could hardly have guessed that the speech was made by party chief Brezhnev on the occasion of presenting an award for superior production to the Kharkov tractor works, or that it was entirely devoted to peaceful industrial and agricultural progress in the Soviet Union."[3] Laird's presentation, as we shall see, is equally selective.

The heart of Mr. Laird's address was that "for the past five years the United States has virtually been in neutral gear in the deployment of strategic offensive forces, while the Soviet Union has moved into high gear in both deployment and development of strategic nuclear weapons" as part of "a major effort since 1965 to change the balance of power." He said, "The United States then, unlike the situation today, clearly occupied a superior position."

If the AP editors check for themselves they will find it impossible to reconcile this overall picture with the figures Laird himself presented to the House Armed Service Committee only a month before his AP luncheon address. A good place to start in checking this is with the new Armed Services Committee hearings on our military posture. They were released just nine days after the AP luncheon. Laird gave that committee the annual comprehensive review that every Secretary of Defense has been making to Congress since the later Eisenhower years. In this Laird "posture statement," at page 6874, there is a table comparing the number of "force loadings," i.e., nuclear warheads, deliverable by the two superpowers. Laird told the committee the Soviet total was 1,350 compared to 4,200 for the US. We had more than three times as much deliverable nuclear destructive power. How in the light of his own figures could he tell the AP editors we no longer had superiority?

Laird's assertion that for five years "the United States has virtually been in neutral gear in the deployment of strategic offensive forces" does not stand up under examination. In the past five years, for example, we have expanded the number of warheads on our Polaris fleet by 250 percent. Laird hides this dramatic expansion by the way he puts the comparative figures in the table to which we have just referred. He gives the figure for SLBMs (submarine-launched ballistic missiles) on both sides in "launchers." He gives the Soviets 110 and ourselves 656, a 6–1 disparity in our favor. But if the figures are given not in launchers but in the number of warheads on those launchers, the disparity in our favor is 15–1. How can our deployment during the past five years be called "virtually in neutral gear" when the number of warheads on our nuclear submarine fleet has expanded so dramatically in that period?

This expansion is given added importance by the fears that increasing accuracy may soon make all land-based missiles vulnerable to first strike attack, no matter how deeply buried in hardened silos. A first strike strategy, however, is still made suicidal by the fear of retaliation from bombers and submarine-launched missiles. It represents a huge step forward in protecting the US deterrent when the number of warheads it can launch

Footnotes at end of speech.

from undersea has been increased so enormously. I did not become aware of this until Jane's Weapons Systems 1969–70, a new publication in the famous *Jane's* military handbooks, arrived recently from London. At the top of page 107 it disclosed that 448 of the 656 launchers on our Polaris fleet are now outfitted with the A–3 missile.[4] The somewhat earlier Jane's Fighting Ships for 1969–70 had already disclosed (at page 387) that the A–3 missile, "capable of delivering an explosive force of between 0.7 and 1 megaton," has three separate warheads.

These A–3 missiles are not MIRVs, i.e., multiple independently targeted "reentry vehicles" but only MRVs, i.e., simply multiple warheads in a cluster. But they triple the punch and destructive power on each Polaris launcher. There are no similar triple-headers yet deployed on the other side.

So if the number of our A–3 launchers is multiplied by three and added to the remaining single-warheads on the 208 A–2s, we have a total of 1,552 warheads on our fleet as compared with the 110 Laird gives for the Soviets.

The A–3 also represents a sharp increase in range. The A–2 has a range of 1500 miles; the A–3, 2500. According to Jane's Weapons Systems this is the result of "a major re-engineering of the basic missile to achieve a 60 percent increase in range for approximately the same weight and dimensions as the A–2 model."[5] "It has been calculated," says the SIPRI Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament (p. 102), "that replacing the A–1 with the A–2 results in doubling the target area. The A–3 expands the A–1 target area by a factor of six. Polaris A–3 also provides six times as much ocean for the submarine to hide in." That is hardly standing still. When Pentagon press spokesman Jerry W. Friedheim chimed into the Laird alarm campaign with a "background" press conference on April 23, he unintentionally revealed that even the latest model Soviet subs are far behind ours in range. He said he would "not be surprised" if there were at least one of the latest model Soviet nuclear "Yankee-class"—the Pentagon's own Pentagonistic term—subs cruising offshore in the Atlantic within 1200 to 1500 miles of the United States, the maximum range of its missiles.[6] That is roughly half the range of the Polaris A–3. No the Soviets are far behind us in range, too.

The Friedheim background conference inadvertently disclosed another area in which Laird was less than candid. Friedheim showed color pictures of a Soviet multiple warhead (not MIRV but MRV) test. Laird did not tell the AP editors that while the Russians are just beginning to test MRVs, we began to test MIRVs two years ago[7] and will soon begin deploying them. The Minuteman 3 with three independently targeted (MIRV) warheads is scheduled for deployment in June. And the Poseidon missile, which can carry from ten to fourteen independently targeted warheads, is to begin replacing the Polaris A–3 on our nuclear submarines next January.

Far from being in neutral gear, the Navy seems to be moving full speed ahead. It already has under development a new underwater monster as a successor to Poseidon. It is building a test and evaluation submarine for a ULMS (Improved Underwater Launched Missile System). This submarine, as the new edition of Jane's Fighting Ships describes it,[8] "would be 'on station,' i.e., capable of targeting major Soviet cities and military complexes, even before it cleared harbour and would have an operating area which includes most of the Atlantic, the Pacific, and Indian Oceans." This deployment for a missile submarine, Jane's adds, "would make such a craft virtually invulnerable to any Soviet ASW [anti-submarine warfare] threat."

In addition, while the Poseidon missile "has double the payload and twice the accuracy" of the A–3, the longer range missile being developed for ULMS "could be a completely new weapon or an improved version of the Poseidon."[9] On April 30, during the debate on the 1971 defense authorization bill, Congresman Leggett (D., Cal.), one of the "Fearless Five" dissidents on the House Armed Services Committee, revealed for the first time that the ULMS would have 24 missile launchers as against the 16 on Polaris. How can our strategic weapons program be termed in neutral gear with such momentous projects under way?

Indeed by the mid-1970s the Soviets will find themselves even more behind than now unless a freeze is negotiated or they step up the pace of their arms effort very sharply. The latest Strategic Survey just issued by the Institute for Strategic Analysis in London says that by 1975 the number of deliverable nuclear warheads in the American strategic arsenal will be "about 11,000" while the Soviet, "which has already begun to develop its own multiple warhead system, could presumably increase its numerical strength by some similar percentage." If the expansion of the Soviet force is by the same percentage as the U.S. the Soviets will have some 5,000 deliverable nuclear warheads by 1975, or less than half as many as the U.S. That, too, doesn't sound like we are in low gear.

The AP editors can see just how far behind the Soviets are, and how thoroughly they were being gulled by Laird, if they recheck for themselves the two-page "balance sheet" Laird gave them to show what has happened in the last five years to the strategic balance between the US and the USSR. The balance sheet shows that the Soviets are indeed overtaking us in numbers of land-based missiles—but it also discloses inadvertently how many of their missiles are types we consider obsolete. A re-examination and recheck of the balance sheet will also throw some fresh light on that bugaboo, the Soviet SS–9 missile, the 15 to 25 MT monster, which is now supposed to threaten us with a first strike.

Laird began by saying that in 1965 the Soviets had "about 220 launchers for the relatively old-fashioned missiles—SS–6s, SS–7s, and SS–8s—somewhat similar to our Titan. We had 54 Titans in the inventory at that time." We have the same number now. Laird says that "in this category of old-fashioned multi-megaton weapons" the Soviets still have a 4–1 advantage. Then he says that in 1965 the Soviets had no SS–9s whereas today they have 220 with at least 60 more under construction, while we have no counterpart: "So in this area the Soviets have and will maintain a monopoly."

I went back and reread that opening section of the Laird balance sheet with fresh understanding after I stumbled on a revealing passage in Part I of the new House Appropriations Committee hearings on the 1971 defense budget which were released just two days after Laird's speech to the AP. In Part I of the hearings, at pages 596 and 597, the AP editors will find this colloquy. The questions (and the astringent final comment) were by Congressman John J. Rhodes of Arizona, a ranking Republican on the Appropriations Committee.

Mr. RHODES. Is the SS–9 a liquid-fueled missile?

General JOHN D. RYAN, Chief of Staff, US Air Force. Yes, sir.

Mr. RHODES. Are there not tremendous logistical problems connected with the launching of a missile like this?

General RYAN. Our Titan II is also a liquid-fueled missile.

Mr. RHODES. That is one of the reasons we changed.

This colloquy is revealing in three ways. It brings sharply to attention that the SS–9 is liquid-fueled. Except for Titan II, all our other liquid-fueled missiles—Atlas, Thor, Jupiter, and Titan I—were phased out long ago. In the second place General Ryan did not deny it when Representative Rhodes said there were "tremendous logistical problems connected with the launching of a missile like this." He merely replied that Titan II was also liquid-fueled. Nor did General Ryan deny the implication of Representative Rhode's final remark, "That is one of the reasons we changed." So the SS–9 turns out to be of a type we abandaned long ago as cumbersome and inefficient.

Indeed, rummaging around in past hearings, I found the SS–9 described as an imitation of the Titan II. More than two years, ago, when the SS–9 was still classified, Dr. Foster, then as now the Pentagon's Director of Defense Research and Engineering, told the Senate Armed Services Committee hearings on the Status of US Strategic Power,[10] "I find the Soviets reacting to our moves. We have deployed a Titan I and then subsequently a Titan II in a hard silo. The Soviet Union has followed with the deployment of most recently the [deleted] which is very similar to Titan II." The deletion could have referred only to the SS–9, and I have been so assured by an informed source. The reason we allow the Soviets a virtual monopoly—as Laird puts it—in this type of missile is that we consider it outmoded.

A few years ago the Pentagon was boasting of our superiority in developing the solid-fuel missile. But when I asked the briefing officer in the Pentagon who specializes in this question whether the liquid-fuel missile was as efficient as the solid-fuel, I was assured, to my bewilderment and surprise, that it was. But when I pulled off the shelf the Air Force ROTC manual on Aerospace Weapons Systems[11] and read the passage which follows, he said he meant his answer in a very strict sense. Liquid fuel indeed has more thrust than solid fuel but this advantage is outweighed by the other disadvantages it imposes on missiles fueled by it. This is what the ROTC manual says:

"None of the early liquid propellant missiles are satisfactory for the popular concept of "push button" warfare since they lack stability of fuel and require considerable human attention in their preparations for launching. Other disadvantages are the lack of mobility, large size, and high cost of production. Continued research, utilizing lessons learned in the use of the liquid-propellant ICBMs and IRBMs, resulted in the production of the SM–8 Minuteman.

"Mobility, hardening (of the silo in which the missile is placed to make it less vulnerable to attack), quicker firing, lighter weight, smaller size and lower cost make the Minuteman almost a different weapon compared to the other, first generation, ballistic missiles. The three-stage solid-fueled Minuteman was developed to be scattered throughout the United States in hardened underground silos or mounted on mobile railroad cars traveling over the nation's vast railway system. (Will the passenger soon lose his train to the missile? IFS.) Its solid fuel also permits it to be loaded and ready to be launched in seconds if necessary, since the entire countdown can be completed in advance, leaving only the actual firing to be actuated on signal. Even the firing signal can be given by remote control."

With this as background we are better able to assess Laird's balance sheet of land-based missiles. He gives the Soviets a total of 1240 land-based missile launchers. He divides them into three categories. The first is made up of 220 of what he calls the "relatively old-fashioned missiles—SS–6s, SS–7s, and SS–8s—somewhat similar to our Titan." These seem to be what might be called Model T missiles. The Pentagon press office told me that none of them were in hard silos. (It took all of an afternoon to get information on the SS–6. Apparently it is not included

Footnotes at end of speech.

in the manual on Soviet missilry used by the Pentagon press office. The briefing officer who finally answered my question about it said it took so long to answer because the SS–6 is now regarded as a space launch booster rather than as a weapon!) So 220 of the 1240 Laird gives the Russians are the earliest, most cumbersome, and most vulnerable type of rocket, resembling our Atlas or our Titan I.

The second category is the SS–9 which, as we have already seen, is a larger version of the Titan II. The size of the Titan II warhead is classified but it has generally been described as between 5 and 10 megatons. The SS–9 is described by Laird as between 15 and 25 megatons. It is not the early type of liquid-fuel rocket. It is fueled by "storable liquid" like Titan II, as Secretary of the Air Force Seamans explained [12] later in the colloquy with Representative Rhodes, and as Rhodes understood. Storable liquid represents a considerable improvement over the original liquid fuel. But neither General Ryan nor Secretary Seamans denied that there were great logistical difficulties in the use of storable liquid. The whole subject is wrapped in secrecy but as one expert told me, "It's not like solid where you can pour it and forget it, like concrete." The liquid is highly corrosive; the plumbing has to be flushed out from time to time; the firing may require from ten to twenty minutes. The firing is not virtually instantaneous, as with the solid-fuel rocket.

Some light on the difficulties Congressman Rhodes may have had in mind may be found in McNamara's posture statement of January 23, 1967. He said the US was keeping its fifty-four Titan missiles for a few more years because their 6100–mile range enabled them to reach certain targets in the USSR beyond the range of the then current Minuteman but that the same targets would be within the reach of the new Minuteman 3 and Poseidon. "The Titan II," McNamara reported, "is very expensive to operate, at least $600,000 per missile annually and probably closer to $1 million when the indirect costs of this relatively small force are considered." He spoke of the need to buy boosters for "testing and reliability demonstration" and of "six follow-on tests per year," i.e., one every two months. If the SS–9 is like our Titan II, it might best be described as an Edsel. So a total of 440, or more than a third of the 1240 land-based missiles with which Laird credits the Soviets are of the older variety, ranging from 5 to 25 megatons, trying to make up in megatonnage for what they lack in flexibility of handling and in accuracy.

The third category of land-based missiles with which Laird deals appears at first sight to be like Minuteman. "In 1965," he said in his balance sheet, "the Soviet Union had *no* [italics in original] relatively small ICBM launcher comparable to our Minuteman. . . . Today the Soviet Union has over 800 such launchers operational, and a projected force that could exceed 1,000 within the next two years. These launchers include both the SS–11 and SS–13 missiles." This sounds as though the Soviets have almost caught up with us in the small solid-fuel missile like Minuteman, of which we have 1,000. But those who look more closely—and it is important to look very closely at everything Laird says—will see that while he gave the impression these missiles were solid fuel he did not say so explicitly.

The misleading impression was created by saying that the Soviet missiles were like Minuteman, and the impression was strengthened by the way the Pentagon press office handled inquiries about it. The briefing officer who gives out information about Soviet missiles insisted over and over again to me in two days of telephone calls that of the two types Laird mentioned—the SS–11 and the SS–13—the first was solid fuel and the second was classified. The fact that descriptive details about the later model were classified led one to believe that it must be more advanced—solid fuel or better.

I told the briefing officer I had difficulty reconciling this with Jane's Weapons Systems and with the new Strategic Survey by the Institute for Strategic Studies in London. The former (at page 629) merely said, "There is some evidence that [Soviet] missiles using solid fuel motors are in a late stage of development and these have faster reaction times," i.e., than the liquid-fuel missiles. The somewhat more recent Strategic Survey went a little further and said, "The first Soviet solid-fueled missile is already being deployed." Eight hundred missiles cannot be deployed overnight, like toy soldiers. The silos take many months of construction, and are clearly visible by reconnaissance satellites. But the Pentagon press officer retorted scornfully that Laird's word was better than Jane's and the ISS.

After picking up considerable evidence, oral and written; to the contrary, I finally accused the briefing officer of giving out false information, though perhaps unwittingly. "I know you fellows have a job to do," I said, "but I did not think you would give a false answer to a direct question. I think the handbook you are using on Soviet missiles is phonied up." This led to an angry outburst in which he said he would inform Daniel Z. Henkin, the Pentagon's information chief, of my charges. I said I welcomed that and would like Henkin to call me. Within ten minutes, the same briefing officer called back apologetically and said that Laird himself in testimony last year to the House Appropriations Committee had described the SS–11 as liquid, not solid fuel, and the SS–13 as solid fuel. I had myself discovered this passage the night before and was preparing to use it against the Pentagon.

The incident shows how easily a reporter may be misled by the Pentagon press office if he does not do a good deal of independent research on his own. According to the briefing officer, the handbook he was using was revised as a result of this exchange to make it conform with Laird's earlier testimony. AP editors can find this testimony for themselves on page 8 of the special briefing, "Safeguard Anti-Ballistic Missile System," May 22, 1969, before the House Appropriations Committee, Laird said:

"Currently about two-thirds of the Soviet ICBM force consists of SS–11s, a small Minuteman-sized, liquid fuel missile. With its currently estimated warhead yield and accuracy, this weapon does not pose a threat to our Minuteman forces. The Soviets have just started to deploy a new solid-fuel ICBM, the SS–13. But again this missile, with an even smaller warhead yield and no better accuracy, constitutes even less of a threat than the SS–11 to our Minuteman force."

So it is obvious from Laird's own testimony that most of the 800 "Minuteman-type" missiles to which he referred in the speech to the AP are liquid-fuel missiles inferior to our Minuteman. They have just begun to deploy a solid-fuel missile like Minuteman while we are about to deploy Minuteman 3, which will carry three MIRVed warheads.

I will not weary the reader by taking apart all the half-truths and disingenuous nonsense in the Laird speech. But I would like to touch on two points, one melodramatic, the other fundamental. The former is in that portion of his balance sheet where he says that the Soviets have tested a Fractional Orbital Bombardment System "and could have an operational version already deployed" while the US has "developed nothing comparable." Dr. Ralph Lapp tells me that not a single operational analysis at the Pentagon has shown that an FOBS has military value for the US. I would like to see AP editors check this out for themselves through their own sources.

A more fundamental point is raised by Laird's assertion, which made sensational headlines, that while "the Soviet Union has virtually quadrupled the total megatonnage in its strategic offensive force," the US in that same five-year period "reduced its megatonnage by more than 40 percent." This makes it sound as if we are falling fearfully behind. In fact, these figures are only an index of Soviet technological backwardness.

"More popular attention has traditionally been given," says the latest Strategic Survey by the Institute for Strategic Studies, "to the explosive power ('yield') of nuclear warheads than to the accuracy with which they can be delivered. Yet, when blast is the measure of effectiveness (as it is when attacking missile silos), the effects of improving accuracy are dramatically greater than the effects of increasing yield. . . . (I)mprovements in the accuracy with which warheads are delivered have something like five to six times more effect than do proportional increases in the yield of the warheads themselves. Doubling the accuracy thus has about the same effect as multiplying the yield by ten. . . . (O)nce high accuracy has been achieved by a missile system with small warheads (50 to 100 kilotons), small increases in that accuracy will produce large increases in effectiveness." This is why the U.S., instead of increasing the number of its missiles, has been improving their accuracy, and why we (and the Russians, too, though more slowly) have been moving steadily in the direction of smaller warheads.

A concluding observation from the Strategic Survey will make this clearer. It says improving the CEP [13] of a 5 megaton warhead from 3,000 to 1,500 feet gives about a 20 percent increase in the probability of destroying a hardened silo, while improving the CEP of a 200 kiloton warhead from 1500 feet to 750 feet gives about a 50 percent increase in that probability. The 200 kiloton weapon is superior in this sense to a 5 megaton weapon, though the latter has 25 times its explosive power or megatonnage!

It is the improvement in accuracy and guidance which is threatening to make the land-based missile obsolete, by rendering it vulnerable in the near future to direct attack. In this race the US, by every indication, is ahead. Dr. Herbert York, former head of research and engineering at the Pentagon, has said that accuracy has increased 400-fold since the V–2 and tenfold since the ICBM program was initiated fifteen years ago, and that a twofold further increase in accuracy would make the MIRVed Minuteman a first strike weapon, and a fourfold increase would make a first strike weapon of Poseidon. "It is very easy," he said of this picture, "to imagine what the Russian Cassandras are saying." [14]

The most dramatic development ahead is in our ABRES (Advanced Ballistic Missile Reentry System) program, now funded at $105 million, which would put maneuverable wings on the missile and a guidance system mapper in its cone to adjust its flight path, enabling it to home in on the target.[15] The view from the other side is more fearful than anything Laird painted for the AP editors because if you add improved accuracy and guidance to the vast multiplication of our warheads by MIRV, the Soviets are in more imminent danger than we. The chances are that we, rather than they, will be the first to achieve a first strike capacity.

The whole alarmist campaign launched by Laird, Foster, and Nixon is pitched to the maintenance of superiority whereas early in the Administration Nixon had promised to base arms policy on "sufficiency." Both sides now have more than ample power for deterrence. If superiority is to become the goal, then neither side will ever have a sufficiency. Endless arms race at ever greater cost is the prospect.

Footnotes at end of speech.

The SALT talks must fail if this is how the Nixon Administration approaches them. The AP's editors owe it to themselves and their readers to recheck Laird's alarms and explain their significance for the arms race and SALT.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Bernard Nossiter, Washington Post, May 10. James Reston, in The New York Times, May 11, said that his paper had received a copy of the same recent memorandum but had decided not to publish it. "The incident suggests," he commented, "that the opposition within the Pentagon has now reached the point where even highly classified documents are being purloined and distributed to the press." If the pressure rises, The New York Times may even begin to print them.

[2] Evans and Novack, Washington Post, April 27. See also John W. Finney's account of the same briefing in The New York Times, April 28. Notes taken by those present are circulating with White House permission on Capitol Hill, and have even reached my office.

[3] See also the equally hard-hitting Washington Post editorial April 22 on the Laird speech to the AP.

[4] "There are a total of 336 A–3 and 208 A–2 missiles assigned to the Atlantic fleet. One hundred and twelve A–3s are assigned to the Pacific fleet." Jane's Weapons Systems 1969–70. First year of issue. Sampson Low, Marston & Company, Ltd., London, 1970.

[5] p. 106.

[6] The Pentagon sees Soviet submarines off our coast every spring before the annual defense authorization bills come up in Congress. It is curious in this case, however, that Friedheim did not say a nuclear sub had been spotted but only that he would not be surprised if one were there! When we asked how many nuclear subs we had cruising in the Atlantic we were told this was classified. When we asked why it was classified, we were told "because we don't disclose that sort of information"!

[7] The first flight test of the Poseidon missile, which is MIRVed, according to Jane's Fighting Ships 1969–70, p. 387, was as far back as August 16, 1968.

[8] Foreword to the 1969–70 volume, p. 76.

[9] Jane's Fighting Ships 1969–70, p. 387.

[10] Part I, p. 110.

[11] May 1961, still the only edition publicly available, published by the Air University, pp. 26–7.

[12] See Part I, page 597, House Appropriations Committee hearings on the 1971 defense budget.

[13] Circular Error Probable. "This is the radius of a circle," The *Survey* explains, "centered on the exact target, within which 50 percent of the warheads delivered by that type of missile can be expected to fall."

[14] See page 41, SIPRI *Yearbook of World Armaments and Disarmament*, 1968/69.

[15] This is what the *Strategic Survey* alludes to when it says (p. 32), "The development of terminal guidance systems, which allow the individual warhead to be stored during reentry and which alone would be capable of achieving a CEP as small as 750 feet, is thus of particular importance in the case of missiles with smaller warheads."

SPEAKER McCORMACK ANNOUNCES RETIREMENT

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, the retirement of my dear friend and colleague JOHN McCORMACK will deprive this House and this Nation of the services of a great American. All of us in Congress, especially those of us who are privileged to serve with him in the New England congressional delegation, know what this gentleman has done for our country and how much he will be missed.

JOHN McCORMACK has provided effective representation for his constituents since 1928. He has led the fight for every major piece of social legislation passed by this Congress in the last 40 years. His record as a Democrat and as an American is truly outstanding.

JOHN McCORMACK is loved by his friends and respected by his adversaries. This is the highest tribute a man can be paid in Congress, and JOHN McCORMACK richly deserves it.

For all he has done for this Nation, for all he has meant to this Congress, I can only say, thank you, Mr. Speaker.

PERSPECTIVE, NOT PARTISANSHIP, NEEDED IN ECONOMIC POLICY

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, political parties and partisanship have an important role to play in our system of government. Partisans make our electoral system work. But there is a time and a place for partisanship. Engaging in scare tactics for partisan advantage is not the role which the leadership of either party in Congress should engage, particularly where the economy is concerned.

I think it should be noted that yesterday's joint press conference of the Senate and House majority leaders was the occasion for the Democratic leaders to announce their opposition to the $1.6 billion tax on lead additives in gasoline proposed by the President. Thus the leadership on the other side is again playing the budget busting game that created our economic problems in the first place.

They oppose taxes and at the same time try to push up appropriations—such as the recent action on the floor adding $350 million to the independent offices-HUD appropriations. It was this policy of not paying for Government activities which created the massive deficits—for example, $25.161 billion in 1968—inflationary pressures, and the tight monetary policies of the 1960's that led to the current situation. Given the actions of the Democratic Party in the House in this Congress, it would appear that their prescription for the current economic situation is more of the same.

As was pointed out in the Wall Street Journal yesterday by John O'Riley, it is important in economics, as in life, to keep things in perspective. If one's purpose is partisan advantage, a stable perspective on the economy may be particularly hard to achieve. The total economic situation, however, needs to be kept in perspective. The following are some salient facts which I believe should be kept in mind.

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT

Since the peak period of July 1969, industrial output is down 2.4 percent. This is not a large drop. Even the slight recession of 1960–61 saw it contract nearly 6 percent.

PERSONAL INCOME

This is the primary measure of public buying power. Last month it went above $800 billion for the first time in history. Furthermore, it is being expanded this year by bigger social security payments, higher pay for Government workers, and higher wages and salaries for private sector workers.

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

The GNP, our most comprehensive measure of the economy, still rises. Even when adjusted to eliminate the effects of inflation, the GNP is now down only 0.3 percent since July 1969.

EMPLOYMENT

In spite of the recent higher unemployment rate due to some layoffs and an expanding labor force, total civilian employment was at 78.9 million in April. This is very close to the record high recorded in March of 79.1 million.

Concerning the stock market, about which a great deal has been said recently, it should be kept in mind that the stock market is vastly more volatile than the economy generally. It is, as Wall Street Journal points out, more moody and emotional. In its exuberant periods, it is likely to race far ahead of the economy. Likewise it usually falls much more than the economy.

Mr. O'Riley's conclusion, I believe, is particularly significant: "but as of now, reading the record to date, it can only be said that the pains of the stock market are thus far spectacularly greater than those of the general economy."

Given the volatile nature of the stock market, I believe that the path to economic stability is not to be found through partisan scare tactics like those used yesterday. Indeed, it appeared that leaders on the other side were almost gleefully queuing up to make dire economic pronouncements.

The Congress must start cooperating with the President so that inflation can be held in check instead of playing the break the budget game. Every time the majority party leadership announces its opposition to the sound fiscal measures proposed by the President, it is signaling to the financial leaders of the world that the party with responsibility for legislative policy has no resolve or intention of putting the Nation's economic house in order. I would remind my colleagues on the other side of the aisle that with majority status in Congress goes a sharing of responsibility for a healthy economy.

Mr. Speaker, I include the excellent article of John O'Riley in the May 25 Wall Street Journal in the RECORD:

APPRAISAL OF CURRENT TRENDS IN BUSINESS AND FINANCE

In economics, as in life, keeping things in perspective is important. But not easy. And on the economic front it has been particularly difficult in recent months. Profits have been hard hit. Wall Street has been in

agony. Home building has lagged far behind need. Manufacturing layoffs have been sizable in some fields (autos) and huge in others (aerospace). All of this has been widely and repetitively publicized. And yet—in an overall sense—the economy still hums at a near-record level of activity.

Thus, for those who want to keep their bearings, it is well to note from time to time just where the overall economy stands in relation to its position when the slowdown began around the middle of last year. July of 1969 may be taken as a starting point. That's when U.S. industrial production reached its all-time high.

In the table below, industrial output is the 1957–59 based Federal Reserve index. Employment is in millions. All other figures represent billions of dollars. The 1969 GNP and profits totals are for the second quarter.

Indicator	July 1969	Now	Percent
Industrial output	174.6	170.4	−2.4
Personal income	751.4	801.1	+6.6
Gross national product	924.8	959.6	+3.7
Corporate profits	51.3	46.1	−10.0
Employment	77.9	78.9	+.1

The overall shrinkage in industrial production, despite big cutbacks in certain areas like autos, has not been great. In two of the four recessions since World War II, production fell 8%, and in one (1957–58) it fell 14%. Even the slight recession of 1960–61 saw it contract nearly 6%.

Personal income, the primary measure of public buying power, went above the $800 billion annual rate last month for the first time in history. It is being expanded this year by bigger Social Security payments, higher pay for Government workers and a continuing flow of fat wage increases in private industry.

Despite a recently higher unemployment rate due to some layoffs and an expanding labor force, total civilian employment at 78.9 million in April was within a whisker of the record high 79.1 million recorded in March.

The gross national product, most comprehensive measure of the economy, still rises. Even adjusted to eliminate the effects of inflation, the GNP is now down only 0.3% from its level of last July.

The weak spot in the overall picture is found in corporate profits. They have been hit hard by runaway labor costs. But even in the case of profits it should be noted that their contraction thus far has been much less than in several other profit-slump periods since World War II.

Here is the profit shrinkage record for four such declines. Figures represent after-tax annual-rate corporate profits in billions.

Period	Profits From—	Profits To—	Percent down
1948–49	$23.4	$17.7	24
1950–53	30.3	16.6	45
1955–58	28.3	19.8	30
1959–61	30.8	24.4	20

There is no guarantee, of course, that the current profit decline won't go deeper. Labor costs still mount, and it isn't always possible to pass them on in higher prices.

Declining profits carry the threat of a cutback in capital spending by business. And a high level of this capital spending has been one of the features of recent years of prosperity. The pace of capital spending in months ahead should be closely watched.

And what about the stock market? A steeply sliding market has been sending tremors through the country for more than a year now. Its drop of some 33% since the end of 1968, as measured by the Dow Jones industrial average, has been the sharpest since the end of World War II.

For background reference on this 33% tumble, here's a thumbnail sketch of the declines of some other bear markets of the last quarter century (in percent):

Bear Market Down:

1946	23
1953	13
1957	19
1960	17
1961–62	27
1966	25

The big burdens on the market these days are pretty well known. One is the shrinkage in corporate profits. Another is tight money—lofty interest rates. Most important, probably, is the blighting uncertainty oozing from the mess in Indochina. And persistent lightning flashes in the Middle East don't help.

But apart from all this, there is one thing that should be kept in mind about the stock market. It is vastly more volatile than the economy generally. It is more moody, more emotional. In its exuberant periods, it is apt to race far ahead of the economy. When touched with cumulative gloom, it usually falls much more than the economy.

Take a couple of examples on the exuberant side. From its low point in mid-1962 to its high at the start of 1968, the market soared some 85%—while the GNP rose about 34%. Between late 1966 and the end of 1968, the market climbed about 32%—with the GNP up only 15%.

It may be simplistic to so state the matter, but when the market is going up it seems that everybody wants to buy. And when it is going down just about nobody, it seems, wants to buy.

Historically, the stock market has a pretty good reputation as a forecaster of trends in the general economy. It has usually turned down ahead of stormy weather—and turned up again ahead of clearing skies.

But its record isn't flawless in this respect. It suffered a couple of bad jolts in the 1960s. While its downturns ran ahead of or more or less in step with recessions in earlier postwar cycles, its two biggest post-war storm warnings before the present one—the 27% drop in 1961–62 and the 25% decline in 1966—were not followed by recessions. After hesitating slightly, the economy kept on climbing.

The present long market decline did indeed accurately anticipate the big squeeze on corporate profits. It may be speaking of worse things ahead. But as of now, reading the record to date, it can only be said that the pains of the stock market are thus far spectacularly greater than those of the general economy.

—JOHN O'RILEY.

STOP POLLUTING THE AIR

HON. JACOB H. GILBERT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. GILBERT. Mr. Speaker, I noted with interest last week that President Nixon has asked Congress to put a tax on leaded gasolines sold in this Nation.

The Nixon administration is well known for the rhetoric it has been making in recent months about its anti-pollution fight. Though we see no tangible results, the administration has indicated it wants to take the carbon monoxide out of the air, the carbon dioxide out of the water, and now it wants to take lead out of our gasoline.

All of these are good ideas, Mr. Speaker, and should be accomplished as soon as possible, but I would estimate that none of them will come to be until the administration stops its pollution in South Vietnam. I suggest they stop polluting the air in Indochina with lead of a different nature.

WASHINGTON REPORT

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to provide for the readers of the RECORD the text of my most recent newsletter. It includes commentary on many of the issues of the day that are important to my constituents and to the Nation:

WASHINGTON REPORT

FORT RODMAN RELEASED

After years of delays and indecision the Army has finally agreed to release 52 acres at its Fort Rodman facility in New Bedford to the U.S. General Service Administration.

From there it will—in all probability—be made available to the city of New Bedford, which is already making plans for the use of this area.

As I said in announcing the Army's decision—"This is a rare opportunity for the city, and presents a real chance to bring major benefits to the citizens of New Bedford."

DRUGS: LOCAL INITIATIVE

As part of New Bedford's recent $150,000 fund-raising drive for community drug addiction facilities, I made a TV tape with Dr. Morton Miller, the HEW official in charge of Federal aid to such programs.

Nearly 6 years ago my Commerce Committee first voted funds for Federal aid to such centers. Today it is a $100 million program, with nearly $10 million for drug addiction centers like New Bedford's.

Dr. Miller shared my praise for New Bedford's initiative in starting such a program on its own.

This is an excellent example of how communities should tackle their problems—by working to solve them at the local level, rather than waiting passively for Federal action.

THE VOTING AGE: 18 OR 21?

Should 18–21 years olds have the right to vote? This has become an increasingly important question in recent years, as more of our young people became more active in our political system.

Although the debate in Congress on this question is not yet over, I am at this time inclined to support the idea. I have been greatly impressed by the competence and knowledgeableness of young people—by my own two daughters, and by several youthful members of my staff, for example.

Young people seem to be much more well-informed than many of my contemporaries were at the same age, and more concerned about their nation's future than some of their elders.

I believe that concern should be directed within the system—and not outside it. The right to vote is an important part of being an American, and I think that young people should share that right.

This is something that concerns all Americans, of course—over 21 as well as under. I'd like to hear from you about your opinions on the subject.

CAMBODIA: NOT ANOTHER VIETNAM

As this newsletter went to press, the Cambodian crisis suddenly became a matter of grave concern to the Congress and the country.

Neither the President nor the people want another SE Asian War. I recently supported an amendment in the House barring any expansion of the war without the prior consent of Congress.

Congress must reassert those congressional responsibilities which it, in effect, shirked at the time of the Tonkin Gulf Resolution.

PLYMOUTH

Prospects for making the Plymouth Rock area a National Memorial Park are looking up, thanks to the Town Meeting's action in voting funds for parking nearby.

The Park Service has submitted a preliminary favorable report on my Plymouth Memorial bill to the Budget Bureau, and the Senate hopes to hold hearings in Plymouth June 19.

In my view, there could be no better time than 1970—the 350th anniversary of the Pilgrim's landing—to make the place they first settled a permanent National Memorial.

BOATING SAFETY: HEARINGS SOON

More than 1300 people die from recreational boating accidents each year—and many of these deaths are due to inadequate or faulty equipment.

The House Coast Guard subcommittee (I'm senior Republican) is considering a proposed "Boating Safety Act," designed to cut these casualties. The bill provides for safety standards for boat manufacturers and funds for state boating safety programs.

With over 8 million small boats now on the water, and 4000 more added each year, action is clearly needed. The Committee plans hearings in Boston June 11, and I hope a good many Cape Codders from the boating industry will be there. Write me if you'd like a copy of the proposed legislation.

EDUCATION: AFTER THE BUDGET BATTLE

The debate over President Nixon's veto of the HEW appropriations bill had one good effect—it focused the nation's attention on education as never before.

In the end, the President's veto was sustained—although the bill that we finally passed provided most of the money that was in dispute. The new measure provides $19.4 billion—only $365 million less than was in the bill the President vetoed. And it provides that no specific program be cut more than 15 per cent.

I supported the President's veto—in spite of my strong feelings about the need for Federal assistance to our hard-pressed communities because—I believe the issue had become a psychological one, and the loss of this battle would have caused an immeasurable setback to the war against inflation.

The final version of the HEW appropriation bill did not, in my view, significantly hurt education—and its psychological value, in showing that we mean what we say about inflation, was enormous.

For the future, I am working to assure a Federal "impacted areas" aid program that helps those towns that truly need help, by reason of their large military population.

OIL SPILLS: TOUGH NEW LAW

Widespread public indignation following massive oil spills in West Falmouth, Tampa, and Louisiana induced Congress to pass the "Water Quality Improvement Act of 1970"—the toughest anti-pollution legislation in history.

Hereafter, any oil spiller can be forced to pay ALL cleanup costs—up to $14 million—unless he can prove in court that the spill was caused by an act of God, war, or a third party.

This kind of penalty should do much to prevent the negligence and carelessness that has caused so much damage to our shorelines.

BOATING SEWAGE TOO

Another provision of this comprehensive law provides for all boats with heads (toilets to landlubbers!) to be equipped with approved sanitation treatment devices—in two years for all new boats, and in five for older ones.

Untreated wastes pumped out from yachts has helped make many of our harbors open sewers, totally unfit for swimming or shellfishing.

Boat-owners are not too keen on spending money on yet another piece of equipment. But something has to be done about seaborne sewage, and this looks like the best answer.

CONSUMERS: NOT-SO-SILENT MAJORITY

Have you been "burned" on the purchase of a defective toaster? Does your car spend more time in the service station than in your garage?

American technology produces millions of consumer items every day, and most of them are highly reliable. But as we all know, some of them are not—and currently there is very little you can do about it.

This situation would change greatly under the "consumer protection" legislation now being considered by my Commerce and Finance Subcommittee.

The Nixon Administration is supporting a plan that would allow the Federal Trade Commission or the Justice Department to take cases of consumer fraud or misrepresentation to court. If they win a favorable ruling, a "class action suit"—on behalf of all consumers affected—would be allowed, and all injured consumers could collect damages from the offending company.

This is just one of several consumer bills being considered by my committee. I am confident that in the end, we will come up with a recommendation that is fair—both to the consumer, and to the manufacturer.

BITS AND PIECES

Big news on the domestic front is the arrival of our first grandson, Damon Jeffrey Brink. The proud parents brought the tot to see his even prouder grandparents in April, when Rusty was on leave before his scheduled assignment to Vietnam.

Comings and Goings: Ernie Brisson, my New Bedford office manager for nearly 5 years, left us at the beginning of May. He'd become a familiar fixture in the New Bedford office, and his wit, wisdom, and knowledge of how to untangle Federal red tape will be greatly missed . . . also departing in May is Eric Turkington, who hopes to put in a few weeks rest and recreation before marching off to his National Guard training in June.

New Faces replacing the old belong to John Wayne Clark, a transplanted Hoosier who came to me by way of the Floor of the House, where he worked with the House GOP leadership . . . and Cmdr. George "Doc" Leach, who grew up in SE Massachusetts. After 24 years in the Navy, "Doc" is returning home to work for me—and for you. His responsibilities include Merchant Marine, fishing, oceanography, and the aviation industry (we have 9 civilian airports in the 12th District, plus South Weymouth and Otis.)

THE NEW WELFARE

"The Family Assistance Act of 1970" is the quiet title of the most innovative welfare program in 35 years.

This new plan would revolutionize our current welfare system—with a new program of minimum payments, income incentives, and job training for those able to work.

86% of my constituents favored the plan in a recent newsletter poll, and on April 16, the House passed the bill by a vote of 243 to 155.

I voted in favor of this new plan, feeling that our current welfare system is totally unsatisfactory and that the new system—while not perfect—is a big step in the right direction.

NEW DISTRICT MAN

"Gus" Wagner, Jr.—a name familiar to many in SE Massachusetts—has joined my staff as Administrative Assistant for co-ordinating Federally related projects in the District.

The Buzzards Bay lawyer—son of the former Bourne Selectman Augustus F. Wagner—brings considerable local and legal expertise to the complex problems involved in the red tape of the various Federal aid programs.

"Gus" is a graduate of Worcester Academy, Boston University and Suffolk Law School. He is currently a partner in the Bourne law firm of McDonald and Wagner. He will work out of all three of my District offices—in New Bedford, Norwell, and W. Bridgewater—and will travel all through the District to aid town officials in their dealings with the Federal government.

EARTH DAY AND BEYOND

Smoke, Smog, Sewage, oil pollution, asphalt, noise, highways, crowding—20 years ago these concerned relatively few of us. Today, environment is the dominant domestic issue in our nation.

As the millions who attended Earth Day activities Apr. 22 learned, earth's resources are highly exhaustible. Unless man limits his abuse of these resources, his very survival is in doubt.

This means that we will have to face up to some difficult problems—soon.

Sixty percent of our air pollution comes from cars, for example. Many proposals have been made to lessen this—from banning the internal combustion engine to taxing a car according to horsepower. No matter what is done, one thing is sure: It will cost the consumer money.

Any solution to pollution must take into account population. Projections call for 300 million in the U.S. in 30 years. Can our environment support this many? And if not, what can be done, consistent with moral and ethical standards?

These questions are being studied, under legislation which I co-sponsored as a member of the Task Force on Population and Earth Resources, by the Presidential Commission on Population Growth and the American Future.

But they are questions not only for commissions and experts to study, but for all Americans. And I'd appreciate YOUR views.

THE MARKET VERSUS THE BUREAUCRAT

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, for those who think there are no other answers to problems other than Government answers, I insert into the RECORD the following article from the National Review magazine by University of Chicago economics professor, Dr. Milton Friedman:

THE MARKET VERSUS THE BUREAUCRAT

(By Milton Friedman)

There is today a widespread tendency to take it for granted that growth of population, advancing technology, expanding output of goods and services, increasing complexity of our industrial structure—the whole set of developments we label economic growth—necessarily repress individuality and enforce conformity. In the words of the brochure describing a recent symposium, "many thoughtful persons view these [scientific and technological] advances as creating new forms of bondage and as grave threats to the integrity of the individual."

I believe that this view is, to say the least, a great oversimplification. True, new forms of bondage are being created, and there are grave threats to the integrity of the individual. But the history of mankind—from primitive times to the present—is mostly a record of bondage, of tyranny of man over man. We do not need any sophisticated analysis to explain why freedom is threatened. Tyranny is the natural state of mankind. The remarkable thing about our era is the freedom we enjoy, not the threats to that freedom. And these threats themselves are not an inevitable consequence of the growing complexity of our society. They are a result of the social policies we have chosen to adopt. They are a result of a lack of understanding, not of harsh inevitability.

The causal relation between growth and freedom is almost the opposite of that which is commonly assumed: freedom produces growth and prosperity, and growth and prosperity in turn provide greater scope for freedom—though imperfect man may fail to grasp this potentiality and may instead use his material wealth to exploit his fellow man, in which case he will also destroy his prosperity.

Whether we look at the Golden Age of ancient Greece, or at the early centuries of the Roman era, or at the Renaissance, we see that widening individual freedom and quickening of economic growth went hand in hand—and that when freedom was destroyed, economic decline was not far behind. To come closer to our own times, the breaking down of feudal relations, the loosening of control over economic activity by the state, the widening of the scope assigned to individual initiative produced the great scientific and technological advances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is no accident that the industrial revolution which followed had its home in Britain, where the ties of bondage were loosest, or that it had its greatest flowering after Britain adopted laissez faire as a national policy, or that the leadership moved to the United States at a time when we too had limited intervention by the government into economic affairs.

These developments illustrate that great insight which Adam Smith expounded so effectively. The free market enables millions of men to cooperate with one another in complex tasks without compulsion and without centralized control. The invisible hand of the free market, whereby men who intend only to serve their own interests are led to serve the public interest, is a far more sensitive and effective source of both growth and freedom than the dead hand of the bureaucrat, however well intentioned he may be.

Growth and development do of course produce new problems of reconciling the freedom of one man with the freedom of others—problems of congestion, pollution, and so on. And many of these can best be met by coordinated action through governmental channels. But growth and development also reduce the problems of preserving freedom in other areas. For example, growth of population and improvements in transportation and communication have greatly widened the scope for effective competition and so have reduced the need for governmental concern with monopolistic behavior—though unfortunately, as most notably in transportation itself, we have often reacted by protecting entrenched monopoly from competition rather than taking full advantage of the new scope for competition.

Whatever may be the net balance or the effects of growth, the most obvious threats to the integrity of the individual have a very different source: in area after area of our national life, we have adopted policies that unnecessarily threaten the integrity of the individual. In each of these, there are alternative policies that would both promote our objective better and strengthen individual freedom. The areas in which this is true are varied, and they refer to many different aspects of our lives. Yet there runs through them a common element: the substitution of bureaucratic organization and control for market arrangements, the rejection of Adam Smith's great insight.

I shall illustrate this generalization by discussing three specific areas: radio and television, schooling, and public welfare. I have chosen three different areas out of the many available to show under how varied a guise the same basic issue arises.

RADIO AND TELEVISION

Here are marvelous technological achievements that we are failing to exploit effectively. We have a "wasteland" of highly repetitive, standardized programs directed at the great masses—which by itself is all to the good—but with all too little in the way of imaginative, exploratory, or simply high quality programs directed at minorities. The medium promotes deadening uniformity rather than variety, diversity, and individuality. The preferences of a minority, however strong they may be, must give way to the preferences of the mass audience, however weak.

Equally important, a medium that could promote vigorous and lively discussion of public issues seldom ventures into controversial areas. Truly free speech is held in check by the fear of losing a license and is replaced by "fair" speech. The occasional slightly venturesome documentary or exposé is trumpeted far and wide as a sign of the independence of the station or network. The magnificent coverage of many news events—from the Olympics to the moon landing by American astronauts—shows the potential of the medium, so far largely unexploited.

This indictment is widely accepted. What has been the response? A string of privately supported educational television stations and, because these seemed inadequate, the enactment of a new Public Broadcasting Act under which the Federal Government will subsidize the production and distribution of programs. Talk about carrying coals to Newcastle. As we shall see, the problem is that there is now too much control by the Federal Government—through the Federal Communications Commission—over radio and television. To cure this, we establish another federal body to be a monopoly supplier of programs. To quote my colleague, Ronald Coase, who dubbed the measure "a wholly objectionable poverty program for the well-to-do," "the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 is unnecessary, inefficient, inequitable and subject to dangerous political influences."

I suggest that the key to the present defect is the federal licensing of broadcasters. This gives the Federal Communications Commission the power of life and death over a station. If a person wants to start a newspaper, and has the capital, he needs merely buy a printing press, rent a location, publish his paper, and see if he can get the public to buy it. Once he is in business, his readers and advertisers are the only ones he must satisfy. But if he wants to set up a radio or television station, he also must convince the FCC that he is a person of good moral character and that there is a "need" for additional facilities. This may not be easy to do—ask those who have tried to get a license for Austin, Texas. And once the FCC grants him a license, he must satisfy it that he is presenting a "balanced" and "fair" program.

If newspapers were subject to the same controls, the *New York Times* would have to change its motto to "All the news that the FCC believes fit to print," and neither the *New York Times* nor the *Chicago Tribune*, as presently constituted, could conceivably get a clean bill of health. Fortunately, newspapers, developed in an earlier era and have so far escaped control. Had they first developed in, say, the 1920s or 1930s, there would almost surely be today a Federal Publications Commission—as indeed was recommended in the famous Hutchins Report on the press.

One specific measure taken by the FCC has perhaps done more than any other single thing to stifle diversity and enshrine mediocrity. That is its refusal to authorize subscription or pay television. The FCC has ruled that we may not spend our money to see programs we wish to see. We must accept the programs that are provided as a by-product of advertising. We cannot, even if we wish to, pay to suppress the advertising, except by contributing to and watching an educational television station.

To understand how this measure has such a far-reaching effect in enshrining mediocrity in television and radio, let us consider what the effect would be of applying the same rule in a comparable area to which it is not now applied. Suppose it were legislated that reading matter could not be sold but must be given away, that all newspapers must be like the "throwaways" now often given out, that all magazines must be available without charge, financed only by the revenue from the advertising they contain or by a subsidy from a church, foundation, or other organization, and similarly that any books published must be financed in the same way and distributed without charge to readers. It takes no great act of the imagination to see the results: those books and magazines that appeal to relatively small groups with specialized tastes would disappear. Few if any advertisers would deem it worthwhile to pay for the publication of avant-garde poetry in order to be able to insert pages extolling the virtue of Gleem or Dream or Steem. Far better to put those pages in a Western that millions would pick up and read avidly. The book publishing industry would become like television—a wasteland of Westerns, mysteries, and popular romances, with an occasional serious work appealing to a limited audience sponsored by a firm trying to improve its public image, or just with unusual tastes.

Your immediate reaction will be to regard this as a fantastic horror story and to dismiss it out of hand. But let me urge you not to let yourself be a victim of the tyranny of the status quo. The distribution of reading matter is almost strictly comparable to the distribution of television programs. I have not seen any argument in favor of forbidding pay television that does not apply with roughly equal force to forbidding pay publishing. And conversely—no argument in favor of pay publishing that does not apply with roughly equal force to permitting pay television. The two strike us as "of course" different only because they happen to have developed differently.

Why has the FCC prohibited pay television these past many years, except for a few so-called "pilot" projects? Because the networks are firmly established as the dominant distributors of national advertising, and they believe, rightly or wrongly, that they would fare less well than they do now if a new way of distributing programs were permitted. The networks exert enormous influence over the FCC—and it is inevi-

table that they should, just as it is inevitable that the railroads will exert enormous influence over the ICC, the banks over the Federal Reserve, and the producers of automobiles, over the federal agency to promote automobile safety. If the FCC had not stood in the way, pay television would now be a major factor, and the range, quality, and variety of television programs would now be far closer to that of book publishing.

How can we take advantage of the potentialities of television and radio and eliminate the present standardizing hand of the state? By abolishing the FCC and having a truly free radio and television to parallel a free press. But I will be told, that is absurd. There are only a limited number of television channels; someone must assign them. It is regrettable that we should have to have federal control over radio and television, but that simply reflects the technological characteristics of the industry. Nothing of the sort. There are only a limited number of pieces of land on which a newspaper plant can stand. Why does that not require assignment of land? Because there is private property in land and the allocation of land can be performed by purchase and sale.

Precisely the same solution is available for radio and television. Let the FCC auction off to the highest bidders the right to specified channels now embodied in licenses (for example, the right to broadcast on a specified frequency from a specified location at specified times at a specified maximum power). That was what the Federal Government did a century and more ago with its land. The FCC could then be abolished. The private owners could trade these rights back and forth and rearrange them in various ways to make them more valuable. There would be problems of interference—of one man trespassing on another's frequency—but they would be handled as trespassing on land now is, through the regular courts.

I cannot here elaborate this proposal and consider all its implications in full detail, even if I had the competence to do so. Let me only state that this is not a crackbrained, off-the-cuff suggestion. It is a proposal that has been extensively studied, in particular by R. H. Coase. All the serious objections raised have been examined. There is little doubt that it is a perfectly feasible way to handle the allocation and use of radio and television channels without special government control, little doubt that it would produce a far more efficient use of the radio spectrum, in many different ways, than prevails today. And there is little doubt that it would convert what is today a homogenizing influence into a major force widening the avenues for the expression of individuality.

SCHOOLING

For reasons of space, I shall restrict myself to higher schooling—or as it is euphemistically called, higher education. (Personally, I prefer the more descriptive term because not all schooling is education nor all education schooling.) I may, however, note that lower schooling offers an equally striking example of my main theme.

The trend is clear. Government expenditure on higher schooling has been growing rapidly. A steadily increasing fraction of students is enrolled in governmentally run institutions. There are more complaints about the impersonality of the mega-universities, the neglect of the individual student, the standardization and routinization of the educational process. And the private schools, like Reed, that provide a welcome contrast and that have been the leaders in fostering quality education, find it more and more difficult to compete for students and funds with the governmental institutions. They are themselves becoming increasingly dependent on tax monies for support.

These developments raise two separate issues: First, how much of a governmental subsidy, if any, there should be for higher schooling; second, how any subsidy should be distributed.

Strictly speaking, only the second of these issues is relevant for my theme—how we have been unnecessarily curbing individuality by the social policies we have been following. But I cannot forbear from a few comments on the first issue, because I feel so strongly about it.[1]

The present use of tax monies to subsidize higher schooling seems to me one of the great suppressed scandals of our day. Compare the young men and women who receive this subsidy by attending state-supported institutions with their contemporaries who do not go to college at all. The youngsters in college come from higher income families than those who are not in college—but both sets of families pay taxes. More important, the youngsters in college will on the average have higher incomes for the rest of their lives than the youngsters who do not go to college. We have imposed a major tax on the poor to subsidize the not-so-poor. We in the middle- and upper-income classes have in this area—as I am afraid we have in many others—conned the poor into supporting us in a style that we take to be no more than our just desserts.

It is eminently desirable that every young man and woman, regardless of the wealth or religion or color or social standing of his or her family, have the opportunity to get whatever schooling he or she can qualify for, *provided that he or she is willing to pay for it, either currently or out of the subsequent higher income that the schooling will make possible.* There is, that is, a strong case for assuring the availability of loans or their equivalent, by governmental means, if necessary. There is no case that I can see for providing subsidies.

Having relieved myself of these obiter dicta, let me turn to the second question: How should any subsidy be distributed? Currently, we distribute the subsidy primarily by having the government run institutions of higher learning and by charging tuition to students that is far below the costs incurred on their behalf. This is both inequitable and inefficient. Moreover, it is this practice, much more than the subsidization of higher schooling, that promotes conformity and threatens individuality.

Under current arrangements, the state of Oregon says to its young men and women, "If you meet certain academic standards, we shall automatically grant you a scholarship worth something like fifteen hundred or two thousand dollars a year regardless of 'need'—provided that you are smart enough to go to the University of Oregon or Oregon State. If you are so perverse as to want to go to Reed, let alone to Stanford or Harvard or Yale or the University of Chicago, not a penny for you." Surely, it would be more equitable to proceed instead along the lines of the G.I. educational benefits for veterans. Let whatever money the state of Oregon wants to spend on higher schooling be divided into the appropriate number of scholarships, each of, say, $2000 per year, tenable for four years. Let there be a competitive exam—or some other method of selection—and let these scholarships be awarded to individuals to be used to attend any approved institution of their choice that will in turn accept them. If Oregon wants to continue to run the University of Oregon, let that institution charge tuition sufficient to cover its costs, and compete on even terms with other institutions. If it is more attractive to students than other institutions, the University will flourish; if not, it will decline.

Today, there is no reason for faculties and administrators of the existing state institutions to pay any attention to their students, except as this will indirectly affect the legislature which votes them funds. The thing for them to do, as they well know, is to engage in activities that will appeal to the legislature while paying to students the minimum attention that will keep them from being too obstreperous. This is the valid element in the drive for student power.

The arrangement I suggest gives the student a wider range of choice and enables him to exert more influence on the kind of schooling he is offered. It eliminates the present unfair competition between state-run and other institutions.

It gives the faculties and administrations of state-run institutions an incentive to serve their students. It would open up the opportunity for new institutions to enter the field and seek to attract customers. The strengthening of competition would promote improvements in quality and foster diversity and experimentation. Because the money would go to individuals, not institutions, it would be clear who are the recipients of the subsidy and bring into the open this question of who should be subsidized. Also, it would give the individual greater freedom of choice, greater opportunity to express his own values and to develop his own capacities as effectively as possible.

All of these are advantages of the scholarship plan. But they are also, to speak cynically, the major political obstacles to its enactment. As usual in such matters, the people who would benefit from the change do not know that they would; the vested interests that have developed under the present arrangement will recognize the threat to them at once.

PUBLIC WELFARE

The methods by which we subsidize the poor have the same defects as those by which we subsidize the rich; they involve giving too much power to bureaucrats to determine who gets the subsidy and in what form, too little power to the people who are being subsidized, and too little incentive to them to reduce the subsidy they receive.

The defects of our present welfare program are by now widely recognized. In the midst of great prosperity, the welfare rolls mount. Once on the rolls, many people find it difficult to get off. We have been creating a permanent class of welfare recipients, who devote their energies to wheedling a bit more welfare for themselves or bringing pressure to bear to improve welfare payments rather than to raising their own incomes to a level at which they can be off welfare. We have an army of welfare workers administering the system. They find themselves bogged down in paper work, engaged in being policemen and spies, with little time left to perform their proper function—helping the unfortunate people who are under their charge. The whole process is degrading for the welfare recipient and demeaning for the welfare workers.

What is wrong? At bottom, I conjecture, the belief that the state through administrative machinery can deal with persons needing assistance in the way one person spending his own money can deal with another person. If, out of charitable inclinations, a man takes an interest in someone suffering misfortune, it is entirely understandable that he may want to make a detailed investigation of that person's circumstances, to assure himself that the misfortune is real, that he will want to explore the items needed and provide help for those he thinks most urgent, and then try to guide the person he is assisting to use the help most effectively. But translate this into a large-scale governmental program,

[1] These comments refer only to schooling, not to government expenditures for support of research, which raise a different set of issues.

and it ends up as the kind of administrative nightmare we now have. The welfare workers are not distributing their own money, so there must be controls over them. The criteria of need must be standardized. The forms of help must be specified. The dispersers of funds must be supervised. In the process, the human element is squeezed out and replaced by frustration and mutual distrust.

This system clearly is a "grave threat to the integrity of the individual" receiving welfare. Before a welfare recipient may move from one apartment to another, he must get the approval of a civil servant; equally, before he may buy second-hand furniture, have the gas turned on, or make any one of a thousand other deviations from an approved budget. Needless to say, the welfare recipients have become skilled in finding ways around the regulations, but nonetheless, the whole atmosphere is one in which they are treated like irresponsible wards of the state, like children, not like responsible citizens. Clearly, if the taxpayer does subsidize them, he has in some sense the moral right to impose such requirements. But is it wise to do so?

Most important of all, carrying over the notion of meeting the other person's "needs" has had the unfortunate effect of largely eliminating any incentive for the welfare recipient to help himself. If a welfare recipient earns an extra $100, that is interpreted as meaning that he or she can meet an additional $100 of "needs," and therefore that welfare aid can be reduced by $100. In consequence, the recipient has no incentive to earn money unless he can earn enough completely to replace welfare. This is the main reason why there tends to develop a permanent class of welfare recipients.

As in each of the two prior examples, the way to improve the situation is to put greater reliance on impersonal market arrangements and less on bureaucratic administration. For welfare, the device that recommends itself is the negative income tax, under which all persons with incomes below the level now taxable would be entitled to receive a fraction of their unused exemptions and deductions. This method would give assistance to the poor in the form of money, which they could spend as they wish, on the basis of the impersonal criteria of the size of their income and the number of persons in their family, and in such a way as to give them an incentive to raise their income from other sources.

This is not the place for a detailed exposition of the way a negative income tax would work or of its advantages and disadvantages. It is sufficient for the present purpose to note that it has been studied carefully and that there is every reason to believe that it would be a feasible substitute for the present direct relief and aid to dependent children programs; that it would, over a period, simultaneously give more assistance to the truly needy and cost the taxpayers less.

The crucial point for our present purpose is that a negative income tax would permit the elimination of the bulk of our present welfare bureaucracy, would end the division of our population into two classes, would give those receiving assistance greater freedom and independence to shape their own life and greater opportunity to take advantage of their own abilities and capacities. In addition, whereas our present programs have essentially destroyed private philanthropy, the negative income tax, by assuming the basic load of income maintenance, would reduce the hardship cases, which no general program can eliminate, to a level that private charity could handle. We have been stifling private philanthropic agencies, converting them to agents or contractors of the state, by our conception of government welfare. The negative income tax would give them a new function to perform. The diversity, flexibility, and efficiency of free enterprise has a role to play in philanthropy no less than in other areas.

CONCLUSION

In recent decades, there has been a steady tendency to enlarge the role of the government, either to undertake new tasks or to take over tasks formerly entrusted to private and voluntary action. By now the process has gone very far indeed, even in a country like the United States which prides itself on being the country of free enterprise. Today, probably over one-third of all the income of the people in this country is channeled through the government—being extracted by taxes and loans, and spent for governmental programs. And this grossly understates the influence of the government. The wages many an employer may pay, the prices many an industry may charge, the businesses we may enter, the countries to which we may travel, and many other aspects of our daily lives are subject to governmental control.

This expansion of the role of the government has been sold to the American people on the ground that it would enhance both their material well-being and their personal freedom. And further expansion is now being sold to them on the same ground. The promises have been and remain glowing. Yet, when we look at performance and not promise, the story is very different. We have adopted reform after reform, program after progam, without achieving the promised objectives. Consider those programs which have one after the other been proclaimed as great progressive achievements: the National Recovery Administration, the Agricultural Adjustment Act and its successors; the Securities and Exchange Commission; public housing; the Wagner Labor Act; social security; relief and aid to dependent children; urban renewal; federal aid to education—which of them has achieved the objectives that aroused such high hopes in their disinterested supports? The problems each was touted as solving are with us yet, often in exaggerated form. Or pass from the dramatic federal level to the local level. What are the major governmental responsibilities at the local level? Schooling and police protection. What are major areas of social concern? Inadequate schooling and crime on the streets.

It is a fascinating question of political science to explain this sequence of events. What is it that explains what activities are taken over by government and when? Why is it that so many measures work in accordance with the original intentions of the disinterested for a year or two, but then soon become devices whereby special interests enrich themselves? Why is it, that is, that well-intentioned liberals have so often turned out to be front men for special interests they would never knowingly have supported? Why is it that, in a democracy supposedly run by a majority, there are so many measures pandering to special interests?

These questions take us far afield from the more limited object of this paper: to show by example that the lack of success of many government programs and the threats they raise to freedom and individuality is a necessary consequence of neither the objectives sought nor the increasing complexity of our society. Television and radio, higher schooling, and welfare arrangements are very different areas in which we have very different objectives. Yet there is a common strand running through all three. In all, we have tried to substitute central direction and bureaucratic control for voluntary arrangements. In all, we could achieve our objectives far better by using arrangements that give a greater scope to the market, that rely on "participatory democracy" rather than on bureaucratic democracy.

If we are to meet the recurrent threats to freedom that are bound to arise, it is important that the informed public become more sophisticated than it is now about government programs. It must come to understand that the business community has no monopoly on misleading advertising, that promises must be distinguished from performance. We must try to repress the tendency to say, "Let's pass a law," whenever a problem arises and recognize that the indirect route through voluntary action may be surer and safer than the direct route through government action. And when we do turn to government action, we shall do best if, so far as possible, we try to restrict government action either to setting up arrangements under which private action can be effective (as in radio or television), or to giving money in an open and aboveboard way to specific individuals under specified conditions rather than to providing the relevant good or service by a government organization.

COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENTS IN SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS—A NECESSARY CHANGE IN OUR SOCIAL SECURITY LAWS

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, our senior citizens on social security will finally have automatic cost-of-living adjustments made in their benefits if the Senate approves the amendments to our social security laws passed by the House with my strong support last Thursday, May 21.

As part of the amendments to the social security laws this provision will provide the long-deserved automatic increases to thousands upon thousands of social security recipients who will no longer have to come begging, hat in hand, to Congress for adjustments in their benefits to meet the spirally cost of living.

The elderly and others receiving the fixed income of social security have suffered year after year from general price increases and the inflationary spiral that has plagued our economy. These people, least of all, should not be expected to cope with the unbearable pressures of an inflated economy. In reality, the elderly have found themselves barely able to maintain themselves on their meager income in today's high-priced world.

There is no question, Mr. Speaker, that these automatic cost-of-living adjustments are long overdue. We all want to see our retired senior citizens maintain a decent standard of living in their advanced years so they can retain their pride, their dignity and their independence during retirement.

I was proud and happy to support the cost-of-living floor amendment as well as all the other provisions of the social security measures considered on the floor of the House last Thursday. The passage of these amendments reflect the concern of Members of the House for the needs of our elderly and others living on social security payments. I sincerely hope that the Senate will also display its concern by acting favorably on the House-passed

measures. We can then send to the President a set of social security amendments that will adequately provide for the retirement needs of our older citizens during their golden years.

CONGRESS AND THE WAR

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 28, 1970

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, sometimes it seems that the noise of demonstrators concerning our involvement in Southeast Asia drowns out the progress our President is making in getting us out of Vietnam. This is so well pointed out in an editorial in the Monday, May 18, 1970, Knoxville, Tenn., News-Sentinel that I would like to encourage my colleagues to read this statment:

CONGRESS AND THE WAR

In the debate and confusion over amendments in Congress to restrict President Nixon's actions in the Vietnam War, we are in danger of overlooking a heartening trend in that tragic conflict.

It is that Nixon, despite the thrust into Cambodia, is making important progress in getting American troops out of Vietnam—at a rate that does not dishonor our pledges or unduly damage our strategic interests.

Defense Secretary Melvin Laird and Secretary of State William Rogers told Congress that by June 30, 1971, U.S. ground forces in Vietnam "will not be assigned to combat missions."

Most of our casualties have resulted from ground combat. Thus the promises mean that in just over a year, the worst of the war should be over for the United States. At the same time air, naval and support forces will be available to help South Vietnam try to stave off conquest by Hanoi.

This strikes us as a more realistic and honorable timetable than the one in the so-called "amendment to end the war" pending in the Senate. That amendment would pull all U.S. forces out of Southeast Asia by mid-1971, almost regardless of the consequences.

Sens. George McGovern (D-S.D.) Mark Hatfield (R–Ore.), Harold Hughes (D–Iowa) and Frank Church (D-Idaho) recently staged a nationwide TV broadcast on their amendment that was disappointing in its demagoguery. They claim that simple passage of their law would end the war. If only it were that easy!

Their proposal, they also said, offers "adequate funding to provide political asylum" for all South Vietnamese who fear a "bloodbath" after a Communist takeover.

Douglas Pike, one of America's leading experts on the Viet Cong, estimates that if the Communists win in Vietnam, they will wipe out up to 3 million South Vietnamese on their "blood debt list."

The amendment-writing senators should ask themselves where would they put millions of refugees and would they themselves vote the money for such asylum. We doubt that their answers would be satisfactory.

A more limited amendment, by Sens. Church and John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) would bar Nixon from "retaining" U.S. forces in Cambodia after June 30, from sending military advisers or mercenaries there, and from using air power in support of Cambodian forces.

This country has no commitment to Cambodia and certainly most Americans oppose sending U.S. troops to defend it. Even so, the amendment goes too far: We may not be able to prevent Cambodia's anti-Communist government from going down the drain, but it's not in our interest to actively flush it down.

For example, the mercenaries in question are ethnic Cambodians who have been fighting under our Green Berets in South Vietnam. Cambodia and Vietnam are really part of the same war. The Communists clearly regard it as such and respect no borders. We see no reason why the mercenaries should.

The growing mood in Congress to scrutinize and check the President's foreign policy is not unhealthy. But it comes after a long period of giving the White House a blank check, and there is danger of the pendulum swinging too far.

Congress should assert its partnership role in foreign affairs, but not in trying to fine tune the war by legislating on details.

MANPOWER TRAINING

HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, the topic of manpower training is of more importance today than ever before; unemployment is at its highest peak in years.

However, when we consider the Manpower Training Act of 1969, presently before the Senate, we must also consider our Government's acceptance of the high unemployment level which has made this training program so needed.

In my judgment, a manpower training program and a high unemployment level are contradictory; you cannot train the unemployed for jobs which you are at the same time trying to abolish.

Logical reasoning therefore takes us to the conclusion that if such a Manpower Training Act is to succeed it must be coupled with a change in policy with regard to unemployment.

This is a vital program and one which must not be glossed over lightly. I insert now in the RECORD testimony I offered to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare's Subcommittee on Manpower.

I urge my colleagues to consider the propositions expressed therein:

TESTIMONY OF CONGRESSMAN MOLLOHAN ON S. 8823

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Subcommittee:

I want to thank you for the opportunity to present testimony on behalf of S. 2838, "The Manpower Training Act (MTA)".

I believe that any plan for manpower training must be designed with two realities in mind. One, that any training must be developed in conjunction with the needs of the immediate area; and two, manpower training and high unemployment are completely inconsistent and incompatible.

I want to make clear from the outset that this bill, while its spirit of expansion and reorganization is well taken, is doomed to fail in its objectives so long as a 4 percent unemployment rate is considered "acceptable".

As long as our training programs continue to train men for occupations which do not suffer from a labor shortage; and so long as we continue to accept a high unemployment level, then we will merely change the status of the untrained unemployed to trained unemployed.

The Government has sought to fight inflation by reducing production, a policy which of course floods the ranks of the unemployed with more unemployed.

This, quite naturally, increases government and state spending in unemployment compensation and welfare, and increases resentment among the working men.

The government's policy has the effect of telling a man that he is of no use; and idleness demoralizes, even when accompanied by a government income, and augments the feeling of not being wanted.

For Manpower Training to work, and work effectively, there must be an accepted policy of full employment within the government. If the 4 percent level is accepted and nothing done to slow it, then Manpower Training is doomed to fail, for you simply cannot train a man for a job which you are trying to eliminate or which does not exist.

Full employment does not mean literally no unemployment. Insofar as room is left for change and for freedom of movement from job to job, room is left for some unemployment.

Full employment can be defined as "a state of affairs in which the number of unfilled vacancies is not appreciably below the number of unemployed persons, so that unemployment at any time is due to the normal lag between a person losing one job and finding another."

The task we have set for ourselves in this bill is to match job vacancies with the trainable unemployed, and it should be emphasized that "vacancies" must be the basis for programming such a training concept.

As unemployment has three distinct courses, action against unemployment must be taken on three lines: maintaining at all times adequate total outlay; controlling the location of industry; and securing the organized mobility of labor.

This bill is aimed at all three for it not only seeks to produce a ready supply of trained workers for industry, but it also seeks to provide a trained work force for expanding industry.

I am also of the opinion that the federal government must pursue a more aggressive policy in developing the public sector as an area of employment.

Private business cannot carry the burden of finding jobs for the millions of unemployed and underemployed in this country. In fact industry, feeling the pinch of the Administration's anti-inflation policy, is laying-off workers.

A federally-financed public-service employment program is the only logical answer to our unemployment. The need is there and the jobs are there: in hospitals, schools, parks, recreation centers and other facilities.

And when combined with proper training such a program would make it possible for these employees to move later into regular employment.

The Tripartite National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress has found a potential 5.3 million jobs, in the fields of medical and health services, education, day care, libraries, recreation and prisons.

To pretend that such a program of public employment would not be costly would be just as deceptive as training men for jobs that do not exist. But the cost not to embark on such a program is greater.

I now wish to turn to the bill itself and comment on several of its sections, assuming, of course, that for the measure to be at all successful the government must change its policy with regard to unemployment.

I heartily agree with the bill's aim at consolidation, decategorization and decentrali-

zation with regard to the many manpower training programs now in existence.

This will go far in gearing the program to meeting the demands of local needs which was one of the major failures in past programs.

To accomplish this, and to deter overlapping with state programs, the Manpower Training Act must encourage states to combine in this program with their manpower-related programs.

This is done by encouraging the establishment of a state manpower training council and a state comprehensive manpower agency. The council should allow a wide variety of interested parties, including labor, business and low income representatives to have a direct role in the planning.

The council should not only review the annual MTA plan but all other annual plans for manpower and manpower-related programs as well, such as vocational education, vocational rehabilitation and family assistance.

All the needs of a locality and of the country can be served but the choices must be guided largely by local planners. Neither the Congress nor the Labor Department which will run the MTA program should diminish the effectiveness of local programs by imposing standardized national program packages and categorical restrictions on local administrators.

The Federal Government has neither the wisdom nor the capacity to make all the program decisions that must be made at state and local levels.

A national emphasis on, say, the training of electricians would be a major waste of money and time in areas where there is no shortage of electricians.

The bill's emphasis on early training will be of special importance in my State of West Virginia where so many youngsters choose to leave high school before they graduate, and attempt to find work.

It is my considered judgment that if a vocational training program is to be successful it must be started early in the trainee's life, and when coupled with continuing secondary education as detailed in the bill, an unbeatable program would result.

A second aspect I vigorously support is the provision for institutional and on-the-job occupational training, including the training of employed workers for the purpose of upgrading their skills and improving the utilization of available manpower.

The trainee would see far more relevance to his training if it were conducted in a real-to-life atmosphere of a factory or place of business.

The Manpower Training Act offers a fine opportunity to correct the mistakes of past training programs and to break new ground to improve the condition of the unemployed. But it is doomed unless this government reverses its present policy of high unemployment acceptance.

WAR IS BAD BUSINESS

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago, Louis B. Lundborg, chairman of the board of Bank of America, called for an "end to the squandering of American blood, morale, and resources on what is in essence an Asian war of nationalism."

That Mr. Lundborg's sentiment is in ascendance in the American business community has been confirmed by a survey conducted by students of the School of Business Administration at the University of California in Berkeley.

I would like to include in the RECORD the results of that survey of employees of major firms in the San Francisco business community, as reported May 20 by the San Francisco Chronicle in the following account:

SAN FRANCISCO'S DOWNTOWN WAR OPINION

A poll of employees of major downtown San Francisco business concerns resulted in a 71 per cent vote urging Congress to use its authority to get American troops out of the war in Indochina.

The remaining 29 per cent appeared more supportive of President Nixon. They urged Congress not to take steps yet to speed the withdrawal.

The results of the survey, taken by business administration students at the University of California at Berkeley last Friday and Monday, were announced yesterday at a press conference at 1 California street.

Dieter Klein, chairman of the polling committee, said 12,700 ballots were distributed and 8169 ballots were cast.

The results were:

Urging Congress to act, 5811.

No action yet, 1900.

Invalid ballots, 458.

"It is time for Congress to respond to this and similar calls from previously silent Americans," said Mike Nichols, a candidate for a doctor's degree in management science.

The response showed, in fact, that the supporters of the President's policy in Vietnam were less willing to state their views publicly than the opponents.

Of those urging Congress to halt the war, a total of 4875—or 84 per cent—signed their ballots so they could be forwarded to Congress.

Of those supporting the President, 1277—or 67 per cent—signed their ballots.

The poll was taken at the headquarters of the Bank of America and a downtown branch, at several downtown offices of Wells Fargo Bank and at 61 other firms, including the Union Pacific and Santa Fe railroads, Bankers Mortgage, McGraw-Hill and Crown Zellerbach.

Nichols said all ballot boxes were sealed after the votes were cast. The results were tabulated by Alexander Grant and Company, certified public accountants.

BABE RUTH BASEBALL DAY TUESDAY, JUNE 16

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, there are few activities in the lives of our young people that are more rewarding than active participation in competitive sports.

Perhaps no other activity gives these young people more opportunities to take part in athletics than our Babe Ruth Baseball Leagues and our Little Leagues.

Here in our Nation's Capital, Babe Ruth Baseball Day will be observed on Tuesday, June 16. It would be my hope that every Member of the Congress would exert every effort to pay special note of this date and give it his full support and endorsement.

In communities across our Nation, young boys are learning the lessons of teamwork and sportsmanship through their participation in the Babe Ruth Leagues. Their participation will make them better citizens tomorrow and healthier young people today.

EQUITY FINANCING

HON. JOHN J. McFALL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, a month ago I introduced legislation, H.R. 16403, to prohibit banks, savings and loan associations, and insurance companies from accepting a share of the profits in a proposed business venture as a condition for approving a loan.

Such equity kickers do not involve true partial ownership of the business. They usually take the form of a loan contract in which the borrower promises not only to repay the loan with interest but to add to that a percentage of whatever profit he may take from investing the borrowed funds.

Any way one looks at equity kickers, they represent a questionable use of power to exercise control over loan funds. I believe equity kickers are an abuse for the borrower, the community, and for the bank itself.

From the borrower's standpoint, if he borrows to start a manufacturing or service business, or to expand a going concern, he is already taking a certain risk. If he must add 10 to 20 percent of his profit to the interest he will have to pay on the loan, his venture becomes even more speculative. An equity kicker narrows the margin between income and expenses. If the margin shrinks enough, he may well forget the entire venture, unless he can find a bank that will make loans without equity kickers. This aspect of equity consideration, by itself, stifles competition and deadens the very kind of incentive and initiative that is the basis of a free enterprise system.

Further suppose, however, that a bank has a monopoly position in a community. The bank has already made equity loans to the grocer, the service station owner, the town drugstore, and the owner of a motel. Would such a bank loan money to anyone intending to compete with any of the establishments in which the bank had a share of the profits?

I believe it is to the banks' interest not to participate in equity financing.

Loan officers make judgments on the soundness of every proposed loan. They look at the applicant's record and at the prospect that his venture will succeed. Such judgments, from the bank's point of view should be as impartial and uncluttered by collateral matters as possible. But how does the promise of a 10- or 20-percent profit added to the interest influence a loan officer's judgment? In my estimation, loan officers are tempted to make loans with equity kickers that under other circumstances they would realize were unsound.

The bank has an active interest in the profit of a business. How long does the bank remain aloof from the management of that business? The temptation to look over management's shoulder and to second-guess its decisions would be very strong—certainly in a business that seemed to be having growth problems. And there is grave doubt in my mind that the average bank could afford to spread its own management that thin even if it was good business to have banks operating commercial ventures, which I do not believe.

Last year, this House, by an overwhelming vote, moved to bring under regulation one-bank holding companies. President Nixon, the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, the Secretary of the Treasury, and other responsible officials in Washington urged such control because they felt it was necessary to preserve the traditional separation of finance and commerce in America.

I do not know whether equity considerations in bank loans are as widespread as are one-bank holding companies. But I do know that they blur that classic line between finance and commerce every bit as much as does the mingling of business and banking under a holding company.

I do not know how widespread the practice of equity kickers may be. That can be developed in hearings, which I urge. I do know that I have heard complaints from businessmen who could not borrow money without sharing their profits with the bank. I do know that Mayor Joseph Alioto of San Francisco complained of the practice when he testified before the House Banking and Currency Committee recently. And I do know that every person with whom I have discussed this problem has felt that action should be taken to correct it.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I am advised that the practice of requiring equity considerations as a condition of granting loans is widespread among insurance companies, mortgage bankers and other institutions, including savings and loans offices. In fairness, I believe if the practice is denied to one, it should be denied to all and my bill would prohibit equity considerations as a part of loans made by any lending institution in the United States.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 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 1,500 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

HISTORIC ALEXANDRIA BUILDING BEING RESTORED

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, as an honorary life member of the Friendship Veterans Fire Engine Co. of Alexandria, Va., I should like to call my colleagues' attention to this historic shrine, and to a "face lifting" now underway of the building at 107 South Alfred Street, Alexandria, where it has been located since 1851.

In this connection, the Alexandria Gazette, America's oldest daily newspaper, carried a story in its issue of May 19, concerning the history of the company and its present renovation. I include the text of that article in full at this point in the RECORD:

HISTORIC BUILDING BEING RESTORED—BUSINESSMEN CHIP IN

After 116 years, the tower on Alexandria's historic fire house, the Friendship Veterans Fire Engine Company, is getting a face lifting.

Although the big bell in its cupola tolls for ceremony rather than to roust the "white helmeted volunteer smoke eaters," as the company's brochure describes them, several Alexandria businessmen have chipped in with talent, money and manpower to restore the famous landmark.

Marshall J. Beverley, president of the company, who makes its history a hobby, estimates that the restoration will cost about $5,000.

The principal donors of the restoration work are Donald F. Simpson of Eugene Simpson and Bro., Inc. and Jimmie Walker, president of E. W. Walker, painters.

Several other businessmen are helping in the venture. Donald Irvin of A. S. Irvin & Son is donating the paint. Martin Adem of Marty's Floor Covering Co. is repairing the steps and floors to the shrine. James Vosnergh is cleaning and fixing the antique fire engines. Also, Clarence Robinson, a trustee, is credited with valuable assistance.

Since its construction in 1854, the engine company has grown from 16 members, who actually fought fires, to about 500 members, who serve their fire company affiliation by donating time and money and listening to patriotic speeches on George Washington's birthday.

Although the company dates back to 1774 when George Washington reportedly helped buy the first fire engine (now on display at the fire house), an examination of the minutes beginning in 1810 reveals the varied—sometimes stormy—history of the engine company.

Back in 1810, when the company was housed on the present site of Tavern Square, the treasurer reported cash in his hands of $160.47.

The following year, the treasurer paid out $21 to John Horner for an engine tongue, iron works, six staffs, four axes, repairing buckets, painting staffs and "one bag lost in fire."

In 1851, the company purchased a lot at 107 S. Alfred Street for $300 and began building the present structure.

Those who think that controversy is new to the Alexandria Fire Department of 1970, the roots go back at least to 1839.

At that time there was a competing company which operated an engine named the Sun. Often the Friendship and the Sun would arrive at a fire simultaneously and, in addition to fighting the fire, the firemen would fight each other.

The secretary reports on Dec. 20, 1839, that a fire at a school created a squabble with "the rowdies of the Sun Company who ran their engine against the Friendship and also claimed occupancy of the pump."

In June of 1851, the Friendship "entirely arrested" a blaze at J. Roberts' outhouse at 5 a.m."

One of the most disastrous fires in Friendship's long history took place in 1855 when at least six volunteers were killed by a falling wall at Dowell China Store. One of the victims was a city councilman, George Plain.

When the Civil War broke out, federal troops took over the firehouse. It was manned by the New York Fire Zouaves who immediately resolved that "no one act as a fireman who had not taken the oath of allegiance."

It was also noted that when the troops first arrived, they stole "many highly-prized decorations and fire apparatus."

Apparently, citizens were giving the soldiers-turned-firemen a lot of trouble. When the opportunity arose, volunteers would still respond to the call.

One such incident resulted in a fight between volunteers and soldiers. The soldiers won. Their bayonets were more effective than fire axes used by the citizens, who were arrested.

Too, during this period, the engine company was plagued with playful firemen who would ring the bell at the wrong times. A resolution was passed to the effect that "unless the bell is stopped, all members found in the house would be arrested and sent off to the slave pen."

Today, the Friendship, its horses and its "smoke eaters," have been replaced by modern, gleaming trucks and a full-time force.

Yet, its heritage of brawling, daring firefighters is being preserved.

NORTHERN OHIO SLOVAK LEAGUE PRAISES U.S. DELEGATION FOR VOTING AGAINST UNITED NATIONS' PRO-LENIN RESOLUTION

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, at its last general meeting on May 1, the northern Ohio district of the Slovak League of America unanimously passed a resolution denouncing the United Nations Human Rights Committee's designation of "Lenin's Centenary."

As my Slovak League friends Andrew Hudak, Jr., of Parma, the northern district president, and Andrew Pavelcak, Lakewood, secretary, said in a May 18 letter to me, "To honor Lenin and his Communist comrades is to dishonor ourselves, our institutions, our ideals, our beloved country; and it is tantamount to a denial of faith in God."

I am pleased to associate myself with their viewpoint by inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the May 1 resolution:

SLOVAK LEAGUE REPRESENTATIVES PRAISE U.S. DELEGATION ON VOTE AGAINST UNITED NATIONS' PRO-LENIN RESOLUTION

We heartily approve and endorse the denunciation of the Resolution adopted by the U.N. Human Rights commission to commem-

orate the Lenin Centennial on the basis of the notorious Bolshevik leader's so called "humanistic ideas and activity for the development and realization of economic, social and cultural rights."

In protest to this proposal the American Nationalities Movement of Greater Cleveland, representing more than a score of the city's nationality groups, made public its stand on April 21, 1970, on the eve of Lenin's centenary by lauding the United States delegation for its vote against the Resolution.

Lenin launched a most deadly movement against humanity. His ideology in behalf of the Bolshevik or Communist cause has been responsible for the enslavement, imprisonment and death of millions of human beings in the past half century and continues to menace the lives of millions today, and of millions yet unborn.

No one in the history of mankind has been guilty of so many inhumanities to man as Lenin, his comrades and their successors in the Kremlin in our time.

The members of the Northern Ohio District of the Slovak League of America, therefore, condemn the U.N. Resolution as being completely in disharmony with everything the United Nations stands for, namely, the defense of human rights for all nations at all times and everywhere throughout the world.

In view of the inhuman ideology, lack of principle and murderous tactics employed by Lenin and his communist heirs, we, who cannot forget the postwar tyranny of the communists in Slovakia or the invasion and military occupation of the country by Soviet forces two years ago, declare unequivocally that any public acclaim of Lenin is an affront to all freedom-loving peoples, a total denial of democracy and a shameless desecration of the memory of millions of innocent victims who died at the hands of the rulers of the Kremlin.

To honor Lenin and his communist comrades is to dishonor ourselves, our institutions, our ideals, our beloved country; and it is tantamount to a denial of our faith in God.

ANDREW F. HUDAK, Jr.
President.
ANDREW PAVELCAK,
Secretary.

STATISTICS ON MANPOWER PROGRAMS

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the concept of the Federal Government assisting Americans in obtaining education, training, and employment dates back over 100 years to the Morrill Act of 1862, the first bill providing for Federal aid to education by setting up the land-grant colleges. Since that date the Federal Government has moved in the direction of establishing as its goal the attainment of productive, satisfying employment for all Americans.

In the last decade the Congress of the United States responded to the need for further legislation in the field of employment and training with passage of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. MDTA was designed to fill the need for trained personnel in certain occupational categories and to retrain those persons whose skills were made obsolete through technological advances. The Economic Opportunity Act, however, recognized a different problem—that of the "other America," the men, women, and children living in poverty amidst the unparalleled economic prosperity of the United States.

As a result of 7 years of experience with programs under MDTA and 5 years of poverty programs, three of my distinguished colleagues on the Select Subcommittee on Labor, JAMES G. O'HARA, of Michigan; WILLIAM H. AYRES, of Ohio; and WILLIAM A. STEIGER, of Wisconsin, introduced comprehensive manpower bills in the first session of the 91st Congress. These three major pieces of legislation are designed to rationalize and coordinate the myriad of manpower programs developed in the last decade.

The Select Subcommittee on Labor held 27 days of public hearing on these three bills and related bills in the manpower field. During the Easter recess, the subcommittee conducted field hearings in Des Moines, Iowa; Detroit, Mich.; Seattle, Wash.; and Los Angeles, Calif., where we talked to elected officials and administrators of manpower programs and made on-site visits to training projects to meet with enrollees to discuss their problems and their views of manpower projects.

There remains no doubt in my mind about the necessity to consolidate our manpower programs and clarify the lines of authority in order to avoid the duplication and confusion which frustrates the very people who desperately need manpower services. Unfortunately, there are today millions more Americans in critical need of such a comprehensive manpower program. On May 1, the Department of Labor reported that unemployment rose over the year in the poverty neighborhoods of the Nation's 100 largest metropolitan areas. The jobless rate in these areas was 6.6 percent in the first quarter of 1970 compared with 5.6 percent during the same quarter of 1969.

In an effort to learn if specific manpower programs were meeting this urgent and expanding need for training and placement of the jobless, I requested the General Accounting Office to present to the Select Labor Subcommittee its preliminary findings and observations on the job opportunities in the business sector program—JOBS—which has been enlarged under the Nixon administration.

On May 1, the same day that the statistics on the growing unemployment rate in poverty neighborhoods were brought to my attention, Mr. Henry Eschwege, Associate Director, Civil Division, GAO, gave the GAO findings on the JOBS program to the subcommittee.

I want to call to the attention of my colleagues a portion of the statement by the General Accounting Office:

STATEMENT OF HENRY ESCHWEGE

We note that the JOBS programs is not essentially a job creation program, in that it does not necessarily result in any expansion of the existing job market. In certain instances, it has appeared to us that businessmen were simply reallocating existing job openings to persons other than those who would have been hired normally. To the extent that this has been the case, the program may simply be shifting the burden of unemployment from the disadvantaged to other persons not so categorized. We recognize that many factors need to be considered here, and that even where this is the net result, arguments can be advanced for doing so.

Secondly, the JOBS program can work best in a period of so-called full employment and may have some difficulty in achieving effectiveness in periods of relatively high unemployment. In periods of rising unemployment it would appear to become increasingly difficult for employers who experience cutbacks in their operations to sign up the disadvantaged under the JOBS program, particularly where a part of such employers' regular work force may be already on furlough, or where well qualified persons are available for employment who need no further training.

Of perhaps greater concern in a slackening economy is the likelihood that JOBS enrollees will be the first ones to be laid off, leaving them no better, and perhaps worse off than they were before entering the program. We believe that the Department of Labor has a particularly difficult challenge to meet in these circumstances to assist such persons to the full extent that other program resources are available, so that the gains made are not entirely dissipated.

Additional findings of the GAO study were:

We have found that a number of persons have been enrolled in the JOBS program who did not appear to be eligible for its benefits under established eligibility criteria.

As noted previously, we are experiencing considerable difficulty in reviewing eligibility on a program-wide basis. However, we have ascertained that a significant number of persons have been hired under the JOBS program who were not eligible based on their acknowledged family income.

The enrollment of individuals who are not from the intended target population tends to inflate reports of program achievements, while at the same time it impedes progress towards attaining program objectives.

In the San Francisco/Oakland area for example, hire cards were submitted by employers for only 4,044 of 10,398 persons hired under the JOBS program as of September 30, 1969. Only 1,810 or about 17 percent of the hire cards contained information on family income. From this limited information, however, our analysis showed that 441 persons, or about one-fourth of those reporting income data, had annual family incomes which exceeded that permissible for inclusion in the "disadvantaged" category by amounts ranging from $100 to $7,700.

The legislative history of the JOBS program indicates that it was not intended that the JOBS program would provide jobs which historically pay low wages, involve high-turnover occupations, and which traditionally use unskilled or low-skilled persons as a source of labor.

We have found that under both the contract and non-contract components of the JOBS program, many of the commitments by businesses to hire persons involve low-wage jobs which offer little chance for advancement. Termination rates for businesses offering such jobs have been high.

Certain officials of the Concentrated Employment Program and the State employment services have complained to us that many of the job orders they receive are for "dead-end" jobs.

Concerning contract performance, the GAO testified:

We have noted various examples of employers who did not provide contractually required supportive services to trainees, al-

though the employers were paid for such services. Supportive services include initial orientation to a working environment (not normal orientation such as company rules), special counseling and job coaching, job-related basic education, transportation assistance, and sensitivity training for supervisors.

Experience gained by the Department in prior manpower training programs indicates that supportive services are necessary to assist a disadvantaged person in adjusting to the job and in keeping him on the job.

For example, a landscaping firm in the San Francisco Bay area had an MA–4 contract to hire and train ten landscape gardeners. After 8 months of performance, 44 trainees had been hired and 41 had terminated, a termination rate of 93 percent. The contract provided $850 per trainee to cover the standard range of supportive services, to be paid at a rate of $3.27 per day of training. However, no services, other than normal first-day orientation and some counseling had been provided to the trainees. The contractor told us that he had not provided the services, and that he thought the Opportunities Industrialization Center from which he had planned to obtain the trainees would provide the service. He did not explain why he agreed to accept $850 per trainee under the contract if he did not plan to provide the services.

Of the Department of Labor's role in the JOBS program, the GAO representative said:

Finally, we have strong indications that the Department of Labor is not monitoring the JOBS program to an extent adequate to reasonably ensure that contractors are performing on schedule; are providing trainees with the required contractual services; and that the target population is being reached. Monitoring of employers' activities in California under JOBS contracts is carried out by contractors. Thus far, we have examined into the adequacy of program monitoring primarily in the San Francisco Bay area. We plan to cover this phase of program administration in more detail in the other cities before we complete our review.

Concerning specific costs of the JOBS program based on the GAO study of San Francisco and Oakland, Calif.; Portland, Oreg.; Seattle, Wash.; and Detroit, Mich., Mr. Eschwege testified as follows:

For the five cities in which we made our review, the training costs for an enrollee in the JOBS program ranged from $671 to $6,833. National averages as of February 28, 1970, for the MA–3, –4, and –5 phases of the JOBS program, based on data reported by the Department, were $2,935, $2,980, and $2,554, respectively.

During questioning by subcommittee members, Mr. Eschwege stated that the figures of cost per enrollee, even the highest cost of $6,833, do not cover residential living, food, or clothing to the trainee. Requested to supply the subcommittee with cost data on the operation of Job Corps centers in order for members to make factual comparisons between Job Corps and JOBS programs, the GAO recently sent me the latest cost sheets on the Job Corps which I believe will be of great interest to the Members of this body. Of special note are the figures for operation of the residential manpower centers, sometimes called "minicenters." These centers operated at a cost double that of any other Job Corps centers.

JOB CORPS SUMMARY, ENROLLEE DIRECT COSTS [1] FOR THE PERIOD JULY 1, 1969, TO MAR 31, 1970

	Average man-year cost		
	Center operations	Pay, allowance, and travel	Total
Men's centers	$5,040	$1,146	$6,186
Women's centers	5,162	1,215	6,377
State conservation centers	1,661	521	2,182
Federal conservation centers	4,711	1,186	5,897
Residential manpower centers [2]	13,312	811	14,123
Job Corps, total or average	5,096	1,161	6,257

[1] Information on indirect costs including amortization of capital, work project costs, overhead, and support of the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior for operation of the Federal conservation centers, recruitment, placement, and headquarters staff cost, is not available.

[2] These centers are sometimes called mini-centers. 5 centers are in operation, having been activated between July 1, 1969, and Mar. 9, 1970. The approximate number of months since activation for the 5 centers are:

Center	Number of months
Hawaii	9
New Jersey	8
Phoenix	5
Atlanta	2
Portland	1

Source: Job Corps, Report of Enrollee Direct Costs, Department of Labor.

I am certain that my colleagues will remember the debate over President Nixon's closing of 60 Job Corps centers in August 1969, and the establishment in their stead of certain residential manpower centers. The following schedule sent to me by the GAO compares Job Corps enrollee costs prior to the announcement of the closings with the residential manpower centers in operation since the closings:

JOB CORPS SUMMARY ENROLLEE DIRECT COSTS [1] FOR THE PERIOD JULY 1, 1968, TO APRIL 30, 1969

	Average man-year cost		
	Center operations	Pay, allowance, and travel	Total
Men's centers	$5,659	$1,192	$6,851
Women's centers	5,241	1,247	6,488
Conservation centers	4,636	1,185	5,821
Job Corps total/average	5,200	1,204	6,404

[1] Information on indirect costs including amortization of capital work project costs, overhead and support of the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior for operation of the Federal conservation centers, recruitment, placement, and Headquarters staff cost, is not available. The 5 residential manpower centers (mini-centers) had an enrollee direct man-year average cost of $14,123 at March 31, 1970. (See previous schedule for details and approximate number of months since activation.)

Source: Job Corps Center Financial Report, Office of Economic Opportunity and Job Corps Report of Enrollee Direct Costs, Department of Labor.

I am also bringing to the attention of my colleagues the detailed cost figures of the operations of these new regional centers:

COMPARISON OF DIRECT MAN-YEAR COSTS FOR RESIDENTIAL MANPOWER CENTERS NOW OPERATING AT PREVIOUS JOB CORPS CENTER LOCATIONS [1]

Center	Direct man-year cost for the period—	
	July 1, 1968, to Apr. 30, 1969	July 1, 1969, to Mar. 31, 1970
Hawaii [2]	$6,455	$6,600
New Jersey [3]	7,177	13,145

[1] Only 2 of the 5 residential manpower centers (RMC) now in operation are using the same basic facilities and/or location as previous Job Corps centers. The Hawaii RMC is the "old" Koko Head Civilian Conservation Center. The Hawaii RMC has the same capacity (250 trainees) as did Koko Head. The New Jersey RMC is located at the site of the former Kilmer Men's Center, but has a capacity of 370 trainees, whereas the Kilmer Center had a capacity of about 1,900 trainees.

[2] This center was activated on July 1, 1969, as a residential manpower center.

[3] This center was activated on Aug. 1, 1969, as a residentia manpower center.

Sources: Job Corps Center Financial Report, Office of Economic Opportunity; and Job Corps Report of Enrollee Direct Costs, Department of Labor.

JOB CORPS RESIDENTIAL MANPOWER CENTERS, BREAKDOWN OF DIRECT COSTS FOR THE PERIOD JULY 1, 1969, TO MAR. 31, 1970

	Residential Manpower Center				
	Atlanta	Hawaii	New Jersey	Phoenix	Portland
Center operating expenses:					
Enrollee expenses	$22,041	$223,224	$306,063	$66,727	$42,134
Operation and maintenance	206,303	113,983	89,861	68,357	23,247
Other operating expenses	144,282	0	3,061	155,050	79,348
Total center operating expenses	372,626	337,207	398,985	290,134	144,729
Center staff expenses:					
Staff salaries, wages, and benefits	421,964	557,246	551,075	393,334	108,912
Staff travel	31,573	13,855	3,201	33,361	4,005
Staff training	500	1,108	0	1,979	96
Total center staff expenses	$454,037	$572,209	$554,276	$428,674	$113,013
Total operating and staff expenses	826,663	909,416	953,261	718,808	257,742
Less income	0	0	8,450	200	300
Center costs	826,663	909,416	944,811	718,608	257,442
Enrollee direct costs—pay and allowances	12,165	127,408	62,122	17,517	3,568
Total center and enrollee direct costs	838,828	1,036,824	1,006,933	736,125	261,010
Equivalent man-years	15.0	157.1	76.6	21.6	4.4
Actual average man-year cost	$55,922	$6,600	$13,145	$34,080	$59,321
Enrollment as of Mar. 31, 1970	139	258	284	75	83

Note: Approximate number of months since activation: Atlanta, 2; Hawaii, 9; New Jersey, 8; Phoenix, 5; Portland, 1.

Source: Job Corps Center Financial Data, Department of Labor.

Nearly a quarter of a century has passed since the Congress of the United States passed the Employment Act of 1946, which set as national objectives the realization of "maximum employment, production and purchasing power"; yet today this country faces the specter of rising unemployment in a period of inflation, tight-money policies, and a downturn of economic growth in real terms.

It is incumbent upon us as representatives of the people to direct our attention to the great unmet domestic needs of this decade. We must assess the existing programs and then formulate a national manpower policy for the seventies which will provide more than unfulfilled promises. Rhetoric does not create jobs, nor promises, training. Empty rhetoric and unkept pledges have led to Watts and Newark. Only a massive commitment by this Congress to provide training and employment to all those seeking and willing to work will alleviate the cycle of poverty, and mitigate the hardships caused by layoffs due to changing economic patterns.

This Nation has the capability to guarantee to every American the opportunity to obtain employment consistent with his abilities. What is required now is the will to act.

LETTER FROM VIETNAM ON PORNOGRAPHY

HON. GRAHAM PURCELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Speaker, almost a month ago the House of Representatives passed H.R. 15693, an effective piece of antiobscenity legislation. Public feelings run high on this issue, and we have all heard from many of our constituents regarding this problem.

I recently received a letter, however, which brings out yet another strong reason for concern. This letter was from Spec. John A. Dresser, presently stationed in Vietnam, and his hometown is Gainesville, Tex., which is located in my congressional district. I know that his parents, Mr. and Mrs. D. J. Dresser, are very proud of him; and I am inserting Specialist Dresser's letter at this point in the RECORD so that my colleagues may have the benefit of his views:

LETTER FROM VIETNAM ON PORNOGRAPHY

As an American GI in Vietnam I would like to express my concern for the devastation caused by the existence of pornography. Having taught high school for 2 years before being drafted into the Army, I had the opportunity to observe the development of attitudes and convictions among young Americans. Likewise, at the present I am witnessing young American boys (a majority of which are recent high school graduates but by their patriotism here prove themselves to be men) forming dangerously liberal attitudes toward their own moral standards. This transition is having an apparent shocking effect on their character. One might ask, "Who are you to judge?" One does not need to judge, only to glance at the pictures and listen to the resulting obscene language which accompanies the indulgence of such literature to identify the declining humanity. Pornography is clearly available to the GI here in Vietnam, to what degree as compared to the United States, I don't know. The filth on the magazine stands is leaving its stain on the minds of these young men to be carried back to the United States.

After enduring the experiences of wartime, the GI here is looking foreward to a better life. Does any meaning of a desirable life lie in the temptation of a luring device implanted in the magazine stands of his own home town? In the combat zone a man's thoughts, eyes, and attention may be focused on whatever is most appealing and available in his few spare moments. It is here that a man's most precious physical desires can fall victim to the decay of pornography. But these obscenities are not ones that he can be proud of in his recollections. Environmental conditions are such that a typical GI will tell you, "I would not want my parents, wife, sister, or girlfriend to see what I have to live among."

Regardless of what the man on the street may think of the morality of the GI in Vietnam or the reason for his being here, I am sure an overwhelming majority of servicemen, if the truth was known, would say with me: "I am an American, I want to go home to the land of the free, not of the filth."

Sincerely yours,

Sp. 5c. JOHN A. DRESSER.

FIGHTING POLLUTION

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, increasing concern for the protection of our environment against pollution is reflected in a fact sheet made available to me by students at the University of New Hampshire united in the cause of improving the environment. This sheet lists various ways that citizens as consumers can help combat solid wastes and other pollution.

It is fairly predictable that increasing consumer pressure in the form of boycotts or otherwise will cause changes in policy by private companies in the interests of combating pollution.

I urge all citizens to take these admonitions to heart and to pass this information on to their friends and neighbors in the cause of a cleaner and healthier America.

WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT POLLUTION

This sheet is a list of varied consumer goods that you can buy to decrease the amount of solid waste (eg. paper, bottles, cans) and liquid wastes (high phosphate detergents) that are polluting our environment. Manufacturers understand consumer Pressure!

A. Detergents.—Use low phosphate detergents such as Cold Power, Cold Water All, Wisk, Diaper Pure, Trend. These detergents contain low levels of phosphate. Better yet, use soap powders (Lux, Ivory Snow, etc.), dishwashing liquids (all okay), borax (Borateen), or washing soda, all of which are very low or contain no phosphates at all. Write UNHITE, 8 Ballard St., Durham, N.H. 03827 for information on how to use soap powders with washing soda to get a clean wash without phosphates!

B. Vegetables.—Buy unwrapped vegetables. Items such as cucumbers, lettuce, radishes, broccoli, squash, sweet potatoes, cabbage, turnips, onions, yams, pepper, and celery can be washed off at home for sanitary purposes. Ask the produce manager for unwrapped vegetables. After all, he gets these products in wooden crates and packages them to add eye appeal. These excess wastes must be disposed of. You may breathe tomorrow the plastic you buy today.

C. Fruits.—Buy unwrapped fruit. Nature provides them with natural sanitation, the peelings. Buy unwrapped oranges, grapefruit, apples, melons, pineapples, bananas, plums, cherries, etc. Purchase reusable lettuce crispers or utilize plastic ice cream containers for storage of perishable goods.

D. Eggs.—Return egg cartons to the grocery store. These are reusable.

E. Bottles.—Many stores have their own chain store goods in returnable bottles (e.g. A&P soda). Use returnable milk bottles such as Cumberland Farms. Not only do you save 19¢ on every gallon of milk ($28.64 per year using three gallons per week), you also reduce the amount of solid waste. Ask for returnable beer bottles (Narragansett Giant Imperial Quarts, Knickerbocker quarts, Coors Beer in the West, Budweiser, and Molsen in Canada). Your grocery store services your needs. *TELL THEM* you want returnable bottles. Force Coca-Cola, Cott, Canada Dry to provide returnable bottles again by purchasing goods only in returnable bottles. Stand up and be counted.

F. Paper products.—Use plain white paper products if you must use them at all. The dyes in paper products not only stain the water where they are produced, but they are also harder to break down when they are disposed of. Keep this in mind when buying toilet tissue, paper towels, paper plates etc. Refuse grocery bags to store your solid waste. Don't buy plastic bags. Refuse excess paper bags given to you by bag boys, or better yet, bring your own shopping bag and use a trash can to store solid waste.

G. Cheese and butter.—Buy solid pound butter or margarine. There is less packaging. Buy cheeses not individually wrapped. Again utilize reusable containers to protect perishables in the home.

H. Toothpaste.—This need not be wrapped. Buy just the product, not the packaging. Give it to the girl at the counter to dispose of.

I. Buy in larger quantities.—Smaller packages have a larger paper surface to product ratio. There is less wasted in larger quantity purchases and less of a disposal problem.

J. Gasoline.—Use unleaded gasoline. They add less obnoxious chemicals to the air. Send back your credit cards to petroleum companies that are involved in large scale oil disasters.

BOLING WINS COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT AWARD

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, in these anxious and tense times, I felt it might be refreshing and reassuring to pause for a moment and give recognition to one of the towns in the 10th District of Texas—Boling, located in Wharton County.

Just this last week, Boling won first place over a group of 310 communities in the Texas Community Improvement Contest, sponsored by the electric utilities companies of Texas in cooperation with the Extension Service of Texas A. & M. University. This progressive town

held a tour on May 22 so that all visitors could see the many homes and business locations, of which all can be justly proud. The Boling District Improvement Association covers not only the townsite of Boling, but also the entire Boling Independent School District, and there are approximately 900 families in the district. They have 100 percent participation in such civic endeavors as overall cleanup; maintenance of yards, cemeteries, and vacant lots. Every resident participates in some activity to enhance his well-being or that of the community: Vegetable gardening, teaching of piano, raising of pecan trees, and many other worthwhile endeavors. The people of Boling say of their town: "There ain't none better," and describe their friendly community as: "Where the days are warm as a mother's love and the nights as cool as a rich relation."

I salute Boling and its civic-minded people who serve as a daily reminder to the people of the 10th District, the State of Texas, and in fact, all of our great country, the fact that Americans are hard working, industrious, and believe in our way of life, our country's heritage, and its future.

SMALL GROUP OF RADICALS PLANNING DESTRUCTION

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the editorial which I will insert into the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks is from the Harvey, Ill., Tribune of Thursday, May 21. This newspaper serving communities in south suburban Cook County naturally directs most of its editorials to matters of local interest. However, the situation described and discussed in this editorial covers a situation which unfortunately has and can occur throughout our land. Therefore, I deem it of special significance and for this reason insert it into the RECORD:

SMALL GROUP OF RADICALS PLANNING DESTRUCTION

Last week, police in Hammond and Lansing arrested two adults and one juvenile there who have been charged with arson in connection with the firebombing of an elementary school in Lansing. That act has unfortunately become so commonplace these days that it would not have drawn much attention, but police in Lansing and Hammond claim the firebombing was only a test for a much more serious attempt to destroy a large portion of Lansing.

According to Lansing police, they received information that several young revolutionaries there planned to blow up the police station, the fire station, the main electric transformer, the natural gas reservoir and many other primary facilities.

It was also planned, the police said, to seize four all-night gas stations and let the fuel run into the sewers. This fuel would then be set afire causing widespread property damage.

We mention this information here to alert all citizens to the fact that there are those who are so disenchanted with the establishment that they would resort to these tactics of violence and revolution.

The Weatherman faction of the SDS has publicly announced that they intend to destroy this country and several thwarted attempts to manfacture bombs have proven that they are indeed deadly serious. The fact that Lansing police believe their town was marked for such revolutionary action points out that no community is safe from these anarchists and emphasizes the fact that every community should take necessary precautions.

As a citizen, you can help too. Don't discount any wild stories your youngsters tell you about SDS involvement in the local area. Report it immediately to your police department. Such information from teenagers led to the three arrests in Lansing.

One yippie newspaper, published in Chicago, has already drawn its bead on the Harvey and Riverdale police departments for the present crackdown on narcotics users in this area. While pointing the finger of guilt at the police for conducting such raids, this same newspaper publishes information of the best types of guns to purchase, advocates the shooting of policemen and the overthrow of our country.

We cannot close our eyes to these revolutionary acts and we must be prepared to do everything possible to bring these perpetrators of violence and revolution to justice.

A small, hard-core group of dissidents are attempting to destroy America and Americans everywhere must rise up against them if this country is to survive.

PRESIDENT'S DECISION IS SUPPORTED BY RETIRED OFFICERS

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, last Friday night, the Piedmont Area Retired Officers Association adopted the following resolution in support of President Nixon and his policies in Cambodia. This outstanding organization is composed of members from the Counties of Anderson, Pickens, and Oconee, in my district of South Carolina, and I am proud to commend their excellent resolution to the attention of the Congress:

RESOLUTION

Whereas the President of the United States has been subjected to much strident criticism for his unprecedented decision to enter the Cambodian "sanctuaries" occupied by the North Vietnamese for their bases and war supplies, and

Whereas our President, as Commander-in-Chief of our Armed Forces, based on the best information and facts available deemed it imperative that an incursion into Cambodia be made, and

Whereas the President made his decision in the expectation that it would (1) shorten the war; (2) save American lives over the longer term; (3) enable the Vietnamization to proceed as planned; and (4) minimize the potential of disastrous defeat as the strength is reduced with our withdrawals from Vietnam,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that in the belief our President acted for the necessary and limited purpose of removing a serious threat to our Armed Forces without intent of escalating the war, and also in the confidence that he will remove all American troops from Cambodia by 30 June 1970 as he has promised,

We, the members present, of the Piedmont Area Retired Officers Association, at a regular meeting—as concerned and responsible citizens—vouchsafe our firm support of our President in his Cambodian decision, and

We further do laud the courage exhibited by the President in making this timely, crucial and awesome decision which gains invaluable time for the Vietnamization program, protects our troops from an immediate threat from the Cambodian "sanctuaries" and testifies to the President's determination not to abandon the principles of freedom for which more than 40,000 American men have died.

Adopted: May 22, 1970.

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, while the eyes of most Americans are focused on the war in the Far East and rightfully so, I do believe we in Congress should direct more active attention to a situation—inflation—that threatens to crush our Nation and its people.

The Congress must move quickly to control and halt inflation for it is most obvious that the fumbling and stumbling efforts of the President are not bringing correction to the situation. In fact, the presidential actions, and the lack of them in some key areas, are adding fuel to the fires of inflation.

In the past 18 months inflation has turned into a raging fire from which there will be no escape unless we are ready and willing to take the stern and sensible steps that the President refuses to take under the powers given him by the Constitution and law.

What has happened and is happening is well spelled out in the following statement on the national economy by the AFL–CIO Executive Council.

The key section of the AFL–CIO statement proposes and suggests steps that might be taken to whip inflation and in my opinion the appropriate committees of the two bodies of Congress should bring them up for consideration immediately and get necessary legislation before us so we can overcome the President's inadequate and poor actions and lack of action.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF THE AFL–CIO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL ON THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

The Administration's campaign against inflation has been a complete failure. Price 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 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 anyone else, so long as there is equality of sacrifice.

WHAT'S THE CAUSE?

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, a weekly newspaper in my district, the Central Virginian of Louisa, Va., on May 21, 1970, published a very thoughtful column on the causes and cures of youthful dissent today. This article is written by a good friend, Harry Disston, under the pen name of H. D. N. Hill. For the information of my colleagues, I include it in the RECORD:

WHAT'S THE CAUSE?

(By H. D. N. Hill)

The educated young—we are well, painfully and frighteningly aware—are violently and riotously rebelling. They are violently dissident, destructive (of themselves as well as of property), undisciplined, unthinking, out of hand. What is all the root of this social cancer?

The cause of the current destructive unrest among the young stems from several basic situations. They are, I believe:

1. Undue permissiveness and considerable over-indulgence of the young and minority groups.

2. The great affluence enjoyed by our nation since the end of World War II—while at the same time much of the rest of the world is plagued by deep poverty, hunger, disease and strife.

3. Our insidious welfare programs and attitudes.

4. The frustration caused by the concept—and application—of a "limited" ("no-win") war in far off places.

Let us reflect briefly on each of these underlying causes.

Undue permissiveness is, perhaps, the deepest cause of unrest among the young. The rod of discipline, courage and sound reason has been continually far too much spared, with the result that the children are "spoiled rotten". The over-indulgence of the young and minority groups has resulted, naturally, in a lack of respect not only for constituted authority, but also a lack of respect for knowledge, experience, the truth and those who disagree with the dissidents. It has resulted in the admission of inferior students to institutions of higher learning and in placing many incompetents in positions of responsibility. It has caused sound thinking, careful consideration, mature reflection and confidence in the seasoned able among us to be replaced by slogans, snap judgment, popularity, strikes and the pressure of violence in approaching problems of public concern.

The frantic efforts of liberal elements in pushing the equalization of civil rights—just and desirable as the objectives are—much, much faster (and by unfeasible and artificial devices) than our as yet unconditioned society can absorb the new concept is another evidence of over-indulgence.

The great affluence we enjoy is due largely to our technological skill, professional knowledge, capable research and abundant natural resources. Much of our current "wealth", however, is false and deceptive. Our private enterprise economy is more and more controlled and managed by government bureaus and agencies. Our increasing ability to produce is also increasingly outstripping the immediate ability of customers to consume and use the production—let alone afford it. We are, as a nation—and most of us as individuals—"in hock" for some two to five years ahead. The conglomeration of industrial and business firms permits presentation of unrealistic savings and profits. All of us are urged through the communications media to borrow, to charge it, and to buy more than we planned and can afford. The innocent, the unknowledgeable and the unskilled are losing a great deal more than they can afford on their "investments" in the stock market.

Our economy—somewhat out of joint from unrealistic overindulgence for some ten to twenty years—is shabby; it is almost surely headed for an uncontrollable and disastrous

inflation or a deep depression unless most unpopular price and wage controls are applied.

The welfare programs—in addition to bogging down in a mire of administrative confusion and incompetence and undue cost—has the very great weakness of eliminating all incentive for the poor to work. Worse, many of the welfare programs in effect for some years have encouraged a dangerous dependence on the government and have established government "hand-outs" as a right. They have weakened the will of individuals to survive in our competitive society (a natural state, which will be with us for many thousands of years more). They have weakened the moral fibre of our citizenship—moulded thinking and action to getting more and more from the common pot while giving less and less to it. The indigent do not seem to be hungry enough to want to work!

The frustration of the Vietnam war is, perhaps, more a matter of fanning the smouldering fire than a true cause of the deep unrest. The war is essentially a "whipping boy". It is indeed unfortunate that those who demonstrate so loudly and violently to shorten the war are prolonging and intensifying it by encouraging our enemies to wait us out.

A most harmful effect of anti-war violence is acceptance by some—many—that it is reasonable, even desirable, to conduct a war through public opinion (grossly misinformed and unknowledgable). Certainly the citizens of our country should have a strong voice in whether or not we should go to war and whether we should terminate it—and with equal certainty, they should leave to the experts and those responsible how the war should be conducted and terminated.

So, what to do about the basic causes of unrest?

Surely, some changes in the old order are needed and should be initiated. Fundamentally, however, it seems that we need to return—and promptly—to applying some of the principles which for a long time and frequently have been found successful in maintaining a reasonably just, progressive, free, relatively peaceful and prosperous society. These include the right of peaceful dissent—by anti-dissidents as well as the dissidents; prompt suppression and punishment of violence and lawlessness, acceptance of responsibility as a prelude to privilege; judgment after—not before—the facts; respect for and loyalty to constituted authority; the rule of reason and the will of the majority; change through the orderly process of law; that all do not have equal abilities; that one must earn his "daily bread"; that we must defend ourselves against those who indicate and announce they want to destroy us; realization that this is not a perfect world.

Most of all, we need to take strong and positive measures to assure that the young and minority groups learn and understand the "rights" can only be earned by demonstrating responsibility—that a strong, free society rests firmly on the orderly and just application of the common law and support of constituted authority.

Let us hope that these lessons are learned soon!

DISPOSAL OF PESTICIDES

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a letter from Shirley A. Briggs, executive director, Rachel Carson Trust for the Living Environment, Inc., with which was enclosed material dealing with disposal of pesticides and a copy of the regulations adopted by the Government of Argentina dealing with the use of assorted pesticides. It is a matter of great interest that the Argentinian regulations appear to be substantially in advance of practices allowed in the United States.

So that this information may be available to my colleagues, I insert the text of the letter, as well as the two enclosures at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

RACHEL CARSON TRUST FOR THE LIVING ENVIRONMENT, INC.,
Washington, D.C., April 28, 1970.

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DINGELL: We hope that you might find the enclosed copy of the Argentine pesticide regulations of interest. For some reason, these do not seem to have gotten any public attention, although they were put into effect over two years ago and would seem to be among the most thorough of such actions in any country to date.

This translation was undertaken by the Trust with a view of giving them more circulation, and we hope that it is a satisfactory rendition. The Argentine Embassy has made a few corrections and refinements, and we shall now summarize it for more general release.

We have appreciated your sending current legislation relating to the environment to us, and shall hope to continue to be on your mailing list for material of this kind.

Sincerely,

SHIRLEY A. BRIGGS,
Executive Director.

DISPOSING OF PESTICIDES

Surplus pesticides and empty containers must be disposed of very carefully to avert accidental poisoning or unnecessary contamination of our environment. The persistent pesticides, notably DDT and the other chlorinated hydrocarbons as well as some other compounds, take years to break down into less toxic material. Some, including arsenic, lead, and selenium, remain toxic indefinitely. For all of these, disposal should assure that they will not escape later into the environment. No really sure and convenient way has yet been found to do this.

Burial and burning are the normal alternatives. Burial requires knowledge of the terrain and of future land use that few people can guarantee. Burning requires special incineration facilities that are not common.

Basic rules:

Never put pesticides down the drain, into the trash can, or on a public dump unless it has special provisions for pesticide disposal. This means deep and immediate burial where the materials will not reach groundwater or surface water and where disturbance of the soil will not unearth the pesticides later.

Old containers must be disposed of as carefully as the poisons themselves. Never re-use them and do not leave them in usable shape for others who may find them, even after you have buried them.

Handle all pesticides carefully at all times. Be sure containers do not leak. Many pesticides are toxic to humans just by contact with the skin.

TO BURY

Burial on your own property should be done only when the materials can be put into a hole well away from trees, desirable shrubs or plants, and at least 50 feet from any well or surface water. It should not be near a home. Few city or suburban lots are suitable. Be sure the pesticides will not leach down into groundwater—sandy soil may be undesirable. The hole must be deep enough to cover the pesticides with at least 3 feet of soil, immediately. If the highest possible water table is less than 5 feet below the surface, do not bury pesticides there at all. Put aerosol cans in intact. Chemicals in glass or other metal containers will presumably retain their toxicity if buried intact, so it is recommended that such containers be broken so the contents will spread somewhat into the soil and be subject to natural degrading over the years. The decomposition of certain organic pesticides can be hastened by mixing them or surrounding them with at least 10 times their weight of quicklime or hydrated lime.

Organic phosphates, which decompose quickly, are more suitable for burial than the persistent chemicals. The same precautions should be taken. Admixture with lime is particularly effective with these materials.

Herbicides should be buried, not burned. Most organic herbicides degrade fairly rapidly, but those containing arsenic compounds will remain toxic indefinitely. Bury all herbicides far from any vegetation that might be affected. A public sanitary landfill may be best, if they are forewarned and equipped to deal with pesticide burial. Burning of herbicides releases very toxic fumes, and some explode.

Large quantities of pesticides present a greater problem. They must be buried at least 6 feet above the highest groundwater level, where the land is not apt to be used for crops, pasture, or building sites, and at least 300 feet from any wells or surface water. They must be covered immediately with at least 3 feet of soil.

OR TO BURN

Do not burn pesticides yourself. Adequate and safe burning of pesticides requires a specially designed incinerator that will maintain a "red heat" of 700° C. (about 1290° F.), and preferably one that has an afterburner. This will destroy all organic matter, including most of the chlorinated hydrocarbon pesticides. One that maintains a heat of 1000° C. will deal with all but a few residues of other pesticides.

If you find a public incinerator that is able to deal with pesticides, find out when the operators prefer to have such materials brought, and let them know when you are coming and with what. Wrap the pesticides in several layers of newspaper to assure as high a heat as possible. The package should be placed beneath a layer of combustible materials so that escaping vapors will be forced to pass through a zone of flame. Some chemicals leave a residue even after 1000° C. incineration. Alert the operators to this possibility, so the remainder can be buried or otherwise safely disposed of. Atrazine, carbaryl, bromacil, dalapon, and especially DSMA and zineb will leave residues of those studied so far.

In the Washington, D.C. area, the incinerator for Montgomery County, in Rockville, maintains sufficient heat to deal with pesticides. They ask to be warned before pesticides are brought, and suggest the days in the middle of the week when steady heat is kept at maximum temperature.

These suggestions have been compiled by the Rachel Carson Trust for the Living Environment, Inc., 8940 Jones Mill Road, Washington, D.C. 20015 (301) 652–1877.

REGULATIONS ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ARGENTINA

DECREE NO. 647

Having reviewed file no. 429/68 concerning the desirability of avoiding "illegal residues" of pesticides in agricultural products and by-products produced in this country, which may affect human health, and

Whereas these contaminations by pesti-

cides or their derivatives and degrees of tolerance therefore are regulated in various countries by special Alimentary Codes; and

Whereas there is available a number of pesticides which can replace those of zero tolerance or of very low tolerance, these same are registered with the Department of Agriculture and Livestock and therefore obtainable from Argentine commercial sources;

Whereas the regulation and control of the correct use of such pesticides is a difficult task for the technical services of the abovementioned department, taking into account the size of our territory and the scarcity of technical personnel.

For these reasons and in consonance with the proposal of the Minister of Agriculture and Livestock,

The President of the Argentine Nation decrees:

Article 1. It is forbidden to use in plant pest control, grasshopper-killers composed of Dieldrin and Heptachlor or equivalent products as is also forbidden the use or application of such products in animal hygiene.

Article 2. The Department of Agriculture is empowered with the review of current use regulations of all pesticides, and especially of the chloride compounds, assuring that the use of the same will not produce a residual accumulation in agricultural products or by-products, in excess of the limits permitted by the most strict of (other) countries.

Article 3. Article 2 of Decree No. 4426 of June 23, 1967 is hereby repealed.

Article 4. Those firms which on the date of this Decree possess stocks of grasshopper-killers "Dieldrin" and "Heptachlor" and their equivalents, brought into the country under a suspension of import duties, must report them within a limit of 15 days to the Department of Agriculture and Livestock, and to the National Customs Bureau for the purposes of their appropriate disposal, under Joint Resolutions of Dept. Ag. and Treasury Dept., specifying conditions, destination, and/or utilization of such stocks.

Article 5. Those products indexed in positions 29.21.00.03–29.35.20.07 and 29.25.01.13 for application as grasshopper-killers may be imported duty-free with the prior certification of the Department of Agriculture.

Article 6. The present Decree will be countersigned by the Minister of Economy and Labor and signed by the Secretaries of Agriculture, Treasury, and Industry and Commerce.

Article 7. Let it be communicated, published and delivered to the General Directorate of the National Registry and returned to the Secretary of Agriculture and Livestock for appropriate purposes.

Ongania.
Adalberto Krieger Vasena.
Rafael Garcia Mata.
Luis S. D'Imperio.
Angel A. Sola.

FEBRUARY 15, 1968.

RESOLUTION NO. 361

By virtue of what was established by Decree No. 647 of February 15, 1968, which forbids the use of the chloride products Dieldrin and Heptachlor or their equivalents in Animal Hygiene and

Whereas: the fundamental provisions of the cited Decree refer to what quantities of the stated pesticides contained in foodstuffs may place human life in danger;

Many countries' Alimentary Codes (Foodstuff Laws) regulate the use of these contaminants;

Persisting in the use of these products may affect our foreign commerce;

As identical situation exists respect to other hydrocarbon chlorides such as Dichloro-Diphenil-Trichlorethane (DDT), Methoxichlor, Hexachloride - Ciclo - Hexane (BHC), and the chlorinated Camphenes and Terpenes (Strobane), etc.;

In accordance with what was established by Article 2 of the mentioned Decree, it is the duty of the Department of Agriculture and Livestock to supervise and regulate the prescriptions for the use of pesticides and especially the chloride compounds which produce a residual accumulation in agricultural products and by-products;

Therefore, the Department of Agriculture and Livestock resolves:

1. To prohibit after May 1, 1968, the use of chlorinated hydrocarbons such as Dieldrin, Heptachlor, DDT, Methoxichlor, BHC, Camphenes, and Terpenes, etc. in cattle and hog dips as well as in slaughterhouses and nationally authorized meat processing plants.

2. Those firms which have in their possession as of the date of this Decree stocks of the products named in paragraph No. 1 above should proceed in accordance with the provisions of Article 4 of the aforementioned Decree No. 647.

3. Publish, record and return to the General Directorate of Animal Hygiene for its appropriate enforcement.

RAFAEL GARCIA MATA,
Secretary of State for Agriculture and Livestock.

APRIL 2, 1968.

RESOLUTION NO. 476

Having seen File No. 1.666/68 regarding products and by-products produced in the country which can affect human health and our commerce, and

Considering that there has been established in this Department a representative Committee of its various dependencies to which this problem appertains, and which developed the background for the promulgation of Decree 647 of February 15, 1968 prohibiting the use of grasshopper-killer products made from Dieldrin or Heptachlor and their equivalents and the administration of such products in Animal Hygiene; and also Ministerial Resolution 361 of April 2, 1968 of this Department prohibiting the use of chlorinated hydrocarbons in cattle and hog dips and in slaughterhouses and meat processing plants.

That there is anticipated, in accordance with what is provided by Article 2 of the aforementioned Decree 647, and for the purpose of achieving the proposed result, that our agricultural products and by-products do not show pesticide contamination above the limits which the most demanding country permits, an intensive technical undertaking to which none of the involved dependencies can fail to contribute.

That the participation of the private sector in this action is of great use and value.

Therefore, the Secretary of Agriculture and Livestock Resolves:

1. To grant priority No. 1 to the problems of illegal residues of pesticides, requiring that all reports requested be submitted within a maximum time of 24 hours and to make specially responsible all functionaries regardless of rank for the strict compliance with all dispositions which may be taken regarding this matter.

2. To confirm the Permanent Committee on Pesticide Residues made up of the head and one alternative from the following dependencies: COCOP, INTA, General Office of Plant Hygiene, General Office of Animal Hygiene, SELSA, National Meat Board, and General Office of Dairy Farming.

3. The foregoing Committee will be presided over by the Under Secretary (of Agriculture) and/or the Director General of Animal Health or of Plant Hygiene as alternates.

4. Invite the private sector and industries involved in such products to participate in this Committee in an advisory and collaborating role for the purpose of better coordination and compliance with the action program in question.

5. The mentioned dependencies will report to the Secretariat of the Committee their present representatives' names, addresses, and telephone numbers, as well as the creation of Subcommittees which will work in each area and the measures adopted or to be adopted.

6. Let it be communicated, noted and filed.

RAFAEL GARCIA MATA,
Secretary of Agriculture and Livestock.

APRIL 24, 1968.

LAW NO. 17.751

By authority of powers conferred by Article 5 of the Statute of the Argentine Revolution.

The President of Argentina enacts and promulgates with the force of a law:

Article 1. There are hereby declared to be of public use and subject to expropriation by the Department of Agriculture and Livestock all stocks, now confiscated or to be confiscated, of pesticides made from Dieldrin, Heptachlor, and their equivalents, and made up from chlorinated hydrocarbons and their active ingredients and technical grades, thereof now in possession of holders regardless of title.

Article 2. The Executive Power will indemnify (the holders) at the cost price of these products, for which purpose the interested parties must furnish the necessary documentation to make such determinations.

Article 3. Such expropriation will not occur when the manufacturers dedicate the products mentioned in Article 1 to uses permitted in the fight against pests, or in the case of their re-exportation. Such re-exportation will be free of all taxes, and all duties paid in virtue of their (original) importation will be reimbursed. Such exemption and reimbursement will also extend to the charges for statistical and consular service and proof of destination. The reimbursement of duties on such re-exported products will be determined in accordance with the procedure for reimbursements on exports of non-traditional manufactured products.

Article 4. There are declared to be free of import duties and of deposit prior to introduction into the market, all equipment, apparatus, parts and drugs not produced in this country and which are required by public and private organizations for the assembling, putting into operation and maintenance of laboratories specially designed for the determination of pesticide residues in agricultural products and by-products in accordance with the regulations and conclusions thereby determined. This exemption will apply to all equipment, apparatus, parts and drugs not produced in the country (and already introduced), and which are nationalized (declared to be of national interest) from the date this present law enters into effect.

Article 5. For the purpose established by Article 2 of the present law, the Secretary of Agriculture and Livestock is hereby authorized to invest, charging to the Budget of Central Administration—Directorate General of Plant Hygiene, up to the sum of Ten Million Pesos and to the Budget of the National Meat Board, a decentralized institution under his jurisdiction, up to the sum of One Hundred Eighty Million Pesos—for which the Executive Power is authorized to increase the Budget of Costs and Resources of the said Board for this present fiscal period as approved by Law No. 17.579.

Article 6. It is hereby established that the indemnizations, regardless of the amount, will be paid directly by those dependencies hereinbefore mentioned.

Article 7. Within Thirty Days from the promulgation of this Law, the Executive Power will publish the pertinent Regulations.

Article 8. Let it be communicated, published, and delivered to the Official Register for filing.

ONGANIA.
ADALBERTO KRIEGER VASENA.

MAY 27, 1968.

MINISTERIAL RESOLUTION NO. 751

Whereas the present Report No. 2.340/68, by which the General Directorate of Plant Hygiene proposes the adoption of Decree No. 647 of February 15, 1968 and Resolution 497/68, as well as with the correct use of pesticides to avoid illegal contaminations in our agricultural and livestock products and by-products and

Considering that companies devoted to undertaking jobs to fight against pests and diseases for the benefit of third parties, have as their basic activity a direct intervention in the use and handling of chemical products employed in the control of the same;

That these mentioned enterprises can only act in their fight against pests through compliance with the obligation to be registered in the "Register of Air and Land Enterprises for Plant Sanitation Work", administered by the General Directorate of Plant Hygiene and created for that purpose by the provisions of Article 22 of Decree-Law No. 6407/63;

That it is appropriate to establish norms to compel these companies in carrying out their activities, to comply with the dispositions of the Register of Plant Pharmacy, for which they must list all of the technical data of the entire process of pest and plant disease control, as well as to comply with the restrictions in their use, to assure an agricultural product or by-product without illegal pesticide residues;

Therefore, the Secretary of Agriculture and Livestock resolves:

1. The General Directorate of Plant Hygiene will proceed to cancel the registration in the "Registry of Air and Land Enterprises for Plant Hygiene Work" of whatever firm which employs for the control of pests and diseases, special products for plant treatment in a manner or in doses or conditions other than those currently registered in the National Register of Plant Therapeutics.

2. The dispositions of Article 1 apply equally to persons or firms which work with air or land equipment and will be enforced according to evidence from the inspection personnel in the Reconnaissance and Plant Hygiene Control Service. Upon proof of an infraction, the firm will be prohibited from continuing such activities, in addition to the sanctions established in Decree Law No. 6.704/63.

3. Let it be communicated, published and for its knowledge and other purposes, be returned to the General Directorate of Plant Hygiene.

RAFAEL GARCIA MATA,
Engineer Agronomist,
Secretary of Agriculture and Livestock.
JUNE 18, 1968.

PERMANENT COMMITTEE OF PESTICIDE RESIDUES—PROBLEM OF ILLEGAL RESIDUES OF PESTICIDES

Measures adopted by the Department of Agriculture and Livestock for the purpose of eliminating illegal residues of pesticides in agricultural and livestock products and by-products:

1. February 15, 1968—Decree No. 647, prohibiting the use of grasshopper-killers Dieldrin and Heptachlor in Plant Hygiene and from all use in Animal Hygiene.

2. March 11, 1968—Meeting of federal officers and experts and technical specialists of universities and of the Provinces of Buenos Aires, Corboda and Santa Fe, on the programing of the fight against grasshoppers for the period 1968/69 with new insecticides.

3. April 2, 1968—Resolution No. 361—Prohibition of use of chlorinated hydrocarbons or prepared hydrocarbons in cattle or hog dips.

4. April 5, 1968—Message to the Provincial Governors requesting their collaboration and that of the Mayors and Chiefs of Police in achieving compliance with the measures adopted.

5. April 24, 1968—Ministerial Resolution No. 476 confirming the establishment of the Permanent Committee on Pesticide Residues and declaring priority No. 1 to the problem of illegal residues. This Committee meets weekly to review the development of measures and to consider others.

6. April 24, 1968—and May 1, 1968—Two television programs of one hour's length, with the participation of the Secretary of Agriculture, technicians from private industry and a producer for the purpose of explaining to agricultural producers the importance of the problem of illegal residues, and the manner in which they should collaborate to solve this problem. These programs were furnished to the TV stations of the interior through the repeater network.

7. April 24, 1968—Decree No. 2.143 prohibiting the manufacture, possession, commercialization or use of external anti-parasites (tick-killers, etc.) which contain chlorinated hydrocarbons as an active ingredient for use on cattle or hogs.

8. April 25, 1968—Meeting to discuss the extension of, and research on, this problem with technicians from the Universities of La Plata, Buenos Aires, Tucuman, and from Plant Hygiene, Public Health, Agriculture, INTO and INTA. Intensive courses for graduates will be given, lasting one week.

9. April 26, 1968—and May 2, 1968—Meetings with the Chamber of Farm Sanitation and Fertilizers for the purpose of reaching coordination between preparers, importers and manufacturers of active ingredients so as to eliminate or reformulate forbidden chemicals for other permissible uses.

10. April 1968—Message to 130 Committees of the fight against grasshoppers, informing them of the dispositions adopted and of the necessity of distributing them among the producers of their areas.

11. May 2, 1968—Resolution No. 497 prohibiting the use of chlorinated hydrocarbons in pest control in forage plants.

12. May 3, 1968—Meeting with representatives of rural producers organizations to achieve collaboration in compliance with the measures adopted.

13. May 13, 14, 15, 1968—Speeches by Agronomist J. D. Nicolini in "Farm Tribune" over Radio Splendid. Three radio programs on the problem of pesticide residues, directed to the agricultural producer. (Official Action.)

14. May 16, 17, 1968—Speeches by Agronomist A. E. de las Carreras—The Importance of the Export Market for Meats and the Action of the Meat-Packing Export Industry. "Farm Tribune" Radio Splendid. (2 radio programs.)

15. Law 17.751/68—Expropriation of remnants of chloride pesticides. Importation duty-free of chromatographs for official and private use.

16. Confiscation of pesticides in the stores or in the hands of holders regardless of title. Copy attached (thereto) of products whose use in animal and plant hygiene is interrupted.

17. Printing of posters about the problem in question for use in banks, railroad stations, public buildings, etc.

18. Periodic press releases about measures adopted, and reactions from producers.

19. Installation of the first Chromatograph, with captive electrons, in the Laboratory for Analysis of Residues of Pesticides established for this purpose. Another Chromatograph is now awaiting clearance in Customs for the Department of Agriculture.

20. Prohibition of the use of chlorides in the corrals or walkways of meatpacking plants.

21. Meetings with the representatives of the Meatpacking Industry on this subject.

22. Review of bank credits to the purpose of fight against pests.

23. Selection of technical personnel for specialization in the analysis of residues, to be sent to the U.S.A. for this purpose.

24. The Argentine Corporation of Meat Producers sent 60,000 leaflets to stockholders, cattle raisers and to various newspapers. Comment was also sent on different measures adopted.

25. Stock dealers have included on their cattle sale invoices this type of information, and have distributed it in Cattle Information Bulletins.

26. INTA (National Institute of Agricultural Technology) is finishing investigation of residues in pastures treated with Dieldrin and other chlorides in dips.

27. Public Health is continuing its investigations of the use of chlorides with relation to human health.

28. The General Directorate of Dairy Farming is proposing a Ministerial Resolution on the restriction of the use of pesticides in dairying activities.

29. The Argentine Institute for the Meat Export Industry distributed to the principal newspapers of the country a lengthy article on the propriety of the measures adopted in the chloride problem.

THE PRESENCE OF PESTICIDES IN MEATS

(July 25, 1968)

Background

Beginning with February 15 and the promulgation of Decree 647/68, official action was commenced to eliminate the residues of pesticides from meats. Many later measures were adopted; a broad publicity campaign was undertaken; it was made obligatory to declare any stock of chemicals whose use was prohibited and which would be expropriated in accordance with legislation which was passed. The level of pesticide residues which were contained in meats dropped considerably in the autumn months, which was attributed in part to the seasonal drop in residues which start to decrease after the spraying to combat the grasshoppers in the fields in the summer. The campaign of news and publicity which was undertaken and the different official measures adopted must also have had an influence.

Nevertheless, beginning with the end of May, there was noted a slow increase in the residues and at this moment they are again very high. A difference in the composition of these residues has come about. Before, they were high in Dieldrin and low in BHC, which now they are high in the latter and lower in Dieldrin. The increase is attributed to the use of dips to combat lice and mange in cattle, a treatment in which the use of BHC is preferred, in spite of the current prohibition.

New meetings have been held which were responsible for the proposal by the Meatpacking Industry of a plan of various points which has been discussed in the Committee of Pesticides and which was approved. The attached sheet gives a summarized idea of the measures to be adopted. For the first one of these, the Institute has drafted a proposed Decree which was delivered to the Secretary of Agriculture and Livestock yesterday.

Proposal from the Committee on Pesticides of the industry

Action to be undertaken

1. Issuance of a Decree or Ministerial Resolution which would require the cattlemen to accompany the Form for the Removal of Cattle Destined for Sale with a sworn statement which affirms that the owner has not treated the pastures nor the dips with prohibited pesticides. The consignees to whom the cattle is consigned to be sold will not receive it without this sworn statement, a copy of which will be delivered to the buyer. The processing plants on their part will be under obligation to furnish to the Department of Agriculture and Livestock informa-

tion regarding the origin of herds which have shown by analysis illegal residues of prohibited pesticides. Such Department will adopt any measures required.

2. Prohibition of the use of BHC in Sheep Dips.

3. The stamping of the labels of all products which contain Dieldrin, BHC, or Heptachlor which are recommended for other uses, with a notice easily visible in the following terms: Not to be used for dips or dusting of cattle, hogs, or sheep. This notice should be stamped on all products in possession of manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers.

4. Speed-up of procedures for the expropriation of confiscated products.

5. Placement in operation of the Agriculture Department's Laboratory for Analysis of Pesticides.

6. Sustained information campaign on the importance of the problem and on the dispositions which must be complied with. This campaign should be both official and through private channels.

7. Compensation by the State for a major portion of the cost of treatment against grasshoppers.

THE ATTITUDE OF AMERICAN TROOPS IN THE FIELD ABOUT ALLIED RAIDS ON CAMBODIA

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, Sp4c. Ted G. Spear, of South Bend, Ind., is serving in Vietnam and has written his parents concerning the attitude of American troops in the field about the allied raid on Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia.

Specialist Spear believes the great majority of troops are 100 percent behind the President; the raid was long overdue, and it will provide the turning point in the war.

This letter carries the ring of sincerity and truth and indicates the caliber of young men serving our Nation in this time of conflict.

I would like to share with my colleagues the part of Ted's letter which deals with the Cambodian situation, and also a citation for the Bronze Star which typifies the bravery of young Americans in support of freedom.

The excerpt and citation follow:

I imagine you're probably wondering what my opinion is concerning the push into Cambodia that Nixon has ordered. You have to remember that my opinion is based on being over here. I know that the American people back home have mixed emotions about it. As for myself and the great majority of soldiers here, we're behind Nixon 100%. It was a tough decision he had to make, and I'm glad he made it. If we're to ever end this war, we've got to hurt the VC and NVA supply channels. If we don't, the war may never end. Nixon's not committing us to Cambodia.

In the next 5 weeks if we disrupt Charlie's supply channels, it will definitely hurt the Communists. Don't think the U.S. are going in there without every possible means of support that can be gathered. Mark my word, the Communists will suffer one helluva lot of loses. Dad, you know as well as I do that you can't even begin to win a war without taking the offensive sometime. Everything will work out for the best and this will be a turning point in the Vietnam war. I just hope everyone at home keeps their confidence in Nixon. He's not perfect, but more and more I'm believing he's one of the best Presidents I've seen in my lifetime.

Well, I've rattled on enough tonight I guess. I'll close now, so write soon! Tell Gram and Dad I got their package and thank them for me. I'll write them when I get some more time. Say "hi", to everyone!

Love,

TED.

AWARD OF THE BRONZE STAR MEDAL

1. TC 439. The following AWARD is announced.

Spear, Ted G. [redacted] PFC USA Adv Tm 86 III CTZ [redacted]

Awarded: Bronze Star Medal with "V" Device.

Date of service: 7 December 1969.

Theater: Republic of Vietnam.

Authority: By direction of the President under the provisions of Executive Order 11046, 24 August 1962.

Reason: For heroism in connection with military operations against a hostile force: Private First Class Spear distinguished himself by heroic action on 7 December 1969 while accompanying a Regional Forces Company as a Radio/Telephone Operator on a combat operation in Thu Thua District, Long An Province, Republic of Vietnam. During the conduct of the operation, the friendly force became heavily engaged with an unknown sized enemy force in a well fortified bunker complex. Upon the initial contact, the friendly ground troops became pinned down by the heavy volume of enemy fire, and the Command and Control helicopter on the operation received an intense volume of enemy ground fire, forcing it to depart the contact area. Realizing that the friendly forces could not be effectively maneuvered without proper communications, Private Spear exposed himself to the intense enemy fire and moved to higher ground in order to establish better communications with the command group. During his maneuver, Private Spear observed an advantageous approach which could be used by the friendly force to assault the enemy position. Immediately advising his counterpart of the situation, Private Spear once again exposed himself to the intense enemy fire and personally led the friendly force in an assault on the enemy position which resulted in the complete destruction of the hostile force. Private First Class Spear's heroic actions were in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States Army and reflect great credit upon himself and the military service.

For the Commander:

W. G. DOLVIN,
Major General, USA.,
Chief of Staff.

Official:

LOUIS J. PROST,
Colonel, USA.,
Adjutant General.

Distribution: Special.

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SECOND DISTRICT, NORTH DAKOTA CITIZENS

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following: I am sending my fourth annual questionnaire to postal patrons in North Dakota's Second Congressional District. I have included questions on the subjects which have been most frequently raised by constituents in letters, telegrams and telephone calls during the last few months. I shall report the results in the RECORD as soon as they are tabulated. The questions:

1. Do you believe the government should provide a guaranteed annual income to welfare recipients?

2. As a means of stopping inflation, would you favor Federal wage, price and credit controls?

3. Should voting rights for citizens in national elections begin at age 18?

4. Would you favor a Constitutional Amendment to permit voluntary prayer in our public schools?

5. If you were a member of the U.S. Senate, would you have voted to confirm the nomination of Judge G. Harrold Carswell for the Supreme Court?

6. Do you favor strengthening of the ABM (Anti-Ballistic Missile System) as proposed by the President?

7. Do you believe that college students receiving loans or grants from the government should have such assistance cut off if they actively participate in demonstrations which cause property or physical damage or which interrupt the orderly pursuit of education by other students?

8. Vice President Spiro T. Agnew has been speaking out on a wide range of subjects. How would you rate his performance?

9. Would you favor placing a limitation of $20,000 a year on the amount of government payments an individual farmer could receive?

10. Please list in order of importance priorities you feel are most urgent. (List by number from 1 through 7, with number 1 representing what you consider to be the item of first priority, and so on through number 7).

Ending the war in Vietnam.
Controlling inflation.
Increasing aid to education.
Reducing defense spending.
Strengthening farm income.
Controlling air, water and land pollution.
Crime prevention and control.

"NO CARE ABOUT AIR"

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the seventh grade language arts class of South Junior High School in Joplin, Mo., recently presented a play called, "No Care About Air." The play which takes place in the year 1990, is entirely the work of the children in the class. Their teachers only contribution, Miss Sue Fingerle, was to type the final product.

I commend the youngsters for their efforts and interest. The script follows:

NO CARE ABOUT AIR

Third Hour, L.A., Room 204.

Authors: Butch Hanna, Doyle Vantrease, Eddie Johnson, Frank Littlepage, Klay Longstreet, Kathy Johnson, Kathy Jackson, Nita Lindquist, Kay Minor.

Time: about 1990.

Location: a junior high school in Joplin, Missouri.

ACT I. SCENE ONE

Sarah: (raises her hand).

Mr. Kincannon: Yes, Sarah?

Sarah: Mr. Kincannon, should we hand in our math papers now?

Mr. Kincannon: Yes, Sarah, would you collect them please.

Sarah: Yes, Sir.

Freddie: (raises his hand).

Mr. Kincannon: Yes, Freddie?

Freddie: Mr. Kincannon, I don't have all of my problems finished in math.

Mr. Kincannon: Why not?

Freddie: Because I went to the store with my father to buy a new gas mask. My old one was broken.

Mr. Kincannon: Freddie, I should make you write them one hundred times; but since it was urgent, I'll forgive you this time. But that's all!

Freddie: (inhales then exhales in relief) Thank you, Mr. Kincannon.

Mike: (raises his hand).

Mr. Kincannon: Yes, Mike?

Mike: I forgot my paper at home.

Mr. K: Mike, I'll let you go just *this* once, since you are new.

Angelia: (raises her hand).

Mr. K: (in kind of exhausted way) Yes, Angelia?

Angelia: I got all of my problems, Mr. Kincannon.

Mr. K: (in a sarcastic way) That's very good, Angelia.

Barb: (raises her hand).

Mr. K: Yes, Barb?

Barb: I got mine, too.

Mr. K: (in kind of tired, sarcastic way) That's very good, Barb.

(Mr. Edwards, the school's principal, walks into the class room.)

Mr. Edwards: Is everything alright?

Mr. K: Of course, Mr. Edwards.

Mr. Edwards: Is the air control okay?

Mr. K: Yes, it is fine.

(Mr. Edwards walks out of the room. The lunch bell rings, and they all go to lunch.)

SCENE II

Scene: class room, bell rings, students go back to class.

Sarah: Mr. Kincannon, I think I'm having an asthma attack. I can't breathe too well. (she begins to wheeze) May I get my medicine?

Mr. K: Yes, Sarah, where is it? Do you have it with you?

Sarah: Yes, I have it. (As Sarah takes her pills, she leans her head back and breathes deeply. It is now that she takes her portable gas mask from her hand bag and places it on her desk.)

Mr. K: Tom, set up right in that chair. You'll fall and hurt yourself!

Tom: Yes, Sir-r-r-r-r! (Says this as he falls over in chair and hits the floor).

Mr. K: Tom, are you hurt? (Sarah looks over but she doesn't move. The other students run over to help Tom).

Tom: Oh-h-h! My head hurts! I can't breath!

Sarah: (still trying to breath easier) Mr. Kincannon, these pills aren't helping me. (gasping.)

Tom: I can't breath! I can't breath!

Mr. K: Alright, Freddie, go to Tom's locker to get his gas mask and his air tanks. Perhaps that will help you breath. But, I believe that you're just frightened. You just got too excited.

(Mr. Edwards begins to speak over the intercom).

Mr. Edwards: I want your attention! In a few seconds, the bell will ring for a practice Civil Defense Air Drill. You will go to your assigned locations.

(Bell rings).

Mr. K: Alright, all of you know you are to go to your lockers, pick up your gas mask and go to the Civil Defense area. You are dismissed.

(Freddie runs into the classroom).

Freddie: Mr. Kincannon, I can't get to his locker. The hatch to section D is closed off.

Mr. K: (pushing the intercom button) Mr. Edwards, has something gone wrong with the Environmental Control Center? Section D has been closed off, and I have a boy who needs his mask and air tank.

Mr. Edwards: We have something wrong with the controls in the system. Just take your students to their assigned locations in the Civil Defense area.

Mr. K: Don't panic; this is just a practice drill.

Barb: I'm afraid!

Mike: Don't be silly!

Tom: (from his position on the floor) Don't be silly? What do you mean? I can't breath!

Freddie: How come you can talk? Looks like you can breath to me!

Tom: Help me up!

Mr. K: O.K. Everybody. Keep cool. Lineup with your partner.

Pam: Who is mine?

Angelia: I am! Wait for me!

Freddie: Come on, Mike; let's assist the "fainting" Tom.

Tom: Boy-e-e-e! I feel strange!

Mr. K: Just breath easily and walk swiftly.

Sarah: Mr. Kincannon, we usually walk down Section D to get to our part of the Civil Defense area. Where are we going?

Mr. K: We'll go down Section E then cut through the lower of the South Hall to get to the basement steps.

Sarah: O.K., but I have my portable gas mask in my handbag (puts mask into bag as she speaks) in case we run into any problems.

SCENE III—SOUTH HALL

(The hatch has slammed shut behind the class as they enter the lower floor of South Hall. Mr. Kincannon tries to open the hatch leading to safety, the Civil Defense area in the basement, but it's jammed shut.)

Mr. K: Just a minute! It seems stuck; Freddie, walk back to the end of the hall; see if it's jammed shut.

Pam: Oh, No! Are we trapped?

Angelia: I'm afraid!

Tom: Now, girls, be brave as I am!

Mike: Brave? I'm carrying you!

Tom: It's the principle of the thing. My mind is brave.

Freddie: Mr. Kincannon, the hatch won't open!

Tom: Oh. No! (he faints)

Freddie: We're trapped!

Pam: How------how------can we breath?

Ang: Most of the purified aid will soon be gone!

Mr. K: Keep cool! Sit along the wall; breathe in short breaths.

(He reaches the emergency communications system and dials for help. Mr. Edwards answers the call.)

This is Mr. Kincannon; we're accidently locked in lower South Hall; both hatches are jammed shut. We need help! We have enough clean air to last us for about an hour.

Mr. Edwards: We have workmen trying to repair the damage.

Mr. K: What happened?

Mr. Edwards: A driver lost control of his car on ice-covered Pearl. He crashed into our Environmental Control Center and damaged the computers on quality control for our South and East halls. Everyone, but your group, is in their proper locations in the Civil Defense areas. Stay where you are! Sit on the floor! Breathe in small, slow breaths. We'll get to you before you can become ill from any unpurified air that might seep into your hall.

Mr. K: Good! Please keep us informed.

Mr. Edwards: Will do if I can.

Mr. K: (to students) You heard the report. This is not a drill. It's happening! Sit where you are and take it easy.

Tom: (who sits up) I feel sick to my stomach!

Freddie: Not now!

Angelia: Please, Tom! Lie down!

Pam: Tom, put your head between your knees.

Barb: Tom don't be afraid! We'll be okay!

Mr. K: Now, people, let's help Tom relax.

Sarah: Here, Tom, use my portable gas mask. Then you won't be afraid.

Tom: It's pink! Passionate pink! I refuse to be seen wearing a passionate pink gas mask!

Sarah: Tom, if you need it; use it.

Mr. K: Sarah's right, Tom.

Tom: No I'll be okay!

Freddie: No sick stomach?

Tom: No!

Mike: You feel okay?

Tom: Yes!

Angelia: Okay, let's tell jokes to pass the time.

Mr. K: That's a good idea!

SCENE IV

Lower South Hall—45 minutes later.

Mike: Does that mask work, Sarah?

Sarah: Sure .

Freddie: What happens if they don't get to us?

Mr. K: They will.

Freddie: I'm afraid! We'll all breathe that bad air.

Mike: Can we share the mask *if* they don't get to us?

Sarah: There are too many of us.

Tom: Ya!! It's Sarah's. She'll need it.

Mike: But, we could take a breath and hold it.

Mr. K: We would have to hold it a *long* time.

SCENE V

Same location—15 minutes later.

(By this time the good air is gone. Students begin to gasp and cough as they speak.)

Sarah: (wheezing and coughing) Our good air must be about gone.

Tom: (coughing) I'm feeling woozie!

Mr. K: Get closer to the floor and take short breaths.

Freddie: I'm getting tired.

Mike: I'm leaving; at least there is some air outside, even though it's bad.

Mr. K: You'll get sick!

Mike: I don't care! At least, I'll have air to breathe.

Pam: Mr. Edwards will be here to help us!

Mike: Get out of my way! (to Mr. K.) I'm going out that window!

(All gang around Mike to force him to the floor. Tom, who has been on the floor trips and forces him down. While Mike is down, Tom keeps him there by holding his arms down. Freddie helps him.)

Mr. K: Now, Mike, we're going to conserve the air. If the bad air gets in, we'll take it. But why do it now? Sarah, get your gas mask ready. You'll need it soon.

(Sarah gets her mask from the floor where she had placed it.)

(A sound of air can be heard as it gushes in the hall.)

Mr. K: Sarah, put on your mask!

Pam: Will we all get sick? (coughing).

Tom: Just keep cool. (eyes watering and coughing).

Freddie: Listen! Do you hear that?

Mr. K: Yes (coughing) It's someone outside that window.

Angelia: It's Mr. Edwards. He has some men with him. (coughing). They're carrying something!

Mr. K: They're trying to remove the emergency exit window. Come on, boys; let's help them.

Tom: I never thought that I'd enjoy seeing Mr. Edwards coming after me! (coughing)

Freddie: Look at those beautiful gas masks they're bringing us!

(Hear the sound of a window being removed.)

Mr. Edwards: (speaks as he climbs into hall) We haven't been able to repair the computer yet. Here are some gas masks for you to use.

Mr. K: Thanks. Here people, pass them out. (coughing)

Mr. Edwards: Stay here; it's safe with these gas masks. We'll notify you when you can return to your area.

Mr. K: The hatches seemed jammed.

Mr. Edwards: Yes, they do that automatically when the air becomes polluted. As soon as the repairs are made, the hatches will open.

Mr. K: Thanks! (to Mr. Edwards, as he leaves by the window) (to his students) Okay people, just enjoy all that good, clean air, thanks to these life-saving gas masks.

Narrator: The play you have just heard could be reality in 30 years if we don't care about air.

STUDENT OPINION

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I am sure my colleagues have been concerned, as I have, about the attitudes of some of the students presently attending our colleges and universities.

However, I was personally relieved and deeply gratified by the letter I just received from one of my young constituents now attending college away from the First District. I feel his comments would be of interest and I commend it to your attention.

The letter follows:

DEAR MR. HAGAN: As a constituent of yours, as a voter, and as a student attending graduate school at the University of Georgia, I feel that I should write you.

In the screams and noise of the campus demonstrators on American colleges, the small voices of the mature, intelligent students have been drowned out. But, the voices are there. There are many college students who feel that the United States is still the greatest nation on earth and will fight to keep it so.

A campus referendum has just been completed here at the University of Georgia. The results have been called a victory for the anti-war and the leftist students, but I feel this may not be the case. On the basis of those students expressing an opinion, some 42.8% felt that the U.S. should be in South Viet Nam, 47.43% felt that intervention into Cambodia was what should have been done, and 52.1% felt that President Nixon's policies with regard to Viet Nam were right.

In view of the recent demonstrations here at the University, it makes one wonder why 3000-4000 students took part in the demonstrations, and only 1862 took the time to vote in the referendum against the involvement in Southeast Asia. Perhaps they only wanted to make noise?

I am a recent widower with a young son, who I hope will grow up in the same America that I love and is the greatest nation on earth. I feel that there are students in colleges and universities today who do love this nation and feel that the radicals should be removed from the campus.

As a member of the University of Georgia Student Senate, I have tried to make a small voice heard in that anti-war and leftist body representing those students who oppose the war but feel that one must often make a stand and that the place to stand against the Communists is in Southeast Asia. I hope that as I represent a small voice in the Student Senate for the people who love this nation, you will speak out in the United States House of Representatives for the people of Chatham county, the 1st District of Georgia, and America who love this form of government. I have lived most of my life in Savannah, Savannah Beach, and Chatham county and attended college there and in Statesboro, where I received my degree before beginning graduate study at the University in Athens. I feel that there are more of us who feel the President is right in Viet Nam than one would think from the news reports.

If possible, could I receive the Congressional Record at this important time in our nation's history? I don't know the exact procedure to go through to obtain it.

Please keep on voting for the good of this country, the South, and the 1st District of Georgia.

Sincerely,

R. EVERETT LANGFORD.

CONGRESSIONAL REPORTS TO NINTH DISTRICT RESIDENTS

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, the Federal budget is the single most inclusive statement of the Government's priorities, policies and plans for the year. The task of budgeting and appropriating Federal funds is essentially a priority-setting business. Choices have to be made because there will never be enough public funds to cover all of our national wants.

A look at the budget for fiscal year 1970 shows how the Congress and the President evaluated national priorities. Several conclusions stand out:

First. The Congress cut the President's fiscal year 1970 budget by about $5.6 billion. The President requested $135.2 billion, but the Congress approved only $129.6 billion. This expenditure reduction is not realized immediately, however. Some portions of appropriations for a given year are budgeted to be paid out over 2 or more years. The fiscal year reductions translate into an expenditure cut of about $3 billion.

Second. The President's defense budget was cut by $5.9 billion by the Congress, reflecting the clearest differences in priorities between the executive and legislative branches. The President wanted more for the military, and the Congress wanted to reduce military spending to meet urgent domestic needs. The $5.9 billion cut translated into an actual fiscal year 1970 expenditure reduction of $3.2 billion.

Third. Congress made net increases in funds for health, education, and welfare while decreasing the amount for foreign aid. The largest increases were for education, $1.1 billion; clean water, $600 million; and air safety, $140 million.

As everyone knows, the cost of Government is steadily increasing. Total expenditures for fiscal year 1970 will exceed expenditures for the previous fiscal year by about $8 billion. Overall, the Federal budget has increased in recent years at a rate substantially greater than the rate of population increase. This inexorable rise in Government expenditures, year after year, is one of the most frustrating features of dealing with the Federal budget.

In an effort to reduce expenditures, the Congress placed a ceiling on overall Government spending for fiscal year 1970—$191.9 billion. However, the ceiling was made adjustable to permit congressional action on budgetary proposals. The President criticized the Congress—and rightly so, in my opinion—for this flexible feature of the spending limitation.

Even with this defect, however, the expenditure ceiling does contribute significantly to the effort to keep total Government spending down. The object of an expenditure ceiling is to bring greater focus on total spending and to control it. The ceiling probably had a salutary effect on the finances of Government.

One of the most distressing aspects of the budget this year was Congress' slowness in processing the authorization and appropriation of funds. By December 1, 1969, 5 months after the beginning of fiscal year 1970, Congress had enacted only 25 percent of the Federal budget. This especially poor record was due in part to the slowness in the administration's budget recommendations. But the Congress must assume a portion of the blame for its tardy action and must organize itself to do a better job on expenditures in the years ahead.

A study of the Federal budget over the last 10 years reveals some interesting features of governmental priorities. The percentage of total expenditures in the areas of national defense, veterans' benefits, and international affairs has been decreasing in the last decade, while expenditures for education, manpower, health, welfare, and housing have been increasing.

For example, in fiscal year 1961, defense spending accounted for 48 percent of the total budget. It has decreased to an estimated 42 percent of the budget in fiscal year 1970. On the other hand, education rose from 1.5 percent of the total in fiscal year 1961 to more than 4 percent in fiscal year 1970. Health and welfare spending increased from 22 to 28 percent in the same period.

This trend suggests that the needs on the domestic front are taking a larger percentage of the Federal budget each year, and that defense expenditures are declining slightly. It also shows that the defense budget alone has not been responsible for the accelerating spending trend of recent years.

TRIBUTE TO J. A. "JAY" BEASLEY

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, one of the great strengths of our democratic system is the willing sacrifice of time and effort by many of our

citizens in service to their communities. Local political office is a great responsibility, but is seldom accorded proper recognition. For that reason, I would like to take this opportunity to accord such recognition to one of the most distinguished citizens of my district.

On June 5, 1970, a community appreciation and retirement dinner will be given for J. A. "Jay" Beasley, councilman emeritus, city of Torrance, Calif. The Torrance Area Chamber of Commerce and the citizens of Torrance are honoring "Jay" Beasley for a job well done during almost 20 years of service to his community.

In 1958, "Jay" Beasley was elected to three consecutive terms as councilman for the city of Torrance. While in office he worked diligently in all areas of city government, concentrating, however, on the Civic Center Complex, parks, and in the field of transportation and highways. The recent groundbreaking for the Civic Center library was but another step toward the attainment of his dreams for that complex.

His interest in the transportation needs of the area led him to serve for 15½ years on the Intercity Highway Commission, 2 years as president. During his tenure much work was done to secure the Harbor Freeway extension and the early completion of the San Diego Freeway. He also encouraged the development of primary and secondary streets and highways.

One of the more important aspects of the concern for ecology is the realization of the need for adequate park land for our urban populations. However, long before ecology became the "Issue of the Year," "Jay" Beasley was concerned with this problem. He served from 1954–58 as a member of Park and Recreation and Planning Commissions, working tirelessly for more parks and playgrounds for the city of Torrance.

During his term of office as president of the Walteria Businessmen's Club, which he organized, the first building for Walteria Park was bought, occupied, remodeled, and donated to the city.

In addition, "Jay" has served in many other local governmental service organizations. Among them are the Committee of Streets and Highways, League of California Cities, and the League of California Cities on International Cooperation. He has been active as chairman of the Intercity Mayors' and Councilmen's Committee on Intercity Cooperation.

Besides his many important official activities and memberships, "Jay" has somehow managed to find time for community service. He is a former member of the National Recreation Society and the past president of the Los Angeles Mineralogical Society. He is a member of the Torrance Chamber of Commerce, Elks Lodge, the American Chemical Society, and the Democratic Club of Torrance. He was for 4 years lay leader of the Walteria Methodist Church and was instrumental in its founding. He has worked on countless projects with regard to such matters as youth activities, college location, storm drains, parks, libraries, and many others. He has attended workshops, conventions, seminars, and county and State affairs which have been a source of information needed to make the difficult decisions a councilman must make.

Retired now from the insurance business, he has the time to enjoy life with his wife, Fann. Mr. Speaker, Councilman "Jay" Beasley has served his city long and well. He has truly been a part of the progress of his community. I ask my colleagues to join me and the citizens of the progressive city of Torrance in recognizing "Jay" Beasley and thanking him for his service to the community.

PBS SYSTEM

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the Nation is confronted with a serious shortage of accountants; figures show that colleges and universities are producing fewer graduates with degrees in accountancy, mainly because many students consider accounting as an unrewarding and tedious profession.

This fact underscores the value of a unique new computerized service, designed to help public accountants to meet their business needs more expeditiously, that has been developed by Programmed Bookkeeping Systems of Mineola, N.Y., whose board chairman is Edward C. Horowitz.

Known as the PBS system, the service is the result of extensive research and development. It enables the public accountant to vastly improve his services to small business by the automated handling of all client information, such as operating expenses, payroll, sales, and purchases.

The system reduces by some 90 percent the amount of time spent by an accountant in servicing an individual client manually. Because the system collates all business information through the PBS computer system, the accountant's workload is reduced and he is able to increase his income by effectively servicing three times the number of clients.

Historically, accountants have always been inundated with the vast amount of paperwork required by business, spending long hours in unexciting and unrewarding "manual" preparation of bookkeeping reports, maintaining source journals, posting ledgers and preparing balance sheets and reports. Thus, the accountant has little time for client business development and financial and management consultation.

The computer, by doing the bookkeeping work, reduces the accountant's workload and eliminates the peaks and valleys in accounting services performed for clients.

It enables the accountant to better service his client through the speed and accuracy offered by computerization. It further permits him to render additional services to his clients in such areas as tax planning, management counseling, and cost controls.

Through important technological developments such as the PBS system, accountants will undoubtedly be able to function more effectively—a fact that should serve to enhance the stature of the profession and encourage increased numbers of students to consider a career in the vital field.

FARMERS OUTDO DOCTORS

HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, Wendell Coltin, veteran columnist and reported for the Boston Herald Traveler, has written an outstanding column making a penetrating comparison between cash payments to farmers under the agricultural program and payments to physicians under the medicare program. I believe Members of Congress will find Mr. Coltin's analysis informative and I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

"FARMERS" OUTDO DOCTORS

(By Wendell Coltin)

It makes good reading, perhaps, when the Senate Finance Committee puts out a report, as it did several weeks ago about the number of doctors who received over $25,000 a year under the Medicare program for services rendered; but, oh boy, you should read the report that appeared in the Congressional Record of March 25, 1970, if you like to gasp at figures.

This report did not get widespread publicity; there was no press conference and release to newspapers, to our knowledge. Actually, it was a report inserted in the Congressional Record by Sen. John J. Williams (R-Del.) and was not related to Medicare at all, but to the large cash payments made under the agricultural program.

Sen. Williams told his colleagues in the Senate:

"For many years, I have been critical of the large cash payments that, under our agricultural program, are being paid to the large corporate-type farming operations.

"In my opinion, if this program is to be continued, these payments should be limited not to exceed $20,000.

"Today, I have received a report of all cash payments in excess of $25,000 that were made in 1969, but to save space in the Record, I have limited this report to a $60,000 minimum.

"I shall ask unanimous consent that this report, listing all 1969 payments in excess of $60,000 be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

"Significantly," disclosed Sen. Williams, "this report shows that one company, J. G. Bosnell Co. of California received $4,370,657.

"Griffen, Inc. of California received $3,412,867.

"Seven companies received in excess of $1 million each.

"Fourteen companies were paid between $500,000 and $1 million each.

"Fifty-four companies were paid between $250,000 and one-half million dollars each.

"These are not small farmers.

"The Southern National Bank of East North Carolina at Dunn, N.C. was paid $69,943.

"The first National Bank of Dumas, Tex. was paid $69,415.

"The Waccamaw Bank and Trust Co., Lumberton, N.C. was paid $58,134.

"The First National Bank and Trust Co., Wichita Falls, Tex. received $34,686. The Wilbur Security Co., Wilbur, Wash., was paid $27,445.

"By what line of reasoning do these banks

qualify as small farmers?" Sen. Williams asked. "This is ridiculous and Congress should correct this law and by all means induce a limitation on the amount of such cash payments.

"The approval of such a limitation would save the taxpayers several hundred million dollars annually.

I ask unanimous consent," Sen. Williams concluded, "that this list of 1969 cash payments in excess of $60,000 be printed in the Record."

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the Record, under the heading, "The 1969 ASCS Program Payments of $25,000 or More—Excluding Price Support Loans."

There followed seven pages listing the names, city, town and state addresses of recipients of more than $60,000 in payments.

Those payments would certainly buy a lot of health and medical care. Also, the suggestion of Sen. Williams that a limitation on the cash payments be placed, to save the taxpayers "several hundred million dollars annually" will ring a bell, with an unpleasant sound, in the minds of struggling Social Security cash beneficiaries whose earnings in retirement have a limitation of 1680 a year; $140 a month. Earnings above the $140 are subject to a penalty, which is a loss of $1 out of every $2 earned up to $2880; and $1 lost for every $1 earned above $2880.

One thing that struck us when we read the Senate Finance Committee report criticizing doctors' overcharges and calling for fixed fees for participating physicians, as well as other cost-cutting reforms, was there was no mention that the Social Security Administration had initiated action against some doctors for allegedly abusing the program. This SSA action had also led to convictions. The $2,500 gross profit did not indicate either whether the doctor had one office or three, or size of his staff or practice; and whether he was a specialist in Medicare cases.

The Social Security Administration has a program set up to investigate alleged abuses, but we do not recall reading about that in the Senate Finance Committee report releases. Anyone, anywhere in the United States who feels he was a victim of unjust treatment has avenues to which he can turn for satisfaction. The complaints are investigated; but comparatively few irregularities have been discovered

We're sure that today's column will not escape the attention of those persons who labor in behalf of the elderly; and that they will make their sentiments known to Sen. Williams and their own legislators in Washington.

Our latest check this week with the Social Security Administration in Baltimore—we've made several previously to check on reports of alleged abuses and action taken—brought forth this information:

4000 complaints of alleged fraud on all types of claims related to Medicare have been investigated; and of this number, 1500 involved physicians.

1800 complaints of all types are in the process of investigation; and of this number, 450 cases of physicians are pending.

In the final stages of development and processing before referral to the Justice Department are 45 cases; and of this number, 35 are physicians' cases.

In the review stage by the U.S. Attorney are 13 cases; and 11 of these involve doctors.

In the indictment stage—cases when criminal information has been filed—are seven cases; and these include five doctors' cases.

Prosecution was declined by the U.S. Attorney in five cases; and three of these involved doctors.

Two cases were acquitted or dismissed and both were doctors.

Two were convicted and sentenced; and they, too, were doctors.

Note: about 50 per cent of the cases where allegations have been made are found to be misunderstandings, or clerical error, an SSA spokesman said.

There are 250,000 physicians participating in Medicare.

SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT'S CAMBODIAN POLICY

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, I continue to receive from many constituents letters strongly supporting the President's decision to send troops into Cambodia to clean out the hitherto protected North Vietnamese sanctuaries.

Nothing succeeds like success and this joint action by United States and South Vietnamese forces is clearly crippling the enemy's ability to wage "hit and run" warfare. The list of weapons, ammunition and food taken from the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong is almost endless. The total increases daily. I am convinced that this sweep will virtually paralyze the enemy attacks which have been mounted from Cambodia, perhaps permanently. It will save American and South Vietnamese lives. It will enable the President to proceed on schedule with his planned withdrawal of U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. It will put added pressure on the North Vietnamese to begin serious negotiations to end this long and agonizing war.

I include in the RECORD several letters, some from students, one especially from a ninth grade student who, I believe, has a clearer concept of what this is all about than some of the present candidates for the Presidency of the United States.

The letters follows:

WATFORD CITY, N. DAK.

Dear MR. KLEPPE: I am a student at Watford City High School, Watford City, North Dakota. I am writing this letter in retaliation to some letters written by teachers in my school to doves like McGovern, Hatfield, and those that put on that television show that wanted to leave Vietnam to the communist aggressors. Many teachers in my school are against President Nixon's policies and I disagree with their opinions, so I decided to do something about it.

I am greatly concerned about the issues in the news. I do, and hope you support President Nixon's policies in Cambodia and Vietnam. Although I want to get out of there, I think we should leave with an honorable peace.

I am also concerned about the way the people are protesting against our Government. I believe in freedom of the press and speech but not freedom to wreck campuses that I may want to attend someday.

I hope that other students see the light and support our government in years to come.

Respectfully yours,

STEPHEN STENEHJEM,
9th Grade.

MINOT, N. DAK.

Dear MR. KLEPPE: I am a freshman at Minot State College, Minot, North Dakota. Much of the news we have been hearing recently is of college closings and college demonstrations; all in protest against President Nixon's announcement to send U.S. troops into Cambodia.

I, for one, support President Nixon's decision. I have always felt that our failure to get at the core of the enemy strongholds was the United States' biggest problem in trying to end the Viet Nam war. I feel that now, through President Nixon's decision, our troops can flush out the V.C. strongholds in Cambodia and finally get a successful military victory in Viet Nam.

Cordially yours,

SHARON HOFF.

MINOT, N. DAK.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE KLEPPE: I am a student at Minot State College and I am opposed to violence on campus as a form of dissent although I agree that dissent can often be constructive. I am distressed by the Viet Nam war and wish that it could be brought to a hasty and honorable conclusion.

However, in trying times such as these, I believe that violence and loud vocal opposition to our President's conduct of the war gives our enemy encouragement and a false impression that a vast majority of our people do not support our president in his conduct of the war.

I think to rally behind our president would bring unity to our country, encouragement to our president and fighting men, and bolster our effort to bring the war to a swift conclusion.

Sincerely,

DIANE HUMPHREYS.

MINOT, N. DAK.

DEAR FRIEND: The President of the United States with great courage, initiative and statesmanship has taken a course imminently responsible in Cambodia in order to protect and defend the integrity of our country. As Commander in Chief of the United States forces, he is doing what he feels has to be done. His course is a wise one and in line with the absolute necessities that result from the Soviet intrigue. I sincerely hope that all of you will back him to the limit and support him vigorously for that course is imperative if this nation is to have representation with honor, courage and the assistance that a President who desires only peace and works toward that end has a right to expect.

Sincerely yours,

C. A. WALDRON.

FARGO, N. DAK.

DEAR MR. KLEPPE: I'm writing to ask if you will support President Nixon's Asian Policy. I feel this is something that should have been done long ago. Please give it your support.

Sincerely,

Mrs. ROGER W. SNYDER.

BOWBELLS, N. DAK.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KLEPPE: We stand behind the action of the American Legion and we support our President and we urge you to do likewise. We feel that his action in Cambodia will lead to a better peace settlement. Your cooperation will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

RAYMOND and VIOLET WIPER.

POLICE ALSO ARE MAIMED OR KILLED

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as the police across the country remain subject

to not only verbal but also physical abuse from the radical left, it is noteworthy that such a penetrating observer of the Washington scene as Victor Riesel in a column in the May 19 Chicago Today very vigorously presented the case of our much maligned law enforcement officers. The article follows:

POLICE ALSO ARE MAIMED OR KILLED
(By Victor Riesel)

WASHINGTON.—Always I insist police are people. Some are dead people—shot, stomped, brick-battered, knifed, sliced or slashed by machetes.

Since 1957, 557 cops were killed on duty. This is the count of J. Edgar Hoover, who also reports that in the first two months of this year 9 cops have been killed and 2,394 badly injured in 57 major cities and communities. Some were killed by criminals—64 in calendar year '68, and 73 in '69. Some were slain and hundreds mauled by dissenting revolutionists.

The police bury their dead and mourn quietly. There's a small gathering, a widow, a shield as a souvenir, and a replacement. The next day the squad rolls out to the spot—and time—picked by the rioters.

"We take a beating," says ex-patrolman John Cassese, now organizing a union, the International Brotherhood of Police Officers, "but we've never killed a youngster in one of those melees. This is a time for every American, regardless of his political beliefs, of his reaction to current crises, to ponder first principles."

He adds: "Without civil peace, all other governmental or orderly processes will cease to function. The street, the campus, the parade ground are no longer in the public domain when they are seized illegally and the fact that those who do the seizing are academicians, and sometimes our own sons and daughters, does not alter the basic premise.

"Some measures can be taken. Police can be better trained and, in fact, already have special units which know how to handle crowds and minimize violence. The [national] guard also has special units and can step up training for this kind of special duty. This is fundamental. Tragedies such as Kent State can be avoided.

Another police scientist, pointing to reports by FBI Chief Hoover, said it is not easy to maintain the "cool" on his side of the barricades. Not when the Black Panthers openly call for the killing of cops.

And they are equipped to do so, Mr. Hoover reported recently. A survey reveals that during the last 2 years, police have found 125 machine guns, sawed-off shotguns, rifles, and hand grenades along with thousands of rounds of ammunition. Also 47 Molotov cocktails, homemade bombs, gunpowder, and an accumulation of bayonets, swords, and machetes.

In addition, Black Panther literature has been cautioning the brothers not to use small arms, but to get themselves a high-powered rifle with "enough killing force to knock the pig out of his shoes at a distance of three or more blocks. . . . The only good pig is a dead pig."

During 1970's first 2 months, cops were assaulted at the rate of 41 daily. And in Los Angeles, on Dec. 8, 1969, three police officers and two Panthers were wounded during a four-hour shootout at Black Panther party headquarters. These Panthers were heavily armed. Their building was fortified with sandbags.

This may be today's thing right on. But the cops and the guards are dispatched to where the caches and riots are. They're told to do their "duty." This means containment. To a cool cop, it may be all in a long day's duty. To hastily called up national guardsmen—some of them young accountants, dress and clothing workers, drug store clerks or salesmen—it is traumatically nerve-shattering.

As John Cassese put it, the cops, had they been at Kent, would not have retreated. They would have moved forward. They might have cracked a few heads, battered a few buttocks, broken some ribs or legs.

But the record shows that they never have been jittery, never have killed demonstrators, never have done more than slug it out. And the record shows that always the police injuries outnumbered the demonstrators' casualties.

Police are people. Alive or dead they wear a badge of courage. Why mock them? Why estrange them?

EDITORIAL BY PAUL CRUME OF THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS

HON. EARLE CABELL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. CABELL. Mr. Speaker, the Dallas Morning News is fortunate in having Paul Crume on its staff. Paul is noted as quite a humorist, but most of his columns carry more than a grain of truth among the witicisms. A good friend of mine, Sam Long, brought this particular column to my attention and I want to insert it in the RECORD:

BIG D

(By Paul Crume)

The people who want the 18-year-olds to vote have been arguing that they are the best educated generation of us all.

This causes the man to blanch who has worn out his education while gaining experience. An educated electorate is a dangerous thing to have lying around. It is likely to dis-elect somebody.

The educated mind has a tendency to go off in all directions. It is likely to have one opinion of Vietnam one month and the contrary one the next. It is always thinking up new problems for America to solve, if there is one thing this country doesn't need, it is new problems. The volatility of the educated mind thus makes political stability and continuity of policy impossible.

Government always works better with an educated leadership and an electorate ill-educated enough to be easily gulled.

You take a brilliant young man who has studied rioting at one of our better universities. He is hardly likely to be a stabilizing influence, to settle for a placid and peaceful environment in which he is unable to practice his specialty.

As a political virtue education is greatly overrated. So is honesty.

Probably you have already noticed that when any legislative body begins to worry about honesty, it raises the salaries of its members. Congress lately has become so honest that the country can hardly afford it. Even the Texas Legislature has recently got on to the honesty-and-higher-salary kick, although it still has quite a way to go.

The people were probably better served in the old days when members of Congress and the Legislature made their money by moonlighting in graft and were able to serve the people without asking anythink more than the right to put all their relatives on the payroll. These men were public servants in the real sense of the word. They had the initiative to earn their own living without expecting the public to pay for it.

Good cheap government is probably the crying need of our time.

We will never have it again unless we elect cheap people.

I am not against allowing the 18-year-olds to vote, but let's not mix education in with it. I personally don't think an 18-year-old is old enough either to fight or to vote, but I won't argue it as long as we also allow the dumb 18-year-olds to vote.

All through history the ill-educated electorate has been a stabilizing influence of politics. All through history many a problem has been solved by not knowing that it existed. The ill-educated electorate has been a drag on the ideas of imaginative presidents and governors. It is never, like senators, bemused by its own words like "priorities" and "the environment."

Furthermore, the ill-educated electorate didn't cost the people a bunch of schooling money.

YOUTH SUPPORT PRESIDENT IN CAMBODIA

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, the Capitol has been besieged with students in the past couple of weeks who are protesting the President's decision with respect to American troop action in Cambodia. There are those in this Chamber—a minority I might add—who likewise disagree with the President, but the legislative battleground is presently in the other body. As expected, certain Members of that body who have persistently undermined the President's programs, both at home and abroad, are now capitalizing upon the emotion of the protesters in the hope that the President's freedom of action in Vietnam will be defeated by the curtailment of funds. What is not said, however, is that the success of such action would jeopardize the flexibility the President must have if American troops are to be withdrawn safely while at the same time enabling the success of the Vietnamization program.

The legitimacy of one's views, in this day and age, seems to be determined to a large degree by how much newsprint or film coverage is devoted to those particular views. Naturally, violence in the streets, mass demonstrations, and student strikes have the advantage because "that's where the action is." However, there is no doubt in my mind that while these activities are organized around a hardcore of militants whose deliberate purpose it is to keep dissent before the public's eye, the majority of Americans who are concerned about domestic strife, who are deeply troubled about our involvement in Southeast Asia, but who are proud to call themselves Americans in good times and in bad, are fully behind our President at this critical stage.

It is in this context that I follow my remarks with "An Open Letter to 100 Senators" by the Youth Committee for Peace With Freedom. Its contents should be enlightening to all in these troubled times, especially from the standpoint of youth throughout the Nation.

AN OPEN LETTER TO 100 SENATORS . . . WILL YOU SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT?

GENTLEMEN: Over the coming days the Senate of the United States will be passing on two legislative amendments which may be fateful for the future of our country, for the wider cause of freedom, and for the peace of the world.

We take the liberty of addressing this letter to you because as students and young citizens, we are profoundly concerned over the crisis through which our country is passing. It is a crisis which has an internal component and an external component, and the two are clearly interrelated.

Like the students who have come to visit your offices, by the hundreds and by the thousands, over the past two weeks, we fear that we may lose our country if we fail to pay adequate attention to certain pressing national priorities. But we do not share their well-intentioned isolationism, their apparent belief that they can build a beautiful America even if the rest of the world crumbles around them.

Unlike them, we fear that we can also lose our country—and lose the peace of the world in the process—if we fail in our obligations as the free world's greatest power. Indeed, so strained and delicate is the balance in the field of world affairs that a single blunder by our country may be enough to open the way to catastrophe.

We believe that the Senate's passage of the Church-Cooper Amendment and/or of the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment would constitute precisely such a blunder.

The protesters who have come to Washington have argued that the Senate *must* pass the Church-Cooper and the McGovern-Hatfield amendments because the great majority of our students and the majority of the American people support them in demanding that we get out of Cambodia and get out of Southeast Asia immediately. We think that the premise on which this contention is based is false.

A Gallup Poll taken immediately after the President's speech showed that two thirds of those who took a stand supported the President's action in Cambodia. According to a Newsweek Poll published only last Monday, a majority of the young people between 21–35 who took a stand also endorsed the President's action. AF of L–CIO President George Meany and other union leaders have also supported the action; and last Wednesday 150,000 blue collar workers joined in a great patriotic demonstration of support in New York City.

As for the many campus demonstrations and the large number of students who have come to Washington, we note (1) that some 2000 out of 2400 colleges have not taken part in the current protest movement, (2) that strike votes were defeated in a number of colleges and carried only by slender majorities in other colleges, and (3) that substantially more than half of our young people do not go to college and have not been affected by the campus ferment. *But even if the protesters were ten times as numerous and ten times as passionate in the advocacy of their cause, this by itself would not constitute a guarantee that they were right.* Public opinion can be wrong. Indeed, there have been many occasions in the history of our country and in the history of other countries when courageous leaders have had to stand up against what appeared to be an overwhelming tide of public opinion.

The supreme example of such courage in the history of our own country was provided by President Abraham Lincoln in the latter part of the Civil War. By the middle of 1863, people were weary of the inconclusive bloodshed, and there was a growing agitation against the war. In August of 1864, the Democratic National Convention passed a resolution demanding that "an immediate effort be made for the cessation of hostilities." Lincoln himself was convinced that his Administration could not be reelected. But he persevered, nevertheless.

Then there was the historic conflict waged by Winston Churchill against a complacent, pacifist, pro-appeasement public opinion in the years before World War II.

The spirit of the British campus was reflected in the Oxford peace pledge, under which the members of the Oxford Union, by an overwhelming majority, voted to *"never again bear arms for King and Country."* As Churchill commented: ". . . *In Germany, in Russia, in Italy and Japan, the idea of a decadent Britain took deep root and swayed many calculations. Little did the foolish boys who passed the resolution dream that they were destined quite soon to conquer or fall gloriously in the ensuing war, and prove themselves the finest generation ever bred in Britain. Less excuse can be found for their elders, who had no chance of self-repudiation in action."*

President John F. Kennedy, in *Profiles in Courage* underscored his own deep personal admiration for those American political leaders who had the courage to swim against the stream . . . About the situation and the commitment which the Senate will be discussing over the coming days, President Kennedy had this to say in July of 1963: ". . . *To withdraw from that effort (the defense of South Vietnam) would mean a collapse not only in South Vietnam, but Southeast Asia, so we are going to stay there."*

This was not an isolated statement, but one in a series of many similar statements, remarkable for their consistency and continuity, going back to 1956. If President Kennedy were alive today, there can be little question about where he would stand on the Church-Cooper Resolution, or on the McGovern-Hatfield Resolution.

Gentlemen of the Senate! We are young people, but we know enough about the history of appeasement and about the nature of Nazi and Communist totalitarianism, to be convinced that these two amendments, if they were ever approved by the United States Congress, would spell disaster both at home and abroad—not in decades to come, but in the next few years—perhaps in the immediate future.

For these two amendments are not a formula for peace; they are—we will mince no words about it—a formula for betrayal and capitulation, and for a neo-isolationism so rigid and so blind that it makes the "Fortress America" isolationism of the thirties look like the most radical internationalism in comparison.

The Church-Cooper Amendment not only demands that we get out of Cambodia by July 1—which is something that the President had pledged to do from the beginning, anyway. It would prohibit American air support or advisers or training personnel for the Cambodian Army; and it would also prohibit funds for the payment of the Cambodian mercenaries, 4,000 strong, whom we trained in Vietnam, and who are now the most effective fighting units in the Cambodian Army. So sweeping and inflexible are its restrictions, that it would, if it were implemented, guarantee the fall of Cambodia to the communist invaders and place all of Southeast Asia in immediate jeopardy. And if it were not implemented, it would still be a disaster—because in the eyes of the world it would be interpreted as saying that, so far as the United States Senate is concerned, the communists can take over wherever they wish in Asia and we will not lift a finger to assist their victims.

The McGovern-Hatfield Amendment would compound the mischief done by the Cooper-Church Amendment. By calling for the termination of all military activity in Vietnam by the end of 1970 and the withdrawal of all American forces by the end of June 30, 1971, it sets up a timetable whose excessive tempo and absolute rigidity constitute a virtual guarantee of a Communist takeover—not merely in Vietnam but throughout Southeast Asia. It is not an "End the War" resolution. It is a "Withdraw from the World", a "Withdraw from Reality" resolution.

In less than a year's time, the President has withdrawn 115,000 combat forces; and he has pledged the withdrawal of another 150,000 American soldiers over the next 12-month period. While ambitious, the President's timetable gives the South Vietnamese government the time it needs to take over the burden of defense in an organized manner; and it gives Southeast Asia a precious breathing space in which to organize its defenses against the further encroachment of Communist imperialism. *It is a timetable which, if Congress does not undercut it, can bring peace with freedom for Southeast Asia and peace with honor for the United States.*

The debate to date in the Senate has distressed us and made us apprehensive. We know that Senators are weary of the war, as the American people are, and that they would like to see it terminated as soon as possible. But we cannot help wondering whether those Senators who support these two amendments out of a sincere desire for peace realize that *the manner in which we withdraw from Vietnam is all-important—that, if we withdraw with honor, we withdraw with credibility, whereas if we withdraw in humiliation and defeat there will be nothing left of our credibility.*

More than one authority has made the point that it is American credibility that preserves the peace of the world. For if a time ever arrives when our allies and friends feel that they can no longer trust us, and when our enemies have come to regard us as a paralyzed giant or a paper tiger, World War III would become a serious possibility. Perhaps the first point of testing would be the Middle East, where the Soviets might react to an American defeat in Southeast Asia by intervening openly to crush Israel and impose its empire throughout the Arab lands, all the way from the Indian Ocean to Gibraltar.

It has also been argued that an immediate American pullout in Vietnam, despite the terrible things that would happen to the people of South Vietnam, will bring back domestic tranquility in our own country. We cannot share this simplified optimism. On the contrary, we gravely fear that if we withdraw in defeat and dishonor, the trauma of this humiliation will produce a far more dangerous polarization in our society than the one we confront today.

Perhaps it would be better if the President had acted in greater consultation with Congress. Perhaps it would be better if there were a clearer delineation of the powers of the President and the role of Congress in the field of foreign affairs. But are the Senators who sponsor the pending amendments not at least concerned that their proposal seriously undercuts the President's authority as Commander-in-Chief at a critical juncture; that it creates a spectacle of division that can only delight and embolden our enemies; that if they push their contest with the President to its logical conclusion, they will stand responsible before history for the shattering defeat which is bound to result, and for all the tragic consequences that will flow from it?

We appeal to those Senators who have supported the President's program for withdrawal with honor from Vietnam to stand fast against the pressures—yes, and outright intimidation—that will be brought to bear on them.

We appeal to those Senators who have supported the pending amendments to reassess the relative risks of the President's course as against the course of surrender and humiliation.

THE END OF THE USE OF DRAFTEES IN THE INDOCHINA WAR

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill which will prohibit the expenditure of any funds appropriated by Congress to support the use in the Indochinese war of men involuntarily inducted under the draft laws of the United States. The bill is a counterpart to an amendment to the military procurement authorization bill offered yesterday by the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin, Senator GAYLORD NELSON. Senator NELSON'S amendment is Amendment 655 to H.R. 17123. This proposal is not offered in lieu of the McGovern-Hatfield proposal, known in the House as the Frazer-Riegel bill. Rather, it is to make clear that conscription for an undeclared war is unconscionable.

There can no longer be any serious debate about the desire of the American people to be out of the war in Indochina. The overwhelming public opposition to the President's decision to invade Cambodia demonstrates the degree of public disillusionment with the continuing—and deepening—American military involvement in Southeast Asia.

But if continued pursuit of military victory in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia is unjustifiable, there is something which is even less justifiable: the continued use of involuntary inductees—draftees—in that terrible war. The President himself, following his Commission on an All-Volunteer Army, has recognized the desirability of eliminating the use of conscript soldiers in that undeclared war. Moreover, the President has announced his intention to seek pay raises for military personnel—in addition to those recently voted—to make volunteer service more attractive. These pay raises will be primarily to raise the incentives to men during their first 2 years of service and will presumably increase substantially the availability of volunteer manpower to the military services.

This limitation will place no undue restrictions on the President; it will not "tie his hands." It is entirely consistent with his stated policy of withdrawal of American forces and Vietnamization of the war. As of the end of last year, only 126,600 draftees were serving in South Vietnam. That number is certainly considerably reduced today. The President has already announced that he will withdraw 150,000 troops from Vietnam by April of next year. In light of the Cambodia invasion, it ought to be possible to remove that many troops even before April of 1971. Thus, the low number of draftees now in Vietnam and the President's projected withdrawals will mean that prohibition of the use of involuntary draftees should cause no strains on military personnel resources.

Finally, ending the use of involuntary inductees in Indochina will make a real contribution to easing the strains which the war is placing on the social and political fabric of this Nation. Weekly casualty lists of American men are bad enough anytime. When our declared policy is one of withdrawals and termination of our participation in the war, it becomes unconscionable to use draftees in combat roles while professional military personnel continue to serve only 1-year tours in Vietnam or are otherwise assigned to assignments in Germany, Panama, and other noncombat areas. If the continued participation of American military in Indochinese combat operations is, in the President's estimation, still necessary, then it should be the professional, volunteer military which bears the brunt of this combat service—not the involuntary draftee.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to announce at this time my intention to offer this bill, in appropriate form, as an amendment to the Defense Department appropriations bill when it is considered by the House later this year. Between now and then, I hope that this amendment will be earnestly considered by the administration and my colleagues. I hope and believe that this amendment can be a constructive step toward insuring rapid termination of our military involvement in Indochina and toward restoring domestic tranquility on the campuses and in the streets here at home.

I insert the text of the bill at this point in the RECORD:

H.R. 17811

A bill to prohibit the use of funds appropriated by Congress to support the use of persons inducted under the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 in Southeast Asia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That no funds appropriated by any Act of Congress may be expanded after the date of enactment of this Act, unless specifically authorized by law hereafter enacted, for the purpose of supporting or maintaining in South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia or Thailand persons inducted into the Armed Forces of the United States under the Military Selective Service Act of 1967, except that funds may be expended until December 31, 1970, for supporting and maintaining members of the Armed Forces of the United States who, inducted under the Military Selective Service Act of 1967, are serving in South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia or Thailand on the date of enactment of this Act.

THE UNIVERSITY CHOIR OF EASTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, the University Choir of Eastern Michigan University has been invited to represent the United States in the Vienna Symposium on Romantic Museum, August 13 through August 31.

I am extremely pleased and proud that this unusually fine singing group has been accorded this signal honor. Much of the credit must go to its illustrious conductor, Prof. Blaine O. Ballard.

The University Choir, a small group of 45 singers 8 years ago, has expanded to an ensemble of 100 voices. It performs 30 to 40 concerts each season in all areas of lower Michigan and neighboring States.

Nearly 20,000 people hear the choir perform yearly. It clearly is a strong, positive force in the cultural and musical life of the Ypsilanti community, Mich., and nearby States.

Mr. Speaker, choir members are now engaged in a fundraising drive to make their Vienna trip possible. I applaud their willingness to work in this manner to achieve a worthwhile goal.

I salute this marvelous group for its skill, dedication, and enthusiasm. And I wish them well in all their endeavors.

SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished citizen of Waterloo, Iowa, Mr. Ray Sulentic, president of Waterloo Industries, Inc., has spoken out forcefully on the war in Southeast Asia and on campus unrest.

In a letter to President Nixon, Mr. Sulentic expresses support for the President's decision regarding Cambodia. As for senseless demonstrations and riots on college campuses, he speaks as a father who has sent two sons to college and will send a daughter to college "to acquire a sound, basic education—not to run the school."

Ray Sulentic is one of the finest men it has been my privilege to know. He has made innumerable contributions to the betterment of his community, and I am proud to have the honor of representing him in the Congress of the United States.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the text of Mr. Sulentic's excellent letter to the President:

MAY 11, 1970.

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

DEAR PRESIDENT NIXON: You have my unqualified support in your recent decision regarding Cambodia. I am not a war monger and sincerely want peace, but I also realize you must fight for it when necessary. I also know that you inherited a war started by John F. Kennedy and fostered by Lyndon Johnson.

I am proud that I have a son graduating from the University of Iowa who is being commissioned into the U.S. Army late this month. I know he will serve his country honorably.

I am also very proud that he is one of the silent majority who has not been participating in the blind, unreasoning, senseless demonstrating and rioting rampant throughout our college campuses. My sons and I, along with a vast majority, believe that the only solution to our country's many complex problems lies in construction not destruction.

I have sent my two sons and will send my daughter to college to acquire a sound, basic education—*not to run the school.*

However, in view of the attitude of far too

many educators in our school systems fomenting anarchy and revolution among the young and impressionable, instead of giving them a basic education, I have concluded that education is now impossible under these conditions.

I suggest you close all educational institutions by executive decree for one year to allow the teachers and the students time to recover from their illness, for they are indeed sick.

Until sanity returns to the campuses, I will not support education financially or otherwise. As a taxpayer, I strongly protest my tax dollars supporting such unlawful actions. I will work actively to encourage others of the voiceless majority to do the same.

For God's sake, don't muzzle Vice President Agnew. He is a lonely voice crying out the truth in this wilderness of our nation.

Sincerely,

RAY SULENTIC.

P.S.—Everyday I talk to people in all walks of life, the ones who are the very core and cornerstone of our country: the doctor, the lawyer, the factory worker, the service men, the laundry man, the housewife, the policeman—they are fed up with mob violence under the guise of peaceful intent. I predict that inevitably they will explode in a manner that will impose majority freedom over academic and minority freedom with a vengeance.

SOARING WELFARE COSTS A PROBLEM

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, the question of welfare costs is a very important problem both in my home State of California and throughout the Nation. As all of my colleagues well know, very few local or even statewide bond election or tax increases have been approved by the voters in the past few years, because of the current tax squeeze.

I believe that the attached article by Ray Zeman of the Los Angeles Times is an excellent critique of the problems now confronting Los Angeles County and how welfare costs have spurred the tax increases. Therefore, I wish to submit this article for the attention of my colleagues:

[From the Los Angeles Times, May 4, 1970]

HOW WELFARE COST SPURS TAX INCREASE—AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN ACCOUNTS FOR MOST MONEY

(By Ray Zeman)

Soaring welfare costs are the main reason the county property tax rate for the fiscal year 1970–71 threatens to jump 94 cents for each $100 assessed valuation.

On their face, the average individual welfare payments in a typical month like March, 1970, may not look big.

They range from $48.25 a month for each person in a family in which the father is temporarily unemployed to $153.97 for the blind.

The averages are adjustable, depending on extenuating circumstances or receipt of some outside income.

But the impact becomes monumental when the size of families and the number of cases is considered.

One out of every nine persons in Los Angeles County is on welfare.

If the mother and the unemployed father are living with eight children, the $48.25 becomes $482.50 a month. In March, there were 53,271 persons on the $48.25 rate in Los Angeles County.

If the mother alone is living with children, the rate per person is $56.37. A family of 10 means $563.70. In March, there were 416,286 persons on the $56.37 rate.

But if the father has vanished and the mother has gone to work, the children may be in boarding homes or institutions. Each then gets an average of $144.11. In March, there were 13,978 of these.

In March, there were 4,811 blind aid recipients receiving an average of $153.97 each, 62,473 disabled averaging $139.51 and 116,373 aged averaging $117.55.

Federal and state grants cover substantial portions of these "categorical aids" but the county itself shoulders most of the burden of general relief—the dole—for the unemployed who do not qualify for the higher level allotments.

In March, 44,337 were getting this $44.98 each on general relief.

585,780 AVERAGE

During the current fiscal year (1969–70), the number of persons aided has averaged 585,780.

Right now, the total is 696,000.

And during the fiscal year which will begin July 1, County Welfare Director Ellis P. Murphy is confident it will average 842,000.

This is around 300,000 more than during the worst days of the depression in the mid-1930s.

During the current fiscal year, welfare has been budgeted at $645,187,276 in Los Angeles County.

County property taxes cover $123,794,471 of this. The remainder is covered by $317,519,412 in federal funds, $203,867,393 in state funds and $6,000 miscellaneous revenues.

EXPECTED TO BULGE

But the entire $645,187,276 load is expected to bulge to $887,812,460 during the 1970–71 fiscal year beginning July 1.

Of this new total, county property taxes will be needed to cover $178,494,833.

L. S. Hollinger, county chief administrative officer, and Harry L. Hufford, budget division chief, estimate federal funds will cover $440,073,188, state funds $269,241,439 and miscellaneous revenues $3,000.

Federal and state laws not only direct the size of allotments to recipients and fix the eligibility qualifications but also require specific staffing.

ADDITIONAL TAX

Hollinger says the net effect of the Supreme Court ruling and all other welfare changes will require an additional 57.1 cents on the county tax rate next year.

Some insist the federal government should shoulder the entire cost of welfare, just as it handles social security.

County governments then might serve only as administrative agents, without worries about financing the vast welfare program.

Advocates of complete federal subsidy contend that local property taxes should be used only for purposes which directly protect or improve property. These include police, fire, sanitation, flood control and similar property-related services.

They argue that poverty or welfare has no connection with a man's home and should rank as a federal problem, with federal assumption of all costs.

However, Section 17000 of the California Welfare and Institutions Code reads:

"Every county and every city and county shall relieve and support all incompetent, poor, indigent persons and those incapacitated by age, disease or accident, lawfully resident therein, when such persons are not supported and relieved by their relatives or friends, by their own means, or by state hospitals or other state or private institutions."

As a result, the number of positions in Murphy's Department of Public Social Services (the largest of the county's 63 departments) will rise from 11,693 to 14,986.

Their salaries and employe benefits alone will climb from $93,606,560 to $116,602,896. Other administrative overhead will rise from $18,528,181 to $18,702,313.

The 841,578 persons expected to receive aid will be: 69,833 disabled, 4,829 blind, 588,661 in families with dependent children, 118,399 aged and 59,856 on general relief.

JUMP IN ALLOTMENTS

Actual allotments to the welfare recipients themselves will jump from $533,065,335 in 1969–70 to $752,524,251 in 1970–71.

The average payment for each person for the entire year is expected to change from $910.01 in 1969–70 to $894.18 in 1970–71.

The dip in the average allotment per case is mainly because most of the new recipients will be in the families with dependent children category.

Rates for these (a mother and an unemployed father living with their children or a mother alone living with children) are relatively low on a per-person basis.

But the allotment per family mounts as the size of the family increases.

There is no duration of residence requirement for these or any other welfare cases.

In conformance with a U.S. Supreme Court ruling of April, 1968, the applicants merely must say they "intend" to reside in California.

All county supervisors are assailing this practice as "instant welfare."

If the present county general fund tax rate of $2.9057 for each $100 assessed valuation is boosted by 94 cents to an all-time high of $3.8459 when the supervisors adopt a final budget in late June, property owners will complain.

Many are storming already.

For an average $24,000 home assessed at $6,000, it will mean the present $152.55 county net tax will rise to $201.91.

In addition, city, school, flood control, water and other special district taxes must be paid by most homeowners.

CHOOSING SUPREME COURT JUDGES

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 28, 1970

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the problems that President Nixon has encountered with his Supreme Court appointments in the past 8 months have subjected the criteria for selecting Justices to unprecedented scrutiny.

The Senate debates often became heated over just what the qualifications of a Supreme Court nominee should be. To make things worse, the U.S. Constitution does not provide any guidance in regard to selection criteria.

In the New Republic, famed historian Henry Steele Commager has provided some perspective on what the prerequisites of a Supreme Court Justice should be. The text of his essay follows:

CHOOSING SUPREME COURT JUDGES

(By Henry Steele Commager)

The Founding Fathers, who met in the summer of 1787 to draw up a Constitution for the United States, gave relatively little attention to the judiciary. Clearly they had only a hazy notion of the vital role the judiciary was to play in umpiring the federal

system or in limiting the powers of government. Article III of the Constitution says nothing whatever about the qualifications of judges, or about the mechanics of choice. Indeed it says practically nothing about the mechanics of the judicial system itself. There shall be a Supreme Court—that is the whole of that—and "such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time establish." The Constitution does not specify the number of judges who are to compose the Supreme Court, or their qualifications, if any, and it describes the duties and functions of the Court only in general terms. Not Article III, but Article II, dealing with the executive, provides for the appointment justices: The President "shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint . . . Judges of the Supreme Court." That is the whole of it.

The discretion of the President here is limited only by his anticipation of such "advice and consent" as may be forthcoming from the Senate. The Constitution, which places some qualifications on other officeholders—the President, for example, must be thirty-five years of age and born in the United States, senators must be thirty years of age, and nine years a citizen of the United States, and so forth—is wholly silent about qualifications of judges. As far as the Constitution is concerned a judge of the Supreme Court could be foreign born (he need not even be a citizen), twenty-five years old, and wholly without legal training or experience.

It is against this background that we should consider what might be called the Eisenhower-Nixon theory of judicial appointments. President Eisenhower, in his *Memoirs—Mandate for Change: The White House Years*—submitted four principles, or criteria, which should be observed in appointments to the Supreme Court. First, every nominee under consideration should be thoroughly investigated by the FBI and given "security" clearance. Second, no one should be appointed who holds "extreme legal or philosophical views." Third, each appointee should be vetted by the American Bar Association, and fourth—and most important—appointees should be drawn from the inferior federal and state courts.

President Nixon has now explicitly endorsed two of these criteria and implicitly sanctioned the other two. He has asserted that he will make his choices from the inferior federal and the state benches; he has gone on record as opposing any person with "extreme" liberal views—whether he is prepared to extend his disapproval of extremism to conservatives is not clear. He has relied—not very successfully—on "security" and other clearances and he has—again by implication—approved of and endorsed the role of the American Bar Association in the process of selection.

Now what shall we say of these criteria, so suddenly emerging on the American constitutional scene? The first and obvious thing to say is that they are unknown to the Constitution and, until Eisenhower, to history. They are therefore a radical departure from American constitutional law and practice and, too, a radical abdication of the Presidential prerogative—something Mr. Eisenhower may have been prepared to accept, but whose acceptance by President Nixon is quite out of character. To permit the FBI to substitute its judgment of the character and qualifications of a candidate for the judgment and discretion of the President is astonishing; to permit a private, or semi-public, organization like the American Bar Association a kind of veto power over the Presidential decision is an aberration. Mr. Nixon, who just the other day rebuked the Senate for exercising its constitutional right to advise and consent and who proclaimed (in his letter to Senator Saxbe) the principle that the Senate had a moral obligation to accept his appointees, is now prepared to concede to a minor government bureau with no experience or expertise in this arena, and to a private organization unknown to the Constitution or by law, a veto power on appointment to the highest bench. Are we now to anticipate an American Bankers Association veto on appointments to the Treasury Department, an American Legion veto on appointments to the Defense Department, or a Chamber of Commerce veto on appointments to the Commerce Department?

More serious are the philosophical and practical limitations which President Eisenhower was and President Nixon is now prepared to embrace. Consider first the philosophical. "No one" wrote Mr. Eisenhower, "of extreme philosophical views" should be appointed to the Bench. What are "extreme philosophical views" deponent saith not, but we may assume that Mr. Eisenhower, who was not given to fine distinctions, meant by this esoteric phrase extreme radicals or extreme conservatives—terms which do not necessarily have anything to do with philosophy. But this, alas, does not get us very far. For extremeness is, after all, in the eye and the mind of the beholder. At one time or another Presidents have thought most of the great Justices "extreme." John Adams had the highest regard for John Marshall, but Jefferson thought him dangerously extreme and, after *Marbury v. Madison*, was prepared to entertain proposals of impeachment. Madison thought Joseph Story a moderate, but Jefferson warned that he was "unquestionably a tory." Salmon Chase was an extreme abolitionist who had argued, in Court, that there was a Law higher than the Constitution, and who had helped break up a political party, but in the eyes of Abraham Lincoln—who made him Chief Justice—he was a moderate. Theodore Roosevelt, who wanted only ardent nationalists on the Court, concluded rather wildly (after Holmes's dissent in the Northern Securities case) that Holmes was a weakling; "I could carve out of a banana a justice with more backbone than that," he said. President Wilson did not think Louis Brandeis extreme, but a substantial segment of the American bench and bar did, and tried desperately to block his confirmation. Felix Frankfurter was thought by the public—and the Senate—to be an extreme philosophical radical, and so were other Franklin Roosevelt appointees like Hugo Black and Frank Murphy, who as governor of Michigan, had countenanced the first sitdown-strikes.

Perhaps the simplest thing to say about this notion of the danger of extreme philosophical views is that to nonphilosophical minds any philosophical views will seem extreme, and that in the circumstances the country is pretty lucky to get a judge with any philosophical views at all.

More important than any of these criteria is the fourth qualification, one which Mr. Nixon has not only endorsed but (unlike President Eisenhower) adopted: that all appointees should be selected from the inferior federal or the state courts.

The first thing to note here is that the Constitution makers clearly did not contemplate any such limitation. The original plan—one to which they returned again and again during the first two months of the debates, was to assign to the Senate (or to Congress) authority to appoint judges, and efforts to transfer this power to the executive were repeatedly defeated. Only towards the close of the Convention was the power of appointment transferred to the President *and* the Senate—a change made without any recorded discussion.

In the course of the summer-long debates almost the only specific suggestion about qualifications for judges came from the venerable Franklin, and was sportive rather than serious: "Mr. Franklin observed that the two modes of choosing the judges had been mentioned, to wit, by the legislature and by the executive. He wished such other modes to be suggested as might occur to other gentlemen; it being a point of great moment. He would mention one which he had understood was practiced in Scotland. He then in a brief and entertaining manner, related a Scotch mode in which the nomination proceeded from the lawyers, who always selected the ablest of the profession, in order to get rid of him, and share his practice among themselves."

Certainly the notion that Supreme Court judges should be selected from inferior federal tribunals was absent from the minds of members of the Convention, for they did not provide for such inferior tribunals, but left the creation of these entirely to the discretion of Congress. As for selection from the state courts, about all that can be said here is that when it came to appointing the original justices, Washington did in fact select a majority of his judges—ten in all—from the state courts.

Whatever may have been the thoughts of the Founding Fathers, experience does not justify in any way the kind of limitation Presidents Eisenhower and Nixon have proposed for nomination to the Court. A qualification of previous judicial experience, had it been written into the Constitution, would have denied us the services of a majority of our Chief Justices (and, we should add, the best of them); neither Marshall nor Taney, Chase nor Waite, Fuller nor Hughes, Stone nor Warren, had any judicial experience before ascending to the Chief Justiceship. This generalization is valid, too, for many of the most distinguished associate justices of the Court: thus Joseph Story, John McLean, Benjamin Curtis, John Campbell, Joseph Bradley, the first John Harlan, Louis Brandeis, George Sutherland, and Hugo Black, while Lucius Q. C. Lamar, Charles E. Hughes, Felix Frankfurter, Harlan Stone and Wiley Rutledge—all without judicial experience—had taught at distinguished law schools. A qualification which would have denied us the services of these men does not commend itself to us at a time the need for judicial statesmanship is as acute as at any time in our past.

What should be the criteria for appointment to the Supreme Court?

Judges of the United States Supreme Court are required—the word is dictated even more by history than by the constitutional document—to fulfill responsibilities heavier and more far-ranging than are judges of any other country on the globe. Their task is neither strictly legal or political, in the accepted meaning of those terms; they are called upon not so much to expound the law, as to expound the Constitution; they are engaged, willy-nilly, not in politics but in statesmanship of the highest order. Upon them the Framers, and History, laid responsibility for adapting a document designed to embody 17th and 18th century ideas of the relations of men and government, to the exigencies of a rapidly growing industrial society; for umpiring the federal system; and for educating the whole American people—including Presidents and congressmen—to the meaning and the uses of the Constitution. It is as astonishing as it is gratifying that they have performed their tasks so well; indeed to the role of the Supreme Court we can apply the felicitous phrase of Winston Churchill: never before in the history of law has so much been owed by so many to so few.

Clearly the qualifications necessary to the performance of these exacting and importunate tasks are of a very special nature. It speaks well for the resourcefulness of the American mind and character that it has, in every generation, found men who could per-

form them with distinction, and with success.

What are some of the talents which appear to be requisite for service on the Supreme Court?

First, legal erudition is, of course, desirable, but there is little evidence that it is essential, and little correlation between legal erudition and judicial greatness. Justice Story was more erudite than John Marshall. Sutherland knew more law than Chief Justice Hughes. Frankfurter was more learned in the law than Chief Justice Warren, but Marshall, Hughes and Warren were all more effective on the Court than their more learned brethren.

Courage and independence are, of course essential, but should be taken for granted. After all judges enjoy the independence that is rooted in the principle of the separation of powers, and the security that is assured by tenure; ideally they enjoy immunity from the kind of vulgar assault which Rep. Gerald Ford has now launched against the distinguished Justice Douglas. What is more, judges have, by now, a long tradition of successful resistance to pressure or intimidation: it is almost an axiom of judicial history that no President can count on the judges he appoints.

The ideal judge needs other qualities besides learning and courage. Perhaps the most important, as the most elusive, quality is, quite simply, judiciousness—the ability to judge issues dispassionately and impersonally. This means that the judge is to represent neither party nor interest nor section, but the Constitution. President Washington, to be sure, began the practice of appointing judges to the Supreme Court from their own section. There were practical reasons for this: in the beginning (and until 1869) judges were required, quite literally, to "ride circuit," and it could scarcely be expected that a judge from New England could ride circuit in Virginia or the Carolinas, or—as the nation expanded, a judge from Georgia ride circuit in Indiana and Illinois. With the passing of this onerous requirement the rationale of geographical appointment disappeared. It can scarcely be argued that there is an eastern and a western and a Pacific Constitution, a southern and a northern Constitution. There is one national Constitution and there should be one national law. No judge should be appointed to the Supreme Court primarily because he comes from a particular section of the country. As Senator Borah said when the appointment of Benjamin Cardozo to the Supreme Court aroused opposition because New York already had two judges on that Court: "Cardozo belongs to Idaho as much as to New York." It is an observation President Nixon should take to heart.

Nor is there any compelling reason why racial background, party affiliations, or presumed economic philosophy should play a decisive part in the appointment or the confirmation of judges to the highest court. Indeed if there is any one place in the broad arena of American politics where these considerations should be excluded, it is the Court. We do not want judges who confess a regional view, a partisan view, a racial view, or an economic view; we want judges who express a commonwealth view. This may be a counsel of perfection, but if we are allowed to strive for perfection anywhere, it is in the judiciary.

It is improbable that any judge can ever emancipate himself completely from what Justice Holmes called his can't-help-but-believes. Holmes himself, who argued that the Court should be "eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death," allowed his ardent nationalist sentiments to influence some of his most powerful opinions, and his natural elegance and fastidiousness to color some of his most famous. Yet the recognition that judges are human should not for a moment abate their zeal, or ours, for an ideal of reason and justice that is above and beyond the beguilements of private interest.

Judicial temperament is essential, but it is not enough. Equally important are broad and generous social sympathies, sensitive to and responding to the felt needs of society. "The man of the future," said Justice Holmes, "is the man of statistics and the master of economics." But there is more to it than this. What is called for, in the great judge, is an affluent mind—a mind familiar with and responsive to art and literature and philosophy. "Life is painting a picture, not doing a sum," said Justice Holmes, who has some claim to be the most distinguished figure ever to sit on the Supreme Court. Justice Story wrote poetry (rather bad poetry, alas), read all the current novels, and dazzled his classes at the Harvard law school with his vivacity and wit; Justice Brandeis's mastery of law, economics and sociology was illuminated by a passion for social justice, and reverence for the great traditions of religion and literature; Justice Cardozo, who observed that a judge must be "historian and prophet" and whose "beautiful intellect and character" (the phrase is Holmes's) impressed itself upon all of his associates, wrote with felicity on *Law and Literature*.

The greatest of our judges have been deeply versed in the history, rather than in the technicalities, of the law, and have recognized that mastery of the history emancipates from slavery to the technicalities. Thus the learned James Wilson pointed out, in the first important case to come before the Supreme Court, that America had broken with history and was thus able to shift sovereignty from state to people. Thus John Marshall, who said that "a constitution is framed for ages to come and is designed to approach immortality as nearly as any human institution can approach it," formulated his philosophy of national law and national unity on the basis of familiarity with failures of all confederations and alliances of the past. Thus Holmes, whose every opinion was quickened by a profound knowledge of the common law, said that "it is revolting to have no better reason for a rule of law than that so it was laid down in the time of Henry IV" and argued that "the first call of a theory of law is that it should fit the facts," wrote that for those who love the law, "no less a history will suffice than that of the moral life of his race . . . Nor will his task be done until, by the farthest stretch of human imagination he has seen as with his eyes the birth and growth of society and by the farthest stretch of reason he has understood the philosophy of its being."

This brings us to a fourth qualification for the highest Court: resourcefulness and imagination—the resourcefulness to find in the elusive phrases of the Constitution authority for making it an instrument rather than a limitation, and the imagination to foresee the direction which the law and the Constitution must take if the Constitution, and the nation, are to "endure for ages to come." Marshall displayed this kind of imagination when he seized on a dispute over control of steamboats on the Hudson to lay down the great principles of federal jurisdiction over interstate commerce which still obtain. Justice Story revealed it when he created an admiralty law for the United States and when, in the great case of *Swift v. Tyson*, he emancipated much of the economy from the restrictions of state law by creating a national commercial law. Justice Harlan had it when, 80 years ago, he foresaw the danger of the "separate but equal" doctrine and called for a Constitution which was "colorblind." Justice Holmes had it when he provided a philosophical basis for the principle of judicial continence; Justice Brandeis had it when he harmonized the principles of sociological jurisprudence with the Constitution; Justice Stone had it when he used a footnote in an unimportant case (Carolene Products) to solve the dilemma of judicial self-restraint in economic issues and judicial activism where the preservation of the integrity of the democratic process was at stake. In our own day Justice Warren has revealed resourcefuluness and creative imagination in channeling revolutionary social and political changes into the conduits of the Constitution.

Finally, as the Supreme Court is the greatest and most effective of our educational institutions, the judge should be a great teacher. The Constitution has not imposed this function of education upon the Court, but history has. For 170 years judges have been engaged in what is surely the most remarkable educational enterprise in the history of politics—that of explaining to a vast and heterogeneous population the nature of the Constitution and of law, of federalism and nationalism, of executive power and legislative power and the limits on power, of due process and justice, and of a hundred other profound and fundamental concepts. The whole country, and not our country alone, has come to look to the Court for the performance of this function, until we can say that upon the wise performance of this duty rests in considerable part our chances for survival as a nation. It is too late now to reopen the question whether all this is a proper judicial function, as it is too late now to reconsider the propriety of judicial review: history has placed a statute of limitations on these questions.

One essential qualification of a judge then is that he be a great teacher of the law, of politics, of constitutionalism and of philosophy. No mere skill in the law, no accident of representing a section, a party, an interest, no qualities of charm, of goodwill, or even of virtue, can be a substitute for this quality of ability to educate a great democratic people to the nature of law. What is needed here is profound wisdom, an affluent mind, and a magnanimous character.

REMARKS OF GEN. JOHN L. THROCKMORTON ON ARMED FORCES DAY 1970

HON. THOMAS N. DOWNING

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. DOWNING. Mr. Speaker, one of the world's outstanding soldiers, Gen. John L. Throckmorton, commander in chief, U.S. Strike Command, delivered the principal address to the Armed Forces Day Dinner in my district recently.

General Throckmorton's remarks were especially informative and most timely. I am pleased to include them in the RECORD:

REMARKS BY GEN. JOHN L. THROCKMORTON

Let me say first of all how pleased I am to be here in this fine company. Over the years, the Peninsula Chamber of Commerce has developed a tradition in these annual Armed Forces Day dinners, in saluting the men and women of all the Armed Forces in the Hampton - Newport News - Williamsburg - York County area, and I am honored to be invited to join in this year's observance.

Though my own headquarters is down in Florida, my staff and I have a strong attachment for this region, which embraces the headquarters of the two commanders who contribute most of the forces available

to Strike Command—General Woolnough of CONARC, and General Momyer of TAC.

Normally, I do not seek speaking engagements; nor am I wildly enthusiastic when an unsolicited invitation to make a speech is received. However, in this case I was both flattered and pleased to be asked by Congressman Downing to speak on this occasion. In his invitation to me in early April, Congressman Downing emphasized the fact that this was the last Armed Forces Day celebration General Woolnough would attend as an active member of our armed forces.

With the admiration I hold for General Woolnough's professional qualifications, and my gratitude for his friendship and support through many years of association, I was most happy to accept this commitment.

These days there seem to be fewer and fewer occasions like this one where a civilian community goes out of its way to pay tribute to the men and women of our Armed Forces. The current trend seems to run in the other direction. The military is being criticized for fighting an unpopular war in Vietnam. We are sniped at for spending too much of the taxpayer's money. We are criticized for our relations with the industries that produce the weapons we must have to defend the nation, and for flaws in some of the weapons being built.

These criticisms don't particularly worry those of us who began our military service in the depression days before World War II. The military didn't stand in very high esteem with the public in those days either, and we have seen our popularity ebb and flow over the years.

But the current criticism of the military is unfair to our young men and women in uniform. Not all of them volunteered for military service, nor are all of them happy to interrupt their education and civilian careers. But with exceedingly few exceptions these young men are doing an outstanding job. They are smart and well-educated. They are well-informed. They are outstandingly good physicial specimens. And, most important, they have high morale and strong motivation. Everyone who has seen American young men in Vietnam—in jungle combat, or flying and maintaining our aircraft, or manning Navy patrol boats along the coast or in the rivers and canals—has admired their courage and dedication. They may not like being there, but they are determined to do their best while they are in uniform—and their best is wonderful.

As you all know, the President's decision of three weeks ago, to strike at the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese bases in Cambodia, met with mixed reaction here at home—but it was a great boost to the morale of our men in Vietnam. It was a courageous decision on the part of the President, and one very much in keeping with his efforts to bring our forces home from Vietnam as soon as possible.

For many years, the enemy in Vietnam has been able to conduct hit-and-run tactics against U.S. and South Vietnamese units, and then escape back into Cambodia, safe from counterattack. There he could regroup and re-equip his forces, train them for a new operation, and at a time and place of his choosing carry out a new attack.

Now we are in the process of wiping out those enemy sanctuaries. The effect will be to push back his logistics infrastructure—assembly areas, supply bases, communications network—the entire support structure required for offensive operations. The threat to Saigon itself will be appreciably diminished, for the enemy will not be able to risk a long march with large forces exposed to destruction by our Air Force and Airmobile units.

The net result of this action against enemy bases in Cambodia, then, is intended to make it easier for the South Vietnamese to defend themselves and, hopefully, free more of our forces to return home. At least it should insure the maintenance of the President's announced withdrawal schedule.

From every indication the strategy is succeeding—and as our men return from Vietnam on schedule, I am confident that criticism of the action will be replaced by approval. In fact, only last week a well-known columnist who has followed the Vietnam war closely from the beginning said that the Cambodian operation promises to be a major American success in Southeast Asia, which may also greatly shorten the Vietnamese war.

Some of us are old enough to recall the public's feeling 25 years ago this month when World War II ended in Europe. I suppose you could call World War II a popular war, in the sense that the American people were united in the conviction that democracy could survive only if the forces of Nazism and Fascism were totally destroyed. When our Armed Forces achieved that goal they came home to a heroes' welcome.

Not since those days has the military stood as high in public esteem.

What has happened in the intervening years to that World War II image of the American fighting man?

At the end of World War II, the United States was unquestionably the most powerful military nation on earth, with a monopoly on atomic weaponry. Yet it soon became apparent that the victory we fought so hard to win was not to bring world peace, for the Soviet Union showed no inclination to work in partnership with her wartime allies. Nevertheless, under our atomic umbrella, our nation's leaders felt confident we could reduce our military strength.

The Russians recognized long before we did that while atomic weapons may exert a profound influence in a major war, they are no substitue for conventional forces in actions of lesser scope. Our atomic weapons were unable to prevent Communist takeovers of one nation after another in eastern Europe. Not until the Berlin blockade did we and our allies come to recognize the fallacy of depending primarily on our nuclear supremacy. When we chose to keep West Berlin alive by mounting an airlift rather than risk confrontation with the Soviets by breaking their blockade, it was the first indication to the American people that the "unconditional surrender" slogan of World War II was being replaced by something far different.

Soon afterward came the Korean War. There, for the first time in our history, we announced we were fighting not for complete victory but only to gain a limited objective—to drive the enemy back behind the 38th Parallel and restore the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Korea. The United Nations forces were successful in that objective, but the American people were not entirely happy with the outcome.

Then came Vietnam. This has become the longest war in our history, and one in which we are paying a high price in lives and money for a very limited objective. Simply stated, that objective is to persuade North Vietnam to withdraw its support of the Viet Cong and thereby permit the people of South Vietnam to resolve their own problems without outside interference.

From a military standpoint, our experience in Korea and Vietnam has shown that the effort to win a limited objective can be more costly than an all-out drive to crush the enemy, and far less popular with the public as a whole. The blunt fact we face in this nuclear age is that no nation can be rash enough to insist on unconditional surrender without running the risk of unconditional annihilation.

In my view, the underlying cause of public criticism of the Armed Forces today is that the public does not understand that our Armed Forces are involved in a new kind of ball game. They don't appreciate the subtleties that require us to pull many of our punches while the enemy is free to make a punching bag out of us.

That's one reason the Armed Forces welcomed President Nixon's decision to strike at the enemy's forward bases in Cambodia. It makes it possible for us and the South Vietnamese to eliminate some of his options—some of the advantages he previously enjoyed. He will still have sanctuaries in North Vietnam and in parts of Laos. But if he wants to thrust deep into South Vietnam, he will now have to do it on terms more favorable to our side.

But though this action in Cambodia promises an upswing in our prospects in Vietnam, there are many other actual and potential trouble spots in the world where we could be called on to fight, or to lend assistance to a friendly nation. At my headquarters in Florida, as at General Woolnough's and General Momyer's headquarters here on the Peninsula, we are constantly alert to such a possibility. And if it should come, it could very possibly be another dirty little war like Vietnam and equally unpopular with some segments of the American people.

As I see it, then, the career military man must recognize that he isn't going to be particularly popular with the public as a whole. We may not always be fighting an unpopular war, but the realities of national defense require that the defense portion of the annual budget remain fairly high. As most of you here realize, it is impossible to measure the worth of our nation's security in dollars and cents; and, paradoxically, an adequate defense establishment is necessary for the successful accomplishment of many of our social and economic programs.

In that climate, then, what are the rewards of military service?

First, the opportunity to learn and master the techniques of a profession as broad and as intellectual as any in our civilization. A soldier must possess the usual military virtues—integrity, courage, loyalty, devotion to duty—but he must also be versed in political science, international affairs, economics, and world geography. He must master the most advanced equipment that our technology can devise. He must deal with people of different cultural and political backgrounds. He must, in short, devote himself to the challenging task of employing military power primarily to preserve peace.

The second reward is the opportunity to train and prepare young men not only for military service but for public service. As I mentioned earlier, I see nothing really wrong with the younger generation. Perhaps we can say that they are overly imbued with idealism, and therefore are not yet ready to accept the imperfections in our society that most of us have learned to live with. They are active and vocal in espousing the principles of liberty, equality, the pursuit of happiness, and their desire to live at peace with our neighbors at home and around the world. If we can harness these talents without stifling them, who knows what we may be able to accomplish?

The third, and most important of the rewards of military service, is the inner satisfaction of knowing that the nation's safety and well-being ultimately depend on the strength and capability of its Armed Forces.

In the words of George Washington, who led our Armed Forces of another day to victory on this Peninsula and won our independence:

"There is nothing so likely to produce peace as to be well-prepared to meet an enemy."

And, that, ladies and gentlemen, is the fundamental mission of the Armed Forces you are honoring tonight.

Thank you.

THREE EDITORIALS IN SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, from all across the country, the word is coming that the American people support President Nixon's plan to end the war in Vietnam, despite the loud cries of protest from a small but vocal minority.

It is encouraging to see that the President's decision to attack the enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia is also being praised and recognized as a valuable, necessary step toward the success of Vietnamization and the ultimate withdrawal of all our troops.

At this point, I insert in the RECORD three editorials from very different parts of the country—Portland, Oreg., Birmingham, Ala., and San Francisco, Calif. All three offer support for the President and his policies, and urge their readers to voice this support.

The editorials follow:

[From the Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian, May 10, 1970]

PRESIDENT NIXON PUTS IT ON LINE

This is the age of instant tactics. It must be so, for this is also the age of instant protest, at least in America and in those other parts of the world in which protest is not officially stifled. Never before has a President of the United States been compelled to commit himself as commander in chief of the U.S. armed forces as President Nixon did Friday night.

The President pledged in unequivocal terms the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Cambodia by the end of June, with the first to come out by the end of this week. The return of 150,000 American troops from Southeast Asia within a year will be completed as announced, he said, "I believe it will work out," he added. "If it doesn't, I'm to blame."

Mr. Nixon's candor and his conciliatory attitude toward demonstrators during his press conference were reinforced by his early morning appearance Saturday to mingle with antiwar demonstrators. His action was in marked contrast to his attitude toward similar massed protests in the capital six months ago. It was evidence that he has, as President Nathan M. Pusey of Harvard University said after a meeting with Mr. Nixon Thursday, "a deep understanding and sympathy" with the problems pace by college administrators dealing every day with the explosive problems of militant protest.

But of course it was too much to expect that the President's explicit answers to questions Friday night would change many minds. The march on Washington was already almost completed. Those who participated were unquestionably of no mind to be turned back by any words of Mr. Nixon short of abject capitulation, not only to the Communists in Southeast Asia but to the innumerable demands of demonstrators ranging through military, political, economic, and ecological issues.

This is going to be a difficult springtime. We are told by those who should know best, the college and university presidents, that the disenchancement on the campuses has never been deeper and wider in impact than at present. They insist that it has involved many thousands of students and faculty members who personally abhor the tactics of those who take a public, militant role in protests. They are undoubtedly correct in their assessment of their problems of administration.

But with all due recognition of such problems, President Nixon's are immeasurably greater. He is the President of all of us, including those of any age—certainly a minority—whose consciences are so bruised by events and circumstances that they would resort to acts of despair. Mr. Nixon went a considerable distance Friday night in placating his despairing critics, much further than the critics can be expected to grant; but he did not surrender to them. The great majority of us can be thankful for that, for to follow the tactics or strategy of that minority would be devastating to the future of America and all the world.

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News, May 15, 1970]

MR. PRESIDENT: WE SUPPORT YOU

The Birmingham News believes that the majority of Alabamians, like this newspaper, would like the President of the United States to know they stand behind him in his efforts to end the war in Vietnam and bring about tranquility and progress throughout this nation.

Below, the Birmingham News, as a public service, prints a suggested affirmation of support which Alabamians may sign, if they wish.

This newspaper will be glad to receive these affirmations and will see that they are personally presented to the President at the White House. Mail responses to:

Support the President
Care of the Birmingham News
Birmingham, Ala. 35202

MR. PRESIDENT: The voice of strident protest and dissent has been loud in America in recent days as organized minorities—sometimes including people openly dedicated to revolution and the overthrow of America's government and society—have sought to persuade you to change policies with which they disagree.

We respect the American right to dissent, for throughout our history honest dissent has contributed to constructive change. But constructive change must come through lawful, consitutional means.

Flag-burning is not legitimate dissent; rock-throwing and building-burning are not legitimate expressions of dissent—they are criminal acts, and must be recognized and treated as such.

Mr. President, the voice of the mob shouts that it is the voice of the people.

We know that you know better. You have seen, as we have seen, polls and other evidence showing that the great majority of Americans supports you in your efforts to bring about a just and honorable peace in Southeast Asia.

But in case the shouts have caught your ear or the angry demonstrations have caught your eye and you have begun to wonder if the mobs really DO represent the majority, we take this opportunity to assure you that the mobs do NOT represent us.

We, too, wish to see an end to the war; we too, wish to see America's domestic problems attended to—the America that has produced incomparably more goods and more wealth to more people than anywhere else at any time in the world's history.

We believe that those are your goals, too, Mr. President; that the policies you have adopted are intended to bring us to those goals.

We believe that the course advocated by the mobs—retreat and defeat and dishonor—would not bring peace either at home or abroad.

We urge you to stand firm in the course you have taken. We believe a majority of other Americans, like the undersigned, stand with you in this time of testing.

[From the San Francisco (Calif.) Examiner, May 10, 1970]

TELL THE PRESIDENT WHAT YOU BELIEVE

Have you told your government how you feel about the new situation in Cambodia and Vietnam?

You should. It is very important that you do.

We offer you on this page a simple, effective way to do so.

A renewed domestic campaign has begun on a scale greater than ever, to force an immediate and unilateral withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

The peace-at-any-price advocates are bringing the pressure of their views to bear on Washington by every means available.

Our fear is that this great drive to crystalize public opinion will not accurately reflect the views of the American people.

Those who believe in the government's Southeast Asia course should speak out, too.

We urge them to do so.

President Nixon wants to get out of Vietnam. He has charted a course to achieve that end without risking the possibility of having a monstrous bloodbath of innocent civilians on his hands.

Our support of Mr. Nixon's course is unequivocal.

We believe in his policy of Vietnamization.

We believe in the military soundness of his decision to wipe out the enemy nests on the Cambodian flank of our troops.

We believe it is utterly irrational to concede to an enemy a string of sanctuaries where he is untouchable.

We believe that the destruction of those enemy sanctuaries will hasten the success of Vietnamization.

We believe that a failure to do so would have prolonged the American involvement in Vietnam.

We believe that explosive situations elsewhere in the world, particularly the Middle East situation, are directly affected by the American course in Vietnam.

We believe that decisions of American foreign and military policy are too vital to the nation's safety to leave them by default to the zeal of our college youth, idealistic though their motives are.

If this is also your opinion, please fill out the proper ballot at the bottom of this page and mail it to the White House.

We frankly seek to stimulate a response from those who support the President but do not normally express themselves.

The rules of American public affairs wisely require, however, that avenues be provided for a free clash of honest opinions, so long as the opinions are expressed nonviolently. The refusal of too many among us to permit an opposing opinion is one of the most disturbing aspects of our times.

For these reasons a ballot is also supplied below for those who hold the opposite view from ours.

OVERWORKED VA HOSPITAL PERSONNEL GIVE COMPASSIONATE CARE

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Veterans' Affairs has been conducting a comprehensive investigation during the past 5 months of the VA medical program. Our investigation revealed a number of serious deficiencies in funding and staffing levels

throughout the entire system. Over the past few years, the VA hospital system has been unable to keep up with private sector hospitals as they have been caught in an impossible budget squeeze between higher medical costs and soaring workloads.

The equipment in many hospitals is outdated and the physical hospital facilities have not been properly maintained because the available funds have been needed for more emergent day-to-day operating needs. The staffing levels at most hospitals is presently about one-half of what it should be. This condition has greatly overburdened present VA hospital personnel many of whom have worked on their scheduled days off and extra shifts when other personnel were sick or otherwise unavailable.

Mr. Speaker, as a result of congressional interest, the House of Representatives has added about $97 million over the original budget requests submitted to Congress for VA medical care in 1970 and 1971. These appropriation bills are now in the Senate where further efforts will be made to increase them so as to help provide more funds for staffing relief and other medical care purposes.

Mr. Speaker, what has been lacking in numbers of personnel has not diminished the devotion and dedication of most of the 120,000 employees who minister care to our sick and disabled veterans. To the extent that their time permitted and their energies sustained them, the VA doctors, nurses, and other hospital personnel have given the most compassionate care possible with what resources they have had available to them. A typical example of this came to my attention today upon receiving a copy of a letter addressed to the Administrator of the Albuquerque, N. Mex., hospital from the immediate family of the late Waldo Anton, Sr., which follows:

SANTA FE, N. MEX.
May 21, 1970.

ADMINISTRATOR,
Veteran's Administration Hospital,
Albuquerque, N. Mex.

We wish to take this opportunity to thank all the employees and staff members who contributed in any way towards the care of the late Waldo Anton, Sr., throughout his stay there.

The services extended to him during his three months with you were far beyond anything we could expect or obtain any place else, at any price. The compassion and warmth which everyone there demonstrated were so comforting to him, and to all of us. His final days, as well as his passing, were much easier to bear knowing he was with friends and people who cared far beyond what their duties required. This was very obvious to us each time we visited.

We are satisfied that everything that was humanly possible was done for him. The kindness and courtesy shown to all of us, from our initial encounter with the admitting office and on to the final phone call, will never be forgotten. We, personally, could not have picked a finer or better skilled group of people than the staff of Ward 3 West. We hope to see them all again under happier circumstances.

Please extend our sincere thanks to them all, as well as to the Catholic chaplain who was so kind.

MRS. WALDO ANTON, SR.,
MRS. LORRAINE ANTON STALEY,
MRS. FLORENCE ANTON MOULTON,
MISS PRISCILLA ANTON,
MR. WALDO ANTON, JR.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE PROGRAM

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, although inflation is plaguing us all today, it is nowhere more evident than it is in the field of medicine. Moreover, while the cost of medical care is rising rapidly, the supply of doctors and other trained medical personnel is failing to keep pace with the growth of the population and we can therefore expect an ever increasing spiral of such costs.

Even New York City, which is often considered one of the finest medical centers in the world, has an overall physician population ratio of only 278 doctors per 100,000 residents. Yet, in the poorer communities and ghettos of the city, the ratio falls to as low as 10 doctors per 100,000 residents. On a national level, one of every 50 Americans cannot get a doctor under any circumstances.

Mr. Speaker, something must be done. The success of the medicare program has demonstrated the need and effectiveness of a nationwide health insurance program. Our colleague, MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS, has introduced a national health insurance plan, in which I am today joining her as a cosponsor. The bill replaces medicare with a comprehensive health insurance program which provides financial access to medical care for all men, women, and children who have 1 year's residence in the United States. At the same time it assures physicians continued adequate remuneration and provides them with an incentive to keep their patients in good health.

I am including at this point a full description and summary of this legislation provided by Congresswoman GRIFFITHS:

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today with cosponsors a bill which will establish a national health insurance program under the social security system, and which will give to middle Americans those health and medical benefits presently being developed for the poor and aged, and which the wealthy already have simply because they can afford to pay for them.

This bill would relieve State and local governments of health service tax burdens, currently estimated to be about $7 billion annually. In addition, since this bill would eliminate medicare and medicaid, the $10 billion supporting these programs would become available for the comprehensive national health program.

The bill would also preserve free choice of physicians; preserve traditional professional freedom of practice and methods of payment; and maintain, indeed, utilize the authority of local medical and dental associations and societies.

At the same time, the bill would make it possible for doctors and dentists to bypass time-consuming business administration and bookkeeping functions and permit them to concentrate on the practice of medicine and dentistry. It recognizes that the business of doctors is administering health and medical care. They should not have to be bookkeepers or credit collection agencies.

Mr. Speaker, most Americans who incur extended or serious illnesses and mishaps today, cannot afford to live. In fact, the cost of a major illness is such that 9 out of 10 Americans are medically indigent right now. They can not afford to pay the high costs of care without severe economic sacrifice. Health expenditures now amount to $294 for every man, woman, and child in the Nation. For some middle Americans, this means spending from 10 to 25 percent of their income on uncontrollable health and medical services. For some middle American families, of course it is even more, while for some, it is less.

At the same time, middle Americans are supporting health care for the rest of America, and the income tax system gives them little credit for doing so. Current tax deductions for medical expenses favor the rich, simply because they can afford large expenditures for health care and therefore receive large tax deductions for them. The fact is, the more they spend, the more they get back. Middle Americans, though, find that while their medical expenses consume a proportionately large share of their income, a tax deduction, while welcome, is still an unaffordable luxury.

This bill would eliminate this regressive feature in health care tax deductions and remove the burden of supporting a major share of the Nation's health costs from the backs of hard-working middle American wage and salary earners, who are paying for health care at all costs, for all people.

It is widely acknowledged that we face a crisis in health care. Symptomatic of the stress in the health delivery system is the recent outpouring of books dealing with the problem. Recently published books such as "The Doctors" by Martin Gross; "The Troubled Calling, Crisis in the Medical Establishment" by Selig Greenberg; "Medicine in Transition" by Dr. Iago Goldstein; "Ferment in Medicine" by Dr. Richard Magraw; "The Coming Revolution in Medicine" by Dr. David Rutstein; "Professional Power and American Medicine" by Alton Tayack; and "Hospital Regulation: Dilemma of Public Policy" by Anne R. Somers.

More and more articles are being published in magazines and periodicals about the crisis. On July 10, 1969, Secretary Finch and the Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare stated:

"This Nation is faced with a breakdown in the delivery of health care unless immediate concerted action is taken by government and the private sector."

So there is little dispute, today, as to nature of the health care crisis. The health delivery system, itself, is sick. Those who have expertise with regard to the organization and delivery of health services stress that increase medical knowledge with resulting specialization of function has not been accompanied by a growth of organization or a financing system that will permit equal opportunity of access to the system. The result has been fragmentation of services with no well-defined point of entry into the system by the consumer-patient.

Symptoms of the breakdown are many. I intend to cite only a few, the first of which emphasizes concern of Congress and the public over the runaway escalation of health care costs.

The inflationary facts of health services are astonishing. The Nation's spending for health reached $60.3 billion in fiscal 1969.

Per capita health expenditures rose 11 percent in fiscal 1969, as compared to fiscal 1968. Public outlays for health rose nearly 15 percent in 1 year. Payments for hospital care increased 17 percent in 1 year and reached a total of $22.5 billion in fiscal 1969. The American Hospital Association recently testified before the House Ways and Means Committee that the average daily room rate would rise to nearly $100 a day by 1973. Daily room charges already exceed $100 a day in some of our teaching hospitals. Expenditures for physicians' services also rose 9 percent for

fiscal 1969 over the prior year. The December 8, 1969, issue of "Medical Economics" predicts that gross receipts of private physicians will average "at least 10 percent higher" for calendar year 1969 as compared to 1968.

Small wonder, then, that health care has absorbed an increasing proportion of the gross national product. In 1950, health expenditures accounted for 4.6 percent of the GNP. In 1960, 5.3 percent and in 1969, 6.7 percent. In fact, if health expenditures continue to absorb an increasing proportion of the gross national product at the same rate as has occurred in recent years, by the year 2077, 108 years from now, health expenditures will consume the entire gross national product leaving nothing for food, clothing, or shelter.

What are we getting for our money? In relation to huge health expenditures, the United States is faring rather poorly in comparison with other countries in the Western World. Exorbitant costs and expenditures are begetting inadequate results and inferior services. Objective statistical measurements of infant mortality, maternal mortality, and life expectancy not only show we rank below most other Western countries, but that our relative position has been declining. In 1964, the United States ranked 16th among the countries of the world in infant mortality. However, in 1950, the United States ranked sixth and in 1960 the United States ranked 11th. Maternal mortality rates—the percentage of mothers who die in childbirth—show the United States to be 11th place. With regard to life expectancy, the United States ranks 18th for males and 11th for females.

Significantly, all of the countries that rank ahead of the United States with regard to these objective health indices have a national health program which either provides or finances health services for the vast majority of their citizens. It is also significant that these countries are providing health services to their respective populations at a lower per capita cost than in the United States. For example, in 1965, the Social Security Administration estimated that the United Kingdom spent 4.2 percent of its gross national product on health. In that year, the corresponding U.S. expenditure was 5.9 percent of the GNP.

The questions we must ask are:

Why has American medicine failed to live up to its potential?

Why is it not the best in the world?

The crux of the problem is that we have a system of 20th century technology shackled to a 19th century organizational pattern and attitudes.

First, physicians seek to maximize their financial return to the time and effort they must expend to provide care. In short, they are human beings with the same needs and interests as other human beings. It is no reflection on their integrity nor their compassion to suggest that other things being equal, they will choose to practice in a manner which will maximize their incomes. There is a grain of truth, though, in the cry of young medical students heard recently: "Hip! Hip! Hippocrates. Up with service. Down with fees!"

Idealism, though, however necessary and commendable it is, is not enough. We need to change the incentive system in manner which will reward efficiency and penalize inefficiency and outright fee-inflationary practices.

Under the present system, the physician is financially rewarded in proportion to his patient's immediate malady. Instead, we must give the doctor a financial stake in keeping the patient in good health at the lowest possible cost. Such a system would financially penalize unnecessary hospitalization; unnecessary surgery; and unnecessary medical services. Reward would be based on efficiency and quality care.

So the bill we are introducing today is designed to accomplish far more than simply paying for health services. Our experience under the medicare and medicaid program has amply demonstrated the fallacy of having the Government underwrite the cost of health care largely determined by the providers. But we must not overlook the fact that these two programs have substantially helped some 38 million Americans. This bill would not only contain the rising costs of health care within the limits of the 6.7 percent of the gross national product we are now spending, but it also has the potential of actually reducing cost as a percentage of the GNP over the years.

How is cost control achieved? It is accomplished by having the Federal Government contract for health, hospital, and dental services with organized groups of physicians, with hospitals and with groups of dentists. Contractual relations between free parties is a cornerstone of our private enterprise business and industrial system. It is a time-tested system in the health field as well.

For over two decades, the prepaid group practice plans—which might be regarded as mini-national plans—such as the Kaiser Foundation health plan have contracted with medical groups for comprehensive health services. These contracts place the medical group under a budget. The budget is liberal. If the cost of providing services is actually less than the amount stipulated in the contract, the physicians receive a bonus at the end of the year. Thus, the more efficiently the medical group provides services, the more they make in monetary rewards.

The cost savings achieveable under the contract system are nothing short of spectacular. For example, the President's Commission on Health Manpower studied the Kaiser plan in depth. The Commission's conclusion was that the Kaiser plan provided as good or better care than was available in the general community at from 20 to 30 percent less cost.

In addition to Kaiser, all other prepaid group practice plans have demonstrated the capability of reducing hospitalization and the number of surgical procedures. A recent study of the Federal employees health benefits program showed the group practice prepayment plans had but one-half the number of non-maternity hospital days per 1,000 subscribers, as the alternate coverage. Federal employees have a choice, from among five different types of coverages, including an indemnity plan and Blue Cross-Blue Shield. The group practice prepayment plans also had 42 percent fewer surgical procedures than Blue Cross-Blue Shield.

Our bill does not abolish the fee-for-service system and I specifically allow for it; but only under conditions which would provide effective cost control. Under the bill, the Federal Government could not only contract for medical services with organized medical groups, but with local State and county medical societies as well. Where physicians in a county desired to be reimbursed on a fee-for-service basis, the medical society could contract with the Federal Government to provide services. The physician-members of the medical society would, therefore, be assuming group responsibility for providing services within the terms of the contract. However, distribution of the money among members would be determined by the group. The Federal Government would have no concern nor, in fact, would promulgate no regulations dealing with compensation of individual physicians.

This bill does, however, require that where a medical society does assume responsibility for delivering medical services, it must establish a system of peer review and administration procedures to assure beneficiaries that the care they receive is of optimal quality. The medical society would receive a 5 percent bonus payment to cover their administrative expenses for providing this service.

This reimbursement method is time tested. The San Joaquin Medical Foundation was established in 1954 and makes good use of the self-policing concept. Last year the San Joaquin Medical Foundation contracted with the State of California to provide medical services to medicaid eligibles. At the end of the year the foundation returned $200,000 to the State of California. Quite a contrast to those few who were able to twist the program into a get-rich-quick scheme.

Under our bill, the medical society or a foundation organized by the medical society would not be required to refund cost savings to the Government. If physicians curtail unnecessary hospitalization, unnecessary surgery; and use paramedical personnel more effectively, I feel they should be rewarded for their efforts. From the standpoint of Government, we should be interested in a fair contract at a fair price. If care is rendered more efficiently, then efficiency should be rewarded.

A refinement to the San Joaquin concept is the Physicians Association of Clackamas County in Oregon. Here the medical society contracted with the State of Oregon to provide not only medical services, but assumed the responsibility of paying for hospital and pharmacy services as well. This introduces a concept approaching that of comprehensive group practice plans, where the plan assumes responsibility for providing all services required by the patient.

Comprehensive payments for comprehensive services offer the greatest hope for containing medical costs, because the health plan gains financially whenever the patient's medical needs are met by a less expensive form of treatment. Only when payments cover the entire spectrum of medical needs, is the physician free to substitute less costly outpatient services for inpatient services; less costly nursing home services for hospital services; and less costly home health services for nursing home care.

This bill would, therefore, provide incentives for medical and dental groups, county medical societies, hospitals and other nonprofit organizations to provide or arrange for comprehensive health services under a single contract. The incentive is a 5-percent extra allowance when any of the above organizations indicate an interest in providing comprehensive care. I would like to add, that only under a system of comprehensive payments for comprehensive services, can an organization really plan, program and budget their income and expenses and make effective use of systems analysis.

The bill we are introducing would achieve a most desirable result: physicians, dentists, and hospitals would be assured of adequate remuneration whether they practice in a poverty or affluent area; in the city or in the country. For there is an urban-rural imbalance in the availability of doctor care. In the countryside, over 412,000 people in 115 counties scattered through 23 States do not have access to a physician at all. One out of 50 Americans cannot get a doctor under any circumstance.

So the imbalance is not only between urban and rural areas—appalling as that is—but between poor and affluent areas within cities.

If this bill should become law, we would certainly witness a migration of physicians from the "overdoctored" areas to the "underdoctored" areas of the United States, since the money will be there, whether the area is rural or poor or affluent. Our bill, then, would motivate doctors to serve not on the basis of a community's wealth, but on the basis of the people's need for health care in the area.

Most importantly, this bill would stimulate the development of improved health delivery systems so that the quality of care

and the efficiency by which it is delivered would be improved. The bill is designed to resolve the principal problem we face today; namely, a sophisticated 20th century technology shackled to 19th century organizational patterns.

This bill would not only provide free choice of primary physician, but also allow beneficiaries free choice of health delivery systems—solo or group practice. Moreover, beneficiaries would choose their personal physician when they were well and not under the stress of illness

Physicians would be guaranteed that there would be no interference with the clinical practice of medicine. They would be free to participate or not to participate in the national health insurance program. Participation could be on either a full-time or part-time basis. In fact, physicians would have the greatest professional freedom they have ever known. With the framework of a budget, they would be able to establish their own methods of compensation. They could, if they so choose, eliminate all paperwork in connection with claims and concentrate on that which they were so magnificently trained to do: Practice medicine. In my opinion, this bill will enlist significant support from many members of the medical profession.

Let me turn, now, to the benefits our bill will provide:

First. Coverage for every man, woman, and child who has resided in the United States for 1 year or more.

Second. Comprehensive health benefits, including hospitalization, as required and without limits; physician services, including surgery, subject to a small $2 cost sharing charge per visit after the first visit; preventive care and physical examinations, nursing home care as required and without limits, home health services subject to to a $2 charge per visit and rehabilitation services.

Third. Comprehensive dental services for all children under age 16 subject to a $2 cost sharing charge per visit after the first visit. Dental examinations and prophylaxis provided at no cost to the patient.

Fourth. Eye care including an allowance for eyeglasses and frames.

Fifth. Prescription drugs.

These benefits would be financed under the social security program. Employers would pay 3 percent of payroll, employees 1 percent of payroll, and the Federal Government would match the employer contribution from general revenues. Employer taxes are higher than employee taxes to take into account that employers are now paying the entire cost of most employee health insurance benefit programs. If the employer contributions were less than 3 percent, some employers would enjoy a windfall, in the sense that their contribution would be less than their current payments into voluntary health insurance programs. The Federal contribution would not be much more than current Federal, State, and local combined expenditures for health services. Thus, the Federal Government would be relieving the tax burden of State and local government for health services.

If this bill is enacted, the United States could rank first among all nations, in providing high-quality health care at reasonable cost for all people. In my opinion, the national medical and health crisis can only be resolved through a national comprehensive health insurance program, with comprehensive financing.

The time is long overdue to make health care for all Americans in all income levels a matter of right, rather than a matter of privilege or pity.

The Senate Finance Committee has just recommended that fees be established for doctors. We reject this solution and offer this bill as a better means of better health for every American at a lower cost; with the traditional rights of American medics guaranteed.

National health insurance is an old idea, but a "Now" solution. Its hour has arrived.

FAITH IN DEMOCRACY

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia, a heretofore neutral nation, without consulting Congress reaped a harvest of outrage.

Student and nonstudent protests, marches on Washington and other large cities, and unfortunately the deaths of several young Americans, all struck our country in less than 2 weeks.

The President's Cambodian adventure left few noncommitted. Either you believed he was right or you were shocked, outraged, and appalled at the actions of the man who promised to end the war in Southeast Asia.

One of the few positive effects to come out of the President's Cambodian plan is the apparent politicization of thousands of college students, many of whom until the Cambodian announcement had not bothered to register their agreement, disagreement, or concern with the decisions of big Government.

Rising in opposition, in unison, and in numbers, over the President's decision, these students by the thousands, have come to Washington and lobbied their Senators and Representatives on the war issue.

These young people have publically pledged themselves to work within the rules of elected Government. They have made promises to continue their dialog with official Washington up to and through the November elections, where they hope to unseat through hard, arduous campaigning those public officials who support the war in Southeast Asia.

The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette recently filled an entire editorial page with letters from some of these young men and women.

I think the sincerity and conscientiousness contained in the letters, and the Post-Gazette's editorial comments, are commendable. I insert them in the RECORD at this time for my colleagues:

FAITH IN DEMOCRACY

The extent and depth of student concern over the disturbing state of national affairs is dramatically illustrated by letters from young people published on this page today. In taking the time and effort to express their views, the letter writers are, on the one hand, tacitly testifying to the quality of their citizenship and, on the other hand, using one of their democratic rights to influence the government.

The activities described by the letter writers indicate that students are involving themselves in an unprecedented fashion in lobbying, in political campaigning, in communicating their views and in extracurricular education on public affairs. These are all constructive forms of political action directed toward changing the course of national policies that the students are so troubled by. In exercising their rights to write and speak freely, to peaceably assemble and to petition the government for redress of grievances, the students are showing a commendable faith in the democratic process. Their voices should be heeded.

PITTSBURGHERS AT DARTMOUTH

Of course P-G readers are acquainted with the ominous and shocking facts of the past weeks . . .

At Dartmouth our energies found a constructive channel. Dartmouth President John Kemeny announced classes for the week would be suspended for a period of "institutional soul-searching"; within 24 hours several centers of action, supported by nearly 100 per cent of the students, had been formed, [including] the CPW (Continuing Presence in Washington), which aims to mobilize the opinions of concerned taxpaying citizens of voting age by enabling them to travel to Washington to lobby for peace until the Indochinese war is completely over.

We would like to stress to those back home in the Pittsburgh area that all is not violence—constructive movements at Dartmouth and throughout the country are under way . . .

Also we strongly suggest that Pittsburgh area residents write (and even better, visit) Senators Scott and Schweiker and their district representatives, opposing Nixon's present policy and supporting the McGovern-Godell-Hatfield proposal.

K. C. HAYS,
GEORGE CAPLAN,
J. HOUSER,
SANFORD FERGUSON,
J. ALLMENDINGER
Pittsburgh Students at Dartmouth.
HANOVER, N.H.

STUDENTS NOW READY TO DIE

I am a student in my second year at Smith College and I am writing to inform those who are not students, of the reason for our vote—passed by 78 per cent of the student body and supported by the faculty and administration—to join the nationwide strike. What I want to make clear is that this strike is by no means an envasion of work—provisions have been made for later completion of course work and exams; rather, it is the only effective way for us as a very large body of concerned citizens in this nation to express our very real concern . . .

We are not striking against the universities; we are taking advantage of the concentration of enthusiastic people in an institution which provides the facilities and literature which we must utilize to educate ourselves about the appalling events occurring as a result of government policy. When blacks are persecuted for their political beliefs, when the only way to "end" the war is to expand it, when four students are murdered by the National Guard—when events such as these occur in this country, then the very least we can do is to direct our activities, at once and on an organized manner, to the immediate end of these atrocities being committed in our names . . .

All we who strike ask of you is not to condemn us. Think, question, learn why we are so upset that we commit ourselves to action which could well affect our entire lives. But for us, the realization comes that our lives are already affected when, if we dissent, we must be prepared to die.

We strike now, we coordinate our energies now, and for three weeks, and for the summer, and for however long it takes us to cure this country's disease. This is not just a col-

lege strike; already we are working with unions, with politicians, with concerned people across the country to organize our activities in attempting to end the injustice which has become too much a part of daily lives. This is not just a strike until the end of the term—it is the beginning of our commitment, a pledge which will continue and grow as we leave the campus and continue our work in the community. We are disturbed, we are frustrated and we use the only means we have of effectively expressing our fears: we strike. I pray to whatever is human in you that you are with us.

CONNIE OLIVER.

SEWICKLEY.

BUSINESS STUDENTS AGAINST THE WAR

We at Northwestern University Graduate School of Management, as future members of the corporate world, no longer can sit idly by and tacitly approve repression of rational and non-violent dissent.

We have organized MBA's for action because, during the past several weeks, we have become increasingly disturbed by escalation of the war in Indochina, the tragic killings at Kent State and the alarming polarization of public opinion. The time has come for each of us to express our individual commitment, to make our concern clear, and to organize for combined action with the business community.

We plan to organize the local business community in a concerted effort to express dissatisfaction with the Cambodian situation, and to organize concerned business students into a viable and constructive force for change. We will be working for specific legislation as well as discussing issues and alternative solutions.

This response is to an urgent situation in America. We are committed to a continuing campaign which is not a movement of violence, nor is it orchestrated by stereotype radicals. Rather, it is an expression by a group of diverse people, sharing a common sentiment for action, peace, and improvement of our society.

We urge businessmen and business students around the nation to join our cause for a better America.

CRAIGE D. JOHNSON,
ROGER F. RUTTENBERG,
THOMAS W. BROCK,
WILLIAM J. HOWARD,
JOHN D. WEIL.

EVANSTON, ILL.

AREA STRIKERS AT SMITH COLLEGE

We are students from the Pittsburgh area attending Smith College in Northhampton, Mass. On May 5, Smith joined the National Student Strike. We are writing to explain the reasons behind this peaceful strike at Smith and to ask for your support.

The past weeks have been marked by an increase in domestic repression and by the United States intervention in Cambodia. We feel that Nixon's actions, which are of uncertain constitutionality, can only lead to increased expansion of the war in Southeast Asia.

The strike is not directed against the academic community or its ends. Rather, it is a reordering of our priorities in an attempt to educate ourselves in the backgrounds and incidences of violations of justice and human life here and abroad. Hence a cessation of normal academic activity for three weeks, so that armed with facts, rather than emotionalism, we can direct ourselves toward community action. If the integrity and usefulness of Smith or any other educational institution are to be preserved, we must act to maintain or create a society which fosters them.

It is time for everyone to act in a constructive manner to peaceably bring about change in our nation's policies. We call on you to consider the issues, to make a firm commitment to peace and freedom, and to act upon that commitment. As part of that commitment to action, we urge you to contact your local congressmen to express your views.

PITTSBURGH AREA STUDENTS,

Marsie Berg '70, Mariene Morgan '72 Martha Cathcart '70, Connie Oliver '72, Janan Friedlander '70, Deborah Ford '73, Madeline Lord '70, Nancy Hutchinson '73, Maggi Musico '71, Augusta Molnar '73, Margaret San Filippo '71, Margie Oliver '73, Barbara Graham '72, Margie Stetson '73, Helen Heard '72, Kathy Toomey '73, Judith Joseph '72, Catharine Wagner '73.

URGES RESPECT FOR BILL OF RIGHTS

I am writing as a responsible citizen of the Pittsburgh area and country, as well as a student at a "striking" college. I am deeply concerned with the increasing use of violence by members of both ends of the political spectrum. The present crisis in this country, manifested both at home and abroad, has convinced me of the necessity of devoting my time and energies to achieving a significant change in present government policy concerning: U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia; the political repression of dissenters; and war-related research on college campuses.

In order to accomplish this aim I have joined the National Student Strike as have a majority of the students and faculty in my college community. I must stress that we are not striking against education, nor do we condone or participate in violent dissent. It is not our aim to shut down the school, but rather, in cooperation with our faculty and administrators to educate ourselves and others in the political realities of this domestic and international crisis.

In view of recent events such as the announced escalation of the war in Southeast Asia and the tragedy which occurred at Kent State, we feel that we must commit ourselves not only to ideas, but also to immediate action.

Our present activities include workshops, lectures, discussions with clergy and civic groups, canvassing, petitioning, and communicating with our senators, congressmen and other public officials.

I urge you to see beyond the actions of a violent few and carefully examine the issues above, discuss them; and accept striking students as thoughtful individuals who are concerned with the welfare of our country. I further urge you to join in our struggle to end the war and to end political repression of those citizens expressing views contrary to those of the present administration. Specifically, I wish to stress the importance of urging our elected officials to support the legislation introduced by Senators Goodell, McGovern, Cranston, Hughes, and Hatfield to end funding of the present military campaign.

I further implore you to respect our efforts and to uphold the rights of all individuals—regardless of race, creed, or age—"Peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances" (Bill of Rights, 1791).

BETSY WORTHMAN,
Wellesley College, Class of 1970.

WELLESLEY, MASS.

KENT STUDENT AGAINST STRIKE

I am a student at Kent State. Despite what has happened there—as a result of the actions of the students and the National Guard, I want to return to class. I disagree with Nixon's move to Cambodia, but, I cannot see how student strikes are going to help. In fact, I can only see that they will hurt and they will hurt us, the students, by having to forfeit our education.

If members of Congress and those in Washington have decided to listen, why not have them come to our campuses and converse with them. Why is there any need to close down colleges, deny ourselves of an education? We can accomplish the same things by keeping classes in session and speaking with members of the college and the government administration through organized meetings and when possible, organized peaceful demonstrations and moratoriums.

I am asking fellow students to seriously consider the benefits, if any, and the consequences of the student strikes before participating in them.

NOREEN FRYE.

PITTSBURGH.

REPRESENTATIVE RICHARD L. OTTINGER POLLS THE 25TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year I polled the voters of my congressional district on a variety of important issues facing the Congress and the Nation.

In line with my usual practice, I mailed two copies of the questionnaire to each business and home in the district, and the response has been gratifying. More than 40,000 have been returned, and I have had a team of Westchester students who attend college in Washington tabulate the results which I wish to share with my colleagues.

The overwhelming sentiment in the 25th Congressional District of New York is for an early end to the Indochina war, the withdrawal of American combat personnel from Laos, and for continued support of Israel in the face of Arab belligerence and refusal to negotiate a settlement. My constituents also cast their vote for an all-volunteer Army, for deemphasis on new weapons deployment during strategic arms limitation talks with Russia, and for cutbacks in American troop strength in Europe.

Further, the people of Westchester County approve of a mass transit trust fund and believe that the aviation industry should finance the supersonic transport. Great alarm over the state of the economy is expressed, along with support for wage-price controls as one remedy.

The most one-sided responses came in answer to questions on the environment and pollution, however, reflecting the widespread concern over these matters in my district. Approval is overwhelmingly registered for new laws, more funding, stronger enforcement of existing laws, crackdown on industrial polluters, and a weighing of environmental factors in all construction projects.

I include the questionnaire in full and the tabulation of the responses.

[In percent]

	Yes	No	Undecided
1. Vietnam: Do you believe that:			
(a) The President should inform Congress and the public what the war is costing?	90	7	3
(b) The United States should take greater initiatives to reach a settlement through negotiations?	78	18	4
(c) The present rate of troop withdrawals is satisfactory?	35	52	13
(d) The United States should keep troops in Vietnam to sustain the Thieu regime?	27	62	11
2. Laos: Do you believe that:			
(a) The President has been candid with the American people regarding U.S. involvement in Laos?	28	61	11
(b) U.S. military personnel should be involved either in air or ground combat in Laos?	17	73	10
3. Middle East. Do you believe that:			
(a) The administration has weakened its support for Israel?	52	34	14
(b) The United States should immediately sell to Israel the Phantom jets Israel has requested?	51	38	11
(c) The United States should end the training and equipping of Arab military officers?	74	16	10
(d) Direct negotiations between Israel and the Arabs are necessary to achieve a meaningful settlement?	91	4	5
4. Transportation. Do you believe that:			
(a) A trust fund should be established to finance mass transit improvements?	67	16	17
(b) The $4,000,000,000 annual Federal expenditures on highway construction should be reduced?	46	44	10
(c) The aviation industry should be required to finance the supersonic transport rather than the Federal Government?	72	15	13
5. Economy. Do you believe that:			
(a) The United States is nearing a recession?	58	26	16
(b) Prices will continue to rise?	91	6	3
(c) Wage and price controls should be established?	61	27	12
(d) The surtax should be continued beyond this June at 5 percent?	22	68	10
6. National defense. Do you believe that:			
(a) An all-volunteer army should be established as an alternative to the draft?	55	35	10
(b) Deployment of the ABM and multiple-warhead missiles should be suspended pending outcome of arms limitation talks (SALT) with the Soviet Union?	56	34	10
(c) The United States should sharply reduce level of 300,000 troops in Europe?	68	21	11
7. Environment. Do you believe that:			
(a) State and Federal antipollution efforts have been effective?	5	91	4
(b) More funds are needed to combat pollution?	83	12	5
(c) New laws are needed?	89	7	4
(d) Stronger enforcement of existing laws is needed?	96	3	1
(e) Industries should be allowed to pollute if they pay the cleanup costs?	9	80	11
(f) All Government agencies should be required to weigh environmental factors before approving public works or construction projects?	92	5	3
8. Crime. Do you believe that:			
(a) The best way to reduce the crime rate is to increase the size and efficiency of local police agencies?	53	35	12
(b) Ex-addicts should be employed in drug education programs in the schools?	71	16	13
(c) The United States should seek international agreements sharply restricting the production of narcotics?	91	4	5
(d) Police should be permitted to fingerprint, question, and detain suspects for up to 60 hours without filing criminal charges against them?	34	59	7

THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE—AMERICA'S SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS

HON. BERTRAM L. PODELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, in the March 1970 issue of American Labor we find a thought-provoking article about the work of Mr. Jesse M. Calhoon, the imaginative and innovative president of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association—MEBA—of the AFL-CIO.

The article, entitled "The Forgotten People—America's Scientists and Engineers," is a thought-provoking discussion of the unique problem that many professionals today face—the joint problem of keeping up with scientific advancement and making meaningful contributions to our society.

Mr. Calhoon rightly believes that the present economic situation and America's pace of technological development have made it imperative that we improve the condition of our scientists and engineers.

Under the skillful direction of Mr. Calhoon, MEBA has begun to analyze and offer solutions to the specific problems of these people. One new development has been the creation of the Calhoon-MEBA Engineering School—an institution of learning designed to develop fully qualified and accredited marine engineers for job opportunities on America's merchant fleet. It is the only such engineering school in the world that is exclusively sponsored by the industry itself. This has been but one breakthrough toward meeting the problem.

I feel that everyone concerned with jobs and job opportunities should be aware of the initiatives that Jesse M. Calhoon and MEBA are making and their success in meeting those difficult challenges of today.

The article follows:

THE FORGOTTEN PEOPLE—AMERICA'S SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS

"In the United States, the average engineer and scientist of today is little better than a migratory worker. Add all the imposing college degrees you want to after his name, he still has to hop from job to job and by the time he reaches 40 he might just as well have been picking lettuce for all the future he has."

The words were uttered in dead earnest recently by Jesse M. Calhoon, president of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association in an exclusive interview with ALM, opening a hitherto unexplored line of discussion that not only needs public airing but—in Mr. Calhoon's opinion—massive and immediate corrective programs if the pool of scientific intelligence that has brought American technology to its present eminence is to survive.

As MEBA's top officer, seated in his executive offices at 17 Battery Place in Manhattan, quietly outlined the situation, it's a sobering one. With a work-life expectancy that rarely reaches two decades, a vast proportion of the nation's very best technological minds find themselves—at an age when most individuals are entering their best productive years—stranded and on the shelf. The parade, for all of their intelligence, has passed them by.

Few have any pensions to look forward to because the very nature of their sporadic and ever changing assignments with constantly different contractors have never kept them long enough with any single company to attain one. Nor are there any portability plans that presently cover them as they move from job to job.

Their salaries, instead of going *up* with experience, take the very opposite position of this normal graph because the fantastic strides in technological development often obsolete their special learnings almost as rapidly as they have mastered them. And the greater this acceleration (which has moved with almost unbelievable speed during the 60's) the greater has become the obsolescent factor and the salary decline.

"Considering their essentiality," said the 47-year-old soft spoken head of the Marine Engineers, "and reserving any discussion of the human factors for the moment, the lack of foresight that has been exhibited in the personnel handling of so precious a manpower cargo is almost incomprehensible."

What brought the matter to the surface in the first place was an accidental conversational by-product engendered by an exploratory talk for a cover story with this tall, slightly graying North Carolinan—one of nine children born to a fisherman father on April 4, 1923 in Belhaven, a stone's throw from Cape Hatteras.

It came as a result of an oblique comparative analysis of Calhoon's own unionized engineers (he was elected president of MEBA in 1963 and in that short span has chalked up the greatest gains for its members in the union's 93-year history) as against the vast bulk of scientists and engineers who, as yet, are outside any union umbrella and who have become victims of their own hesitancy to associate.

"No other nation on earth," he said, referring to the conditions under discussion, "has so careless . . . so callous . . . and in the end what might very well turn out to be . . . so disastrous a policy. It destroys every fibre of incentive in a man."

RE-EXAMINATION IMPERATIVE

At stake in this need for re-evaluation and change, as Calhoon sees it, are not only the immediate destinies of the country's very finest scientific and engineering talents presently blueprinting and overseeing every area of the nation's technological projects, but—even more importantly—the maintenance and growth of this pool of intelligence so vitally needed in the competitive world of tomorrow.

"If the present system is not altered," stated Calhoon flatly, "we may wind up with a massive shortage of the very key creative brains America needs to survive."

The example of the "present system" he offered by way of illustration was a simple one which he stated could be multiplied "by as many digits as there are scientists and engineers." In essence, it works as follows:

Much of the building contractors, most technological organizations have minimum staffs, expanding only as the need requires. With the nature of government contracts, their short life expectancy and the competitive bidding aspects involved, good business sense must dictate this procedure.

When a specific company receives a specific contract which may call for some 50 engineers with "solid state" experience (or whatever) the company that has won the contract goes out into the marketplace and gathers its special talent utilizing hiring

techniques not appreciably different from that of a tomato farmer. Once hired, these men and their families are then moved to the job site where they normally remain until the specific contract is terminated. When it is over—that is that.

The heads of households bundle up their families and possessions, put their homes up for sale (generally at a loss when all the cost factors are collated) and begin all over again, moving to another town in another state that could be clear across the country if that's where the next openings are.

"The irony here," said Calhoon, "is that a tomato picker—and Lord knows I'm not trying to downgrade *anybody*—can always pick tomatoes. But an engineer who's been out of college for 15 years often can no longer find work in his special area of technical competence because science has passed him by.

"When he's on a job he never has time to attend the extra classes that might keep him up to date—even if a post graduate school were nearby. And when he's out of work, he's just much too concerned with the immediate effort of seeking employment to be able to afford that luxury. It's a vicious circle and—as it shapes up now—there's no way out."

The provisions presently made by either management or government to help supply this type of technical upgrading are conspicuous by their absence, noted Calhoon.

"Billions are being spent on training unemployables and underemployables," he said, "but when it comes to investing dollars on the very best minds we have—the amount isn't even worth talking about."

AS ENGINEERS SEE IT

"It's a dead-end street," said one 42-year-old engineer echoing Calhoon's statements in an off-the-cuff interview with ALM. "Over the past 15 years I've had some seven or eight different jobs for different companies. The few times that I bought a home, I lost money when it came to selling it because the need for immediate cash was so pressing. When I rented, I was rarely compensated sufficiently for the new move. In the last analysis—as I see it—I really can't blame anybody but myself.

"But I'll tell you this much," he continued, "If I have anything to say about it, my kids are not going to be engineers."

Said another: "I've gone from Texas, to Los Angeles, to Maryland and back to Texas again since 1961. It's like living out of a trunk. You don't have roots anywhere. Your wife's either packing or unpacking or repacking all the time. No sooner do my sons make friends than they have to say good bye to them. Every once in a while I ask myself 'What have I done to my family?' and I don't like what I see."

Typical, too, was a third reaction: "I don't want to sound like some long-haired yippee, because I'm not the type at all. But when you live in growing fear that your present spot may be your last because you've had no opportunity to keep up with the times, it does something to your morale. Most of us certainly have the background, the intelligence and the *willingness* to take any refresher courses necessary. But the problem is—how does one live in that interim?"

The present shortsighted policies, he observed bitterly, "made no sense at all." To be washed up at 40 was not an indictment of the technical and scientific fraternity, "but of a system that passively permits it to happen," he said.

MEBA'S FIRST INVOLVEMENT

MEBA's first involvement with this problem came as a result of an incident that occured late in 1968. A maritime union since its founding almost a century ago—actually the oldest maritime union in the world and the second oldest in the country—its membership had consisted of the marine engineers on the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Gulf, the Lakes, the Rivers and Harbors. And during all of that century (the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association was formally born under that name in 1875 though its origins, under the other names can be traced back to pre Civil War days) it had remained within its own baliwick, serving its very specialized type of membership.

But late in 1968 a telephone call made by the Port Engineers of New York City to MEBA's Jesse Calhoon was to open up a whole new line of thinking and a hitherto uncharted area of both opportunity and service.

The port engineers supervise the ordering and operations of construction and repairs and had always been considered to be a part of management.

"They came to us," said Calhoon, "with some very basic trade union problems:

"They had no job security . . . there were no standard wage scales . . . raises were solely at the caprice of the company (U.S. Lines) . . . their pension plan was a privately funded one which—translated into dollars—means that if management goes out of business, so does the fund. There was no machinery for grievances . . . and more of the same . . ."

Calhoon went to work immediately, got a consent decree from the U.S. Lines, organized the New York group and within the space of a year—expanding this initial effort—had organized the preponderant majority of the port engineers in America.

The result of these drives apparently reached some of the key officers of an independent union—the Engineers and Scientists of California—comprising some 1,200 members, who initiated talks of possible affiliation. Involved were three west-coast based companies: Pacific Gas & Electric, Bay Area Unit of Engineers & Scientists of California and the Western Association of Engineers and Land Surveyors, Inc. All were organized in 1969 and all came under the MEBA umbrella—The Professional, Office & Industrial Union—which MEBA organized in 1967 and which is allied with District 1., Pacific Coast District.

Some few months later, the engineers and naval architects at Gibbs & Cox (one of the nation's leading marine design engineering firms) also were merged into this labor organization.

POTENTIAL EXAMINED

With this behind it, sometime in the middle of last year, MEBA's Executive Committee met and undertook the first truly serious consideration of the potential of this new and hitherto untapped area it had opened.

Analyzed were: the problems inherent in terms of labor education and orientation of a professional group hitherto non-union by both character and training; the size of the universe that might be organized; the regional demographic break-outs; manpower and collateral requirements, and costs.

Out of it came some revealing facts:

In terms of numbers, the potential universe was between 800,000 and 900,000, paralleling a figure attained only by perhaps four or five of the very largest internationals in the nation.

In terms of annual income, the median structure was in the neighborhood of $10,000 a year (as of June 1969, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics).

In terms of competitive factors (from an organizing standpoint) they seemed, on the face of it, to be non-existent. Most of the industrial unions did not speak the language of the scientist or engineer, nor did there appear to be an empathy of interests. As for the craft unions, which have always stayed within their own special trades, there seemed little reason to believe they would change their patterns of behavior.

By every measurement—physical, economic and psychological—MEBA shaped up as the most logical labor organization to tackle the job.

"Trade unionism," said Calhoon in this context, "has performed very well for our own engineers. Why then—by extension—could not MEBA perform as satisfactorily for every other type of scientist and engineer? Their problems are parallel and we've faced them and solved them all before."

Most to the point, as Calhoon summed it up, the professional man, himself, was coming round to the view that "professionalism—that does not relate to a decent standard of living" was nothing but a meaningless and hollow form of pride.

"We're perhaps the only ones who can talk to them at their own level," he said.

THE CHANGES NEEDED

Among the principal immediate changes required, Calhoon feels, is the restructuring of the present methods of hiring and firing; the development of extensive re-educational programs completely financed by management and/or government, or both; the establishment of fully funded portable pension plans and the creation of collective bargaining machinery to make it all possible.

Some of the basics, as he saw them:

A nationwide, interchangeable portable pension plan for every scientist and engineer.

Ample severance pay on a per contract basis to cover all losses concommitant with moving, plus reasonable allowances for average time periods of unemployment as indicated by some mutually acceptable data service.

Specified time segments for sabattical leaves to provide adequate retraining and refresher courses to be funded by the employer via a monthly check-off system, with the monies to be deposited in escrow.

"The government is perhaps the worst offender in this area," said Calhoon. "They spend billions on research but nothing on the researcher. He's as expendable as a dead lamp."

As far as management was concerned, "engineers are generally put in the officer's pension plan, which is very good—for management. The dollars accrued are figured in as part of each contractual budget, but with the rapid turnover of scientific personnel, it all actually winds up being split among the top echelon who are the only ones that stay on. So they're not only getting the benefits of their own pension plan but a piece of everybody elses," said Calhoon.

The remark was uttered, one felt, as Calhoon leaned back in his chair, *not* as an angry reflection of some Machiavellian machination on the part of management, but rather as an open appraisal of a set of circumstances which somehow had to be permitted to grow. The cool, trim, top officer of MEBA is a pragmatist who has spent too much of his working hours at the bargaining table not to know that what may appear to be a proper grievance often may be as directly affected the destinies of the very much a part of accident as design; that management cannot be held solely responsible for a way of doing business if the very nature of this business is dictated by another controlling factor (the government) which by its particular contractual arrangements has created the present hiring techniques and has done nothing to rectify its inequities.

But regardless of where the responsibilities lay. these accumulative policies of neglect kind of people a nation can least afford to lose.

ON CALHOON HIMSELF

If anyone can move into this difficult area with intelligence and direction, it's the soft-spoken, tough-fibered, beautifully disciplined

chief executive of the National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association who got his first taste of the sea when he signed on as a coal passer in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1939, at the age of 16 . . . as a member of the National Maritime Union.

Within four years this wiry youngster went from coal passer to fireman to oiler and early in 1943, entered the United States Merchant Marine Officers' Candidate School in New London, Connecticut.

Norfolk was a large coal port at the time Calhoon first helped fire a ship, delivering much of its cargo to New England power plants, still largely dependent, then, on this source of fuel. America had not yet come out of its great depression and those who were part of it remember what the salary structures were. It was a comparatively active port, moving—as it did—a basic necessity. But with the war clouds gathering, the growing demands of friendly nations struggling to defeat Hitlerism turned it—about 1940—into one of America's principal sea lanes for export of munitions and young Calhoon was part of a number of crews who delivered the materials of war to the British, to the Red Sea and even as far as to the Persian Gulf—one of the supply depots of the Russians.

They were adventurous days for a kid of 17. And dangerous ones, too. The boy from Belhaven did not miss his share of near-deaths. A ship that he was on during that period was torpedoed in the Gulf of Mexico. Luckily, he was one of the survivors picked up by a fishing boat and brought safely to shore in Louisiana. Memories were there, too, of action in the Mediterranean during the invasion of North Africa as part of the manpower shuttling supply ships back and forth and of similar duties during the invasion of Sicily as well.

"It's difficult to put into words," said Calhoon looking out of his windows that offered a magnificent view of the New York harbor, "but you get to know a little bit more about the meaning of life when you're facing death."

JOINS MEBA

In 1943 (as noted previously) Calhoon entered the Officers' Candidate School in New London, securing his 3rd Engineers license in February of 1944. It was at this point in his history that he severed his membership with the National Maritime Union and joined his present labor organization, MEBA. He was then one month short of being 21.

For the next several years the sibling officer served on a variety of vessels, initially delivering military cargo until the war's end, then moving over to the more mundane sea-going occupations which took him—before it was over—all over the world.

"If a country has a shore line," smiled Calhoon, "I guess I've been there."

The 1946–47 year was particularly significant for a number of reasons. First, it found Calhoon—of all places—in Shanghai, China; not as a seaman but as an instructor. The "professorial" assignment was for the Chung Shing Coal Mining Company and the subject he had gone there to teach was refrigeration engineering, hardly known there at the time.

"I really don't know why I took the job now," Calhoon's face broke into a grin, "except maybe that I was 25, I'd recently gotten married and we thought it might be a nice place for an extended honeymoon."

The extended oriental honeymoon never materialized. By the time he was able to clear the necessary papers for his wife she had become pregnant and the decision was made that it would be best for her to remain home.

Thus—what might have been a meaningful move was reshuffled in retrospect by biology and Calhoon remained in Shanghai only until shortly before the birth of his son (Richard) and that was the end of his teaching career.

STANDS FOR OFFICE

He returned to the sea once more (by now he was a chief engineer) shipping out for a number of companies until 1954. At that point he had made a decision that was to take him ashore for good. He had decided to stand for Business Manager of Norfolk's Local 11.

After that, his rise in the union's hierarchy was rapid. In 1959 he was elected National Secretary-Treasurer and—at the next election—succeeded to the Presidency in 1963.

Actually, through a series of unanticipated events, he wound up being the acting president almost from the time he had been elected secretary-treasurer. This time the transference was caused by politics.

The real president, the person who had run for that top spot with Calhoon as the second man on the ticket, went on a leave of absence shortly after taking office to work as the late John F. Kennedy's labor liaison during his presidential campaign—and just never returned. To this reporter's knowledge, it's a "first" of its kind.

He moved over to industry after his stint with Kennedy (a number of MEBA members made this change annually, but never a top officer before) and is presently vice-president of West Coast Airlines. Calhoon, therefore, who was the chief executive officer—in fact if not in name—during his first term, was elected in a breeze the next time around.

STICKY PROBLEMS

As Chairman of the Negotiating Committee (a job he has held since 1958) he faced a number of sticky bargaining problems during those early years.

"A lot of it was created by the Maritime Unions' own short sighted thinking," he said.

During the war, as he related it, the officialdom of all Maritime Unions—instead of bargaining for wage increases, took the route of "war bonus pay" instead. As it worked back then, since most every price quoted to the government for goods and services was predicated on some cost-plus formula and since management merely added this to *its* cost and passed it along, the plan seemed simpler to work with and the gains seemed more easily procurable.

"What they didn't realize," stated Calhoon, "was that a wage structure has a factor of permanence but a 'bonus' doesn't. When the war was over, so were the bonuses and the wage scale went right back to the 1940 levels."

When collective bargaining began in earnest, as Calhoon reviewed it, the industry was so far behind that it really couldn't ask for all it needed and hadn't even the slightest hope of receiving it. The concentration on the attainment of immediate wage increases was so urgent that it almost precluded the introduction of other benefits as part of the package as well.

"They could have gotten more if they had taken a more hard-nosed attitude in '46," said Calhoon. "We were half-a-dozen years behind the labor movement and had a lot of catching up to do.

"As a sailing engineer—speaking for myself—I was getting the same amount of vacation in 1956 as I got when I started as a coal passer in 1939."

ON MEBA GAINS

On vacation improvements, Calhoon's record since taking over as chairman of the Negotiating Committee speaks for itself. In the first go-round in 1958, the following advances were incorporated into the MEBA contract:

(a) 60 day vacations for all MEBA personnel working in "Dry Cargo," (those vessels carrying freight and/or passengers).

(b) 90 day vacations for those working tankers.

(For those wondering about the discrepancy in the number of vacation days between the two types of jobs, the answer actually relates to the number of days a man can come ashore. Traditionally, tankers will come into port and pump out their cargo in from 16 to 36 hours, giving a man no time ashore. Dry Cargo vessels, on the other hand have had—until very recently—a normal ten-day turnaround period permitting the engineer greater time to visit his family. The new containerized vessels presently coming to the fore have cut this turnaround time considerably, and there is presently a very serious reevaluation of vacation schedules in this area).

Today, vacation benefits stand at:

(a) 108 days for Dry Cargo

(b) 144 days for tankers

In the area of pensions, the results are equally impressive. In 1956, MEBA's minimum pension at age 65 stood at $100 a month. Today, the figure is $425 a month with a sliding scale that can come to as much as $1,240 a month. And that's after 25 years of service regardless of age.

MEBA's welfare program is among the best in the country, covering every member of the family in the fields of insurance and medical and dental care. The national organization has diagnostic clinics in New York Baltimore, New Orleans and San Francisco.

SOME FIRSTS

In its collective bargaining operations, MEBA has created one of the most intelligent short and long-range formulas for the handling of grievances that might well be utilized by other unions for study.

The machinery operates on an industry-wide rather than a local level basis and follows pretty specific patterns.

When a grievance comes to a port agent, if he cannot handle the situation immediately he sends it to the national office where it is put on the agenda. Every month, all of these unsettled grievances are brought to arbitration before a five-man board composed of two from management, two from labor and an impartial arbitrator. Settlement time for each of these grievances must be accomplished in 15 days. And there's a special provision for immediate arbitration in case of an emergency.

The formula cuts out all intermediary time consuming stages and leaves both union and management with no grievances that are over 45 days old.

"At bargaining time," said Calhoon, "there are no grievances to bog anyone down and we can all get to the immediate business at hand."

Inaugurated in 1961, the formula has now been adopted by some of the maritime unions, according to Calhoon, who "believes it could be adopted for most industries."

1961 marked still another "first" in collective bargaining for the Marine Engineers. It's a "schedule" that does not arise in general national labor-management negotiations, but it is mentioned here, in passing, to indicate how far more complex MEBA's contracts are than many others in the labor movement and how many items (little known to the public at large) are subject of negotiations.

The specific item referred to is a "Minimum Food Schedule" which sets down the minimum quality and minimum content of the meat, eggs, milk, vegetables and other edibles that must be maintained on ship and served at each meal to the engineers. It even includes the kind of dishes on which that food must be served and the quality of "linen" on the table.

Words recalled written by such master tellers of sea stories as Conrad and Melville of the food that used to be meted out to the

devils that manned the ships, brings into focus the realization that this is not some incidental or capricious part of the MEBA contract, but a very vital adjunct that oversees the dietary needs of its membership.

A collateral codicil in this health aspect is the agreement MEBA also negotiates covering the size of the bed an engineer will sleep in, the square footage of the room, the soap, towels and hot water that must be supplied and a baker's dozen of other subjects—all designated to make living conditions at sea as comfortable and pleasant as possible.

EARLY HISTORY

The Marine Engineer's Beneficial Association—as a recognized continuously functioning union—dates back to 1875, but history records abortive efforts to organize marine engineers as far back as 1854 when the first group that rates a text mention banded together as the Steamboat Engineers Association. The burial was rapid with few in attendance.

During the next couple of decades a number of other associations struggled to the surface, remained a moment in the sun and wilted at the first cold draft of adversity. The reasons were varied: the antipathetic climate of the times, the inability of the membership to achieve unity among themselves, no real direction, money—or more to the point—the constant lack of it, little organizational know-how and more of the same.

The early history of the marine unions, thus, is pretty much a carbon copy of the story line of hundreds of other prematurely conceived labor organizations that came before their hour had come. They had their day of enthusiasm and what appeared to be cohesiveness, then in rapid order—followed the terminal triad of poverty, apathy and extinction.

Under the leadership of Garrett Duow, however (MEBA's first president and a very able man from what little records are extant), the disorganized pool of marine engineers on both coasts, the Gulf, the Great Lakes and the rivers and harbors was finally merged into a viable organization the chemistry of which was to remain stable. For statisticians, MEBA is the second oldest surviving union in the United States, with a membership established 11 years before the birth of the American Federation of Labor.

The complete history of its initial attempts to walk, of its rising strength and importance during World War I, of its subsequent decline and later resurrection after the Wagner Act are all there for the dedicated chronicler at MEBA's headquarters at 17 Battery Place in New York City.

It's a fascinating bunch of yesterdays all of which have gone into the character of the union that is "now." . . . a union which, as ALM's brief compilation of facts concerning merely its wage and pension and welfare structure, is unique in many ways.

CALHOON-MEBA SCHOOL

One of its more recent projects that can certainly qualify in this category is the Calhoon-MEBA Engineering School.

It's simple enough to explain what it is: an institution of learning designed to develop fully qualified and accredited marine engineers for job opportunities on America's merchant fleet.

What makes it unique, however, is that it is the only such engineering school in the world exclusively sponsored by the industry itself. It made maritime history in 1968 when it graduated its first class of fully qualified marine engineering students at a commencement exercise in Baltimore, Maryland, attended by the nation's top leaders in labor, management and government, all of whom viewed it as a milestone in creative industrial-procurement planning.

For how it all came into being, one must go back to a survey undertaken by MEBA on the job pattern shifts of the graduates of U.S. Maritime Academies. Something, in its opinion, was very wrong.

The survey revealed several facts in specifics: U.S. Maritime Academy graduates were receiving Bachelor of Science degrees and—after a five year period—had left the service at a ratio factor of 91 percent. Placing this statistic in juxtaposition with MEBA's own approximately 6 percent loss of membership every year through retirement, attrition and death, the picture became disturbingly significant.

"The whole thing was brought into even sharper focus," said Leon Shapiro, MEBA's secretary-treasurer of District One, "when we discovered—while in the midst of the survey—that many of our ships destined to carry cargo, including defense supplies for Vietnam, had developed serious manpower shortages which made for delays in sailing, and that much of these critical goods were not being delivered on time. Putting it simply, the Academies were not supplying the needed reserve labor pool to properly man the merchant fleet."

What was happening was that the graduates of the Academies had received a free education, had served their terms and—in almost overwhelming numbers—had gone ashore.

"We just had to do something about it," said Shapiro.

Exploratory talks with management revealed that they, too, were cognizant of the problem and of the urgency of the need. Thus was started the initial machinery that eventuated into the present Calhoon-MEBA Engineering School . . . a government approved two year course designed to supply the industry with its changeable manpower requirements.

Students need a high school diploma or its equivalency to enter. They must be between the ages of 18 and 27. The curriculum has provisions for upgrading the skills of older engineers as well; they can come back for advanced courses in the more sophisticated machinery areas permitting them to upgrade their licenses.

Administered by a joint labor-management board of trustees, with Roy A. Luebbe as its Director, it is entirely privately financed by MEBA and the maritime industry. Its curriculum is set by the United States Coast Guard which issues the final examinations and licenses.

"And the amount of students is completely controlled," said Calhoon. "When our analysis indicates that jobs may be more plentiful, we raise the number of undergraduates. When it looks like they're going to be less plentiful, we lower the number. That way we can pretty generally guarantee a graduate a job and keep him in the maritime industry for a much longer period of time."

How well the school is regarded may be found in a letter recently sent to MEBA's president by the Navy Department's Naval Systems Command which, noting that it presently "has no capability of its own for the training of the operation and maintenance personnel . . ." (on a modified Central Operations Systems product), requested that "consideration be given to making available . . . suitable classroom space for this Command on a non-interfering reimbursable basis . . ." (at the Calhoon—MEBA Engineering School).

AS MUNDELL SEES MEBA

This concern for engineers; for the development of their jobs and their security and—from a practical standpoint—for the dollars to make it all possible, is certainly among the reasons for the Marine Technician's Guild (an independent union) to have recently affiliated with MEBA.

Robert G. Mundell, a design engineer at Gibbs & Cox, perhaps the top marine design engineering firm in the country (they created the S.S. United States and many of the Navy's fighting ships) and president of MTG–MEBA, summed up the reasons for his organization's affiliation this way:

"Our basic thrust came as a result of long drawn out negotiations we had with the company (C&C) in 1968–1969. We really went the gamut . . . had better than 50 hearings at the NLRB. This colossal litigation is an extremely costly procedure for a small independent just to bring a company to the bargaining table . . ."

The difficulty with independents, as Mundell says he has learned from bitter experience, is that the company treats them more as a little brother than as a responsible entity; that their philosophy is principally "a benevolent manana one," and that the dissipation of energies are routed into so many tangential issues that the real ones very rarely even get to the table—much less wind up being solved.

"It's never a really serious bargainer," he said, "because it just doesn't think you're important enough."

The decision to affiliate with a stronger group, Mundell stated, had been discussed and agreed upon for some time. The only thing that had not been finalized was "who."

"We chose MEBA," said Mundell, "because it is composed of professional people and because we relate to each other. They run the ships; we design them. In a sense we're part of the same family.

"More than that, we got a package that included complete autonomy and continuance of operation."

The major benefits to his Guild, as Mundell laid them out, were MEBA's continuous efforts to promote legislation beneficial to the maritime industry, which, he felt, would stimulate action on impending work.

"We have a normal die-curve after every war," he said. "We're the only nation in the world that absolutely disavows its fleet when the shooting is over; like some unwanted infant, that winds up in the garbage can. Don't ask me to explain why we think this way, but we're in that cycle right now."

He stressed, too, that the "stature" of MEBA was bringing infinitely better and faster response in many areas than his own former independent had ever been able to achieve.

"We're in the process of coming out of difficult times," Mundell summed up conditions in his own industry, "and are now—as far as professional people are concerned—in the very infancy of meaningful organizing.

"For us, there's mandatory need for MEBA. It represents a labor organization of professionals which lets the engineer keep his independent professionalism, yet combines it with the necessary power of unionism to give him the benefits he could not otherwise obtain."

FELSO'S ANALYSIS

Reached in his California offices, Michael J. Felso, formerly an engineer with the Pacific Gas & Electric Company and now working president of the Engineers and Scientists of California, cited a number of different reasons for his Independent's affiliation:

"We were like lightweights fighting a heavyweight. They (Pacific Gas & Electric) had more money, more savvy, more time for delaying actions, more hands to put to work on any project designed to knock us down.

"We had no full time staff. Hell, we had *no* staff. The officers of our association were part time people who gave what hours they could. How can you really negotiate effectively that way—with *anybody*, let alone PGE."

Representing some 1,800 members at PGE, Felso felt the odds against him were just too great.

"We affiliated for MEBA's expertise, for its backing, for its complete financial assistance and for its AFL–CIO charter which would protect us against raiding. And they didn't try to absorb us as some other unions did. We're affiliated but we're separate. We run our own show completely."

Asked to explore some visible changes as a result of the affiliation, Felso stated that his organization had gone from a second story two-room office with one in help to a complete full-time staff (of organizer, attorney . . . you name it); that their financial problems were over ("We couldn't even go to arbitration before,") and that they have not only gained greater respect but more membership as well.

On the mood of the membership; "the spirit is one of renewed confidence." On the dehumanization factor: "We're not as much a number as we were before. But I imagine that in our highly technical ambient, some of that dehumanization rubs off on everybody."

On security: "I think that's going to get a whole lot better. Engineers are the greatest vagabonds in the world. Portable pension plans are their only answer for retirement and security. Our people here are very optimistic that this will come to pass."

FROM MEBA'S BRIDGE

Said Henry Dooley, vice president of POIU and organizer for MEBA on the west coast, when contacted in his office in San Francisco:

"Almost universally, they contact us. They've read or heard about MEBA someplace and put us on their shopping list. We don't want some—we're looking for a union of professional people—and some don't want us. But our average is far better than average."

He said that about 7,000 new members had come into POIU and MEBA within the last 18 months and that that figure could very well be doubled in the next 90 days.

"We've signed contracts with the largest steamship company on the west coast (American President Lines)," he said, "for their office and clerical workers. We've got Consolidated Marine Industries. And we're now in the Labor Board (NLRB) for election at the North American Rockwell Autonetics Plant in Anaheim, California."

The association at North American—Aerospace, Professional and Technical Association—is now affiliated with MEBA. It has a membership of some 3,000 engineers.

APTA–MEBA President Robert Hunter feels that "through affiliation with a strong national organization attuned to the specialized problems and needs of the professional, technical and salaried employe, very considerable progress can be achieved."

George Bean, APTA's executive director, was a little less formal. "This affiliation marks a new era not only for us at Autonetics, but throughout the aerospace industry. We're happy to enter into association with our brother professionals of MEBA for we know they have much to offer . . . in bargaining strength and other benefits."

What these benefits are, as MEBA's secretary-treasurer of District I pointed out, can be summed up in a few major categories. Said Leon Shapiro:

"I'd say they're the availability of our research facilities with respect to contract negotiations and pension and welfare; with respect to studies on work problems and our experience to organize them into meaningful benefits. These are the top priority considerations of any professional man."

VIEW FROM THE TOP

MEBA's President Calhoon summed it up with equal pragmatism but from a little different side of the hill.

"If America wants to stay on top, we'll need all the brains we can get," he said. "The best way *not* to get them is to do what we're doing now—throwing them away. You can't have a modern world without engineers, but we're not going to have too many engineers unless we do something about setting the situation straight—and very soon."

The next step lies—apparently—in the lap of these very engineers themselves. And just as apparently—something seems to be happening: a loosening of the adhesive of aloofness towards the concept that they . . . somehow are or should be above the labor movement.

If this professionalism can—at long last—be tied into unionsim; *if this is an idea whose hour has finally come,* America is in for a tide of mergers or affiliations that could well make MEBA one of the largest unions in the world.

MR. STAHLMAN SPEAKS OUT

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, this past Friday, at Nashville, the Tennessee Department of the American Legion dedicated its new headquarters.

On that occasion Legionnaires from across Tennessee and their distinguished guests were privileged to hear an address by the dean of southern newspaper publishers, Mr. James G. Stahlman of the Nashville Banner.

Mr. Stahlman, a member of the Legion himself for 51 years, was recently the recipient of the Patriot's Medal of the Tennessee Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, the highest honor which that organization bestows.

On the occasion of the dedication of the Tennessee Department's new facility Mr. Stahlman called for a restoration of—

Respect for our Flag, our system of government, its laws and its constituted elected head, the President of the United States.

Mr. Stahlman went on to analyze some of the problems today facing our Nation based on his vast store of experience and knowledge accumulated through many years of observation and very careful study.

Mr. Speaker, I include the remarks of Mr. Stahlman in the RECORD at this point and commend them to the attention of our colleagues.

ADDRESS BY JAMES G. STAHLMAN

The American Legion has honored me far beyond my just deserts for my service to it and to my country. I am deeply grateful. One of my most cherished possessions is this card which shows that I have been a member of the American Legion 51 years.

Two years ago at the Memphis convention of the Department of Tennessee, I told some of you that I had two grandsons; one of draft age and one approaching. I said then that if either of these young men ever burned a draft card or pleaded conscientious objection to service in the armed forces of our country, I would disown them forever as my own flesh and blood.

I tell you in deepest pride tonight that my oldest grandson enlisted some months ago in the United States Army, instead of waiting for the draft. He is now in Vietnam in the 3rd Battalion, 7th Infantry, 199th Light Infantry Brigade and that is no panty-waist outfit. When and if Almighty God answers my prayers, and the fervent petitions of millions of others, for the return of these boys out there, as I am sure God will, I want to reciprocate the Legion's graciousness to me by presenting for membership in the American Legion, PFC Sandy Hill, who I am sure will cherish his membership in the American Legion through the years as I have cherished mine.

NONE OF US LIKES WAR

Now none of us likes war at any time. None of us likes this particular war in Southeast Asia. The Banner and I protested the United States' entry into and participation in this war for years until the United States Senate by a vote of 88–2 on August 7, 1964, authorized the President of the United States to pursue the successful conduct of that war by any means he deemed advisable.

The Banner and I then gave our support to Lyndon B. Johnson in the hope that he would be able to put an end to that sorry conflict. He was the unwarranted victim of the viciousness of some in his own party ranks, as well as dissident minority groups, for whose welfare he did more than any other President in the history of the United States, and the Banner said so at the time of his renunciation of another term in the Presidency.

All of us want this war over and our loved ones home again in productive labors for this great country of ours. No one wants this more earnestly, or is doing more to bring it about, than the present lonely occupant of the White House. But as long as American troops are over there, and until they can be brought home under conditions compatible with this nation's honor, I intend to support our men in uniform wherever they may be, and their Commander-in-Chief, the President of the United States.

To look around at the dissent, confusion, chaos and the threatened revolution festering into one big cancerous growth on this nation's body-politic, I don't have to tell you that we and this cockeyed world are in a sorry mess.

How did we get there? As I have said before, THE BANNER and I for years have been considered "Red baiters." I have been denounced for "looking for spooks under the bed" since 1933, when the Banner joined one of Tennessee's finest soldiers and patriots in supporting Gordon Browning's vote as the only member of the Tennessee Delegation in the Congress of the United States against the recognition of Soviet Russia.

Since then, we have had World War II, followed by Yalta, Teheran and their horrendous results.

CHINA BETRAYAL

We have seen the betrayal of Chiang Kai-Shek and the Nationalist government of China. In this horrible instance, a great soldier and American patriot, General George C. Marshall, was blindly duped and misled by Alger Hiss, John Paton Davies, Harry Dexter White and others in the Federal Establishment in pulling the rug from under the Generalissimo who had been our staunch ally in World War II.

While on Pan American's first flight around the world in 1947, I was a dinner guest of K. C. Wu, the mayor of Shanghai. It was my privilege to sit at the same table with the late General Claire Chennault.

Our group had just left the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang at their compound in Nanking where we were asked to assist the Nationalist China request of Washington for the advance of one billion dollars to help stabilize the yen and provide logistic support to bring about the defeat of the North China Communists.

At that dinner, I asked General Chennault his opinion of the possibility of this aid be-

ing extended to the Generalissimo. Chennault, who had played football at LSU and at Vanderbilt twice against Dan McGugin's teams, gave me this blunt assessment:

"Jimmy," he said, "I know that so long as General Marshall has anything to do with affairs in Washington, Chiang Kai-Shek will never receive one penny of that billion dollars. I can take three hundred million of that, buy new air equipment, reactivate the Flying Tigers, who are anxious to come back and serve with me again, and knock out the North China Communists within 90 days after we get going again.

"I can tell you without equivocation that if the Generalissimo doesn't get that billion dollars, that sum will be but a drop in the bucket compared with what it will cost Uncle Sam in the Far East in the years to come."

NO-WIN WAR

I don't have to recall the debacle in Korea which was the start of our no-win policy in war, climaxed by the sacking of General MacArthur, one of America's greatest military men and patriots.

Then came Cuba. And now Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. I will let you tally up the cost up to now in the Far East.

Let's get back to Cuba. Fidel Castro was a recognized Communist long before he ever succeeded in the overthrow of Batista in January, 1958. It was Castro, the Communist, who helped organize the "Bogotazo" in Bogota, Colombia in 1948, the intent of which was the assassination of General George Catlett Marshall, then secretary of state of the United States.

Then came the Bay of Pigs in which we betrayed the Cuban exiles who gave their lives in an effort to retrieve their native island from the bearded beast who still presides over the destiny of the hapless Cuban people. And then the so-called "missile crisis" which President Kennedy met head-on.

In the records of tragic ironies since the dawn of history, none transcends the violent assassination of John Fitzgerald Kennedy in November 1963. I had proof then that Lee Harvey Oswald was a Castro Marxist, acting as a part of a conspiracy.

The Banner said so on the Monday that President Kennedy was laid to rest in Arlington Cemetery.

When the ridiculous Warren Report was issued, The Banner questioned some of its conclusions, particularly that dealing with the "no conspiracy" theme. The Banner and I have subsequently been confirmed in our findings and unchanged opinion by Senator Richard B. Russell, one of the most distinguished and devoted members of the United States Senate, who served on the Warren Commission, and who refused to join in the "no conspiracy" conclusion. Now Senator Russell has been joined by Lyndon B. Johnson in that position within the past 30 days.

CUBA MISTAKE

The original mistake in Cuba was in allowing our State Department, the New York Times and its so-called Latin American expert, Herbert Matthews, to sell the Administration and the American people a phony bill of goods on Castro. We should have clobbered him then. This was our greatest mistake of the past twenty years. With Communist funds, Castro and his Communist cohorts have been exporting to the United States a plethora of revolutionary doctrines, and Communist financed and directed cadres are now laboring to destroy America from within, shouting the slogans of Che Guevarra and Mao Tse-Tung, with clinched fists raised defiantly in Communist salute.

Now if you want the plan in detail, I would like to read it to you as contained in a document discovered by the Allied Forces in Dusseldorf, Germany in May 1919. It is entitled, "Communist Rules for Revolution." Listen and you will realize how well this has been succeeding.

A. Corrupt the young; get them away from religion. Get them interested in sex. Make them superficial; destroy their ruggedness.

B. Get control of all means of publicity, thereby:

1. Get peoples' minds off their government by focusing their attention on athletics, sexy books and plays and other trivialities.

2. Divide the people into hostile groups by constantly harping on controversial matters of no importance.

3. Destroy the peoples' faith in their national leaders by holding the latter up to contempt, ridicule and disgrace.

4. Always preach true democracy, but seize power as fast and as ruthlessly as possible.

5. By encouraging government extravagance, destroy its credit, produce fear of inflation with rising prices and general discontent.

6. Incite unnecesary strikes in vital industries, encourage civil disorder and foster a lenient and soft attitude on the part of government toward such disorders.

7. By specious argument cause the breakdown of the old moral virtues, honesty, sobriety, self-restraint, and faith in the pledged word.

8. Cause the registration of all firearms on some pretext, with a view to confiscating them and leaving the population helpless.

THE HOOVER DETERMINATION

If you need constant confirmation of any of this, I suggest that you read the reports and the forthright utterances of J. Edgar Hoover, the distinguished Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Lyndon Johnson told me personally in Nashville on the occasion of his and Lady Bird's visit to the Hermitage in 1967 that he considered J. Edgar Hoover one of the great Americans of all time and so do I, for that matter. He said that if it had not been for Edgar Hoover, the United States would have gone Communist 20 years ago.

Now the biggest effort by these revolutionary agents is being expended upon the youth of our country, particularly on the college campuses. I happen to be one of those who believes that a majority segment of our youth of college age is solidly American, sound in their religious and sociological attitudes, but I cannot overlook the fact that the effort at their corruption continues unabated.

Much of the youthful attitudes are due to parental permissiveness. The extent of the success of this attempted corruption is partially attributable to indifference of our citizenship generally. We have become accustomed to abuse of the constitutional privileges granted to all of us, particularly in the Bill of Rights, protecting a Free Press, Free Speech, Free Assemby, Free Protest and Free Worship. Permissive courts have played their part by decisions abolishing prayer in our public schools, while subversive groups endeavor to prohibit the singing of our National Anthem, the oath of allegiance and the customary salute to the Flag.

The courts have afforded protection to the purveyors of pornography in print, film and merchandise. And worst of all, too frequently have dealt only taps on the wrists to the peddlers and pushers of narcotics, which has become the most widespread and dangerous threat, not only to our youth but to some of our older generation, even beyond the collegiate level.

Americans are hard to awaken, but there are a few hopeful signs that some might be coming out of their coma. One of these is the organization of patriotic campus groups which are standing up to be counted. And only this week the heartening counter demonstrations staged by the patriotic construction workers in New York City and Buffalo this past Wednesday.

NIXON SUPPORT

Current polls in support of President Nixon on his Cambodian policies are further indicative of this awakening.

But foremost in promoting this good work have been the National Commanders of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars, our own J. Milton Patrick, who is guest of honor here tonight, and VFW's Commander Ray Gallagher, and other patriotic veteran organizations.

This is the time for all Americans who love their country to join in massive national rededication to the principles of our founders enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and its first ten amendments known as the Bill of Rights.

It is time to restore respect for our Flag, our system of government, its laws and its constituted elected head, the President of the United States.

It is time to restore respect for the rights of others, both personal and property.

To renew our faith in God Almighty and respect for His laws.

And most important, it is time for a restoration of faith in ourselves as loyal, dedicated American citizens, determined to preserve this nation as the last best hope of freedom this side of Eternity.

The bugles sound no last retreat.

To you, to me, to all who love America, the trumpeters blow Reveille of a new day, then Assembly, and clearest of all, the Charge.

I am certain of your response for you are pledged to God and Country.

SECRETARY HICKEL TO ATTEND DEDICATION OF L.B.J. HISTORICAL SITES

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, spring and summer bring tourists to all parts of our coutry and the warm central Texas climate invites thousands of people each month to visit and soak in the living history of its main attraction—the Lyndon Baines Johnson Historical Sites.

From the birthplace to the boyhood home, the growth of Lyndon B. Johnson can be traced—it was here that the essential traits that made the man clearly formed and emerged in the life of the 36th President of the United States.

Hill County will honor its most distinguished native son on the 13th of June with the dedication of the L.B.J. Historical Sites, the birthplace and the boyhood home. The Honorable Walter Hickel, Secretary of the Interior, will be present for the ceremonies which will officially open the State parks and sites.

Many others from the Congress want to honor President Johnson at this time and the list includes: WAYNE ASPINALL, chairman of the House Interior Committee; JOHN SAYLOR, ranking minority member of the Interior Committee; Mrs. JULIA BUTLER HANSEN, chairman of the Interior Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee and Senator HENRY JACKSON, chairman of the Senate Interior Committee.

I will be along and joined by two of my colleagues from Texas, CLARK FISHER

and W. R. "BOB" POAGE—this is a rare opportunity to pay our respects to a great Texan and a great personal friend.

Already, hundreds of thousands of Americans have trekked to central Texas just to walk in the same paths that the President walked as a boy in Texas.

It is vigorous ranch land, sometimes stark and stern, but always welcoming to the man who has the strength to work it, nurture it, and bring life to it. Here at these two sites, the strength and fiber of Lyndon B. Johnson become visible and understandable.

President Johnson has devoted his lifetime to public service and it is fitting tribute to his leadership that the National Park Service and the Department of the Interior recommended, and the Congress preserved these two sites. This action assures the protection and preservation of the birthplace and boyhood home for the benefit and enjoyment of the American people, present and future.

These two sites are comfortable in the natural setting of central Texas—they are intertwined in the natural beauty of the land, just as the lives of both President Johnson and Mrs. Johnson have been intertwined with thousands of central Texans, and millions of Americans.

I would submit the following article which colorfully describes the historical sites. The article is from the May 1970 issue of the Texas Parks and Wildlife magazine and was written by Mabel Lowry and Nancy Kott.

The article follows:

LYNDON B. JOHNSON STATE PARK

(By Mabel Lowry, Information Specialist and Nancy Kott, Exhibits Planner, Parks Interpretive Planning Section)

Mecca for vacationers from all parts of the nation, the famed Texas Hill Country boasts a new State park which combines scenic beauty with historic interest and outstanding recreational and cultural facilities. Lyndon B. Johnson State Park is named for the 36th President of the United States and honors the Hill Country's most distinguished native son. His world renowned LBJ Ranch House lies just across the Pedernales River and can be viewed from a vantage point on the park's nature trail.

Highway 290 leads to the park entrance halfway between Fredericksburg and Johnson City. There you will discover unparalleled opportunities to see, learn and enjoy.

A recommended first stop is at the Visitor Center, a contemporary structure whose limestone and board-and-batten walls and roof shingled with cedar shakes is in harmony with the rustic landscape. It overlooks gently sloping lawns which in spring and summer are ablaze with native wildflowers. Two ancient western catalpas and towering pecan trees and live oaks provide oases of shade. On the veranda, split-log benches and ladderback chairs encourage the visitor to rest awhile and appreciate the view.

The Visitor Center, a multi-purpose building, contains an information desk where brochures concerning the park and the general region are available, a large exhibit area, an alcove for a continuous slide program and a comfortable lounge area in front of the open hearth stone fireplace. A hostess is on duty to answer questions and offer helpful guidance in planning individual tours of the park. There is no guided tour, but each guest is assured of a hearty Hill Country welcome and special attention.

Among the exhibits in the main room is a scale model of the 259-acre park showing its present layout and proposed future development and the location of significant nearby attractions. The latter include two National Historical Sites—the President's Birthplace at Stonewall and his Boyhood Home at Johnson City—as well as the LBJ Ranch House, Old Albert School and Johnson Family Cemetery.

Visitors may also wish to see various historic places in the vicinity of LBJ Park which are not indicated on the model: the picturesque Hye Post Office, the Nimitz and Pioneer museums and Verein-Kirche at Fredericksburg and examples of "fachwerk" and "Sunday" houses which illustrate the early German settlers' influence on local architecture.

A continuous slide program presents an all-encompassing panorama of the Hill Country. Native trees and wildflowers, unusual buildings and architectural features, wildlife indigenous to the land, rivers and lakes, towns, cultivated fields and orchards, herds of cattle and sheep, wooded areas, fences and windmills—all give insight into the past and present of this unique section of the State. The faces depicted have that intangible something—character—which reflects the truth of the statement that the beauty and harshness of the country have presented a significant challenge to the families that have occupied it.

Specialized exhibits within the Visitor Center contain drawings, artifacts and texts designed to interpret the customs of early Indian tribes who traversed the hills and valleys of Central Texas, Spanish conquistadores and priests who introduced civilization to the wilderness and ranchers and farmers who tamed and developed the area.

The primary focus, however, is on the ethnic origins of Hill Country pioneers in general, and the pioneer Johnson family in particular—with emphasis on the role that family background and environmental factors played in producing a President. Individual items include a wall panel of photographs of the Johnson family and eminent guests of the LBJ Ranch. Also on display are President Johnson's boots and Stetson, his school desk and leather book satchel, a handmade saddle, a breechloading rifle, a hand plow and other old-style farm tools, utensils for cooking on open fires, a spinning wheel and other articles used by frontier families.

The Behrens Cabin, attached to the Visitors Center, is a replica of a two-room dogtrot cabin built on that site in the 1840's by Johannes Behrens, a German immigrant. Its original walls of post oak logs are incorporated in the structure. Furnishings, most of them handmade, are typical of those found in frontier homes of the mid-19th century. Detailed interpretive signs on both doorways describe the more unusual items and give information about the style of living in that bygone era. Two other pioneer homesteads, known as the Sauer Place and the Danz Place, are scheduled for conversion into wayside exhibits at a later date.

Cultural centers of the park are the Auditorium or indoor theater with a seating capacity of 250 and an outdoor amphitheater. The building is equipped for showing motion pictures and slides, for theatrical productions, and is adaptable for lectures, panel discussions and as a meeting place for organizations and social groups. A wide variety of alternating exhibits will occupy 1,500 square feet of the Auditorium lobby.

A well-designed nature trail leads from the main building complex to one of three wildlife enclosures where white-tailed deer, buffalo and longhorns browse in their native habitat. Smaller creatures such as armadillos, rock squirrels and opossums may also be seen. Among many interesting wayside exhibits on the trail are limestone outcroppings and groves of trees near the creek, a feeding station for wildlife, a nutria burrow and a wildflower shelter with color photographs identifying some of the lovely wildflowers for which the Hill Country is especially noted.

During the spring, summer and early fall the ground is a blaze of color, with Mexican hat, Indian blanket, wine cup, Texas bluebonnet and pink phlox vying for attention with yucca, cactus and flowering vines and shrubs. Large sections of the park are being reforested with native species, chiefly live oak, post oak and pecan.

The overall design of the park allows each visitor to make his own choices and set his own pace. Opportunities for healthful outdoor activities are by no means limited to strolls along the nature trail.

Of major importance for summer fun is the competition-size swimming pool adjoined by a well-equipped bathhouse. In addition there is a children's pool where the youngsters can wade and romp in safety. Candy and soft drink dispensing machines are close at hand.

The covered games pavilion serves a multitude of functions: sections for shuffleboard, horseshoes and table tennis; a dancing area; and a shady retreat for swimmers.

Two picnic areas with individual units offer conveniences for outdoor meals—tables and benches, barbecue grills and trash receptacles. Each unit is constructed of native limestone on a concrete slab and some have canopies of cedar shingles. Even a summer shower is no deterrent to family enjoyment at Lyndon B. Johnson State Park. Whatever the weather—and in the Hill Country it is generally ideal—visitors will find a trip to LBJ Park a rewarding experience in every respect.

CONFRONTATION

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a very interpretative commentary in the Calumet, Ill., Index on Wednesday, May 20, as seen through the eyes of one of its reporters who recently visited Washington caught my eye. I believe the commentary is very timely and would like to share it with my colleagues.

CONFRONTATION

There is an old saying if you want to see what makes a motor tick, take it apart, and if you want to know what is going on in your Nation's capitol the best way is to go there. It is quite an education. All over America people are complaining about how our country is being run, but once you climb the Capitol's steps, sit in the rotunda, and stop in at the office of your congressman or senator you find you have stepped on the hornet's nest.

Congressmen apparently do have big ears. They were on the capitol's steps listening to teenagers. We found them on the floor debating controversial issues, and when we visited our own representative's offices we found the secretaries almost snowed under with letters from their constituents. We were not alone in Washington. The visitor's books were loaded with names, and although few people had anything practical to say, they did make themselves known.

What do visitors and letter writers tell your representatives? Go to any baseball game and you will learn just about as much. Some are for, some are against. Some have no idea, some know all the answers, but all are earnest and see their views as the answer to all America's ills.

On our way to Washington we went through Athens, Ohio and found a city block of buildings with shattered windows, and the National guard on duty. Parents were gathering up their sons and daughters to take them home and if anything practical had been accomplished it was not to be seen in that town.

For weeks and months large groups have been agitating for national issues, and spiced their efforts with orgies of destruction. In towns all over America the only real aftermath has been intense bitterness, disgust, and a rising cleft between large sections of the public. In Washington there are large groups of people agitating also, but in most cases it has been on an earnest level, between people and their representatives.

Everywhere you go in Washington the lobbying is going on and for once in my life I am happy I am just a grandstand manager instead of a real live representative, for it must be quite A JOB trying to do what you think is right and still please all the people who tell you you are wrong.

There are contrasts though. If you stop to listen to the teenagers on the Capitol steps, you can almost start pushing their viewpoints. If you sit in the rotunda and are swept up in the drama going on on the floor below you know everything is in good hands, and then when you get back into the swing of life you know we still have a long way to go for human nature simply has too many advocates for too many different approaches to life, to allow anything to go smoothly for too long.

IN MEMORY OF DR. O. J. BAKER

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, Gary Job Corps Center, the State of Texas, and our Nation has lost one of the truly outstanding men of our times. I take this opportunity to pay tribute to a man who in our part of the country was the Job Corps—Dr. Oscar J. Baker.

When Oscar Baker was called upon to pioneer the new and controversial job training program proposed by the Johnson administration, he left the public school field in which he had spent the major portion of his life and accepted the challenge. He directed the Gary Job Corps Center to the No. 1 position in technical-vocational education in America and the thousands of boys and girls already graduated from the Texas Job Corps program attest to his success in this endeavor. Seldom does one man have the opportunity to touch and influence so many lives—and even more seldom does one man do such a magnificent job. While other Job Corps centers were experiencing difficulties, the Gary Center was smoothly functioning, because of the leadership of Dr. Baker.

These young men and women who had already been rejected by society were given new direction, a new sense of self worth and a feeling that their government and society did care.

Although hundreds and hundreds of telegrams poured into Camp Gary after Dr. Baker's death, all with the highest praise and deepest regret for the loss of a man of Dr. Baker's stature, the greatest expression of honor came from the members of the Job Corps Center itself—the young men and women who participated in the seven simultaneous memorial services conducted about the center.

And in keeping with the tradition of faith which Dr. Baker placed in these young men and women, there has been established the Oscar Baker Memorial Scholarship Fund for men and women who have graduated from the Job Corps Centers in Texas.

It seemed appropriate, too, that the hands who laid Dr. Baker to his final rest were those of corpsmen who represented the tens of thousands of young lives affected by his dedicated efforts:

Dr. Baker, a pioneer administrator of the Job Corps program since it began in 1964, headed the organization that operates three Job Corps Centers in Texas under a contract with the U.S. Department of Labor. He made his headquarters here at Gary, the nation's largest center. The other two centers are the McKinney Center for Women and the Residential Manpower Center in El Paso.

Before becoming associated with the Job Corps program, Dr. Baker was superintendent of schools in Dickinson. He had served in the system continuously since 1933 with the exception of four years in the U.S. Army during World War II. He entered the service as a private and worked his way up to captain by the time he was discharged.

As an educator, he served as president of the Gulf Coast Research Development Association and was a member of the board of directors. He had served on numerous state educational committees during his career, among them as adviser to the Vocational-Technical Education Committee, the State Textbook Committee, the State Curriculum Committee and the State Legislative Council for the Texas University Interscholastic League.

Dr. Baker was the first administrator hired by the Texas Educational Foundation, Inc., board of directors when it was formed by Governor John Connally in 1964. He opened the Gary Center as center director. It was one of the first of the 123 Centers that eventually opened. The McKinney Center was opened in 1966 and he was named executive director of TEF.

A graduate of Sam Houston State University, he received his master's degree from the University of Texas in Austin. His doctorate was conferred by the University of Houston in 1959.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Jeanne Benson Baker of San Marcos, and one daughter, Mrs. Mary Jeanne Coers and one granddaughter of Huntsville, Texas, and two brothers, J. W. Baker of Bremond, Texas, and James H. Baker of La Porte, Texas.

THE SYSTEMS APPROACH

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, the information explosion of our times presents a frustrating challenge to the mind of man to accept, analyze, and retain an ever-increasing amount of data.

We face this challenge in the Congress, and it is particularly evident in the appropriations committees, as we endeavor to evaluate the myriad justifications for specific allocation of portions of the Nation's money resources to meet its great commitments, and its commitment to greatness.

Our national undertakings, at home and abroad, are those of a nation with approximately 6 percent of the world's population and 60 percent of its resources. The paramount question posed, in the appropriations process, is how to accommodate needs wisely within the framework of the available and anticipated revenue.

Increasingly, in major progressive business enterprises of diversified nature, resort is being made to the relatively young science of systems management. The computer is one of the tools of this technique, but, I should emphasize, only a tool in the systems approach.

In recent months responsible committees of the Congress have given active study to the possible applications of data processing equipment to the work of the Congress. Because I have regarded use of these modern techniques and tools essential if the Congress is to do its work properly, I have welcomed occasional opportunities to talk with specialists in the fields of systems management and data processing, purely on an individual basis.

Recently, in pursuing my curiosity about these techniques, I considered myself fortunate in making the acquaintance of Dr. George K. Chacko, professorial lecturer at American University and systems scientist. Dr. Chacko offered to explore the application of the systems approach to the evaluation of appropriations requests by enlisting the members of a seminar in operations research which he conducted this spring at American University.

Under Dr. Chacko's direction, a preliminary study, using the systems approach, was made of several elements of the Interior Department budget. It should be understood that this sample study involved arbitrary choices as to specific subject matter. The chief interest is in the methodology, which involves an integrated approach to all of the alternatives for reaching selected objectives, so that changes in approach, or in elements of it, necessarily affect all other elements.

I was impressed by the fact that, once the technique has been mastered, it seems particularly adaptable to the assistance of computers. The human judgments are preserved at every stage of the process, but the adjustments, reflecting the interaction of these judgments on other elements of the budget, can be worked out speedily by the computer, and the effect of an increase or decrease in an appropriation item shown promptly in terms of the overall budgetary objective which has been selected at the start.

Because this voluntary effort of Dr. Chacko and his seminar associates, Harry Birnkrant, Jay S. Brown, Abdelhai Chouikha, James E. Crownover, Jr., Bert R. Francis, Lt. Col. Francis S. Logan, Tamara Luzgin, and Frederick T. Martin, represents, I believe, a useful introduction to the systems approach as applied to the congressional budget-management responsibility, I include a portion of the study report, as follows:

Systems Approach to Appropriations Evaluation*

(By George K. Chacko, Ph. D.)

OUTLINE

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1.0 Introduction.

The massive documents of the U.S. Budget, as submitted by the Executive Branch of the Government to the Legislative Branch, demand of the latter in general, and the Appropriations Committed in particular, at least the wisdom of Solomon, supported by the access to modern abacuses with nanosecond capabilities for retrieval, analysis and recalculation.

Information, by itself, cannot offer judgment. As a matter of fact, more often information may have to be superceded. As the elected representatives of 200 million people, how can the Congressional decision-makers effectively evaluate the minutest line items in the budget in terms of their contribution to achieving national goals and objectives?

If some method can be found by which the central theme of achieving national goals can be pursued by Congressional decision-makers of allocating appropriate resources at the appropriate time, then they shall have strengthened the working of the democratic process in no small measure. Can such an approach be conceivably evolved is the ambitious question undertaken in this very preliminary and exploratory study.

2.0 Rationale and process of selection of study theme.

An effort was made to relate the current national concerns with the exploration of the applications of systems methodology to the allocation of resources to meet these concerns.

2.1 Selection criteria of study theme.

The interest of the Honorable John O. Marsh, Jr., a member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Department of the Interior and Related Agencies, facilitated the choice of the particular segment of the U.S. Budget to which the application of systems approach could be explored.

With the National Environmental Policy Act of 1970 focusing legislative attention on the problem of the environment, with the environmental teach-in on Earth Day observed on April 22, 1970, and with the widespread awareness of, and concern in, the problems of the environment, it is not difficult to choose as the general theme the concerns of the environment insofar as they are within the purview of the budgetary provisions of the Department of the Interior.

Further, the study of the environment provides a multi-agency focus involving agriculture, industry, recreation, pollution, and allied problems in which the various agencies of the government have a direct bearing and interest. It was felt that the choice of the environment as the primary element which would give cohesion to the exploration of the application of the systems approach to the appropriations process would identify a function has many applications beyond the immediate areas of the Interior budget purview.

2.2 Study elements and interior budget.

As currently constituted, the Department of the Interior budget does not identify any single source whose exclusive concern is the preservation and protection of the environment. Instead, the environmental responsibility can be read into virtually all units of the Department of the Interior. For purposes of initial identification the Seminar Team selected five study elements. They are:

1. Forest Protection and Utilization.
2. Acquisition of Lands.
3. National Park Service.
4. Bureau of Land Management.
5. Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.

NOA figures for FY 1970 (including supplemental appropriations) and the NOA for FY 1971 then were identified as shown in Table 1:

TABLE 1—STUDY ELEMENTS

[In millions of dollars]

	NOA fiscal year 1970[1]	NOA fiscal year 1971
1 Forest protection and utilization	257.676	278.566
2 Acquisition of land	108.472	138.500
3 National Park Service	101.817	134.224
4 Bureau of Land Management	74.491	81.996
5 Bureau of Outdoor Recreation	3.750	4.025
Total	546.206	637.311

[1] Includes supplemental appropriations.

The FY 1970 Interior Budget (NOA) was $997.191 millions and the study elements together accounted for $546.296 millions, or 54.7%. The FY 1971 (NOA) was $1,149.703 millions, and the study elements together accounted for $637.311 millions, or 55.5%.

In addition to NOA, it is important to include both the Federal Funds and Trust Funds to reflect the aggregate amount available to the Interior Budget in FY 1970 and FY 1971. In FY 1970 the NOA was $997.191 millions, Federal Funds $553.983 millions and Trust Funds $149.151 millions, making a total of $1,700.325 millions. In FY 1971 the NOA is $1,149.703 millions, Federal Funds $418.314 millions, and Trust Funds $109.225 millions, making a total of $1,677.242 millions.

2.3 Selection of an over-all objective common to all elements.

Congress has declared in the National Environmental Policy Act the goals and policies to guide all Federal actions which have an impact on the quality of the environment. Given the national goals and policies, what should be the unifying objective of the five study elements selected to focus upon the preservation and enhancement of the environment as part of the budget of the Department of the Interior?

2.3.1 One objective: Increase GNP.

It is clear that a number of quite acceptable alternative statements can be made of the common objectives connecting the five study elements. For instance, the protection and utilization of our forests can lead to increase in our natural resources, and consequent higher income from the forest resources. Similarly, the National Park Service by attracting more visitors to the different parks would also contribute to higher revenue and additional income to people engaged in the provision of services in the parks.

2.3.2 Another objective: Survival.

While the income from material resources is an important element of our GNP, one may concentrate upon the opposite side of the coin, as it were: The diminution of the income-producing forces as well as the substratum of national survival; for, if we do not have clean air to breathe, clean water to drink and clean land to live on, the quality of our life would suffer seriously, which, in turn, would lead to severe repercussions upon the GNP itself.

2.3.3 Alternative objectives: Congressional prerogative.

The specific overall objective is to be chosen by the policy makers. Since this choice reflects the will of the people as to the disposition of their environment, it is only right that the overall objective be chosen at the legislative level. The overall objective sets the tenor. Therefore, the selection of the overall objective is quite important.

At the same time, the merit of the systems approach is the *flexibility* of choosing different objectives to be accomplished by means of the five study elements mentioned here, or any other operational measures open to the Department of the Interior.

2.3.4 Change the objectives; Change the consequences.

To change the overall objectives; you change everything else with it. Because of its *flexibility* the systems approach offers a series of alternative courses of action and their consequences in allocating the available resources to meet the specific objectives.

2.3.5 One objective chosen for this study.

The Seminar Team discussed several alternative statements of a common objective to be accomplished through the five elements chosen for the study. The entire analysis follows from the overall objective so identified. It bears repetition that this one objective is by no means an *exclusive* one, much less *exhaustive*. The same Seminar Team may well choose another statement of the overall objective incorporating the five different elements of study at the end of that time; anyone else may offer an entirely different statement of the overall objective for the same set of five elements. The methodology does *not* rise or fall with the different objectives; it is independent of them. What the methodology offers is a consistent derivation of the courses of action from a single overall objective, as well as all the consequences that flow from the single choice. When the choice of the overall objective changes, so will the courses and con-

* Report of work done by the American University Seminar Team comprising of: Harry Birnkrant; Jay S. Brown; Abdelhai Chouikha; James E. Crownover, Jr.; Bert R. Francis; Lt. Col. Francis S. Logan; Tamara Luzgin; Frederick T. Martin; and under direction of George Chacko, Ph. D.

sequences; the method of consistent derivation of courses and consequences remains unchanged.

For purposes of this discussion the overall objective of the five study elements is *"Averting Ecological Disaster by Improving the Environment"*.

2.4 Perspective of the congressional decision maker.

This objective, which sets the tone for the present study, emphasises one aspect of the several legislative roles of the Congressional decision-maker. He is the representative of a district; he is the lawmaker of a nation; he is the key member of a political party. He is definitely influenced by his personal and professional background in exercising his responsibilities as a decision-maker.

2.4.1 Law maker of a nation.

It is inevitable that conflicts arise between the different demands that are made upon the Congressional decision-maker when he faces legislative problems. For purposes of this study, it will be assumed that one particular role, viz., that of the *law-maker of a nation* will be the predominant role. Any conflicts will be resolved in favor of this particular role.

2.4.2 Appropriations assignment instead of legislative.

As a lawmaker of a nation, the Congressional decision-maker will have either legislative or appropriations assignments. The present study, being under the auspices of a member of the Appropriations Committee, will specify that its perspective is that of the appropriations function, instead of the legislative. Even given the same overall objective, the results of the study from a legislative committee point of view would quite likely be different from that of the present study.

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH: A LOW PRIORITY?

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, for years we have seen how our obsessive devotion to the war and Vietnam and to the arms race has caused progressive deterioration of our national life. The economy is going from bad to worse: We have high unemployment, high interest rates, excessive inflation, a budget deficit, a falling stock market, and zero economic growth—all at once.

Our environment is getting less than one-fifth the economic attention it requires. The national disgrace of poverty continues as ever. The country is divided as it has not been since the Civil War. We have seen young Americans gun down other young Americans, and we have seen a national poll indicate majority approval of their action. Our race problems are getting worse rather than better.

But always we have thought that, although the warfare state may be wrecking our society, at least it is good for technology. But at the recent meetings of the National Academy of Sciences and the American Physical Society, it was revealed that even American science is now on the skids. Federal funds for graduate traineeships and fellowships have been reduced 50 percent in the past 2 years. More than 1,300 scientists have been forced to trim their projects, and more than 100 have had to abandon them altogether.

It is not a question of whether or not we fall behind the Japanese or the Germans or the Russians. It is simply a fact that, if we do not work on them, vital discoveries in medicine, in transportation, in environmental sciences will be made later than would otherwise be the case, or will not be made at all.

Is the good will of Nguyen Cao Ky worth all this?

Under unanimous-consent agreement, I insert a relevant article entitled "A Slump in U.S. Science?" from Newsweek magazine of May 11, 1970, in the RECORD at this point:

A SLUMP IN U.S. SCIENCE?

Growing numbers of U.S. scientists have felt hobbled in recent years by declining Federal funds, public indifference, shifting national priorities and ever sharper competition from abroad. Accordingly, when more than 4,000 scientists gathered in Washington, D.C., last week for the annual meetings of the National Academy of Sciences and the American Physical Society, the mood was glum indeed; a number of those present made no secret of their conviction that U.S. science is in a serious slump, and some felt that it is in real danger of becoming second rate.

This was a far cry from the mood as recently as four years ago. For by the mid-1960s, stimulated first by World War II and then by the continuing challenges of the cold war, science had become an enormously successful and influential part of American life. In the benchmark year of 1967 the U.S. spent $17 billion on all forms of science. But since then, Federal funds have been dwindling, in part because of the costs of the Vietnam war. This fiscal year, the Federal Government is seeking $15.9 billion for scientific research—$300 million less than the previous year and $1.1 billion less than during 1967.

SQUEEZE

Because the Federal government is the mainstay of American science, less money means less scientific research. A recent survey of 192 U.S. universities revealed that the scarcity of Federal funds had forced more than 1,300 individual scientists to trim their research by varying degrees and forced more than 100 to stop their projects altogether. The squeeze is also hurting students. Thus the Administration this fiscal year will provide funds for only 3,069 new graduate-level traineeships and fellowships—a 50 per cent reduction from the two preceding years. Then there is the fact that many key facilities, among them the Atomic Energy Commission's molten-salt breeder-reactor at Tullahoma, Tenn., have been shut down for lack of funds. This dismays scientists who see in such a clean-operating type of power source an ultimate replacement for the conventional fossil-fueled and nuclear power plants currently in use.

Sooner or later the cutbacks in science funds will begin to affect the U.S. public—sooner, perhaps, than many realize. Dr. Philip H. Abelson, physicist and editor of Science magazine, warned the meeting that budgetary restrictions have severely undercut research into photosynthesis and physical organic chemistry—two areas of research vital in combating pollution of the environment.

In a less tangible but no less important way, the U.S. may also suffer for having perforce to neglect two other major disciplines—high-energy physics and radio astronomy. The former field, so-called because of the extremely high voltages used in the accelerators that smash nuclei into subatomic fragments, entails digging into the deepest secrets of the structure of matter. The latter discipline, which uses large radio telescopes to detect radio waves and other types of radiation whistling through space, is providing new insights into the formation and structure of the universe. No one can predict what these scientific efforts will turn up, or of what value their discoveries might be, but it is the history of science that some of the greatest discoveries were unanticipated, unappreciated—and sometimes even unwelcome—at the time they were made.

CANDID

For his part, President Nixon's top adviser on the subject seems to take a matter-of-fact view of the state of U.S. science. "The policy of this Administration is to try to balance the budget," Presidential science adviser Dr. Lee DuBridge candidly told the scientists in Washington last week. "It may be that we should get used to the idea that the U.S. cannot lead the world in all fields of science. It may be that the U.S. will have to pick certain areas, but we may simply have to say that Germany, Japan and so on will lead in some things."

While they accept the reality that a strained economy can only do so much, many scientists are nevertheless disturbed by the apparent lack of understanding of the potential impact of the cutbacks in funding. Scientific research, they point out, is not a faucet that can be turned on or off at whim; they contend there must be a continuing and dependable base upon which research can be carried out. Recently, a panel was set up by the President's Science Advisory Committee to look into this problem.

But for all the foreboding manifest in Washington, the consensus seemed to be that the scientists were prepared to do the best they can with what they have. At the Physical Society's banquet, Dr. William D. McElroy, director of the National Science Foundation, pointedly urged his colleagues to find new challenges in programs that would serve the public more directly. He listed oceanographic exploration, environmental forecasting, and earthquake engineering as three fields that have high social value. "They represent a sign, a concrete indication," McElroy said, "that science can be and is concerned about human survival. Without such signs, I suspect that the numerous justifications for science marshaled to date will fall on progressively unfriendly ears."

DEFENDING OUR FLAG

HON. ED FOREMAN

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, from time to time, we learn that patriotism and love of the flag are not dead in America.

At this point I insert in the RECORD a description of an event which took place at San Diego State College, during recent protests, which was carried in this week's Monday:

DEFENDING OUR FLAG

In May of 1970, San Diego State senior Bill Pierson stood for three hours backed against the campus flagpole, single-handedly holding off a mob of 150 militants who were bent on desecrating the symbol of American liberty, freedom and justice.

In September of 1862, Barbara Fritchie is said to have stood in the window of her Frederick home defiantly waving the Union flag at soldiers who had been ordered to shoot it down.

Researchers of history have cast doubt on the accuracy of the Barbara Fritchie legend, but there is no doubt about the action of Pierson—mild-mannered center of the powerful Aztec eleven, three-year Navy veteran, and latest draftee of the New York Jets.

Newsmen on the scene, report that the studious, good-natured Pierson—all 6' 3" and 230 pounds of him—was hurrying to class when he saw the campus flag being abused by a band of agitators. According to his own account, he became "annoyed"—particularly because the ring-leaders were non-students and disruptive enrollees who never attended class.

"I just couldn't buy it," said young Pierson in an interview "I love this country and the flag that symbolizes it."

So he ambled in through the militants, rescued the flag, raised it to top staff and secured it. Then, realizing that it would be torn down as soon as he left, he turned and faced the furious militants—standing his lonely vigil until the last of the epithet-hurling mob had dispersed.

It was Bill Pierson's first foray into student dissent on either side of the fence, but he "couldn't stand by any longer and watch a band of 150 pretend to represent" the 25,000 State students who are there for the serious business of getting an education.

Said Pierson to the interviewer "I was born under that flag, I fought for that flag, and I'm going to college today because of what it represents."

To quote from an editorial on Pierson's heroic stance: "How sad it is that principles which mean so much to so many are defended by so few."

ROG MORTON.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND CONGRESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, we are faced with a complex economic and political crisis which requires action by the Congress in the coming months. It is obvious that the administration at this time has no plans to change the course they are pursuing, and consequently, the Congress must act.

This is quite possibly the most political of economic crises this country has been confronted with, for the unsureness of outlook on the economic horizon stems to a large degree from the uncertainly of the administration's policies in Southeast Asia, and their effects upon both the Government's financial position and the political unrest across the Nation. As one economist has commented upon the stock market disaster, "you cannot have a nation in confusion and turmoil and expect to have a healthy stock market."

Mr. Speaker, we cannot escape the conclusion that where our economy goes, and how it performs, depends to an extent upon what we do in Vietnam, and how soon we can liquidate that involvement. The weaknesses of our economy due to Vietnam, were evident before the Cambodian invasion, and it is plain that this action had the effect of laying open those weaknesses.

Mr. Speaker, I think we must act on several fronts to rebalance our economy. It is paramount that the President take real steps toward liquidating our commitment in Southeast Asia. Second, it is paramount that the Congress take real steps to fight inflation and unemployment.

There are two areas where we should meet inflation. First, we must reduce the cost of money, and if we are to limit its supply, we must do so through reserve requirements. The obvious defect in our present tight money policy is that it has fed the inflation by increasing the costs of money to everyone. We must have wage and price guidelines immediately. I recognize and I think everyone else does too, that guidelines are more effective in normal times when production and consumption are more easily forecast. Today, when labor is under pressure from its membership to gain wage hikes to cover the previous inflation, and management is under pressure from a declining market to raise rather than lower its prices, guidelines will probably not be as effective as they have been at times in the past. But, they are a start and they are preferable to wage and price controls.

But, we must as well lower the unemployment margin in this Nation, and the fastest way I know that we could do that is to keep our commitment to the people regarding the construction of housing. We are committed to building 2½ million homes a year for the next 10 years, and this year housing starts will most likely drop to 1.1 million. Yet, by forcing the rates of interest down, we can enliven the housing market, and produce both homes and employment for this country.

Mr. Speaker, when one talks about the economy, statistics and ratios and dollars sometimes obscure the fact that we are talking about people, their needs and their capabilities. There is nothing so discouraging as to hear the refrain that we do not have the money to do one thing or another. This Nation's assets are its people, not notations in bank ledgers. When people are unemployed, then the Nation is wasting its resources.

The price we have paid for the administration's tight money is twofold. Not only have we increased the cost of goods and services by increasing the cost of money used to finance them, but we have allowed unemployment to increase, and the result is obvious; we have a stagnating economy and an unsettled social climate. It is time for the Congress to discharge its responsibility on both fronts.

TRIBUTE TO SPEAKER JOHN W. McCORMACK

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK—a man whose leadership, wisdom, and guidance have reflected his great dedication to our country, and the ideals for which this Union was formed

JOHN MCCORMACK has represented the same Massachusetts district since 1928. The voters in his district have endorsed him wholeheartedly on every occasion. Their respect, admiration, and appreciation for his service are illustrated by the fact that he has never received less than 70 percent of the vote in 21 consecutive elections. But JOHN MCCORMACK is not simply a local figure reflecting a local viewpoint. JOHN MCCORMACK represents all people who look to his stewardship in the fields of civil rights, equal justice, and, generally, progressive legislation designed to improve the quality of life for all citizens.

JOHN MCCORMACK'S remarkable career in this body is well known. For 30 of his 42 years' service in the House of Representatives, he has served in a leadership capacity—the last 9 of which were as Speaker of the House. He has served great men and he has served with great men. He has served during peace, during war, during prosperity, and during adversity. In each instance, he has placed the betterment of the country above all other considerations.

Although I have served in this body for only a brief period, I am grateful to Speaker MCCORMACK for the kindness and wise counsel he has afforded me. He has helped me and my constituents by his magnanimous efforts to relieve problems, both large and small, that were affecting the people of California.

By being in contact with this great man, I feel that I have grown both spiritually and intellectually. His gracious manner, his keen interest, his ready wit, and his unyielding integrity are admired and emulated by all who know him.

Although I wish Speaker MCCORMACK and his wife, Harriet, happiness and good fortune in their retirement, I know that his presence in this body will be missed. However, his deeds and achievements will be remembered; his ideals will be carried forward and men will continue to be inspired by his contributions to 20th century America.

EARL KELLY'S "COMMENT ON THE NEWS"

HON. ROBERT C. McEWEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. MCEWEN. Mr. Speaker, we have heard a great deal of rhetoric in recent days concerning campus unrest, violence, student activism and student involvement. Recent events on the college campuses have sparked criticism of both the students and the National Guard and police agencies sent to the colleges to keep order and maintain the peace.

Many Americans were astonished to read in their newspapers that National Guardsmen in some States were ordered not to load their rifles, even though they faced campus rioters—many armed with weapons of destruction.

A noted radio commentator in Water-

town, N.Y., addressed himself to this subject on May 8, 1970. Earl Kelly, who has been broadcasting his daily "Comment on the News" over radio station WWNY for many years, discussed the subject and echoed the feelings of many concerned Americans.

Mr. Kelly, whose friendship I enjoy, and whose professionalism I respect, raises points worth considering in his broadcast. I commend it to your attention, to the attention of my colleagues in Congress, and to the attention of all Americans.

His broadcast follows:

COMMENT ON THE NEWS

(By Earl Kelly)

How much would you pay for an empty milk bottle? Would you place much value in a typewriter without ribbon, or a pencil without lead? How far would you expect to travel in a jet aircraft without fuel? Or, if you were a National Guardsmen, how much faith would you put in an unloaded rifle as you faced an unruly crowd of college campus protestors?

It was interesting to note in the news yesterday that National Guardsmen were ordered not to load their rifles in some States, even though they faced campus rioters.

That is a bit of news that might make a soldier in Vietnam or Cambodia glad that he is safely out of the country. Safely, because we presume that our troops in the far east have at least ammunition in the chamber to give them some assurance of safety.

Those who believe in law and order, and the enforcement of our laws, may be heartened by the news yesterday from Columbia, South Carolina, where the city council announced that their city's police carried arms that were not "decorations."

Any loaded weapon is a grave danger. In World War Two, they were lethal for both the Germans, the Americans, Italians, and the Japanese and Russian and British soldiers. In the Korean War, loaded rifles were a threat to Korean, Chinese and American fighting men. In war, a man learns to have respect for a gun, because he can assume that it is loaded.

Here in northern New York, in those frivolous days before World War Two, we laughed at the childish efforts of the military to hold maneuvers with mere sticks as rifles, and trucks with the word "tank" lettered on the side of the canvas top. Our laughter died quickly as the war became ours, and our men joined the struggle for life and death carrying loaded weapons.

Dissent in this country is a constitutional guarantee, and it should never be denied. The burning of R.O.T.C. headquarters is not. Nor is campus violence. Damage of other public and private property isn't one of our rights, either. And if some college students feel so strongly about a Government policy that they must demonstrate peacefully, that is their privilege. But it is certainly not their right to prevent other students who are less strongly convinced from having their desired and paid-for education.

Some radical dissenters know what to expect if they face a guardsman on a college campus. Many others, who become attracted to the "cause" do not. They may expect those rifles to be empty threats. Perhaps the incident at Kent State will serve to remind them that they are not. The middle syllable of enforcement is "force."

What is important is not what is in the chamber of the rifle, or in the hands of the rioter on campus. It is very important what is in the mind of the man behind the gun . . . or the man holding the rock. What is his mission? Is he intent on maintaining order . . . or destroying it?

If dissident students can demolish public and private buildings in what is now known as the spirit of youthful revolt . . . If starry-eyed young men and women and their adult leaders can disrupt vital public facilities, shouldn't they also expect to pay the price for violation of the law?

In the present situation, it seems that they will not pay any price for their actions. In the highest offices of government, the mood seems to be, "Forgive them, for they know not what they do."

But they do pay the price. In some very personal situations, there are accidents, such as at Kent State . . . and the price is death. But, if we in this country continue to keep our guns unloaded, the cost could be much greater for all of us . . . but for the young generation, in particular. They will inherit this country . . . for better or worse.

STUDENTS OFFER SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT NIXON

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, a group of St. Cloud State College students and faculty members came to my Washington office on Monday.

They brought with them petitions signed by 2,000 students and faculty members approving the President's Cambodian policy.

They were received at the White House on Monday morning to present their petitions. They called at many Congressmen's offices.

I was most happy to have these young people come to Washington. I am always happy to meet and speak with my constituents. I believe in keeping my lines of communication open.

Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the petition these young people delivered to the White House:

SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT NIXON

The events of the past several weeks have further driven the wedge of division deep into our once united country. All Americans share the frustrations brought on by a decade long war in Asia.

Mr. Nixon, however, cannot be held accountable for policies advanced by three other Presidents for nine of the past ten years.

As Commander-in-Chief, he alone must bear full responsibility for present and future policy. The vast majority of the men actually fighting in Vietnam and Cambodia have endorsed his decision to destroy the infamous border sanctuaries. By a two to one majority, the American electorate has voiced approval of the limited operation.

The opposition has commanded a disproportionate amount of attention by the mass media. It's time that the students who stand with the President be heard. If *you* feel Mr. Nixon deserves a reasonable period of time in which to prove that his policy will succeed, for God's sake stand up and be counted! ! ! . . . Now! ! !

A delegation will take the signed pledges to the President soon.

Mr. President, I support the spirit of your April 30th speech with the understanding that the temporary operation in Cambodia is necessary to protect the safety of the Allied Forces.

Name _____

Address _____

Name of school _____

[ ] Check here if you would consider being a delegate to fly to Washington.

THE EARL OF AVON

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, Anthony Eden, the Earl of Avon, spoke in the House of Lords on May 14 with regard to American involvement in Cambodia. I think that his speech would be of interest to Members, particularly in the light of his long experience and the new diplomatic initiatives which he suggests. His speech follows:

AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN CAMBODIA

(By the Earl of Avon)

THE EARL OF AVON: My Lords, I am very grateful to my noble friends for their kindly welcome back. I was anxious to be here this afternoon to offer, if I could, one or two suggestions in this very tragic and disturbing situation which continues to confront us, unfortunately, in South East Asia. I have no criticism to make at all of the statement the noble Lord made just now from the Government. My attitude is a little different. I should like to comment on one or two of the recent military developments and also to suggest one or two possible methods of approach to try to bring an end to these long-drawn-out hostilities.

It seems to me that if we are to make a useful contribution to this debate we have to consider both recent events, as the two last speakers have done, in the Indo-China war—because unhappily it is an Indo-China war once again—and also the international background against which those events have to be set. For some months past there has been an important development, or so it seems to me, in the Mekong Delta, the richest and most thickly populated part of South Vietnam. There are now no American combatant units at all, I am informed, in the Mekong Delta. That does not mean that there has been no recent fighting, but it is notable that the South Vietnamese forces have been able to contend with increasing success against enemy incursions there. Perhaps this success has been in part due to the fact that the attacking forces have of late mostly been composed of North Vietnamese rather than Viet Cong. I notice that Mr. Secretary Laird has estimated that three out of four of the Communist forces in South Vietnam now come from the North. If this is true, and I have no reason to suppose that it is not, it could explain the improved South Vietnamese military performance against an enemy less familiar with the terrain than the Viet Cong had been.

I mention all this—the House will see this at once—because the importance of this turn of events is that it could have had its influence upon North Vietnamese military planning recently. However that may be, there can be no doubt that by the invasion of Laos and of Cambodia and by the establishment of new bases in Cambodia, North Vietnam has tried to disrupt the pacified area

of the Mekong and to turn the United States withdrawal into a rout. That was the object of the exercise. But I think they would have done better not to attempt it. As they have attempted it, can we with any justice condemn President Nixon or the United States Command for taking action to counter that attempt? I do not think we can. Personally I dislike very much the policy which is called "search and destroy". It is generally bad tactics, because it makes enemies where it should have the purpose of consolidating friends. But in this instance, when aimed against an underground complex of ammunition and stores, accumulated in invaded territory to attack South Vietnamese and American forces in the flank and in the rear, a military counter-action to destroy that build-up then appears, to me at least, to be not only excusable but well-nigh inescapable.

The joint American and South Vietnamese thrust into Cambodia does not seem to me to be evidence of an American intention to delay the withdrawal of their forces from Vietnam, still less to try to settle the conflict by military means alone. We all know that cannot be done; the Americans know it perfectly well, too. I see the thrust rather as evidence that the United States was not prepared to see its plans for withdrawal delayed and the work of Vietnamisation disrupted from bases established during the North Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, against which, as the noble Lord mentioned, Prince Sihanouk had himself earlier and frequently protested.

However, much more important than debate about the motives for the action in combat of either side is to consider whether this turn of events opens up any possibilities of negotiation. I think it might. But before considering these, something must be said about the position in Laos, because it affects the negotiations, if there are to be any. The 1954 Agreement left Prince Souvanna Phouma at the head of a neutralist government in Laos, all parties at the conference, China included, having agreed to the establishment of the French military missions to train the Laotian Army. Then followed what was an unhappy interlude. Unwisely, as we and the French thought, the United States Government at that time did not approve of the neutrality of Souvanna Phouma's Administration and they refused it aid. That Government fell a year or two later and was succeeded by a Government further to the right, which, despite American training and equipment, fared badly. A prudent attempt by a newly appointed American Ambassador to bring the neutrals and the anti-Communists together was not supported in Washington. By the end of 1960 Prince Souvanna Phouma had fled to Cambodia, while, as a result of all this, the Pathet Lao had gained strength in Laos. Then, after more years of negotiation, a neutralisation agreement was signed in the summer of 1962.

I retell these events to show that the faults have not all been on one side in this Indo-China business. I have personally some sympathy with the comments of General Ely, who I know is known to some of your Lordships, the last French commander in Indo-China and a friend both of the United States and this country, as well as a soldier of real distinction. General Ely wrote sadly of Laotian affairs:

"Nowhere else perhaps did France and Great Britain find themselves in such constant opposition to the United States about the policy to be pursued."

However, the agreement of 1962 was a declaration of the neutrality of Laos, and it was endorsed by all the members of the earlier Geneva Conference, including Soviet Russia and China and the United States. This was an undertaking to respect the neutrality of Laos; and no one can deny that Prince Souvanna Phouma represents both the spirit and the fact of that neutrality.

Yet in recent years there have been continued North Vietnamese attacks on the Laotian forces in Laotian territory, which attacks have only been made possible by abundant Russian supplies of weapons and equipment, every piece of which is sent in direct violation of the agreement which Russia herself signed in 1962. Of course, it is true that American air attacks recently have been made on North Vietnamese forces in Laos, but surely the blame for that must lie on the attacking forces which have invaded the territory in the first instance and thereby violated their agreement.

So now we come to our most important consideration: what can be done to get serious negotiations going again over the whole Indo-China Sea. As we were told again this afternoon, Her Majesty's Government have rightly made frequent approaches to the Soviet Government, as their co-chairman under the 1954 Agreement, in an attempt to re-summon the Geneva Conference. I am sure that Her Majesty's Government were right to do that, and to persist in it, but so far, as I understand, they have met with no response from the Kremlin.

I suspect that a principal difficulty for the Soviet Government—and having nothing to do with any Government I can speak frankly in this business—rests in the present relationship between Moscow and Peking. It has never been worse, and I can conceive that representatives of the two countries might not wish at this particular time to sit down at a table in the company of others. A significant example of the fierce hatred that the leaders of the Soviet Union and China can feel towards each other is to be found in the remarkable exchanges (they have not been published in this country, but no doubt the Government have them) between these two countries during what should have been an amicable period, the Lenin Centenary celebrations. The Chinese celebrated this event by comparing the Kremlin leaders to Hitler, and denouncing them as the successors of the Russian Czars with the same goal of world hegemony.

When Moscow answered a few days later, the reply took the form of a quite incredibly vitriolic attack on Mao Tse Tung. I should not care to repeat it in this House in any circumstances. I truly believe that your Lordships would be shocked if I did. But I have read the text, and I do not believe that any country in the Free World has ever used language like that about the Communist leader. Of course, we all know that totalitarian States can change their language and their attitude towards each other with lightning speed. We have had some of that before: we remember Hitler's about-turn towards Stalin, and *vice versa*.

Dealing however with the present situation, as we must do, I notice that the *New York Times* quoted these exchanges and drew some comfort from this exchange of amenities, commenting that:

"With such hatred and fear separating these two giant Powers, neither side is likely to want to get involved with any other major Power."

My Lords, this may be so. I hope that it is so. But for the purpose of getting negotiations going about the Indo-China War, this condition of Russian-Chinese relations is an added complication. It is certainly true that we could not have got the Agreement of 1954 without the help of Mr. Molotov, the Russian Foreign Secretary.

If Russia cannot or will not help, as co-chairman to-day, is any other method open to us? I would suggest to the Government that they should consider an approach to the French Government, to see whether they could not jointly evolve some proposals which might be put to both sides. Recently the French Government made a move on their own account to try to secure the re-calling of the Geneva Conference. They did not get far, but I thought they were right to make the attempt. France still has contacts, however unofficial, with Hanoi, and there are reasons why Hanoi would be wise to consider negotiations now. One of these is the strained relations between Hanoi's two principal backers, China and Russia. That cannot be altogether a cosy state of affairs for North Vietnam, and it could become a great deal more uncomfortable still. Moreover, there are terms which could be worked out which could bring peace to Indo-China and which also could be not entirely unwelcome to China and Russia.

I have always been convinced that China's main concern in South-East Asia has been to see the withdrawal of American forces, which the Chinese fervently believe are aimed ultimately at them. If the history of the China lobby in the United States is recalled, that is perhaps not altogether surprising. But Russia, for her part, no doubt derives some satisfaction from seeing the United States divided and in trouble. One can imagine the Kremlin purring from time to time about that. On the other hand, the policy of Russia's present rulers is evidently to push at every door, regardless of cost in finance and equipment, so long as this can be done without the certainty of confrontation with the United States. Even so, the Kremlin no doubt must weigh from time to time the advantages of a settlement in Indo-China. This would at least bring an end to that troubled area's ceaseless and costly appeals for supplies, and reduce a cause of future difference between Russia and China. Faced with deteriorating Soviet and Chinese relations, Russia ought to welcome some reduction of commitments elsewhere; and there is, most unhappily, no sign of any Russian preparedness for reduced commitments in the Middle East.

The solution to be aimed at in Indo-China is the one which we attempted at Geneva but did not effectively reach then, the guaranteed neutrality of the territories. This is what Laos and Cambodia not only want but positively yearn for. How could it be applied in Vietnam? It would mean that neither side would win. It would mean that for a long period—I would say for at least ten years—South and North Vietnam would have to remain separate, divided on their existing borderline, which would have to be ensured by a revived and strengthened international commission such as the noble Lord at the opening of this debate said he looked for.

At the end of that period, all foreign forces having been phased out, the two countries would decide what their future relationship should be. It is possible that by then, with the energetic development of the Mekong Delta on behalf of all the countries bordering it—Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand—the prospect would be calmer, and ideological differences would be less important. One cannot tell. But in the interests of an Indo-China, which has suffered too much, the attempt ought to be made.

To sum up then, if the Geneva Conference cannot be reconvened there is much to be said for an Anglo-French initiative such as I have suggested. I am not inviting the Government to make any comment about that, because if this negotiation by us and the French is to have any success it must essentially be secret. We have to repeat the kind of technique we used with the Trieste business, when for eight months the negotiations proceeded in secret without anybody know-

ing anything about them. Publicised relations on this business will get absolutely nowhere, which is why the Paris Talks, alas! have so far failed.

It might also be helpful if Western European Union—why not?—were to examine the problem and seek to help to promote a solution either directly or through Anglo-French efforts. After all, the joint examination of international problems was what the Western European Union was originally created for. We wanted them to do this, and it has not done enough of it. If it be argued—and it can be argued—that Indo-China is an important strategic area and that it is therefore difficult to make any agreement stick, I would reply that so were the Low Countries, yet an international guarantee held there for the best part of a century.

My Lords, I have one final general observation. Whether a renewed attempt at negotiations succeeds or not, the experience of Vietnam has seared the American mind. There will, for a time at least, be an increased reluctance in the United States to discharge responsibilities anywhere overseas. I do not believe for a moment that the Americans will abandon their interest in Europe, for after all the future of Western Europe is vital—to use a much-abused adjective in its correct sense—to both the super-Powers; but there is likely to be an insistent call for a reduced American military contribution. We are now apparently much preoccupied with our internal political differences, and shall be for a while yet, I suppose, but as we indulge in that pastime none of us ought to forget that our own contribution, and that of other European NATO countries, is likely to have to be revised, unfortunately upwards. In 1965, I sought agreement across the Iron Curtain for an accepted reduction of forces on either side. I believe that we should pursue this, and that it is being pursued. But until that agreement is reached we have a responsibility which must be expected to grow heavier, for whichever Party has responsibility in this country, but which we must bear in stalwart fashion if we want our influence to be felt in the United States or anywhere else in the world.

TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE JOHN W. McCORMACK

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a real pleasure for me to join in this warm and glowing tribute to our distinguished Speaker, the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK. Even though we are of different political parties, Speaker McCORMACK deserves to be known to all as our Speaker. To know JOHN McCORMACK is to respect him.

In the 10 years that it has been my privilege to represent Michigan's Eighth District in Congress, nearly 9 of those years have been under his fair and reasonable gavel. Yes, we have had opposing views, but I will greatly cherish and treasure those brief exchanges in which we have engaged during floor debate. One could not and cannot fault JOHN McCORMACK's fairness and decency.

His qualities of leadership and his deep love for our U.S. House of Representatives and our country should be a pattern for every Member of this body. For 42 years this House and our country have prospered because of the contributions of this great man. But, I would emphasize that he has received great acclaim as the Speaker not because of his record of service, second only to that of the late Sam Rayburn, but because of his human qualities.

Speaker McCORMACK, I wish you and Mrs. McCormack the greatest possible happiness and good health in the fruitful years ahead after your retirement. In my judgment, you rank as one of the great Members of this body for all time.

REPRESENTATIVE QUILLEN GETS THINGS DONE

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, a well-known Washington newspaperman discussed in a recent article the hard work and perseverance of our colleague and my congressional neighbor, JIMMY QUILLEN. As Frank van der Linden pointed out, he is a man who gets things done.

Writing for the May 6 Nashville, Tenn., Banner, Mr. van der Linden described Jimmy's "ability to win reelection by record-high majorities every 2 years since his first victory in 1962."

I would like to place in the RECORD at this point the interesting story of a hard-working colleague and friend:

REPRESENTATIVE QUILLEN GETS THINGS DONE

(By Frank van der Linden, Washington Bureau Chief)

WASHINGTON.—Rep. Jimmy Quillen of Tennessee's mountainous First District is a quiet man who gets things done.

The Kingsport Republican will tackle the U.S. Supreme Court or the most obstinate committee chairman in his battles for legislation.

This year, Quillen won a two-year fight for House approval of a bill barring members of Communist action groups from working in defense plants. The bill reverses a Supreme Court decision overturning a Federal law which barred Reds from jobs in facilities designated by the Secretary of Defense as "essential" to national security.

Quillen's measure authorizes a personnel screening program to determine access to sensitive jobs or areas in industrial facilities. Cleared by the House, 274–65, the bill awaits Senate action.

Earlier, Quillen took the lead in the successful battle for the bill to curb flag-burning. Many members of Congress were cosponsors of the popular measure, but it was Quillen who pried it out of the House Judiciary Committee where Chairman Emanuel Celler, a Brooklyn Democrat, had it bottled up.

Celler appeared one day before the Rules Committee, of which Quillen is the fourth-ranking Republican member, and asked for clearance of another bill.

"I confronted him and demanded that he have hearings on the flag bill," Quillen recalls. "He agreed, and that's how I broke it loose from his grip."

The Kingsport congressman's only regret is that the penalties for burning or defiling the flag weren't set higher than the maximum of a year in prison and a thousand-dollar fine.

Similar pressure by the Rules Committee made "Manny" Celler free the anti-riot bill making it a Federal crime to cross state lines for the purpose of inciting violence. That law, co-sponsored by Quillen, led to the recent jail terms for the "Chicago Seven."

The Rules Committee exerts great influence by controlling the flow of bills from all other committees to the floor. Within a few years, in a Republican-ruled Congress, Quillen could move up to become its chairman.

Quillen and Celler are at odds again over the proposed impeachment of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. Quillen is cosponsoring a resolution for a select committee to investigate the Justice—in particular, his $12,000-a-year income for nearly a decade as president of the Parvin Foundation which derived much revenue from Las Vegas, Nevada, casinos.

Quillen was all set to vote in the Rules Committee for the special inquiry but Celler announced his own hearings by a Judiciary subcommittee.

"Manny will stall it forever," Quillen predicted.

The Tennessee Republican is co-sponsoring seven bills to carry out President Nixon's campaign against air and water pollution. Quillen also is seeking repeal of the 1968 gun control act, calling it "a nuisance" which interferes with "law-abiding citizens' right to bear arms".

The Congressman said he and his constituents firmly believe in law and order but they think the crime rate can be reduced by stricter law enforcement, not by gun control.

Quillen favors higher social security benefit payments, lower taxes, and increased appropriations for veterans.

He backs President Nixon's policy of steadily withdrawing American troops from Vietnam and seeking an early and honorable end to the war.

Quillen has an "open door" to the White House, having been a friend and supporter of President Nixon since Nixon's first race for the vice-presidency in 1952. At a recent reception in Greeneville, honoring the First District Representative, a letter from the Chief Executive was read. It said:

"Those of us who have carefully observed the Congress for some time know that Jimmy is one of the hardest working Congressmen in Washington. I am delighted to join with you in this well-deserved salute.

"Pat and I remember our visits to the First District and I hope you will convey my very best regards to your friends there. Sincerely, Dick Nixon."

Congressmen in both parties envy Quillen's ability to win re-election by record-high majorities every two years since his first victory in 1962. Then, he won a hot, five-way primary and only fifty-five per cent of the vote in the November election. But his margins rose to 72% in 1964; 87% in 1966 and 85 in 1968, the largest percentages won by any Republican candidate for Congress in each of those three elections.

On two "Jimmy Quillen Days" in his honor, Republican members marveled over his vote-getting magic.

Rep. John Duncan of Knoxville said the secret was just "hard work." "Jimmy is always ready to help constituents and colleagues," Duncan said.

Rep. Bill Brock of Chattanooga said Quillen succeeded for these reasons: "Jimmy's dedication to his job; his now famous 'open door' policy of taking his congressional office to the people; his work on the prestigious Rules Committee; and his untiring fight for the sound principles of humane, responsible government."

Minority Leader Gerald Ford of Michigan called Quillen, 54, "a mountain man who was born into a tenant farm family of ten children" and rose through "strength, independence, and fierce pride in accomplishment" to become a leader in the Tennessee Legislature and in Congress.

Sen. Howard H. Baker, Tennessee Republican said: "Jimmy Quillen has demonstrated that he has truly interpreted the desires, ambitions and needs of his people. He is perfectly attuned to the feeling and currents of opinion of virtually all of his people.

"Hardly a week passes that the Congressman does not go back to his district to move among his people and discuss how he can best represent them here in Washington.

"They know, from his past record, that when he says he will do something for a constituent, he means it."

Republican committees in the 11-county First district have recently started endorsing Quillen for re-election. These are samples of the resolutions by the county committees:

Carter: "Congressman Quillen has constantly striven to get the opinion of his constituents and in his voting record has shown that the thinking of the people of the area has been followed."

Johnson: "Jimmy Quillen has, at all times, helped our servicemen, and especially our boys in Vietnam, and their families."

Unicoi: "Congressman Quillen renders valuable assistance to any person in the First Congressional district . . . considers and treats their problems as his own."

Sullivan: "Congressman Quillen has sponsored legislation to stop the flow of vicious and depraved pornography in the mails."

IT IS TIME FOR PEACE

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I have watched the entire situation in Vietnam and now all of Indochina develop with growing apprehension. Coupled with this growing military involvement in Asia has been internal unrest in our own country, which has been exacerbated because of the President's decision to broaden the war. Several things are discernible and undeniable.

The President has taken a basic geopolitical risk by widening the ground war in Asia. It is now an Indochina war rather than just a war in Vietnam. Further, it is worth noting that a rapprochement between Russia and Red China is now a possibility because of our involvement in Cambodia. We have given the Communist world an excuse to unite against us, healing forcibly many of their internal disagreements, at least for the immediate future.

Next, it is obvious that what the President outlined as the goal of his widening of the war into Cambodia has not been attained; that is, the capture of the COSVN, or the headquarters and personnel of the enemy. To pass off the capture of supplies and food as the rationale for this adventure is to cover a cancer with a bandaid and pretend that there has been a cure of the patient.

Further, by diving ever deeper into the mainland of Asia in a land war, the United States has been diverted from more basic interests, far more important to our well being. As we thrash about in Southeast Asia fighting only for the well-being of several unpopular military regimes, we are only the long-term losers. Already, more than 42,000 Americans have been killed in that war which the President now broadens constantly. There is an unpopular regime in Saigon which treats dissenters without consideration. The Thieu-Ky regime seems to have many, many thousands of non-Communist opponents in its jails. There is no free press. Further, these gentlemen seem to make a public joke of America's announced determination to withdraw from the widened conflict. Who really is running the show there? The United States or Thieu and Ky?

The war is spending America to death as a long-range possibility and to recession for a short-term certainty. Millions of our people have no faith in what the administration says now because of constant reverses in course.

It is ultimately catastrophic to continue the polarization of our society, and surely this has been encouraged by the actions and statements of many members of this administration. This, too, comes in large part from the war.

Never before has an entire generation of young people been so completely and swiftly estranged from our Government. This, also, is due in large part to the way the war has been handled by the Government. If the long-range basic interests of the United States were in danger, I would instantly support any conflict we engaged in. But in this case, I do not feel these interests are involved here; for the Vietnamese were fighting among themselves even before America was discovered.

If America were in danger because of communism in Vietnam, I would be more than willing to conduct any military operations that were considered necessary. But none of these certainties apply here. We are wasting our young men, our treasure, and our peace of mind at home because of a war that has long since been proven to be unwinnable in a military sense. We have gone to the aid of the Vietnamese and have done our job. Certainly we have not been defeated, nor shall we be. Let us then finish the task of training the Vietnamese, which is another task almost finished, and then proceed to withdraw, undefeated, our promises fulfilled. Those who will not be defended cannot be defended. I want to see much of our present expenditure in that area of the world devoted to binding up the nation's internal wounds and reordering and restructuring our society.

Too many schools remain unbuilt. Too many subways remain unrealized. Too many decent homes need to be made real for our citizens. Too many rivers and lakes are filthy. Too many cities are becoming uninhabitable and lack the quality of life our people deserve. Too much of our air is unbreatheable.

Too many Americans are hungry. Too many of them are unemployed. Too many educations remain unfinished. Too much hate fills our speech these days. There must be a restructuring of national priorities.

I would rather see our dollars spent on domestic demands rather than wasted in a war that should have been over years ago.

It is time for us to cease calling one another traitors and appeasers—warmongers and murderers. We have engaged in a war we must emerge from immediately. Certainly the widening of the war is utterly intolerable and must be ended.

Certainly America's needs must be considered as primary—not Saigon's. I am tired of seeing American boys and American society brutalized and further divided. It is time for retrenchment and reconsideration. It is time for leadership. It is time for peace.

ENDS VERSUS MEANS IN THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, it sometimes seems that campus militants are more interested in venting their frustrations than in hastening the end of the war. In attacking ROTC cadets in particular, they seem to be alienating one of their greatest potential sources of support.

Donald Disler, a bright young man who did some excellent work in my office last summer, is now an ROTC cadet at the University of California at Davis. He has written a thoughtful letter on this subject to the San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle, which published it on May 24. Under unanimous consent agreement, I insert it at this point in the RECORD:

THE ENDS VERSUS MEANS ON UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA DAVIS CAMPUS

(By Donald D. Disler)

Editor: If, as some of the anti-war militant leaders proclaim, they are "building a movement," then thoughtful observers in Davis last Tuesday night (May 12) might be inclined to comment that the assaults and abuses, both physical and verbal, directed against Military Science students constitute a defeat for those persons in this University who want to bring change and reform to this nation without destroying it in the process.

The students, faculty, and non-students who sought to disrupt the ROTC ceremonies by spitting upon cadets, obstructing their lines of march, mocking their student leaders and professors, shouting obscene and provocative language, gouging and kicking flag bearers and color guards, and showering the Military Science students with flour and water failed to bring this nation even one step closer to ending the war in Asia or changing national policies and priorities.

What the abusive demonstrators did accomplish was hardly constructive. For example, they very nearly created an incident of violence, at the express instigation of our "peace loving" student body president, which only good discipline and self-control of the cadets averted.

Further, they lost a good deal of sympathy and support which they had formerly enjoyed amongst the ROTC cadets. Sympathy and support which might have been very useful inside the Army.

Even more disturbing, however, is the fact that polarization is taking place at UC Davis, rational discussion is ending, and violence is becoming the language of the extremist leaders.

In this regard the SDS may claim a victory. They feel they have much to gain if we all stop talking and working together and start fighting each other. No doubt they do, but it is the rest of us who are the losers.

What does the ROTC cadet think and feel during all of this uproar? He is, for one thing, beginning to rapidly understand the fact that he is now the "nigger" of the Davis campus. His right to take a course of study is denied to him by students and faculty who seem to have a double standard—only they can exercise academic freedom.

Only they, because they alone are wise and only they are concerned, may decide for others what they shall or shall not learn. Hitler could not have agreed more!

The cadet is accused of being narrow-minded, war-mongering, and brainwashed. Yet his chief accusers are persons so trapped in ideology that the hypocrisy of their charges is self-evident from the way they promote their own one-sided, twisted pamphlet programmed views of the world—views which have long ago lost all contact with reality.

The cadet is fed up with abuse and threats. He is angered by disruptions of his classes and assaults upon his person. He sees the free thought and enquiry of the University cast aside like leaves in the wind of irrationalism and political emotionalism.

He is disgusted with the lies spread by opponents who do not know him or care to know him as a person. He has been, he feels, stereotyped by them as a military freak, as something less than human. He has been cursed, kicked and spat upon all in the cause of peace—and never has that great cause been so debased by its exploiters.

Though discouraged by his fellow Americans, he is not without hope. What so many of the demonstrators failed to realize was that those men in uniform are not machines. They are not programmed. They have not been taught to enjoy killing—or even to kill for that matter.

The young men that the demonstrators abused and reviled believe just as passionately that there must be a change in this country. The cadets genuinely desire national reform, an end to the war in Southeast Asia, the establishment of peace at home and abroad, and social justice for all men everywhere.

The cadets also are dismayed by the tragedy of Kent State University, Santa Barbara and My Lai. They sincerely want to do all that they can, both as officers in the Armed Forces and as citizens, to accomplish goals that will improve this nation.

They want to keep the American military obedient to the wishes of the people. They seek to serve their countrymen to the very best of their ability. These goals are worthy ones. They need to be encouraged, not discouraged or reviled.

Last Tuesday afternoon taught the UC Davis cadets still another lesson, however. In the United States of America, just as in North or South Vietnam, China, or elsewhere the potential for tyranny is great.

The threat to human liberty and social order is real. It comes not only from powerful government bureaucracies and officials, it also comes from thoughtless mobs, and intolerant leaders—the young as well as the old.

Its minions are the bomb-throwers and the book burners as well as the overreacting police and the "scared" National Guardsmen. Its leaders are the frustrated, paranoid militants who preach the destruction of society and the University—whether from offices in the State Capitol or on the campus.

The tools of these elements are the die-hard ideologues, the thoughtless thrill-seekers, and the witless gawkers who swell every crowd and thereby stoke the fires of human mob brutality.

The megalomaniacs are dangerous—whether in long hair and beads or striped shirt and tie. They will not be satisfied until they achieve the orgasm of blood and hate for which they lust. Cadets learned that harsh lesson last Tuesday. They learned that they could not count on their fellow students to protect their rights.

They saw the double standard displayed in the hate-filled faces and violent language of the same students they sit side by side with in their political science, history, economics, engineering, and bio. sci. classes. The student who wants to study Military Science is made an outcast and a pariah and he knows what it means to be a "nigger" in this model of a "free, open, and democratic community." He is bitter and he has nothing but scorn for the hypocrites who mouth the words of peace and fill their hands with stones, bottles and sharp blades of hate.

The time has come when we must look beyond the simplistic answers and the catchy slogans. The extremist of the left and the right only want to use the vehicle of legitimate dissent to further their own causes.

As long as they can dominate the movements for peace and reform then it is doubtful if any constructive progress will be made towards those hoped for goals. The ends do not justify the means. The assault upon ROTC cadets at UC Davis will not bring peace to Southeast Asia.

HORTON PRAISES BLACK CAPITALISM SPEECH BY RODERICK MACDOUGALL

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, on May 15, 1970, the House Small Business Subcommittee on Problems of Urban Areas, on which I serve, held hearings in my district in Rochester and Pittsford, N.Y.

During the hearings, Chairman JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI, Congressman DANIEL E. BUTTON, and I heard several witnesses, among whom was Roderick M. MacDougall, president of Marine Midland Trust Co. of Rochester.

Mr. MacDougall spoke about the banker's role in black capitalism. He emphasized the best avenue for placing the American Negro on a par with the white man is to permit him to participate in our capitalistic system.

Mr. MacDougall is a leader in the community, advancing innovative and unique ideas which have helped small businesses and minority enterprises. He is a man who is not afraid to take chances. He believes that because circumstances change, banks must be able to meet the challenge.

And the bank which he heads, Marine Midland, is one fully sensitive to the social problems in Rochester, and is participating in solutions to these problems.

The theory that he advances is one that could be an example to the entire country. He advocates steps that must be taken to bring minorities into the mainstream of our society.

I would like to share with my colleagues a speech given by Mr. MacDougall at the Northern New England School of Banking in Hanover, N.H., which is essentially what he told the subcommittee.

He emphasized a pragmatic approach and stressed that bankers must understand that their future is tied to the towns and cities in which they do business, and it is therefore in their own interest to take whatever action is necessary to rehabilitate ghettos and to strengthen black businesses within the city.

The text of Mr. MacDougall's remarks follows:

THE BANKERS' ROLE IN BLACK CAPITALISM

The purpose of my visit is to try to give helpful specifics on how you as bank officers can deal with the unusual problems that arise from trying to place black entrepreneurs in business successfully. The tools for getting the job done, however, are useless unless they are placed in willing hands. Therefore, I would like to preface my remarks by sharing with you some generalities about our racial problems to assure that you are fully sensitive to the overall problems of our restless minorities. Here I would like to interject the fact that when I refer to the black minority I do not mean to exclude the Puerto Rican or the American Indian or other underprivileged minority. Naturally, what is true for one minority should be true for all.

Also, I would like to acknowledge the fact that many of you come from smaller communities as yet untouched by the problems of minority uprisings. Still, I think the subject should be of general interest to you for two reasons. First of all, the Negro population is growing at a faster rate than the white population. Their physical presence on the American scene will grow rapidly in coming years, and no community for long can remain fully aloof from the problem. Secondly, the banking industry has been criticized by some black leaders for being unresponsive to their problems. As bankers, you should know what your industry is doing so you can defend it, and also perhaps you will be able to feed it ideas so that it can do an even better job.

First of all, gentlemen, the fact must be recognized that the Negroes of America continue to suffer discrimination by the white majority, and that discrimination results in their receiving less than the full rights of U.S. citizenship. Don't be misled by the relative calm of the last two summers. The injustices are still there, and the problems mostly unresolved. You all work for banking institutions that have reached success in the business world using freely all the tools of capitalism, unimpeded by the handicaps of poorly educated managements, undernourished staffs and racism. The blacks have not participated in this capitalistic system.

My second point is simply that special attention and favoritism are essential today to correct the wrongs of the past. This is the much debated reparation's theory. I must assume that many of you do not accept that point—you've written me off as a screaming radical. Before I lose your attention entirely, let me assure you that is not the case. My approach is pragmatic—not radical. I would have considered the reparation's theory unfair myself a few years ago. I came from a conservative New England background, plus sixteen years with an ultraconservative Wall Street bank. I learned that most people working in New York City are completely removed from the world of reality as far as the country's social problems are concerned. Two years ago, I found myself in Rochester, New York in a Marine Midland bank that was fully sensitive to the social problems of its community and which was making a strong effort to participate in the solution of those problems; but militant and extremely intelligent black leaders were demanding that we hire a stated percentage of Negroes—demanding we provide mortgage money—demanding we put untrained men into running their own business. I learned to debate openly with many of the black leaders and in the process I've

made some real enemies among them, as well as among some white leaders in Rochester, but I've also learned the facts. The black American will not be able to establish himself on equal terms in the social community and the business community in a reasonable period of time without special advantages—hopefully, short-lived advantages.

The years of discrimination have left the average Negro undereducated compared with the white man and without the tools to build assets through a capitalistic system. Special advantages in the business world to a handicapped minority are not new to our system. Servicemen returning from World War II could get free specialized training, join the 52–20 Club, and also could get a loan to start in the business world with a minimum of equity, collateral, and without experience. I submit to you—whether you like it or not—that the black American is not going to be satisfied with less than being fed into the mainstream of the American economy on a par with the white man, and this is not going to be accomplished without special rules, special attention, and a strong effort on the part of all of us.

If you are still with me—the third point I would like to make is that as bankers you have more responsibility to bring about the restoration of rights to minorities than other elements in the business community. We must face the fact that as bankers our future is tied to the towns and cities in which we are authorized to do business. Our stockholders' welfare and our employees' welfare are tied to the success of our bank. In their interest, we must take whatever action is necessary to rehabilitate ghettos and to strengthen black businesses within the city.

Employers who manufacture a product and sell it out of your community can, if necessary, move out of the community. Fortunately, despite this freedom, many of them give significant financial support to the welfare of the minority groups and to the restoration of the cities. We, as bankers, have no choice—we must.

Another reason bankers must exert leadership was well stated recently by Representative William Stanton, who serves on the House Banking and Currency Committee, and I quote Mr. Stanton:

"What makes the banker really different is his capacity to multiply and generate the efforts of others. We have often seen the several arms of government try to assume leadership in meeting the urban crisis, just as we are familiar with similar attempts by religious and industry groups as well as the academic community. For the most part they have failed because they have been unable to generate the assistance of others.

"When bankers go where others fear to tread, however, things start to happen! Whether justified matters not. Banker participation instills confidence and, if you will, a sense of respectability. Just as the fractional reserve system gives banks the ability to create credit many times the amount of reserves they are required to hold, the presence of the banking industry at the helm in meeting our nation's social challenges will multiply human and capital resources many times over."

Quite a statement from a non-banker, and it certainly puts us under the spotlight.

If you accept this thesis that banks have to show leadership, let me now elaborate on the reasons for action. Volumes are being written these days on the importance of business involvement in the solutions of racial problems. Most authors seem to conclude that there is only one reason why business must act, but the reasons are not all the same.

Some say the reason businessmen must play a role in the solution of this social problem is that, if business doesn't, the government will. Being basically conservative, the businessman does not want the government to grow bigger so he is forced to take this role.

Others say we should be involved because the Negro is rapidly growing as a percentage of our total population. Blacks are an important segment of our customers who must be kept healthy and happy so that they will consume our products or use our services.

Some in the banking industry say we must become involved in helping the black man because our industry has to fill so many clerical jobs and suffers from a very high employee turnover. Their thesis goes that banks will face increasing competition for skilled people from industries with higher profit margins and higher salary levels. Banks will have to depend upon minority groups to fill our desks and man our machines.

Others contend that the businessman must get involved regardless of the impact on earnings because it is a moral obligation. This school maintains that, if a business makes financial commitments to social ventures such as training of so-called "hard-core" unemployables or black capitalism strictly on a financial return basis then when less prosperous times come, these ventures will be the first to be eliminated. Hence, to get the long-range job done, the businessman must feel a strong obligation as a human being and be satisfied only when the problems have been successfully solved.

Another reason is simply fear—do something before the black man burns your bank down! Then, there is the theory that a business must involve itself in the urban crisis in order to recruit highly qualified white talent, based on the theory that today's college graduates want to be involved in social problems as well as make money. Somewhat related to that theory is the one that suggests a business concern should be involved simply to build its corporate image. It's "the thing to do" today, so they should hire a community relations officer and start pumping out the publicity on corporate social accomplishments.

It doesn't matter which school of thought I follow. My thesis here is simply that it does not matter what reason you give as long as the job gets done. I think with this wide range of reasons—or excuses, if you will—every man in this room should feel compelled to grab one as his own rationale and get on with the job.

The debate on justification for action seems endless. While man was struggling to get to the moon there were also endless debates as to the reasons, but fortunately during all of the talk someone was performing and getting the job done! I wish I could say that, in the case of relieving racial tension, sufficient work was going on behind the scenes but, unfortunately, I do not think such is the case.

Hopefully, I have some agreement that there is a job to be done and that banks must take a leadership role in accomplishing it. The next question is—where does the lending officer come in? The answer, I believe, is right smack in the middle. Banks must participate in hiring minorities and promoting them to meaningful jobs. Yet we are not big employers in our community; hence, this job takes on secondary importance to our main responsibility—lending money. In Rochester, Marine Midland employs less than 1 per cent of the work force, but we make about 25% of the business loans. This is the specialty we offer. Our success should be judged by how we employ this specialty.

The best avenue for placing the American Negro on a par with the white man is to permit him to participate in our capitalistic system. We must find ways to produce successful business stories for the black race and to allow them to build personal profits and savings.

From firsthand experience I can tell you the job is not an easy one. There are very few Negroes who have had the advantage of a business school education, who have been taught marketing skills or can read a balance sheet. Most of the potential businessmen were brought up in families where there were no budgets, no checkbooks, and certainly no savings accounts.

Theodore Cross in his new book, Black Capitalism, points out that most Negro businessmen who have entered the business world are not credit worthy because of weaknesses in business and marketing skills. Poor past performance combined with prejudice has made it impossible for most blacks to attract credit, which we all know is the cornerstone of growth.

The blacks lack equity, they lack credit and they lack entrepreneurial skills—and hence, today, they simply don't own their share of businesses. Quoting further from Mr. Cross's book, let me share with you some startling statistics:

1. There are 11,755 businesses in Washington, D.C.—Negroes are 63% of the population; yet Negroes own only 1,500 of these 11,755 businesses.

2. There are 17,500 authorized automobile dealers in the U.S.—7 are black.

3. Out of over 6,000 radio stations in the country, over 100 of them direct their programming to black listeners—yet only 8 of the 100 so-called Negro stations are owned by Negroes.

Where does the bank lending officer come in? He is the fellow who has got to help find the missing equity, provide the credit despite the risks, and make certain that the required entrepreneural skills are forthcoming.

Perhaps you feel that a lending officer must never change his standards because of the color of an applicant. Well, today, that is simply not acceptable—it is not enough. This brings us back to the reparation's theory. A bank officer recently told me that he didn't discriminate in performing his job. He stated proudly that he always treated black loan applicants exactly like white applicants. That's like saying a school teacher is doing her job when she gives equal time and attention to all students regardless of background or talent. Equal treatment often adds up to discrimination, and the record shows this in some bank lending.

The business community is being buffeted on all sides by the problems of our decaying cities and of our underprivileged minority races. When the business community turns to the man who controls the purse strings, it expects imaginative and resourceful solutions to financial problems. Today the loan officer must learn to take a second look at these special problems. If he relies on textbooks, if he is afraid to experiment with new financial concepts, then the banking industry is ducking its responsibilities.

James Gavin, Chairman of Arthur D. Little, Inc., said in a speech recently, "New social and economic machinery cannot be designed with old tools" and, of course, that is correct. If we consider ourselves as experts in loans and financial guidance, yet won't allow our minds to stretch beyond the simplicities we were taught in school, such as the 3C's of credit, then we will soon see our role filled by others—probably the U.S. Government. We must be sufficiently creative in our thinking to conceive new solutions. Naturally, I am not suggesting that creativity or resourcefulness is any substitute for sound technical knowledge. The loan officer needs as much knowledge of accounting and as much front line experience today as he did ten or twenty years ago. But, if that is all he has—a knowledge of the rules and an awareness of how things worked in the past—then his chances for making a genuine contribution to today's problems are limited.

To become even more specific now, let me use some examples from Marine Midland's work in Rochester. One of the fundamental rules of bank credit is that a borrower must

have adequate capital—one of the 3C's of credit. Certainly capital is an essential ingredient, but today you must be prepared to accept a broad definition of that word, *capital*. In Rochester there is an organization called "Better Rochester Living" that arranges for the purchase of rehabilitated homes in the ghetto. Through this organization a man can own his own home without a penny for down payment by repairing a run-down house using tools, supplies, and guidance from "Better Rochester Living." This is commonly called "sweat equity." The man's hours of work constitutes the down payment that makes the mortgage loan possible. The record of this approach to housing has been exceptionally good, since it creates in the new owner a special involvement and a determination to make regular payments. He also acquires a knowledge concerning proper maintenance of the home and, hence, sustained value.

There is a new manufacturing concern in Rochester called "Fighton" which provides another broadening definition of capital. This company is currently operating successfully with about 45 employes, all black and practically none skilled. We loaned this company several hundred thousand dollars, partially guaranteed by the Small Business Administration, without one penny of equity behind the venture in the traditional sense. In this case, the substitute for capital was a substantial training grant from the U.S. Department of Labor. The item due from the U.S. Government on one side of the balance sheet was simply booked as capital on the other. This unconventional accounting would find little acceptance in traditional banking circles; but, in the case of Fighton, it turned the trick and at least got the venture launched.

Another "C" of credit is character. The rule book says you should lend only to experienced businessmen of unquestioned character. A business loan to someone with a criminal record is normally avoided. Despite this we provided the financing for a Negro to purchase a small business recently who had both a police record and a record of a previous bankruptcy. Yet he is doing a good job and we believe this business will succeed. By digging a little, rather than just dropping the application, we learned that his previous business failure was due to economic circumstances beyond his control and that his former suppliers held a high opinion of his business ability. In other words, we made a little extra effort to try to justify a "yes" on the loan rather than take the easy course of saying "no." The traditional approach to sound banking dictates that, if a loan is going to be a problem or a work-out and perhaps is one that will be criticized by the examiners, then duck it—even if it is a money-good loan, properly collateralized. If you hold to that theory today, you may be practicing one type of sound banking but you will not be participating in black capitalism.

The third "C" of credit is capacity, or ability to repay. Can the business throw off sufficient earnings to pay back the loan? The book says that the way to measure capacity is to look at past experience. To quote from a recent article called "Fundamental Principles of Sound Bank Credit": "The single ingredient that is present in sound bank credit, secured and unsecured, is proven earning power." I shouldn't take issue with the so-called principles of sound bank credit; but, at the same time, I can tell you from experience that if you are looking for proven earning power before you approve a loan to the average man starting in business today, you just won't be making any such loans. The Small Business Administration has also had problems being realistic about proven earning power. Until recently, they said they would guarantee loans only when there was a reasonable assurance of repayment. Yet it is the lack of assurance of repayment which makes a bank seek a Small Business Administration guarantee, so its stand was somewhat ludicrous. Fortunately, there have been some significant changes in the attitude of the S.B.A., and today they more clearly see their proper role. If you have been discouraged with your dealings with the S.B.A. in the past, I suggest you give them a fresh try.

Under the heading of both Character and Capacity comes the additional subject of entrepreneural skills. The majority of the Negroes we have placed in business were poor businessmen at the start. Based on the old standards, their inadequate education and training would have made them ineligible for business loans. The burden of filling the gap to a great extent fell on us, as their bankers. Let me illustrate the extent of our involvement:

1. We have had to set up insurance programs for new minority businessmen—and help them get coverage in some instances—even talking turkey to the agents who write the insurance for our bank on occasion to get cooperation where we felt it was justified.

2. We have done all the paper work on behalf of loan applicants, preparing cash flows and pro forma balance sheets for our own files and for those of the S.B.A. and others.

3. We have spent hundreds of hours trying to clear up poor credit records of our new customers, pleaded with suppliers to ship goods, argued with local credit bureaus to give a man a reasonably fresh start, and worked closely with Dun and Bradstreet and other credit agencies in attempts to have ratings updated.

4. We have tried to give marketing assistance by contacting our own customers to try and drum-up initial sales, and our advertising department has even helped prepare copy.

Initially, some are so dependent on our lending officers who specialize in black capitalism that when their basement floods they call us before calling the plumber. Fortunately, Rochester is blessed with an organization called "Rochester Business Opportunities Corporation." This is a non-profit organization supported by local business that seeks out potential black entrepreneurs, helps them find a modest amount of equity, or, if necessary, provides it for them through subordinated loans—and then attempts to assure their success by direct guidance. Without this organization Rochester would have failed in its efforts toward providing the Negro with "a piece of the action" yet, it is not staffed to do the job fully, so the banks must help steer these new businesses through their initial years.

As a bank officer, what meaning do these experiences have for you? Well, first you must learn to look beneath the surface and judge the overall skills of the black borrower and his staff in the context of this new world. You must find out if the borrower has access to specialists in bookkeeping, budgeting, legal work, marketing, et cetera. If those skills aren't available, then someone must set up a team to help him get started, either inside your bank or outside. If your community has an organization such as Rochester Business Opportunities Corp., then your task will be much easier. But you can't duck responsibility for continuing supervision of the affairs of the man you have placed in business. The black community needs success stories—not more failures. If you can't do the follow-up work, don't make the loan. You will be doing more harm than good.

I've painted a fairly frightening picture of the work involved in loaning to venturesome new businessmen. Extra work will continue until the business can be considered normal. You will be undertaking this work in full knowledge that your bank has more profitable short-term outlets for its assets. Furthermore, you can expect reprimands from many of your customers for offering special attention to nonwhites. But, what is the point in dwelling on these realities, when there is no alternative. The job has to be done.

In closing, I would like to support my case with a quote from a recently published book by John Gardner, "No Easy Victories." If you read Mr. Gardner's book, I think you will agree with his statement that:

"Today we can't afford not to take chances. I am always puzzled by people who talk as though the advocates of change are just inventing ways to disturb the peace in what would otherwise be a tranquil community. It would not otherwise be a tranquil community. We are not seeking change for the sheer fun of it. We must change to meet the challenge of altered circumstances. Change will occur whether we like it or not. It will be either change in a good and healthy direction or change in a bad and regrettable direction. There is no tranquillity for us."

Bank lending officers must play a major role in our country's efforts to make sure that inevitable change proceeds in a good and healthy direction.

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today for a purpose both happy and sad. Happy, because it is an opportunity to pay tribute to a man I have respected since first making his acquaintance many years ago. Sad, because we are facing his departure from this Chamber and the prospect of carrying on without him.

JOHN W. MCCORMACK is a man who has known both the glory and the misery of dedicated public service. He has received the plaudits and praise that some men envy, and he has suffered attacks that no man would want to bear. Through it all, however, his dedication to his country and his service to that cause has remained constant.

Now this man who has led us as Speaker longer than any other but the late Speaker Sam Rayburn, is stepping down. Nothing we can say at this point can add significantly to the luster of his reputation, for it already shines with duties performed, challenges met, services rendered.

And yet we must try because we owe this steadfast patriot a great debt of gratitude. For 42 years he has sat in this Chamber representing his constituents from the Ninth Congressional District of Massachusetts. His service did not flag as his power and influence grew. His strength and his compassion did not leave him as the many battles grew long and tedious.

Even if JOHN MCCORMACK had never become Speaker of the House, his example would still be one of the greatest for all of us. And this body will be greatly diminished when he leaves.

Although I am of a different political party than the Speaker, and although I have differed with him on occasions, I can truthfully say that I know of no man

more deserving of my respect than JOHN MCCORMACK.

I will feel I have done my work well, and I will be a happy man, if my service to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the Nation ever approaches that of our esteemed Speaker.

To JOHN W. MCCORMACK and to his beloved wife Harriett I can only wish all the best that this life offers. His record as a public servant, and their devotion as a couple, will guide the public and private lives of many of us in this Chamber for many years to come.

CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, writing in the May 1970, Scientific American, the eminent Harvard Biologist Dr. Matthew S. Meselson contributes a significant article to the literature on chemical and biological warfare. Concluding, as I did in my study CBW and National Security, that C–B weaponry has no place in the American arsenal, Dr. Meselson urges the rapid adoption of the 1925 Geneva protocol, including the provision to ban irritant gases and antiplant agents. To continue using these weapons is to increase the likelihood of the proliferation of chemical weapons, which can only result in breaking down the restraints against chemical warfare.

For Dr. Meselson, the use of CS gas and defoliants in Vietnam presents a serious psychological break with the traditional taboos against using chemicals in combat situations. I believe, as does Dr. Meselson, that President Nixon, who has already taken impressive steps to reduce the hazards of biological warfare, should submit, as promised, the Geneva protocol, including the ban on irritant gases and antiplant agents, to the Senate for ratification.

Dr. Meselson has as deep a background in chemical and biological warfare as any American scientist or political figure. He has had access to State Department, Pentagon, and Arms Control and Disarmament Agency material on the subject while serving as a consultant to the National Security Council. In this position, he has been given more credit than any other individual for influencing the President's November decision on chemical and biological weapons.

I include in the RECORD not only Dr. Meselson's most recent article, but a biography that appeared in the New York Times on November 26, 1969, the day following President Nixon's historic announcement on the use of biological weapons:

CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

(By Matthew S. Meselson)

(NOTE.—The U.S. has renounced all forms of biological weapons and the first use of most chemical weapons. The issue of whether or not to include irritant gases and antiplant agents in the prohibition remains open.)

On November 25 of last year President Nixon announced a number of major decisions regarding chemical and biological weapons. He proclaimed that the U.S. will never be the first to use lethal or incapacitating chemical weapons and will not use biological weapons under any circumstances, even in retaliation. He also announced that he would submit to the Senate the 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use of chemical and biological weapons in warfare.

The President's statement left a question whether toxins, the poisonous but nonliving substances produced by some bacteria and other organisms, were included in the unconditional renunciation of biological weapons or only in the no-first-use pledge for chemicals. The question was resolved on February 14 when the President extended the policy for biological weapons to cover toxins as well. In order to remove a possible ambiguity, it was decided to renounce toxin weapons even if advances in chemistry should make it practicable to prepare them synthetically instead of by extraction from bacteria or other organisms.

Under the new policy the U.S. will destroy existing stocks of germ and toxin weapons and will no longer engage in their development, production or stockpiling. The U.S. biological program will be restricted to research for strictly defined defensive purposes, such as techniques of immunization.

In accord with these decisions on biological and toxin weapons, White House officials have stated that there will no longer be a need for secret work and that consideration is being given to the transfer for conversion to other purposes of our sizable biological weapons facilities at Fort Detrick, Md., and Pine Bluff, Ark., from the Department of Defense to nonsecret agencies such as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Department of Agriculture.

As to chemical weapons, the restraints are less sweeping. The U.S. reserves the right to continue the development, production and stockpiling of lethal and incapacitating chemical weapons. It pledges, however, never to use them first. The same pledge is embodied in the treaty commitment by the 84 states now party to the Geneva Protocol.

There are two types of chemical weapon whose use in war has not been renounced. They are the antiplant chemicals and the "riot control" agents, such as CS, employed by U.S. forces in Southeast Asia. The U.S. has maintained that these agents are not prohibited by the Geneva Protocol. Many nations disagree, which raises problems for U.S. ratification of that treaty. The President himself has made no statement regarding CS or herbicides. White House officials have said only that the use of these chemical weapons will continue "for the time being."

The President's decisions were based on a six-month review of U.S. policies and programs for chemical and biological weapons. The review was conducted under the auspices of the National Security Council, which coordinated the efforts of the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Office of Science and Technology and other branches of the Government. The subject was put under searching examination. The National Security Council considered the following topics: chemical and biological weapons that were already available and those that might conceivably be developed, the possible military value of each type of weapon in relation to other weapons at our disposal, the possible consequences of proliferation, strategic questions concerning the use of such weapons for threat or deterrence, the political and moral impact of their development and possible use, the potential hazards for civilian populations, possible defenses against the various weapons, and the policies and activities of other nations.

It was obvious and became more so as the review proceeded that such a study was long overdue. The U.S. had a large factory for producing germ weapons, even though no one had ever produced a convincing "scenario" for a case in which they should be used. Shortly before and during the National Security Council study, chemical weapons were involved in one disquieting incident after another, creating a political atmosphere favorable to the questioning of previous policies. A series of earthquakes that shook the city of Denver was traced to the massive subterranean disposal of chemical wastes at the Army's Rocky Mountain Arsenal. The accidental release of nerve gas in a test of an aircraft spray tank over the Dugway Proving Ground in Utah led to the death of thousands of sheep, some of them grazing as far as 40 miles away. Then there was protest against the Army's plan to ship 12,000 tons of outmoded nerve-gas bombs across the country from Colorado to be dumped in the Atlantic. Soon afterward there was an incident in which nerve gas escaped from U.S. munitions stored on Okinawa, and it was also revealed that nerve-gas munitions were stored in West Germany. Finally there had been newspaper articles to the effect that the Defense Department was testing biological weapons in the South Pacific and had conducted open-air tests of nerve gas in Hawaii without informing state officials.

The public reaction to these incidents can be gauged from the fact that the U.S. Senate voted 91 to 0 for a resolution requiring the review by the Public Health Service of any plan for the domestic transportation or open-air testing of lethal chemical agents or of any biological warfare agents. The resolution, which is now law, also requires the Defense Department to render semiannual reports to Congress on the investigation, development, testing and procurement of all agents of chemical and biological warfare.

Here I shall discuss first the nature of chemical and biological weapons (CBW) and their military implications, then the international effort that has been made to prevent their use, and finally the present situation. Although much work on CBW has been secret, the essential facts about the weapons are now in the open literature. Particularly noteworthy is the report of a United Nations group published last year and the subsequent World Health Organization report that specifically examines the potential effects on civilian populations. The UN report was prepared by a group of 14 consultant experts nominated by their respective governments. The U.S. participant was Ivan L. Bennett, Jr., director of the New York University Medical Center and former Deputy Director of the U.S. Office of Science and Technology. The American members of the WHO consultant group were Joshua Lederberg of the Stanford University School of Medicine and myself. Even more detailed than the UN and WHO reports is the forthcoming study by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

Although chemical and biological weapons are linked together in the psychology, the customs and the international law that restrain their use, it is helpful to distinguish several categories for analyzing military characteristics and implications. I shall discuss five kinds of weapon: lethal biological weapons, incapacitating biological weapons, lethal chemical weapons, incapacitating chemical weapons and antiplant agents. The distinction between lethal and incapacitating is not altogether clear-cut, particularly under the extremely uncontrolled conditions of warfare. There is a continuous spectrum of agents from the highly lethal to the generally nonlethal, and even tear gas can be used together with bullets and bombs to increase casualties. Nonetheless, the arguments for and against lethal and nonlethal weapons deserve separate attention.

Let us first consider lethal biological weapons. They would operate by disseminating clouds of disease germs over the target area or upwind from it. The germs would then be inhaled by the target population. The disease anthrax is an example. Caused by the bacterium *Bacillus anthracis*, it is mainly encountered as a disease of domesticated animals that is occasionally transmitted to man. Because it is not very contagious among humans, natural cases of anthrax are generally localized rather than epidemic. If the bacteria were sprayed in the air in an aerosol, however, the effects could be devastating. The inhalation of approximately 50,000 spores of *B. anthracis* (total weight less than a millionth of a gram) is believed to be enough to cause a 50 percent chance of contracting pulmonary anthrax. Symptoms would first appear about a day after the attack. The onset might be mistaken for a common cold, but this would be followed by severe coughing, cyanosis, respiratory failure and death. Untreated pulmonary anthrax is almost always fatal.

The WHO report gives estimates of the area-coverage capability of various biological agents. For illustrative purposes the report assumes that one light bomber delivers in a single pass ground-functioning "bomblets" containing a total of 50 kilograms of dry powdered agent along a two-kilometer line at right angles to the wind. It is assumed that the intensity of atmospheric turbulence is less than a certain level, but not so low as to be at all unusual, particularly at night. The bomblets release the agent as an aerosol, which then drifts over the target area. Such calculations take into account the dissemination efficiency of the bomblets, the decay rate of agent infectivity, the rate of vertical dilution in the atmosphere, the rate of deposition on the ground and the dose-response curve for man. For an attack with anthrax spores the WHO report predicts a high mortality rate over at least 20 square kilometers. Although there are uncertainties in the quantities that enter into the calculation, the estimate is deliberately conservative. The UN report, in a similar estimate, considers an attack by a large low-flying bomber dispensing 10,000 kilograms of agent along a 100-kilometer line by means of a spray tank. The estimated area in which a high casualty rate would occur is as large as 100,000 square kilometers, depending on the particular agent used.

Among the lethal biological agents that might be considered for military use are the viruses of Eastern equine encephalitis and yellow fever, the rickettsia causing Rocky Mountain spotted fever, and the bacteria causing anthrax, plague, cholera, glanders and melioidosis. There are moderately effective vaccines and antibiotics against some of these diseases but none against others. Moreover, such protections might be overwhelmed by a massive attack, and for some agents antibiotics can be circumvented by the use of drug-resistant strains. Protection can be given by gas masks or air-filtered shelters if there is early warning of an attack, but no satisfactory early-warning device has yet been developed. In any case a program for supplying the civilian population with masks and shelters and maintaining discipline for their use would require a major and sustained economic and political effort—without achieving reliable protection against biological attack.

It is not be expected that biological warfare agents would be deliberately chosen to be contagious; that would maximize the risk of spreading disease far beyond the intended target, possibly to the territory of the attacker or his allies. Nevertheless, the unnatural conditions inherent in military operations create the possibility that widespread epidemics would be unintentionally started. There is also the hazard, difficult to evaluate, that the bacteria or viruses used in an attack, or even used in a field test, could subsequently emerge from exposed populations of humans, rodents, birds or other animals with increased persistent, virulence and contagiousness for man.

From this brief account it should be clear that lethal biological weapons would present a devastating threat of killing human populations over large areas. The threat is made particularly formidable by the relative ease with which such weapons could pass into many hands if the technology becomes established and if the customs and attitudes that have generally kept nations from pursuing the development of biological weapons should change. After several years of pursuing a biological weapons program that has not had adequate review or guidance from the Executive Branch, and that has been almost entirely shielded by secrecy from public and congressional knowledge, the U.S. has decided that the best way to minimize the threat of biological weapons is to renounce them altogether. The logical case for doing so rests on the realization that the possession of such weapons would add little, if anything, to our strategic-deterrent capability, whereas their proliferation would present a major threat to the U.S. and indeed to all mankind.

The second category of weapons to be considered is incapacitating biological weapons. An example is Venezuelan equine encephalitis. It is a virus that causes severe headache, nausea and prostration but that has a case fatality rate in natural epidemics of .5 percent or lower. Methods for disseminating incapacitating biological agents and the possibilities for defending against them are essentially the same as those for lethal biological agents. The use of incapacitating biological weapons might be considered in certain unlikely and extreme situations. Perhaps the most "attractive" scenario that has been proposed imagines the entrapment of a large friendly force by enemy troops deployed over an extensive area and intermingled with civilians. In this situation the employment of incapacitating biological weapons in forward and rear areas might impede the enemy advance long enough to allow reinforcement or evacuation of the friendly troops when the alternative might be to use nuclear weapons or to surrender.

Of course any decision to launch an incapacitating biological attack must face the fact that substantial numbers of civilians, particularly infants and the infirm, will almost inevitably be killed, even if the case fatality rate is only a few tenths of a percent. Beyond that there is the possibility that the fatality rate under military conditions might be much higher than the rate estimated from natural occurrences of the disease and from various kinds of experimental data. It is also important to note that this scenario assumes the *first* use of biological weapons rather than their employment in retaliation. This adds the additional risk of escalation and enlargement of the conflict that could result from the outbreak of germ warfare of any kind. A principal long-term cost to security of using incapacitating biological weapons, or even of maintaining them, would be stimulation of the proliferation of germ weapons, including lethal ones. The facilities for developing, producing and delivering incapacitating biological weapons are essentially the same as those required for lethal germs. International law and international custom do not distinguish between them.

To summarize, incapacitating biological weapons might seem logical in certain tactical situations, but such situations are most unlikely, and even then the risks would outweigh the possible gain.

Here a more general statement about germ weapons should be made. Such weapons have serious shortcomings from a military viewpoint. Their effects are not as predictable as those of other weapons. They might get out of control. Alternative and already available weapons are preferable, and the acquisition of a biological weapons capability would be an addition to, not a substitute for, preexisting military expenditures and programs.

Military officers and political leaders are strongly disinclined to use biological weapons, partly for practical reasons, partly because of unfamiliarity and partly because of the moral revulsion and apprehension that are undeniably associated with these weapons. There does not currently seem to be any serious interest in biological weapons in high military circles anywhere. Although such weapons could become a terrible menace, the likelihood of this is greatly reduced by the spectacular gesture of renunciation made by the U.S. This is the moment in history when the biological sciences, and their intimate linkage to the lifesaving ethos of medicine, may be spared from being recruited to serve military ends all over the world. Whether or not international biological disarmament can be ensured over the long run may ultimately be related to progress in chemical disarmament, for in the minds of many the two are linked.

Chemical weapons present a much more immediate problem. They were used in World War I and are stockpiled by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and are also possessed by several other nations. The distinction between lethal weapons and incapacitating ones have more practical importance here than it has with biological weapons. There are strong restraints against the use of lethal chemical weapons, and until recently nonlethal chemicals have been excluded from warfare as well. From an arms-control point of view there are important arguments for treating lethal and nonlethal chemicals together. Still, for the purpose of analysis it is useful to make the distinction.

Modern lethal chemical weapons employ the nerve gases first developed (but not used) by Germany during World War II. These agents are hundreds of times more poisonous than the poison gases of World War I; they kill when they are inhaled or when they are deposited as liquid droplets on the skin. The term "nerve gas" derives from the fact that these agents operate by interfering with the transmission of nerve impulses across synapses. They do so by inactivating the enzyme cholinesterase, which normally functions to terminate the transmission of a nerve impulse. In the presence of a nerve agent, nerve impulses continue without control, causing a breakdown of respiration and other functions. Death caused by nerve-gas poisoning results from asphyxiation. It is preceded by blurring of vision, intense salivation and convulsions.

The U.S. has stockpiled a variety of tactical nerve-gas weapons, and the U.S.S.R. is believed to have done so too. The weapons include mines, artillery projectiles, rockets, bombs and aircraft spray devices.

The U.S. stockpile includes two kinds of nerve agent. One is GB, a code name for isopropylmethylphosphonofluoridate. It is also known as Sarin and was produced in limited amounts by Germany during World War II. Sarin is a volatile liquid that evaporates at room temperature to a colorless and odorless gas.

Weapons containing Sarin release it as a spray, which then evaporates to create a respiratory hazard for unprotected personnel. The lethal exposure for man is estimated to be approximately 100 milligram-minutes per cubic meter. This means, for example, that a man would accumulate a lethal dose in 10 minutes if the concentration of Sarin in the air were 10 milligrams per cubic meter.

Since the hazard posed by Sarin is mainly respiratory, a gas mask provides good protection. Modern gas masks are capable of reducing the concentration of all known war gases, by a factor of about 100,000. In addition there are chemical antidotes for

nerve agents that can provide protection if the dose of agent is not very great and the antidote is administered promptly.

The other kind of nerve agent in the U.S. stockpile is VX. The chemical formula of VX is still secret, although the WHO report suggests that the agent is ethyl S-dimethylaminoethyl methylphosphonothiolate. It is a member of a class of compounds first prepared in the mid-1950's in the course of a search for improved insecticides. (Sarin was also the outcome of insecticide research.) Also a liquid but several times more toxic than Sarin and much less volatile, VX is lethal either when inhaled or deposited on the skin. VX kills in a matter of minutes, and by contaminating the ground and objects on which it is deposited it can make an entire area hazardous for many days. It was VX that killed the sheep in Utah.

The lethal dose VX applied to the skin has been estimated to be from two to 10 milligrams, depending on the site of application. Since contact with even a small droplet of VX can be fatal, adequate protection requires the wearing of a special suit as well as a gas mask. The wearing of protective suits and masks is extremely cumbersome. They are mechanically awkward, and the buildup of heat is a serious problem. Fighting efficiency would be severely reduced by the wearing of full protective equipment and also by the strict observation of various special precautions necessary for survival in a lethal chemical environment. This kind of complexity in gas warfare was clearly recognized in World War I. In the words of one officer: "The range of problems was infinite. How would the soldier eat, drink, sleep, perform bodily functions, use his weapon, give and receive commands? How would he know when his immediate area was contaminated?"

For tactical use against an enemy without protective equipment, lethal chemicals would be devastating. Against an enemy possessing suits and masks and able to impose the wearing of such gear on one's own troops by the threat of retaliation in kind, lethal chemical weapons would enormously complicate the battlefield without giving either side a major advantage. This argues for not initiating lethal chemical warfare. It also suggests, however, a reason for possessing lethal chemical weapons as a tactical deterrent if the other side is thought to have them. For example, if conventional land warfare should ever break out in Europe, with only one side in possession of lethal chemical munitions, that side might be tempted to use them in order to force opposing troops into protective gear while its own forces, taking advantage of their knowledge of the timing and location of the chemical attack, pressed the offensive. Having this knowledge, the argument goes, their operations would be considerably less complicated. It is this kind of analysis that presumably underlies the U.S. policy of maintaining lethal chemical weapons even though it is our policy never to initiate their use.

Both the plausibility and the accuracy of the foregoing scenario can be challenged. Many would maintain that a major war in Europe is extremely unlikely. It is even more unlikely that such a war could go on for many days without resort to nuclear weapons, in which case chemicals would become unimportant. Finally, it is argued, even in the event of a large nonnuclear war the use of chemicals would be strongly deterred by the risk that using such unconventional weapons to obtain any major advantage would trigger a nuclear response.

Clearly there are some risks in either approach. The second approach, however, would allow the renunciation of the possession of lethal chemical weapons.

Lethal chemical weapons could be produced by nonnuclear nations to provide a capability for strategic attack on urban populations. Under meteorological conditions favorable to the attack, a medium bomber or a converted commercial air transport can deliver enough nerve agent to kill a high proportion of unprotected people throughout the central region of a large city. For example, the WHO report estimates that an airborne attack across the wind along a two-kilometer line, releasing four tons of chemical agent over a city, would cause high casualties over an area of between two and 40 square kilometers, depending on the type of agent and muntions used. Given adequate warning a highly disciplined population could be defended against such an attack by a combination of gas masks, protective shelters and antidote therapy. Although strategic chemical weapons would add nothing significant to the arsenals of the nuclear powers, the proliferation of such weapons among the nonnuclear nations would obviously constitute a serious hazard. Even though it is unlikely that a small nation could deliver a chemical attack over a wide area of a country that has modern air defenses, it would be much easier to penetrate the air space over one or a few coastal cities.

It is also important to consider the possible role of lethal chemical weapons in "low level" conflicts. Today such conflicts are fought with high-explosive and flame weapons, which individually have limited area effect. Although such wars can be exceedingly destructive, they become so only when enormous quantities of weapons are used. (In Vietnam, for example, more than 6,000 tons of ammunition were expended by the U.S. daily in 1968.)

Many of the types of munitions used in limited war, however, could be filled with lethal chemicals. In such a case the "kill area" of lightweight munitions such as mortar shells and rockets could be increased by a factor of as much as 100. Even though combatants could be provided with protective equipment, such weapons would be devastating to military units caught unprepared and to civilians in urban areas. Small military units would begin to acquire strategic capabilities against cities.

It is apparent, therefore, that chemical weapons constitute a menace far beyond their possible tactical employment by the major powers. It is this menace that provides one of the chief arguments for chemical and biological disarmament. A concluding but often overriding restraint on the tactical use of lethal chemicals, particularly when the battlefield is on friendly soil, is that their large-scale employment could cause heavy casualties among undefended civilians in the combat zone and out to considerable distances downwind.

Although U.S. policy now treats toxins in the same way as biological weapons, by renouncing even their possession, the UN report classifies toxins as chemicals because they do not reproduce. Toxins are poisonous substances produced by living organisms including plants, animals and bacteria. Examples are ricin from the castor bean, tetrodotoxin from the globefish and botulin from the bacterium *Clostridium botulinum*. Some toxins, such as botulin, are highly lethal to man; others, such as the staphylococcus enterotoxin (the substance responsible for staphylococcal food poisoning), are usually only temporarily incapacitating.

Even though toxins are not capable of reproduction and therefore cannot cause epidemics, they do induce many of the same symptoms associated with infection by disease organisms. Indeed, the principal pathological symptoms of several bacteriological diseases are thought to be caused by toxins produced within the human body by the living microorganisms. Thus toxin weapons, both in terms of the means of their production and the symptoms they cause, are closely related to the biological ones.

For use as weapons toxins could be dispersed as aerosols in much the same way as biological and chemical weapons. Because toxins are not absorbed effectively through the skin, gas masks would provide protection, as would shelters fitted with special air filters. Protection can also be afforded by prior immunization with specific toxoid. Each toxoid, however, is effective only against a particular kind of toxin, and for some toxins the margin of protection is no enough to be of practical significance.

The chief military argument for having toxins is that, because of their great potency, the weight of toxin munition needed to cover a given area would be lower than the corresponding requirement for standard chemical munitions. There are several technical reasons to question whether this is so, but even if it were, the saving would not be of very great importance for major military powers with their large logistic capability. An active U.S. toxin weapons program would have run counter to the President's decision to demilitarize and declassify U.S. biological weapons research and production facilities and would have made it impossible for the U.S. to take an unequivocal and convincing stand against the uses of disease as a weapon of war.

The first chemical weapons to be employed in World War I were nonlethal. It is reported that some soldiers brought police tear-gas cartridges to the front. Soon both Germany and France began using artillery shells containing tear gas, and thousands of these shells were fired months before the famous German attack at Ypres with chlorine gas released from cylinders. Tear gas and other irritant chemicals continued to be used throughout the war—more than 12,000 tons in all. Even larger quantities of such chemicals were prepared but not employed by the belligerents on both sides in World War II.

Modern incapacitating chemical weapons are of two types, one with effects lasting considerably beyond the period of exposure and one with brief effects. President Nixon's renunciation of the first use of incapacitating chemicals has been applied only to the longer-lasting type. An example of this type is the U.S. agent BZ. This is a psychochemical, the chemical identity of which is still secret, although the WHO report speculates that it belongs to the family known as benzilates. BZ is a solid that can be dispersed as an aeorsol to be inhaled by enemy personnel. It affects both physical and mental processes, causing blurred vision, disorientation and confusion. Its incapacitating effects can last for several days.

Although BZ has been standardized as a weapon by the U.S. Army and munitions have been loaded with it, it is not regarded as a very satisfactory incapacitating agent. It can elicit unpredictable and often violent behavior. Men sufficiently motivated to fight may do so more tenaciously under its influence. Furthermore, BZ has serious effects on the body's water-balance and temperature-regulation mechanisms that could lead to death, particularly under hot, dry conditions. Much effort has been devoted, without success, to finding a long-lasting incapacitant without these drawbacks or similar ones.

The principal short-term incapacitant now in military use is CS (orthochlorobenzalmalonitrile). This compound was first synthesized in the U.S. in the 1920's. After World War II it was developed by the British government as a riot-control agent and named after its American discoverers, Ben Corson and Roger Staughton of Middlebury College. When employed for military purposes, it is more accurately described as a harassing agent.

The first CS munitions operated by vaporizing the agent from a pyrotechnic mixture. The CS then condenses to form an aerosol of

micron-sized particles. Pyrotechnic CS is used in grenades, rockets, artillery shells and cluster bombs. A newer form is designated CS–2. Used in both bulk-disseminating devices and bursting bombs, it is a powder consisting of micron-sized particles treated with silica gel and silicone compound to improve its flow properties and persistence in the field. CS–2 can be effective in the field for several weeks. It is reintroduced into the air by the wind and the movement of people and vehicles.

The effects of CS depend on the particle size of the aerosol. Particles larger than some 50 microns exert their predominant effect on the eyes, whereas smaller particles are more effective as lung irritants. For military use CS–2 is milled fine enough to achieve the latter effect. Exposure to either form of CS causes intense pain in the eyes and upper respiratory tract, progressing to the deep recesses of the lungs and giving rise to feelings of suffocation and acute anxiety. In humid weather moderately heavy skin exposure can cause severe blistering that requires many days for healing.

If exposure is not excessive, the symptoms usually pass within a few minutes after the exposure ends. The lethal dose for man, as estimated from animal experimentation, is very much higher than that required to cause intense irritation. Nevertheless, heavy or prolonged exposure, such as might be expected in confined spaces or in close proximity to a munition emitting the agent, could cause serious lung damage and death, particularly among infants and the infirm. No long-term aftereffects of moderate exposure to CS have been demonstrated. Although investigations of this possibility are now under way, they have not been completed.

For military purposes CS has supplanted older harassing agents such as ordinary tear gas (CN, or chloracetophenone) and the emetic and respiratory agent known as adamsite or DM.

When used in war against unmasked personnel, harassing agents are effective in forcing an enemy from cover to face capture or hostile fire, to deny him terrain or to upset his fire. Against masked personnel harassing agents are very much less effective, although they reduce fighting efficiency somewhat by forcing men to put on masks. The first major application of harassing gas in combat since World War I has come in Vietnam, where more than 14 million pounds have been used by U.S. forces. At first U.S. policy was to use CS only when its employment would be more humane than the use of more lethal weapons. For example, on March 24, 1965, following the first newspaper reports of U.S. use of nonlethal gas in Vietnam, Secretary of State Dean Rusk made the following statement: "We do not expect that gas will be used in ordinary military operations. . . . The anticipation is, of course, that these weapons will be used only in those situations involving riot control or situations analogous to riot control."

For five months following Rusk's statement the use of harassing agents in Vietnam ceased completely. Then an event took place that put the use of CS in the most attractive possible light and probably played an important role in bringing about authorization for its renewed employment. On September 5 a Marine officer came on a cave where civilians were thought to be intermingled with Vietcong soldiers. Faced with a choice between sending in a assault force, throwing in CS grenades or abandoning the mission, he decided on CS. It was reported that several enemy soldiers and 400 civilians emerged without injury to noncombatants. Following this incident soldiers and field commanders found a wide variety of uses for CS in regular combat. Soldiers encountered many situations in which it could be used to inflict casualties on the enemy and otherwise perform their mission while reducing their own losses. One of the major uses of CS in Vietnam is to flush enemy soldiers out of bunkers preceding high-explosive fire or infantry assault.

The overall utility of CS in Vietnam is not known, no systematic studies have been made. It has nonetheless been a popular weapon, and under this pressure from the battlefield its use has expanded greatly. One indicator is the yearly record of Army procurement of CS for Southeast Asia, which rose from 253,000 pounds in fiscal year 1965 to 6,063,000 pounds in 1969. Another indicator is the rapid proliferation of experimental and newly standardized CS munitions developed by the Army. As recently as July, 1966, military manuals listed only five types of CS weapons: two grenades and three bulk disseminating devices. Since then 18 new CS munitions have appeared, ranging from grenades with delayed-action fuzes for air drop up to 105-millimeter and 155-millimeter howitzer projectiles, various mortar and rocket munitions and a number of aircraft bombs with area coverage ranging up to a square kilometer.

It is sometimes argued that nonlethal chemical weapons would make war more humane. There is good reason, however, to expect the opposite. As long as lethal weapons are employed in war, if nonlethal chemicals are introduced, it must be expected that they will come to be employed not by themselves but rather in coordination with the weapons already in service, in order to increase the overall effectiveness of military operations. Certainly this has been so in the case of the agent CS.

The expansion of CS use in Vietnam has given rise to two widespread concerns. The first is that the U.S. has departed from its original humanitarian justification for the use of chemicals in war. Second, it is becoming increasingly clear that the long-term arms control cost to the U.S. may be severe. I shall return to this point.

The last category of chemical weapons to be considered here is antiplant agents. These agents were first developed for military purposes during World War II and subsequently came into wide use for weed control. Near the end of the war some consideration was given to using them to destroy rice being cultivated by Japanese soldiers in isolated island strongposts, but the plan was never authorized. Herbicides were used on a small scale to clear roadsides by the British in Malaya during their military operations there in the 1950's.

The use of herbicides in Vietnam was first authorized on an experimental basis in 1961. They next came to be employed there for increasing visibility along roads and waterways and on the perimeters of military installations; then for the destruction of crops thought to be destined for enemy consumption, and finally for the treatment of large areas suspected of harboring enemy base camps or supply routes. By mid-1969 approximaetly five million acres had been sprayed, 10 percent of it cropland. Following a peak in 1967, anticrop operations were substantially reduced, reflecting adverse criticism of both their propriety and their effectiveness.

Three principal antiplant agents or mixtures have been in service. They are designated Orange, White and Blue. Agent Orange is an equal mixture of the n-butyl esters of 2,4-dichlorophenoxy-acetic acid (2,4-D) and 2,4,5-trichlorophenoxyacetic acid (2,4,5-T). The agent is mainly directed against forest vegetation. It is applied undiluted at three gallons per acre, approximately 25 times the average amount for domestic application. Within a week or more after its application the leaves fall from most jungle trees. Orange has been the antiplant agent most widely used in Vietnam, but recently its employment has been suspended because of concern that 2,4,5-T may cause human birth defects.

Agent White is a 4: 1 mixture of the triisopropanolamine salts of 2,4-D and 4-amino-3,4,6-trichloropicolinic acid. The latter component is known as picloram. The agent is sprayed from a water solution at a rate of approximately 7.6 pounds of total herbicide per acre. It is genearlly used for the same purposes as agent Orange, although its somewhat lower volatility makes it preferable for operations while drifting would be a hazard, as in the vicinity of rubber plantations. The extreme resistance of picloram to biodegradation has been a factor in limiting its employment.

Agent Blue is a water solution of sodium dimethylarsinate, applied at the rate of nine pounds per acre. It is used mainly against rice.

Any evaluation of the military effectiveness of herbicides is made particularly difficult by the fact that they exert their effects on the enemy only indirectly and after a substantial time lag. Certainly the most dubious form of antiplant warfare from a military point of view is crop destruction. It is not generally possible to distinguish crops destined for noncombatants from those to be consumed by soldiers. Indeed, both common sense and the experience of many wars show that when the food supply is restricted, it is the civilians and not the soldiers who go on short rations, and it is the children who are most harmed by malnutrition.

There is very little quantitative information about the overall military utility of herbicides used to improve visibility. There is no doubt that the leaves drop and visibility is thereby improved. As a result an enemy will generally choose to avoid such areas. Nonetheless, an enemy commander will not withdraw his men from action; he will deploy them elsewhere. Thus for every soldier who gains protection from improved visibility there may be another soldier or civilian receiving fire from a redeployed enemy soldier. Obviously the trade-off will not be precisely equal, but this effect will act to exaggerate the apparent military effectiveness of herbicides.

Certainly in some situations there are alternatives to chemical defoliants. In Vietnam giant plows, often working under the protection of military escorts, have been used to clear more than 500,000 acres. Where possible, this method is more effective than the aerial spraying of chemical defoliants because it removes branches and trunks as well as leaves.

I have attempted to keep the foregoing discussion factual in order to define the issues. Emotions run high on the subject of chemical and biological weapons, however, and few persons can discuss the subject without expressing or evoking strong feelings about whether or not it is wise to use or even to possess such weapons. The strong feelings generated by these weapons have been responsible for the fact that historically they have been singled out for special efforts at arms control. The most important international effort to prohibit the use of such chemical and biological weapons is the Geneva Protocol of 1925. It prohibits (1) "the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases, and of all analogous liquids, materials or devices" and (2) "the use of bacteriological methods of warfare." The protocol does not prohibit research, development, testing or production of gas or germ weapons. It does not prohibit the use of such weapons in reprisal against their first use by the enemy. It does not prohibit the use of riot-control gases or other agents for domestic police purposes. It does not prohibit the use in war of nontoxic smokes used for concealment or of flamethrowers, napalm or other incendiary weapons. The language of the Geneva Protocol is derived from the peace

treaties of World War I, which treated gas warfare as already prohibited and specifically forbade the manufacture and importation of war gases by Germany and her wartime allies. On the inititive of the U.S., an article based on the language of the peace treaties was incorporated in the 1922 Washington Treaty on Submarines and Noxious Gases. At the urging of President Harding, Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes, Senator Elihu Root and a presidentially appointed advisory committee of prominent citizens, the Washington Treaty passed through the Senate with no dissenting votes. Although ratified by the U.S., Great Britain, Italy and Japan, this treaty never came into force because France, whose ratification was required, objected to its provisions on submarines.

The U.S. again pressed for a prohibition against gas warfare at the 1925 Geneva Conference on the Limitation of Arms, proposing language on gas essentially identical with that of the Washington Treaty. The prohibition was extended to cover "bacteriological methods of warfare" at the suggestion of Poland. The resulting treaty—the Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare—was signed by representatives of 38 nations on June 17, 1925.

The Coolidge Administration and the various supporters of the protocol seem to have assumed that the Senate would give its consent as readily as it had to the Washington Treaty. Almost nothing was done to prepare the case for ratification or to mobilize public support. Meanwhile the Army Chemical Warfare Service, the American Legion, the American Chemical Society and segments of the chemical industry organized the opposition. The arguments made against ratification were that the protocol would be ignored in time of war and that poison gas was more humane than bombs and bullets. The protocol was debated but not acted on by the Senate—apparently because the majority leader did not have the votes. It remained on the Foreign Relations Committee docket until 1947, when President Truman withdrew it together with several other long-pending treaties.

By 1939 the Geneva Protocol had been ratified by 44 nations, including all major European powers. At the outbreak of World War II, England, France and Germany exchanged assurances that they would abide by the protocol. In 1943 President Roosevelt declared that gas warfare was "outlawed by the general opinion of civilized mankind" and that "we shall under no circumstances resort to the use of such weapons unless they are first used by our enemies." Japan is believed to have used gas against China before our entry into the war but otherwise gas was not used in World War II. The threat of retaliation provided a sanction. The restraint was reinforced by widespread abhorrence of gas and germs and by military skepticism regarding their utility, but it was the protocol that placed gas and germs in a distinct category and provided a clear standard on which the belligerents could base their conduct.

Since World War II the U.S. has on numerous occasions declared its support for the no-first-use principle of the Geneva Protocol. When President Eisenhower was asked at a press conference if he planned a change in our no-first-use policy, he said: "No official suggestion has been made to me, and so far as my own instinct is concerned, it is not to start such a thing first." During President Johnson's Administration the U.S. supported resolutions passed in 1966 and 1968 by the UN General Assembly, calling for "strict observance by all states of the principles and objectives of the Protocol" and "inviting all nations that have not done so to accede to the Protocol." Some statements, however, have made the U.S. position seem ambiguous. For example, the U.S. Army manual *The Law of Land Warfare*, last issued in the 1950's, states that the Geneva Protocol is "not binding on this country."

A total of 84 nations are now parties to the Geneva Protocol; 16 of them have ratified it since the 1966 UN resolution. The parties include all North Atlantic Treaty Organization members except the U.S., all members of the Warsaw Pact including the U.S.S.R. and all nuclear powers (other than the U.S.), including the People's Republic of China. All major industrial nations except Japan and the U.S. are parties. The protocol has been signed but not ratified by the U.S., Brazil, El Salvador, Japan, Nicaragua and Uruguay.

Whether or not the protocol prohibits the use of harassing agents and antiplant chemicals is a subject of some dispute. On the first occasion when nations were canvassed for their views on the status of tear gas (at a League of Nations Commission in 1930). Canada, China, France, the U.S.S.R. and several other nations agreed with the declared British position that "the use in war of 'other' gases, including lachrymatory gases, was prohibited." None of the nations then party to the protocol made objections to this view. The U.S. delegate, however, expressed hesitation over any commitment to refrain from the use in war of agencies used in peacetime by domestic police and whose use in combat would be "more clearly humane than the use of weapons to which [nations] were formerly obliged to resort." Two years later the League Disarmament Conference unanimously recommended that the use of all gases, including tear gas, be prohibited in war. This view was accepted by the U.S. with the understanding that it did not apply to the use of tear gas for police purposes. The discussions were not directed at the Geneva Protocol but at devising a comprehensive disarmament treaty, an attempt that was disrupted by the approach of World War II. The question did not come up again until 1965, when questions were first raised about our employment of CS and herbicides in Vietnam.

Responding to these questions in 1966, the U.S. representative to the General Assembly stated that the protocol does not prohibit "the use in combat against an enemy, for humanitarian purposes, of agents that Governments around the world commonly use to control riots by their own people" or of chemicals used to control "unwanted vegetation" for agricultural and other peaceful purposes. At the time these views were contested mainly by the U.S.S.R. and its allies. As the scale of chemical operations in Vietnam has increased, however, the U.S. position has come under mounting attack. Last summer Secretary General U Thant urged the members of the UN to "make clear affirmation" that the protocol prohibits the use of all chemical agents, including tear gas, in warfare. Last winter India, Mexico, Sweden and 17 other nations proposed in the General Assembly a resolution holding that the Geneva Protocol prohibits the use in war of all chemical agents directed at men, animals or plants. The resolution was passed by a vote of 80 to three, with 36 abstentions. Portugal, Australia and the U.S. voted against the resolution.

Since then the British government has declared that CS is exempt from the Geneva Protocol, although Britain still considers the tear gases known in 1930 to be prohibited. The British argument was that CS is less toxic than older tear gases, but it is generally thought that the real motivation of the cabinet was to avoid risking charges that the use of CS for riot control in Ulster was illegal. If so, this reflects a confusion regarding the meaning of the Geneva Protocol, which by its terms prohibits the use of gas only in warfare. The distinction between the use of tear gas for domestic police purposes and the prohibition of its use in war has been observed without difficulty by many nations ever since World War II. Even Sweden, a nation that has led the opposition to the use of tear gas in war, uses it in riot control at home. Ironically, it may be that the massive use of CS in war and the excesses this breeds will generate serious opposition to its domestic use.

As the U.S. moves to ratify the Geneva Protocol, the Administration must decide on a policy regarding the use of harassing agents and herbicides. There is no great difficulty in identifying the pros and cons of maintaining an option to use these agents in war. The difficulty arises when one attempts to quantify the various arguments and then to place values on them in order to reach conclusions.

The principal gain to the user of these agents in war is that to some extent they enable him to increase enemy casualties and to reduce his own. These agents, however, are of significant effect almost only in counterguerilla warfare and, in the case of CS, only if opposing troops are unprotected by gas masks. Hence the arguments for keeping these weapons become important to the extent that a nation anticipates involvement in such wars. CS can be expected to lose its advantage in any case, for once the impression is created that one's forces will use gas, supplies of masks will become much more available throughout the world. North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam are now largely equipped with fairly good Chinese Communist gas masks, and increasing numbers of the excellent Russian Shlem masks are appearing. Even for guerillas the expense of masks is not great.

The main threat to security of continuing the use of these agents is the increased likelihood of proliferation of chemical weapons and of the breakdown of the restraints against chemical warfare. Our employment of harassing gas in war, particularly when it is done on a large scale in conjunction with ordinary military operations, stimulates military planners in other nations to secure gas masks, initiate chemical training and upgrade chemical cadres and to consider acquiring for their own nations chemical weapons of various types, including lethal ones.

The large-scale military employment of antiplant chemicals poses ecological and public health problems of which we still know little but that could be most serious in the long run. The precedent of countenancing large-scale alteration of the environment in the conduct of war has obvious perils. Moreover, in many parts of the world use might be made of chemicals as agents of starvation and economic warfare against the civil population. Because of the relative ease with which this tactic can be practiced, it would be difficult to stop once the precedent is set.

The general problem of preventing chemical and biological warfare is to a large extent a psychological one. Perhaps the central problem is to prevent the application of biochemistry and biology to the opening up of a new and highly unpredictable dimension of warfare. If we can maintain and reinforce the traditional expectation that no gas or germs will be used in war, there will not be much pressure for these weapons to proliferate.

The psychological aspect of the problem has been understood by essentially all nations, including the U.S., ever since World War I. Recently, however, a dangerous break with tradition has been allowed to occur and to escalate in Vietnam. Many who have studied the problem consider the use of chemical weapons there, even though they are not lethal chemicals, to be the major and most immediate threat to the barriers that prevent chemical warfare.

If we can accept the loss of our option to use harassing agents and antiplant chemicals as weapons of war, then, judging from the

recent vote in the General Assembly, it appears likely that all important nations of the world could be brought to agree. If, on the other hand, the long-observed rule of "No chemical and biological weapons" is abandoned, there will be no unique and equally simple standard on which national practice and international agreement can be based.

ACTIVIST GERM WAR FOE: MATTHEW STANLEY MESELSON

(By David Rosenbaum)

WASHINGTON, November 25.—In 1963, Dr. Matthew S. Meselson, a young but relatively well-known geneticist from Harvard, came to Washington to work for the summer as a consultant to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. When he arrived, he was assigned to study European nuclear problems. But this seemed to him such a vast area—one in which he could contribute little of importance in a three-month period—that he asked to be reassigned to investigate the Government's chemical and biological warfare programs.

"I wrote one paper, and it was filed away some place and probably forgotten," Dr. Meselson said in a telephone interview today. "But I became deeply concerned about the problems."

As a result of this concern, Dr. Meselson spent at least half his time over the last six years working behind the scenes to bring about a change in the Government's policy on germ and chemical warfare.

INFLUENCE ON PRESIDENT

There are many here in Washington and in the academic community who give Mr. Meselson more credit than any other individual in influencing the decision on chemical and biological warfare that President Nixon announced today.

Occasionally, Dr. Meselson made public appearances to state his case against germ and gas warfare. In 1965, he coordinated a petition against chemical and biological weapons, obtained the signatures of 5,000 scientists and delivered the petition to the Kennedy Administration.

This summer, in conjunction with the Salk Foundation he organized a conference on chemical and biological weapons in Cambridge. And earlier, he testified in closed session before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

But, in the main, Dr. Meselson's work was quiet, undramatic and out of the public view.

He had a special avenue into the present Administration, having been a close friend and neighbor in Cambridge, Mass., of Henry A. Kissinger, the President's national security adviser.

Given complete access to material at the State Department, the Pentagon and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Dr. Meselson developed as deep a background in germ and gas warfare as anyone in the country, and, with gentle and quiet persuasion, he was able to bring more and more government officials around to his view.

CALLS WEAPONS USELESS

"I took the approach of a military planner," he said in the interview. "I tried to persuade people that these weapons were useless, that they were intended to kill the population and we already had other weapons that could do that. The real hazard of lethal germs is that they can kill whole cities."

Matthew Stanley Meselson was born May 24, 1930, in Denver. He graduated from the University of Chicago in 1951 and received his doctorate from the California Institute of Technology in 1957. He has been on the faculty of Harvard since 1960 and has been a full professor of biology since 1964.

In 1957, while doing postdoctoral research at Cal Tech, Dr. Meselson, along with another young scientist, Frank Stahl, performed critical experiments showing how DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid), the master chemical of life, replicates itself.

A thin and rather intense man, with dark hair, Dr. Meselson was married last summer to Sarah Page, who used to work in his laboratory. A previous, childless marriage had ended in divorce.

He said today he was "pleased" to hear of the President's decisions on chemical and germ weapons. But he said he would continue his efforts to press for a strict Government policy on the use of tear gas and defoliants. "What is really needed," he said, "is a technical study with other nations to agree on a line on these weapons."

Dr. Meselson believes that tear gas and herbicides have some legitimate uses—tear gas in domestic crowd control, for instance—but he thinks that their use as an offensive military weapon should be curtailed.

For vacations, Dr. Meselson travels to the South Sea Islands and the Caribbean to skin dive and take underwater photographs. His office, off his laboratory, is filled with books about such places as Tahiti and Bora Bora.

His unflappable nature was exhibited in a restaurant here a few weeks ago. After he had had a hamburger lunch, the waitress asked him if his meal has been satisfactory.

"You might tell the chef," the biologist replied, quietly and without emotion, "that his meat is nearly ready to go bad."

THE VIETCONG STRATEGY OF TERROR

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I attach herewith my newsletter of this week regarding a recent monograph by Douglas Pike, a U.S. Information Service officer, titled, "The Vietcong Strategy of Terror."

I am sure that many of my colleagues in the House will be interested in reading this newsletter.

The newsletter follows:

THE VIETCONG STRATEGY OF TERROR

Suddenly, and in a rather unexplained fashion, there have come a series of articles recently in various U.S. publications denying that a Communist takeover of South Vietnam would result in the murder of hundreds of thousands of South Vietnamese civilians.

An article recently written by a leading U.S. government expert now contends that the Viet Cong would eliminate some three million people if they won decisively in South Vietnam.

The author of this paper is Douglas Pike. He has written two books on the Viet Cong and is now a U.S. Information Service officer in Tokyo. His 125 page monograph, written earlier this year, is titled, "The Viet Cong Strategy of Terror."

This is in reply to those who recently have been denying that the Communists would wipe out their potential opponents if the Viet Cong took over South Vietnam.

Pike contends that the massacre would go on in secret after all foreigners have been expelled from Vietnam. He cites a list of fifteen categories of persons who would be murdered, saying such a list of categories was found in a captured document. Pike notes a statement by Colonel Tram Van Dac, one of the highest ranking Communists ever to defect to the Saigon regime, that "there are three million South Vietnamese on the blood debt list."

Current Viet Cong doctrine, Pike contends, calls for terror for three purposes generally: 1. to diminish the allies' forces; 2. to maintain or boost Communist morale; and 3. to scare and disorient the populace. He says the North Vietnamese now seem to be moving more and more toward a terror strategy as part of a new kind of protracted war. In Central Vietnam, Pike writes, Viet Cong are given terror quotas. As an example, he cites that special intelligence Viet Cong squads, in parts of two provinces, were told to "annihilate" 277 persons during the first half of 1969.

Pike has written the most detailed analysis of the killings at Hue that has yet been seen. "Despite contrary appearance, virtually no Communist killings were due to rage, frustration or panic during the Communist withdrawal" from Hue, which the Viet Cong held for 24 days in February, 1968.

"Such explanations are often heard," he continues, "but they fail to hold up under scrutiny. Quite the contrary, to trace back any single killing is to discover almost without exception, it was the result of a decision rational and justifiable in the Communist mind."

After the capture of Hue, the Communists set out to reconstruct Hue's society, eliminating not just specific individuals, but whole categories of citizens whose existence prevented a new revolutionary society. It is estimated that about 2,000 of the 5,800 people killed at Hue were slain during this second phase. Eventually, the Communists realized they were going to lose Hue and would have to abandon the city. This realization led to phase three, Pike writes: "elimination of witnesses."

And succinctly, Pike adds this thoughtful and provocative ending: "It would not be worthwhile nor is it the purpose of this monograph to produce a word picture of Vietnamese Communists as fiendish fanatics with blood dripping from their hands." He says he wants to describe how the Viet Cong use and justify terror as a critical part of their war strategy. "If there be any at this late date who regard them (the Viet Cong) as friendly agrarian reformers, nothing here in this paper could possibly change that view."

MADRIGAL SINGERS

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, the University Madrigal Singers at Eastern Michigan University is well known in my district and, indeed, throughout the Midwest and Nation as a truly outstanding musical group. Under the inspired leadership of Mrs. Emily Lowe it has explored the vast choral repertoire of the 16th century. But, with skill and versatility, it has also performed other fine music including chamber works by contemporary composers.

The Madrigal Singers have been working throughout the past school year to earn money for a tour in England. This is a 20-day structured itinerary, sponsored by the International Education Exchange Committee.

One result of the trip will be an ex-

change with 18 members of the Berkshire College of Education's girls' choir of Reading, England, who will present a concert on the Eastern Michigan University campus in July.

Mr. Speaker, this choir is a tribute to the goal of excellence. I wish them well in all their activities.

THE HONORABLE JOHN W. McCORMACK

HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, announcement of the impending retirement from these legislative halls of free men of the beloved and admired Speaker of the House brings a stunned silence to the cacophony of discord rising elsewhere in the Nation. We did not realize that we were so near the end of an era.

In the silence, "the past rises before us like a dream," and we see a band of Pilgrims mooring their bark on the wild New England shore. Before leaving their ship, they drew up a "compact," in which they agreed to stand together and to obey rules made by themselves for the common good. They further pledged themselves to a peaceable, orderly, and industrious life. And so was born the distinguished State of Massachusetts.

Historians remark that "Massachusetts has occupied a singular position in our national history. It has always been the heart of New England, and has contributed some of the best streams of influence to our national development and character." Speaking of some of the illustrious sons of the Old Bay State, these historians characterized them as representing "intellectual and moral integrity of the highest type."

The "compact" still stands, and the influence of New England beginnings dominates the careers of the men who have served Massachusetts and the Nation through three and a half centuries. One after another long line of patriots, statesmen, savants, and philosophers has appeared to add luster to the name of Massachusetts. Early in Colonial history an empire of learning was set up which still rules the intellectual world. From it sprang writers and orators whose words still breathe the ideals of freedom and justice. When the hot winds of revolution swirled along the Atlantic coast, it was in Massachusetts that brave men first dared to raise their hands against injustice and oppression, and the blood of courage joined to conviction stained the soil of Lexington and Concord.

To rehearse the words and the deeds that have found origin in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts is but to explain the character of the distinguished gentleman who has presided over the deliberations of the House for more than 8 long and conflict-ridden years. And that is only a fraction of the period during which his influence has risen like a tall Cedar of Lebanon over the affairs of a nation rising out of the ashes of despondency and disillusion to a position of unsurpassed achievement.

JOHN W. MCCORMACK came to Washington at the beginning of an era. It was his good fortune to join a force of farsighted statesmen who could see through the gloom of a depression to the honor and prestige which surround a nation working for the betterment of humanity. One legislative act after another opened up the resources and the latent powers of our economy, and provided the stimulus for the utmost exertions of our genius and ability.

What has evolved is a new world, scarcely recognizable in the remembrance of the one we left behind—a world richer and more conscious of justice and tolerance, more aware of the nature of evil, and more dedicated to the cultivation of the good.

Eventually the record of the progress of the last half century will be engrossed, and the separate acts to which Speaker MCCORMACK has contributed his spirit and his character will stand out like milestones along the road of economic, social, and moral advancement.

Throughout his career, Mr. MCCORMACK has been a fighter. Yet the cold steel of animosity has never glittered in his hand. We know him as the gentlest of men, loyal to his friends, always fair to those who would oppose him, interested only in pursuing the requirements of his intellect, his conscience, and his duty to his Maker and his country. No Member of this body has ever found him too busy or too indifferent to listen to a personal problem. Not a one of us can find difficulty in recalling a special favor he has bestowed. There is in the man an integrity and a virtue which draws only admiration and respect and that personal attachment which is inadequately designated as love.

As Speaker MCCORMACK goes into retirement, he does so with the sure knowledge that he leaves a part of himself in this Assemblage. His deeds and his career will not fade from consciousness. Forty years of this Nation's history is inextricably interwoven with the life story of JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

So we wish him the satisfaction and joy of a job well done, a life wisely expended in service to his fellow men. May the years of his happiness with the gracious lady who has shared his tasks and accomplishments be long in the land they both love, and may the Angel of the Lord watch over them and keep them from evil.

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

HON. FRANK M. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to our beloved speaker, JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

When I came to the House in 1955, Speaker MCCORMACK, then majority leader, was most helpful in advising me about procedure and assisting me in obtaining committee assignments.

He not only was a political friend but a close personal friend, and, in my opinion, has been one of the most able speakers of all time. Under his speakership, much landmark legislation was enacted.

I wish for him and Mrs. McCormack a happy and long period of retirement to reap the rewards of his long years of faithful service to his nation.

INADEQUATE MEDICAL CARE AT VETERANS HOSPITALS

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, on May 21, 1970, incensed over the sad state of our veterans hospital system, I introduced House Resolution 1043 calling for a select committee to conduct an immediate and short-term study to assess the present and required personnel and facilities for high quality medical care and treatment for our veterans. The purpose of the committee's study would be to recommend, by August 15, 1970, appropriate House action to improve conditions in our Veterans' Administration hospitals as soon as possible.

President Nixon recently approved a $15 million supplemental appropriation for the Veterans' Administration's 1970 fiscal year budget. This is a welcome addition, but in light of the deplorable conditions of our veterans hospitals today, it is simply not enough.

Our Veterans' Administration healthcare program is in a deteriorating state of health itself. Its hospital system, the largest in the world, is tragically underfunded and understaffed. Over $20 million worth of modern hospital equipment stands idle today in VA hospitals throughout the country for lack of funds and personnel to operate it.

The recent survey of VA hospitals conducted by the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs revealed that it has been forced to operate with only half the personnel/patient ratio of other State and local hospitals. In stark contrast to the general community's 2.7 ratio of staff members per patient or the university's 3.5 ratio, the Veterans' Administration hospitals' average ratio was 1.5—a blatant indication of its serious plight.

These funding and staff shortages have forced VA hospital directors to divert funds from maintenance and equipment budgets to meet the rising costs of food, drugs, and medical supplies. Purchase of new equipment has been delayed, construction projects cut short, rehabilitation programs deferred in the current anti-inflationary effort. Unfortunately, however, these budget cuts have come precisely at the time the VA hospital system faces a serious challenge.

Since 1965 our veteran population has increased by 6 million; Vietnam casual-

ties by 300 percent. Yet, employment of doctors and nurses remains at the 1966 level and this year we have 1,000 fewer hospital beds. Approximately 75,000 Vietnam veterans are returning each month. One quarter of a million of our servicemen in Vietnam have been wounded and one-half of these have required hospitalization.

The VA hospital system desperately needs additional staff with more skill than ever to cope with the special needs of our Vietnam war wounded. Use of the helicopter and better evacuation techniques are saving the lives of thousands who would not have survived earlier conflicts. During World War II it took an average of 10.5 hours for a man to reach medical attention; in Vietnam it takes only an average of 2.8 hours or as little as 20 minutes. As a result this war is crippling our servicemen at twice the rate of the Korean war and three times the rate of World War II. This rate of totally disabled has soared from 4.4 percent in World War II to 12.4 percent today. These growing numbers of Vietnam veterans mean we need more not fewer hospital beds; increased not reduced fundings.

Coronary/intensive care units, hemodialysis centers, organ replacement centers—these specialized medical programs so necessary to treat the wounds of the Vietnam veteran—are being shortchanged. Funds are insufficient and personnel are lacking to put them into operation. We are saving money at the expense of the veteran's health. We are reneging on our commitment to provide the soldier with first-class medical care.

In my own State of New York, which ranks second in veteran population—2,507,000, as of June 1969—there are approximately 3,300 positions short of needed staff if one applies the chairman's recommended minimal ratio of two staff members per patient. Filling these positions would cost about $30 million annually. The staffing ratio at the Bronx VA hospital is only 1.72. To achieve the recommended ratio, the hospital needs over 300 additional positions, at a cost of $2.9 million annually. The grave situation the hospital directors face in my State only reflects the deteriorating situation of the whole VA hospital program.

The President's $15 million supplemental appropriation for the Veterans' Administration this year provides funds for expanded dental care of the Vietnam veterans and improves, as he puts it, "the staffing and operation of key specialized medical units and increased home dialysis and drug costs." It does not, however, begin to meet the needs the VA doctors have foreseen. It fails to provide adequate funds to replace sorely needed equipment to fill the need for revitalized construction programs and rehabilitation projects. It barely improves the personnel-patient ratio. It is a stopgap measure designed to temporarily forestall the crisis we are now facing. I commend the President for it—but it is simply not sufficient.

Mr. TEAGUE's previous study of the VA hospital system revealed this. The chairman is convinced that the first rate quality medical care program for which the VA hospital has long been recognized, is in serious jeopardy. In an effort to save the system from further deterioration, he has proposed an amendment of $4 million increase to the second supplemental appropriation. I support this measure, wholeheartedly, and urge its quick enactment.

But we must not stop here. Our veterans must be given the best possible care and treatment now. As concerned as I am over the inflationary spiral plaguing our country, veterans' hospitalization is not a proper area for cutbacks in spending. Surely, we in Congress can easily recognize programs that deserve the Nation's top priority and those that should be reduced or eliminated altogether.

Let us clear our vision and carry out the moral commitment America made when we asked our servicemen to offer their blood and their lives in the cause of freedom.

We must have additional appropriations to improve the Veterans' Administration hospital system and we must have them soon.

BOTSWANA'S FOREIGN POLICY

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, several months ago, His Excellency President Seretse Khama of Botswana addressed the ninth annual conference of the Botswana Democratic Party on the subject of his country's foreign policy. I believe that his speech is an important document not only for the emerging nations of Africa but also for the emphasis it places on nonracialism in that continent and throughout the world. I am inserting the speech in the RECORD at this point since I believe it will be of interest to Members:

BOTSWANA'S FOREIGN POLICY

1. It is first my very pleasant duty in opening this ninth annual conference of the Botswana Democratic Party to welcome and introduce our guests, the representatives of fraternal parties. This occasion is an historic one because for the first time we have at our Conference a guest speaker sent from the Tanganyika African National Union by my friend President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. Since this is our first guest from TANU I shall introduce him first. He is the Honourable Waziri Juma, M.P. and Regional Commissioner for Tabora. I am especially pleased to welcome him because his visit has provided Botswana and the BDP with the opportunity of repaying in a small way past hospitality which our people have enjoyed in Tanzania and from TANU. I recall with particular pleasure my own visit to Tanzania in 1964. The Vice-President and Secretary-General of our Party Dr. Masire has, I know, equally happy memories. And it was only early this month that our Executive Secretary, Mr. Morake, in his capacity as Assistant Minister in my Office, was able to visit Tanzania to study the progress made there in the field of information and broadcasting. This was for him a happy return, since at the time of Botswana's Independence he visited Dar-es-Salaam as the guest of TANU. And of course many of our government officials have gone to Tanzania for training and horizon-broadening visits. I am delighted Mr. Juma is with us today so that we can thank him publicly for his country's contribution to our nation-building effort.

2. A visit from our fraternal party UNIP is no new experience. BDP members and indeed all Batswana still recall with emotion the historic occasion in 1968 when President Kaunda opened our Conference. We therefore welcome with particular warmth our two guests from Zambia, the Honourable Mr. Chanda M. P. and the Honourable Mr. Thorneycroft. They are both Ministers of State in President Kaunda's Office and they bear greetings from President Kaunda and from UNIP. We shall look forward to hearing from them. Botswana and Zambia are already firmly bound by close ties of friendship. Many of us here today have received a warm welcome in Zambia, and we are particularly grateful for the training and study opportunities Zambia has made available to Botswana. We know that Zambia and Tanzania have close fraternal links. Botswana looks equally to both countries for friendship and support.

3. At the same time I want to welcome also the representatives of other friendly governments who are present here today. Their presence here is evidence of the close interest they take in our development, and of their support for our efforts to build on our independence.

4. It has been my practice in the past on these occasions to review the whole field of Botswana's development, but today I want to focus on one major theme: Botswana's foreign policy. It is not that I wish today to announce any dramatic new policy departure. Indeed I want to stress that our foreign policy has since Independence developed gradually and always in a consistent direction. I have made references to our foreign policy objectives in Conference speeches and other occasions, but apart from my Address to the United Nations last August, I have not attempted to pull the threads of our policy together and to explain in detail the principles underlying it. And it is this last task today on which I wish to concentrate. In our 1969 Election Manifesto we outlined our national objectives of democracy, development, self-reliance and unity, and showed how we applied them in practice. Foreign policy was dealt with in an introductory chapter which sought to explain the meaning of Independence. Today I want to attempt to apply our national principles specifically to the field of external affairs. I think it is time that as a party we considered in greater depth Botswana's role in Africa and in the world. It is necessary that you the leaders of our party should have a clear grasp of these matters so that you can explain them directly to our people, and relate them to our other policies.

5. But first let us make it clear that we are free from illusions. We are well aware that we are still a largely undeveloped, sparsely populated country, whose first concern must be our own development. We must put the highest priority on our development effort if independence is to have real meaning for our people. We recognise that we are not a world power, to be reckoned with in the highest international circles. No other country trembles when we speak. We have no army. The machinery through which we conduct our diplomatic affairs is fairly rudimentary. Because of financial and manpower limitations we have at present only four foreign missions, and these together with the external affairs section of my own Office, have small staffs.

6. So we are not unaware of our limitations. But that is not a reason for declining to

adopt a consistent approach to world affairs. Our capacity to influence world events may be limited, but that is no reason for not attempting to make a contribution where we can. In order to do this, we must be clear about our principles, and consistent in our attempts to apply them.

7. We must also recognise that though, like many other countries, in an increasly interdependent world, our options are limited by circumstance, we are nonetheless an independent sovereign state, and a member of the OAU, the UN and the Commonwealth. Membership of these organisations confers certain advantages and imposes certain responsibilities and obligations. It also makes it possible for us to put our viewpoint before a wider audience than would be possible through our bilateral relationships with other states.

8. How then do we translate the principles of the BDP and Botswana into concrete foreign policy objectives? To begin with our first and basic principle, how dc we interpret our concern with *democracy* in the field of external relations? First of all, although we welcome the establishment of diplomatic relations with all friendly states, our oclsest relationships are with those countries who share our commitment to democracy.

9. Democratic societies should favour the resolution of conflicts by peaceful means rather than by recourse to violence, and Botswana therefore gives full support to those international institutions which offer the hope that disputes can be settled peacefully. I am thinking in particular of the United Nations, but also of the Commonwealth, and of the Organisation of African Unity, especially its Committee for Mediation, Conciliation, and Arbitration.

10. We recognise, however, that there is no single framework for democracy, and that different states apply the basic principles of democracy in different ways. But for Botswana a basic ingredient of democracy is that each man's vote has equal value, and that each man must be encouraged to make an equal contribution to his country's well-being and development. Democracy must permit everyone, irrespective of race, colour, tribe or creed to fulfill himself and make the contribution to his society which his education and abilities permit. We hope in particular by demonstrating that non-racial democracies can be successful in Africa, that countries like Botswana, Tanzania and Zambia will lead other societies, which are based on the denial of self-determination on grounds of race, to modify and ultimately to abandon their inhumane and wasteful practices.

11. While we respect the principles of noninterference in the affairs of other sovereign states, we are as a non-racial democracy bound to raise our voice in international forums in support of the principle of universal self-determination. The same sense of duty and our geographical position means that we must continue to provide a refuge for those who have found themselves unable for one reason or another to continue to live in neighboring minority-ruled territories. We recognise our responsibility to these victims of political circumstance, and we are trying to discharge this obligation as well as our resources permit. And here we must acknowledge the generous assistance we have received from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, the World Food Programme, the World Council of Churches and other international bodies. We have granted refugees recognition of their status and done all within our power to settle them and assist them in beginning a new life in Botswana. All we ask in return is that refugees should respect our laws and our national principles, and refrain from activities which are prejudicial to our security or which could adversely affect the present climate of tolerance towards them among Batswana.

12. Finally since democracy is based on the belief that each citizen should be permitted as far as possible to lead his own life, in the international context democracy leads us to insist on the right of sovereign countries to determine their own policies freely and without external interference, providing only that in so doing they do not threaten world peace or the security of other countries.

13. Our second national principle is *development* and this pre-occupation leads Botswana to press in international circles for redressing the imbalance of world resources in favour of the poorer countries. The greatest threat to world peace is international inequality. And here I am not just thinking in terms of increasing the flow of aid and investment from rich countries to poor ones. I am concerned that countries which produce, or as in the case of Botswana will produce, essential raw materials get a fair return for them. Commodity prices and world tariff structures must be arranged in ways which permit emerging industrial countries to protect their infant industries while encouraging them to compete in the markets of more developed countries. Botswana supports the efforts of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and through its membership of international development and financial agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and at meetings of Commonwealth leaders and at Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conferences we raise our voice alongside our brothers in the developing world. A change in the price of an export commodity, or the introduction of a tariff change can only too easily cancel out the efforts of workers and farmers struggling to raise their own and their country's standard of living.

14. These considerations lead me naturally to our next principle, which is *self-reliance*. I believe all African countries are increasingly recognising the importance of this principle. In Botswana our dedication to self-reliance stems from the self-help efforts of the famine period, which we called "Ipelegeng". In Tanzania the same principle is known as "Kujitegemea". In both countries and elsewhere in Africa it means the same thing. If we are to progress as a nation, we must free ourselves from dependence on external aid. For Botswana this means in the first instance freedom from the need to seek aid for our annual budget. We shall of course, even after the date of financial self-sufficiency which is expected to be 1972–3, still need development aid and technical assistance from other countries. But we can only accept this aid with a good conscience and with self-respect if we make the maximum use of all our own resources, not least our human resources.

15. If we are to be free to determine our own social and political philosophy, we must depend on our own efforts. Only if we ourselves exert all our efforts to build Botswana, will Botswana be built in the way we wish it to be built. This means that we must only accept aid which comes without political strings or unacceptable economic conditions. It also means that we must be satisfied that expatriates who come to work among us, wherever they come from, must at least respect our national principles. In fact I believe that many of those who come to Botswana from other countries, especially young people, do so because they identify with our aspirations and wish to help us to succeed in our struggle to assert the principles of human dignity.

16. For self-reliance does not mean that the Botswana must work in isolation. We must not only seek to strengthen our links with rich countries who can provide aid and investment. We must strengthen our links with our brother African countries who face the same problems as ourselves. Despite the difficulties which Botswana faces in such co-operation with independent Africa we are determined to extend trading and other links. This is why we are seeking to build a road from Nata to Kazungula, because it will open up new possibilities of trade with Zambia as well as contributing to the development of Northern Botswana. This is why we are anxious to retain a regional university serving Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, while ensuring that it is responsive to our development needs. This is why we are anxious to send our students and trainees where necessary to institutions elsewhere in Africa. We recognise that we have common problems and common interests with developing countries in Africa and further afield, and we are determined to find practical ways of increasing our co-operation with them.

17. Africa needs to seek aid from the developed countries. But we must demonstrate to donor-nations that we shall not be seeking aid for ever. We are seeking only that aid and Investment from abroad which will enable us to stand on our own feet. For Botswana it is essential that we accept aid only from countries which seek to sustain our independence and support us in the stand we have taken. Self-reliance for Botswana and for Africa also means, as I stressed when I spoke of development, that we should be united in our efforts to achieve a world economic system which will permit all developing countries to rely on their efforts and not to remain for ever at the mercy of the wealthy nations and dependent on international charity.

18. But *unity* among the poor of the world is not enough. We must, however distant the prospect may appear, work for a united world. This does not of course mean that the whole world must embrace a single political or social philosophy. As I have often stressed to you, unity in Botswana must, if it is to be enduring, be based on recognition of the fact that we are a nation made up of different races and tribes. I have also argued that there must be room for different political views, providing our fundamental principles are not undermined. In the same way within Africa and within the world as a whole there must be room for diversity in political viewpoints. President Nyerere has argued this most eloquently in his speeches. He said in a speech on African unity in Cairo that "differences in ideology must not preclude unity. There are and will be, socialists and non-socialists, democrats and non-democrats in Africa." The circumstances and hence the policies of African countries will vary widely, but unity will exist, providing there is mutual respect, and providing that fundamental principles of human dignity are not cast aside or trampled underfoot.

19. World Unity is a distant prospect, but Botswana in common with other African nations will make progress towards this ultimate goal if it makes clear its conviction that differences in ideology must not be allowed to plunge the world into chaos and war. And this is why Botswana is non-aligned. We are non-aligned because we are determined to develop our own social and political philosophy and system to suit our own needs. But we are also non-aligned because we owe no automatic allegiance to either of the major power blocs. We have traditional ties with Britain which is a member of a military alliance of Western countries. We intend to maintain these links for many reasons, not least because Britain is a country which gives aid of a kind we need and in a way which is wholly acceptable to us. Britain in short is one of those countries which are seeking to sustain our independence at a critical stage in our development.

But these links with Britain and with other western countries do not prevent us from establishing relations with other friendly countries, including Communist countries.

20. Botswana's objective is to diversify its external relations to the greatest possible extent. We will work together with all nations in the cause of attaining a world which is not divided between rich and poor, or black and white. And in our efforts to achieve a greater degree of world unity we will lay great emphasis on our membership of those institutions which, in a practical way, bridge the gulf between rich and poor and which bring together nations of different racial composition. That is why we regard ourselves as one of the non-aligned nations of the world. That is why the Commonwealth remains for us an important international institution which must be preserved and developed. For this once again is an international grouping which cuts across barriers of race and ideology.

21. But let us return from these long-term aspirations to the immediate problems confronting us in our region. How do we apply our principles to the area which concerns us most directly? For we must never forget that we are part of Southern Africa. It is therefore of the utmost importance that we clearly define our relationship with the Republic of South Africa. We cannot obliterate the harsh facts of history and geography. We are members of the Southern African Customs Union and the Rand Currency Area. We are of course prepared to co-operate in regional arrangements for disease and pest control. Such plagues know no frontiers, and the breakdown of such long-standing arrangements would be damaging and wasteful—and would have repercussions which would be felt outside our immediate region. We rely on the Southern African transport system for both imports and exports. We need to attract private investment from South African sources. We welcome private investment in Botswana from any source which seeks to build in partnership with the people of this country and not simply to drain us of our resources with little or no return to our economy. We wish to attract South Africans as tourists, providing they are prepared to accept that in Botswana they must respect our non-racial principles.

22. But Botswana's dependence on South Africa is great enough already. We have noted South Africa's offers to assist independent African states with their development of friendly intentions toward Botswana and other independent states. We have recently together with Lesotho and Swaziland conducted lengthy negotiations with South Africa on the Customs Agreement. These have resulted in a more equitable distribution of the revenues of the Customs Area, and the right to protect our infant industries while retaining access to the South African market. But in these negotiations we have not been seeking aid. Nor do we intend to seek aid from South African official sources. It would not be in the interests of either country to increase Botswana's dependence on South Africa. Instead our aim has been and remains to convert the almost total dependence of the colonial period into a pattern of interdependence.

23. We recognise that there is very little Botswana can do to produce a change of heart among South Africa's white population other than by force of persuasion or example. Yet we are determined that no word or deed on Botswana's part will give comfort to the advocates of race supremacy. We have unequivocally condemned the theory and practice of apartheid to the international trust territory of Nambia or South West Africa. Nevertheless we do not attempt to conceal that for obvious reasons Botswana must maintain diplomatic contacts with South Africa. For equally obvious reasons, as I have made clear ever since Independence, we decline to consider the exchange of diplomatic representatives with South Africa until we are confident that South Africa can fully guarantee that Botswana's representatives will in all respects, at all times and in all places be treated in the same way as diplomats from other countries. When I am obliged to get through South Africa I am treated with the respect due to the head of an independent state, nor have my ministers or civil servants any cause for complaint when they visit South Africa for essential negotiations or transit South Africa en route for other destinations. But I know that most Botswana who visit South Africa are treated like black South Africans. Since I refuse to accept that all Botswana are not intrinsically equal this presents obvious difficulties.

24. Human dignity is indivisible and we are not prepared to compromise our non-racial principles. I am confident that our position is respected by our powerful neighbour to the South. They do not like what we have to say about apartheid, just as we do not like what they have to say about non-racialism.

25. We have, I think, demonstrated an important principle. As I told Parliament we have shown that it is possible for two countries which are far from equal in respect of population, wealth, resources and sheer power, and whose economies are closely linked but whose fundamental principles could hardly differ more markedly, to co-exist.

26. Yet it cannot be denied that there is a cloud hanging over Southern Africa. The economic prospects of our region could be limitless were it not for the threat posed by racialism and minority rule and the instability and potential instability to which it must give rise. Botswana endorses as do all independent African states and all but a handful of United Nations members the Lusaka Manifesto. The Lusaka Manifesto, drawn up a year ago by the heads of state of East and Central Africa, firmly states Africa's preference for the achievement of self-determination through negotiation. It was in this way that Botswana's independence was achieved and we would wish that the indigenous populations of neighbouring territories could share our experience. Yet the Lusaka Manifesto, although widely proclaimed throughout the world as a moderate and realistic statement has gone unheeded. The consequences of this refusal to consider even the possibility of change in the region will be serious indeed.

27. Botswana has, for instance, repeatedly drawn attention to the dangerous consequences of the refusal of Rhodesia's whites to envisage the possibility of peaceful progress to majority rule. The declaration of the illegal Republic is further evidence of the determination of Rhodesia's 250,000 whites to hold down, by force, an African population already approaching five million, and growing rapidly. This obstinacy poses a threat to the stability of the entire region.

28. We have similarly expressed our opposition to Portugal's unyielding refusal to permit any progress towards self-determination in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). Our criticism of Portugal as of Rhodesia is not based on an argument about the timing of a programme of progress towards majority rule, but on their point blank refusal to consider even that possibility. This obduracy leaves the populations of these two countries little alternative but to resort to violence.

29. But Botswana cannot allow itself to be used as a springboard for violence against the minority regimes. Our task is to insulate ourselves from the instability their policies provoke. We must preserve our independence while asserting the principles of human freedom and dignity. I should like at the same time to explain Botswana's position on the recent Security Council Resolution on Rhodesia. It must be obvious that while we share the concern over the Rhodesian situation expressed in the Finnish resolution, it will not be possible for us to comply with all the sanctions it calls for. All of you are only too aware that the only railway linking South Africa and Rhodesia goes through Botswana. As I have repeatedly made clear, Botswana has no intention of interfering with that line, on which we depend for the vital imports and exports essential to our development. Nor can we cut off road communications with Rhodesia. Even the reduction of trade with Rhodesia presents great difficulties, because of Rhodesia's capacity to retaliate. An alternative link with South Africa via Beitbridge could be built relatively quickly and cheaply, and this would leave the future of the Botswana line at best uncertain.

30. Yet Botswana has not ignored the United Nations call for sanctions against the Rhodesian regime. Indeed we have supported this policy as the only alternative to conceding defeat. We have called upon member states, who are in a better position to assist in this matter than ourselves, to co-operate in making sanctions more effective. And we ourselves have done all we can within the constraints of our land-locked position, our frail economy and the administrative problems involved. We have prevented the Rhodesians from using their railway to import arms and military supplies. Our airline has long ceased to fly into Rhodesia. We have prevented the import of Rhodesian beer and tobacco. We are determined where possible to limit our dependence on Rhodesia. More than a year ago I called for the withdrawal of South African Security forces from Rhodesia.

31. But this must be the limit of our contribution. And how much more difficult would our position have been in face of the earlier unsuccessful resolution which called for sanctions to be extended to include South Africa! We respect the genuine concern which prompts these resolutions but we cannot comply with them. Nor do I believe that Africa or the world expects us to. And here let me recall with gratitude the understanding expressed by Tanzania's President. President Nyerere, referring to Botswana's inability to implement calls for the complete trade boycott of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, in the course of a statement on foreign policy he made to a TANU Conference at Mwanza in 1967, said:

'We can ask that they should do everything possible to assert the principle of human dignity. But we should not ask them to commit suicide.'

32. We in Botswana read these words with gratitude. Here is evidence that one of the most highly respected of African leaders understands our position. And we know that he is not alone. Our task is to survive amidst the dangers which surround us as an island of sanity and dignity, surrounded by the advocates of racial supremacy and minority rule. And this is the task of all the majority-ruled states in our region. We must preserve our independence and the value that this independence symbolises. This independence can be safeguarded only by our continued stable development. And the same is true of Swaziland and Lesotho. This is why we have expressed our concern at recent developments in Lesotho. Stable development in the situation in which all three countries find themselves, which is not of our choosing, depends on the undivided support of our people for the policies our respective governments pursue. We have made it clear that we have no wish to interfere in the internal policies of a fellow member of the Organization of African Unity but we have expressed the hope that the people of Lesotho may find it possible to make the speediest possible return to democracy and constitutional government on a generally acceptable basis with the minimum of external interference from whatever quarter.

33. So far as Botswana is concerned our commitment to democracy and development

is not in doubt. We are a united people, fully equipped to meet the challenges of the future. The Vice-President when he addresses the Conference tomorrow will be discussing the application of all our national principles to the development tasks ahead. He will be explaining to you the kind of problems these will raise and will be urging you to discuss fully the choices which face us in responding to this challenge. It only remains for me, in conclusion, to emphasize one of these principles, unity. We shall succeed if we retain a united nation. And unity will be preserved if we avoid unnecessary divisions. We must fight against all the forces which could divide us as a nation. One such danger might stem from differences in tribe or race. This for Botswana, I am confident, is not a problem. But there is one other source of weakness which we must equally avoid. And that is the social divisions to which development could give rise if we do not take care to avoid the unequal distribution of the benefits of development which has been a feature of economic growth elsewhere. We do not wish to place any artificial obstacles in the way of the initiative and energy of our people. But equally we must avoid divisions based on occupation of inequality of wealth. We must avoid creating a divided society in which the weakest go to the wall. I am relying on this Conference to give serious thought to these matters so that the united social fabric which is the best guarantee of our independence is preserved. Only in this way will Botswana continue as an influence for good in Africa and in the wider world.

COMMUNIST MYOPIA VERSUS DEMOCRATIC EXAMPLE

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, for many years it has seemed that our efforts to bludgeon the world into anticommunism were ill conceived and probably counterproductive.

Our Vietnam adventure in particular has not only failed to solve that country's problems, but has made us and the principles we represent look so bad in that part of the world that almost any alternative, including nationalistic communism, cannot help but look good by comparison. We have not only compromised the position of world moral leadership we once held; we have also wrought great damage to our own society. Our internal conflicts, our unmet domestic needs, and our distorted national priorities are rising to intolerable proportions. To put it very mildly, our own house is not in order.

Perhaps we would be better advised to oppose communism by turning our own country into such a shining example that the rest of the world will be eager to imitate.

A young constituent of mine, Mark Tauzer of Woodland High School, recently wrote a rather brilliant letter on this subject to his local paper, the Woodland Daily Democrat. He provoked the Democrat to observe that Arnold Toynbee had recently said the same thing, but that Mr. Tauzer said it better. I agree.

I insert Mark Tauzer's letter in the RECORD at this point, followed by the editorial entitled "Mark Tauzer's Goal," from the Woodland Daily Democrat:

LETTER FROM MARK TAUZER

EDITOR.—Tell me, is it really unpatriotic or communistic to disagree with our foreign policy and stand up for what one thinks is right and say "No, I won't go?" Or could it be that this person is very courageous and is reaching out for a higher morality, searching for a higher level of existence, a civilization that gives no more justification for a murder in a remote jungleland, than it does for a killing in your house or block in the United States?

And maybe, just maybe, this assertion could be the beginning to the dream of everlasting peace.

Hopefully the peaceful dissenters and the draft resistors will one day be granted amnesty, as was the case in Germany after the Nuernberg Trials.

The principles which the United States set up at those hearings constantly reminded those on trial that they should have followed their conscience rather than the dictates of an immoral government. And perhaps some day the majority of the people in this country will say NO to Vietnams.

When this happens, when the peace seekers are strong enough to be heard over the shrieking voices of the war makers, then we will be a united America living with communism not fighting it. Just maybe it would be more realistic to respect communism than to condemn it.

"Communism", the word itself not the political system is the cause of fear, a fear that has extracted every ounce of good that such a system might bring to an illiterate and underdeveloped country and a fear that has blindly sent us into Southeast Asia. Possibly the United States of America is wrong to intervene . . . to say it is our duty, our responsibility to stop communism. It may be even that our system of Capitalism doesn't work as well as communism in underdeveloped countries.

Our leaders are realizing this, but are too stubborn, too proud, and too afraid of losing their prestige to admit defeat. Defeat? Oh no, not defeat! Doesn't the world know—isn't it a known fact that we could rip the jungleland to rubble in a matter of minutes? Is it a question of the greatest nation on earth losing to such a backward nation as North Viet Nam, or is it a different issue at stake here, an issue that involves the realization of the stupidity, the wastefulness and the incapability of stopping communism this way?

Communist domination of the world is no longer feasible.

Communism isn't one joint effort headed by the Soviet Union. Instead it is a necessary stepping stone, a building block toward a modified Capitalism. And maybe if we used a little common sense instead of acting with the stick or as the policemen of the world, we might be able to cope with communism.

Instead of trying to destroy communism through force couldn't we find a better way? Maybe a way where we could prove to the world the strength of our democracy through domestic tranquillity and happiness. Wouldn't it be a better way to convince the world to reject communism by proving the workability of our system to theirs?

I hope so.

MARK TAUZER,
Woodland High Senior.

MARK TAUZER'S GOAL

To Arnold Toynbee, eminent British historian, Americans appears to be "moving rapidly toward civil war." He regrets that Americans are ignoring the warnings of George Washington and California's own Senator Hiram Johnson against "entangling alliances," but he acknowledges he would be disappointed if the U.S. retreated into isolation.

The widely-known historian describes as "fantastically excessive" America's "phobia" about Communism. By coincidence, only the day before Toynbee released his own spectacular story to the press, there appeared and extraordinary letter in the "Democrat" which likewise soft-pedaled our country's alarm over Communism. The letter was written by a Woodland high school senior, Mark Tauzer. We salute him for his courage.

In some respects there was a striking resemblance in the conclusions of the seasoned student of history and Woodland's teenager. But Tauzer's comments were more persuasive .

For instance, his letter said:

Just maybe it would be more realistic to respect Communism than to condemn it.

It may even be that our system of Capitalism doesn't work as well as Communism in underdeveloped countries.

Instead of trying to destroy Communism through force, couldn't we find a better way? Maybe a way where we would prove to the world the strength of our democracy through domestic and tranquillity and happiness.

Wouldn't it be a better way to convince the world to reject Communism by proving the workability of our system to theirs?

In effect, both the Woodland schoolboy and the seasoned historian feel there would be no worry on our part over Communism if adequate attention was paid to our grave problems on the home front. Both pointed the way to the "domestic tranquillity and happiness" sought by Tauzer.

For months this newspaper's contention has been identical with theirs. We welcome the seasoned Toynbee and the apt schoolboy to our corner. Think what could be accomplished if the huge funds spent for air-space exploration were diverted toward remedying our domestic afflections. Then Communism would not even be a threat.

Our own security and "domestic tranquillity and happiness" would prompt the Russians to mind their own knitting and not be so grasping.

Historian Toynbee is het up over America's fear that the Communists will dominate the universe if they are not thwarted in Vietnam, Cambodia, Taiwan, Korea and the Middle East. He goes so far as to boast that he would rather be a Czech at the mercy of the Russians than a Vietnamese defended by the Americans, unless Americans take steps to get rid of its own miseries.

He can't document his claim that to most Europeans, America looks like the "most dangerous country" in the world. Yes, we've lost prestige but we're still the world's most powerful country and perhaps the least ambitious to acquire more territory.

Of course, we are in hearty accord with him when he declares that the U.S. is not doing enough to end its homeland frustrations. On that score he's right as rain and so is Mark Tauzer.

The time is overdue for us to cease lavishing so many billions on military expeditions and on lunar expeditions, at least until young Tauzer's goal for "tranquillity and happiness" at home is reached.

HORTON PRAISES SELFLESS DEDICATION OF DR. ALDO J. FRANCATI

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, it is heartwarming to learn of the selfless dedication of a man to the needs of others. In these days, we tend to lose sight

of people sincerely caring for their fellowmen. It is not often that we find a man who is willing to give his own time to others at a great personal sacrifice to himself.

Such a man is Dr. Aldo P. Francati. When Dr. Francati learned that the residents of Red Creek, N.Y., had gone without a dentist for 3 years, he unselfishly offered his services. He knew that the absence of a dentist caused acute problems especially for the aged and incapacitated.

This was not an easy thing to do. It meant traveling the 104 miles to and from Rochester to Red Creek every Saturday with his staff for 14 months.

In addition to the long drive, Dr. Francati also offered a great deal of his services without charge.

Through Dr. Francati's suggestion, the residents organized the Red Creek Area Dental and Medical Association. Mr. Maurice Mott donated space for the dental office and the association was pledged more than $12,000 from area residents for equipment.

Dr. Francati is a man of great dedication and pride in his profession. The people of Red Creek realize this and are extremely grateful. They feel that Dr. Francati should be given special recognition as a "good samaritan" for coming to their aid.

The doctor's reaction to this is:

I feel delighted and honored. I'm so happy for my profession. I couldn't believe it. I thought the thank-yous of the Red Creek residents were enough. They're so sincere.

Mr. Speaker, this entire story is one of community involvement and illustrates how the good will of one person can help an entire community.

I certainly feel that Dr. Francati deserves every recognition for his tireless and unselfish service. I would like to share with my colleagues a letter from Jay F. Robison, Jr., supervisor of the township of Wolcott and president of the Red Creek Area Dental and Medical Association, expressing sincere appreciation to Dr. Francati:

APRIL 22, 1970.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,
Monroe County Dental Society
Rochester, N.Y.

GENTLEMEN: As residents of the Village of Red Creek and the surrounding territory in Northern Wayne and Cayuga Counties, we wish to take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation to Dr. Aldo J. Francati of 1501 East Avenue, Rochester. We feel that Dr. Francati deserves special recognition as a modern "Good Samaritan" for coming to the rescue of our community at a time of need and genuine distress.

Dr. Elmer Fischer, formerly of New York City, served very faithfully as Red Creek's dentist for more than a quarter-century. Dr. Fischer made his life work in Red Creek very productive, enjoyed a loyal clientele, carried out dental programs in the three schools of the Red Creek Central School District, and offered his services to area residents at nominal fees. However, following the death of Dr. Fischer in 1966, no replacement could be secured, despite the efforts of a community committee. The problem became rather acute as time went by, forcing families to drive many miles to the offices of dentists in neighboring villages or cities farther away. In many instances, these dentists were already overburdened with a heavy patient-load.

The groundwork for a solution to the problem was laid during a conversation held one day between Dr. Francati and Jay R. Robinson, Jr., Supervisor of the Township of Wolcott. Dr. Francati listened to the needs of the area, and then offered his assistance.

Following a series of meetings with Red Creek residents, there was organized the Red Creek Area Dental and Medical Association. More than $1,000 was pledged in a fund campaign conducted by the group, and a new dental office was secured through the generosity of Mr. Maurice Mott. The funds were used to equip and furnish the new office.

Dr. Francati agreed to take over management of the office for a period of one year, and to advise members of the board on future operations. Each week, Dr. Francati and his staff drove from Rochester to Red Creek, a distance of fifty miles, to supply dental care to all. This was especially beneficial to our elderly and incapacitated men and women. Two local residents made the arrangements for the appointments.

During this year of service, Dr. Francati endeavored to find a new dentist just out of school or military service to take charge of the Red Creek Clinic. Finally, he succeeded in securing Dr. Jon Valdina of Auburn, New York, who has now taken charge of the clinic on two days each week.

Thanks to Dr. Francati, residents of Red Creek no longer have to worry about dental ills. We feel unanimously that special recognition be given to Dr. Francati by the Monroe County Dental Society and by the Seventh District Dental Society.

Respectfully submitted,

JAY M. JOHNSON, Jr.

I would also like to share with my colleagues an article from the Rochester, N.Y., Democrat and Chronicle, May 3, 1970, about Dr. Francati:

VILLAGE PROMOTES RECOGNITION FOR DENTIST'S SERVICE

(By Kathleen Matichek)

Each Saturday for 14 months, Dr. Aldo J. Francati of Rochester, and his staff traveled 104 miles to fix teeth.

The residents of the Wayne County village of Red Creek were without a dentist for three years following the death of their local dentist. Families had to drive many miles to neighboring villages and cities for dental services.

One day in 1968 Dr. Francati visited his friend, Jay F. Robinson Jr., supervisor of the township of Wolcott. He learned of the dilemma and offered his assistance.

Now that Red Creek residents have their own dentist they feel Dr. Francati deserves special recognition as a modern "Good Samaritan" for coming to their rescue. They feel special recognition should be given to him by the Monroe County Dental Society and by the Seventh District Dental Society. They also wrote to Rep. Frank Horton, R–36 to include this recognition in the "Congressional Record."

Dr. Ralph B. Nash, president of the Seventh District Dental Society, said Dr. Francati will receive special recognition at the annual meeting September 29.

How does a "Good Samaritan" react upon receiving such an award?

"I feel delighted and honored. I'm so happy for my profession. I couldn't believe it. I thought the thank-yous of the Red Creek residents were enough. They're so sincere," Dr. Francati said.

Dr. Francati is a modest man and forgot to say he did a great deal of dental work for free and at greatly reduced prices, much less than those here.

He said he remembers driving home after that 1968 meeting with Robinson and thinking "these people need help."

After he offered his assistance, Red Creek residents kept the ball rolling. They organized the Red Creek Area Dental and Medical Assn., pledged more than $12,000 to equip the new office and donated a building for the office.

"That's an example of a community that wanted something and got it. I agreed to manage the office for a year. Last August I found a young dentist, just out of the service, to take charge of the clinic. He, too, is enjoying a happy experience at Red Creek two days a week," Dr. Francati said.

The "Good Samaritan" said he would do it all over again. "Those 104 miles weren't for nothing. I did what I had to do. Just hearing those thank-you's from the kids and the others made my days for me," Dr. Francati said.

I LOVE AMERICA—TAXES AND ALL

HON. ED FOREMAN

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. FOREMAN. Mr. Speaker, we all receive a variety of letters from our constituents every day expressing a cross section of opinion about the matters of Government and the action of Congress. Because this letter from Mr. Mark Gwinn, of Belen, N. Mex., so well describes the feelings expressed by hundreds of New Mexico citizens who have written to me recently, I include it in the RECORD for the review of my colleagues:

BELEN, N. MEX.,
May 22, 1970.

Congressman ED FOREMAN,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This is something new for me, writing to my Congressman. I have wanted to do this for some time for more reasons than one.

First I want you to know that I back my President to the utmost on his Cambodia attacks and feel that this should of been done a long time ago. I have no use for *any* man who would vote to cut off the money and help our boys need over there. I feel the same as many other people that these near sighted men are doing just what the Communist Party want them to do. In so many words I am proud to say I am an American. I love it, taxes and all.

The second thing is the Campus uprisings that are taking place all over the United States. I for one feel that we have coddled and handled these students with kid gloves long enough. It is time to strictly enforce the rules. I believe this is the only way we are going to get our country back on an even plane. I, for one, send my Son to College to learn and not to try and teach the College professors. Lord only knows some of the professors who belong to the SDS and such other Communist inspired Organizations needs someone to get them straightened out. Why a country like ours lets such Organizations exist is beyond me. We sure don't need professors who make no bones about it, that they belong to the Communist Party to teach our children.

I know you receive many letters such as this one. I only hope you read it because even though I am a registered Democrat, my wife and I feel that you are the only hope in Washington, D.C. for the Great State of New Mexico. Just keep up the good work. Keep your news report coming as we enjoy them, every word.

Sincerely,

MARK P. GWINN.

W. LLOYD WARNER, PIONEER IN SOCIAL CLASS STUDY

HON. BOB ECKHARDT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, with the death of W. Lloyd Warner we have lost one of the giants of American social science.

The idea that there are well defined social classes in America and that one's birth into one or another of them has a lot to do with the way one lives and thinks is commonplace today among educated people. That this is so, is in large part a testimony to the body of work Mr. Warner leaves with us, which has had influence far beyond a limited circle of scientific colleagues.

Mr. Warner held America to a high standard. He believed in equality and democracy and in the humane principles of the American tradition. He spent much of his career measuring the gap between our principles and our performance, in the belief that knowledge of the facts is the foundation of reform.

I commend to readers of the RECORD an article about Mr. Warner from the Washington Post of May 25:

W. LLOYD WARNER, PIONEER IN SOCIAL CLASS STUDY

CHICAGO, May 24.—Sociologist W. Lloyd Warner, who pioneered in the study of American social classes in a series of works called "Yankee City," died Saturday. He was 71.

Mr. Warner developed the theory that American society was divided into five major classes and a method of measuring into which an individual fit.

Later, in studies of American business leaders, he concluded that maladjusted children, who had enmity for their fathers, turned out to be the most successful in business.

Originally, an anthropologist, Mr. Warner decided that the methods anthropology uses to analyze preliterate societies could also be used in complex societies.

Since anthropology dealt with small units of society, Mr. Warner, in collaboration with others, began his work on social class theory in the small town of Newburyport, Mass. He referred to the town as "Yankee City" in a series of monographs still debated among sociologists and assigned in many college sociology courses.

He authored or co-authored the "Yankee City Series," "Social Class in America," "American Life, Dream and Reality," "Big Business Leaders in America," "Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry," "The Living and the Dead," "Industrial Man," "The Corporation in the Emergent American Society," and "The American Federal Executive."

An associate professor and then professor of anthropology and sociology at the University of Chicago from 1935 to 1959. Mr. Warner was a professor of social research at Michigan State University in East Lansing, Mich., at the time of his death at Passavant Hospital here.

Born in Redlands, Calif., on Oct. 26, 1898, Mr. Warner graduated from the University of California after serving as a private in the infantry during World War I.

Having majored in anthropology, he began field research on Australian aborigines in 1926 under a Rockefeller Foundation followship. He made a second expedition for the Australian National Research Council from 1927 to 1929.

He portrayed the Murngin society in his book, "A Black Civilization: A Social Study of an Australian Tribe," using approaches of different schools of anthropology.

Mr. Warner taught at Harvard and Radcliffe College from 1929 to 1935 while taking graduate courses at Harvard. He also taught at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.

In this period he began his research on the social life of communities in New England, the South and the Middle West, stressing racial relations, class structure and symbolic behavior. His studies, reported in 20 publications, gave rise to a large program of concrete research on American life.

He defined three main social classes—lower, middle and upper—with two divisions, upper and lower, for each. He presented his findings not only in the Yankee City series but also in "Democracy in Jonesville: A Study in Quality and Inequality," with associates published in 1949 and "A Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedures for the Measure of Social Status."

With his wife, the former Mildred Hall, he wrote "What You Should Know About Social Class" in 1953.

He is survived by his wife Mildred, two daughters and a son.

LOUIS P. BERGNA

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the leading citizens of Santa Clara County today are honoring one of the county's most faithful and widely respected public servants, District Attorney Louis P. Bergna.

In addition to his distinguished career as district attorney the past 14 years, Mr. Bergna has extended his participation in public service far beyond the requirements of his office.

His activities in the community, past and present, include: President of the Eagle Scout Association, member and past president of the North San Jose Lion's Club, member of the Santa Clara County Council of Boy Scouts, honorary director of the Better Business Bureau, member of the Social Planning Council, past chairman of the Government Division Blood Donor Committee of the American Red Cross, and member of the board of directors of the Campfire Girls, Hanna Boys Center, and Santa Clara County United Fund.

In his professional capacity, he holds several important posts on the State level, including membership in the California Council of Criminal Justice and chairmanship of the council's task forces on pornography and alcohol and drug abuse, membership on the Governor's advisory committee on welfare problems and the attorney general advisory committees on pornography and police-community relations.

A native of San Francisco, raised in San Jose, and graduated from the University of Santa Clara, Mr. Bergna has made a distinguished contribution to the betterment of his community and State. I want to add my personal thanks to the accolade he so justly deserves.

MILITARY AID TO LATIN AMERICA

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the May 16 issue of the Miami Herald contains an important editorial on a subject which is of great concern to the Congress—the subject of U.S. military assistance to Latin America.

The editorial, which I shall place in the RECORD, suggests that this is one area of our foreign policy undertaking in which savings can and should be made.

A year ago, in the course of lengthy hearings reviewing U.S. policy toward Latin America, I made a similar suggestion, calling particular attention to the disparity between the size of our diplomatic establishments and the size of the various U.S. military groups on the South American Continent.

On May 7, 1969, in a hearing before the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, which I have the honor to chair, the issues raised by that disparity were discussed at some length and our subcommittee received assurance from the executive branch that steps were being taken to reduce the personnel strengths of U.S. military groups in Latin America.

Our subcommittee was very pleased that a special study mission of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, headed by my distinguished colleague, Congressman CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI of Wisconsin, devoted considerable attention to this subject during its recent visit to Latin America.

In a report issued after that visit, Congressman ZABLOCKI, together with two other colleagues from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Congressman JAMES G. FULTON of Pennsylvania and Congressman PAUL FINDLEY of Illinois, developed some further facts regarding U.S. military assistance to Latin America and pointed to areas in which reductions are warranted. In so doing, the Zablocki-Fulton-Findley study mission has made a very positive and valuable contribution to the achievement of our mutual objectives.

The Miami Herald editorial reviews this whole matter and deserves the most careful consideration of all Members of the House.

Mr. Speaker, in placing the editorial in the RECORD, I want to note that the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs is continuing its inquiries into the subject of U.S. military assistance and sales to Latin America. We have had some very resent hearings on this subject and I hope that we will be able to release the transcript of those hearings in the near future.

The editorial of the Miami Herald follows:

"AID" THAT CAN BE CUT TO HELP LATINS AND UNITED STATES

There will be nothing magical about the U.S. decision to halve the size of its military missions in Latin America, but it should help.

The excuse for the missions was hemispheric defense. They grew to their present oversize in the years preceding and during World War II, when Nazis and Fascists were the threat, and in the post-war years when the Cold War with the Soviet Union hit its stride. Continued Communist attempts at penetration, in particular the Cuban Revolution, kept them there.

However, as the threats changed, so did the nature of the services the U.S. military missions could offer. The outside danger changed to guerrilla threats and that now to the challenges of urban terrorism. The latter present dilemmas that go beyond the reach of orthodox military men and into the realm of politics, so there is good and practical reason to reduce the size of the missions. Better answers are needed.

Not all that these missions offered was beneficial. Counterinsurgency and civic action programs put the military in areas outside their traditional bailiwick. Training at U.S. bases for Latin American military officers included schooling in U.S. attitudes as well as techniques. Some of the officers went home with new ideas and became frustrated with their military and political structures. In at least two countries, Guatemala and Panama, some of these officers rebelled against their governments.

As the military problem changed from outside threat to internal subversion, the question frequently and appropriately was raised as to what purpose there was in most Latin nations for large military establishments. During the years of the Alliance for Progress, the answer to that became apparent with the military overthrow of 17 governments.

In short, the heightened military presence and modern ideas of what the military role in Latin America should be, projected the officers into politics and there they have stayed. As a consequence, representative democracy has suffered.

A three-man congressional delegation—made up of Clement Zablocki (D., Wisc.), James G. Fulton (R., Pa.) and Paul Findley (R., Ill.)—reported this year, for example, an interesting fact about the disturbing military revolution in Peru. Some 4,500 Peruvian military officers have received U.S. military training. These included 10 of the 12 military officers who formed the ruling junta which became the cabinet.

In Brazil, whose present government had military birth and has been under fire internationally for repression, U.S. military aid since 1950 has amounted to $221 million.

The congressional team reported that U.S. and Latin military establishments have become so intertwined that it would be difficult to separate them.

This entanglement has obvious political disadvantages, particularly in the nationalistic mood that dominates Latin America, and adds significantly to the compelling reasons why the United States should reduce its military presence in Latin America.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 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 1,500 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

INTERNATIONAL TRADE POLICY

HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced H.R. 17812 which will substantially change the direction of our international trade policy. For the better part of the last decade, we have, as a Nation, supported a trade policy which assumes that the Nation profits from free trade. We have not taken a hard look at this proposition and consequently, many leaders in the Government and in industry have not realized that free trade benefits those industries which export at the expense of those industries which bear the competitive burden from foreign industries which import their goods to this Nation.

And increasingly, the industries which import their goods to this Nation compete with industries in areas where there is too much unemployment, and too few economic alternatives. Yet, we have pursued this policy as we have pursued altogether too many other policies, without considering its full implications.

Today, in West Virginia, electronics, steel, flat glass and glassware, textiles, footwear, and certain chemicals are among the products which have borne the burden of America's free-trade policy. More than 40 percent of the counties in West Virginia have in excess of 6 percent unemployment, and with the Nation's current economic crisis, that figure will most certainly climb. In the past 10 years, we have created several agencies to war on poverty and unemployment and backwardness. We have singled out much of Appalachia for this aid in the hope that it could rejoin America's mainstream economy.

However, the Nation's trade policies have dramatically reversed these efforts in many areas of West Virginia and Aplachia by undercutting the economic base it sought through other programs to build and to stabilize.

Consequently, I welcomed the announcement by Chairman MILLS that hearings on trade would take place during this session.

In addition, Congressman MILLS has introduced legislation which will serve to curb imports in the textile and footwear industries. It is highly important that these two industries be granted relief from the present burden they bear. But it is crucial to our entire policy to deal with all industries that are seriously affected by our present trade policy. Steel and flat glass and glassware and electronics and certain chemicals are suffering no less than footwear and textiles, and we would fatally injure these industries and the areas of the country they support if we were to legislate only for footwear and textiles, while leaving the other industries in their present position.

Mr. Speaker, we must consider the problems of all the industries which have been hurt by excessive imports, not just two of them. If we legislate only for textiles and footwear, the remaining industries will lose these two industrial allies, and with them, the real political power to force change in our present policies. It would be bad national policy and legislative immorality to allow this. If we get textile and footwear legislation, we will not get a broad policy that covers all the affected industries and the impetus to achieve this legislation will falter until it is too late for some industries.

If we legislate only for textile and footwear we will destroy industries vital to this country. We will foolishly depart from a longstanding policy to be technically competent in every vital industry, and in the process, it would consign many areas of the country to the status of economic backwaters.

We cannot allow this to happen, and I would hope that other Members of the House will join me in urging the Ways and Means Committee to enact comprehensive, not piecemeal, legislation as our Nation's international trade policy.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION—A DECADE OF CHANGE

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, on May 1, Law Day, it was my pleasure to join the Montgomery County Bar Association in hearing an address by Judge Edward S. Northrop of the U.S. District Court of Maryland. My great respect for Judge Northrop dates from our days as colleagues in the Maryland State Legislature. He chose as his topic "Freedom of Expression—a Decade of Change," and presented a thought-provoking review of developments in the law governing obscenity and campus unrest. As layman, I came away impressed by the challenges these issues present to a conscientious trial judge. He must make his way through a maze of judicial decisions purporting to define obscenity, and make the boundaries between legitimate student protest and conduct, whether violent or nonviolent, that frustrates the purposes of a university and denies others their rights. The line between liberty and license is drawn not simply by our laws but by our courts. Both need our dedicated support to sustain the rule of law.

I commend Judge Northrop's excellent remarks to the attention of my colleagues:

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION—A DECADE OF CHANGE

The first amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in pertinent part, states that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freeedom of speech, or of the press. . . ."

We have seen in recent times a great deal of judicial activity in this area, only part of which has served to clarify the troubling legal questions which have been presented. Perhaps the two most topical areas in which these issues have been presented are obscenity and campus unrest.

Obscenity, while more or less interesting to look at, depending on your point of view, presents some very perplexing constitutional problems. Basically, it poses the question of exactly how far the freedom of expression

guaranteed in the first amendment, and as applied to the states through the fourteenth, extends. The words of the first amendment, while seemingly absolute on their face, were apparently never intended, even by their authors, to protect all utterances. For example, in 1792, when 10 of the 14 states had ratified the Constitution, thirteen of them provided for the prosecution of libel, and all of them made either blasphemy or profanity, or both, statutory crimes. The first obscenity law as such was passed in 1712 by the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which made it criminal to publish "any filthy, obscene or profane song. . . ." While the existence of these statutes is certainly not conclusive of their constitutionality, it is indicative of the intention of the drafters of the first amendment as to that provision's reach. Only recently, in *Roth v. United States*, 354 U.S. 476 (1957) the Supreme Court squarely held that "obscenity is not within the area of constitutionally protected speech or press." This holding was based essentially on the finding by the Supreme Court that historically the first amendment was not designed to protect obscenity, as it was utterly without redeeming social importance. Having concluded this, the real problem of defining obscenity remained. Essentially, this still remains the primary field of battle. In the *Roth* case the Court enunciated the following test:

"Whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole, appeals to prurient interest."

The Court, in subsequent decisions, elaborated on this definition, and refined it until, in *Memoirs* v. *Massachusetts*, 383 U.S. 413 (1966) it read as follows:

[T]hree elements must coalesce: it must be established that (a) the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to a prurient interest in sex; (b) the material is patently offensive because it affronts contemporary community standards relating to the description or representation of sexual matters; and (c) the material is utterly without redeeming social value.

One would think, having stated what appears to be a clear definition of obscenity, that no more problems would be presented. Not so. What appears to be a clear holding in these cases is clouded by the fact that in *Roth* the Court issued four separate opinions, and in *Memoirs* there were five separate opinions, with an additional two justices issuing their concurrence based on their opinions in a companion case. In fact, the "opinion of the Court" represented only the opinion of three of the nine justices! By itself this would be a trial court's nightmare, even if it were not further complicated by the companion case of *Ginzburg* v. *United States*, 383 U.S. 463 (1966). In that case the Supreme Court, in four separate opinions, affirmed convictions based on violations of the federal obscenity statute for mailing three publications. While purporting to adhere to the three-fold test enunciated in *Memoirs*, the Court in fact acknowledged that the publications in question were not utterly without redeeming social merit, but affirmed the convictions anyway. The Court, in accomplishing this seemingly inconsistent result, did so by adding an additional element to the test, without specifically saying that this was what they were doing. They added the element of the setting in which the publications were presented. In other words, where the publications themselves, from their four corners, are not sufficiently obscene to meet the legal definition, a court may now look to the manner in which they were presented to push them over the line. I might note, parenthetically, that some of the evidence used to establish this setting was the fact that the publishers of these items had sought, and been denied, mailing privileges from the postmasters of Intercourse and Blue Ball, Pennsylvania!

These three cases, which ostensibly represent the guiding light in the area of obscenity, are hardly the paragon of clarity. They contain in effect fifteen separate opinions, and their holdings are, being charitable, somewhat ambiguous. In fact, in the ten years prior to 1968 the United States Supreme Court handed down thirteen decisions in which there were fifty-five separate opinions. Nevertheless, perceiving the true light, our court, en banc, held, in *United States v. 4,400 Copies of Magazines*, 276 F. Supp. 902 (D. Md. 1967), in reliance on *Ginzburg*, that magazines which may have met the three-fold test of *Roth*, but were nevertheless not shown to have been distributed in an improper manner, were entitled to the protection of the first amendment. Our holding met with mixed reviews. A New York three-judge panel, as a prelude to a discussion—and rejection—of our holding said:

"It bears mention, however, that plaintiffs are not alone in their *contrary* thinking."

In *Karalexis* v. *Byrne*, 306 F. Supp. 1363 (D. Mass. 1969), however, a three-judge panel in Massachusetts held that without evidence of pandering, *admission of minors*, or forced display to an unwilling public, essentially the same standards we mentioned, motion picture theatres would be allowed to display what might otherwise be obscene movies to willing adult patrons. The court granted an injunction against police conduct to the contrary, but that injunction, interestingly enough, was stayed by the Supreme Court pending appeal. This holding was based, in part at least, on the controversial, and apparently little-understood case of *Stanley* v. *Georgia*, 394 U.S. 557 (1969). In that case, simply stated, the Court declared that a state, and presumably the Federal Government as well, cannot constitutionally punish mere private possession of obscene material. In reaching this conclusion, Mr. Justice Marshall, stating the opinion of the Court, distinguished between public distribution and private possession on the grounds that public dissemination may lead to intrusion on the sensibilities of the general public, or that it might fall into the hands of minors—precisely the grounds expressed in our case and in *Karalexis*. He further observed that the first amendment protects the right to *receive* information and ideas. At the end of the opinion, however, Mr. Justice Marshall added that the holdings of *Roth* and its progeny were not impaired by this decision. I am sure he meant what he said, but I cannot see how the two can really be read consistently. *Stanley* raises several problems which cannot be solved by a reading of the prior obscenity cases. First, if a man has a constitutionally protected right to possess material, has he no similar right to obtain it? Furthermore, it would seem most inegalitarian to allow a "rich Stanley" to travel abroad to obtain this material, but forbid a "poor Stanley" to obtain them at home.

By the way, the interpretation of *Stanley* in *Karalexis* is not peculiar to that one three-judge court in Massachusetts. In a similar case, involving the federal importation-of-obscene-matter statute, a California three-judge panel declared that statute to be unconstitutional.

This is not the only area of controversy with respect to obscenity. Because of the potential infringement on first amendment rights, it appears that the Constitution requires an adversary hearing prior to the seizure of allegedly obscene material. When I say an adversary hearing, I mean a hearing at which the obscenity of the material is determined. As of the middle of February, there had been *over fifty decisions by federal courts* alone relating to this question. I hope you will pardon me for omitting the citations. Primary reliance in this argument is placed on the Supreme Court's decision in *A Quantity of Books v. Kansas*, 378 U.S. 205 (1964) which appears to have held that such a hearing is a constitutional prerequisite to seizure and/or suppression of allegedly obscene material. Going even further, there is the additional argument that an adversary hearing is constitutionally required before arrest on charges of violation of obscenity laws, and I might add that this argument is not totally without judicial adherents, including Judge G. Harrold Carswell in *Morrison & Peachtree News Co. v. Wilson*, a three-judge decision from the Northern District of Florida.

In short, the area of obscenity presents to the trial judge, and to potential offenders, a very foggy picture, if not a dirty one. There is a strong argument in favor of determining whether material is entitled to constitutional protection based on the manner of its distribution alone. The interest in maintaining a decent society could well be protected by legislation which prohibits pandering, sale to minors, and exposure to an unwilling public. Whether the Constitution allows the state to go further still has not been resolved to anyones satisfaction by the Supreme Court. It is certainly up to them to do this, and I am hopeful that the *Karalexis* appeal will shed some light on a very confused situation.

The effect of the various Supreme Court decisions on the flow of pornography is almost instantaneous for tons of more graphic material poured into the Port of Baltimore just as soon as one decision ruling certain magazines obscene, affirmed by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, was reversed by the United States Supreme Court.

And already around the country so-called unobtrusive "adult book" stores are springing up.

Some prosecutors seem to feel that perhaps the fight for a "decent society" is all but over, and besides, they say, it diverted their attention, their moral drive, from the more compelling fight against crime.

And there is great debate as to the effect of exposure to pornography as we all know.

Pornographic protagonists point to the flagging, at least internal interest in this area in the Scandinavian countries. While those opposed cite various civilizations' fall from Sodom and Gomorrah, Pompeii, to Germany's Hitler as attributed to obscenity.

You take your choice—but you have seen in an incredibly short period of time a full blown first amendment right developed by court decree.

The other area of great, although admittedly less titillating concern, is what appears to be an increasing level of violence and general unrest on college campuses. To put this in proper context, perhaps it should be observed that this type of conduct has been going on throughout the world for many years, and only recently has it come to American campuses. This of course, does not help us to deal with the problem, nor is it intended as a justification. The fact remains that what were once the cloistered, and quiet halls of academia, are now teeming microcosms of revolutionary tensions. Without intimating any views of my own on specific issues, it is clear that in many instances this activity reflects intense concern with legitimate problems confronting society. In a free society, it is appropriate that the young citizens, and future leaders be concerned with problems of peace, equal rights, individual freedom and pollution of the environment. What is not appropriate is the use of violence and coercive tactics to accomplish legitimate goals. What is even more disturbing is the use of the campus as a vehicle for small bands of disaffected to destroy the society altogether. Thus, the law must tread that delicate tightrope which secures to all the right to express their dissatisfaction with the estab-

lished order, and which further guarantees to everyone access to non-violent channels of change, but which allows the society to protect itself and its members against violence. This may be easily stated, but it is very difficult to maintain in practice.

Traditional notions of high schools and colleges as private enclaves with the power to regulate internal affairs freely have in recent times undergone significant change. What we must cope with is the conflict between the interest on the part of school officials in maintaining an orderly institution, one which is conducive to the learning process, and the recognition on the other hand that students do not relinquish their constitutional rights at the campus gate. This is not, of course, to characterize the administrators as individuals devoted to suppression of the rights of their students. Rather, it reflects the undeniable fact that in many circumstances, the exercise of otherwise legitimate constitutional rights can conflict with the equally legitimate objectives of school administrators.

Recognition of rights of college students is a relatively recent innovation. For many years it was consistently held that attendance at state institutions was a privilege, and one which could, even if tacitly, be conditioned upon a waiver of traditional due-process safeguards. In 1961, however, in *Dixon v. Alabama State Board of Education*, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals held that a student could not properly be expelled without some notice of his hearing and opportunity to be heard. This case did not abandon the right-privilege distinction, but rather it held that even if attendance at state universities was a privilege, it could not properly be conditioned on the renunciation of such important rights absent a showing of any substantial justification, such as immediate danger to the public.

The importation of the Constitution onto the campus has signaled the recognition of many previously unrecognized rights of students. Consistent with the theme of my earlier remarks, however, I wish to devote myself primarily to the emergence of the rights of expression, which really are at the heart of most of the publicity and turmoil surrounding colleges these days.

It is clear that the students of public universities are entitled to the protections of the full first amendment—not a watered-down version. But, as the Supreme Court in *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School System*, 393 U.S. 503 (1969) pointed out, these rights must be applied "in light of the special characteristics of the school environment."

The reach of the first amendment in school situations, and the impact of the "special characteristics" mentioned in *Tinker* must be observed in the context of the non-academic scope of that amendment. As I hope I made somewhat clear, this is a difficult task to perform. Perhaps the simplest theory to suggest, and one which is amply supported by language of Supreme Court decisions, is that the crucial distinction in this area is between expression and action. While regulation by the state of action may take any one of a number of forms, and is not protected by the first amendment, the scope of regulation of expression is, of course, permissible only in the form of reasonable and non-discriminatory restrictions as to time, place, and probably manner. Of course, the difficulty with this analysis is found in the middle area, where speech, or expression, and action tend to merge. Nevertheless, as I hope to demonstrate, this proposition is essentially a workable one.

The classic type of situation, where these considerations are placed most sharply in focus, is the demonstration—the trademark of the modern university. On one hand, it is quite clear that a demonstration is not protected activity if it involves violence. In *Marzette v. McPhee*, 294 F. Supp. 562 (W.D. Wisc. 1968), the court not only approved, but virtually required the University to impose severe sanctions on students who broke into the president's office, holding him prisoner and threatening him, and who destroyed substantial amounts of property. It is also clear that violence *per se* is not necessary to a finding that a student has, in effect, forfeited his constitutional protection. Certain nonviolent action, such as blocking entrances to university buildings or occupation of them, has been consistently held to be without the sphere of first-amendment protection. On the other hand, it is equally clear, that a university may not prohibit peaceful demonstrations under normal circumstances merely because the administrators do not approve of the viewpoint of the demonstrators.

A similar proposition is true with respect to Speakers from outside the campus community. In fact, the reported decisions have held that a speaker may not be refused permission to speak on campus because he has been convicted of a felony, because he is under indictment for murder, because he urges or advocates violation of the laws, or because he is an admitted member of the Communist party. Further, a forum cannot constitutionally be denied to groups seeking overthrow of the government by force of violence. A very recent case, decided by a district judge in Wisconsin, has gone so far as to force the publishers of a school newspaper to accept certain "political advertisements" in the face of their regulation which, non-discriminatorily, did not allow such advertising. Judge Doyle, in *Lee* v. *Board of Regents*, 306 F. Supp. 1097 (W.D.Wisc. 1969), held that such a regulation constituted an impermissible form of censorship.

I could list many more examples of this distinction, but I don't think that would really serve to illustrate further my point. What is central to bear in mind is that expression, however distasteful, carried out under proper circumstances, is protected; when it becomes action, the university may legitimately act to regulate it. I commend to your reading, if you are interested, a speech by Professor Charles Alan Wright of the University of Texas Law School, given at Vanderbilt Law School. It is entitled "The Constitution on the Campus", and appears in volume twenty-two, number five, of the Vanderbilt Law Review.

Having acknowledged that the first amendment's protections of expression apply with virtually full force to the campus community, there still remains a recognition of the task which college administrators face—that is, to run an orderly and educationally-beneficial institution. Judges and parents should be aware of the necessity of balancing these two, often competing, interests. One of the more interesting approaches to this problem is that of the District Court for the Western District of Missouri. *En banc*, that court has promulgated a "General Order on Judicial Standards of Procedure and Substance in Review of Student Discipline in Tax Supported Institutions of Higher Education". For anyone who is interested in reading it in its entirety, it is found in Volume 45, Federal Rules Decisions, page 133. In a very innovative manner, utilizing what is more traditionally a legislative approach, the court, after hearing from counsel for all interested tax-supported institutions, counsel for any interested privately-supported educational institution, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, the Attorney General of Missouri, and counsel for any officially elected or recognized student government or faculty association, the court promulgated what they term standards of procedure and substance to be applied to all cases involving disciplinary questions in tax-supported institutions of higher learning. This memorandum recognizes the delicate balance I have referred to, and attempts to strike a midpoint between these competing interests. While recognizing the student's right to express himself, the report notes that "No student may, without liability to lawful discipline, intentionally act to impair or prevent the accomplishment of any lawful mission, process, or function of an educational institution." This follows a list of sixteen "lawful missions" of an educational institution.

The report further distinguished student discipline from the criminal law, and states that a federal court should not intervene to reverse or enjoin disciplinary actions unless there has been 1, a deprivation of due process, that is, fundamental concepts of fair play; 2, invidious discrimination; 3, denial of federal rights protected in the academic community; or 4, clearly unreasonable, arbitrary or capricious action.

There is an additional section which fairly extensively delineates some substantive standards for student discipline cases under Title 42, section 1983. This is clearly an inventive approach. Although I may not agree with the substance of all of this report, I certainly applaud the attempt to apply consistent guidelines, set forth in such a clear manner. Difficult problems such as this need a fresh rational approach. Only when we approach these issues with reason can any type of useful solution emerge. In this connection I note an encouraging sign from the campus at Johns Hopkins. Last week, a relatively small band of activists convinced the university officials, amid much turmoil, to band military recruitment from that campus. The capitulation of these officials met with a very unusual response from the remainder of the campus community. Over 1,000 of the faculty and students petitioned the university to put this issue to referendum, which was just held, and recruitment lost by 62 votes out of 2,000 cast.

This action indicates that the great majority of the students and faculty dislike being told how to conduct their affairs as much as the university officials do. It further illustrates another very important point: that university officials must be firm in their dealings with forceful groups. It is one thing to guarantee to all students the right to express themselves; it is another to allow them to run the university.

Here again is an incredibly rapid development of a new body of law by court decree—the Constitution on the campus.

The question is why—why are a minority composed of the nihilists and anarchists able to manipulate our young people and you and me?

Unfortunately at some point in time, sociologists and psychiatrists advanced a theory of "permissive" conduct in application to children and the educational process. Whatever validity this principle may have had in its original concept has been lost in history, for today it has become apparent that this doctrine of "permissive conduct" is being abused and perverted, and has become so pervasive in our society as to create mischief which, I am sure, was never contemplated by its authors.

"Warning that the nation is fostering a 'vicious kind of permissiveness . . . under the guise of concern for the protection of freedom', Chancellor Samuel B. Gould of the State University of New York, in the keynote address to the 50th meeting of the American Council on Education, said the nation has developed a taste for violence that 'is a step back towards barbarism. . . .

'It is apparent that what we have already witnessed is only a beginning. There is far worse to come, since we as a nation are making promises that cannot possibly be kept and are offering quick panaceas for an illness of the body politic that may soon turn out to be malignant.' "

The time has come, therefore, for a search-

ing re-examination of the principle of "permissive conduct" and a return to the more valid values and principles which have been displaced.

Discipline still has its place in the home, in the school, and in the universities. Order has its place in society. The statement of principles and problems, however, does not mean that the problems have been resolved or dissolved. It will take great determination and willpower and understanding before we can return to true values and eliminate the mischief created by "permissiveness" and disorder.

In the accomplishment of this end, you who are dedicated to the law can play an important and significant part. Just as we know that our air and water are polluted and just as we know that this pollution is injurious to health, so we know that in an affluent and scientific society we have not yet been able to bring together the will, the resolve, the talent, and the energy to eliminate these dangers.

I would, therefore, make the analogy that unfortunately the legal and political air has become polluted with the mischief of erroneous doctrines and principles, and I believe that we are beginning to understand this, but I also feel that it must require the mobilization of energy, talent, and will to eliminate this pollution so that we may once again live in a clean and unpolluted atmosphere of liberty under law and freedom with order.

Let us once again earnestly say (to paraphrase the preamble of our Constitution):

"We the people of the United States, *resolve* to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity . . ."

ABRAHAM HERBERT CUBERO

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, Abraham Herbert Cubero, the honorary ambassador to Spanish and Latin American military officers at Fort Monmouth, N.J., passed away at the age of 66 on May 10.

Mr. Cubero served the U.S. Army for more than 40 years. Following his retirement he went to Puerto Rico to establish a communications network for the Radio Corp. of America. He was the brother of Frank Cubero who has served this House for more than 30 years as supervisor of the pages' cloakroom.

I ask that the press account of Mr. Cubero's death be printed at this point in the RECORD:

SPANISH MILITARY ENVOY ABRAHAM CUBERO DIES

WEST LONG BRANCH.—Abraham Herbert Cubero, the honorary ambassador to Spanish and Latin American military officers at Ft. Monmouth, died in Monmouth Medical Center, Long Branch, Saturday.

Mr. Cubero, 66, an amateur horticulturist, resided with his wife, Mrs. Angelica Roman Cubero, and two sons at 491 Monmouth Rd. He had lived here 22 years.

A certificate of honorary ambassadorship was drafted by Spanish speaking military officers at Ft. Monmouth, whom Mr. Cubero had hosted at his home, on Oct. 13, 1968.

The document was presented to him by Maj. Gen. William B. Latta, former fort commander, at a reception in the officer's club there.

One of the sponsors of the certificate was Capt. Jose Sintas of the Spanish Army general staff, chief aide to the top military commander under Generalissimo Francisco Franco.

CITED FOR CROP

Mr. Cubero, who cultivated about four acres of his 25-acre tract, here, has been cited by the U.S. Department of Agriculture for a "bumper crop" of peanuts he grew.

He also succeeded two years ago in growing a stand of yucca plants in his garden. The plant, a tropical food staple, was considered impossible to cultivate in this country.

He was a communicant of St. Jerome's Catholic Church, here.

Mr. Cubero, an electronics engineer, was born in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

A former soldier, he served as company clerk to former President Eisenhower, when he was a major stationed in Panama. He left the Army more than 40 years ago to teach at Ft. Monmouth, before going to Puerto Rico to establish a communications system for Radio Corporation of America. He late returned here to resume his electronics career at the fort.

Also surviving are two sons, Arvid H. and John G. Cubero, at home; two daughters, Mrs. Enid C. Bender, Rumson, and Miss Ruth Cubero, New York City; two brothers, Frank Cubero of Washington, D.C., an employee of the U.S. House of Representatives for over 30 years and John Cubero of Crozet, Virginia, a designing engineer for the Sperry-Rand Corporation; two sisters, Miss Rosario Cubero of New York City, and Mrs. Christina Quijano of San Juan.

The Damiano Funeral Home, Long Branch, is in charge of arrangements.

SOCIAL SECURITY CHANGES SORELY NEEDED

HON. J. HERBERT BURKE

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, throughout the country the month of May is being celebrated as Senior Citizen Month and the U.S. House of Representatives indicated their interest on May 21 when we voted for several much needed changes under the Social Security Act.

Certainly the problems facing so many of our elderly people are acute and hopefully the changes will enable them to better face the rising cost of living.

There are currently 26.6 million people on social security rolls with the greatest portion of these beneficiaries, 25.4 million, being senior citizens. Monthly benefits total over $2.16 billion.

In our State of Florida we have 1.1 million senior citizens who receive a total of more than $90 million per month.

Our senior citizens make a tremendous impact on our State with their experience, ability, and financial contributions, but we would have to be blind if we could not see the uphill fight that many of them have in today's society.

With inflation and high taxes raging, our senior citizens find themselves with their backs against the wall. Thus, I feel, it is now imperative that the Senate consider the legislation passed by the House as quickly as possible.

Our senior citizens have been handicapped by the limitations on the amount they can earn, and on the limitation on the amount of benefits they receive each month. What once was thought to be a sufficient supplement has been eroded away by rising living costs until today our elderly are barely able to make ends meet.

With the 15 percent social security increase that became payable in April, social security benefits average $1,392 for an individual and $2,088 a year for a couple 65 years of age.

However, when we take into consideration that the U.S. Labor Department standard indicates $2,920 is the very least a retired couple needs to stay above the poverty line, I, like many in the House of Representatives, have become concerned that many of our elderly who have been caught in this web of inflation will continue to become more entangled financially without further help.

I appreciate the fact that social security was never intended to be a pension, and in fact was instead intended to be a supplement to other savings and income. Yet, with the many economic changes resulting over the years, which have in many ways hurt rather than helped today's elderly, it seems that a complete reappraisal of the problems facing those under social security is in order.

I supported the 15 percent social security increase passed by the Congress in 1969 and also the 5 percent increase which just passed the House. In this current legislation I supported also the House amendment offered by Representative JOHN BYRNES granting social security increases automatically whenever the national cost of living rises 3 percent or more per quarter. I introduced legislation calling for this and was indeed happy that although it was not recommended by the committee, it passed as an amendment to the committee bill.

In both the 90th Congress and then in this Congress, I introduced legislation which would completely remove the earnings limitations now placed on social security recipients. The House approved only a raise in the ceiling from $1,680 to $2,000 a recipient may earn per year without penalty, but I still feel further working inducements should be offered in the future to those willing to work after retirement.

I feel that many citizens who reach their golden years should not, if they choose, continue to work yet it is my opinion that those who do wish to continue to work in order to earn wages to help pull them through tough financial times should be encouraged to do so without penalty. Social security is not welfare and most of those receiving benefits have earned these benefits, and have the right to keep working if they desire.

Truthfully, should the Federal Government have the right to limit any citizen in their earning power? It is even more ironic since it is the wild spending sprees of our Government which has contributed to the inflation that is ensnaring our retirees today.

In any event, the new social security

legislation which passed the House will help since it includes:

Benefit increases to 100 percent for widows and widowers entitled to such under the primary insurance if first applied for at age 65 or later.

Authorization for the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish specific periods of time after hospitalization for which a patient would be eligible for extended care—I cosponsored this.

Authorization to study the possibility of including chiropractic care under the medicare program.

Authorization for recipients to take part in health maintenance programs with the Government paying up to 95 percent if the party qualifies for both part A and part B of medicare.

More authority given to the Secretary of HEW to clamp down on violators of the medicare program.

To pay for the benefit increases passed by the House, the social security tax base will have to be increased from the taxable income limit of $7,800 to $9,000. It was necessary also for the tax on employers and employees to be raised from 4.8 to 5.2 percent.

At this point I might mention that a further bill I introduced would have allowed all medical expenses to be deducted in computing the income tax but this bill was, unfortunately, not passed. It was held by the committee for further study.

In closing, I would like to stress that age is something that comes to us all and the best of plans in one's old age often go astray because of circumstances impossible to anticipate. Our elderly citizens of today have gone through the depression of the 1930's, two world wars, and two others.

They worked hard and paid their taxes. They helped build our Nation to its greatness. They ask not for charity, but only what is deserving to them, and now they do need help and the least we can do is to give them the help they have earned.

MIKE ONLEY TO GRADUATE FROM COLUMBIA HIGH SCHOOL

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, in just a few days a remarkable young man will join his classmates at Columbia High School in Columbia, S.C., in receiving a high school diploma. His name is Mike Onley, and I want to tell our colleagues something about Mike.

Two years ago, this energetic and popular young man had a terrible swimming accident that resulted in almost total paralysis. Understandably, it was at first difficult for Mike, who had always been very active, to make the psychological adjustment to his misfortune. A person with less faith and courage than Mike would never have made that adjustment. But Mike is a fighter and together with his parents, teachers, and fellow students at Columbia High, a battle was launched almost from the date of his accident to further his education.

Through the untiring efforts of doctors and physical therapists at the Medical University of South Carolina, Mike fought to regain the use of his limbs. At the same time, the school devised a plan to help Mike complete his high school education. Since Mike was unable to attend school, a school-to-home telephone hookup was established and Columbia High School came to see Mike. I can report that they have gotten along famously. In fact, Mike can brag that he has not been sick a day yet, and as a result he has not missed a class. He is probably the only student anywhere who could play hookey by just hanging up the phone. But, he takes his studies seriously, and now Mike is ready to realize a great ambition—the successful completion of his courses at Columbia High School which means a well-deserved diploma.

I am proud of Mike Onley. I am proud of his parents, teachers, and many friends at Columbia High. All of them have pulled together to help achieve a worthy goal in a person's life, the furtherance of his education. Mike's example of bravery and sheer determination can serve as an inspiration to others in similar circumstances. He did not quit because the challenge was there, and this is the spirit which must always be the trademark of the American people. He is confined to a wheelchair, but he has taken a symbolic step toward success in the future. I congratulate him upon this great event in his life, and I take this opportunity to wish him continued success.

Mr. Speaker, because Mike Onley represents the great ideals and aspirations of American youth at their best, I want to conclude my remarks by recommending to the attention of our colleagues two newspaper articles which describe far better than I the heroic struggle that he has waged. They are as follows:

[From the Columbia (S.C.) Record, Oct. 11, 1969]

INTERCOM SYSTEM LETS HANDICAPPED COLUMBIA BOY TO ATTEND CLASSES

(By Lee Huntington)

In this day and age of school drop-outs and those who just plain hate school, the idea of not having to attend any classes might sound great. To one Columbia High student, being out of school is the worst that could happen.

Mike Onley would probably have graduated last year if he hadn't gone swimming on a certain day or decided to dive at another location. The fact is, though, he jumped in where the water was too shallow, pinched his spinal cord, and is now confined to bed, paralyzed from his neck down.

Mike loved Columbia High. Anytime there was something to be done he was always there with a grin on his face. Seldom, if ever, did he frown on anything or anyone. If there was work to be done he would do it.

For over a year Mike has not been able to move any part of himself except his head and lately he has felt a tingling in a few of his fingers. Last year the school board appointed him tutors so he wouldn't fall behind his class. But Mike wanted to be a part of Columbia High. He wanted to be with his friends and just be one of the crowd as he had for sixteen years. Having a friend meant more to him than anything else. But for Mike that wasn't hard. It was literally impossible to find someone who didn't have a compliment about him.

Mike is still at home, but he's probably closer to Columbia High than some of its regular students. Because of "Mr. Bell's" greatest invention Mike is again part of his school. In four classrooms an intercom system has been placed. Mike also has one at home.

During designated periods throughout the day the instructors turn on their unit and the discussions travel two miles. He is learning English, algebra, history, and psychology probably better than some of those who attend class.

He can ask any questions he likes and have it heard by those in the room. The sensitive microphones can even pick up the bell and all of the "under the breath" jokes which are cut.

This arrangement is another first for Columbia High. No other school in South Carolina is known to have done this sort of thing for a student.

Most of all, though, it's a first for Mike Onley. It's the first chance in over a year he has to be with friends and again learn as they do.

Mrs. Carolyn Walters, who teaches psychology, says it is hard to find a student who wants to learn as badly as Mike does and that she will do everything possible so he might receive his diploma in June. Many students have been expressing the wish to have him at graduation if there's any way.

Mike has not been in school for a year. If fate doesn't take another course he may never sit in a classroom again, but knowing him he will be a college graduate.

Many of us have our own explanations of happiness. For Mike Onley, happiness is being able to hear his friends' voices again and the fact that he can say "Here" when his name is called.

[From the Columbia (S.C.) State, Mar. 22, 1970]

I THINK ACCIDENT HELPED ME A LOT

(By Charlotte Wyndham)

"At first I felt sorry for myself, because I used to be so active, football and things, but now I feel like this was God's way to test my faith."

Mike Onley was explaining his swimming accident two years ago that left him paralyzed from the neck down.

But he is not handicapped. It didn't take this happy, well-adjusted teenager long to realize there were more problems in the world than his.

"When I went to the Medical College of South Carolina, I saw others in worse shape than I was in. This was the turning point for me. The doctors and therapists worked with me every day until I could sit up in a wheelchair, then they showed me how to put a pencil between my fingers and palm and write. I knew I was going to be OK.

"I said to myself, 'I never sat down before, and I am not going to now.' "

And he hasn't. "I think my accident helped me a lot. The problems I used to think were big I can see now were not so important."

Six feet, four inches, 220 pound Mike "goes" to Columbia High every day via home-to-school telephone service. His amplifier sits next to his desk, and he listens and takes part in his four senior subjects. "Psychology is my favorite subject, and we get into a big discussion every day."

"I get up every day at 8 a.m., have breakfast, and am ready for my first class, English, at 8:55. I go through a regular school day, finishing my last class at 3:30. I haven't missed a day yet. I'm lucky I haven't been sick" said healthy looking Mike.

There seems to be almost nothing Mike can't do that the average teen-ager can't. He

has the same English assignment as others . . . a senior research theme. This leaves him undaunted. "A friend of mine is going to the libraries for me, and I am learning how to type, punch style with sticks.

Teen-agers normally date on the weekend, so does Mike. With the help of his parents, he is seated in the backseat of his car, and along with his date and another couple, they go to the drive-ins for a movie. On Sundays, some of his friends always come to take him for a ride.

Mikes friends are always around. After the last class at Columbia High, a few of the boys and girls drop around to rehash the day's activities, which Mike is up on, and to pick up some of his written assignments.

There is always laughter and a smile in Mike's room. As his mother explains it, "Mike doesn't like sad faces and tears. Whenever I feel down or blue, I can always go into his room to be cheered up."

Mike, his face breaking into a happy grin, looks forward to graduation day this June. I'll be there, he said with determination.

This young man seems to live the old saying, "Troubles are just opportunities to do something about them."

A BILL TO AID OUR NATION'S SCHOOLS

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, a number of my colleagues and I have introduced a bill to carry out President Nixon's proposal to help our Nation's schools achieve desegregation and end or ameliorate conditions of racial isolation in the schools.

While we no doubt will support or even offer amendments to the bill based on testimony, I regard this proposal as one of the most important steps along the long, difficult road that leads to equal educational opportunity for all the children in our Nation. It comes at a critical time for several hundred southern school districts which are making genuine efforts to desegregate but are doing so with completely inadequate funds.

This act is designed to provide $1½ billion over the next 2 years to assist school districts in desegregating and overcoming the effects of racial isolation. This will provide major help in alleviating a crisis which exists through the Nation, although its impact has been greatest in the South.

School districts which are attempting in good faith to desegregate their schools are discovering that large expenditures in addition to their normal operating budgets are required to make desegregation work. In his March 24 statement on desegregation in America's elementary and secondary schools, the President affirmed his commitment to the goal of racial equality in the Nation's schools. This will make it clear that the administration is willing to provide a substantial commitment of Federal funds to achieve that goal and to insure that, in achieving it, educational quality is maintained.

The President's proposal would provide assistance to local educational agencies throughout the Nation to meet special needs such as teacher training, curriculum revision, purchase of materials, repair or minor remodeling, and planning costs.

Support would be available on a project grant basis to three categories of school districts: First, districts desegregating under court order or subject to a title VI desegregation plan filed with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; second, school districts which are voluntarily desegregating to overcome de facto segregation or which are taking affirmative action to prevent segregation from developing as neighborhoods change; and, third, racially impacted school districts with over 50 percent minority students which need assistance in overcoming racial isolation.

There is no element of compulsion in this bill. It is neither "carrot" nor "stick," but rather, provides straightforward assistance to local school boards which are trying to deal with these problems. As President Nixon expressed it so well in his message of May 21:

Nothing in this Act is intended either to punish or to reward. Rather it recognizes that a time of transition, during which local districts bring their practices into accord with national policy, is a time when a special partnership is needed between the Federal Government and the districts most directly affected. It also recognizes that doing a better job of overcoming the adverse educational effects of racial isolation, wherever it exists, benefits not only the community but the nation.

The President went on to note that the issues involved here are not simple and that "many of the questions are profound, the factors complex, the legitimate considerations in conflict, and the answers elusive." But the President pledged a search for answers that are most constructive, and he urged speedy action on this proposal. I am confident that the Congress will heed that request. A more detailed description of the bill follows:

I. SUMMARY OF "EMERGENCY SCHOOL AID ACT OF 1970"

The proposed "Emergency Educational Assistance Act of 1970" is designed to meet the four categories of need outlined in the President's March 24 statement on elementary and secondary school desegregation:

The special needs of desegregating (or recently desegregated) districts for additional facilities, personnel and training required to get the new, unitary system successfully started.

The special needs of racially-impacted schools where *de jacto* segregation persists—and where immediate infusions of money can make a real difference in terms of educational effectiveness.

The special needs of those districts that have the furthest to go to catch up educationally with the rest of the nation.

The financing of innovative techniques for providing educationally sound inter-racial experiences for children in racially isolated schools.

A. GENERAL PURPOSES—SECTION 2

Financial assistance is to be provided to aid:

(1) *De jure* districts now desegregating pursuant to court order or HEW plan, or having done so within two years prior to application, for special needs incident to the implementation of these plans.

(2) *De facto* districts that wish to undertake voluntary efforts to eliminate, reduce or prevent racial isolation in elementary and secondary schools for purposes of improving the quality of education available to students in such schools; and

(3) Racially impacted (de facto) districts that wish to undertake special inter-racial programs, or where such programs are not practicable, programs designed to overcome the educational disadvantages of racial isolation.

B. STATE ALLOTMENTS—SECTION 4

Assistance would be provided by means of discretionary project grants to local educational agencies, and under certain conditions other public and private non-profit organizations, with administration at the Federal level. Two-thirds of the total funds are allotted among the States on a formula basis. The remaining one-third is to be distributed among the States on a totally discretionary basis.

Under the State distribution scheme, each State receives $100,000 plus an amount based upon the number of minority students in the State vis-a-vis the total number of minority students in the Nation, with each minority student in a district required to desegregate and implementing a desegregation plan being double counted. Where local educational agencies in a State do not exhaust the State's share of funds, those funds will be reallotted for local educational agency projects within other States in proportion to the original allotments to such States.

C. ELIGIBILITY FACTORS—SECTION 5

Category (1) (*de jure*) districts are eligible upon submission of a desegregation plan which has been approved by the Secretary of HEW under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act or which has been undertaken pursuant to court order. To be eligible the district must be implementing the plan or must have completed implementation of the plan within two years of its application for assistance.

Eligible districts in category (2) (*de facto* desegregating) are those having either (1) one or more schools in which minority pupils exceed 50% of the enrollment or (2) one or more schools with substantial, but less than 50%, minority enrollment, which are in clear danger of becoming racially isolated. The term "minority" includes all persons of Negro, American Indian, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or Spanish origin or ancestry. This term also includes pupils from environments where the dominant language is other than English, and who, as a result of limited English speaking ability, are educationally deprived.

Eligible districts in category (3) (*de facto* impacted) are those in which minority children constitute 50% of the public school enrollment, or which have 10,000 or more minority students.

A district may qualify for assistance under more than one category. For instance, a large city might be aided both to desegregate one or more racially isolated schools under category (2) and to carry on inter-racial educational programs for pupils in other such schools under category (3).

D. PURPOSES FOR WHICH FUNDS MAY BE USED—SECTIONS 5 AND 6

Districts eligible under categories (1) (*de jure*) and (2) (*de facto* desegregating) may receive funds to pay the "additional costs" of implementing a plan to desegregate or to prevent or reduce racial isolation, or to carry out special programs designed to enhance successful desegregation or reduction or prevention of racial isolation. Racial isolation is defined as a condition in which more than 50% of students in a school are minority students. Additional costs are Districts eligible under category (3) (*de facto* impacted)

may receive funds for interracial educational programs for racially isolated children and for demonstration projects designed to overcome the educational disadvantages of racial isolation where interracial programs are not practicable.

Illustrative of the activities which qualify for funding under these program categories are special administrative activities incident to implementing a plan of desegregation or reduction of racial isolation, renovation of facilities, teacher training, special remedial programs, guidance and counseling programs, curriculum materials, and community activities in support of any plan or project under the act. Funding for transportation services also can be provided as long as Federal funds are not utilized to require transportation to overcome racial imbalance. In addition, funds are available for planning and evaulation. Included among programs funded will be those for special services for gifted and talented children, as well as for regular special service programs.

E. SPONSORSHIP—SECTION 5

Financial assistance is to be provided principally to local educational agencies, which can then subcontract if desired. When it is found that the act would be more effectively implemented with respect to category (1) (*de jure*) and (2) (*de facto* segregating) districts, financial assistance may be provided directly to any public or private nonprofit agencies to aid in the development or implementation of a desegregation plan or a voluntary plan to reduce or prevent racial isolation. However, such agencies are to be funded only for supportive services. Public or private nonprofit organizations may be funded directly under category (3) (*de facto* impacted) to undertake any of the aforementioned activities for the benefit of students in eligible category (3) districts.

F. GRANT CONDITIONS—SECTION 7

(1) In the case of grants made to school districts in category (1) (*de jure desegregating*) and category (2) *de facto* desegregating), the programs to be funded must be part of a comprehensive plan for achieving desegregation. However, a plan to eliminate, reduce or prevent racial isolation in only one of a number of racially isolated schools in a *de facto* district could be funded under category (2). In the case of grants for use in category (3) (*de facto* impacted districts), there must be a showing that the funds will be sufficiently concentrated to achieve demonstrable results.

(2) The State in which the funds would be expended must be given an opportunity to review and comment on the grant application.

(3) The application must include a satisfactory evaluation plan.

(4) A local educational agency must, in its application, provide assurances that the agency has made provisions for participation in special programs by racially isolated private school children consistent with the number of such children in racially isolated private schools.

G. PRIORITIES—SECTION 8

In the administration of the program, priority is to be given to districts which lag behind other districts in the measurable quality of public education. Priority is also to be given to those projects which seem most likely to effect a significant decrease in racial isolation.

H. EVALUATION—SECTION 10

1% of any appropriation in any one year is available to the Secretary for evaluation of the program.

I. NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL—SECTION 12

The President will appoint a twelve member National Advisory Council on the Education of Racially Isolated Children to review the program and make recommendations.

J. APPROPRIATIONS—SECTION 3

Not in excess of $500 million is authorized for fiscal year 1971 and not in excess of $1 billion is authorized for fiscal year 1972.

K. ADMINISTRATION

The legislation places the grant making authority in the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

INHUMANE TREATMENT OF AMERICAN POW'S IN NORTH VIETNAM

HON. SPEEDY O. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, throughout the so-called great national debate over the question of the allies' recent campaign into Cambodia, I have yet to hear any great indignation expressed at the continued inhumane treatment of Americans held as prisoners of war in North Vietnam and other secret enclaves in Indochina. This silence extends alike to the administration and to the mass communications media who make a fetish of balance in the news. I find their treatment of this subject outrageous, especially when any unkempt revolutionary with the energy to open his mouth can and frequently does dominate the public-owned airwaves of the Nation.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, many Members of Congress introduced and supported through final passage a concurrent resolution condemning the immoral treatment by the Communist regime in North Vietnam of American captives and demanding they abide by their agreement under the Geneva convention to identify prisoners of war, release those seriously sick or injured, permit inspection of POW camps, and permit free exchange of mail between POW's and their families. This measure was introduced on September 11, 1969, and yet North Vietnam has not honored its commitment to the international community.

Corrective action by the Communists in the absence of superior force, the only language they understand, is not surprising. What is surprising, Mr. Speaker, is the apathy displayed by those sectors of the American society which proclaim their dedication to the rights of man and to humanitarian principles. The most guilt for this continuing situation much be shouldered by our great organs of information because they have failed completely to alert the American people to the suffering of our captured soldiers, sailors, and airmen in Southeast Asia. Each evening we hear the broadcast media pontificate on the principles of freedom of the press, but they are far more hesitant to discuss the principles of international justice to war captives.

Mr. Speaker, I do not pretend to know their motives for their neglect of American POW's in Indochina, but it can be safely presumed that the profit motive is at the root of their inaction. Greed has always made strange philosophy.

These same news media have devoted hours of air time and tons of newsprint to a thorough and sometimes utterly absurd discussion of efforts now underway by the fainthearted among us to limit by statute the appropriations for the conduct of military operations in Southeast Asia.

Among the uncounted acts of savagery committed by the Communists in Indochina, the treatment of prisoners of war ranks among the most repugnant to world opinion and to simple humanity. I earnestly request all Members of Congress and all concerned citizens to join with the families of these 1,500 POW's in demanding justice and fair treatment. It is within our means to contribute to their better welfare, lacking which they must surely perish.

Mr. Speaker, on May 1, I attended a mass meeting in Constitution Hall here in Washington at which a special tribute was paid to American prisoners of war and those missing in action in Southeast Asia. I was tremendously impressed both by the spirit of the families of prisoners and by the genuine concern expressed by the American people for their welfare. But we must do more, Mr. Speaker, to reduce the suffering of our captured men, and I hope my colleagues will join in this great effort.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

A BILL INTRODUCED BY MR. REID OF NEW YORK

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a bill which amends section 344(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 to permit naturalization courts to keep one-half of all naturalization fees collected without any upper limitation.

The law at present requires that clerks of such courts pay over to the Attorney General "one-half of all fees up to the sum of $6,000 and all fees in excess of $6,000."

The result of this provision is that 15 jurisdictions throughout the country collect fees in excess of $6,000 and are able to keep only $3,000 each, returning to the Treasury sums ranging from $3,700 to $29,900. The latest data available indicates that these 15 courts collect a total of $205,000 in naturalization fees, that they retain a total of $45,000, and that they turn over to the Treasury a total of $160,000.

My bill would permit all naturalization courts to keep one-half of the fees they collect, without upper limitation. If this provision is enacted into law, the loss to the U.S. Treasury would be $57,500 annually.

White Plains, N.Y., in my district, is one of those affected by the present limitation in the law. The court processes about 900 petitions for naturalization per year. Of the $22,500 collected, the court is able to keep only $3,000 although the processing costs run to $10,000 annually.

The county clerk estimates that the

additional sum the court could retain under my bill would be used to meet rising personnel costs and the additional position requested recently to meet increased demand.

Mr. Speaker, local government costs are rapidly outpacing the ability of communities to meet the legitimate needs of their citizens. White Plains is proud to play a significant role in the admission of new American citizens, but surely the Federal Treasury, not those jurisdictions which happen to process most naturalization cases, should bear the greatest part of the cost.

In addition to White Plains, N.Y., those courts collecting in excess of $6,000 in naturalization fees are: Oakland, San Jose, and Santa Ana, Calif.; Taunton and Worcester, Mass.; Elizabeth, Hackensack, Jersey City, New Brunswick, and Paterson, N.J.; Mineola, Riverhead, and Rochester, N.Y.; and Edinburg, Tex.

TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE JOHN W. McCORMACK

HON. H. ALLEN SMITH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, you will recall that in the late afternoon of May 20—the day you made your announcement that you were not going to seek reelection—the distinguished majority leader, Mr. CARL ALBERT, of Oklahoma, rose and paid tribute to you.

You will also recall there were not too many Members on the floor at that time and the announcement came rather suddenly. At that time I rose and made the following remarks:

Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the Members on our side of the aisle—this being late in the day, and many not being here—and particularly on behalf of myself in this the 14th year I have been in the House of Representatives, I should like to say to you at all times you have been 100 percent fair, cooperative, and honest in every possible way in your associations with me in my position. I am deeply grateful. I wish you the very, very best.

I will say to the distinguished majority leader that I sincerely hope an appropriate date will be set aside sometime in the future so that all of us can pay the tribute to the Speaker which he so greatly deserves. Mr. Speaker, thank you.

Mr. Speaker, I reiterate the remarks made above and repeat that during my 14 years when you have been majority leader and then the Speaker, you have always been considerate, kindly, warm in your friendship and displayed a fine sense of fairness. Your word has always been absolutely 100 percent—like a written contract—as far as I am concerned.

Our Nation is a better place for the contribution you have made to it and to our American way of life. You are a gentleman of the very best type and it has been a privilege to serve with you. Mrs. Smith joins me in wishing you and Mrs. McCormack many years of healthy, happy retirement.

THE PROBLEM OF TEXTILE IMPORTS

HON. TOM S. GETTYS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. GETTYS. Mr. Speaker, the remarks of President Charles B. McCoy of the Du Pont Co. at a recent meeting sponsored by the U.S. Department of Commerce on the subject of the textile import problem are worthy of wide distribution. I submit the remarks of Mr. McCoy for the RECORD. His thoughts accentuate the need for legislation to save the domestic textile industry of the United States.

The remarks follow:

REMARKS BY CHARLES B. McCOY

I am glad that this meeting is being held. World trade, with all its problems and opportunities, is inevitably a joint concern of government and business. We're the first to acknowledge its complexities and we thoroughly understand that many aspects of it have broad national implications and consequences. A chance like this one to exchange views and solicit each other's cooperation is a constructive step.

Although some experts may attribute special or technical meaning to the word "multinational," for my purposes this morning it simply means a company that makes and sells goods in many countries of the world, a definition that covers the activities of many people in this hall.

Although our international business is small by some yardsticks, Du Pont does qualify as a multinational company, not only because more than 20 per cent of our total sales, employment, and investment are outside the United States, but also because we run the business as a worldwide enterprise and look to non-U.S. markets as a major source of our future growth. We believe that more and more of the world's business will be done by multinational companies, whether their country of origin is in Europe, Asia or the Western Hemisphere. In Europe, Latin America, Canada and Japan we are increasingly facing able competitors who not only have sophisticated technology and products but also benefit from favorable taxation and other forms of assistance and encouragement from their governments. The so-called technological gap has all but disappeared, at least in most parts of the chemical industry, if, indeed, it ever existed.

It seems to me that world business is in something of a transitional stage, with the multinational company having reached maturity before law and custom and attitudes are completely ready for it. It is clear that the old, somewhat narrow interests that once shaped the philosophy of a large business enterprise have been broadened and, consequently, made more complex. We are no longer protectionists or free traders, nationalists or internationalists, importers or exporters, hard-money or soft-money people. We are, instead, businessmen who cope with conditions as we find them as we attempt to operate successfuly within the widely divergent laws and policies established by many governments around the world. Our positions may not always seem consistent when measured by older—and perhaps clearer and more comfortable—catchwords, but we believe they are not paradoxical or contradictory when viewed against the backdrop of the world business scene.

Let me illustrate what I mean by two examples that also may suggest the kind of understanding and support we need from government.

The first involves the quantitative import restrictions on wool and man-made fibers, fabrics and garments imposed by European nations. These restrictions, which have been identified and catalogued by our own government, tend to deflect textile exports, especially from the Far East, into the United States. European countries, traditionally larger textile importers than we, are now importing proportionately less, while the United States, the only major unrestricted market in the world for man-made fibers and products made from them, is taking in proportionately more.

This fact, plus calculated and determined exploitation of the U.S. market by Japan and others, has created a situation about which something must be done. Imports of man-made fibers and products have grown rapidly. In apparel, for example, such imports measured in equivalent square yards rose 62 per cent in 1968 and 64 per cent in 1969. Imports accounted for between 8 and 10 per cent of all U.S. consumption of man-made fibers and products last year. The textile trade deficit was $1.4 billion for 1969, compared to $1.1 billion the year before. And the situation has worsened in 1970.

If the scope of the present problem is clear, so also is the handwriting on the wall. Largely under Japanese leadership, the textile industry of Southeast Asia is expanding vigorously. Based on present patterns of trade, exports to the United States of apparel made of man-made fibers from Japan, Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan are expected to almost double by early 1971 as compared with 1969.

As you know, in Japan government and business are closely intertwined and national policy is deliberately planned and used to increase exports, with the Japanese textile industry one of the prime beneficiaries of that government support.

The United States textile industry, faced with this fact, must look to Washington for help. A sick textile industry, unable to plan its capital programs, inevitably means the export of some of the 2.3 million U.S. jobs now dependent on this business. Secretary Stans' diligent efforts in this situation to negotiate a solution in the form of an agreement for voluntary quotas are admired and appreciated. But, we are sorry to see, so far they have been unsuccessful.

Now, we conclude, the only solution is Congressional action limiting the quantities of man-made fibers and products that can be imported into this country. Therefore, our response in this case is to advocate the imposition of import controls, urging passage of the bill introduced by Congressman Wilbur Mills.

My second case centers around the difficulties created for the domestic petrochemical industry by the Mandatory Oil Import Control program. Because this program restricts imports of foreign petroleum, U.S. petrochemical manufacturers do not have access to the low-cost raw materials available to overseas chemical producers. The costs of petrochemical feedstocks are higher in the United States than in Europe, a serious implication for the international trade balance. In addition, the higher cost of feedstocks provides an incentive to locate plants abroad rather than in the United States. Both aspects of this problem were acknowledged in the recent report of the Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Control and the Separate Report.

Du Pont's response to *this* situation has been to urge the *relaxation* and *removal* of petrochemical feedstock import controls.

In neither case does Du Pont's response stem from a protectionist or free trade philosophy. Rather, it reflects the fact that

we must deal with things as they are in the real world—and we must have the understanding and support of government. In the long run, the actions taken stand or fall on whether or not they are in the best interests of the public.

In this connection, I think that industry thoroughly understands the need for negotiation in international trade matters. However, we are critical of bargains in which more is given—at our expense—than is received in return. The American Selling Price case is an example. Under a separate package negotiated at the time of the Kennedy Round, the American Selling Price system for customs valuation of certain chemicals would be eliminated and American tariffs lowered further in return for certain reductions in foreign tariffs. In our view the reductions proposed would offer little export opportunity in exchange for the sacrifices. It was simply a poor bargain.

We are now being told that ASP should be eliminated because of its great symbolic importance to our trading partners and in order to convince Europeans that the United States is really interested in negotiating the reduction of nontariff barriers. No concrete action by foreign powers is being proposed or sought as a direct response. This argument is not persuasive either. Nothing plus nothing still equals nothing.

The effect of foreign direct investment on the U.S. balance of payments, particularly in the case of a multinational company, is frequently discussed. We in Du Pont consider it important to correct the chronic deficit in the U.S. balance of payments. However, we do not think control of foreign direct investment is the right way to approach the problem.

During the past five years, while Du Pont has expanded its overseas investment very substantially, our export sales have increased annually. During this period, Du Pont's net positive contribution to the nation's balance of payments has exceeded $1 billion—the excess of total receipts from abroad, principally from exports, over funds from U.S. sources expended abroad, including imports and foreign investment.

It has been our experience that foreign investment stimulates U.S. export business. Many cases demonstrate that increased exports directly resulting from new overseas manufacturing facilities have exceeded the overseas investment. Possible displacement of U.S. exports by foreign investment is usually overemphasized, we think. In most cases, manufacture abroad is necessary to obtain or retain a market that will be closed to U.S. exports in any event. If Du Pont does not build the local plant, someone else will.

There seems to be widespread agreement in both government and industry that the existing controls on foreign direct investment are self-defeating and will have serious adverse effect on the U.S. balance of payments if continued indefinitely. Of more immediate significance, the foreign investment regulations discourage export sales since any increase in trade receivables from foreign subsidiaries—the natural consequence of increased exports—is considered to be a transfer of capital. There are special exemption procedures designed to accommodate these situations, but our experience indicates that, as they are administered, the U.S. exporter is penalized as a result of increased sales through foreign subsidiaries.

The foreign direct investment controls were introduced as a short-term measure to provide temporary balance of payments relief, and U.S. industry has generally complied by resorting to various expedients. It has been evident for some time that continuation of the program would involve serious problems, and most of us have proceeded with the belief or hope that the program would soon be terminated. However, it is now necessary to recognize some of these basic problems. One is the conflict between the forced repatriation of earnings versus potential tax penalties; another is the serious financial implications of continuing to borrow overseas while the regulations themselves restrict the ability to repay such borrowings. It is not feasible to develop sound financing and operating plans under these conditions. We are becoming increasingly concerned and believe many others are in the same position, particularly the multinational companies. We think it is now time to begin phasing out the program and to announce a definite schedule for its early termination.

Another major deterrent to increased U.S. exports is the punitive attitude embodied in U.S. tax law and administration, which not only fail to provide incentive for exports, but impose penalties, without parallel for any of our major foreign competitors. Many corporate taxpayers pay U.S. taxes on a substantial part of the earnings of foreign marketing subsidiaries from the resale of U.S. exports, just as though it were income earned by the U.S. taxpayer. Furthermore, the U.S. exporter is required to pay full U.S. tax on profits which, in reality, should be attributed to its foreign marketing affiliate. It is difficult to reconcile this situation with the government's stated interest in promoting U.S. exports.

I indicated earlier that we consider government inextricably involved with the affairs of a multinational corporation. Ultimately, much of our business success is dependent on the attitude and effectiveness of government in coping with the complex and difficult combination of international politics and economics.

I hope that out of this meeting and similar activities, we of the business community will take advantage of this newly opened communications route to tell you in government what we think and why.

I don't think that you will find us unreasonable or blind; we know that political realities are as demanding and binding as economic realities. We are prepared, and I think able, to compete successfully with producers and sellers in Europe, Japan, and other parts of the world, on the basis of technology, productivity, marketing skills, and the other business yardsticks. What we need is a business environment in which we are not handicapped by factors beyond our control. Only government can provide that climate.

YOUTH SPEAK OUT AGAINST AGITATORS

HON. BILL CHAPPELL, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. CHAPPELL. Mr. Speaker, this is a very troublesome time for all Americans, and especially for our youth. Many of our people have hesitated to speak out or stand up for what they feel is right. Today, however, I have received a resolution signed by nine clubs and organizations, representing many young people, stating their objection to civil disobedience and violence.

The resolution, sent from Williston High School, Williston, Fla., reads as follows:

There seems to be an increasing amount of public sentiment in this great country of ours opposing the dissent of today's youth. We believe this negative view has been spurned, and rightfully so, from the violence which has drowned out the pleas of this majority of peaceful dissenters.

As Americans, we hold dear the rights of freedom of speech, the freedom of assembly, and the freedom to disagree and voice our disagreements. But, these freedoms are being threatened by a group of agitators that preach peace on one hand and create civil disobedience and threaten civil war on the other.

There are youth groups in this country that openly profess that their only aim is to overthrow our government. It should be restressed, however, that these groups, while alarming, are still in a very small minority.

We feel that it is time for us, as part of the "silent majority" of youths, to clarify this unjust blanket labeling of our generation.

We would also like to issue a plea to our peers on college and high school campuses alike to avoid this destructive, useless disruption of peace and eliminate the battleground of the minority groups. Our very freedoms are being undermined and the very structure of our republic is being threatened by these few militants. We, the majority of today's youth, must not let them succeed.

(Signed by members of the Student Council, National Honor Society, Future Business Leaders of America, Future Farmers of America, Future Teachers of America, Para-Medical Club, Annual Club, Club Kutana, and Library Club of Williston High School, Williston, Florida.)

Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the students of these organizations for their stand. They are setting a good example for all Americans to follow in our search to once again unify all of our people toward a greater and finer democracy.

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

HON. ROBERT V. DENNEY

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, it is only fitting that all of us who are honored to serve in the House of Representatives pause for a moment and pay tribute to a man who, more than anyone else, has come to symbolize the tradition and continuity of the lower Chamber.

JOHN MCCORMACK is a symbol of the American dream, for he worked his way up from early poverty in his old neighborhood of Boston to a position where he could shape and influence every piece of legislation that came before the Congress.

Moreover, Speaker MCCORMACK is a gifted and skilled legislator. He provided responsible support to six different American Presidents in times of national crisis, yet never yielded in his determination to see some of his own ideals become reality.

Since 1962, it has been his obligation and honor to serve as our Speaker. To his credit, JOHN MCCORMACK has exercised his duties with that same unusual devotion to this country's best interests which characterized his conduct when he first came to Congress over four decades ago.

It is difficult for me, as a legislator who is completing his second term in this body, to adequately convey my admiration and respect for a man who was returned to the Congress 21 times—usually

without serious opposition. Perhaps that sign of appreciation from his constituents best illustrates the kind of job he has performed.

JOHN MCCORMACK's absence will be greatly felt next January when he does not return to Washington. But his legacy to all of us will not be forgotten. That legacy, fashioned from years of devotion and plain hard work, can best be summed up in these three lines:

To be born free is an accident;
To live free is a responsibility;
To die free is an obligation.

THE BACK DOOR TO CAMBODIA

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I was extremely dismayed but unfortunately not surprised by a small news item appearing on page 35 of the New York Times on Friday, May 22. The heading on the article read "Thailand May Aid Cambodia." Thailand's Interior Minister Praphas Charusathien reportedly told a press conference in Bangkok that Thailand is ready to give military equipment and medical aid to Cambodia. Thailand's Premier Thanon Kittikachorn allegedly told this to the Cambodian foreign minister.

The United States has well over 40,000 troops in Thailand, most of them designated as support troops for our operations in Vietnam. Some Americans, though, are operating as advisors to Thai units fighting Communist guerillas in the Northeast region of the country. Though the precise level of our military aid to Thailand is now "officially classified," estimates have placed it somewhere between $70 and $100 million for the current fiscal year.

I am gravely concerned by this menacing situation, because even if the administration makes good on its promise to pull all American forces out of Cambodia by June 30, and not to provide substantial amounts of American military equipment directly to Cambodia, it is very realistic to assume that the United States may continue to arm and support the Cambodian Government furtively through the backdoor via Thailand.

The Congress will do well to keep the administration on notice that we intend to scrutinize in minute detail all military and civilian aid and any potential military buildup in Thailand. I recognize that Thailand is a member of SEATO; but American military obligations and commitments under that treaty are not automatic. The treaty specifically provides that American military involvement can only flow as the result of direct congressional action as provided by the Constitution.

I do not believe that America has any vital national interests at stake in Indochina, and I cannot justify the loss of even one American life, one permanently maimed veteran, or the expenditure of an additional tax dollar in this area. We have so many crushing and crucial domestic needs in the education, health, welfare, urban development, and race relations fields, not to mention our own pressing economic crisis, that we must act now to reorder our priorities.

LET US CUT OUR LOSSES ON THE C–5A

HON. OTIS G. PIKE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, for a long time many people have been deeply concerned about cost overruns associated with the procurement of the C–5A aircraft. A few people have also been deeply concerned about technical deficiencies in the aircraft. In our military procurement debate on the floor this question was raised and we were assured that the aircraft met or exceeded all specifications. The current issue of the Armed Forces Journal shows this to be inaccurate and states flatly that the aircraft's fatigue life may be only one-fourth that which is required.

The relatively minor "fix" which the Air Force designed to cure the wing cracks will by no means do the job. Perhaps the most serious part of the Armed Forces Journal article is the clear implication that, because the news is bad, the Air Force and the Department of Defense are sitting on it rather than revealing it to Congress. The Armed Forces Journal has performed a real service in making these facts public and, while they may incur the wrath of the Air Force by doing so, they deserve the thanks of the American people. The full text of the article is as follows:

C–5A FATIGUE LIFE IN QUESTION; SO IS APPROVED 81–AIRCRAFT BUY

A blue-ribbon technical panel told Air Force Secretary Robert Seamans early this month that fatigue life of Lockheed's controversial C–5A transport will come up to only one-fourth of what is required for Military Airlift Command's planned usage of the $4-billion giant cargo fleet. The Air Force was strongly advised to consider designing an entirely new wing for the plane, on the basis that there is virtually no chance fixes could be incorporated into the current C–5A design to give it the 30,000-hour maximum design fatigue life matching MAC's current mission requirements.

A wing crack was discovered in static test last July on a C–5A. Since, the Air Force has imposed operating restrictions which limit the plane's gross takeoff weight to 575,000 lbs, 203,000 lbs short of its design point. In February Air Force officials gave Congress an estimate of $10- to $15-million to fix the wing crack. That estimate presumably is now out the window.

WING ALREADY REDESIGNED ONCE

Sources contacted by The Journal would not estimate what design, test, and production of a new C–5A wing might cost. Lockheed has already had to redesign the wing once: the company says this happened after it was advised it had won the C–5A contract, but before the contract was awarded formally, because the "Air Force established new, stiffer performance requirements which required extensive aerodynamic changes."

In a "Fact Sheet" now being briefed to the press, the company attributes a large part of the C–5A's cost growth to this original redesign, which added some 600 square feet of wing area, compared to the wing proposed when Lockheed won the controversial contract.

Lockheed's bid for 120 aircraft had a target price of $1.886-billion for a design that an Air Force Evaluation team unanimously recommended, on 23 September 1965, be bought instead.

The Air Force says that, if it "wins all the arguments" with Lockheed on the disputed contract, the currently planned buy of only 81 aircraft will cost "about $4-billion," but adds that "if the contractor wins all his points, the cost will be considerably higher, on the order of $500- or $600-million."

On 2 March Lockheed asked DoD for an advance of $435- to $500-million against the disputed claim to help ease what the company called a "critical financial problem."

Findings of the independent blue-ribbon advisory group which briefed Secretary Seamans on the C–5A's fatigue problems are sure to complicate an already complex dispute between the Air Force and Lockheed: responsibility for the fatigue life limitation is sure to be hotly contested.

The panel headed by Dr. Raymond L. Bisplinghoff, Dean of Engineering at MIT, reportedly gave Seamans its interim assessment orally on 4 May. Details of the meeting are being held on a very "close hold" basis, and Air Force officials asked by The Journal to confirm or deny—and to clarify—news of the panel's findings were able to offer little information. A spokesman said, however, that while The Journal appeared to have "some facts," a completely accurate picture would not be available until the Bisplinghoff panel makes its full written report. This is supposed to be due in mid-June.

The spokesman did observe that the real significance of Dr. Bisplinghoff's findings "hinges on a question of interpretation of MAC's 1965 mission requirements versus those that MAC is using now."

SPECS MAY NOT MATCH MISSIONS

This oblique reference to one of Dr. Bisplinghoff's key findings may touch on the heart of an Air Force-Lockheed dispute which now seems to be building up on the fatigue life problem. By one report the Bisplinghoff panel is said to have found that design specifications given Lockheed by the AF's Systems Program Office at Wright Field do not match the operational usage factors on which the user, Military Airlift Command, has been planning C–5A operations.

Lockheed, for instance, is reported to have designed the C–5A against fatigue life specifications which assumed that only about 20% of payload capacity—e.g., a 45,000-lb payload—would be used on the cargo carrier's return leg flights. A more typical MAC flyback mission, however, would use something like 150,000 lbs of payload. Another assumption apparently now at issue was that the aircraft would take off at its maximum 778,000-lb gross weight on only 2% of its missions. But the smaller C–141 cargo jet takes off at max gross weight on about 80% of its missions; MAC presumably has been counting on similar usage for the C–5A.

Also contributing to the aircraft's below-mission fatigue life is Lockheed's use in the wing of an alloy which has a high stress corrosion factor but poor fatigue life characteristics.

PANEL FINDINGS

Bisplinghoff is said to have told the Air Force that as the result of these and other problems:

The C–5A will have only about one-fourth of the 30,000-hour fatigue life required to actually fly the spectrum of missions which MAC has planned;

There is virtually no chance of beefing up the present C–5A wing to meet MAC's mission requirements;

There is doubt that Lockheed could meet the fatigue life specifications implicit in even the less stringent "original" mission ground rules;

With enough "boilerplate" and fixes, the present C–5A design could probably be made to withstand the aircraft's basic *static* test requirements, but not the *dynamic* test requirements;

The Air Force should strongly consider going to a new wing.

Bisplinghoff's 4 May report apparently caught Air Force officials by surprise. Just two months ago, on 17 March, Secretary Seamans told the House Armed Services Committee: "It is our belief, based on the preliminary judgment of Dr. Bisplinghoff and the people he has with him, that Lockheed has a good solution to the problem."

LOCKHEED: C–5A WILL MEET RFQ REQUIREMENTS

A Lockheed spokesman told The Journal the company has *not* been given any new mission requirements. He said that, while "engineers at Marietta" may have had "conversations" with MAC about revised mission profiles, the company has been given no advice that MAC was considering "any extension" of the C–5A's original fatigue life goals. The company gave The Journal this statement:

"The C–5A Air Force transport is designed to a set of fatigue requirements specified in its original Request for Quotation. The C–5A will meet these fatigue requirements."

CONTRADICTORY CLAIMS?

The statement, however, appears to contradict a key sentence in Lockheed's new 23 April C–5A "Fact Sheet." In a section explaining why C–5A costs have escalated, the so-called White Paper says:

"C–5A technical problems have been tougher than anticipated. *Just before the C–5A contract was awarded, the Air Force established new, stiffer performance requirements which required extensive aerodynamic performance changes.*" (Italics added.)

It is not known if the "new, stiffer performance requirements" relate to the more stringent MAC missions which the Bisplinghoff panel has considered. But observers here said they find it hard to understand why Lockheed stresses that the C–5A was designed to and will meet fatigue life requirements laid down at the beginning of the competition (in the RFQ) if—as Lockheed also says—different, more stringent performance requirements were specified "just before" the contract was awarded.

"ROTATE THE FLEET"

The Lockheed spokesman contacted by The Journal to check out the Bisplinghoff report said that "from where we sit, they [the different mission profiles] are easily reconcilable." He suggested that MAC could "rotate the fleet"—indicating that the more stringent fatigue life specification considered by Dr. Bisplinghoff assumes unrealistically that all aircraft will fly the more stringent missions during their entire service. The spokesman said that, instead of having one aircraft fly all the heavy missions, the light and heavy missions should be distributed among all the aircraft. He said the fatigue life problem was a controversy more over specifications than over deficiencies in the C–5A design.

If Lockheed can successfully contend that it has met the specifications given to the company by the Air Force—whether or not they were the right ones—the Air Force would have a difficult if not impossible problem getting Lockheed to absorb some of the cost growth already in dispute, much less any new cost growth stemming from the new fatigue life flap.

The company also noted, in the statement given to The Journal, that it is now beginning "a long series of fatigue tests of a complete aircraft to prove its ability to meet the required spectrum of loads. These tests will continue until the test article completes four normal aircraft lifetimes in order to prove structural soundness."

Air Force Chief of Staff General John Ryan told the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee in late February that, as the result of a C–5A wing crack discovered last July on the static fatigue airplane, MAC has imposed operating restrictions on the C–5A which limit takeoff weight to 575,000 pounds. Other restrictions limit the aircraft to 2.0g loads, to operation on hard surface runways only, and to airdrop of cargo in single loads not exceeding 10,000 pounds.

During the same hearings Air Force Secretary Seamans told the subcommittee "in all candor" that the C–5A "probably does not" look as good as the C–141 did at a comparable stage in its development.

He referred to the C–5A's structural problems as well as others which stem from its sophisticated set of avionics. One function of the Bisplinghoff Committee, Seamans said, would be to determine whether less sophisticated radars and antenae could substitute for the low-level and ground-mapping system originally specified. The complete C–5A avionics equipment costs out at $1.7 million per aircraft.

DOD MAY ASK EQUAL COST TRADE

General Ryan testified earlier this year that the Air Force had requested authority in its FY 71 budget request to buy 10 additional C–5A's at a cost of $234.7 million. DoD denied the request, which was intended to "squeeze out" five operating squadrons from a 91-aircraft buy.

Sources in the Office of the Secretary of Defense tell the Journal the Air Force now may be asked to pay for Lockheed's higher cost claims on the aircraft by "trading off" other programs approved within the Service's present fiscal guidance.

One plan currently being studied by DoD would give Lockheed relief from its current "critical financial problem" by reimbursing the company in full for its C–5A expenditures, but require the Air Force to fund the extra costs by proportionately reducing its planned 81-aircraft buy.

A DoD source told The Journal that Air Force budget analysts "don't seem to believe yet that we'd do this: but it's reasonably clear the Army and Navy don't want the money to come out of their hide; it's unlikely that Bureau of the Budget and the President would sit still for a supplemental budget request on Lockheed's behalf; and Congress probably would not approve one if it was made."

It is high time that the Department of Defense admitted that the aircraft, although not a bomber, is a bomb and took aggressive action to cut its losses as best it can.

PARTY OPPORTUNITY

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished television commentator, Mr. Joseph McCaffrey, recently broadcast a highly appropriate message for young people when he said the following:

Thousands of students will be pretty disappointed when they spill out of their classrooms late in October all charged up about electing peace candidates. They will find that the nominating process, in many cases, will have left them little choice in district after district.

It may not be that they will find two Hawks opposing each other in many of the Congressional districts. Worse than that, they will find out, there may be two candidates who really have no position, at least no publicly dicernible position. They will announce that they are for the boys in the front lines, for peace and for country. But it probably will be impossible to pin them down to getting the boys back home.

This may discourage those who seek to work within the system, but it should also teach them something. It should teach them that you can't work only skin deep within the system and expect to achieve success. You have to work well within the body.

This means rather than a couple of weeks just prior to a general election, you have to work during the winter before in helping line up better candidates. You have to be, to be really counted, a member of a political party and work within that party. It is all very well to proclaim, proudly, that one is an independent. But that independency limits one's political wallop.

As an independent you take the choices offered by the competing party. And too often, as many of these college students will find out this October, the choices aren't very inspiring.

CONGRESSMAN ESHLEMAN'S NEWSLETTER

HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I shall soon be sending to my constituents the following newsletter:

REPORT FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN

(By Ed Eshleman)

WHY CAMBODIA?

The Cambodian operation is a confirmation, not a denial, of the Nixon Administration's basic policy in Vietnam. American troops are in Cambodia as a part of evacuation, not to escalate the Vietnam conflict. The policy today is to end American involvement, withdraw American troops, and end the war on just terms as soon as possible. Meanwhile, it is the President's duty to protect the lives of our men. In the ten-day period following the President's April 20th announcement of his intent to withdraw an additional 150,000 troops within a year, the Communists completely changed the Cambodian situation. They moved out of their sanctuaries in a drive to form a solid belt of military force along the Cambodian-South Vietnamese border, and to open a seaway supply line from the south. A direct danger was posed to American and allied troops now in Vietnam and a particular threat to those remaining when more troops come home. After considering all possible alternatives, the President took the course which promised to save American lives. The Cambodian mission also will protect the Vietnamization process which has been moving forward ahead of schedule and which is the key to bringing our troops home in the shortest possible time.

ARMS THAT WILL NOT KILL AMERICANS

Reports coming back from Vietnam indicate that the President's decision to clean out Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia was popular with one group—the American soldiers. The picture above shows why. It is

only one small portion of the thousands upon thousands of tons of enemy weapons and supplies that have been captured, weapons and supplies that would have been used against our troops.

OBSERVATION

As our society struggles with its many frustrating problems, I think we can remain confident that our trials today are investments in a brighter future. There is an old bit of advice passed on by many fathers to many sons which seems to apply. It goes: "I never said it would be easy. I said it would be worthwhile."

CONGRESS AND CAMBODIA

The national debate which has raged since the Cambodian action began has not been confined to, but has centered in, the Congress. The chief concern of the House and Senate is whether or not this is the time to reassert Congressional authority in Southeast Asia decision-making, and, if so, what form that reassertion should take. A Congressional timetable for withdrawal from Indochina that would contain reasonable dates and would permit the President latitude to cope with contingent emergencies could get my support. After all, since the President has already put forth a timetable, it seems correct for Congress to exercise its legislative authority toward the same goals sought by the Chief Executive. What I could never support are the attempts to embarrass the President in the name of regaining Congressional power. President Nixon has fulfilled his pledges, reduced the American commitment in Southeast Asia, and, at the same time, has followed a course leading to a just peace. For Congress to embarrass him in these efforts or to indicate its distrust of his motives would be blatantly irresponsible.

CURBING CRIME

There are those who sneer at the suggestion that more effective law enforcement would go a long way toward dealing with the crime problem. The point is made that enforcement alone does not address itself to the root causes of crime, and I agree. But the chart at the left shows why enforcement must be the uppermost consideration in the efforts to curb crime. Although the statistics are two years old, the situation has not changed drastically. What the statistics mean is that the criminal can figure he has about a 90% chance of getting away with a serious crime. (Chart not shown in the RECORD.)

FROM HERE AND BACK

There is a story making the rounds which pretty well describes the present day situation in world trade: "In February, the Americans announce a new invention. In March, the Russians announce that they made the same discovery twenty years ago. In April, the Japanese start selling the invention in the United States."

YOUNGER VOTERS?

One of the dilemmas facing most Congressmen is whether to vote for the pending legislation that would permit 18-year-olds to vote. While I favor lowering the voting age, I believe it is a Constitutional matter, one requiring an amendment to the Constitution. It is a matter of such importance that the State should decide through the amendment process whether 18-year-olds should vote, just as the States have always been a part of decisions on voter qualifications. I would support in the Congress amending the Constitution to lower the voting age since the final say would rest with the people through their state legislatures, and I am never opposed to the people having a final say. But for Congress to approve the 18-year-old vote by itself would be, I think, unconstitutional and a big mistake.

SIGHTSEE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Many people from Lancaster, Lebanon and Lower Dauphin Counties find that visiting their Nation's Capital can be an interesting way to spend a day. The drive is an easy one. The only real problem is deciding what to visit in Washington out of all the sights there are to see. To help you decide, I have prepared a pamphlet outlining five different one-day tours you can make. To obtain a pamphlet all you have to do is ask.

NO LIE

Some of the President's critics have been arguing that his Vietnamization program is not actually bringing American boys home. Take one month, for example, when 36,000 Americans came back from Vietnam as a part of the regular 12 month-rotation of troops. The critics point to that month and say that the President claimed to have brought 12,000 men home in the 30-day period when actually he sent 24,000 men into combat. Having said that, they drop the subject and the point has seemingly been made that the President has been lying. While the facts presented are correct, you can see that the figures don't go far enough in explaining the withdrawal process. Since we must constantly send replacement troops to Vietnam, naturally some men must leave for the war even though we are withdrawing. However, because troop withdrawals are underway not as many go as would go if we were not Vietnamizing the war. In other words, in that month mentioned above, 36,000 men would have been sent to Southeast Asia if the President's program was not at work. Instead, 24,000 were sent for a net drop of 12,000 men in one month.

MEMORIAL DAY

A war monument in the China-Burma-India Theatre of World War II carries the inscription—"When you return, tell them of us: For their tomorrow, we gave our today." Memorial Day is for remembering all those who gave their todays for our future. It is a day which celebrates their finest hours. It is a day for pledging anew our belief in that for which so many brave Americans have died—the immovable ideal of freedom.

DID YOU KNOW

There were ten industrial *vice-presidents* who earned more than the President of the United States last year.

TURTLE'S PACE

The 91st Congress hardly can be called the fastest paced in history. In fact, it has been so slow in getting its work done that it has become the subject of Washington wit. Two examples: (1) If it had been up to *this* Congress, we'd still be debating whether to move the Capital from Philadelphia. (2) The White House should hire a painter to immortalize this Congress on canvass—it obviously would be a still life.

WORTH REPEATING

From Attorney General John N. Mitchell: "There can be no greater evidence of disorder in society than the sound of gunfire on a college campus."

WORD OF WARNING

There is an increasing number of young Americans who are finding themselves in big trouble for violation of foreign drug laws. The number of youthful U.S. citizens under detention abroad for such violations last March was 142. Just one year later that number had risen to 522. Many young people are probably not aware that when they are abroad they are subject to the laws of the countries which they visit; nor do they realize the severity of the penalties for possessing or trafficking drugs in many other nations. Imprisonment in many countries, particularly in the Far East, the Middle East and Latin America, is a most distasteful ordeal. In addition, a person apprehended can spend several months in prison awaiting trial. In many instances this period of incarceration is not subtracted from the sentence handed down by the court. American officials can be helpful only in seeing that American citizens receive fair treatment, but they cannot get involved in the legal procedures. Students going abroad in the near future should be warned to steer clear of anything resembling association with drugs.

DEFINITION

Pollution—The thing that changed "Smoke Gets In Your Eyes" from a song to an environmental problem.

DISTURBING COMPARISON

The ranks were filled with young people. Serious people joined because they were for social justice, or opposed to unemployment. The mood was one of restless energy. They exhibited moral arrogance and contempt of the legalities which blocked the way to getting what they knew was right. Their contempt also was aimed at the "establishment" with its stifling conventionality, its puritan respectability, and its inability to inspire individuals to higher purposes. The slogan which characterized their movement stated: "The system must die so that people can live." Is this a description of New Leftist radicals? Perhaps it could be, but in reality it was taken from a description of the beginning of the Nazi movement in Germany.

SUMMER INTERNS

Many of our young people will be busy and productive this summer. For example, I'm going to put four students to work for me. The following two college students will soon begin a summer of internship in my Washington office: Sara A. Werner of 133 South Tenth Street in Lebanon, and Peter H. Simpson of 1350 Quarry Lane in Lancaster. Two high school seniors will split the summer interning in my Lancaster office. They are: Elizabeth Ann Shope of 754 Village Road in Lampeter, and Randall Moyer of 333 South First Avenue in Lebanon.

WALTER REUTHER

HON. BOB ECKHARDT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, at a time when democratic and humane principles have never been more in need of forceful and intelligent advocates, we have lost one of the best of them, Walter Reuther. He was tough and shrewd in advancing the welfare of the members of his union, yet he never lost sight of the fact that the interests of workers are not limited to maximum gains at the bargaining table. He knew that high wages, pension plans, and supplementary unemployment benefits were not enough so long as poverty, racial hatred, wasteful and unnecessary wars and the destruction of the environment continued.

There is no shortage of either tough-minded men of affairs or of idealists. It is the combination of these qualities in the same man that is rare. Walter Reuther was one of this small number.

His leadership in the labor movement began at a time when sheer physical courage and persistence were the neces-

sary qualifications. He was equally successful in later years when bargaining came to involve orchestrating whole banks of expert advisers and the sophisticated application of economic sanctions. His adversaries were the world's wealthiest and most powerful business corporations, and he bested them more often than not.

Few would have criticized had he chosen to be content, once labor's main organizational battle had been won, with winning a few cents more in each new contract. Yet, as A. H. Raskin of the New York Times has said:

The concept of unions as a slot machine into which workers dropped their dues dollars and took out a jackpot won at the expense of consumers revolted him.

He had a larger vision which he never ceased to pursue. He once said:

I will be dissatisfied as long as one American child is denied the right to education. I will be dissatisfied as long as one American is denied his rights. I shall continue to be dissatisfied until we can promise workers a tenure of employment, so that they're not dumped on the streets.

We can honor Walter Reuther by remaining dissatisfied with his dissatisfactions.

ADDRESS BY HON. DAVID M. McCONNELL

HON. JAMES R. MANN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, I had the privilege and honor to participate in the dedication of the Spartanburg Branch of the University of South Carolina on April 17, 1970. I was particularly impressed with the excellent address delivered on this historic occasion by the Honorable David M. McConnell, a practicing attorney before the bars of South Carolina, North Carolina, District of Columbia, and the U.S. Supreme Court, and a former U.S. Ambassador to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. I commend his timely remarks to the attention of my colleagues:

It is an honor and a privilege to participate in the ceremonies on the occasion of this historic University putting down its stake in the dynamic heart of the Piedmont Crescent—where under this ideal and productive environment can be performed with distinction the three functions of a great university—

First, the acquisition of knowledge in its mission of research—in an area where modern technology and research are exampled by industrial laboratories, such as the Deering Milliken Company, plants and research centers and warehouses upon every high hill within view.

Second, the transmission of knowledge through the mission of teaching—coupled with marvels of the new age of the electronic spectrum in a statewide television network—a combination so well understood and so appropriate to the distinguished scientist, scholar and educator, Dr. Tom Jones—who this university is fortunate to have as its leader—with this fortuitous combination of rare abilities and experience.

Dr. Jones, through the School of Business Administration, is, through this Statewide educational television network, giving the Master of Business Administration weekly courses to young business leaders—in their executive duties throughout South Carolina—the complete curriculum for this degree, and having one week-end a month in Columbia for personal contact and dialogue with their Professors. Thus they serve in their daily executive duties and yet participate in a magnificent curriculum of highest national standards. Thus is education of the highest quality brought to the people in every section. This is democratic education at its best—and will be applied in other disciplines beyond Business Administration.

Third, the dissemination of knowledge in the University's mission of public service.

This stream of learning runs from the University to the business enterprises (great and small), to all sectors of government, and to the cultural elements of society—this learning that turns the eyes of government to an increasing preoccupation with the productivity and well-being of all its citizens and gives the profit-making free enterprises that generate our wealth a far larger vision of public service and total citizenship—as man's relation with his total ecology and environment is becoming the central concern of our society. Again, both the geographic spread of the University to branches such as this, plus the TV network, brings quality curriculum to the whole state and its people. In the distribution industry—such as the retail stores of the Belk System, with whom I have been proud to be associated for 25 years—it gives junior management a real chance at educational excellence.

The university in American life is thus triggering a transformation of our society—they are the engines of change in an era of higher and higher technology, culture and productivity—in a transcending upward geometric curve which was first foreseen in its realistic dimension in the great philosophic work entitled "The Education of Henry Adams," which was most cogently examined in a speech by Gerald Piel, Publisher of *The Scientific American*, which he delivered at the Dedication of Evans Hall at Phillips Andover Academy 27 April 1963—

"There is no truth to rumors of battles between the sciences and the humanities in universities. Scientific value and concern both for truth and culture are the web of society. This breach is closed in the modern university—and few observers before Henry Adams seriously undertook to explore the relation between science and the history and cultural structure of society.

"He looked back over the tumult of modern history and saw the rising curves of the rate of scientific discovery, of coal output, of steam power, of electric power—and saw that the curves of progress and increase were not arithmetic—but exponential—and rose more steeply as the graphs left the base line—as is the case in the source and output of energy moving from the cave man's fire, to water power, to wind power, to stream power, electric power and now nuclear power—on a curve of increase almost vertical.

"Today, after two centuries of industrial revolution, we have come to speak of two kinds of nations; developed and under developed or, in plainer language, rich and poor. Some 20-odd nations, comprising about one-third of the world's population, have joined in the industrial revolution. To one or another degree, their entire populations are entrained in the heady experience of increasing well-being. It is no accident that the nations which set out first on this course and have come farthest have also given the world the most favorable demonstration of self-government by citizenries that count no second-class citizens among their numbers. The poor nations, on the other hand, comprise a whole two-thirds of mankind still immured in the economic and social institutions of agricultural civilization and include some tens of millions in Africa and Southeast Asia caught, at this turn of history, even in transition to settled agriculture. By all the quantitative indexes that measure the contrast between the rich and the poor nations, it is plain that history has entered on a new phase.

". . . The promise of the power in our hands ought to have an equal place in the public and private consciousness."

We now perceive the overwhelming shock force of the new technology and production—as exampled by the fact that only 8% of our people now are farmers against 46% in colonial times—and now with nuclear sources of power and modern techniques of securing our abundance we are even released from the necessity of having natural resources. The new industrial and technical order does not discover resources, it literally creates them.

As U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, has said in a 1965 address:

"The Truth, the central stupendous truth about developed countries today is that they can have the kind and quantity of resources they decide to have. It is no longer resources that control decisions. It is the decision that makes the resources. This is the most fundamental and revolutionary change mankind has ever known—But can we by education and a world order spread this abundance to all the world—so that the primitive have nots may be a part of a world system. This is the crux and the crisis of the modern world."

But even so—in the words of Arnold Toynbee—"The most powerful force in the world today is not the precarious balance of nuclear power or the menace of communism but in the simple fact that by use of radio and television (the electromagnetic spectrum) that in the remote villages of the world, hundreds of million of people have at long last sensed, by listening and viewing, the possibility of a better life by sharing the new abundance science has brought, if not for themselves, at least for their children and this will not and cannot be denied. We must not be "numb" from change—we must be productive in change.

In such transmission of knowledge and learning is your honored president doubly gifted—as a scholar in the liberal arts—as a scientist of MIT and an Executive in Texas Instruments Company, head of Electrical Engineering at Purdue University, now in the forefront of modern electrical technique—none could be better fitted to construct a statewide TV educational system—now to be used for the degree of Master of Business Administration course—with once weekends in actual attendance at Columbia or a branch such as this and later for other departments and disciplines.

Your speaker had the privilege as U.S. Ambassador to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations to be responsible for presenting and debating in the Economic and Social Council in Geneva, Switzerland, the 1968-69 United Nations Budget for the forthcoming plan for a worldwide educational TV network through communication satellites for the new worldwide United Nations Institute for Training and Research with TV Reception Centers to be planned in Bangkok, Thailand, for Asia, Dakar, Senegal, for Africa, and Santiago, Chile for South America. In my speech on that occasion I stated:

Knowledge previously available only in libraries can now, through the memory core magnets of electronic computers be integrated into world-wide communications "Telestar" satellite system. We can store, retrieve and transmit data (including televising of lectures themselves on tape) from libraries and selected universities, put it into central information computer memory cores and disseminate it by wire or satellite into

regional education units such as those conceived by the planners in UNITAR with sidebands from the U.N. Interpreters in the language desired. Truly a global "brain" can now be evolved and specialized education provided on a world-wide basis. Social and political participation by UN agencies can thus be more direct and universal to all men in such a world-wide electronically informed society. Information, its true communication and use is the web of this new society and the basis of all human understanding, organization and effort. Truly the electrons are nibbling away the distance between man and man throughout the planet.

"In this coming age of educational communication, the scholars of tomorrow will be swimming in the blue-green phosphors of teaching television screens. Learning and experience will be brought at the speed of light from distant sources. Then even though transport of bodies over the surface of the earth will be measured in short hours and minutes, this new transportation miracle will pale in importance when it is compared to educational and human use of the electromagnetic spectrum. Man himself will no longer have to move to the source of learning, learning will come to him through the satellite and the television and the memory core. If man is crossing 'the Great Divide' of a profoundly changed era can we not respond to Marshall McLuhan's challenging question: Can we possibly have a global consciousness without also developing a global conscience?"

Thus can the learning and the productivity of the advanced nations be disseminated to the "have-not" nations—and bring them into the productive international society—and to world order.

This task of education at home and abroad, as well as in this very University, here on this hill, of making impoverished nations productive beyond dream is best exampled in recent history by the Marshall Plan—so forcefully presented to a waiting world and an impoverished and destroyed Europe in the speech of our very own Honorable James F. Byrnes in Stuttgart, Germany, in May of 1947. This was world statecraft at its best—in a broken Europe which was a waiting culture medium either for communism or democracy, freedom and free enterprise. This Marshall Plan investment has been paid in productivity a hundredfold. This is now the time again for the same type of statesmanship in education in South Carolina and in the United States in its leadership in world affairs.

When I think of the influence of James F. Byrnes upon the world, the United States, and on this state, on this university, on this County of Spartansburg, which he loves dearly, I am humbled and silenced—his stature is monumental for all time and all men. It was he who gave me my start in the days before the Byrnes Foundation and its humane student aid. His help to me was personal and his example and leadership shall be with me all the days of my years—and I see in Spartanburg County also his proteges, your distinguished and beloved Judge Donald Russell, former Governor and President of this University, and Walter Brown, a great publicist and as keen an observer and interpreter of national and international affairs as exists in this country. I see his and my friend, Walter Montgomery, and my esteemed colleague, Grier Hudson, Sr., Dan Henderson and O. N. Fain, are here today. I remember the great effort and leadership for education such as this we honor today, of my dear friend, the late Senator and Governor Olin D. Johnston—all of these leaders had one objective in common—that all of the citizens of South Carolina have an *education* available to them and be led into that happiness which is the exercise of vital powers along lines of excellence in a life affording them scope and productivity—and this for all our citizens everywhere.

It is in this philosophic climate that we observe the curriculum of this branch we dedicate today:

A strong two year curriculum in Teaching, Engineering, Pharmacy, Pre-Medical, Pre-Law, Bachelor of Arts in Business Administration, and an associate degree in technical nursing—all part of the high quality, high standard curriculum of the whole University of which this branch is a proud and integral part.

This branch you plant today will flourish as the green bay tree—In 1946 we in Charlotte started Charlotte College with 400 students—it is now The University of North Carolina at Charlotte with over 4,000, and with plans for 10,000 students in the mid-seventies in a broad spectrum of quality studies—making available to the great array of earnest scholars within 50 miles transport distance—a way upward to the highest levels of education, science and culture. Thus is the New South rising as a Phoenix.

James B. Conant in his address on the Observance of the Tercentenary of Harvard College, on September 18, 1936, taken from his recent biography, *My Several Lives—Memoirs of a Social Inventor*, observed:

"If I am correct, then, in my interpretation of academic history, the future of the university tradition in America depends on keeping a proper balance between the four essential ingredients—the advancement of learning, the liberal arts college, professional training and a healthy student life. None must be neglected; no one must be allowed to predominate unduly. If this balance can be maintained, the universities of this country, privately endowed and publicly supported alike, will function both as instruments of higher education and as centers for developing a national culture worthy of this rich and powerful land."

The Administration of this University, the Governor and the General Assembly, the Attorney General and the Trustees—have all exhibited through this new branch, a visual symbol of their duty done in creating this instrument as a center of such learning and culture.

South Carolinians have above any people of any state—of all Americans—a devout sense of duty, a most stubborn sense of duty. It has been their outstanding characteristic in war, in reconstruction, in peace, in education, in industry—it is that duty which, when fulfilled, blossoms into the flowering of a diverse and balanced economy and society in this new day for our region. This concept of duty is most beautifully defined in an obscure work of Robert Louis Stevenson upon which I happened in my research. It was in *Scribner's Magazine* of April of 1888, and reads:

"What a monstrous spectre is [this] man, the disease of the agglutinated dust, lifting alternate feet or lying drugged with slumber; killing, feeding, growing, bringing forth small copies of himself; grown upon with hair like grass, fitted with eyes that move and glitter in his face; a thing to set children screaming.

"— and yet, looked at nearlier, known as his fellows know him, how surprising are his attributes! Poor soul, here for so little, cast among so many hardships, filled with so many desires so incommensurate and so inconsistent, savagely surrounded, savagely descended, irremediably condemned to prey upon his fellow lives; who would have blamed him had he been a piece with his destiny and a being merely barbarous?

"And we look and behold him instead filled with imperfect virtues; infinitely childish, often admirably valiant, often touchingly kind; sitting down, amidst his momentary life, to debate of right and wrong and the attributes of the deity; rising up to do battle for an egg or die for an idea; singling out his friends and his mate with cordial affection; bringing forth in pain, rearing with long-suffering solicitude, his young.

"To touch the heart of his mystery, we find in him one thought strange to the point of lunacy; the thought of duty; the thought of something owing to himself, to his neighbor, to his God; an ideal of decency, to which he would rise if it were possible; a limit of shame below which, if it be possible, he will not stoop . . .

". . . Of all earth's meteors, here at least is the most strange and consoling; that this ennobled lemur, this hair crowned bubble of the dust, this inheritor of a few years and sorrow, should yet deny himself his rare delights, and add to his frequent pains and live for an ideal, however, misconceived, to serve his God and his fellow man."

You can see this South Carolinian sense of duty manifested in the very continued existence of this University of South Carolina from the days after the American Revolution, through Wars and Reconstruction, the battle of the Tillman era and structural decisions of the nature of public colleges in South Carolina, in having its place established in the scholastic structure of the State, together with Clemson, the Citadel, and Winthrop and the historic church-related colleges of South Carolina which bestow in this very county their continual cultural influences. The memories of Wade Hampton, Reverend Thornwell, Dr. James Woodrow, Davidson Douglas, Donald Russell, Admiral Smith—all stand high for history.

Now may this sense of duty always pervade the faculty and students as they participate in the mission of this branch of the University in serving the youth and the culture and business and industrial economy of this lovely hill country beneath so kind a sky.

The intolerant vigor of youth, guided into channels of learning, with the flexible guiding wisdom of skilled and experienced administrators—who are so in evidence this day—this is our future—this is the essence of our American heritage—this is the great University of South Carolina, planting its new sprouts in the heady dynamic soil of the Piedmont Crescent—this is the formula for a flowering and a regeneration beyond our dreams—on this solemn and auspicious day of dedication.

Thank you for the kindness of your attention to my remarks.

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, as you know, I view your decision to retire from the House of Representatives with profound regret. During my service in the Congress, I have known only one Speaker, JOHN MCCORMACK. During my service in the Congress, I have also had no truer friend than Speaker MCCORMACK.

I will remember Speaker MCCORMACK in many ways, and I will have a particularly clear memory of the Speaker's first words of advice for me, when I entered the Congress. "Make friends," the Speaker told me. The Speaker explained that it would be necessary, during the heated and divisive debates which would occur on the issues before the Nation, to main-

tain a firm working relationship with as many of my colleagues as possible. This counsel has proved true, indeed.

I think this advice also serves as a note to what I believe has always been Speaker McCORMACK's abiding wish: that we, in the Congress, work together not only as a representative institution, but as an effective institution. While the Speaker has supported all legislation designed to give Americans better means of improving their lives, he has also sought to have the debate on these issues conducted in a manner which maintains the unity of the Congress. While the Speaker has always been a true friend of New England and of my own State of Maine, he has sought to avoid regional differences of opinion and regional outlook represented within this body, we can be grateful for the way in which Speaker McCORMACK has kept the House united. He has done so not with an iron hand, but by gentle appeal; not by threat or power, but through reason.

I am sure that history will record that JOHN McCORMACK served his country as a true statesman, during times of crisis. His love for our country exceeded any partisanship and we can surely appreciate the love for his family which compels Speaker McCORMACK to take leave of us. We shall remember you, Mr. Speaker, with fondness and with great respect, and I am sure I speak for the citizens of my State in expressing my gratitude for your dedicated service throughout the years.

OUR MISSION: RECONCILIATION

HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 24, 1970, the 11 o'clock worship services at All Soul's Memorial Episcopal Church, Washington, D.C., were conducted by laymen.

The sermon was delivered by John H. Sharon, Esq., a member of All Soul's Memorial Episcopal Church and a vestryman.

The theme of the sermon and the lesson was "Our Mission: Reconciliation." The lesson was taken from St. Paul's letter to the Corinthians, II Corinthians, 5: 18–21 and II Corinthians, 6: 1–10.

The sermon was inspiring and the congregation sat with rapt attention in general accord with the thoughts expressed by the speaker. Following the morning services many people, including myself, asked Mr. Sharon for a copy of his sermon. He most graciously provided me with one and it is my pleasure now to share it with those who read these remarks.

I include as a part of my remarks the text of the sermon delivered by Mr. Sharon:

OUR MISSION: RECONCILIATION

(By John H. Sharon, Esq.)

Two weeks ago, the following news dispatch appeared on page one of every newspaper in the country:

"An air of crisis, growing out of events in Cambodia and on American campuses, confronted the nation yesterday as the country braced for massive protest demonstrations.

"The dimensions of the trouble were reflected in a number of extraordinary events:

"Hundreds of colleges and universities were closed in the first general student strike in the nation's history. Hundreds of thousands of citizens began gathering for demonstrations scheduled across the country from the nation's capital to California. In Washington officials were preparing for over 100,000 demonstrators and federal troops were alerted.

"National guardsmen were advised by the Army's National Guard Bureau to stand by in all states to watch over armories and thwart possible acts of arson or violence. Guard units remained in position on five campuses.

"The President summoned the governors of all 50 states to meet with him Monday in the White House. They will discuss 'the disruption of peace, violence and potential violence throughout the nation,' it was announced.

"The immediate causes were President Nixon's announcement of one week ago that the United States was sending troops into Cambodia, triggering fears of a wider Asian war, and the slaying of four Kent State students in a clash with the National Guardsmen last Monday.

"Since then, at least 418 colleges and universities have suspended classes. In California all state campuses, with 280,000 students, were closed . . . Governor Ronald Reagan said he had taken that move to enable citizens 'to reflect on the grave sequence of recent events' . . ."

"Following an urgent meeting with the President of the United States, a group of prominent college presidents said:

" 'We would like to say that our intention was to make as clear as we could to the President that disturbances on the campus are not a minor issue or a local issue or one which on any campus is confined to a small group of dissidents, but something that reflected deep and wide concern and unhappiness with the conditions of our national life and foreign policy.' "

So ended the article.

The student protest in Washington was non-violent: they practiced peace as well as preached it. But as more students protested on the campuses, more students were killed. "When," we ask "will all this come to an end?"

It is clear that there is a crisis of confidence in America: a crisis of confidence in our government, a crisis of confidence in our institutions, a crisis of confidence in our right to dissent, a crisis of confidence in ourselves.

Governor Reagan was right. This is a time for reflection. It is a time to pause to ask ourselves some searching questions. Like Why?

Why are our children in the streets?

Why have they lost faith in the government?

Why is there so much disaffection with our institutions?

Why is the gap so wide between parent and child?

Who is responsible for all of this and what should we be doing about it?

How easy it is to point the finger of blame at political leaders! And, unfortunately, it appears that it is just as easy for them to indulge in name-calling as it is for students to throw rocks. We have had enough of both in this country and it's time for us to see that it comes to a halt.

There are two things each of us must remember.

First, these children who are expressing dissent do not belong to some other race, some other creed, or some other nation. These are our children: your children and mine. We brought them into this world; and equally as important, we brought them up in this world. That in itself answers important questions. It also raises others. One thing it should do is make us stop shaking our heads in disgust and pointing our fingers at someone else.

And second, we must never forget that every viable institution in our life was founded on dissent: our nation was founded on dissent; our church was founded on dissent; our form of government thrives on dissent. To squash dissent is to cut off the life-blood of democracy. Just as irresponsible dissent that leads to violence can never be condoned, responsible dissent within our established institutions can never be suppressed.

But, why are our young citizens in the streets?

The vast majority are in the streets because they are concerned about human dignity and human worth. They are asking questions about poverty, prejudice, justice, pollution, war and peace. They are protesting because they are not satisfied with the answers that we as adults have offered. And as sad as it is, they are protesting because too many of us are providing no answers at all. We ignore, brush aside or condemn these young adults as disruptive to our pursuit of the affluent life. They ask for answers and we turn our backs, or fire a gun, or question their right to inquire.

How ironical it is that in this modern electronic era our nation should be confronted with the greatest communication gap in its history. But we cannot sit complacently by and simply admit that these conditions exist. We have a job to do: a job as dedicated citizens, as concerned parents, as committed Christians and that job is to bridge this gap . . . and bridge it now.

How do we go about it?

AS CITIZENS

As citizens, we should acknowledge to ourselves that the conditions at home and abroad which concern our youth are largely of our own making. Our children did not create these conditions. We did.

As citizens, we should encourage thoughtful and constructive dissent so that words replace rocks, conversation replaces tear gas, ideas replace bullets, solutions replace bayonets.

As citizens, we should support our educators and urge them: not simply to keep our schools open, but to open up the curriculum and re-examine its role and purpose at this critical hour. Courses on The Boundaries of Dissent, The Responsibilities of Freedom, The Danger of Drugs, Change and How to Achieve It are sorely needed and would be warmly welcomed.

And as citizens, we should give our prayerful support to the President of the United States. Whether you agree with his policies or not is immaterial. He is our only President and he has had only 16 months to find hard solutions to inherited problems. He deserves a chance; and he needs our prayers.

AND WHAT CAN WE DO AS PARENTS?

As parents, we need to show our children our love, our trust and our respect for them as human beings. There are some angry and militant young people in America and none of them ever lived in a home of love and mutual trust.

As parents, we must recognize that children need something more than food and water and love and trust. They need discipline they understand and respect; not discipline that breeds anger and hate.

As parents, we need a new approach to discipline. The old approach was wrong. The old approach was hell-bent on stopping, or prohibiting or punishing undesirable acts while ignoring the urges of feelings that brought about the acts. Punishment and restrictions were administered in the midst

of angry argument—when a child was least able to listen and most likely to resist. The child not only believed that his act was bad but that he was "no good" as a person.

Let me give you an example. Last year a 21 year old girl, living with her parents, came home late, one hour after the midnight curfew imposed by her mother. Her angry parents demanded to know where she had been. She told them she had been at the local officers club with an Air Force lieutenant. The parents got madder. They demanded to know if she had had relations with this man. The daughter told the truth: she had. Severe punishment had to be meted out. To redeem herself, the parents told their daughter that she would have to kill her pet dog. So the next day they went out into the field. A grave was dug; the dog placed in it; the father handed a pistol to his daughter; he ordered her to shoot; she refused; he demanded she kill her dog; she couldn't. So, she put the gun to her own temple and killed herself. That story is true. And there are thousands just as bad.

As parents, our new approach to discipline must help our children communicate their feelings while restricting their conduct. Our children must be encouraged to speak out about what they feel but clear limits must be placed on undesirable or unlawful acts. The restrictions on conduct should be set not in violence or anger but in an atmosphere of understanding and communication—preserving the self respect of the child as well as the parent. A child's resentment of a restriction must be understood, but he must not also be punished for not liking the restriction itself.

For example: A young boy watched his parents repaint their living room. When they had finished he went and got his crayons and started to draw all over the new walls. The father's first reaction was to "clobber the boy" but he paused, and checked his anger. "No," he said to his son. "Walls are not for drawing on. Paper is. Let's go find some paper. Here we are, draw me a picture on this paper." That little boy, sensing his father's anger, respectful of his understanding, simply said, "I'm sorry, Daddy. I love you."

The problem is a simple one of angry feelings and angry acts. Feelings and dissent have to be identified and expressed. Acts may have to be limited and redirected.

And let me add that no amount of parental love or trust or discipline is ever going to make our children act like responsible adults unless we, as parents, set a proper example for them. How can parents expect their children to stay away from the dangers of drugs if they are chronic pill-takers themselves. They can't. And their children won't.

Now, what as Christians can we do about today's crisis?

AS CHRISTIANS

As Christians, we have a special responsibility in this divisive hour of protest and dissent: we have a mission to fulfill; and that mission is one of reconciliation.

All of us—young and old—should read Paul's two letters to the people of Corinth. The second letter, the subject of this morning's lesson, talks about reconciliation. He speaks of "God being in Jesus reconciling the world to Himself, no longer holding men's misdeeds against them." With this mission we are entrusted. We are, Paul says, to be God's ambassadors carrying the word of reconciliation to our fellow man.

And how is this reconciliation achieved? Paul says:

By giving offense to no one;

By enduring the distress and hardships all of us face;

By behaving innocently in the sight of God;

By grasping and declaring the truth;

By being patient and kind in the face of adversity;

By sincere love of thy neighbor as thyself;

And by faith in the Power of God.

As one reads Paul's letter, a remarkable parallel is revealed between the people of Corinth and the young adults of today. God intervenes not to punish his rebellious subjects but to reconcile them; not to show himself their enemy but their friend; and this He does in the life and the work and the death of His own Son, and by entrusting us with His mission of reconciliation.

There is another message in Paul's letter: and that is the spirit of optimism, excitement and challenge inherent in our mission. Adversity, dissent and protest, do not breed despair; but opportunity:

Opportunity to act, to listen, to respond, to educate, to love, to discipline, to forgive, to heal, to reconcile.

That is exciting. So let us not despair. Let us, as dedicated citizens, as concerned parents, as committed Christians, as God's ambassadors and with His help, conquer this crisis by exploiting our opportunity. Let us act and act now so that next spring, our mission will have been accomplished, and once again, birds, not bullets, will sing, flowers, not bayonets, will bloom and children, not soldiers, will play.

Let us Pray.

COMMENDING SPEAKER JOHN W. McCORMACK ON HIS LENGTH OF SERVICE AS SPEAKER

HON. JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to join in tribute to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, and to support the resolution of commendation offered by the distinguished majority leader, Mr. ALBERT.

I have had the honor to serve in this body during all of JOHN MCCORMACK's record-breaking tenure as Speaker and during 25 of his 41 years of his outstanding service to the Nation as a Member of the House. I can only say, based on my personal observation and experience, that the contributions JOHN MCCORMACK has made to this body, and to the Nation it serves, are beyond measure. He has been intimately and actively involved in all of the major legislative acts of the greatest Nation on earth during one of the most turbulent periods in history. He has had the heavy responsibility of leadership during most of that difficult period. His place in the annals of parliamentary bodies is assured.

Apart from his historical achievements, there is another side to JOHN MCCORMACK and that is the JOHN MCCORMACK who has been friend and counselor to all who have been privileged to serve with him in the House. To me, he has been many things—a respected opponent, a scrupulously fair presiding officer, a generous adviser and a warm friend. It was with sadness and regret that I learned of his decision to retire from the House at the end of this Congress. His wisdom, his great ability, his devotion to the land he loves, will be sorely missed.

I join in wishing our Speaker and Mrs. McCormack happiness and contentment in the years to come, conscious of the deep gratitude of a nation for the service they have both rendered to all of us.

MEMORIAL DAY—1970

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I can think of no more fitting Memorial Day speech than an open letter to the American people from Cornelius Vanderbreggen, Jr.:

A FORMER U.S. MARINE COMBAT OFFICER—NOW A CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY IN HOLLAND—WARNS AMERICA

LAREN IN GELDERLAND, HOLLAND,
May 30, 1969.

DEAR AMERICAN CITIZEN: It is Memorial Day in America, the land of my birth. Though I am thousands of miles away from my native land today, I am thinking of it continually. Also, I am praying for you. Why do I have such an interest in you? One reason is that twenty-five years ago as a U.S. Marine combat officer I willingly offered my life to defend you, your loved ones, your home, your homeland. Twenty-five years ago this very day I was leaving Guadalcanal as a member of the fighting forces that were to take part in the costly invasion of Guam.

God brought me through that invasion unscathed, but many of my comrades laid down their lives for you there. Later hundreds of the marines whom I helped to train dyed the sands of Iwo Jima red with their blood—for you. Think of it, in just five weeks 6,821 loyal American lads sacrificed their lives for you on that tiny island. Then there were the wounded—21,865 of them! I visited them in the hospital wards on Guam. Many of them were shell-shocked. Others were riddled with machine gun bullets. This marine was minus a leg, that one minus an arm. This fellow was minus a chin, that 18-year-old lad was blind for the rest of his life. For you!

If you do not appreciate what these young Americans did for you, that is your responsibility before God. My responsibility is to remind you what they did. This is Memorial Day.

May I tell you three things that I learned from those Marine comrades of mine?

First, they knew that there was an enemy.

Secondly, they found out who he was, and they resisted him to the limit of their ability.

Thirdly, hundreds of them discovered that they could neither live nor die in peace until they had come to know God.

My comrades left behind an example for you. May I ask you whether you are following their example?

Do you know that there is an enemy destroying your land today? Do you know that that enemy is not thousands of miles away but in your very midst? Do you know that that enemy is not Communism but the force which for its own diabolic purposes created and financed Communism from within the U.S.A.? Do you know that that enemy has been established within your own government for decades, and that his influence is steadily growing stronger? Do you know that the enemy is using your riches to finance your own destruction and that he is altering your Constitution in order to deny you your Constitutional rights? Do you know

that his plan is so to control your armed forces that they are denied all chance of defending you but at the same time are used by the enemy in his plan to enslave the world?

Do you know that this same enemy exercises a tremendous influence over many large American church groups? Do you know that much of the literature put out by these churches is anti-Biblical, anti-Christian, anti-American, and anti-God? Do you know that these attempts of godless, ecclesiastical leaders to pervert God's Word are clearly prophesied in the Bible, and that thereby the amazing accuracy of the Bible is confirmed by the very men who seek to repudiate it?

Do you know that the enemy almost completely controls your country's leading newspaper, radio and television media and that therefore you are subjected to ceaseless brain-washing which is just as effective as anything that is carried on in "slave nations"? The purpose of this brain-washing is to hoodwink you into thinking: 1. that the enemy is outside of your country; 2. that the glorious freedoms which Americans have known for two centuries are undesirable; 3. that economic, political, and religious slavery are virtues; 4. that people who warn you of your peril are "extremists", "Nazis", "radicals", "hate-mongers"; 5. that resistance to the enemy is sin!

Do you know that it is this enemy in your midst that entrapped your country in World War I, World War II, the Korean War, and the phoney Viet Nam war (which was planned not to fight Communism, but to bleed you and to take your eyes off the enemy in your midst)? Do you know that the enemy in your midst has other wars planned in order to bleed you further? Do you know that the enemy's dream is to have your sons die in Rhodesia and Africa so that you will be further weakened and so that the enemy can control the wealth of those lands? Do you know that the enemy further dreams that your sons will die in order to "secure" the borders of the State of Israel (a state which the Bible clearly foretells will be completely destroyed before the future day when the Lord Jesus Christ miraculously establishes a God-honoring nation of Israel in the Near East*)?

Do you know that many of your nation's most revered generals and admirals have sought to warn the nation of this enemy in the midst, but that the enemy-controlled press has suppressed their warnings? Do you know that many military men of high caliber have resigned their commissions in the armed forces because they realized that they were being made puppets of the enemy who plans to hamstring the U.S. armed forces so that they will never be permitted to defend America?

Do you know that to all intents and purposes you are now a slave of the enemy-created United Nations because the enemy-planned U.N. charter binds you to support U.N. (enemy-planned) wars but forbids you to undertake military defense of the U.S. without U.N. (enemy) approval?

Do you know that the enemy planned the United Nations so that you would become a vassal in an enemy-controlled, atheistic, world dictatorship which the Bible says is coming some day on earth? Unless you wake up and resist the enemy in your midst, you and your children will see your free country die before your eyes!

Do you know that resisting the enemy is Scriptural? The Bible says, "Resist the devil and he will flee from you" (James 4:7). Again the Word of God says, "Be not ye afraid of them: remember the Lord, which is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives, and your houses" (Nehemiah 4:14).

Do you realize that you cannot remember God if you do not know God personally? And you cannot justly claim to know Him personally just because you are baptized, or religious, or patriotic, or a Protestant, or a Roman Catholic, or a Jew! You cannot know God personally until you have personally thanked Him that on the cross of Calvary, two thousand years ago. He shed His blood for your sins: this is the clear teaching of the Old Testament and the New Testament, which are the Word of God that was committed to godly Jews by the Spirit of God.

The prophet Isaiah clearly spoke of the Lord Jesus Christ, the only Saviour, when he wrote, "All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all" (Isaiah 53.6). The apostle Paul, another enlightened Jew, recorded similar words in the New Testament when under the inspiration of the Spirit of God he wrote, "God commendeth His love toward us in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us" (Romans 5:8).

There is the Gospel message—pure, clear, and simple! God loves sinners, Jewish sinners and Gentile sinners, black sinners and white sinners, young sinners and old sinners, hell-bound and lost sinners! God loves sinners and gave His Son to die for them all! The sinner who receives that Saviour is saved from judgment and hell. Conversely, the sinner who rejects that Saviour, though he be oh so religious, or oh so patriotic, or oh so well-informed about the sins of others, remains condemned by God as long as he rejects God's Son. "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him" (John 3:36). Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ is that which enabled millions of Americans in decades past to triumph over untold difficulties and build a land that was once blessed of God and a blessing to others. Apart from faith in the Lord Jesus Christ there is no hope for America today, or for you.

Would you make today the decision about Him that God is asking you to make? Then regardless of the date on the calendar it will be for you a Memorial Day that you will always remember and never regret.

"We pray in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God" (2 Cor. 5:20).

CORNELIUS VANDERBREGGEN, Jr.,
Formerly 1st. Lt., U.S.M.C.R.

GEN. JOHN DILLARD EULOGY

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, on May 12, Maj. Gen. John A. B. Dillard, commander of the U.S. Army Engineer Command in Vietnam was killed when his helicopter was shot down by Communist ground fire near Pleiku. General Dillard, in addition to being an outstanding military leader, contributed a considerable portion of his career to the development of the water resources of the United States.

General Dillard was born in East St. Louis, Ill., on September 1, 1919. He was graduated from McGuffey High School, Oxford, Ohio, in 1938, and from the Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va., with a B.S. degree in civil engineering in 1942. In addition, General Dillard received a masters degree in industrial engineering from New York University, N.Y., in 1955.

In World War II he served in the European Theater of Operations as platoon leader and company commander, 125th Armored Engineer Battalion, 14th Armored Division, and company commander, 36th Engineer Combat Group.

He was assigned to Alaska in 1947–49. He was first stationed at Fort Richardson with the 923d Engineer Aviation Battalion and the 925th Engineer Aviation Group where his duties included planning, design and construction of roads, bridges, pipelines, airfields, storage facilities, utilities, and related engineer work in support of Alaskan Master Plans, Plans Branch, Alaskan Air Command.

He was executive officer, Little Rock Engineer District, Arkansas, 1950–51. After a year's service in Korea with the 65th Engineer Battalion, 25th Infantry Division, he served for a year in Japan with the 43d Construction Battalion.

During 1955–57, he was assistant district engineer, Baltimore Engineer District, Maryland. During his tour of duty in Baltimore, General Dillard, then a lieutenant colonel, was in charge of the relief effort at Scranton, Pa., after that area was struck by Hurricanes Connie and Diane within a 7-day period in 1955. This effort which was known as Operation Noah resulted in the cleaning up and the restoration of the flooded city.

In 1957 he went to Hawaii to serve as battalion commander, 65th Engineer Battalion, 25th Infantry Division, and later as assistant chief of staff, G–4, 25th Infantry Division.

From 1959 to 1963, he served as assistant director for military construction, Western area, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Washington, D.C., before assuming his duties as member of Civil Engineering Branch, Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Washington, D.C., where he served from 1963 to 1965.

In 1965 General Dillard became the district engineer, U.S. Army Engineer District, Los Angeles, where he was responsible for the planning, direction, supervision of military and civil public works over portions of seven State areas embracing the Colorado River system and southern California. In this capacity he served as contracting officer for design and construction programs approximating $130 million annually, which varied in scope from construction of dams and related flood control works, development of deep water harbors, beach erosion and related coastal engineering matters, to complex missile and space launch facilities and systems.

From 1966 to June 1968, the General first served as assistant division engineer and then division engineer, South Pacific Division, San Francisco, where he was responsible for the entire Corps of Engineers program for the Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento districts. He performed with great distinction in this office and when he left in June 1968 to become commander, U.S. Army Engineer Command, Vietnam, those of us who have been in the field of public works and water resources development recognized that he had served in the finest tradition

of engineer-soldier of the Corps of Engineers.

General Dillard's death in Vietnam comes as a blow to all of us on the Committee on Public Works who have known and worked with him over the years, and I know that I speak for all the members of the committee in expressing our sincerest regrets to his wife, Bette, his sons Gerry and John III, and his daughter, Revalee, and to his mother, Mrs. Frank Kulman.

I would add at this point in the RECORD the eulogy delivered by Lt. Gen. F. J. Clarke, chief of engineers, at Arlington National Cemetery on May 20th, and the meditation eulogy at the Memorial Service at the Presidio in San Francisco:

EULOGY DELIVERED BY LT. GEN. F. J. CLARKE, CHIEF OF ENGINEERS, AT THE FUNERAL OF MAJ. GEN. JOHN A. B. DILLARD

Judged by results, Jack Dillard was certainly a successful leader. He established high goals and regardless of the challenges he found the best way to accomplish those goals. Jack was an energetic, dynamic officer who was equally as skilled and professional leading troops in combat as he was directing programs to improve the quality of life in the United States.

I knew Jack well, and with those here today, I am richer for having known him. He was a man you could not help but like. His warm easy smile, bouyant personality and pleasant charm quickly captivated those who knew him. He was a devoted husband and father and had an intense interest in all who served with him. We will be richer by carrying the memory of our too brief association with him.

The profession of generalship and command requires great personal sacrifices. Jack Dillard knew this and ultimately made the greatest sacrifice—which is why we are solemnly gathered here to honor him today. But Jack Dillard was a leader—he liked leading—he was proud, courageous, intelligent—an able soldier, who sought the most from life. How characteristic it was that while Jack was a student at VMI, he was a varsity letterman in track, and wrestling. This is not strange to those of us who knew him well. Although he was not a physically large man he had a super abundance of courage, tenacity and daring which he so bravely demonstrated to the end.

Jack was a strong, dedicated, compassionate leader. He met every challenge confidently and with true genius. Yes, Jack was a real professional who possessed those rare qualities that weld a fine mind and a fighting yet loving heart to become an inspirational leader. How right his VMI classmates were in 1942 when they said he had the "ability to make a crackjack Army Officer." From his first Army days as a Platoon leader in the 125th Armored Engineer Battalion until his final day as the Commanding General of the U.S. Army Engineer Command, Vietnam, Jack Dillard proved to be an all-giving officer, dedicated to his country, to his chosen service and to those he led.

His country, for which he gave his life, and especially we in the Army who know so well the risks and sacrifices, share the grief of his family. We are all shocked by their tragic loss. Our country has too few Jack Dillards during these times when we need so many.

EULOGY AND MEDITATION AT THE MEMORIAL SERVICE AT THE PRESIDIO

General John Albert Broadus Dillard, Jr., was a man respected and admired by his superiors, peers, and subordinates. One friend and fellow general officer wrote of him, ". . . one of the greatest men I've known." He was first a man's man—very strong and stable. He at times, seemed to have an armor of toughness which shielded a kind and generous soul.

He loved life and manifested this in his heavy schedule of varied activities. His friends respected him for his keen intellectual curiosity. They admired him for his persistent search for new and better ways to accomplish a given task. Unafraid of change, he sought for the best way to foster progress and encourage development. His close associates noticed that his strong personal traits were balanced by a good sense of humor.

General Dillard enjoyed life with its pulsing, throbbing reality. He wanted to be involved in the great issues of our times. His aim was excellence. He expected this of himself and encouraged this worthy goal in his followers. He was a leader of man and would have excelled in any chosen endeavor, had he chosen to be in some other field of service. We in the armed forces were fortunate to have had him as one of our leaders. We need men of his high caliber in our armed services, and we are all the poorer now because of his untimely death.

However, to live life in all its fullness means to take risks. To taks risks means to involve oneself in life's active stream. He who is not willing to risk himself in life's battles and challenges does not live, but merely exists. The fearful man sits on the safe banks of life's stream and lets fear stifle and strangle his life. Not so for the man who dares, who has the courage to involve himself in life and to affirm himself; the man who seeks to fulfill his life. Such was this man, John Albert Broadus Dillard, Jr., a strong man who sought to live the fullness of life, who died in action, doing his duty as a man of arms.

GEN. JOHN DILLARD EULOGY

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that the Hon. GEORGE H. FALLON, chairman of the Committee on Public Works of the House of Representatives is placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD certain remarks eulogizing the late Gen. John Dillard, an officer in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. I would like to join and be associated with the remarks of the chairman of the committee.

The late Gen. Jack Dillard was the division engineer of the South Pacific Division Office of the Corps of Engineers with headquarters in San Francisco, my home State of California, during the period from 1966 to 1968, and it was my privilege to be associated with him in connection with several water resource development projects in my district. As ranking minority member of the Flood Control Subcommittee, I got to know Jack Dillard well. If there was ever anyone that met the criteria of a great American, and a great builder of America it was Gen. Jack Dillard.

In my view General Dillard was one of the most competent and alert officers I ever knew. He was a real star on the horizon of the Corps of Engineers and his capacity to perform well was unlimited. Without a doubt he would have gone all the way to the very top as an officer.

There are many public works projects in the State of California that will stand as a lasting tribute to General Dillard.

The flood control projects which he planned and constructed will be a living monument to his memory. General Dillard, who helped to preserve human life through his engineering activities, gave his own life for his country.

DISSERVICE BY COLLEGE

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, perhaps minority elements speak out with a loud voice in order to obtain the attention they would not otherwise receive. It should not be forgotten, however, that the silent majority is very much with us, speaking out once in a while to express its view.

Just recently one of the silent majority spoke out in a letter to the editor that appeared in the May 15, 1970, issue of the Evening Sentinel, a daily newspaper in Carlisle, Pa. Because this letter brings a constructive admonition to an educational institution in my congressional district and a timely message to all of us, I insert it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and recommend its reading:

DISSERVICE BY COLLEGE

To the EDITOR of the SENTINEL:

Consider this an open letter to the Dickinson College administrators, faculty, and student body:

"Congratulations! You have now joined an increasing number of colleges and universities who would rather sacrifice principle and capitulate to student demands than resist pressure and stand on its own merit. By removing academic credit for ROTC activities, you have taken another step toward disenfranchising those men and women who over the years have given the last full measure of devotion to guarantee those rights which a minority of present-day students are so quick to abuse. Why yield to the demands of radicals and dissidents? Has any consideration been given to those patriotic students who may want to use ROTC as part of their academic curriculum? Such students have as much right to do so as the minority have to demand the abolition of credit.

"Who forced students to attend Dickinson or any other college? I always thought they attended because of their own free will. None were forced to enroll. They should be willing to abide by the rules of the college of their choice, and if they do not, they should be expelled, not tolerated, or worse still sanctioned by a spineless administration. Expulsion for failure to measure up to certain academic, moral, and social standards has always been the prerogative of every college, and it should be enforced. If it is not then colleges are saying, in effect, "Go ahead and do your own thing. Do whatever you choose, legal or not, and you will be allowed to get away with it." There is a better way to teach our young people responsibility and respect. It is called discipline.

"As a taxpayer who is trying to get a college education by attending part-time and working full-time, I say to this radical minority: I would have greatly appreciated the opportunity at your age to get my education.

If you don't want to use your opportunity, then get out and make room for people who want to study, not raise hell. Your fellow students who wish to apply themselves to academic pursuits will be forever in your debt. You dissenters should remember a time-honored axiom, i.e., "The pen is mightier than the sword."

"Dickinson College, you have done your community and your nation a disservice."

JOHN W. SHEPARD.

GARDNERS, PA.

LING-TEMCO-VOUGHT, INC., RESTRUCTURE

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Paul Thayer, president of LTV Aerospace Corporation, Dallas, Tex., has written to me outlining the restructuring process which has recently taken place within Ling-Temco-Vought, Inc., and its effect on LTV Aerospace Corp. In order that everyone will be familiar with what has taken place, I have received approval of Mr. Thayer to place his letter in the RECORD, and its content follows:

LTV AEROSPACE CORPORATION,
Dallas, Tex., May 22, 1970.

Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
2311 Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR TIGER: I am sure you have read in the newspapers or learned from other sources that Ling-Temco-Vought, Inc. has restructured its top management. Because this action may have raised questions in your mind regarding the impact on LTV Aerospace Corporation, I want to take this opportunity to review recent events at LTV, Inc.; stress that these events have no effect on LTV Aerospace Corporation and, finally, emphasize our corporation's future plans.

LTV, Inc. has been involved for several years in an aggressive acquisition program. A combination of internal and external factors including the declining stock market, anti-trust actions involving LTV, Inc.'s acquisition of Jones and Laughlin, and the need to service a substantial debt prompted the Board of Directors to streamline the LTV, Inc. organization. To focus maximum attention and expertise on LTV, Inc.'s financial affairs, Mr. Robert H. Stewart III, of the First National Bank in Dallas was named as Chairman of the Board. James J. Ling, formerly Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, became President of LTV, Inc., with Clyde Skeen resigning from that position. The Board's size was reduced from 20 members to 14; the reduction in the Board's size will facilitate expeditious decision making in all major policy areas of LTV, Inc.'s operations.

I am confident LTV, Inc. will successfully resolve its current operational and financial problems and regain its position of preeminence.

LTV, Inc. is a majority shareholder of a number of subsidiary companies, including LTV Aerospace, Braniff, Jones & Laughlin and Wilson. At present LTV, Inc. owns 63% of the common stock of LTV Aerospace Corporation. The remaining stock is owned by the general investing public. LTV Aerospace is an independent, legal entity. It has its own bank credit on which LTV, Inc. is neither guarantor nor co-maker. The financial community, including our 21 line banks, has demonstrated continued confidence in our financial position. We are in a very sound financial posture. LTV Aeropsace Corporation has independent contracting authority; it alone is the contracting party with its government and non-government customers. LTV Aerospace Corporation's policy direction comes exclusively through its own Board of Directors, which remains unchanged. We will continue to receive a small portion of management services from LTV, Inc., as we have in the past, and for that we pay an allocated overhead fee. LTV, Inc. has not chosen to become involved at all in the operational aspects of LTV Aerospace Corporation in the past and we have been assured by the restructured LTV, Inc. Board of Directors that they will not become involved in the future.

It is natural that most "outsiders" identify LTV, Inc. and LTV Aerospace Corporation as synonymous. I hope that this misconception has been clarified. We are proud of the affiliation with our parent, but I must stress that LTV, Inc.'s present, temporary problams have no impact on LTV Aerospace. There is no legal way that LTV, Inc. can effect the financial security of LTV Aerospace. LTV Aerospace is an independent, profitable, stable and viable company, and the recent events at LTV, Inc. have not affected this situation. LTV Aerospace Corporation has charted its own future path of sound growth and stable operation. That path will be to continue to seek government business and to maintain our present position of leadership in the military, defense and space fields, and at the same time broaden our sales base in non-government business. We will continue our cost reduction efforts to make us an even stronger competitor for government contracts. Finally, we will continue to be guided by the best interests of our customers, employees and all shareholders.

Sincerely,

PAUL THAYER.

WEAK FAITH, HARDENED ARTERIES

HON. CHALMERS P. WYLIE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. WYLIE. Mr. Speaker, our society is presently in a state of apprehension over the rising tide of civil disorder in our land. Most of the concern correctly centers around the disruptive activities of a small minority who believe that nonnegotiable demands, violence, and revolution are the ultimate solution to any and all social problems. Unfortunately, some public figures, who should know better, contribute to the crisis by preaching gloom and doom. Those misguided individuals have failed to view America in the historic context of her previous trials and, therefore, overlook the great resiliency of the American people in our constitutional system to survive a crisis or public officials who contribute thereto.

There is an excellent editorial commenting on this situation in the Monday, May 25, 1970, issue of the Columbus Citizen-Journal, which is published in my district.

I insert this article in the RECORD, so that all of my colleagues may have the benefit of the views of this outstanding editorial:

WEAK FAITH, HARDENED ARTERIES

In a recent New York address, our retired chief justice, Earl Warren, declared that never in the last century has the country seen such trouble.

Never is quite a while, and since the Civil War was before Mr. Warren's time he wisely didn't mention it in his reckoning.

He might have been wiser still if he had remembered the early 1930s when the banks went broke, soup lines extended around the block, millions were jobless and Communists and like inciters held meetings on the courthouse steps.

In this century we also had World War I, with 320,000 American casualties, and World War II, with more than a million.

You name it. Seldom in our entire history, including the last 100 years, has there been a time without some type of crisis; although it must be admitted some were worse than others.

In each of these times of trouble, there always have been those of weak faith and hardening of the arteries who were overly articulate and fully convinced the country was headed straight for doom.

Somehow, we survived all these strains and, if the past is any guide, we will survive this one. It may not look that way some days, but the odds are we will come out with compensating gains, with many of our long-standing, neglected evils corrected.

Before this happens, we will have to restore the orderly process of achieving our ends—the process which has been disrupted by widespread and heedless violence.

In this respect, we are not talking about the peaceful protesters and petitioners—who have the same right to voice their opinions as Warren. But their pleas and views are being drowned out by the mindless radicals, the professional aggravaters and the anarchists who think dissent can be expressed only with rocks.

Back in the good old days when, by inference from Warren's speech, things were better, the first student to throw a rock or "liberate" a dean's office would have been expelled from school and dared to come back.

Now he often gets a conference with the university president who, like as not, apologizes for having a window in front of the rocks, and promises to do better.

Our authorities in many cases, have lost their nerve and have become unsure of the difference between right and wrong.

The result is that minorities (often tiny minorities) of students across the country have been permitted to close universities, destroy property, abuse officials and, worse, deprive their brothers and sisters of the opportunity to gain a tax-financed education.

One of the prime functions of Government is to preserve law and order, and Government which fails in that function is not much of a Government. Unless Government soon begins to perform as it should, the great majority of quiet citizens surely will come out of their shells and demand action, in the name of common decency and ordinary public right.

When it has been re-established that rock throwing is assault and battery, that burning is arson and killing is murder, all crimes covered by laws long on the books, we can more readily go about the urgent business of listening to peaceful complaint and entreaty.

ENERGY PROSPECTS FOR THE SEVENTIES

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention to the fact that a critical energy shortage threatens the United States.

We have read a great deal in recent days about the possibility of brownouts in the Eastern States this summer because of overloads on our electric power system.

An equally serious or perhaps more serious situation is likely to arise next winter with regard to supplies of natural gas. This is a problem to which we shoud be turning out attention right now.

Industry in my congressional district suffered a serious financial setback in January when it became necessary to curtail natural gas service to all industrial users for a period of 8 days in order to protect the domestic householder requirements. This was due to the prolonged colder than normal weather experienced in our area but was also aggravated by a threatened longer term gas supply shortage.

The inability of both major natural gas distributors of my area to obtain sufficient long-term volumes of natural gas from any of the interstate sources in the coming months could further complicate this situation. Not only has it been necessary to restrict any major industrial usage normally required for expansion and growth but lack of committed long-range supplies has required postponing plans for the encouragement of relocating new industrial business until this condition is corrected.

Unless there is a recurrence of the severity of the weather pattern next winter, present supplies appear adequate to accommodate existing needs with this temporarily restricted industrial development.

For the past several months the Federal Power Commission has been actively grappling with this serious supply matter. Formal proceedings are currently underway which should alleviate what could otherwise develop into a national energy crisis. An immediate increase in the authorized field price of gas is required to give an incentive for producers to drill for gas. This would not perform any miracle by producing immediate results, but it could go far to reverse the trend. Ever since the Supreme Court in 1954 found that the Natural Gas Act of 1938 required regulation of the wellhead price of gas, exploratory drilling has declined. The reserve-to-production ratio has declined from 29.5 years in 1947 to 14.6 years in 1968. With an increase of 26 million new customers in the same period, representing a 300-percent increase in demand, it is little wonder that we are faced with a supply problem today.

Hopefully, prompt Federal Power Commission action will do much to encourage sufficient volumes of natural gas for delivery in interstate commerce.

What would this mean to the householder? Primarily this would mean a slight increase in the cost of gas. Perhaps a few cents at the burner tip would be enough to produce an adequate incentive to the independent producers and the transmission industry to devote the needed investment to reverse the present trend. This added incentive would permit the expensive task of exploring for, drilling for, and transporting sufficient quantities of the required natural gas to the marketplace.

The average annual gas bill for my district runs about $200 for a family of four. Obviously this would vary with the size and type of house, but with an increase of only 5 cents per day to this average a sufficient increase in the field price could be generated to alter the present dim prospects. Certainly an increase of a few cents a day would be viewed worthwhile by the gas using householder when considered in the context of either having assured supply to get through the normal, cold midwestern winter or risking the alternative.

Throughout the 1960's extensive hearings were conducted by the Federal Power Commission in formal cases designated area rate proceedings. These culminated in the downward adjustment of the field price of natural gas flowing from the great national reservoirs; namely, the southwest and the offshore Louisiana areas during a time when cost of production and financing were rapidly increasing in this already high risk business. The previous commissions may well have considered that they were performing a public service in forcing lower rates and requiring numerous rate refunds to be passed along by all segments of the business. Unfortunately, this has not proved to be the case. This shortsighted action, rather than being a public service has produced a number of serious side effects. Not only has the lack of incentive reduced exploration, and development of natural gas reserves been brought to a halt, but the remaining limited production is largely consumed in intrastate commerce avoiding this unrealistic regulation. This unrealistic pricing discouraged the proper and prompt development or expansion of interstate pipeline networks and facilities which require the heavy outlay of capital.

All of these factors coupled with the increased demands flowing from local pollution control activity has placed a serious drain on supply. These unfortunate developments have now further been amplified by the unnecessary postponement of the Federal lease sales by the Department of Interior in the offshore Louisiana area. These offshore areas, containing great volumes of gas, were methodically developed over many years containing reservoirs reliably projected to provide for much of this Nation's needs. This disruption, apparently thought to be required to prevent oil spill and seepage pollution, could not be further from the fact. The pollution risks from such a gas producing activity are nil. Fortunately, this is apparently now recognized and lease sales are to be resumed and are now scheduled to commence in July. Let us hope there are no further delays.

To add to this complex situation much of the capital normally allocated by industry for the proper development of reserves in these prime areas has now been diverted to exploratory purposes in other areas around the world including the north slope of Alaska. Even if this is eventually successful it will involve a considerable expenditure for transportation costs. This latter project alone will run into billions of dollars.

With a prompt and coordinated program of revitalizing the known sources of supply in many of the proven areas where transportation facilities exist some hope exists.

As an example of shortsighted regulation, the price of southern Louisiana gas was 23¼ cents per 1,000 cubic feet in 1962 and was systematically reduced by the Federal Power Commission to 18½ cents per 1,000 cubic feet during an inflationary period with a concomitant reduction of drilling and exploratory activity by over 30 percent.

The curtailment of natural gas service to industries throughout the country, in addition to causing needless unemployment, has necessitated restrictions on industrial expansion and plant construction. This prospect has untold long-range effects. The present Federal Power Commission is to be commended for its forthright assessment of the problem and hopefully prompt modification of pricing and other regulatory requirements that should correct this problem.

The natural gas industry now supplies one-third of the United States energy requirements. At a time when our population is increasing and the manifold needs of our society requires reliable energy sources, it is important for men of vision and courage to take all appropriate steps to avoid restrictions and encourage responsible action. Hopefully the mistakes of the past can be avoided. Hopefully this belated relief will prove timely. And hopefully all segments of the industry can now devote their full energies to alleviating this serious disruption and assure the long-range development of a vital energy source important to all consuming householders and the industry of our Nation.

NEPALIZE NEPAL TO PROTECT OUR BOYS IN PAKISTAN

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, it was around the time of Sir Isaac Newton that someone first observed that enthusiasm for war was proportional to the square of one's distance from the front. Several centuries earlier, someone else had observed, in less quantitative fashion, that old men declare wars but young men die in them.

Columnist Arthur Hoppe has taken these self-evidently truthful descriptions of inequity and proposed a rather elegant solution to them. His solution is a new draft law providing that "those who like a war ought to go fight it."

Since such an army of patriots would be very efficient, Mr. Hoppe predicts that the Soviet Union and Red China would be favorably impressed and follow suit. Ultimately, he looks forward to the day when these new armies, composed of all human beings who like wars, will meet in some place like Antarctica in one magnificent battle—a battle fought to the very last man.

I include the column entitled "The Only Fair Draft Law" by Arthur Hoppe, from the San Francisco Chronicle of May 19, 1970, at this point in the RECORD:

THE ONLY FAIR DRAFT LAW

(By Arthur Hoppe)

WASHINGTON, June 1.—A brigade of New York hard-hat construction workers, led by General Barry Goldwater and other former public officials, enplaned for Pakistan today to prepare for the invasion of Nepal.

"We'll lick those Nepalese in six weeks," confidently predicted Sergeant (formerly Congressman) L. Mendel Rivers as he shouldered his pack.

The invasion was proposed only ten days ago by Senator (now Corporal) John Stennis.

"We must invade Nepal," he argued on Face the Press, "in order to protect the flanks of our boys in Pakistan who are protecting the flanks of our boys in Burma, who are protecting the flanks of our boys in Thailand, who are protecting the flanks of our boys in Camobdia, who are protecting the flanks of our boys in Vietnam so that our boys can come home sooner."

Senator Stennis was, of course, immediately drafted under the new Volunteer Army Law.

The law, to paraphrase its legal language, simply says, "Those who like a war ought to go fight it."

The law, sponsored by a coalition of Doves, sailed through Congress last year. The Doves noted that the proposed law was not only far more fair than the old Selective Service System, but it would produce a far more efficient Army.

"A soldier who likes a war," they pointed out, "will fight it with much greater enthusiasm than one who doesn't."

The logic of both arguments proved overwhelming. The public, long uneasy about the morality of forcing reluctant young men to fight old men's wars, supported the measure wholeheartedly.

The Hawks in Congress had little to say against the bill at the time. They have had even less to say about the war since—nervously prefacing any remark with, "Now I don't like this war one bit, but . . ."

It was the failure of Goldwater, Rivers and Stennis to employ this disclaimer in their enthusiasm that got them drafted. The Hardhats were called up when they shouted "Nepalize Nepal!" while clobbering 50 peace demonstrators with their crowbars.

A near crisis resulted when the Vice President attacked the peace demonstrators as "prurient purveyors of pernicious pleonasm" for "damaging the tools of American working men with their heads." But he hastily explained that just because he didn't like peace demonstrators, it didn't mean he liked the war.

The new American Army of war-lovers has, as predicted, proved superb in battle. As a result, it came as no surprise when the Soviet Presidium last month issued an edict similar to the U.S. law. Red China and other nations are now following suit.

This has led to the hope in some quarters that these new armies, composed of all human beings who like wars, will meet in some place like Antarctica in one magnificent battle—a battle fought to the very last man.

Such hopes are expressed only in private, however. Unfortunately, under the new Volunteer Army Law, no one in his right mind would admit publicly to liking a war such as that.

GREECE: A REALISTIC VIEW

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to introduce some rather significant facts pertaining to H.R. 17604, particularly as they relate to the $50 million for financing the U.S. share of the NATO infrastructure. The importance of NATO is unquestionable and continued financial support will assure its performance as the peacekeeper against communism in the European community.

It is well known that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—NATO—was established in 1949 to unite the efforts of its members for collective defense and for the preservation of peace and security against the advance of international communism which at that time was steadily advancing across Eastern Europe. Today, I would like to make specific mention of one member of NATO, Greece, because of the little attention being given this strategically significant and all-important nation which is a faithful friend of the United States. We should recognize these people as our friends. American tourists returning from Greece have nothing but laudatory comments regarding the order and safety that reigns in the cities throughout the country. It behooves us to take note of this when it is not even safe in these United States to walk the streets of our large metropolitan cities at night.

Turning to the military-politico aspects for a moment, Greece occupies a very important strategic position on the southern front of Allied Command Europe. Since joining NATO, Greece has been a stalwart NATO member and has devoted great effort and has contributed her armed forces in the fulfillment of NATO's objective of maintaining a credible military posture against further Communist aggression thus insuring the preservation of peace and security in the area of NATO's Allied Forces, Southern Europe.

In view of her limited industrial and financial resources, Greece has for years depended largely on the United States to assist in providing the weapons and equipment needed by the Hellenic Armed Forces to carry out her assigned NATO missions. In recent years the military aid provided by the United States to Greece has been designed to insure the maintenance, readiness, and training of her forces and to provide a modest degree of modernization which today is badly needed.

Visits and observation of Greek forces in maneuvers by NATO commanders confirm that if Greek land, sea, and air forces are to be capable of carrying out their important NATO assigned missions and commitments, a relaxation of the present selective suspension of the delivery of items under the United States military aid program is essential. While a continuation of the present flow of repair and replacement parts are required, modest relaxation of the suspension of major items such as tanks, aircraft, and ships is also required.

About the time of the Suez crisis in 1956, the Soviets embarked on a tremendous program of naval and maritime construction. Since the Arab-Israel war in 1967 the Soviets have greatly accelerated their naval presence in the Mediterranean. This places them on the flank and rear of NATO Europe. This has placed a greatly increased requirement on the NATO naval forces—including Greece—in the Mediterranean for surveillance and otherwise countering this increasing Soviet naval threat.

The strategic location of Greece in the Mediterranean area, coupled with her proven traditional, technical, and personnel naval capabilities make the Hellenic Navy a particularly valuable asset in meeting this Soviet naval threat. However, the present Greek naval capability is seriously limited because of the obsolescence and small size of her present naval forces.

For these reasons the delivery of naval items, particularly ships, presently in the U.S. military aid program earmarked for Greece, but on which delivery has been suspended, are of critical importance to the Hellenic navy. The early delivery of these ships would greatly enhance the capability of Greece to contribute valuable assistance to the NATO naval forces in the Mediterranean in countering the accelerated presence of the Soviet Navy in the Mediterranean. The Soviets would indeed enjoy having within their bloc the outstanding seaports of Greece, but we can be assured that the strong anti-Communist government in Greece will not permit it.

Therefore, it is extremely important that aid in terms of ship deliveries be provided on a timely basis to insure that we are not too late to support our friends. Additionally, the suspension of arms and equipment such as the more than 350 tanks now in storage in Italy at a cost of approximately $1 million annually to the United States should be lifted to permit timely delivery to Greece.

One final word about the capability and dependability of Greek armed forces in an emergency. The present Greek Government and its armed forces are strongly anti-Communist. The Hellenic armed forces are tough and well trained. They can be depended on to carry out their NATO commitments and fight Communist aggression. Their ability to do so, however, is seriously weakened by denying them the arms and equipment they so badly need to contribute their full military capability in support of NATO. Their reliability, their strong anti-Communist attitude and their proven support of their commitment to NATO's objectives make it highly desirable that the United States continue to provide modern arms and equipment to Greece.

RECYCLING RESOURCES

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, the Republican Task Force on Earth Resources and Population of which I am chairman, has studied both the population growth problem and the mineral resource situation for the past year. Through our research and the testimony of experts who have appeared before the task force, we have realized the significant interrelationship between these problems. Be-

cause our resources are finite, and because the population is increasing rapidly, we must find ways to utilize our resources more effectively if we are to accommodate everyone.

It is possible to respond to this situation, however, through the process of recycling. West Germany, one of the most highly industrialized and densely populated countries of the world, has solved one of its major shortage problems by using this process. West Germany meets more than 60 percent of its water demand by recycling waste water within its factories. An article from the New York Times, April 19, 1970, by Mr. Clyde H. Farnsworth explains this West German development. This is an interesting article and good news for many of our cities that face the same problem. Mr. Speaker; I insert this article in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues at this point:

GERMANS DEVELOP PROFICIENCY IN REUSING WATER

(By Clyde H. Farnsworth)

PARIS, April 18.—Ten per cent of the waste water from West German towns and factories is reused for public and industrial water supplies. West German industry meets more than 60 per cent of its water demand by recycling waste water within its factories.

In one of the most highly industrialized and densely populated countries of the world, West Germans have faced a water problem for years.

A new antipollution study by the 22-nation Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development examined what the West Germans have done to deal with the problem, and found that in practical use of water-conservation techniques, West Germany is perhaps the most advanced nation in the world.

The case study pays particular attention to the Ruhr industrial complex, where immense quantities of water are needed not only for drinking but also for industrial washing and cooling operations and for carrying off factory wastes.

MEMBERSHIP REQUIRED

All Ruhr communities, coal mines and factories that discharge polluted water are forced to join water purification associations in which financial liabilities for water treatment are assessed on the basis of the amount of pollutants given off.

This provides an incentive for industry to conserve water through recycling and reprocessing water instead of drawing it from potable supplies.

A mill producing corrugated cardboard at Ebenhausen was cited for the advances it has made in recycling. By removing sludge in settling tanks and cooling the water in a tank, the factory needs to renew its water supplies in a gas-scrubbing operation only twice a year.

Cooling operations in Ruhr blast furnaces can reduce the use of water 10 times through recycling.

RIVER BANKS AS FILTERS

The Ruhr, together with certain Japanese complexes, ranks as the most highly industrialized region in the world.

Specialists from the O.E.C.D. pointed out that the West German problem was intensified by the fact that West Germany got only about one-fifth the rainfall of Japan.

To replenish drinkable water supplies, the study says, the Germans have become highly skilled in filtering polluted water through river banks into infiltration basins.

The necessary seepage time—that is the time the raw water takes to pass through the filtering layers—ranges from 40 to 100 days, depending on the degree to which the river is polluted.

At the Essen-Uberrugh waterworks, 26,400,000 gallons of water a day are obtained in this way.

Raw water comes from the Spiek, a backwater of the Ruhr River, and goes through a primary settling basin before it is sent to the infiltration basins. From the latter it finds its way into the waterworks' intake wells.

The water obtained is "quite satisfactory" from the chemical standpoint, apart from its high carbon dioxide content, the O.E.C.D. said.

This means it is all right to drink. But the only requirement was special protection for municipal pipe systems.

BLUE CUT NATURE CENTER, WAYNE COUNTY, N.Y.: THE BEAUTIES OF NATURE SET ASIDE FOR THE YEARS TO COME

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, since the beginning of time man has been trying to destroy the riches of Nature.

But in spite of all man's encroachments, animal and plant life persist and when left to their natural development, they bloom forth full of life.

It was my privilege a few days ago to walk in the perfect silence of a carpet of pine needles. The sound of war and riots, the sounds of the hustle and bustle of our growing complex life, all these sounds seemed pretty remote. It was inspiring to be in that stand of pine and spruce and soak in the wonders of nature.

On a visit to my district last weekend, I was invited to help dedicate the Blue Cut Nature Center, and old farmsite located between the villages of Lyons and Newark in Wayne County, N.Y. One hundred acres of land—meadow, forests, and streams—was set aside by county officials as an outdoor classroom for the more than 20,000 schoolchildren in the county.

Donald G. Colvin, chairman of the Wayne County Board of Supervisors, led the ceremonies. To commemorate the dedication, Supervisor Colvin planted a sugar maple, the official New York State tree.

More than 150 persons participated in this ceremony. They included schoolchildren who will now have a chance to study the wonders of nature, parents who can take pride in the preservation of this small plot of land and members of the Newark State School Drum and Bugle Corps—recognized for its excellence throughout the Empire State.

Mr. Speaker, persons at every level of government and the private sector were involved in establishing this center. From Wayne County there was the Soil Conservation District; Cooperative Extension Service; Federation of Sportsmen's Clubs; Board of Supervisors; Office of Civil Defense; public and parochial schools; Sheriff's Department; Fire Coordinator; American Red Cross; County Planning Board; Historical Office; Highway Department, and Park Commission.

From New York State were the Fish and Wildlife Division and the Lands and Forest Division of the State Conservation Department. From the Federal Government were the Soil Conservation Service and the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service in the Agriculture Department, and the Interior Department's Division of Wildlife Management and Enforcement.

Others who assisted were the Mayo Nurseries; Winchester Arms; Curtice-Burns Foods; Wards Natural Science Establishment, and the Clyde Chapter of the Eastern Milk Producers.

The program was coordinated by Charles Costello, manager of the Wayne County Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service.

Among the speakers were Chairman Colvin, Marshall Tweedie, a student at Clyde-Savannah Central School; Donald Van Liere, chairman of the Wayne County Conservation Education Committee; George Lookup, Town of Arcadia Supervisor, and Assemblyman Joseph Finley.

It is important to remember that man's life span is limited upon this spaceship we call earth. Rather than destroy all the good in nature that surrounds us we should strive to leave for our children and their children's children, the beauty of our lands, our wildlife, our waters and our sky.

As I said, it was an inspiring occasion to be for a few moments in the silence of that stand of pine and spruce. Each one of us should relax in the surroundings of nature and reflect on the complexities of Nature which manifest themselves in such simple trappings.

Perhaps the thoughts and reflections of those who spoke at the dedication of the Blue Cut Nature Center on May 22, 1970, would help you understand the feelings I experienced. I would like to share those words with you:

THE BLUE CUT NATURE CENTER

It is the hope of the Wayne County Conservation Education Committee, through the cooperation of the Wayne County Board of Supervisors, to develop the Blue Cut Nature Center into a nature, conservation and education center to serve as an outdoor classroom where children and adults can experience first hand the wonders of nature and develop a sound conservation philosophy.

The idea was conceived by the Wayne County Conservation Education Committee which formed a steering committee in April, 1969. This committee developed the idea of a permanent conservation education laboratory on the abandoned county farm on Route 31 in the towns of Aracadia and Lyons.

After the final proposal was approved by the Conservation Education Committee, it was presented to the county planner and a layout of the area was made. The proposal with the layout was then discussed with the Wayne County Planning Board, which notified the Board of Supervisors of its approval.

On May 5, 1970, the Wayne County Board of Supervisors established the park for the educational use of school students and all county residents and tourists.

INVOCATION BY REV. IVORY SIMMONS OF LYONS, N.Y.

Eternal God, we thank and praise Thy holy name for all the blessings that enrich and ennoble our lives; we thank you for the friendship that exists here; for the sunshine and flowers; for the trees; the grass; for the

storm clouds; and we thank you for the beauty of each day; the glory of each sunset; we thank you for the deep water we swim in; for the hill to climb; and hard work to do; for the music of the birds that lifts our heart to heaven; for the hand clasp of our friends.

But most of all, right now, dear God, we thank you for those who in these troublesome times can still recognize and see the beauty of your natural resources and desire to preserve it for this cause. Rest Thy blessing upon them, that in the future we will still have this place and the opportunities it offers.

May these grounds which we now dedicate be an enduring witness for all the future generations to come. Help us, dear God, to use the things we learn from this park; make us a better community in which to live; we pray in Jesus Christ's name. Amen.

A YOUTH'S PERSONAL POINT OF VIEW

(By Marshall Tweedy)

I am not an orator and shall not profess to be one. But I will admit that I am scared silly and afraid to speak, but our environment does not want me or you to be silent.

I have been asked to represent the youth's view on conservation and the youth's view is what we need more of. We are going to be the ones to pick up the option on this piece of run-down real estate called earth, but we don't also want to have to pick up the tab for repairs made necessary by the former tenants. The youth want the destruction to cease, and reparation to begin, but then—don't we all?

The selfish, juvenilistic actions of a *few*, ignored by the circumstantial blind and deaf, have thrown nature into a frenzy. The youth, as yet, not mired in the struggle for materialism, have the time to look at these injustices which have so brutally been brought upon our world, and they are yelling "murder" to ears that are just learning to hear. Those youths want to do more than just yell. Their hearts crave action, but they need knowledge before they can put their heads and hands to work.

Tomorrow will come, be it what it will. Give the youth knowledge, materials, respect, encouragement, incentive, and let them work and gain the self respect and pride that will shape that tomorrow into something beautiful and worth living for. Knowledge can work miracles for all ages, but the youth learn more easily, and can perform their new tasks more quickly and with more skill than those who have known for so long, yet performed so infrequently.

Much is learned by youth from the examples set by their elders. This action today is such an example. The youth can see that some do care, those who do will rally around and be eager to learn, to do, then to teach those in the darkness of ignorance and wastefulness.

Teach us and we will learn, show us and we will see, help us and we will work, but ignore us and we are worthless and will cry *with* you.

Many other youths and I can be instrumental in the preservation of our environment. We learn by seeing, hearing, and doing. We see what is to be done, we are told how to do it, then we act to our fullest to eradicate the problem or to make the best better.

No one group is going to solve our environmental problems. We all have to do our part, be it physical work, intelligent planning, financing, or even self denial. It must be done, or on earth, we will be done.

A long time after man's self destruction, Nature shall overcome the asphalt, concrete, and steel. But can Nature survive man's misuse and not be overcome herself? Those who have allocated this land have taken one step forward, but the finish is a hundred yards away. The Grimreaper is in a sprint halfway down the track.

Let me conclude with my personal point of view.

Our eyes have been opened and our feet have begun to move.
Our action here is bread for thought, but let's not stop to groove.
Lord, oil up our hinges and tighten up our many loose screws—
Let's not leave our world in decadence; Lord, bless us in this move.

Thank you.

CONSERVATION PARK DEDICATION REMARKS BY DONALD VAN LIERE, CHAIRMAN, WAYNE COUNTY CONSERVATION EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Chairman Colvin, distinguished guests, students, ladies and gentlemen. This is a great day for all of us who for some time have felt the need for greater emphasis in our school systems on conservation education. This property, the Blue Cut Nature Center, which our County Supervisors have so wisely set aside as an outdoor workshop includes nearly every type of outdoor ecology found in the lake plains area.

Our public and parochial school systems across the County will be able to use these grounds to carry out specific conservation study programs. Study programs that will soon be mandated to the schools by the State Education Department.

If, in the development of this Center, we are wise and keep the introduction of steel, concrete and macadam at an absolute minimum; if we are wise and change these surroundings as little as possible then these meadows, marshes, waters and tree plantations will prove invaluable in our effort to teach future generations how better to manage whatever portion of this earth God has entrusted to their stewardship.

This dedication today is possible as a result of several years' effort of the Wayne County Federation of Sportsmen's Clubs, the Wayne County 4-H Office, the Wayne County ASCS Office, the New York State Conservation Department's divisions of Lands and Forests and Fish and Wildlife plus many, many dedicated individuals. It might seem our goal has been attained. However, this is in reality not the end of our efforts but rather the start of greater programs in our struggle to protect our environment from ourselves.

To quote the comicstrip character, Pogo, in an all too true remark: "We have met the enemy and he is us." If this County owned outdoor workshop can help in getting the one point across to our young people that as temporary stewards we can and must not only stop destroying but start improving our natural surroundings then our reason for being here today will be more than justified.

Thank you.

DEDICATION OF THE BLUE CUT NATURE CENTER: THE ECOLOGY AND HISTORY

(By George E. Lookup)

I think it would be interesting to spend a few minutes to reflect on the ecology and the history of this immediate area. And if you will, think of the sounds—from the silence of the swamp which is nature's last stronghold, to the blasts of the whistle of the steam locomotive as it approached the Blue Cut crossing, representing American Industry.

This will symbolize the fact that it is hard to find a quiet spot in this noisy world.

The ice-age and the receding ice flow, some 18,000 to 25,000 years ago, left this irregular terrain and the conglomerate types of soils. This drumlin, fairly typical in shape of those throughout Wayne County, is known as a rocdrumlin and is composed of a soft rock known as Vernon Shale. When it is exposed as it is at the north end of this drumlin and the one at the railroad cut it gives a bluish appearance. There seems to be no doubt that for this reason in 1853 when the railroad was constructed and the cut made, that it became known as the Blue Cut and the road named for it. Now we are using this name for this study area.

For any one who wishes to know more about the geology of this area, Mrs. Charlotte Alteri of Wolcott is here and is well versed on the subject.

Before 1789, it was nature's own sanctuary with only the sounds of the birds and animals and the occasional soft step of the Seneca hunter. At this time the hearty pioneers poled their bateauxs up the Ganargua Creek, a mile to the north and stopped along the creek, cleared the land and settled the west. It abounded in fish and game. Phelps and Gorham had purchased the tract and Ontario County was formed. Wayne County was formed from the northeast corner of Ontario County and a part of the Military Tract to the east in 1823. Of course, it wasn't all that simple.

This land was purchased for the County Poor House and farm in 1831 and for many years supplied much of the food for the county's needy. The timber was cut for lumber and fuel, or burned on the spot for clearing the land, no conservation in those days. In fact the Wayne History of 1877 says "The timber has been swept off; whatever remains is valuable". So, to our quiet spot was added the sounds of the axe and plow, the farm animals, the carriages and wagons on the Lyons-Palmyra Road.

But in 1825, just to the north of the present Barge Canal, was Clinton's 14 foot ditch with all of it's activity on the towpath. I suppose there was the call "Low bridge, Everybody down" as one of the early bridges was just beyond the highway building. Then in 1860, the Enlarged Erie was constructed and opened just this side of the present canal. Then in 1916, they eliminated the tow path, went to steam instead of horse power and built the present Barge Canal. So, through the years, you can add to the sounds of this area, the men and mules digging the ditch, and later the donkey steam engines puffing away, the horses on the tow path, the songs and shouting of the canalers, and later the chug of the steam tug and it's mournful whistle for the locks.

But in the meantime, to the south, came the Iron Horse. The New York Central and Hudson River Railroad went into operation with two tracks in 1853, and it was enlarged to four tracks in the 70s. It became the greatest railroad in the country and carried thousands of people through these flats daily. The Empire State Express, the greatest train that ever traveled on tracks.

Two more tracks were built through the blue cut by the West Shore Railroad in 1884 to take over some of the freight business to the west. It is now, of course, down to two tracks of the Penn-Central. Thus, was added, the black smoke, the puff of the engines, the click of the wheels, the whistle for the crossing, which could be heard for miles in the silence of the night. Now, there remain only the puffing of the diesels.

This spot also had its exciting moments in February 1892, when there was the sound of gun fire over here on the railroad, as Oliver Curtis Perry, the famous train robber stole a freight locomotive and attempted to escape the railroad detectives who were in pursuit in another locomotive on another track. Perry reversed his engine and they fired at each other as they passed several times. Perry abandoned his locomotive here at the Blue Cut Road and stole a horse and headed south and was captured by our illustrious Deputy Sheriff Jerry Collins, whose bravery earned him the position of sheriff of Wayne County for many years.

But this was not all for this area. Between 1906 and 1931 there was the R.S. & E. Trolley, traveling on the present Route No. 31 from Lyons to Newark. It was one of the finest and fastest electric railways in the country, two tracks. It would rattle over the bridge, crossing the West Shore and the Cen-

tral (same bridge and blow its electric whistle for the Poor House Stop, discharge and take on passengers, then the motorman would clang the foot bell, and take off at 60 miles per hour for Lyons and Syracuse.

No area has seen more transportation facilities. Many have gone but others have taken their place as time progresses. The sounds linger on in the memory of many of us oldsters. However, in spite of all of this, the swamp, woods and meadow provide for all of its inhabitants, the muskrat, and the mallard are in the swamp, the great blue heron and the bittern can be seen overhead, the squirrel and coon have found their hollow tree, and believe it or not, but about five years ago the beaver had a dam less than 1000 feet from here.

Man can help and did when they set out this pine-spruce plantation in 1923. If you have not experienced the perfect silence of a carpet of pine needles, you should go down there before you leave. The sounds of war and sounds of riots seem pretty remote when you are in a forest carpeted with pine needles with a wood thrush calling just beyond you.

Nature has better been able to affect the law of supply and demand than man can ever do. In spite of man's encroachments upon every acre of this land, the wild plants and animals persist and left to its natural development for a surprising few years, the ecology will provide food and protection for many more animals, and rarer plants will return and this will become an ideal study area, surrounded by this noisy world. Here, our youth can come and acquire an appreciation of the wonders of nature, in a quiet spot.

Who knows? This might spark an interest in some youth, that would kindle into a solution to our whole national pollution problem.

BENEDICTION BY REV. IVORY SIMMONS OF LYONS, N.Y.

Our Father, as a city that is set on a hill cannot be hid, so we pray that this park that is planted on this hillside likewise bear witness to the fact that Christ is a living reality and that He is still the light of the world. As He lives and breathes through His natural resources.

May the beauty of this hillside say to those who pass this way, the Lord is a great God.

Now unto Him who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think according to the power that worketh in us, unto Him be glory this park, and in Christ Jesus through all ages. World without end. Amen.

Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to have participated in this program. Each one of us knows the value of such centers and recreation areas. I am sure that all my colleagues will keep this in mind as we become involved with legislation aimed at preserving our natural resources.

MR. MARSHALL BRILEY, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT, OWENS-CORNING FIBERGLAS CORP., TESTIFIES IN BEHALF OF EDUCATIONAL APPROACH TO ECOLOGY

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the testimony of Mr. John Marshall Briley, senior vice president, Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corp., in behalf of S. 3151, a bill designed to assist in the educational grant field, the problem of ecology:

STATEMENT BY JOHN MARSHALL BRILEY BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION OF THE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE, U.S. SENATE, WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 1970

I appreciate the opportunity to appear before your committee to discuss Senate Bill 3151. First, I would like to identify myself, since I appear not only as a member of the industrial, but also the educational community.

As a manufacturer, I am the senior vice president of Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corporation. We have sales upwards of $500 million annually, and are engaged primarily in the manufacture of glass fibers and glass fiber products which are used in all types of insulation, in fabrics, in filtration and in the reinforcement of paper, gypsum and a myriad of plastic products such as automotive and appliance parts, pipes and tanks, construction materials, boats and even space vehicles.

From the standpoint of education, I have been for over six years the chairman of the Ohio Board of Regents—which is the coordinating and planning agency for the entire state-assisted system of higher education, and the advisory body to the executive and the legislature. My name is John Marshall Briley, and I reside on a farm at Perrysburg, Ohio, near the city of Toledo.

I appear in support of Senator Nelson's bill, which is principally concerned with the educational approach to the problems of ecology.

I am decidedly not an expert in the field of ecology, and I feel at a disadvantage in presuming to comment on a subject so extremely complex, and on which there is so little public information. Accordingly, I hope it will not be taken amiss, nor considered presumptuous, if I review briefly what seems (at least to me) to be the overall problem of ecology.

Ecology is concerned with the inter-relationships between the lives of plants, animals, and man, and the environment they share. One of its major concepts is that, in the process of natural selection, all forms of life must adapt to the necessities of survival in an environment of land, water, air, and sunlight. In fact, the study of ecology has suggested for some time that there is a kind of balance which develops between all life and the environmental factors on this planet—a balance which can either sustain or destroy life.

Man himself is the first and only animal in history who has exercised a positive control over his environment. Through the power of his brain, and with the assistance of the technology he has continuously devised for performing his life's work, man alone has been able to adjust his environment to his own needs. In his drive for civilization and learning which has brought him from the cave and the wandering nomad to his present state of great numbers, remarkable health, and considerable influence, man has probably upset some ecological balance which could eventually threaten our population, our physical well-being and our prosperity.

Probably man's two outstanding achievements in relation to his environment have been his conquest of disease and his expansion and diversification of food production. Certainly both of these technological achievements have reached substantial levels of accomplishment.

Another great achievement of man's technology has been the growth in his material comforts: in his use of power to free himself from the slavery of manual labor; in his use of resources with which to develop shelters to withstand extremes of cold and heat; in his development of amazing means of transportation and communication; in his discovery of synthetic raw materials; and in his greatly expanded opportunities for education and recreation.

But technological achievements can also have an adverse impact upon man's environment. For example, technological achievements in both medical science and food supply have caused an astounding increase in the world's population; so great, in fact, that some are now questioning whether the world population growth may not soon exceed our environmental capacity to sustain human life in a state of some decency and with an adequate food supply.

We are also learning that technology is often developed at a price in environmental quality. The herbicides and pesticides, which have done so much (along with mechanical equipment) to expand agricultural production, may also introduce dangerous chemicals into our water and food supplies, as well as upset balances among species of wildlife. The industrial power plant and the internal combustion engine introduce gases into the atmosphere which may reduce sunlight as well as dangerously affect the atmosphere for plant, animal, and human life. The water cycle, contaminated in many cases by industrial, human, and household wastes, is returned poorly treated into our water supplies. Our advancing standard of living is consuming raw material resources at a rate which might well be beyond our capacity to find appropriate replacements. And environmental problems are compounded by man's increasing disposition to live in great urban complexes.

In this complex society of 1970 there is an instinctive yearning for the simpler and more wholesome environment of the poet's barefoot boy. But, as a practical matter, what we are concerned with today is the preservation of America's priceless heritage of clean air and clean water, of timber, land and wildlife—or at least what is left of it.

The concern for conservation is not new. In 1681, when William Penn was planning the city of Philadelphia, he said: "Let every house be placed if the person pleases, in ye middle of its platt as to the breadth way of it, that there may be ground on each side for gardens, or orchards or fields, so it may be a greene country towne which will never be burnt and will always be wholesome. . . ." Memories of the Great Fire of London, and the dreadful plague, were still vivid at the time and, although Penn was planning a village in the middle of America's primeval forest, still he was aware of the need for trees and gardens in a city plan to prevent the spread of fires and to assure a healthy community.

But the remarkable development of our economy and society has taken us far beyond the planning of a Penn, and we will never return to the forest primeval. The problem of environmental quality is the challenge whether or not man can have population expansion and affluence without destroying or vitally impairing the environmental resources essential to human life. At one extreme is the argument that man's own physical survival will eventually so pollute this planet with the excrement of his own technology and the consequences of his neglect, that the water will be undrinkable and the air unbreathable. At the other extreme, it is said that man's economic advance is more important than landscapes or clear skies. Reasonable men will agree that, somewhere between these extremes (i.e. the forest primeval and a dead world) we will find the solution to the problem of preserving our environment.

Twin characteristics of the American people are now becoming involved—characteristics which can be either virtues or vices. And by that I mean our well-known impatience to solve any problem that confronts us as a

nation, and our tendency to go into action in ignorance of the facts or the nature or dimensions of that problem.

The recent Earth Day turnouts indicated that both impatience and ignorance are involved. They also evidenced that there is a certain mysticism beginning to develop in ecology thinking—the idea that nature's balance is so delicate it can't be touched, that the values and virtues of economic growth are outmoded because our technological advances are moving mankind towards its own destruction. This may be true, or it may not be true. But I believe that it is error to state that mankind has only these two alternatives (i.e., to stop economic growth or hurtle down the road to doomsday), because such belief—if accepted—could paralyze serious action that is needed now. I submit that we should move as rapidly as we possibly can towards an accurate assessment of the facts, so that the ecology problem can be appraised and defined—factually and unemotionally.

I do not concede that economic growth has to be stopped, or even slowed down. This country couldn't stop it if it tried. We must have jobs, homes, transportation, education and recreation for 100 million more people. And technology itself must grow, because it holds the possible remedies not only for saving the environment but for doing it rationally. Only by further advances in technology can some environmental problems be met, such as improvement in housing standards, improvement in transportation and improvement in living conditions generally. But it is now obvious that man in our present society must give greater attention than ever before to technological *assessment;* to an evaluation of the relationship of environmental consequences to technological development.

One dramatic example of the need for such assessment is the apparently growing belief that reduction in the rate of population growth is probably one necessary step at this time. Indeed this is official policy in many governments and societies today. But it is even more widely agreed that more careful use of pesticides and herbicides also may be essential; but if we thereby lessen agricultural production, will we not threaten even our existing population with inadequate food supplies? It would seem that we will probably need some balance between the technology and environment of food production and the pressure of growing populations, because science has made it difficult for nature to control this balance through drought and epidemic. This is what I mean by assessment.

I would like to comment, very briefly, concerning the two characteristics of the American people I have adverted to earlier—acting through impatience for results and despite ignorance of the facts. For, in our concern for environmental quality there is a danger of action (or even worse, despair) because of our lack of knowledge of the facts about how to restore environmental balance in our lives.

It has become an almost trite expression that a nation that spends billions to put a man on the moon, should be able to solve its pollution problems. But like most generalizations it leads to a faulty conclusion, i.e., that it is only a matter of spending enough money. This is not necessarily true.

In my own company, for example, we have long had problems of air and water pollution. Nearly ten years ago we began taking steps to solve the problems, and we soon discovered that there were no existing machines or equipment we could buy which were of much help. But we found this out only after spending upwards of $5 million at one plant alone. We then recognized that our best approach was to eliminate the sources of pollution, and this reorientation of our approach proved to be of fundamental importance. It necessitated basic changes in the manufacture of glass fibers.

Our research and development people were charged with the responsibility to create and develop changes that would eliminate or control our plant effluent, and produce quality products at prices the market could afford. We think we have made significant progress. We expect to make more. This takes money, of course, but it also takes time—and lots of it. And even then we have found that different plants (and even different manufacturing lines within the same plant) require different solutions.

But we are an impatient people. This very trait has accounted for our amazing progress and development over a span of 100 years wherein we have grown from a divided, war-shattered, and infant nation into a great world power. We have succeeded because we have demanded *instant* success, but psychology teaches that instant gratification can be a dangerous thing; dangerous, because it is not always possible. We have been so successful in doing so many things so well and so swiftly that we are not conditioned to the right kind of attitude for tasks which are going to prove difficult and relatively slow. In the sudden rush to end pollution and make the world safe for future generations, it is more than likely that the excitement engendered in the impatient pursuit of a worthy cause may obscure reasonable considerations of the ecological problems we face. And this, to my mind, is one of the major problems in solving the problems of ecology.

There is no question about technology coming up with remedies. They either exist now, or can be found with enough time and effort. The ultimate question will be: *Is society willing to pay the price in both time and money?* Whichever way the cost is met—increased taxes, higher prices, lower profits—it will take a big bite out of everybody's personal pocketbook. It means a switch in the way our Gross National Product is spent to meet ecological needs.

These are going to be enormously complicated economic and political issues. And that is why we need a great deal of analysis, fact finding, technological appraisal and hard thinking.

Business has been one big part of the ecological problem (although certainly not the only one) and business should become an active party to the solution. This is why I think business should support this bill. It is a reasonable beginning for a balanced assessment of the facts.

Another reason business should favor this bill is because of the increasing need for people trained in the field of ecology. It has been the experience of my company that college students do not receive the necessary training in ecology and environmental control that prepares them for industry.

A Bachelor of Science in Chemistry has only had a brief encounter with water pollution control, and none whatever in industrial hygiene nor phases of air pollution such as sampling, administration, equipment, etc.

A Bachelor of Science in Civil Engineering generally receives extensive training in water pollution control and potable water treatment as well as some information on public health such as mosquito control, land fill and incineration of garbage and rubbish and so on. But neither has he received any training in the fields of industrial hygiene or air pollution control.

A Bachelor of Science in Mechanical Engineering has very little chemistry, very little water pollution work and no training in air pollution.

There are no baccalaureate degree courses available today, at any of the schools with which I am familiar, that educate students adequately in the field of environmental control. A student must either continue his education into the master and doctorate level, or acquire experience by working in a regulatory or industrial environmental control program. When we receive a graduate with a Bachelor of Science degree in one of the three disciplines, he is of little value to us until after two years of experience in the field. Even then, he is seldom capable of coping with a total problem (i.e., combined air, water and solid waste problem) without supervision and assistance on a continuous basis.

The best program we have been able to develop is to take a graduate with a Bachelor of Science degree in either mechanical or civil engineering, train him for two years and then return him to college for master's and doctorate work in the sanitary, environmental or the public health fields.

It would be highly desirable if students at the undergraduate level could receive training in at least some areas of ecology or environmental control. It would be rather fruitless, with the changing pattern across the country, to have courses on regulations; however, it would be appropriate to have general courses on administration of environmental control organizations and, in the technical field, instruction in such areas as sampling and analysis as it relates to industrial hygiene, air and water pollution. Other areas of training that should be made available are those dealing with characteristics of contaminates such as fluorides in water and in gases, suspended materials in water and in air, threshold limit values of various toxic materials, and the general handling of chemicals to prevent problems in industrial hygiene and pollution of air and water. Courses in organics and inorganics, as related to these various fields should also be available as credit courses.

I would like to comment from the viewpoint of higher education, and here I have some difficulty with the details of Senate Bill 3151. These doubts may or may not be valid, but they do raise, to my mind at least, questions as to how education in ecology should be approached. I understand that there will be amendments to be considered by this committee, including those recently introduced by Senator Pell. But in order to avoid confusion, I will confine my remarks to Senator Nelson's bill, on which I have been permitted to testify.

My doubts stem from the fact that there is really no science of environment and from my observation that, whereas the subject of ecology appears to be emerging as an academic discipline in the biological sciences, the great bulk of the technology involved lies principally in other sciences. Even political science is involved, because the problems of environmental quality will never be resolved by engineers and scientists alone. Environmental quality concerns not only technology but also economic development, financing, and institutional action. And preservation of our environment will demand efforts by business and industry, by governments at all levels, and by our educational system. It is a subject which will have to be considered in terms of its biological, medical, economic, social, technological, and, most of all, its political aspects.

I have just finished urging patience in the implementation of pollution control procedures in those instances where there is a serious lack of information to make them sound, but I urge all possible speed in designing and establishing curricula which will enable us to enhance our environmental quality. Here is where we must be most impatient to make progress.

Senator Nelson is to be commended for seeing that this emerging science of ecology needs assistance and direction, and in proposing legislation to accomplish it.

It would be difficult for reasonable men to quarrel with the Statement of Findings and Purpose set forth in his bill. But there are certain questions I would like to raise regarding the manner in which purposes of the bill are sought to be achieved, and I raise them in the hope that it will be of help in making the bill stronger.

It seems to me that the language of this

bill is far too broad and is virtually an unlimited charter to the Commissioner of Education.

I think the maximum emphasis should be put on the development, the demonstration and the evaluation of curricula, rather than diluting that effort by the many other avenues open to the Commissioner, particularly under subsection (4) and (5) of Section 3.

In my view the bill would be greatly strengthened, and a great deal of time saved, if the Commissioner were directed to consult with other agencies of the government, as well as universities, in the development of educational programs and curricula. There is a great deal of experience and data available, I am quite sure, in our universities and in the Department of Interior, the Department of Transportation and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. There should be a sense of urgency about this bill, and let us avoid spending unnecessary time and money for one agency to relearn what others have already learned. From the very beginning of the functioning under the authority of this bill, all that is now known on the subject should be incorporated.

The definition of grant eligibility seems far too broad—so broad, in fact, that every outfit which springs up and voices concern for the environment could qualify. This gives me some concern and I would hope that, in the administration of the bill, we could borrow from experience with the Higher Education Act, and tie eligibility to a state accrediting agency. Likewise, in subdivision (b) of Section 4, shouldn't the language be sharpened so that approval of the state agency would be required rather than the state having only the "opportunity to offer recommendations"?

Another very broad authorization is the definition of the composition of the proposed advisory committee, which takes in almost anybody.

The bill authorizes the Commissioner to promote understanding of policies in the field of environmental quality. What policies? I don't know of any policies in this field which are not a matter of considerable controversy. Some people argue that we must reduce our population, cut down our consumption, and limit our economic growth. Others are urging that we improve our technology in order to reduce water, air, and land pollution; saying in effect that we must spend more money on sewage disposal, mass transportation, and new sources of energy. Some say the government should wholly subsidize the cost; others that it should partially do so through various tax devices; others that industry should bear the cost. These are all matters—policies if you will—of great controversy. I suppose they will ultimately have to be defined by the Congress. But how can it define them—intelligently and fairly—without much more analysis and fact finding and debate? For any of these policies, once adopted, will have enormous economic, social and political consequences. Here again, I fear that the Commissioner, if charged by Congress with such a broad responsibility and authority as to basic policies, will be unable to accomplish the basic educational purposes of the bill.

Finally, although the bill calls for grants to institutions of higher education for various curricular projects, nothing is said about the federal government paying the full cost of such projects. This could well become another example (of which there have been far too many in the past) where our universities have undertaken some task for the federal government and then find the project stopped, or its scope altered, and the universities themselves end up paying a substantial amount of the cost.

Already federal approaches to the problem are beginning to multiply. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has very recently authorized projects under Title I of the Higher Education Act, involving 78 colleges and universities in 36 states "to help citizens solve problems of air and water pollution." The Department of Interior has recently announced a pilot project aimed at developing a nationwide junior and senior high school program "to examine water pollution problems in their own communities." This is a timely opportunity whereby the bill you are considering can move towards a concentration of effort and responsibility and thus discourage, at the outset, a proliferation of bureaucratic approaches to a set of problems so vast that billions would be wasted.

It seems to me that most of the doubts I have raised could be allayed by a little different approach in this legislation.

For example, why wouldn't it be a good idea for this "ecological education" bill before you to take the basic initial step of authorizing grants for the development of curricula (just as it now does, but more specifically directed), with a modest appropriation of one or two million dollars and for a specified experimental period of two or three years? At the end of that time the Commissioner of Education would have to report back to Congress specifically what had been accomplished, and with his recommendations for future programs. This would force the Commissioner to make full evaluation of the curricula developed under these grants.

It would undoubtedly be useful to undertake experimental and developmental projects in devising curricular guides and instructional materials about the whole subject. This developmental work should be comparatively concentrated in order to obtain maximum impact. If the funds and effort are distributed among a large number of universities and a large number of different projects, very little in the way of accomplishment can be expected. In other words, I would hope the Commissioner would develop the educational programs and curricula from a narrower base, but in far greater depth.

Finally, I would like to re-emphasize that our knowledge as to how environmental quality can be improved is limited; the entire subject is vast and complex; and there is yet little general agreement, let alone informed understanding, about public policies which can enhance environmental quality without condemning man to surrender many of the achievements of his civilization.

The real challenge for man today is the simultaneous advancement of his civilization and the quality of his environment within the limitations of a healthful and prosperous balance between life and environment. Every possible and reasonable method to advance man's understanding of this issue must be pursued today. And this bill before you, in my opinion both as a manufacturer and educator, is a long overdue step in that direction.

THE PRESIDENT AND CAMBODIA

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Stewart Alsop, in a column appearing in the May 25 issue of Newsweek Magazine, clearly perceives the realities that exist with regard to President Nixon's decision to clean out the North Vietnamese-occupied Cambodian sanctuaries. I include this thoughtful commentary at this point in my remarks.

MR. NIXON'S GREAT RETREAT

(By Stewart Alsop)

WASHINGTON.—In a queer sort of way, President Nixon and his bitterest critics are in collusion. Neither the President nor his enemies wants to talk about what the President is really doing in Vietnam. This exercise in mutual self-deception has wholly distorted the reality, and lent a strange never-never-land quality to the whole, bitter Vietnam debate.

What the President is really doing is to conduct a great military retreat—the greatest in American history. But for quite natural reasons he doesn't want to admit it—probably even to himself. So he wraps his retreat in thick layers of defiant, neo-Churchillian oratory.

The President's critics don't want to admit that the President is engaged in a great retreat either, because if they did, they would have much less left to criticize. So they use the Nixonian rhetoric to prove that Mr. Nixon is not really retreating at all, but is instead expanding and prolonging an "outrageous" war.

This mutual self-deception accounts for the fog of unreality that has overhung so much of what has been said and written about the Cambodian operation. If you listen to the President, the Cambodian operation is the product of a great, historic Presidential decision, comparable to the great decisions of Wilson, Roosevelt, Eisenhower and Kennedy. If you listen to the President's critics, the Cambodian operation is an outrageous "invasion" of a small, neutral country (the 60,000 North Vietnamese already in Cambodia were presumably just having a big picnic) which will "sink the United States ever deeper in the Southeast Asian quagmire."

DANGEROUS

Of course, the Cambodian operation is neither of these things. It is a limited spoiling attack, designed to protect the rear guard of the American retreat. Retreat, as Napoleon or Marshal Rommel could attest, is a most difficult and dangerous military maneuver. All retreats present a common problem. How do you protect your rear guard, and thus prevent your retreat from turning into a rout?

In terms of this question, the Cambodian operation makes obvious military sense. In fact, the President had little real choice—he had to end the inviolability of the Communists' Cambodian sanctuaries one way or another, unless he was willing to halt his retreat or accept the risk of military disaster to his rear guard.

That Mr. Nixon is conducting the greatest retreat in American history is obvious on the face of it. When he became President, he inherited an American force in Vietnam of 525,000 men. Within a year, he will have withdrawn at least 265,000 men, and his rear guard will consist of two divisions, maybe only one. A year later, on the current schedule, there will be about 30,000 U.S. support troops left in Vietnam.

If withdrawing half a million men is not a retreat, what in heaven's name is it? Mr. Nixon's answer is "Vietnamization," but that is a euphemism.

MEANINGLESS

It is not surprising that the President does not like to talk about his great retreat. Like all Presidents, he feels history breathing down his neck, and retreat is not a good way for a politician to get himself transmogrified into a great man. Retreating in the face of Communist power is in any case not the sort of thing a man who built his political career on a reputation as a hard-line anti-Communist likes to do.

So it is natural that Mr. Nixon—perhaps quite sincerely—should keep repeating like a metronome his promise not to be the first

American President to preside over "defeat and humiliation." But the promise is meaningless. For it is silly to suppose that a division or two—much less 30,000 support troops—can provide a guarantee against defeat for our side in the war. All retreats, in the nature of things, involve the risk of defeat.

The Cambodian operation is designed to reduce the risk, and it will undoubtedly do so. As of this writing, at least, the operation is a very considerable military success. Much greater stores of weapons and supplies have been captured than in any previous operation. Those weapons and supplies cannot now be turned against our dwindling manpower in Vietnam—and after all, kids in uniform have no more desire to be shot at than kids on campuses.

But more important than the booty captured in Cambodia is the simple fact that henceforth the Communists, even if they make the great effort to rebuild their bases, will know that the bases are no longer secure. Secure bases are absolutely essential to a successful guerrilla operation. To cite an example from personal experience, the French *Maquis*, in which this writer served for a couple of months in World War II, would have quickly faded into nothingness without the weapons and supplies parachuted into France by the Allied secret services.

Because of the Cambodian operation, the President may yet end up with the better of the argument with his natural enemies, the liberal Democrats. The Senate liberals are now lining up behind the amendment to deny all funds for combat in Vietnam after June 30 of next year, which is, of course, a recipe for turning the retreat into a rout. There is no doubt that most Americans ache in their bones to get out of Vietnam. But there are dangers to the Democrats in making Vietnam the central issue this year.

SIMPLE PLAN

One danger is that the Cambodian operation will go well enough so that the President can rapidly accelerate his great retreat—an idea that has certainly occurred to the President. When you strip away all the rhetoric, the President's famous "plan" for Vietnam is very simple. It is to retreat as quickly as possible, provided that the retreat does not become a rout; and provided that the people who have been fighting on our side have at least a chance to avoid defeat at the hands of the Communists when our retreat is completed.

This is not very heroic, but it is perfectly sensible, and moreover there is a chance, and maybe a pretty good one, that retreat will not mean defeat. But the President has got to risk defeat—he has no choice. The spasm of national hysteria induced by the relatively minor Cambodian operation shows how little time the President has left. He must substantially complete his retreat from Vietnam within a matter of not too many months. Otherwise, this fat and flabby country, which was not fitted by history or temperament for the great power role thrust upon it by the second world war, seems likely to go mad. Maybe it has gone mad already.

THE FARMER AND THE CONSUMER

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, a "Farm Program for the 1970's" will soon come before this House for consideration. Among other issues, the proper level of Government payments for farm income support will be debated quite vigorously.

Almost all references to U.S. agricultural policy lead to a discussion of these payments; for, it is argued, they are too high to suit an urban Congress and Nation.

It should be understood, however, that these support payments are the best investments made by the taxpayers in recent years. Urban America benefits more, perhaps, than even the farmers themselves from the income stability that farm payments guarantee.

Income stability permits a farmer to adapt with confidence to the latest technological developments in his profession. Failure to meet the challenge of technology has hampered European agriculture, and perpetuated inefficiencies that are directly passed along to the consumers in higher food prices.

Income stability permits a farmer to plan his cropping intelligently, for his "share" of the Nation's production is allotted to him based upon his crop history. The farmer receives payments for voluntary restraining production to avoid "feast or famine" conditions from year to year in various "control" crops.

Income stability permits the farmer to market his commodities, year after year, at prices that have consistently demanded less and less of the consumer's disposable income.

Now, I represent an agricultural district. I believe farmers deserve a higher net income. Return on capital investment is lower in agriculture than any other business. I am going to continue to fight for improved farmer income, for it is well deserved.

But, Mr. Speaker, some would go the other way, and sacrifice farm income stability for short-term political gain in urban districts.

So that all Members will understand the outstanding benefits that American farmers have provided to consumers, I include in the RECORD at this point a study made by the Office of Information of the USDA. Dated April 1970, and entitled "The Farmer and the Consumer," this study documents the importance of maintaining an agriculture that provides urban America with its food requirements at reasonable cost.

You will note from the study, Mr. Speaker, that a good many nations have failed to adapt to modern agricultural practices. In those countries, consumers have been the biggest losers while agriculture has stagnated.

The study follows:

THE FARMER AND THE CONSUMER

The farmer's gain in efficiency during the 1960's helped keep food costs in check.

The American farmer produces over 20 percent more on 6 percent fewer acres than he did in 1957–59.

In 1969, 1 U.S. farm worker supplied food and fiber for 45 persons. He supplied 23 in 1957–59.

Output per man-hour on the farm increased 83 percent between 1957–59 and 1969.

Food prices rose less than three-fourths as much as all other consumer goods in the past 10 years.

The retail cost of a market basket of farm foods was 22 percent above the 1957–59 average during the fourth quarter of 1969.

The overall Consumer Price Index was up over 30 percent.

Consumer income increases exceeded food expenditure rises, leaving families extra money to buy other things.

Between 1957–59 and 1969, on a per person basis:

Income was up $1,252 . . . or 67 percent.

Food expenditures (including non-farm foods and imports) were up $131 . . . or 35 percent.

Income less food expenditures was up $1,121 . . . 76 percent.

Rising incomes enable consumers to buy more food services, even though services increase the food bill.

Prices for food away from home have increased much more than food served at home. By December 1969, prices for restaurant meals were 50 percent higher than in 1957–59. Prices for all food at retail stores were up about 26 percent.

Sales in eating and drinking places by 1969 ran 73 percent above 1957–59.

Rising incomes also let us indulge our tastes for preferred foods, and the farmer has shifted his production patterns to keep up with them.

Consumption of livestock products rose 5.4 percent per person since 1957–59.

Consumption of poultry and beef has increased 42 and 35 percent.

The largest gains in per capita consumption of crops was in:

Vegetable oils, up 41 percent.

Processed vegetables, up 27 percent.

Processed fruits, up 9 percent.

Sugar and sweeteners, up 7 percent.

Still, food expenditures take declining shares of consumer income.

	Disposable income per person, United States	Food spending per person	Percent of income spent on food
1969	$3,098	$511	16.5
1968	2,933	494	16.8
1967	2,745	470	17.1
1957–59	1,846	380	20.6
1947–49	1,244	306	24.6

Less labor is needed to pay for our food than even a few years ago.

These examples show how many minutes of factory labor are required to buy major food items:

	In 1929	In 1957–59	In 1969
White bread, pound	9.4	5.5	4.3
Round steak, pound	50.0	28.6	24.0
Butter, pound	60.0	21.4	15.8
Milk, quart	15.4	7.1	5.9
Eggs, dozen	34.5	16.2	11.8
Pork chops, pound	40.0	25.0	21.4
Margarine, pound	28.6	8.2	5.2

Americans work less time to purchase more food items than people in other countries. We are particularly favored on high-quality food items, such as meat, poultry and dairy products.

	Minutes of work in					
	United States	France	U.S.S.R.	Brazil	Japan	Canada
White bread (1 lb.)	6	11	12	46	27	4
Sirloin steak (1 lb.)	24	110	132	118	269	27
Milk (1 gal.)	26	42	121	154	124	28
Eggs (1 doz. large)	17	49	162	147	41	14
Poultry (1 lb.)	14	104	241	131	(1)	11

[1] Not available.

We also pay proportionately less for what we eat than citizens of other countries.

Less than 20 percent of our consumer expenditures goes for food.

Canada nearly matches this, with just about 20 percent of consumer expenditures going for food.

Food costs take about 37 percent of consumer spending in Western Europe and Japan.

In USSR, half of consumer spending goes for food.

Food is very expensive in developing countries; in India, for example, it takes an estimated 60 percent of consumer expenditures.

When the American consumer spent $1 on food at the grocery store in 1969, she bought 41 cents worth of products and 59 cents worth of marketing service.

Farmers received an average of 41 cents out of each $1 spent for U.S. farm produced food in 1969. That was nearly 2 cents more than in 1957–59, but 9 cents less than in 1947–49.

The farmer's share depends both on the prices he receives for his products and the cost of marketing them.

The farmer's share of the consumer's dollar varies widely among products. It is smaller for a highly serviced product such as bread than for an unprocessed product such as eggs.

Farm share of consumer dollar, fourth quarter, 1969

	Cents
Beef, choice grade	65
Butter	73
Eggs, grade A large	67
Corn flakes	8
Bread, white	14
Apples	34
Potatoes	29
Canned corn	13
Canned peaches	18

Marketing workers are more productive than a decade ago, and this also helps hold down food costs.

Despite increases in food consumption and services, the number of food marketing workers has risen little in the past 10 years.

Hourly earnings of food marketing employees went from $1.82 in 1957–59 to $2.84 in 1969, an increase of 56 percent.

Increased productivity kept the rise in labor costs per unit of product marketed to about half the increase in labor costs per hour.

But, higher marketing costs were part of the increase in food expenditures.

In 1969, consumers spent $96 billion for food products that originated on U.S. farms.

Farmers got $32 billion; marketing services received $64 billion.

Since 1957–59, expenditures for farm foods have increased $35 billion.

$11 billion—31 percent—of the increase went to farmers.

Since 1947–49, expenditures for farm foods have increased $53 billion.

$13 billion—about 25 percent—went to the farmers.

Prices of most goods and services—including food—rose in recent years.

Between 1957–59 and December 1969, the price of food purchased for use at home was up 26 percent. Consumers paid 48 percent more for services. They paid 26 percent more for transportation, 58 percent more for medical care, and 20 percent more for commodities other than food.

The average income per person, for the same period, rose 72 percent.

The cost of $100 in goods and services rose $6.14 last year.

Between Dec. 1968 and Dec. 1969, the cost of a $100 combination of all goods and services bought by consumers rose by an average of $6.14. The breakdown is as follows:

	Major components of the increase	Combination total in 1969
Food	$1.62	$22.50
Housing	2.22	33.10
Apparel and upkeep	.56	10.60
Transportation	.72	13.90
Health and recreation	1.02	19.90
Total	6.14	100.00

The Consumer Price Index averaged 5.4 percent higher in 1969 than in 1968.

It rose 4.2 percent between 1967 and 1968.

The annual increase was 2.6 percent over the past decade. Increases by groups were:

	1966 to 67 percent	1967 to 68 percent	1968 to 69 percent
Food	0.9	3.6	5.2
Food at home	.3	3.2	4.8
Food away from home	5.2	5.2	6.1
All services	4.4	5.2	7.0
Medical care	7.0	6.1	6.9
Personal care	2.9	4.2	4.9
Public transportation	5.0	4.6	7.7
Commodities other than food	2.5	3.7	[1] 4.0

[1] Preliminary.

When prices rise, farmers, too, pay more for the goods and services they use. From 1957–59 to early 1970:

The index of prices farmers pay for commodities, interest, taxes, and wage rates increased 31 percent.

Changes in prices of important items in the farmer's list of production expenses, between 1957–59 and January 1970, included:

Feed, up 6 percent.

Fertilizer, down 7 percent.

Hired wage rates, up 81 percent.

Motor vehicles, up 35 percent.

Taxes, up 129 percent.

The consumer also gains from the farmer's role as an exporter; foreign trade in agricultural products is an important source of national income.

One out of 5 U.S. harvested acres is exported.

Exports of U.S. farm products totaled $5.7 billion in fiscal 1969. This included $4.7 billion in commercial sales and $1 billion in food aid.

The United States is the world's largest exporter of farm products, accounting for 20 percent of world agricultural trade.

MALABAR READING PROGRAM

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, one of the most successful education projects in America, funded through the Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act, is now being conducted at Los Angeles' Malabar Street Elementary School.

Demonstrating highly effective techniques for dramatically improving reading, arithmetic, vocabulary, and IQ scores of children, the Malabar reading program is listed by the U.S. Office of Education as being rated among the top 3 percent of the 1,300 education programs selected as the best in the United States on the basis of an intensive 2-year nationwide survey.

Federal education officials have now published individual pamphlets, in a series entitled, "It Works," describing Malabar and the other 30 projects considered most outstanding among the Nation's estimated 17,000 compensatory education programs.

And the President's Council on Youth Opportunity has issued a special bulletin on the "It Works" series, with the thought that other communities and local school districts, in reviewing the educational needs of the youngsters they serve, may wish to get copies of the pamphlets to assist them in adapting elements of these highly successful models to their own specific requirements and resources.

I am delighted to have had the opportunity of playing an important role in the success of the Malabar project since the early 1960's, when the program was started as an experimental pilot project.

After helping secure initial Federal funding from the Office of Education's Bureau of Research, I headed a 20-member bipartisan California congressional delegation which succeeded in obtaining Federal operating support to continue the project—by getting education officials in Washington to reverse their original decision against continued funding.

This year, some 1,400 children in preschool through sixth grade at the Malabar School are participating in the program, which has raised the academic performance of the students significantly, including those children with limited English language ability.

Besides concentrating on developing reading and language skills, the Malabar project stresses individualized as well as self-instruction; curriculum change; extensive parent participation; emphasis on the child's own organizing abilities; promoting healthy self-concepts to encourage the student to view himself as a success in the school environment; plus a wide range of cultural and extra-curricular activities.

Two unique features of the project are the after-school learning labs and the bilingual college research assistant program.

Malabar offers nine special after-school learning lab classes for approximately 500 fourth, fifth, and sixth grade pupils. Attendance is voluntary and open to all children. Classes have been organized by the Youth Opportunities Foundation, a nonprofit Los Angeles education organization, and feature bilingual professional instructors in addition to the teachers from the Malabar staff. Bilingual college students and Malabar parents also take part.

Fifty bilingual college students from nine Los Angeles area colleges and universities have been recruited by the Youth Opportunities Foundation to work at the Malabar School. They assist the regular teaching staff in the following areas: Research on language development; classroom action research; curriculum development; and, after-school learning labs. Research assistants receive 2 hours per week of university-level instruction, as well as in-service training in the Malabar method of education from Dr. Constance Amsden, project co-director and associate professor of education at California State College at Los Angeles.

Evidence of the demonstrated success of the program is the consistently higher national ranking of Malabar students—some entire grades showing as much as 650 percent improvement in reading achievement—with student performance ratings evaluated objectively over a 3-year period by test scores made on the Stanford reading test, the California reading test, the Pintner-Cunningham intelligence test, the public school primary intelligence test, and the sight vocabulary test.

Interested persons may obtain copies of the U.S. Office of Education pamphlet on the Malabar reading program (GPO catalog No. FS 5.237:37053) for 25 cents each, by writing to the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. To assure efficient handling, it is suggested that requests include a check or money order for the correct amount, plus full name and complete return mailing address of the sender.

Additional information on the East Los Angeles project is available directly from the principal of the Malabar Street Elementary School (and Malabar project director), Mrs. Jacqueline Hartwick, 3200 East Malabar Street, Los Angeles, Calif. 90063, phone: 213–261–1103; or, from Mr. Felix Castro, project codirector and executive director, Youth Opportunities Foundation, Post Office Box 45762, Los Angeles, Calif. 90045, phone: 213–670–7664.

GRAND JURY REPORT ON CHICAGO BLACK PANTHER RAID—A FAILURE FOR AMERICA

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, in the early morning hours of December 4, 1969, a group of 14 law-enforcement officials carried out a raid on a Chicago apartment rented and occupied by nine members of the Black Panther Party, with the stated goal of conducting a search for illegal weapons. During this raid two of the occupants of the apartment were killed, including Fred Hampton, the chairman of the Black Panthers in Illinois, and four others were wounded; two policemen received minor injuries. The surviving seven occupants of the apartment on that morning were indicted on charges ranging from attempt to commit murder to illegal possession of firearms. The indictments were subsequently dismissed by the prosecutor because of "difficulties" arising out of the raid.

Once we move even one step beyond this sketchy recital of facts, however, we immediately enter a morass of emotional and distorted reporting, virulent charges and countercharges, distortions, deceptions, and outright lies. It is for that reason, Mr. Speaker, that I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full text of the January 1970 Federal grand jury investigation into this case, released on May 15, 1970. The report presents the findings of the only objective and exhaustive inquiry into the bloody events of that December morning, and I hope that it will be read and studied throughout the country and particularly in Congress. For I believe the grand jury has brought in an indictment of us all; it has chronicled a failure for America. We can ill afford any more.

The grand jury report details a record of inefficient, shoddy, and downright deceptive police work in my home city of Chicago that borders on the incredible. In the restrained terms of the report:

> The performance of agencies of law enforcement . . . gives some reasonable basis for public doubt of their efficiency and even of their credibility.

The fact that the grand jury was unable to determine whether the civil rights of any individuals were violated was directly attributable to the refusal of members of the Black Panther Party to testify or cooperate in any way with this investigation. In the words of the report:

> The grand jury is forced to conclude that they (the Black Panthers) are more interested in the issue of police persecution than they are in obtaining justice.

It is in this tragic situation that I see the failure of our society. I cannot defend either the motives or the performance of the law-enforcement authorities in this case, any more than I can defend the inflammatory and violent policies of the Black Panthers or their refusal to participate in this investigation. In fact, I believe that we are looking here at opposite sides of the same coin.

However, it is wrong to balance the sins of the Panthers and the police. The police are an institution of government—our institution—created to help distribute justice to 200 million people. The Panthers are a splinter in the militant black community who do not even acknowledge their obligation to obey the law of the land. To equate culpability among the police and the Panthers is absurd.

Not until we are able to eliminate all reasonable doubt that our police and our courts—and indeed, the entire structure of our society—offer equal rights, equal protection, and equal opportunity to all our citizens, will we have a just claim on the full allegiance and trust of every citizen. I believe there is a social contract, even though we seldom articulate its terms. And I firmly believe that as long as one part of our Nation has grounds to believe that it is being deprived of its fundamental civil rights, including first and foremost the right to life itself, we are all in danger.

Again, the grand jury report put the matter well:

> The stakes are high. Either our society and institutions will prove to be responsive and responsible, with built-in systems for growth and learning and change, or the critics who claim that the law and the legal system are irrelevant and decadent will have another citation for their argument. It bears repeating that the following comments are not the abstract findings of a social scientist, but are the considered evaluations of twenty-three ordinary citizens judging the performance of their institutions with real facts of life and death, with real people and with real controversies.

The answer, Mr. Speaker, must be found in making our American system work in accordance with its own aspirations and ideals. But we have far to go, and much to accomplish, before we can honestly say that we have achieved that goal. The time remaining is short, and the true measure of the monumental task before us can be found in the report of the Chicago grand jury which I now introduce for the sober contemplation of my colleagues:

REPORT OF THE JANUARY 1970 GRAND JURY

INTRODUCTION

At 4:45 a.m., December 4, 1969, fourteen Chicago police officers assigned to the Cook County State's Attorney's Office, executed a search warrant for illegal weapons at 2337 West Monroe in a flat rented by members of the Black Panther Party. Nine people were in the apartment. Two were killed in the gunfire which broke out: Fred Hampton, the militant and controversial Chairman of the Black Panther Party of Illinois, and Mark Clark, a Panther official from Peoria. Four other occupants were wounded, but survived. Two police officers sustained minor injuries.

Public reaction was prompt and polarized. The State's Attorney's Office reported sketchily and then in detail that the officers were fired upon as they sought entry, that they returned the fire and secured the premises after an intense gun battle with the occupants. According to the officers' account, they had no knowledge that Fred Hampton was in the apartment, but did report that Hampton was found lying on a bed with an automatic pistol and a shotgun next to his body. The officers seized 19 weapons, including a stolen police shotgun, a sawed-off shotgun, various handguns and a large quantity of ammunition; by 7:30 a.m. the scene was deserted.

By noon Black Panther spokesmen claimed that Hampton and Clark were victims of a Chicago-style political assassination pursuant to an alleged official national policy of genocide. Newsmen, students, public officials, and neighborhood residents were given guided tours of the apartment. Panther guides claimed the physical evidence proved that the police did all the shooting.

The competing accounts were given equal and extensive coverage in all media. Responsible leaders, black and white, demanded impartial investigations; Negro congressmen announced their own investigation; a special "Blue Ribbon" Coroner's Inquest was scheduled; a citizens group headed by former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg was formed to investigate; the Chicago Black Patrolmen's League averred that the police account was untrue and promised to find and expose the facts; the Illinois Attorney General agreed to look into the matter; the Internal Inspections Division of the Chicago Police Department initiated an investigation. Letters, telegrams, delegations and editorials all called on the U.S. Department of Justice to initiate an objective investigation to determine if there had been a violation of the civil rights of the apartment occupants.

On December 19, 1969, United States Attorney General John Mitchell appointed Assistant Attorney General Jerris Leonard and a special biracial team of experienced federal prosecutors to collect all the facts relating to the incident and present them to an inquisitorial federal Grand Jury.

This report contains the findings of the Grand Jury after hearing nearly 100 witnesses and considering over 130 exhibits,[1]

Footnotes at end of speech.

including police records, photographs, moving pictures, transcripts of testimony before other bodies, voluminous investigative and scientific reports and reports of investigative interviews with over 100 potential witnesses who were not called.

The first part of this report consists of the detailed statement of the investigative approach used, the various factual disputes the results of the FBI's ballistic and scientific examinations, and the results of other investigations. The second portion of the report contains a discussion of federal law as it applies to the facts as found by the Grand Jury. The final portion contains a discussion of the very serious law enforcement problems disclosed by the facts together with the Grand Jury's recommendations on possible solutions.

I. THE GRAND JURY'S INVESTIGATION AND FINDINGS

A. *Background—The Panthers and the law in Chicago*

The National Black Panther Party was formed in Oakland, California in December 1966, as a ghetto-based organization of stridently militant blacks dedicated to upgrading the living conditions, pride, social and economic status of ghetto blacks by a direct challenge to American institutions and political systems. The concept and organization is that of a political party philosophically oriented toward Asian communism.[2] The Party's frequently published 10-point platform, in summary, demands social change by direct action, including force if necessary, to restructure the "system" to permit blacks to control their own status and values without dependence on or exploitation by the "white establishment." The program calls for land, bread, housing, education and employment; it also calls for community control of police and schools and such things as all black juries for black defendants.[3] (*Daily Defender* August 23, 1969).

The organizational structure of the Party includes a national hierarchy of a chairman, deputies and various ministers of particular matters, i.e. defense, public affairs, welfare. Charters are issued by the National Party to state chapters, mostly oriented in big city slums and ghettos.

Two of the founders of the Black Panther Party, Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale, have been indicted for serious felonies. Cleaver, under indictment for the attempted murder of a California policeman, fled to Cuba and then Algeria. Seale faces state charges for the kidnapping and torture killing of a party member and a federal charge of conspiracy to cross state lines to promote a riot at the 1968 Democratic Convention. Both have been widely quoted as espousing the violent overthrow of the "establishment" by revolutionary means.

Nationally, the Black Panther Party has only between 500 and 1000 members.[4] Locally, the FBI estimates 30–40 members in Chicago.[5] However, the Party has some sympathizers, and considerable issue-oriented support from youthful ghetto residents. On occasion, it asserted membership exceeding 500 in Chicago. (*Chicago Daily News* January 25, 1969)

On November 4, 1968, the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party was chartered. This Chapter, like the National organization, proclaimed itself to be violently anti-establishment with particular hostility for law enforcement agencies. The Party is also active in some social welfare programs in the Negro ghetto. In Chicago the Party operated a free breakfast program for children and undertook to establish a free medical clinic for ghetto residents. Another principal effort of the Panthers organization, to which the Illinois Chapter was faithful, was a concentration on—almost an obsession with—firearms and military discipline. Indeed, repeated news reports of the Party's Maoist revolutionary posture and its continual emphasis on weaponry causes public apprehension and concern totally out of proportion to the miniscule number of members. Law enforcement agencies feeling this public concern, sensitive to the volatile and often violent ways of ghetto life and increasingly apprehensive over the Panthers' policy of violence against police, view the Panthers as a very real danger to social peace.

The most effective leader of the Illinois Chapter was Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton. Hampton, born in August 1948, grew up in Maywood, a Chicago suburb with a substantial black population. While still in his teens, Hampton became a youth leader of the Maywood NAACP. He was arrested several times in connection with racial demonstrations and incidents in Maywood. He joined the Illinois Chapter of the Panthers shortly after it was formed. Hampton was outspokenly militant and was quoted as advocating the Maoist principle that "political power flows from a gun." (*Daily Cardinal*, May 21, 1969).

Chicago newspapers reported frequently on the development of the Black Panther Party from December 1968 to December 1969. More than 240 news articles on this organization, its leadership and its activities appeared in the local press.[6] These articles covered organizational activities, leaders' public speeches, arrest of Black Panther Party members, alleged repression of the Party in raids by police and federal officers on Black Panther Party Headquarters, internecine feuds, proposed mergers with street gangs, alleged Communist financing and affiliation of the Black Panther Party, the killing and assault of police by Black Panther Party members and the killing and assault of Black Panther Party members by police, the national news on conflicts between Black Panther Party members and police, and the expressed views of various law enforcement agencies as to the dangerous nature of the organization. During this period, feature stories and articles on the Black Panther Party activity appeared on 129 days in Chicago papers.[7] Thus, the incident of December 4, 1969, occurred in a climate defined by frequent incidents of Chicago Police Department—Black Panther Party violence and threats.

A review of the press coverage of the many Police-Panther clashes in Chicago is useful in understanding the local tensions at the time of the December 4, 1969 raid, and the various reactions of the participants, the public and the press. The summary which follows is taken solely from press accounts and is designed to portray the public atmosphere as it developed. The Grand Jury has no judgment as to the accuracy of these accounts.

Reported conflict with the police commenced on December 18, 1968, when eleven Black Panther Party members and several Blackstone Rangers were arrested after police surveillance of a meeting between the groups. Several knives were confiscated. The arrests ensued after an alleged traffic violation by the Black Panther Party personnel leaving Blackstone Rangers Headquarters. The police related the meeting to an attempt by the Black Panther Party to form a coalition with the Blackstone Rangers. (*New Crusader*, December 21, 1968). On January 4, 1969, the alleged coalition attempt was reported a failure. (*New Crusader*, January 4, 1969). Hampton repudiated the alleged coalition in May 1969. (*New Crusader*, May 24, 1969).

Vigorous college campus and street gang recruiting by the Black Panther Party was reported. (*Chicago Tribune*, January 24, 1969). Recruitment efforts by Hampton and Defense Minister Bobby Rush were characterized by vehement speeches denouncing all "establishment" authority, particularly the police. On January 25, the Black Panther Party claimed 500 members in Chicago, including members in each inner city high school. Police intelligence fixed membership at about 75 persons. (*Chicago Daily News*, January 25, 1969).

On January 24, 1969, Hampton was arrested for allegedly inciting mob violence in Maywood at a July 1968 demonstration over acquisition of a large police van. He was arrested as he appeared to tape a local television show and was prevented from appearing. He was acquitted of this charge a month later. (*Chicago Tribune* January 26, 1969; *Chicago Daily News* March 7, 1969).

On April 2, 1969, Defense Minister Rush and two other Panthers were arrested after a shooting incident in Robbins, an all Negro Chicago suburb.[8] Six persons were wounded in the incident which police said was a confrontation between Panthers and the Robbins branch of the Blackstone Rangers. Rush was reportedly arrested when he walked into the police station to use the phone wearing a loaded .45 automatic in a shoulder holster. (*Chicago Tribune* April 3, 1969). Both Panther and Ranger spokesmen denied the police story, and a Panther source indicated the police were spreading the lies to combat the good public image created when the Panthers inaugurated a free breakfast program for 200 children in the Better Boys Foundation, 1512 S. Pulaski. (*Chicago Tribune* April 3, 1969; *Chicago Daily News* April 3, 1969).

On April 12, 1969, a federal agent posing as a gun dealer agreed to sell two submachine guns to members of the Party for $500. Delivery was to be made in a specified area; some 75 police and federal officers converged there, trapped, and arrested the purchasers. Three persons identified as Panthers were subsequently indicted by a federal grand jury for conspiring to purchase illegal weapons. After a stormy bond reduction hearing on April 17, at which Panthers in the audience allegedly tried to intimidate a government witness and one of the defendants allegedly threatened an assistant U.S. Attorney, the defendants pleaded not guilty on April 26. (*Chicago Sun Times* April 12, 1969; April 26, 1969).

The press continued to report Hampton's denunciations of the Chicago Police Department for harassment of ghetto blacks and his threats that shooting would follow if police brutality in the ghetto did not cease. (*Chicago Daily News* April 18, 1969; *Chicago Sun Times* April 18, 1969). Conversely, law enforcement authorities were frequently quoted as critical of any Panther contacts. Assistant State's Attorney Richard S. Jalovec disclosed to the *Chicago Tribune* that a Black Panther Party member [who earlier had been] convicted of beating a C.T.A. driver, had been hired as a security guard at Crane Junior College. (*Chicago Tribune* April 16, 1969).

On April 19, the *Daily Defender* quoted Hampton on police harassment, saying that oppression must stop "'. . . or we will start shooting.'" (*Daily Defender* April 19, 1969).

On April 23, the *Chicago American* reported that Panther efforts to infiltrate street gangs might have caused recent violent confrontations. Police sources were quoted as suggesting that the Panther infiltrations may have stirred up dormant rivalries such as an incident on April 21 when four gang members were wounded—two by police—in a Southside clash.

On April 29, five men, identified as Panther members were arrested and charged with the beating and torture of a Negro man and woman because the woman allegedly had failed to return a Panther gun equipped with an infra-red scope. Others were also implicated, including Illinois Party Chairman, Fred Hampton. (*Chicago Tribune* April 29,

Footnotes at end of speech.

1969; *Chicago Sun Times* April 30, 1969). On June 10 it was announced that Hampton and 15 others had been indicted by the Cook County Grand Jury on kidnapping and weapons charges. That same day an elaborate simultaneous series of pre-dawn raids in Chicago, Summit and Maywood, with as many as 300 law enforcement officers involved,[9] resulted in the arrest of three of the indictees. Three others, including Hampton, were already in jail. The Grand Jury investigation was directed by Assistant State's Attorney Richard S. Jalovec, chief of the State's Attorney's Special Prosecutions Unit.[10] State's Attorney Hanrahan denied that the indictments were part of a nationwide crackdown on Panthers, saying the indictments were against individual acts, not those of the Party. (*Chicago Daily News* June 10, 1969).

Throughout the spring of 1969, there were repeated press reports indicating a potential alliance between the Panthers, the Young Lords (a militant Puerto Rican group), the Young Patriots (Appalachian whites) and the campus based S.D.S. Police intelligence sources were reported as fearing the coalition of radicals could cause serious trouble in ghetto areas. Hampton was reported to be speaking to college groups. In response to a speech by Hampton at Wisconsin University, the commander of the Subversive Unit of the Police Intelligence Division explained the reason police keep a close watch on the Panthers: " 'Considering their outspoken revolutionary aims, it's no small wonder the Chicago Police Department is interested in their activities. . . . If we did not take an interest, we would certainly not be doing our job for the community.' " (*Chicago Today* May 9, 1969; *Chicago Sun Times* May 25, 1969).

During the same period, United States Senate Hearings were reported to the effect that the Black Panther Party exploits ghetto residents, and Hampton was quoted as saying that the Black Panther Party must lead in " '. . . killing off the capitalist class.' " (*Chicago Daily News* May 19, 1969; *Daily Cardinal* May 21, 1969; *Chicago Sun Times* May 25, 1969).

Also in May, Hampton was sentenced to 2–5 years for participating in a robbery of an ice cream vendor. Appeal bond was denied when Hampton admitted being a revolutionary. (*Chicago Sun Times* May 27, 1969); the Black Liberation Alliance immediately pledged support for his appeal.

On June 4, FBI agents searched the Black Panther Party Headquarters at 2350 West Madison in an attempt to apprehend one George Sams for whom they had a warrant for interstate flight to avoid prosecution. Sams was wanted in Connecticut in connection with the torture murder of a Panther member. The raid was conducted shortly after daybreak with the participation of some 40 agents. Sams was not found at the headquarters, but evidence of his recent presence there was recovered. The Federal agents seized at least 10 shotguns and rifles and arrested the eight persons present for harboring a fugitive. (*Chicago Daily News* June 4, 1969). (The Special Agent in Charge later explained to this Grand Jury that the search had been conducted without a shot being fired. Agents telephoned the headquarters to advise their purpose and the fact that the building was surrounded. Portable sound equipment was used to help talk the occupants out and one Panther leader was convinced to order the other occupants to surrender. Agents armed with tear gas were pre-positioned and would have used gas had it become necessary.[11]

Defense Minister Bobby Rush immediately denounced the FBI raid as planned repression by the power structure. Rush was quoted as claiming the agents did $20,000 in damage, took $3,000 from a cash box and threw large quantities of food for the free breakfast program on the floor. (*Daily Defender* June 5, 1969). Chicago Police sources said two of the weapons seized by the FBI had been stolen. (*Chicago Sun Times* June 5, 1969). On the same day, the *Daily Defender* quoted Rush as saying he knew nothing of the guns reportedly seized by the FBI and in any event, if found, they would not have violated any federal laws. He claimed the raid was part of a conspiracy by the FBI and other facets of the power structure to slow down Panther activities in black communities. An S.D.S. spokesman appeared at a press conference with Rush and voiced his support of the Panthers in their struggle against repression. (*Daily Defender* June 5, 1969). Upon news of the FBI raid, moderate Negro leaders spoke out against police harassment and in support of the Black Panther Party. (*Chicago Daily News* June 6, 1969). Charges were subsequently dismissed when federal officials declined to reveal the identity of the informant who supplied information. (*Chicago Today* June 21, 1969).

A few days later, Chicago Task Force Police stopped an overcrowded station wagon near Panther Headquarters because of alleged traffic violations—driving with obstructed view, loud muffler and failure to yield right of way on left turn. After a search revealed marijuana, a hypodermic needle and several quarts of chemicals suspected of being ingredients for an explosive, a small crowd gathered as all eleven occupants of the car were arrested, but there was no incident. Two of the arrestees had been arrested previously in the FBI raid. No weapons were found. (*Chicago Today* June 9, 1969; *Chicago Sun Times* June 10, 1969).

Again, Panther spokesmen claimed the arrests were part of the law enforcement conspiracy against them:

"The Panthers were stopped in their car by fascist pigs. They were ordered out, searched, and physically abused. The car was searched without a warrant. The pigs then planted marijuana in the car.

* * * * *

"The pig press misled the public into believing that medical supplies that were in the car were chemicals for explosives. One sister was severely injured when the fascists pushed her to the ground and kicked her in the back. She was pregnant and now is threatening miscarriage in the maternity ward of Cook County Hospital." (*The Black Panther* June 21, 1969).

As previously described, on June 10, a Cook County Grand Jury indicted Hampton and 15 others on torture and kidnapping charges and early morning raids were coordinated by the State's Atttorney's Police to attempt to arrest the indictees. (*New Crusader* June 14, 1969).

After this flurry of raids and arrests in spring and early summer, there were several commentaries and summaries published evaluating the possibility of planned and coordinated national programs by law enforcement agencies to wipe out the Panther Party. (*Chicago Daily News* June 11, 1969; *Chicago Sun Times* July 4, 1969). During the same period there was some indication that the Panther militancy was mellowing. An official of the Chicago Police Gang Intelligence Unit testified before a Senate Committee that in recent months the Chicago Party had gone in for the "soft sell." He attributed this to a program of forming coalitions with other youth groups. He also said the Panther membership in Chicago had dwindled to 13 persons. (*Chicago Today* July 1, 1969; *Chicago Sun Times* July 1, 1969). However, on July 15, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, in his annual report, cited the frequent Panther clashes with police and their revolutionary ideology and classed them, along with the S.D.S. as the core of the "New Left." The national Panther Party, he said, is " '. . the greatest threat to the internal security of the country.' " (*Chicago Today* July 15, 1969).

Violence continued to flare in Chicago; on July 16, 1969, two policemen and two Black Panther Party members were involved in a shooting in which the two police officers were wounded. Neither of the two Black Panther Party members were wounded; the pistol used to shoot both the officers had been stolen from a policeman in 1966. (*Chicago Today* July 16, 1969).

This was shortly followed by a major incident at Black Panther Party Headquarters. As reported on July 31, 1969, five police officers and three Black Panther Party members were wounded in a gunfire between Black Panther Party members and the police. The gunfire commenced when the police officers on routine patrol were allegedly fired upon by gunmen in the Panther offices at 2350 West Madison Street. A gun battle ensued resulting in the wounding of the five officers and the three Black Panther Party members. Numerous guns were seized at the Black Panther Party Headquarters at this time. This incident was the occasion for recapitulation by the newspapers of several prior incidents, and for claims of repression by the Black Panther Party. (*Chicago Daily News* July 31, 1969).

Less than three days after this incident, the U.S. Department of Justice was locally reported to have launched a special Criminal Division task force to investigate the Black Panther Party. (*Chicago Sun Times* August 2, 1969). This announcement was the occasion for further charges of repression by local Black Panther Party officials. (*Chicago Today* August 24, 1969).

Hampton was released on bond on August 15, 1969. (*Chicago Sun Times* August 15, 1969), and immediately was quoted as saying that the police would be shot by the Panthers if they continued their repressive tactics. (*Daily Defender* August 23, 1969).

In late September, the Black Panther Party participated in demonstrations regarding the Chicago Conspiracy trial. Although a Chicago Police Department spokesman commented that " '. . . the Panther organization is one of the most dangerous in the nation,' " the same article reported a Panther official as saying the Party was discouraging violence and guns which had been an early phase of the "Panther mystique." The goals now, he said, were to expand the free breakfast and employment programs and then campaign for community control of police. (*Chicago Sun Times*, September 26, 1969.)

However, on October 4, 1969, another shooting incident occurred at Black Panther Party Headquarters when a sniper was reported to have opened fire on police from the roof of the headquarters at 2350 West Madison. (*Chicago Today*, October 4, 1969.) Police arrested seven Black Panther Party members, and one officer was injured by debris from a ricocheted bullet. The incident was followed by charges of repression by the Panther Party and a Black Panther Party spokesman alleged that the police officers had poured gasoline on the premises and set fire to them after making arrests. A fire department official attributed the blaze to a stray shot having hit a stack of newspapers. (*Chicago Daily News*, October 4, 1969.)

A rally protesting a conspiracy trial was called by the Panther Party for October 7, 1969. Although it was peaceful, Bobby Rush was reported as charging the police with committing murder on the Westside. (*Chicago Today*, October 7, 1969.)

On October 10, a nineteen year old black, Mike Soto, was killed during police investigation of a reported Westside robbery. Some disorder broke out in the area and ten police and a 12 year old girl were wounded. Five days earlier Soto's younger brother had also been killed in an incident with police. At a hearing held by seven black Illinois legisla-

Footnotes at end of speech.

tors, Hampton, claiming Soto had been a Panther supporter, used the occasion to complain about "pig brutality" and repression. The legislators reportedly reached no conclusions on the merits. (*Chicago Today*, October 28, 1969.)

On November 11, 1969, attempted murder charges were dropped against 6 of the 7 members of the Black Panther Party members who had been arrested in the October 4 incident in which a sniper allegedly fired at police. Prosecutors failed to produce evidence linking the six with the shooting. Resisting arrest charges were continued. (*Chicago Sun Times*, November 11, 1969.)

On November 13, 1969, Chicago Police officers Gilhooly and Rappaport and Panther member Spurgeon Winters were killed in a gun battle. Another Panther, Lance S. Bell, was wounded and six other policemen were injured in the course of the incident. Police had responded to a 3 a.m. call to 5801 S. Calumet after a lady advised that her husband had been threatened and that there were men with guns in the area. When the squad car arrived on the scene, it was fired upon by snipers concealed in a vacant building; two police cars were destroyed by gunfire and approximately 50 police ultimately participated in the action. Rappaport was allegedly killed by a Black Panther who approached him when he had been wounded and shot him in the head with a shotgun. A shotgun, a carbine and a substantial quantity of weapons were found in the vacant building. (*Chicago Daily News* Nov. 13, 1969). 1969).

The deaths of Gilhooly and Rappaport brought to seven the total number of Chicago policemen slain in the line of duty during the year 1969. This incident was followed by many newspaper articles about Panther violence in the city, and a great many police officers were seriously concerned for their safety thereafter. (*Chicago Today* Nov. 14, 1969).

Accordingly, during the year preceding December 4, 1969, there were several incidents of armed violence between members of the Illinois Chapter of the Panthers and law enforcement agencies in Chicago. As a result of these incidents, two police and one Panther were killed; fourteen police and four Panthers were wounded or injured; and there had been over sixty arrests of Panthers for violations ranging from attempted murder and kidnapping to minor traffic violations.

The pattern had become familiar. Because of the Panthers' well-publicized reputation as violence-prone revolutionaries with a particular hostility for police, law enforcement agencies kept them under tight surveillance and were especially alert for Panther crimes. For their part, the Panthers could be counted on to emphasize their social improvement programs and to charge publicly that any law enforcement activity directed at a member or a sympathizer was part of a conspiracy of repression. And Chicago's competitive news media would report every charge and countercharge in meticulous detail.

B. Events preceding Federal grand jury investigation

Between the time of this incident on December 4, 1969, and the impaneling of this Grand Jury on January 5, 1970, the air was predictably full of charges and countercharges concerning what happened. A description of the spiraling escalation of public explanations, disputes, versions and commentary is instructive in understanding the way the Grand Jury investigation proceeded and serves to give useful background for some of the factual problems it found.[12]

According to the initial account by the State's Attorney's Office, Assistant State's Attorney Richard S. Jalovec and Sgt. Daniel Groth, of the Special Prosecutions Unit, acting on information supplied by an informant, obtained a search warrant for the premises to look for a cache of Black Panther weapons. After announcing their office and seeking entry, the officers were fired upon. They returned the fire, several times pausing to call for surrender. The occupants shouted, "Shoot it out," continued to fire and an intensive shoot-out ensued. Fred Hampton was found dead in a back (south) [13] bedroom from which gunfire had been seen, and Mark Clark was found in the living room. Nineteen weapons and large stores of ammunition were seized and the survivors were charged with attempted murder. Officers Ciszewski and Carmody, interviewed at a local hospital, gave a vivid account of how they were wounded by gunfire after they announced their office at the rear door. (*Chicago Today* Dec. 4, 1969).[14]

This account was immediately challenged by Black Panther Party Defense Minister Bobby Rush. Under the headline "Pal Claims Panther Chief Was Murdered in Bed," a reporter described a tour of the unguarded premises conducted by Rush showing bullet holes " . . . in the spread and mattress of Hampton's blood spattered bedroom." Rush was quoted as charging, " ' Hampton was murdered in bed while he slept. Since he was a light sleeper, some pig [policeman] must have come in the back door and murdered him with a silencer.' " (*Chicago Today* Dec. 4, 1969).

The basic controversy continued to receive extensive coverage in every media. On December 7, defense attorney Francis Andrew was quoted as saying a private autopsy showed that Hampton was " '. . . murdered while he was asleep' " and Renault Robinson, head of the Afro-American Patrolmen's League, reportedly said after touring the site that it appeared the men were killed " '. . . for no reason in a police 'set up.' " (*Chicago Sun Times* Dec. 7, 1969). By December 8, Mayor Chabala of suburban Maywood, where Hampton had grown up, announced that three of the Villages Trustees and seven of the nine man Human Relations Commission had issued a statement demanding that State Attorney General Scott seek murder indictments against the officers for a " '. . . blatant act of legitimatized murder.' " These charges were based on evidence indicating police did all the shooting. (*Chicago Sun Times* Dec. 8, 1969).

On December 8, State's Attorney Hanrahan, at a news conference, restated the basic police version, saying that a more detailed statement would be improper in view of criminal charges pending against survivors. "We were then [after the raid] and are still convinced that our officers used good judgment, considerable restraint, and professional discipline.' " (*Chicago Tribune* Dec. 9, 1969).

Mr. Hanrahan's statement had little effect on the burgeoning controversy. On the same day the above article appeared, another paper was reporting that nine Democratic Congressmen had requested the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence to investigate the matter. They asked the President to extend the Commission for this purpose and in a letter to the Commission reportedly set out the basis for their concern: ". . . there were indications that Hampton was killed while still in bed, and that a private autopsy on his body indicates that he was in a reclining position when the bullets entered and left the body." This article also quoted Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec as rejecting any possibility of using lie detector tests to resolve the disputes: " 'We don't put either suspects or policemen on the polygraph. It is not done.' " (*Chicago Today* Dec. 9, 1969).

On December 10, it was reported that the police Internal Inspections Division, charged with looking into allegations of police misconduct, would not investigate because, according to Director Harry Ervanian, " 'The IID has no jurisdiction in a case handled by the state's attorney's office.' " State's Attorney Hanrahan was quoted as expressing surprise over the exemption of his men. (*Chicago Sun Times* Dec. 10, 1969).

The following day, however, Police Superintendent Conlisk announced that the Internal Inspections Division had begun an investigation. Director Ervanian explained that all background information would be reviewed including " '. . . arrest records from the raid, all physical evidence, statements from witnesses, and photographs of the apartment.' " He reportedly said it was too early to tell whether it would be necessary to require the officers to take lie detector tests. (*Chicago Today* Dec. 11, 1969).

On December 10, a major escalation of the intensive news coverage began when the *Chicago Daily News* published an account provided by Black Panther defense attorneys headlined "Panther Story of Killings." In pertinent part the story set forth the following:

"There was a knock on the front door of the apartment at 4:40 a.m. Thursday. The occupants asked, 'Who is it?' They received a brief reply. The occupants again asked, 'Who?'

"After a short delay, Mark Clark, 22, of Peoria, a Downstate Panther leader, went to the door just as the plainclothes policemen forced their way in.

"Without warning the detective began firing toward mattresses near the southeast corner of the living room of the apartment. Clark was killed in the volley.

"There was no return fire and apparently no shotgun blast at police from any of the Panthers before the police began shooting.

"Two of the apartment's occupants were in a back bedroom trying to awaken Fred Hampton, 21, Illinois Black Panther Party chairman. Just then another team of police raiders barged through the rear (kitchen) door.

"The police came through the kitchen and into the dining area leading to Hampton's bedroom. The two Panthers in Hampton's room leaped into a corner where police could not see them.

"They were in the room when police fired the shots that apparently killed Hampton while he was still on his bed.

"The nine defense attorneys for the Panthers said they would not release specifics or more detailed statements from the seven survivors so as not to compromise their case before it comes to trial.

"The attorneys said they hope not only to win acquittal for the seven arrested Panthers, but to file civil and criminal charges against the police raiders.

"They said they would seek to charge State's Atty. Edward V. Hanrahan and the 14 police raiders with murder."

The nine man defense team also announced the three key points of defense:

Testimony by a nationally respected ballistics expert that the pattern of shots in the apartment shows cool and calculated fire by police and no return fire by the Panthers.

Testimony by the surviving Panthers that police burst into the apartment as the Panthers were sleeping and carried out a plan to kill Hampton and Clark.

The conflict between findings of an independent autopsy and the official findings of Coroner Andrew J. Toman.

The following day's issue of the *Chicago Tribune* published an exclusive detailed account given by the officers. "State's Atty. Edward V. Hanrahan made the policemen available for interviews [to] refute what he termed an orgy of sensationalism in the press and on television. . . ." The exclusive *Tribune* story also contained photographs supplied by Mr. Hanrahan and his top assistants, Messrs. Jalovec and Boyle, ". . . which they said conclusively proved the Panthers

Footnotes at end of speech.

opened the battle by firing a shotgun blast thru the apartment door."

In this story, the leader of the raid, Sgt. Daniel Groth, said that he and Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec had both received confidential information on December 2, that a cache of weapons was in the apartment. "According to the informants, at least three shotguns had been observed in the flat. Neither, however, made any mention of Hampton's or Clark's frequenting the apartment, Sgt. Groth said."

At 4:45 p.m., on December 3, according to the story, ". . . Jalovec obtained a search warrant from Judge Robert Collins of Criminal Court, citing the facts obtained from the informants."

In the story, Sgt. Groth told of planning the raid and selecting the early morning hours to avoid an incident and to provide safety for his men and neighbors. Groth's account of the way the shooting started was the most detailed one to date:

"Just shortly before he arrived at the building, Sgt. Groth said that he radioed from the Chicago police department undercover squad he was driving, asking that the squad operator dispatch marked cars from the Wood street district to the front and rear exits of the building.

" 'I told them we were about to attempt to serve a warrant,' Groth said.

"Once at the building, Groth ascended the front staircase or the exterior with Davis on his left. Behind them were Gorman, Jones, and Hughes. The men entered a small hallway containing two doors, one leading to the 2d floor and the other to the Panther apartment.

"Positioning themselves to either side of the apartment door, Sgt. Groth said he reached over and first rapped firmly with left hand. When there was no response, he pounded again, but this time with his revolver butt.

" 'I heard a voice inside—a male voice—call out, 'Who's there?'," Groth said. 'I replied "This is the police. I have a warrant to search the premises." '

"Again, there was no response, but Groth said he could hear movement inside. Again he said he pounded on the door, shouting, 'Police! Open Up!'

" 'Just a minute,' Groth said the male voice replied.

"Suspicious of the delay, Groth said he ordered Davis to kick the door open. Davis kicked and the door slammed open to reveal a small ante-room with another door leading to the apartment's living room. That was shut.

"Then suddenly, as the two policemen entered the ante-room they said a shotgun blast was fired thru the closed living room door, a charge which later proved to have been a solid rifle load deer slug fired from a 12 gauge shotgun.

"The slug pierced the door, ripping splinters from the outside of the door as it exited and narrowly missed the two policemen. Photographs of this door were furnished the Tribune by Hanrahan as evidence that the Panthers inside the flat fired the opening shot at his men.

"Davis, who at this moment was just ahead of Sgt. Groth, plunged toward the door, smashing it open with his shoulders as he dived into the living room and landed on a mattress just to the left of the center of the room.

" 'I saw a woman half lying and half sitting upright on a bed in a far corner of the room trying to pump another shell into a shotgun she held jammed against her groin,' Davis said. 'She was about eight feet away.

" 'In that moment, the woman fired again, the flash of her weapon illuminating her face for Sgt. Groth who was still at the doorway of the room.

" 'I figured Davis had been hit when I saw him go down,' Groth said. That second shotgun round went right past me as I hugged the door jamb and narrowly missed hitting Hughes who was behind me. I fired two shots at her."

Officer James Davis was quoted at length with his account of how he wounded the woman on the couch and fatally shot Mark Clark. After he had fired one shot from his carbine at the woman, the account continues:

" 'She slumped back against the wall with that shotgun still in her hands and I spun away and half turned, just in time to spot a guy sitting in a chair with a shotgun in his hands," Davis said. "He was directly behind me, hidden behind the door I'd just broken open. Thank God, Groth fired those shots at the woman. The flash of his revolver spotted the guy for me.

" 'I don't know for sure if he ever got a shot in at me or not. I fired twice and hit him. He stood up and I jumped up, too, struggling with him until he fell. Then I fell across his body.'

"This gunman was identified after the battle as Clark, 22, a Panther leader from Peoria."

According to the story, Officers Gorman and Jones then entered the room and recovered some Panther weapons. Davis reported he looked down a hallway going to the rear of the flat and saw a man duck in and out of the rear bedroom with a shotgun.

" 'By then, the guys had broken down the kitchen door,' Davis said. 'I saw Ciszewski in the kitchen behind the gunman and hollored for him to duck as the man fired at least one round into the kitchen. Ciszewski ducked and the shot missed.

" 'Hold your fire' Sgt. Groth said he ordered his men at this point. 'Give them a chance to come out!' This was the first of five such orders Groth said he gave during the fierce fire fight.

" 'I had men in both the front and rear of the apartment,' he said. 'I didn't want anyone getting hit in crossfire. But the words were barely out of my mouth before there was the whomp of a shotgun blast from the front bedroom, directly down the hall from the living room.

" 'They were firing blind because they didn't know where we were, so the charge slammed into a bathroom door almost directly across the hall.'

"Hanrahan also produced photographs of the inside of the bathroom door, showing how the shotgun pellets had slammed thru the wood. The prosecutor said that ballistics experts would testify during any court proceedings against the seven Panthers who survived the battle that the shotgun blast he claims opened the battle had in fact been fired from inside the apartment thru the door at police in the outer hallway."

In this recital, Officer Jones reported seeing a hand reach out of the rear (Hampton) bedroom and fire a shot ". . . with a revolver or automatic pistol . . ." at the kitchen where other officers were located. The detailed account by the officers concluded by describing how the remainder of the apartment was secured:

" 'It was just about then,' Sgt. Groth said, 'That I heard a voice call out from the front bedroom, "Shoot it out!" This was followed by two flashes from the same room I believe were from a shotgun.'

"At this point, police resumed firing and then minutes later, or perhaps only seconds, Groth said, he again ordered his men to cease fire and again called out to the Panthers, "Come out with your hands up!"

"At the rear of the apartment, Dective [Detective] Carmody jumped over a wooden door that formed a barricade between the kitchen and dining room as the Panther fire continued. Gorman covered him with submachine gun fire from the living room which he fired thru the connecting wall of the living room and front bedroom and down the hallway.

"Carmody fired one round from his .38 caliber revolver as he plunged past the rear bedroom doorway to shelter against a far wall of the dining room.

"Again, Sgt. Groth called out for surrender and a cease fire and this time, from the rear bedroom, Harold Bell, 23, of Rockford, emerged with his hands in the air. Broderick and Ciszewski, who by then had also jumped over the barricade into the dining room, grabbed Bell and took him to the kitchen where other detectives held him.

"But again, gunfire directed at police from the front bedroom broke out and Broderick and Ciszewski fired into both bedrooms from their vantage point in the dining room.

"Sgt. Groth called another cease fire and ordered the Panthers to surrender, he said. This time, a voice called from the rear bedroom, 'We're coming out. Don't shoot. We've got an injured man back here.'

"The[n] Louis Truelock, 39, of 1900 Jackson blvd., walked out with his hands up, accompanied by Miss Deborah Johnson, 18, of 2337 Monroe st. They, too, were hustled into the kitchen.

"Carmody ran into the rear bedroom to find a man, later identified as Hampton, lying face down on the bed with his head facing the bedroom door thru which repeated gunfire had been directed at police in the kitchen.

" 'He was lying with his arms hanging over the foot of the bed,' Carmody said. 'On the floor at his right hand was a .45 caliber automatic and at his left a shotgun. I could see he'd been hit, but I didn't know if he was alive or dead. All I knew was that that room was full of shotguns and rifles and ammo.

" 'So I grabbed him by a wrist and dragged him into the dining room, away from all those guns.'

"A moment later, as Ciszewski was throwing various weapons out of the back bedroom, he was wounded in his left calf, presumably by a slug fired thru the wall from the font [front] bedroom directly adjacent. He dived for safety in the kitchen.

"Meanwhile, while those in the rear of the flat were surrendering, Sgt. Groth again ordered a cease fire.

" 'I was virtually pleading with those in the front bedroom to come out,' he said. 'But again they fired so Broderick fired a shotgun five times into that room from the rear of the hallway. And I kept yelling for them to come out, but there was no response.'

"Gorman approached the front bedroom door with his submachine gun in his hand.

" 'I slammed thru that doorway, firing a burst into an open closet I spotted out of the corner of my eye directly to the right inside the door,' Gorman said. 'I saw two beds with the forms of two people rising between them. One had what looked like a shotgun in his hands he was trying to raise clear of the bed.

" 'As he started to aim, I fired and the gun fell as he did. The second form kept rising in those few seconds and I fired again after I saw something that looked like a hand gun in the person's hand.'

"The first person wounded by Gorman proved to be Blair Anderson, 18, of 6943 Justine St. The shotgun he was holding was identified as one stolen from a Chicago police department squad last April 6 in the Chicago avenue police district.

"Examination of the weapon showed that a .45 caliber police bullet during the gun battle had penetrated the barrel of the shotgun just a few inches above the breech, jamming it with a live round in the chamber.

"The second person wounded by Gorman was Miss Verlina Brewer, 17, of 125 W. 107th St.

"As Carmody plunged into the room to join Gorman, Miss Brewer and Anderson cried out, 'We give up!'

"Then police spotted a third Panther member in the room, Ronald Satchel, 19, of 2337 Monroe st., who also surrendered. He also had been wounded.

"In both bedrooms, police found large stores of arms and ammunition. In Hampton's back bedroom, four boxes of shotgun shells were found as well as shotguns, a rifle, and hand guns. Similar caches were in the front bedroom, some of it in a flight bag."

On the evening of December 11, a unique exposure of this detailed account occurred. Using a mock-up of the apartment built in the State's Attorney's Office, a 28-minute televised re-enactment was presented on WBBM–TV. In the re-enactment each officer acted out and described his part in the raid.[15] The essentials were the same as had been presented in the Tribune exclusive, except that in the re-enactment Officer Gorman described how he and Officer Davis, blocked from proceeding down the hallway by Panther gunfire, fired their weapons (a .45 caliber submachine gun and a .30 caliber carbine respectively) through the living room wall and into the bedroom area. According to a *Chicago Daily News* television columnist the following day, the re-enactment was given to WBBM with the provision that ". . . nearly the entire police version be broadcast without interruption." He also reported that "Other local TV stations reported they had been offered the same story possibility, but news directors there said they had refused to work under Hanrahan's restrictions."

The media controversy reached a new high on December 12 when the *Chicago Sun Times* exposed the fact that the pictures that accompanied the *Chicago Tribune* "exclusive" had been erroneously described. After visiting the apartment the *Chicago Sun Times* reporter claimed that the picture of bullet holes near the kitchen door was in fact of nail holes and that the photo purporting to show the bathroom door (proving that the Panthers had fired from the front bedroom) was in fact a picture of the door to the front (north) bedroom which had been struck by police bullets fired through the living room wall. The State's Attorney's Office and the *Chicago Tribune* both acknowledged the mistake, but no explanation of how it occurred was provided.

There was also a further development with respect to the use of polygraph tests. A front page headline in *Chicago Today* proclaimed "Hanrahan Lie Test Challenge to Panthers." The story quoted a press conference statement by the State's Attorney that he had refused a request by the officers to take lie detector tests '". . . for fear that granting it would suggest some doubt on our part.'"

Mr. Hanrahan was quoted as challenging the occupants to submit to such tests saying that if they did so permission would be granted for the officers to do likewise. (*Chicago Today* Dec. 11, 1969). The next day the same paper quoted Panther leader Rush as rejecting the "challenge" because "'I wouldn't trust the people who would be administering the lie test. . . . And once they [the police] get you and lock you up in a room, they can get you to say anything they want you to say.'" Rush also repeated his earlier allegations of a planned police murder. He described how the police arrived in an unmarked truck full of machine guns and cordoned off the block. "Like buzzards waiting for the kill, they waited outside until the lights went off." Using "'. . . a detailed map of Hampton's apartment,'" Rush said, "'Patrolmen Edward Carmody and John Ciszewski were to shoot Fred while a detail led by Sgt. Daniel Groth were taking care of business in the front.'" Rush concluded that murder indictments should be issued against Hanrahan, Richard Jalovec and Judge Collins. (*Chicago Today* Dec. 12, 1969).

Recapitulations and summaries of the various stories appeared almost daily in all of the Chicago papers. On December 16, Mayor Daley pledged full support for the upcoming inquest and Coroner Toman announced that a special "blue ribbon" coroner's jury of three black and three white citizens was being selected. (*Chicago Sun Times* Dec. 16, 1969).

Several days later Harvey Johnson, operating director of the Chicago Crime Commission was reported as having accompanied police on a second search of the apartment on December 17 and 18. The story quotes Johnson as saying that new evidence had been discovered supporting the police version in the form of bird shot pellets fired from within the apartment in the direction of the raiding officers. Johnson attributed the pellets to non-police weapons "'. . . because any policeman who used birdshot would be laughed out of the station.'"[16] The pellets were reportedly found in the north wall of the front (north) bedroom. A search failed to turn up the deer slug allegedly fired through the door. This story also reflected that Coroner Toman had sealed the premises on December 17, some two weeks after the incident. (*Chicago Tribune* Dec. 19, 1969).

On December 19, the *Daily Defender* again ran the Rush charges. In this story Rush not only claimed that Hampton and Clark had been murdered but that it was the product of a conspiracy ". . . in retaliation for the killing of two white policemen by Panthers in a recent shootout on the Southside." The story said Rush claimed that ". . . officer John Ciszewski, a member of Hanrahan's raiding squad is brother of policeman Charles Gilhouey [Gilhooly] who was killed in the Southside gun battle with Panthers."[17]

On the same day that the article appeared, several Chicago papers reported that the Justice Department would convene a special Grand Jury to investigate the controversial case after federal investigators had encountered a lack of cooperation. As announcement of a Grand Jury investigation was made, the IID investigation ended, and an independent inquiry had begun:

"Meanwhile, the police internal inspections division ended its investigation of possible misconduct by the state's attorney's raiders, only 9 days after it started. The raiders were found to have acted properly.

"A statement from Police Supt. James B. Conlisk said: 'The investigation has clearly established the following facts:

"'1. The police officers were acting pursuant to the lawful direction of a search warrant.

"'2. The police were subjected to deadly assault by firearms, which is a forcible felony, and exercised lawful means to overcome the assault.'

"An independent inquiry into the Dec. 4 raid by six black members of Congress is to open today at the Colonial House, 914 E. 79th St. The legislators will tour the death scene and hear testimony." (*Chicago Today* Dec. 20, 1969).

Another paper reported that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was also considering an independent investigation and would confer with the volunteer group of 28 prominent persons headed by Arthur Goldberg, former United Nations Ambassador. (*Chicago Daily News* Dec. 19, 1969).

Congressional investigators headed by Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D.-Mich.) held an unofficial one day hearing during which many of the city's black community leaders testified. No eyewitness testimony was heard.

[First Assistant State's Attorney] Murray told the Congressmen he would not discuss the matter because it would be "inappropriate for our office" because it was the subject of legal inquiries and also because Saturday's hearing was "without any authority of Congress."

Appearing several hours later, defense counsel Kermit Coleman told the lawmakers:

"I don't want to discuss certain things about the case. I'm not trying to hide anything but I want to confine ourselves to discussing this thing without bringing up any evidence." (*Chicago Sun Times*, Dec. 21, 1969.)

Almost simultaneous to the opening of the investigation by the Grand Jury, the special Coroner's Jury impaneled to hear evidence and determine the cause of death of Hampton and Clark, convened on January 6, 1970. The action had been announced earlier but was delayed while a special coroner and six "blue ribbon" jurors were selected. Attorney Martin S. Gerber was named special coroner to preside and six prominent citizens, three black and three white were finally selected. Tight security was imposed at the hearing. The fourteen police officers testified and photographs and scientific evidence was presented. The surviving occupants of the apartment, all charged with various offenses in the incident, announced their intention to refuse to testify on advice of counsel. After 12 days of testimony, much of it summarized in daily press coverage, the Coroner's Jury returned its verdict of justifiable homicide "'. . . based solely and exclusively on the evidence presented.'" (*Chicago Today*, Jan. 22, 1970.)

Another controversial story broke just as this Grand Jury was convened on January 6, 1970. The Daily Defender announced that Hampton had been drugged before his death. Reporting on a press conference held by Bobby Rush the story said that a former state pathologist hired by Hampton's family had found a heavy dose of seconal present in Hampton's blood. "'This was such a heavy dose,' Rush said, 'that Chairman Fred couldn't have gotten out of bed or engage in a shoot out . . . A pig agent must have given it to him . . . because Fred never used any drugs and J. Edgar Hoover (head of the FBI) has said he has infiltrators in the Black Panther Party.'"

C. The organization of the grand jury's investigation

When the Grand Jury considered its assignment to make an exhaustive inquiry into all the facts surrounding the incident of December 4, 1969, it was faced with a situation of intense public concern. A Coroner's Inquest was underway, a county grand jury had been convened, factual controversies were being argued in the daily press, the police version was well known, having been published both in print and on television, and, while the occupants refused to tell their story because of impending prosecutions, Panther spokesmen loudly insisted the physical evidence proved a political assassination.

Indeed, there were even competing autopsies that disagreed as to the direction of travel of the fatal bullets and whether Hampton was stupefied with drugs when he was shot.

In addition, the physical evidence was partly in the possession of police, partly in possession of Panther agents and, perhaps, partly remaining in the premises thru which thousands of sightseers had trooped in the two week interval before the apartment was sealed. No thorough and scientific, official search of the premises had been made.

The best methodology available to the Grand Jury, and the one adopted, was first

Footnotes at end of speech.

to attempt to collect every possible item of physical evidence recoverable; second, to submit all of such evidence together with all weapons known to have been on the premises to the FBI Laboratory in Washington for definitive ballistics analyses; third, to have a scale model of the apartment constructed by the FBI exhibit section, showing, as nearly as possible, the location of all bullet holes and furniture; fourth, while this was being done, to try to resolve all issues not related to the scene, e.g. the conflicting autopsy reports and the Hampton drug question, and to hear any relevant testimony from neighborhood residents, collect and analyze all news accounts and copies of the television re-enactment; fifth, after being fully briefed on what the physical evidence showed and what it did not show, to hear testimony from each of the participants.

The Grand Jury recognized that because of the pending state prosecutions and their suspicion of any "establishment" proceeding, the survivors might be reluctant to testify. It was hoped, however, that they could be persuaded to reconsider since the principal focus of the proceeding was to determine if their civil rights had been violated.

This was the course taken. After appropriate court orders were entered, all of the weapons seized at the apartment, all of the police weapons carried that morning and all of the physical evidence in the possession of the Chicago Police Crime Laboratory was obtained and forwarded to Washington. After appropriate orders had been obtained from Chief Justice Powers of Cook County Circuit Court, attorneys for the surviving occupants produced all of the materials removed by them from the apartment. Several FBI agents spent approximately twenty-four days sifting through the considerable debris at the apartment and recovering other items of evidence. All of this material was turned over to the FBI for careful expert appraisal and reports.

The organization of the sections which follow essentially track the Grand Jury's investigation.

D. The State's attorney's police plan the raid

Under Illinois law the State's Attorney in each county is generally responsible for providing legal representation in all suits, actions, indictments and prosecutions, civil and criminal, in which the people of his county may be concerned and for certain other functions prescribed by law.[18] As the largest State's Attorney's Office in the state, Cook County has a professional staff of some 200 attorneys. The Cook County State's Attorney is Edward V. Hanrahan, elected to a four year term in 1968 after resigning as United States Attorney, Northern District of Illinois.

In addition to the professional staff, the Cook County State's Attorney's Office also includes 10 to 12 investigators and a special force of police officers drawn principally from the Chicago Police Department, with a few also furnished by the Cook County Sheriff's Office. This arrangement was established a number of years ago by agreement among the law enforcement agencies and is not required by law. The State's Attorney's Police have various responsibilities, including assisting attorneys in preparing for trials, obtaining prosecutive evidence for grand juries and trials, providing security for witnesses and service of process.

There are a total of 116 officers serving as State's Attorney's Police. The chief of this regular contingent of State's Attorney's Police is Chief Charles G. Ward, a former Regional Director of the Federal Narcotics Bureau. Most of these men are on detached service, i.e. although they are still Chicago Police officers they have been relieved from their regular duties and work directly for the State's Attorney. Because of the State's Attorney's county-wide jurisdiction, most of the State's Attorney's Office police officers have been sworn in as deputy sheriffs so they can exercise authority outside of the limits of Chicago.[19]

One of the special units of the State's Attorney's Police is called the Special Prosecutions Unit. This unit, formed in February 1969, consists of five Assistant State's Attorneys assisted by two teams of State's Attorney's Police. The first team is made up of nine men on the regular detached service, under Sgt. Cagney. The second team of nine men was formed in June of 1969. The men were screened and selected from the Chicago Police Department by the Assistant State's Attorney in charge of the unit, Richard S. Jalovec. These men have been detailed to the State's Attorney's Office, but are still carried on the roster of one of the regular Chicago police districts. The officer in charge of this group is Sgt. Daniel Groth, a twelve-year veteran of the Chicago Police.[20]

The function of the Special Prosecutions Unit is to handle special problems and prosecutions dealing with youth gangs and to advise and assist in mass arrests and resulting prosecutions. The regular team, i.e. those on detached service, are included in the regular State's Attorney's Office police organization under Chief Ward. The group of officers under Sgt. Groth are not part of the regular contingent and report only to Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec and State's Attorney Hanrahan. Since they are "detailed" (rather than detached) from the Chicago Police, their jurisdiction is only in the city.[21]

Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec stated that he had personally supervised the selection process of Sgt. Groth's team of officers after soliciting suggested names from a number of other attorneys in the office.[22] The group was designed to provide a cross section of experience and expertise and includes officers from the Gang Intelligence Unit, Robbery, Homicide, Youth Division. In the course of the selection, Jalovec requested the disciplinary records of each officer from the Internal Inspections Division (IID), and was advised that only one, James Davis, had a rather minor charge against him sustained. He neither sought nor received the records of all charges filed against the officers which had been classed by IID as unfounded or not sustained.[23]

Consistent with its established policy of cooperation with state and local law enforcement agencies, the Federal Bureau of Investigation advises all effected agencies of information that may be relevant to law enforcement problems. On November 21, an agent of the FBI obtained information from a confidential source that the Chicago Black Panther Party had a stockpile of weapons and ammunitions at 2337 West Monroe Street, Chicago. According to the FBI's information, the stockpile included 5 carbines with 50,000 rounds of ammunition, 3 gas masks, 3 smoke bombs, 5 Ithaca riot shotguns plus ammunition 4 .38 caliber handguns plus ammunition and one .357 magnum plus ammunition. The Bureau information also set forth a list of seven persons most frequently at the apartment which included: Fred Hampton, Ronald Satchel, Louis Truelock and Deborah Johnson. Finally, the information received indicated that the weapons involved had been purchased by female Panthers who had no police records. The available descriptions did not indicate a violation of federal gun laws.[24]

This information was promptly forwarded to the Chicago Police Department. Because of the Bureau's understanding that the Special Prosecutions Unit of the State's Attorney's Office would also be concerned about such information—both because of the potential relationship to its youth gang activities and because the State's Attorney would have to authorize any potential search warrant—Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec was also given this information. Mr. Jalovec did not discuss this information with anyone and did not request a search warrant.[25]

On November 23, 1969, the FBI obtained additional information to the effect that the weapons had been removed from the premises, allegedly because the Panthers had found out a police raid had been planned for November 25. The FBI agent in charge immediately called the Director of the Chicago Police Intelligence Division who confirmed that such a raid had been planned and that it would be cancelled.[26]

On December 1, the FBI received information that some of the subject weapons had been returned to 2337 West Monroe. This information was again relayed to the Chicago Police Department and to Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec. A Bureau agent reconfirmed this with Jalovec on December 2 and at that time reviewed the original information on the type of weapons and the persons frequently seen there.[27]

Also, on December 2, Sergeant Groth obtained information from a different confidential informant, who he said had supplied accurate information to him in the past, that there were a number of weapons collected at 2337 West Monroe. The weapons allegedly in the first floor apartment consisted of three sawed-off shotguns with barrels about 12 inches long, three stolen Chicago Police Department riot shotguns, an unspecified number of rifles and handguns and 45 or 50 thousand rounds of ammunition.[28]

The weapons described to Sgt. Groth included two categories of illegal guns, the stolen police weapons and the sawed-off shotguns. No information was received as to whether the other guns were properly registered.[29]

On the way to work on the morning of December 3, Sgt. Groth drove by the address and inspected the neighborhood for about 20 minutes. He then proceeded to his office where he advised Mr. Jalovec of his information. Jalovec told Groth that he, too, had received information relating to weapons at this location. Jalovec did not disclose the source of his information to Groth, but did advise him that his information was that there were sawed-off shotguns and other weapons on the premises and that Fred Hampton was one of the persons frequently seen there.[30] Neither Groth nor Jalovec advised the FBI or the Chicago Police of the information Groth had received.[31]

It should be noted that Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec had not been advised by the FBI that "sawed-off shotguns" were present in the apartment. Rather the agent told him that three Ithaca riot shotguns were present. Jalovec interpreted the term "riot shotgun" as synonymous with "sawed-off shotgun" and therefore felt that his information confirmed that obtained by Sgt. Groth. In point of fact an Ithaca riot shotgun has a barrel length in excess of 18 inches and is therefore not illegal.[32]

After comparing their information, Sgt. Groth and Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec discussed the possibility of obtaining a search warrant for the seizure of the weapons. They determined that they had sufficient evidence to establish probable cause. Mr. Jalovec prepared a search warrant and Sgt. Groth began to plan the mission.[33]

At the Coroner's Inquest, Sgt. Groth stated that his informant had advised that on Monday, Wednesday and Friday the occupants of the apartment would all be out of the premises attending a political orientation class at 8:00 p.m. which was suggested as an appropriate time for a raid. However, before this Grand Jury, Sgt. Groth stated this information had been supplied by Mr.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Jalovec and that his prior testimony was in error.[34]

In any event, Sgt. Groth conferred with several of the other experienced officers in his unit at lunch on December 3, and it was agreed that a raid should not be planned for 8:00 p.m., but for an early morning hour to achieve the maximum surprise and minimum potential for neighborhood interference. There was also discussion that the 8:00 p.m. suggestion could be a trap.[35]

Also, during the day, Sgt. Groth dispatched Officers Kelly and Davis to observe the premises in private cars, obtain a description of the building and the neighborhood, and prepare a sketch of relevant items. Sergeant Groth determined that he would need some additional men for the raid and discussed with Sgt. Cagney the availability of some of his men. He then contacted five of these officers individually and advised each to be prepared to go out to execute a search warrant for illegal weapons. The five men from Sgt. Cagney's squad were Officers Broderick, Gorman, Hughes, Harris and Corbett. For security reasons Sgt. Groth did not advise any of his men or those recruited of the site of the raid or that it involved Black Panther arms. Sgt. Groth stated that the police department was not notified of the plan because he feared there could be a leak to the Panthers.[36]

Later that afternoon Mr. Jalovec completed the preparation of the complaint for a search warrant and the form for the warrant. Based on his concept that riot guns were illegal sawed-off shotguns, the complaint included the information supplied to him by the F.B.I.[37] The complaint requests that a search warrant be issued to search the premises at 2337 W. Monroe, first floor apartment for "sawed-off shotguns and other illegal weapons" which had been used in or constitute evidence of the offense of "Unlawful Use of Weapons." The recitation of probable cause is as follows:

"A reliable informant, who has furnished reliable information to affiant on several past occasions which has led to the confiscation of 2 sawed-off shotguns in two separate raids, and has provided information that has led to several convictions, informed the affiant Daniel Groth that on December 2, 1969, he had occasion to enter the above described premises at 2337 W. Monroe 1st floor apartment. During this visit, he observed numerous weapons, including three sawed-off shotguns, whose barrels appeared to be approximately 12 inches in length. Along with these weapons he observed numerous rounds of ammunition. When he left the premises the above described sawed-off shotguns were still there. Independently of this above information, Daniel Groth was informed by ASA Richard S. Jalovec that on December 2, 1969, Jalovec had a conversation with a reliable informant who also stated that sawed-off shotguns and other weapons were being stored in the first floor apartment at 2337 W. Monroe, Chicago, Ill. This informant, according to Jalovec, has provided information in the past which has led to the arrest and indictment of numerous individuals." [38]

Sergeant Groth then signed the sworn complaint before Circuit Judge Robert Collins with whom Mr. Jalovec had made an appointment. Mr. Jalovec had first called Circuit Judge Frank Delaney who was unavailable. Judge Collins reviewed the information in the complaint and signed the warrant late on the afternoon of December 3.[39]

Some of the men who had been alerted by Sgt. Groth drew heavy weapons from the State's Attorney Police arsenal. Sergeant Delaney, who is in charge of weapons, issued a Thompson submachine gun and 110 rounds of ammunition to Detective Gorman and three 12 gauge shotguns to Officers Corbett and Broderick, who were to give the extra weapon to one of the other officers. Sgt. Delaney also issued them 25 rounds of Number 8 bird shot and 15 rounds of double ought buck shot.[40]

Sgt. Groth testified that he first found out Officer Gorman was bringing a submachine gun about 5:00 or 5:30 p.m. on December 3, after the weapon was checked out, and that he had never been on a prior raid where such a weapon was carried. Sgt. Groth could not recall specifically whether he or Gorman suggested bringing it, but did not believe it was his (Groth's) idea.[41]

Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec recalled going over the basic plan and suggesting to Sgt. Groth that he should take more men along because in Jalovec's opinion 14 was insufficient. Mr. Jalovec based this on his knowledge that the Chicago Police use 50 to 100 men in similar situations because "you never know what is going to happen." [42] However, Sgt. Groth could recall no such conversation and doubted that he had been so advised by Jalovec. In any event, he would not have changed his plan because "He is a lawyer; I am a policeman." [43] Mr. Jalovec agreed "in retrospect" that 14 men were sufficient and probably better because "you didn't have people stepping over each other and running into each other." [44]

Sgt. Groth advised each of the participating officers either before they left the office or telephonically at their homes that the raid would not be conducted that evening but all would report to the State's Attorney's Office at 4:00 a.m., December 4. Sgt. Groth drew up a written plan for the raid at his home on the night of December 3.[45]

The plan called for Sgt. Groth and Officers Jones, Davis, Gorman and Hughes to go in the front door of the apartment and Officers Carmody, Ciszewski, Joseph and Kelly to remain at the rear door. Corbett and Broderick would secure the outer rear of the premises and Marusich, Harris and Howard the outer front. Marusich and Corbett would each have a walkie-talkie outside and Ciszewski would carry one inside. The written plan concluded "Entire raid could be a trap, so be very careful." Sgt. Groth said this was put in the plan to emphasize the danger because of his understanding that Panthers frequently had someone on watch around the clock.[46]

In preparing for and planning the raid, Sgt. Groth did not order a surveillance of the premises on the night of the third to determine whether the apartment was occupied or to observe persons arriving or leaving. Neither did he endeavor to ascertain by surveillance or otherwise whether Fred Hampton would be there, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Jalovec had indicated Hampton was seen frequently at the apartment and Groth knew him to be a convicted felon under indictment for a violent crime.[47]

Sgt. Groth did not consider the use of portable sound equipment or the device previously used by the FBI of calling the apartment on the phone to advise the occupants that the police had the place surrounded. Sgt. Groth believed strongly that the latter device would have been a bad idea. Sgt. Groth's plan did not contemplate the use of tear gas or portable lighting equipment.[48]

Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec met with State's Attorney Hanrahan about 5:00 p.m. on the evening of December 3 about several other matters and mentioned that his men were serving a warrant for Panther guns in the morning. Mr. Jalovec viewed the raid as "a normal thing" and would probably not have mentioned it to his superior had it not been for having several other matters to discuss.[49]

At 4:00 a.m. on December 4, Sgt. Groth briefed the 13 assembled officers and for the first time told them the location of the raid and that Panther arms were involved. He did not believe the information that Hampton would possibly be in the apartment was relevant to the plan and did not so advise the men.[50] Detective Gorman was the only officer who had prior dealings with Hampton, having worked on the torture and kidnapping case. Gorman testified that he considered Hampton "dangerous," that he would have been more concerned for his personal safety had he known of Hampton's potential presence and that he would have carried more ammunition with him.[51]

Sgt. Groth outlined the basic plan as set forth in his prepared order. Sgt. Groth had not told the men how to arm themselves for the operation but did see that several had brought personal weapons and indicated he had no objection to their being carried. Sgt. Groth believes this is substantial compliance with the Chicago Police regulation prohibiting officers from carrying personal weapons except at the direction of their superiors.[52]

The following table reflects the officers' armament for the raid:

Officer	Revolvers	Personal rifles and shotguns	Heavy weapons issued
Broderick, Raymond	(1) .38 caliber		(1) Remington Wingmaster 12 gauge shotgun.
Carmody, Edward	(1) .38 caliber		
Ciszewski, John	(1) .38 caliber	(1) Hi-Standard K-1200 12 gauge Shotgun.	
Corbett, William	(1) .38 caliber		(1) Remington Wingmaster 12 gauge shotgun.
Davis, James	(1 or 2) .38 caliber	(1) .30 caliber carbine	
Gorman, Joseph	(1) .357 caliber		(1) .45 caliber Thompson submachine gun.
Groth, Daniel	(2) .38 caliber		
Harris, Lynwood	(1) .38 caliber		
Howard, Fred	(2) .38 caliber		
Hughes, Robert	(2) .38 caliber		
Jones, George	(2) .38 caliber	(1) Sawed-off 12 gauge [19½"] double-barreled shotgun.	
Joseph, Philip	(2) .38 caliber		
Kelly, William	(1) .38 caliber		(1) Remington Wingmaster 12 gauge shotgun.
Marusich, John	(2) .38 caliber		

Sgt. Groth did not have any special plan for dealing with the possibility of resistance. However, he did emphasize, as he says he always does, that officers should not use their weapons indiscriminately: "This has been my criteria ever since I have been a sergeant, don't shoot, don't shoot, don't shoot." [53]

After the briefing, the 14 State's Attorney's Police left the office in three cars and an unmarked panel truck and proceeded directly to the scene.[54]

E. Security of the premises

One of this Grand Jury's first acts was to apply for an order of the Federal District Court calling for sequestration of the premises to take effect whenever the coroner's seal placed on the apartment December 17, 1969, was removed. Such an order was issued on

Footnotes at end of speech.

January 7, 1970, and thereafter the premises were in the official custody of the U.S. Marshals. The premises were boarded and locked and a deputy marshal and a Chicago police officer remained at the front and back of the apartment twenty-four hours a day during the investigation.

One of the interim matters which the Grand Jury took up was the question of why the raided premises were not sealed or otherwise made secure until December 17, almost two weeks after the incident. During those two weeks, beginning on the morning of the incident, Black Panther guides conducted tours for newsmen, neighborhood residents, students and the idly curious. The guides' explanation included allegations that Hampton was killed in his sleep; that after the shooting began he rolled over and protected Deborah Johnson, giving his life to save hers; that he was shot through the door; that he was shot through the window; that the patterns of bullet holes showed the police had done all the firing; and that pictures published in the press supporting the charge that Panthers had fired were fraudulent and in furtherance of the police conspiracy.[55] Detailed accounts of these various allegations were presented on television and in the press.

The thrust of the Grand Jury's inquiry on this point was to determine whether sound law enforcement procedures required the premises to be secured, if so, whose responsibility it was to safeguard the apartment, and why it was not done for two weeks.

After the shooting stopped, the first priority, according to the State's Attorney's Police, was to remove the dead, the wounded and those under arrest. Various squadrons responding to the call for assistance arrived almost immediately after the shooting. The second priority, according to the officers, was to complete their search for weapons and ammunition and to recover all the physical evidence. According to the officers, it was decided that the job of gathering evidence could best be performed by a Mobile Unit from the Police Crime Laboratory, although the State's Attorney's Police did collect a number of spent cartridges and other items.[56] This material was placed with the weapons found in the apartment on a mattress in the living room. From there it was put in the State's Attorney's Police truck and transported to their headquarters.

A few minutes after the shooting ceased, Deputy Superintendent Merle Nygren arrived on the scene. During the night shift Deputy Superintendent Nygren represents and has all the authority of the Superintendent. Superintendent Nygren explained that he arrived at the premises about six or seven minutes after hearing the call for assistance on his radio. The shooting was over when he arrived. He was met by Sgt. Groth who explained that when the officers sought entrance they were fired upon through the door by a girl in the living room, the shotgun deer slug going through the living room door and narrowly missing the officers there. After a brief stay of 20–30 minutes, during which he made sure the wounded were cared for, ordered the wounded officers to the hospital and requested the Mobile Crime Lab Unit to come to the scene, Superintendent Nygren left. As he left he talked briefly with the 13th District Watch Commander and Field Lieutenant about securing the premises. He specifically instructed the Field Lieutenant to place two uniformed officers at the front door and two at the back door ". . . until the investigation was completed, and in fact until they were notified by the State's Attorney's Office that the detail would no longer be required." Superintendent Nygren testified that officers were stationed in front and back according to his order. His view of the police responsibility was to maintain security of the premises to the extent necessary to complete the investigation which in this instance was being handled by the State s Attorney's Office.[57]

The Watch Commander testified that when he was relieved at 6:20 a.m., he told his replacement of the shootout and that 13th District Units were stationed in the front and the rear.[58] One of the officers who was stationed at the front door testified that he was told to secure the front door and "Keep out all unauthorized personnel." He continued on this assignment until relieved at 7:30 a.m. The relief was announced by an unknown member of the day watch from the 13th District. Shortly after 7:30 a.m. the officer explained:

"Well, this patrolman who came by in his squad car, the day watch, informed us that there had been a radio broadcast that we were to be relieved at 0730 hours, which it was past that time then, so we just left the scene." [59]

Apparently, the apartment was taken over by representatives of the Black Panthers shortly thereafter. Attorney Francis Andrew testified that he was called to the premises at approximately 6:00 or 6:30 a.m. When he arrived there were no police present and the only person in the apartment was one member of the Panther Party.[60]

The State's Attorney's Police cannot fix the time of their departure but all agree they were not there very long. While Superintendent Nygren was speaking with Sgt. Groth, one of the officers, Detective Gorman, called the office and spoke with Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec. He inquired, first, what disposition should be made of the weapons and Jalovec directed they be brought to the office to be inventoried. Second, Gorman asked what should be done with the apartment because of his assumption that "... our office would send a State's Attorney over and start the investigation right there." However, Jalovec said no one would come out and directed ". . . you better get out of there before there's a riot." [61]

The early departure is also confirmed by the testimony of the sergeant who led the Mobile Crime Lab team. He estimated he arrived at the scene about 5:15 a.m. and his notes indicated that he was at the morgue taking pictures of Hampton and Clark at 7:00 a.m. Since it takes 10 to 15 minutes to drive to the morgue, the laboratory team must have left no later than 6:45 or 6:50 a.m.[62]

Grand Jury investigators monitored police tape recordings of all bands carrying radio traffic which could be heard by squad cars assigned to the 13th District. During the time immediately before and after 7:30 a.m. there was no broadcast discovered which ordered the relief of 13th District officers from the front and back door of the scene.[63]

The premises were ultimately sealed on December 17, after State's Attorney's Police revisited the premises to attempt to recover further evidence. At this time, a Coroner's seal was placed on the apartment. According to the papers at the time, the Coroner did not realize the premises were not sealed until he read newspaper accounts that so indicated.[64] The testimony relating to the use of Coroner's seals and the responsibility for affixing them is confusing and inconsistent.

Superintendent Nygren's understanding of the purpose of a Coroner's seal was that it was to be placed on premises where someone is found dead and there is a need to protect the premises so that the public administrator could inventory the assets and belongings of a decedent. In his 29 years with the Chicago Police, this case was the first where he had known of a Coroner's seal being used to protect premises for law enforcement purposes. Obtaining and preserving evidence, according to Nygren, is a proper police function unrelated to the Coroner's duties.[65]

However, the Chief Deputy Coroner had a significantly different impression. He testified that the first notice the Coroner's Office had of this incident was when the bodies of Hampton and Clark were brought to the morgue at 6:00 a.m. on December 4. While the normal procedure is for police to call in from the scene of a violent death before moving the bodies, there is no record of this being done here. Had it been done, the normal practice would have been not to remove the bodies until a Coroner's investigator reached the scene. This would normally be a Deputy Coroner who would get information for the Coroner's Office and for the inquest. No photographs or other investigation is normally conducted.[66] With respect to sealing the premises, the Chief Deputy Coroner said that even after notification of a violent death, the Coroner's Office has no responsibility for sealing the premises. The seal in this case was affixed in connection with the special inquest. The Chief Deputy explained the responsibility for sealing it earlier was with the police:

"Well, the usual procedure in these cases is the Coroner's Office furnishes seals to members of the Police Department, in case they want to seal up a place where death occurs.

"It is up to the Police Department to seal the place, if they so desire.

"In this case, they made their raid and in their opinion, I guess they didn't think it was necessary to seal it." [67]

Another view was expressed by the 13th District Watch Commander. He testified as to this practice in affixing coroner's seals:

"Well, if there has been a death—usually it is just one room, I think, they would put a coroner's seal on a place.

"But here, there were, I guess, six or eight people living there. I think the reason the seal was not put on was because they anticipated that some of them would make bond and come back there to live. I mean, that's just my way of thinking." [68]

Thus, the various civil authorities which could have sealed the premises while a detailed and thorough examination was made all declined responsibility for the failure to seal. Sgt. Groth testified that he left the premises in the custody of the Mobile Crime Lab Unit and the 13th District between 5:20 and 5:30 a.m. on December 4.[69] He felt the premises were secured when he left, and testified that he had not ". . . the slightest idea" why the premises were left unguarded.[70] He had received the impression that the premises would be secured.[71] Superintendent Conlisk testified that a detail of men was routinely assigned by Assistant Deputy Superintendent Nygren to secure the premises, but that detail was ordered removed by the State's Attorney's Office.[72] No trace of the source of such an order, nor of the means of transmittal, had been found at the time he testified.[73]

Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec testified that sealing such premises is not ordinarily done, but that in hindsight, it would have been a good idea to seal the premises off.[74] State's Attorney Hanrahan testified there was "absolutely no order" from his office to relieve the police guards.[75]

The Grand Jury is unable to conclude who failed to seal the premises.

Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec, who had reportedly advised Gorman that the officers should leave to prevent a disorder, gave this response when asked why the premises were not sealed:

"Well, first of all, it wouldn't have been—maybe it would have been my decision—I don't know—again, I don't take part in the day-to-day police work, but I do know, in subsequently talking to Commander Flannigan, the head of Homicide, when we talked about sealing the apartment—and he has been head of Homicide in Chicago for 20 years—he said he doesn't know of one instance where an apartment was sealed.

Footnotes at end of speech.

"Now, in view of all the publicity and everything that happened, it is very easy to look back and say this should have been sealed right away.

"But at the time, as I say, when they got back, they were really in shock, they had come through a gun battle, they didn't know that the individual known as Hampton was one of those involved, they wanted to clear out of the neighborhood as soon as they could, because the neighborhood is just a block away from Panther headquarters there on Madison, and there were many instances of shooting from the headquarters at police there.

"So, in retrospect, it is easy for me, too, to say this should have been sealed off, it is something that is not normally done and was not done that morning.

* * * * *

"I believe that the police just left and took the individuals with them, took all the guns with them, picked up many empty shells and casings, and that was it." [76]

F. State's attorney's police and the Chicago Police Department Crime Laboratory search the scene and process the evidence

When this Grand Jury undertook to collect all of the physical evidence for laboratory analysis by the FBI, it discovered that only some of the ballistics evidence, principally seized weapons and ammunition and some projectiles and expended cartridges, was in the possession of the State's Attorney's Police and Police Crime Lab. The balance was found to be either in the control of attorneys for the survivors or still at the premises. Therefore, the Grand Jury undertook to establish whether the law enforcement agencies involved had conducted a complete and proper examination of the scene and had processed the evidence collected in a professional manner. A review of the evidence developed on this point follows:

Almost immediately after the shooting was over, various units of the Chicago Police Department responding to the 10–1 signal for police emergency, began to arrive at the apartment. Some of these men were directed to remove and transport the dead and wounded and to take the uninjured survivors to the 13th District. While this activity was underway, the State's Attorney's Police searched for weapons and evidence.[77]

It should be pointed out that the flat is small, and is divided into six rooms connected by a hallway. A diagram of the apartment is attached as an appendix to this report. Besides the normal complement of furniture, there were a number of extra beds and mattresses and a large quantity of miscellaneous material stored in the apartment both loose and in boxes. One of the slugs had hit a gallon of paint in a closet and the paint was being tracked back and forth. In addition to the two dead and seven live occupants and the fourteen State's Attorney's Police, uniformed officers and supervisors were coming in and out to carry out their functions and just to see what had happened. All agree that the apartment was in a shambles and the official traffic was very congested.[78]

The State's Attorney's Police conducted their search in this crowded and confused atmosphere. The search does not appear to have been very systematic or controlled. Detective Gorman tells of being so keyed up from the shooting that as he attempted to lift a mattress and box spring to search under it, he threw it upside down on top of adjacent furniture.[79]

As the officers found weapons and other potential evidence, they brought it into the living room and piled it on a mattress on the floor. Although Sgt. Groth gave no specific orders concerning the search, a system evolved whereby one or two officers remained in the living room and emptied each weapon as it was brought in. Some empty cartridge casings and loose ammunition were placed, unmarked, in a box adjacent to the mattress.[80] Some of the officers put expended cartridges from their own weapons into the box, but others threw their shells away at home when the weapons were emptied.[81]

The Task Force of the Chicago Police Department maintains men on duty around the clock. Some are specially trained as evidence technicians and respond to the scene of serious crimes to collect and preserve evidence. One such technician, on a routine assignment, on receiving first a transmission that a search warrant would be served at 2337 West Monroe, and a few minutes later that police assistance was needed there, proceeded to respond to that address. As he approached the apartment, he overheard some uniformed patrolmen discussing the incident. One of them said that Fred Hampton had been shot.[82]

As the technician approached the door of the flat, another officer whom he knew requested that he get his camera and go inside to begin taking pictures. Inside, he found the place was very crowded. As the technician was assembling his equipment, he was approached by a plainclothes officer, apparently one of Sgt. Groth's men, who told him "They shot through the back door and we want a picture of the hole in the back door." He was shown to the back door which was slightly open with a sheet hanging over the inside and directed to take a picture of a hole in the sheet as it was draped over the door, which he did. He did not move the sheet nor examine or photograph the covered portion of the door.[83]

Next, the technician was directed by another plainclothes officer to photograph a living room wall which contained several news clippings relating to reports of police officers being shot by Panthers. He was also directed to photograph a disassembled weapon on a dresser in the living room. Without instructions to do so he then photographed the body lying between the dining room and south bedroom. This body had been identified to him by various plainclothes officers as that of Fred Hampton.[84] The technician says that although he saw the body in the living room, it was removed before he got a chance to photograph it.[85] (However, this testimony is directly contradicted by Sgt. Groth who says he instructed the technician to take photographs of Clark's body, watched while he took two or three of them and was later told by the Crime Lab that they did not turn out.[86]) The technician took one more picture, one of the north bedroom, and was then relieved by a sergeant from the Crime Lab Mobile Unit who said his unit would complete the investigation. Although the preservation of fingerprints and the tagging of weapons and evidence are included in the duties of an evidence technician, he was not asked to perform such functions.[87] In fact, none of the weapons or other evidence picked up by the State's Attorney's Police were tagged or marked as to where and by whom found nor were any possible fingerprints preserved or taken.[88]

The participating officers from the State's Attorney's Office were relieved to see the mobile team from the Crime Laboratory on the scene. As one of them put it:

"I was relieved, because I felt they were going to make their plats and get the bullet holes, and pick up. I don't recall picking up a shell off the floor. My legs were aching. I don't know if I picked a shell off the floor.[89]

Accordingly, shortly after the Crime Lab team arrived, the State's Attorney's Police put the weapons and other evidence they had recovered in the truck,[90] still without tagging or noting the recovery information, and returned to the office.[91] Before leaving, Sgt. Groth gave the Crime Lab team leader a description of what happened and this single instruction: "I told him to look for evidence of shots on this [west] side of the apartment." [92]

The supervising sergeant of the Mobile Crime Lab team stated that his general responsibility was ". . . to photograph the scene as we find it, draw a rough sketch, search for and recover whatever evidence is available, mark it and transport it to the Crime Laboratory".[93] His team arrived about 5:15 a.m.[94] The sergeant acknowledged that in executing these responsibilities, his team was basically focused on identifying shots fired at the officers. Accordingly, the sergeant was first shown the living room door, which he inspected and had photographed. There was one clearly visible hole almost an inch in diameter with powder tatooing on the inside. Apparent above this hole on both sides of the door there was another damaged spot. The sergeant did not believe that it was all the way through, although he did not probe it nor did he form an opinion as to its cause.[95] On viewing an enlargement of a photograph, the sergeant agreed that the damage could have been caused by the passage of a bullet through the plywood panel at an angle leaving no clear hole because the outer layer of the panel snapped back into place.[96] Neither the door or the panel were removed for testing.

The sergeant next noted a hole in the southwest corner of the hallway outside the living room door. He found nothing in the hole and was unable to trace it because the upstairs occupants did not respond to his knock.[97]

Returning to the living room the sergeant noted a hole high in the northwest corner. Nothing was recovered from this, the hole was not then probed, nor was a notation of it made in the field notes compiled by the team.[98] Also in the living room the sergeant observed many holes in the south wall. They were examined and appeared to be through and through holes confirming the story of firing through the wall as related by the officers. Although a minority of the holes were not readily identifiable as entry or exit holes, the mobile team's notes do not indicate which ones were ambiguous.[99]

Beneath a dresser on the west wall of the living room the sergeant recovered two spent 12 gauge Remington and Peters casings and one spent .45 caliber casing. These were placed in an evidence envelope and taken to the Crime Lab where the two shotgun shells were subsequently identified as having been fired from a seized weapon.[100] Nothing else was obtained by the Crime Lab from the living room, although subsequently other searchers obtained seven additional bullets and casings from this room.[101] Although a Crime Lab picture taken at the time showed a bullet hole on the southeast wall of the living room, the Crime Lab office did not see this hole.[102] The team also missed this hole on their later examination.[103]

In the north bedroom the laboratory team noted holes in the north wall and some corresponding holes in the bedroom door when that door was placed in an open position. However, the sergeant's report of this examination incorrectly states:

"Examination of the door to the front bedroom showed what appeared to be shots fired from in the bedroom out to the hall." [104]

Although he had discovered this error by viewing pictures on December 5, no correction to this report and been made at the time of his testimony (Feb. 25, 1970) and the sergeant had not advised his superiors of the error.[105]

The mobile team recovered no projectiles or shell casings from the north bedroom although twenty-seven projectiles and six casings were later found in that room. Other than two apparent shotgun blasts on the north wall that were ambiguous and which were not probed to determine the angle of fire, the mobile team found no indication

Footnotes at end of speech.

that shots had been fired out of this room by the occupants. Their report does not indicate this fact.[106]

In the dining room the team noted an apparent shotgun pattern high on the east wall and recovered two spent 12 gauge casings. The team did not note one bullet, three shells and two unfired bullets recovered later in that room.[107]

In the south bedroom the team noted a number of through and through holes in the north wall, four shotgun patterns in the east wall, a hole in the eastern window frame and a number of holes in the south wall. They recovered the base of a 12 gauge casing and two spent bullets on the floor near the south wall. They also noted and probed with fingers some holes in the mattress with negative results. The team found no evidence of shots being fired from this room.[108]

In the kitchen, the team found no shells, projectiles, or bullet holes. They examined a sheet hanging over the back door. Although the sheet had a hole in it, it could not be identified as a bullet hole nor were there any marks on the wall or door behind the sheet. Neither the sheet nor any portion thereof was removed for laboratory analysis of any residue near the hole. The team did not examine the porch, the steps leading upstairs past the kitchen window or the adjacent wall of the next building for possible bullet marks.[109]

In summary, the sergeant testified that his crime scene investigation, which lasted a maximum of 90–95 minutes, revealed evidence of the three shots that could possibly have been fired by the occupants: the deer slug hole in the living room door; and the two shotgun patterns in the middle of the north wall of the north bedroom on which the angle of fire had not been ascertained.

At the request of an Assistant State's Attorney, the sergeant and his team returned to the premises on December 17 and 18, accompanied by members of the Illinois Crime Commission, to attempt to recover the deer slug which had penetrated the stairwell to the second floor and to recover any other projectiles from the walls. On those days, the team did not locate the deer slug; it found and removed some wadding, buck shot and eight projectiles. The team also removed some buck shot from a tarpaper-covered porch on the adjacent premises.[110]

The following chart shows the ballistically identifiable evidence (projectiles and casings but not wads, shotgun pellets or fragments too small to identify) obtained by the Grand Jury from all sources and suggests the thoroughness of each search:

Items recovered

State's attorney's police, Dec. 4, 1969	62
Crime lab unit, Dec. 4, 1969	7
Survivors' attorney, Dec. 4, 1969 and Dec. 17, 1969	43
Crime lab unit, Dec. 17, 1969 and Dec. 18, 1969	8
FBI, Dec. 22, 1969 to Dec. 23, 1969, Dec. 29, 1969 to Dec. 31, 1969, Jan. 5, 1970 to Jan. 21, 1970, Feb. 9, 1970 to Feb. 13, 1970, and Mar. 8, 1970	30
Other,[1] Feb. 1970	1
Total	151

[1] Removed from leg of Verlina Brewer.

There were no fingerprints taken from the seized weapons at the time they were obtained and because of repeated handling none were subsequently available.

The joint crime scene search by the three branches of local law enforcement—the State's Attorney Police, the duty evidence technician from the Task Force and the Mobile Unit from the Crime Lab, was conducted in a crowded situation in a high crime area under considerable pressure to get the job done. However, any crime scene investigation which uncovers barely half of the relevant evidence must be seriously questioned. The explanation for the limited work done by the Crime Lab team is clear. The sergeant in charge agreed that the crime scene investigation was conducted, not to obtain all the available evidence, but, to try to establish the authenticity of the account given by the raiding officers. In response to a jurors question the sergeant defended the scope of his inquiry in this way:

"I believe it was done efficiently enough, ma'am. I felt at the time that the occupants of that apartment attempted to take the lives of the officers attempting to serve a legal search warrant. They met resistance. The Illinois State Statute states that being an arrest, legal or illegal, you are not [to] resist it.

"Further facts that were uncovered in this case was that weapons had been recovered from this apartment, stolen Chicago Police Department shotgun, illegal sawed-off shotguns, I believe that the scene was adequately covered, yes, ma'am." [111]

Superintendent of Police, James B. Conlisk, Jr., attributed the responsibility of the crime scene search directly to the State's Attorney:

"We were directed by the State's Attorney's police that they, the State's Attorney's police, would collect all this evidence, they would handle everything.

"Our Crime Laboratory people were told not to collect any further evidence other than the minute amount they did.

* * * * *

"I have been informed by the Director of the Crime Detection Laboratory that the mobile Crime Lab person who works for him was directed by Sergeant Groth, that he, Sergeant Groth and his men would handle everything." [112]

G. The Panther investigation

On December 4, 1969, at approximately 7:30 a.m., the police guards posted at the premises departed.[113] A short time thereafter, Francis E. Andrew, an attorney for the Black Panther Party, came to examine the scene.[114] In conjunction with Andrew's examination of the scene, an independent film maker was employed to take extensive movies of the premises and of Andrew conducting the investigation.[115] When the Grand Jury subpoenaed these films, Andrew resisted on the ground that the film was a work product of an attorney and covered by the attorney-client privilege of the persons in the apartment charged with state crimes.[116] The Court ruled, however, that ". . . the right of the Grand Jury, the Federal Grand Jury, to exhaustively inquire into any possible violation of Federal law unrelated to the charges pending in the State Court . . . is paramount to the work product privilege, even if one exists." [117]

The movies [118] proved of considerable assistance to the Grand Jury in its attempt to reconstruct the condition of the premises on December 4. They depict Mr. Andrew and his associates collecting physical evidence at the site and establish locations for various furnishings and other materials.

In addition to the movies, Andrew set up a system for the controlled recovery of over 100 items of evidence including 64 projectiles, pellets, wads and empty shells. A card was prepared for each item showing the description of the item, the location of recovery, and the name of the person finding it. Each item was placed in a separate container and assigned an evidence number. A chain of custody of each item was maintained on the cards.[119]

Although Andrew was apprised in the latter part of December 1969 that the Grand Jury investigating this incident would first attempt to collect all physical evidence recoverable and was requested to produce all physical evidence in his possession,[120] it was not produced voluntarily. Finally in late January, after a subpoena had been issued and a Court order directed the production of all the physical evidence in his possession. Andrew delivered all such items to the FBI as custodian for the Grand Jury. The items were promptly shipped to the FBI Laboratory for analysis.

In addition to retaining a film maker, Andrew also retained a physical evidence expert to make an examination of the premises.[121] After being briefed on Andrew's view of the case, the expert spent approximately fourteen hours in examination of the premises on December 8. During portions of this time, the Black Panther Party was conducting tours of the premises. The expert retrieved various items of physical evidence, including the projectile which was fired from within the apartment through the living room door. This projectile was found on the staircase to the upstairs apartment, just below an apparent impact point on the west wall of the staircase.[122] The expert also found a projectile which had struck the southeast wall of the living room and could have been fired through the living room door, partially open.[123] While some of his contributions were significant, the expert's testimony revealed his defense orientation, perhaps accentuated by the limited time he had and the briefings of counsel. For example, he proposed an imaginative theory as to who fired the first shot based upon the position of the living room door and the assumed trajectories of the incoming and outgoing rounds. He illustrated that if the door was opening at the time of the first of two closely spaced shots, the incoming shot would have to be fired before the shotgun blast from within the apartment. However, if the door was closing, then the shotgun blast from within the apartment preceded the shot from outside the door.[124] The expert stated that his opinion on who fired the first shot would be based on prior testimony establishing whether the door was opening or closing at the time.[125] His theory excluded any other movements of the door, i.e. it could have been kicked open and bounced back. In addition, his opinion that a deer slug shotgun blast through a door at close range would not cause it to move seemed strained to the Jury and was later contradicted by FBI tests on a similar door.[126]

The expert also retrieved various other projectiles for study.[127] He noted a bullet hole in the upper northwest corner of the living room wall, but did not attempt to recover any projectile. He was told that the hole had been made by an accidental discharge sometime prior to December 4, 1969.[128] He did not attempt to examine any of the furniture except for one mattress and one dresser of the apartment for possible bullet damage.[129]

The expert attempted to establish the trajectories of the bullets fired by placing dowels in holes in the walls. He did not find any physical evidence indicating gunfire by the occupants of the apartment except the hole in the living room door.[130]

The Black Panther Party investigation also included the retention of a private pathologist who on December 5, 1969, performed a second autopsy on the body of Fred Hampton. Again, before beginning his work, this pathologist was briefed as to the defense theory that Hampton was intentionally murdered. This second autopsy is discussed in detail under the section covering the cause of death.

One of the significant impressions the Grand Jury obtained from parts of the investigation conducted by the survivors' attorneys—and, indeed, from parts of the official investigation as well—was the extent to which the predisposition of the individuals conducting the investigations affects the result. Any investigation that is designed to prove a theory rather than establish the facts has to be thoughtfully scrutinized and should not be accepted as objective without such scrutiny.

Footnotes at end of speech.

H. How Hampton died—Pathology and toxicology

One of the public controversies that surrounded this case concerned the conflicting pathological analyses on the body of Fred Hampton. The coroner's findings, released in fragments in the press and totally at the inquest, found that Hampton had been shot twice in the head, once in the left shoulder and grazed once on the right forearm. The coroner's protocol concluded that one of the head wounds proceeded from left to right entering in front of the left ear and exiting from a large wound in the right forehead. The other entered from the right side of the neck, below the right ear and exited from the left side of the throat. The head wounds were through and through. The left shoulder wound was probed and a .30 caliber carbine bullet was recoverd from the left pectoral muscles and turned over to the Chicago Police Crime Laboratory.[131] The pathologist from the coroner's office who performed the autopsy testified before the Grand Jury that he had opened the stomach of the corpse and examined its contents. Finding them to be fluid, he did no analysis upon the contents.[132]

The second autopsy was performed by a private pathologist who formerly had been the coroner's chief pathologist. This autopsy was performed at a funeral home in the presence of several other doctors and one of the survivors' defense counsel.[133] Although the pathologist inquired of the corner's office for a description of the wounds found in the official autopsy, it was not provided, and the second autopsy proceeded without any knowledge of what the coroner had found except that gained from press reports. The press had indicated, incorrectly, that the coroner had recovered no bullets.

The second autopsy concluded that Hampton had been hit twice in the head, both shots entering on the right side at approximately the same angle from above and slightly to the rear of the subject. One shot entered directly in front of the right ear and exited from the left side of the throat. The other entered on the right forehead and was probed to a point behind the left eye. No exit for this wound was located. The second autopsy also classified the left shoulder wound as a graze which had not penetrated.[134] A toxicologic study of blood samples collected at the second autopsy indicated high concentrations of the drug seconal (secobarbital), about the level of 4.5 milligrams percent.[135]

The doctor conducting the second autopsy explained his findings at several press conferences in the presence of defense counsel Andrew. He took sharp exception with reports that the coroner had recovered no bullets from the body, suggested that a bullet must have been removed from behind the left eye, and indicated that Hampton's wounds were consistent with being shot from above and behind while in a reclining position.[136] The pathologist also gave his opinion that the level of seconal present in the body would have placed the subject in a deep stupor.[137]

These reports, especially the alleged presence of drugs, were widely published in the media together with comments from Panther leader Rush and others that this fact proved the assassination theory.[138]

Shortly thereafter, the coroner's office announced that an analysis of samples of Hampton's blood retained from its autopsy showed that no seconal was present.[139]

The Grand Jury undertook to unravel these problems in several ways. First, it subpoenaed all of the pathologists, chemists and supporting personnel who had participated in the autopsies together with their photographs, X-rays and reports and heard the analysis of each. Second, it ordered that the retained blood samples from both autopsies should be submitted to the FBI Laboratory for a complete serological study. Finally, when it became apparent that the conflicting findings were irreconcilable from available evidence, it obtained an order of exhumation and commissioned Dr. Charles Petty, Chief Medical Examiner for the County of Dallas, to perform a third autopsy in the presence of physicians and attorneys representing the coroner and the Hampton family.

The expert from the FBI Laboratory testified that he had conducted the most specific and sophisticated test known for secobarbital—gas chromatography—on all of the blood samples submitted. There was no such drug found. In reviewing the materials submitted by the private toxicologist, he attributed the mistaken finding to the deterioration of the blood in the submitted sample, and the reliance on the subjective evaluations required in the type of testing—ultra violet spectrophotometry—used.[140]

The autopsy conducted by Dr. Petty at the Shreveport, Louisiana Veterans Hospital, with Grand Jury attorneys present, was extraordinarily thorough. An X-ray study of the entire body was made, and color and black and white photographs were taken at every stage of the examination. This autopsy conclusively confirmed the findings of the FBI and the coroner's chemist that there was no trace of drugs in the body through extensive cultural analyses of the stomach, kidneys, liver, brain and other organs; samples of these organs were contemporaneously obtained by the Hampton family pathologist and the coroner's pathologists.[141] The pathologist from the coroner's office misrepresented the autopsy procedures which he followed by stating that he had opened the stomach and examined its contents; [142] in fact, at the time of the February 16, 1970 autopsy, the stomach was untouched and was attached to the esophagus on one end and to the bowel on the other end.[143]

This autopsy also put to rest any speculation over the number and type of wounds Hampton had received. As both examinations had found, two shots did strike his head. The private pathologist had correctly found that both shots had entered at an angle from the right side. However, the path of the bullet which entered the right forehead did not terminate behind the left eye, as found at the second autopsy, but exited in front of the left ear.[144] The exit wound was clearly visible after the subject's sideburns had been shaved off. The shoulder wound was found to have penetrated as the coroner's report described, and there was evidence of the path of this bullet into the left pectoral muscle where the coroner described the recovery of a .30 caliber carbine bullet.[145] The coroner's report erroneously described the second entry wound in the head as being "in the right aspect of the neck at 5 cm below the lobule of the ear and 15 cm from the midline." In fact, this wound was on the right cheek just in front of the ear.[146]

In view of the considerable number of discrepancies between both earlier autopsies and the one commissioned by the Grand Jury, it is useful to examine the procedures used and to undertake an analysis of how the various errors were transformed into public controversy.

The Cook County coroner is charged by Illinois law with the responsibility of conducting an autopsy "Where a death has occurred and the circumstances concerning the death are suspicious, obscure, mysterious and in the opinion of the examining physician and the coroner the cause of death cannot be established definitely except by autopsy." [147]

There are three certified pathologists employed full time in the Cook County Coroner's Office. In addition, there are two assistants taking advance training in pathology who assist on weekends and a junior or assistant pathologist. The latter is a full time employee earning $27,000 annually. He graduated from medical school in Athens, Greece in 1957, came to the United States in 1958 where he interned and practiced pathology until 1964. From 1965 to 1967 he was senior pathologist in the Cook County Hospital Department of Pathology and transferred to the coroner's office in June 1969. This doctor is not yet licensed in Illinois but is able to practice under the supervision of other doctors on a special or temporary license pending licensure. Under his limited license he is not permitted to sign death certificates or autopsy protocols. In practice, he performs autopsies, dictates the findings and reviews them with the certified doctors who actually sign them. He estimates he performs 85 autopsies monthly.[148]

The assistant director of pathology testified that his organization is seriously understaffed. For example, on December 4, 1969, he performed five autopsies and appraised six other bodies to determine if an autopsy was required. In addition, he tried to supervise the assistant pathologist who performed two autopsies on his own. These two were Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.[149]

With the aid of a diener (autopsy assistant) and in an examining room next door to the assistant director, the assistant pathologist examined Hampton. According to his usual practice, he later dictated some notes into a dictating machine. On Sunday, December 7, because of the great public interest in the case and at the request of the acting director of pathology, he went into the office to write up his report. This handwritten report was delivered to the acting director who personally revised, edited and typed it up. This report went through several drafts. At one point the director searched unsuccessfully for the original dictabelt recording of notes, but it was lost or destroyed. The final version of the protocol, signed by the acting director, was dated December 12, 1969.[150]

The coroner's office does not take any photographs of the bodies during autopsy. One identification photograph is taken of each body before autopsy and if others are required, the Chicago Police Crime Lab is called in. Neither the Crime Lab photos nor the identification photos of Hampton were useful in resolving the disputed issues.[151]

Similarly, the coroner's office does not X-ray bodies to locate foreign matters. There is available a fluoroscope which was used by the diener outside the presence of the pathologist to determine if there were any significant additional materials in Hampton's body.[152] In fact, the dieners appear to share a considerable number of responsibilities with the pathologist. The diener, for example, not the pathologist, traced the path of Hampton's shoulder wound and recovered the bullet. The acting director had high praise for the dieners:

"I might state, as far as bullet wounds are concerned, we make a little bit of a game of bullet wounds, especially when they are peculiar. We try to trick the dieners and the dieners try to trick us time and again to make a statement, and then prove us wrong.

"All I can say is these boys are tremendous on identifying bullet wounds as entries or exits, and they are tremendous on finding bullets." [153]

The major problems in the coroner's findings appear to be based on the understaffing which required the examination to be conducted by a pathologist of restricted licensure without the direct supervision of a certified pathologist. Fortunately, the misdescription of the right head wound and the erroneous classification of the left forehead entrance wound as a wound of exit, does not seem to have had a substantive effect in this case.

The chemical analysis of Hampton's blood was also done in the coroner's office.[154] It ap-

Footnotes at end of speech.

peared to be a professional and competent job and reached a correct result.

The errors in the second autopsy are harder to understand. The principal pathologist was assisted and observed by two pathologists, a physician and a medical student. It seems incredible that all of them could have missed the exit wound near the left ear. This mistake combined with the mistaken drug analysis, the erroneous classification of the shoulder wound as a graze, the confusion over the recovery of a bullet by the coroner and the defense counsels' predeliction for accusatory press conferences, contributed significantly to exacerbating community tension. Plainly, a careful and objective approach to the second autopsy could have prevented this unnecessary conflict over the cause of death.

I. The Internal Inspections Division investigation

The Internal Inspections Division of the Chicago Police Department is under the command of Deputy Superintendent John Mulchrone, who reports directly to Superintendent James B. Conlisk, Chief Executive Officer of the Chicago Police Department. The Director of IID, Captain Harry Ervanian, reports directly to Deputy Superintendent Mulchrone. As Deputy Superintendent Mulchrone stated it: [155]

"The purpose and the function of the IID is to investigate the Chicago police department and find, root out any wrongdoing or illegal activities being conducted, to take complaints from citizens, from other members of the department, and investigate these complaints and arrive at conclusions based on facts."

As a routine matter, an IID investigation is commenced by assigning a "U" (for undercover) [156] number to each instance of a shooting of a citizen by a police officer,[157] or a "CR" (for complaint register) number to each incident of citizen complaint.[158] This routine was followed in this matter; U–69–53 was assigned as soon as this incident was reported and an investigation was initiated.[159] The investigation was immediately suspended because of a question of jurisdiction of IID over State's Attorney's Police.[160]

After the investigation had been suspended, Superintendent Conlisk was called by Mr. Hanrahan who asked him to undertake an investigation of the matter.[161] This was a unique situation in Superintendent Conlisk's experience.[162] Superintendent Conlisk directed Deputy Superintendent Mulchrone to conduct ". . . a complete, comprehensive investigation of the facts." [163]

When the investigation was completed, a summary report was written by Director Ervanian on December 19, 1969.[164] Director Ervanian's report concludes: [165]

"Physical evidence has fairly established that the occupants of the premises in question fired upon the officers who were in the process of executing the search warrant.

* * * * *

"There is no apparent misconduct or impropriety by any of the officers involved in the incident. The evidence shows the officers were in the process of lawful execution of a search warrant issued by a judge of the Circuit Court of Cook County. Purpose of the warrant was to seize certain illegally possessed weapons which were in fact found. The officers were met with deadly force in the form of gunfire. The officers were both obligated and lawfully justified in countering this deadly force with such force as was necessary to overcome the resistance to protect their own lives and to execute the command of the search warrant.

"This investigation is classified as exonerated and recommended that no complaint register number be issued."

Early in the Grand Jury's investigation of this matter, the files of the IID investigation were obtained by subpoena.[166] These files were reviewed in detail and seemed to contain limited information. The files contained pictures of the scene and morgue photographs of the deceased, hospital pictures of the injured, medical reports, seized property inventory sheets, reports of patrol cars responding to the 10–1 (police emergency) signal on December 4, and records of contacts made with defense counsel for the arrested survivors of the raid. There were no records of contact with neighborhood residents, no indication of a visit to the premises, no ballistic analysis of the officers' weapons compared to the recovered bullets and empty shells, and no detailed or substantive accounts of the incident by the fourteen individual officers, although the latter appeared for questioning at the IID on December 16, 1969.[167]

Because the IID files seemed sparse, the Grand Jury inquired as to the scope of the investigation. A police sergeant of the Excessive Force Section appeared before the Grand Jury and testified that he had participated in the investigation by obtaining various records and monitoring recordings of police radio transmission.[168]

His responses to queries as to his inquisitorial participation in the inquiry are revealing: [169]

Q. Did you do anything else in the investigation?

A. Then on the 16th of December I participated in interrogation of the officers involved in the raid at that address.

Q. What instructions did you have with respect to that interrogation?

A. My instructions were, and this was the 16th of December, somewhere around . . . 7:00 or after, and our instructions were that we were handed a piece of paper with questions that were to be asked of the officers that we were to interrogate.

Q. Who handed you the piece of paper?

A. My lieutenant, Mr. Kukowinski handed me the piece of paper.

Q. Do you know where he got it?

A. From Director Ervanian. I was to follow the format on this paper. And I sat in a room with a court reporter and three or four officers, I don't recall who or how many and I interrogated and I followed this format in this investigation.

Q. You asked no questions other than those questions on the written instructions?

A. That is correct.

In order to follow up this issue, the Grand Jury called Assistant State's Attorneys and ranking officers of IID to describe the conduct of the interrogation of the fourteen officers.[170]

It developed that after Superintendent Conlisk ordered the IID to proceed with the investigation, Deputy Superintendent Mulchrone called upon Sgt. John Meade, an attorney who is a former Assistant State's Attorney and Chicago policeman, to advise him.[171] Deputy Superintendent Mulchrone said that he and Sgt. Meade agreed to limit the investigation to two issues: [172]

No. 1, did the police officers have a legal right to go into that apartment. And No. 2, did they have a legal right to use deadly force.

Deputy Superintendent Mulchrone concluded that this issue defined the scope of IID responsibility in this matter.[173]

Lt. Robert Kukowinski, former head of the Excessive Force Unit of IID, testified that the conduct of the investigation was taken from its normal course in his hands by Deputy Superintendent Mulchrone who told him to deviate from normal procedures.[174] He testified: [175]

Q. What was the reason for Superintendent Mulc[h]rone or what reason was given for Superintendent Mulchrone taking over the investigation?

A. I don't think he gave a reason to me. There may have been a reason but I don't think he gave it to me. The reason was that he wanted an investigation conducted the same way amongst all the people who were going to be interviewed. That is what I got out of it.

Sgt. Meade's knowledge of this matter was based primarily upon his review of the TV re-enactment.[176] He prepared a list of questions to be propounded to each officer, designed to effect the scope of responsibility.[177] These questions and a statement for Sgt. Groth were written out in longhand, typed and then mimeographed, on December 16.[178] Then Deputy Superintendent Mulchrone, Sgt. Meade, Sgt. Groth and three Assistant State's Attorneys, including Mr. Jalovec, discussed the questions and answers between 5:30 and 7:00 p.m.[179]

Asked to describe the role of the three Assistant State's Attorneys at this phase of the IID proceeding, one of them, Mr. Meltreger, classified them as "observers".[180] Mr. Meltreger was satisfied that the procedures he saw constituted a ". . . proper investigation." [181] Mr. Sorosky, the other assistant present besides Mr. Jalovec, concurred that the Assistant State's Attorney's participation was observation and that the IID procedure constituted a fair and honest investigation.[182] However, Deputy Superintendent Mulchrone, Director Ervanian and Sgt. Meade understood that Messrs. Jalovec, Meltreger and Sorosky represented the fourteen police officers as attorneys.[183]

Apparently the system of interrogation was decided between Sgt. Meade and the Assistant State's Attorneys.[184] Sgt. Meade's questions and answers were designed to spell out the result of the inquiry.[185] Sgt. Meade asked the Assistant State's Attorneys to review the questions and answers to see if any were improper.[186] Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec reviewed the questions and answers with the other Assistant State's Attorneys and agreed they were proper; Sgt. Groth examined and altered the questions and answers after Mr. Jalovec arrived.[187]

When the other thirteen officers arrived, the Assistant State's Attorneys conferred with them privately and briefed them as to the nature of the questions, advising them that there was nothing improper about them.[188] Thus, each officer knew the questions he would be asked before he was examined by the IID.[189]

Sgt. Meade's method of inquiry was to obtain Sgt. Groth's agreement on his statement and the summary questions, and then to obtain agreement from the other thirteen officers with Sgt. Groth.[190] Sgt. Meade told Sgt. Groth he did not need to accept the answers as his own; [191] Sgt. Groth agreed that Sgt. Meade's answers were substantially accurate.[192] Sgt. Meade described the purpose of the questions as follows: [193]

Q. Would it be fair to say that in drawing up your questions you took the version of the officers as being a truth, is that correct?

A. That is correct.

* * * * *

Q. Were there questions in your list of questions that tended to test the truth and veracity of these officers?

A. No, I assumed that everything they said was true.

Asked for his views on the procedures of this IID investigation, Sgt. Meade testified: [194]

"From my experience, counsel, I consider this to be an excellent investigation."

No one in the IID ever had a complete story of the incident from each of the fourteen officers involved.[195]

After the conclusion of this questioning, the IID report was concluded and a press release was prepared by Deputy Superintendent Mulchrone.[196] This release was rewritten and released by Superintendent Conlisk.[197] The resultant newspaper article reads: [198]

"The investigation has clearly established

Footnotes at end of speech.

the following facts: "1. The police officers were acting pursuant to the lawful direction of a search warrant.

"2. The police were subjected to deadly assault by firearms, which is a forcible felony, and exercised lawful means to overcome the assault."

Deputy Superintendent Mulchrone testified that it was not standard procedure to give an investigative subject copies of questions and proposed answers in advance of interrogation.[199] However, he concluded that ". . . we conducted an investigation, as best we could, under the circumstances. . . ." [200] The investigation was admittedly limited, he said, "to preserve the evidence" for the state trial.[201]

Superintendent Conlisk was informed of the system of interrogation described above when he appeared before the Grand Jury. He was aware that the questions to be asked the officers might have been discussed with the Assistant State's Attorneys who appeared for the conference. When Superintendent Conlisk was told by the Grand Jury that proposed answers, as well as the questions, had been prepared by Sgt. Meade and discussed with Sgt. Groth and the Assistant State's Attorneys, he said: ". . . I am flabbergasted to think that such a thing could exist." [202]

Captain Harry Ervanian, Director of IID, testified that neither he nor anyone in his office had received any pressure from anybody in the police department, or elsewhere, in this matter.[203] He testified that the circumstances of the incident had not been developed ". . . with any great degree of accuracy . . ." and that he had not carried out his duty as Director of IID.[204] Responding to further inquiries, he testified as follows: [205]

A Juror: Do you consider this a normal investigation?

The Witness: No, sir, this was not a normal nor a complete investigation.

* * * * *

Q. Captain, let's be candid—now, with the State's Attorney's office represented at this meeting, and the man who led this raid, or the service of this warrant, and the way the questions were drafted, and the ultimate questions which were actually asked of these officers, Captain, do you think it would be any way unfair for a reasonable person to come to the conclusion that this was nothing but a whitewash?

A. The way you describe it, no, sir.

Q. Again, Captain, do you think it would be unfair or unreasonable for a person to come to the conclusion, even adding the facts of the crime lab report, that this was a whitewash?

A. I would agree, sir, that this was a very bad investigation, yes, sir.

* * * * *

Q. Well, it was extremely bad, wasn't it?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. As a matter of fact, have you seen one as bad as this one?

A. No, sir.

J. The Coroner's Inquest

Article X, Section 8 of the Illinois Constitution provides that each county of the State shall elect a Coroner for a four-year term. The duties and functions of the Coroner are specifically prescribed by statute.[206]

The statute governing the Coroner's basic function, that of holding inquests, requires him to make a preliminary investigation of the cause of death in five situations: (1) sudden or violent deaths, whether apparently suicidal, homicidal, or accidental; (2) deaths (whether of the mother or fetus) due to abortion, as well as deaths caused by a sex crime or a crime against nature; (3) deaths under mysterious circumstances or from undetermined causes; (4) deaths to which alcoholic or narcotic addiction may have contributed; and (5) deaths occurring without medical attention.[207] In the first of these situations the Coroner *must* summon a jury of six persons for the conduct of the inquest into the cause of death; in the other cases enumerated he may summon a jury. The Coroner also has power to compel the attendance of witnesses, and must see to it that their testimony is either written out and signed by them or transcribed in shorthand. Upon completion of an inquest the Coroner is required to make a record thereof and to issue a death certificate in the manner prescribed by law.[208]

The Coroner's inquest is *ex parte* in the sense that there is no absolute right in any private party to be represented by counsel at the inquest or to cross-examine the witnesses who appear and testify. In the course of holding that the Coroner is a nonjudicial officer and that the inquest verdicts are merely advisory, the Illinois Supreme Court stated that no one is a party to a Coroner's inquest, and that no one has a right, either personally or by counsel, to participate in the selection of the Coroner's jury, or to cross-examine witnesses to disprove testimony offered at the inquest.[209] Coroner Andrew J. Toman announced that cross-examination of witnesses would be permitted at the inquest of the shooting deaths of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark because of sharply differing versions of the death accounts.[210]

Because of widespread publicity given to the December 4, 1969 incident in which Fred Hampton and Mark Clark met sudden and violent deaths, Coroner Toman announced the appointment of a special coroner and six "blue ribbon" jurors to hear evidence presented at the inquest and make a determination as to the cause of death. Martin S. Gerber, an attorney, was named to act as the special Coroner.[211]

Gerber immediately held a press conference and was quoted as stating, "I'm not going to allow any outbreaks or outcries. I want to stay within the bounds of the law. The purpose of the inquest is to determine the medical cause of death factually and to determine whether any criminality was involved. An inquest is not to prove a crime. It is not a prosecution. Rather, it is an inquiry." [212]

The inquest commenced on January 6, 1970 and on said date the *Chicago Sun Times* featured a story entitled "Panthers to Remain Silent at Inquest." The article described how the Coroner's office would persist in asking questions of the occupants of the apartment and Martin S. Gerber was quoted as saying, "If there is not a full hearing, only those who refuse to testify will be responsible." [213]

The inquest lasted twelve days and security surrounding the inquest was tight with fifty deputy sheriffs stationed in the courtroom. The fourteen police officers testified and scientific evidence was presented. Neither of the experts retained by the Black Panther Party, Herbert MacDonell or Dr. Victor Levine, was asked to testify.

In substance, all the police officers testified that after announcing their office and seeking entrance to the apartment, they were fired upon from within. The officers returned the fire, several times pausing to call for surrender. The occupants shouted "shoot it out" and continued to fire. After the battle, Fred Hampton was found dead in a back bedroom and Mark Clark was found in the living room.

Thus, the testimony offered by the police officers involved in the incident was substantially the same as the story each officer told in the "exclusive" *Chicago Tribune* article [214] and the State's Attorney's unique television "Re-enactment" presented over WBBM on 12/11/69.

The one significant difference between the testimony adduced at the inquest and the prior accounts of the incident was the account of Sgt. Daniel Groth, the leader of the raiding party, who testified that he changed his mind as to who fired the first shot. Originally, Groth reported that Brenda Harris fired first from the bed in the living room. However, when questioned at the inquest, Groth admitted that after discussing the case with Officer Davis, he now decided that Mark Clark fired the first shot.[215]

The scientific evidence presented [216] at the inquest consisted of the findings of the Chicago Police Department Crime Laboratory as to the crime scene search and the ballistic evidence analysis. The Sergeant who led the Crime Lab Mobile Unit stated that he arrived at the scene at approximately 5 a.m., received a briefing from Sgt. Groth, and commenced his inspection. This officer testified most emphatically that he had examined the panel in the living room door on December 4, 1969 and observed only one hole in the panel (the hole caused by the shotgun blast from within the apartment). He stated he looked for other holes in the door but could not find them, and if he did see them he would have recalled them.[217] Before this Grand Jury, the Sergeant acknowledged that ". . . more than one [shot] had gone through it [door]." [218] A detailed analysis of the crime scene search by the Chicago Police Department Crime Laboratory is discussed in Section II F of this report.

Secondly, an experienced firearms examiner for the Chicago Police Department Crime Laboratory testified as to his findings relative to the ballistic aspect of the incident. The examination and findings are also discussed elsewhere in this report. Of primary significance are his findings and testimony identifying three shotgun shells as having been fired from weapons seized by the police from the premises.[219] His findings were later proved to be in error as to two of the shells by the FBI ballistic examination. He thereafter admitted his error to the Grand Jury.

Each day the proceeding received wide exposure in the mass media and Gerber held afternoon press conferences in the Criminal Courts Building.

On January 18, 1970, Gerber was interviewed on television (WLS–Ch. 7) and suggested what verdict the "blue ribbon" jury would reach. The following day the jurors publicly admonished Gerber for making such statements specifically asking the Special Coroner ". . . not to allow [himself] to be interviewed by television people or other media." [220] Gerber retorted that he was the coroner and the jury should not criticize him. A juror replied that if Gerber allowed himself to be interviewed again, the jury would criticize him again.[221] Gerber, seeking to have the last word, said he would not allow such criticism; a juror replied that Gerber would not stop such criticism.[222]

The proceedings were similarly marked by outbursts from attorneys representing the Hampton-Clark families and those from the State's Attorney's Office. On one such occasion, an Assistant State's Attorney referred to the spectators that were attending the inquest as ". . . a mob." [223]

Inquest testimony is not subject to the rules of evidence; when the Special Coroner deemed further inquiry was unnecessary, he simply told counsel to cease asking questions. After twelve days of testimony, the Coroner's jury returned the verdict of justifiable homicide " 'based solely and exclusively on the evidence presented.' " [224]

K. The Panthers are indicted

On January 30, 1970, after a presentation of evidence by the State's Attorney's Office, the Cook County Grand Jury indicted the surviving occupants of the apartment at 2337 West Monroe for attempted murder and other felonies.[225] The charges against each occupant were as follows:

Footnotes at end of speech.

Brenda Harris

1. Attempt to commit murder.
2. Armed violence.
3. Possession of firearms or firearm ammunition without having in their possession a firearm owner's identification card.

Verlina Brewer

1. Attempt to commit murder.
2. Armed violence.
3. Aggravated battery on Ciszewski (2).
4. Unlawful use of weapons.
5. Possession of firearms or firearm ammunition without having in their possession a firearm owner's identification card.
6. Unlawful possession of firearms and firearm ammunition (being under age 18).

Blair Anderson

1. Attempt to commit murder.
2. Armed violence.
3. Aggravated battery on Ciszewski (2).
4. Unlawful use of weapons.
5. Possession of firearms or firearm ammunition without having in their possession a firearm owner's identification card.
6. Theft of a shotgun (2).
7. Unlawful possession of firearms and firearm ammunition (under age 21 and convicted of a misdemeanor).

Ronald Satchel

1. Attempt to commit murder.
2. Armed violence.
3. Aggravated battery on Ciszewski (2).
4. Unlawful use of weapons.
5. Possession of firearms or firearm ammunition without having in their possession a firearm owner's identification card.
6. Unlawful possession of firearms and firearm ammunition (under age 21 and convicted of a misdemeanor).

Harold Bell

1. Attempt to commit murder.
2. Armed violence.

Deborah Johnson

1. Attempt to commit murder.
2. Armed violence.
3. Possession of firearms or firearm ammunition without having in their possession a firearm owner's identification card.

Louis Truelock, Also Known as Louis Trueluck

1. Attempt to commit murder.
2. Armed violence.
3. Possession of firearms or firearm ammunition without having in their possession a firearm owner's identification card.
4. Possession of firearms and firearm ammunition (within 5 years of release from penitentiary after a felony conviction).

The evidence received by that Grand Jury included testimony of the State's Attorney's Police officers who told the same version of the incident which they had related at the Coroner's Inquest.[226]

This testimony was coupled with a ballistic report prepared by a Chicago Police Crime Lab firearms examiner, which showed that at least three recovered shotgun shells had been fired in seized weapons, and that two of the three shells had been fired in the "Harris" shotgun.[227]

As discussed in detail elsewhere in this report, the two critical shells were fired in an officer's personal shotgun, and identification of these two shells with any seized weapon was erroneous. Moreover, the inventory slip identifying the "Harris" gun with Brenda Harris reflects neither the signature nor the knowledge of the officer whose name appears on it. No positive identification of the "Harris" gun with Brenda Harris was effected by the State's Attorney's Police who seized the weapon.[228]

The seven named defendants plead not guilty on February 11, 1970.

Footnotes at end of speech.

L. Unofficial investigations conducted by independent organizations

At least five independent groups made public statements that they would investigate the incident considered by the Grand Jury. The groups involved and the current extent of such investigations are set forth below:

1. Commission of Inquiry into the Black Panthers and Law Enforcement officials: This group, headed by former U.S. Supreme Court Justice Arthur J. Goldberg, consists of twenty-six private citizens representing the fields of civil rights, law, politics and business. No known investigation or inquiry had been undertaken by this group at the time of this report.[229]

2. Delegation of Black Congressmen: Newspaper accounts reported that Congressmen Charles Diggs, (D., Mich.); Louis Stokes, (D., Mo.); John Conyers, (D., Mich.); William L. Clay, (D., Mo.); and Adam Clayton Powell, (D., N.Y.), held an inquiry into the Panther incident in Chicago on December 20, 1969. Witnesses who appeared and testified at the inquiry included Negro State Senators, Chicago Aldermen, civil rights leaders, businessmen and Panther officials. No eyewitness testimony was presented. Following the inquiry, the panel visited the premises at 2337 West Monroe Street. The investigation by this group uncovered no evidentiary facts bearing upon the incident.

3. Afro-American Patrolmen's Association: This group is composed of black Chicago Police Officers. The head of the organization, Officer Renault Robinson, testified before the Grand Jury on February 11, 1970.[230] His testimony indicated that the investigation conducted by his group was limited to a visual inspection of the premises at 2337 West Monroe Street. The report of this investigation was allegedly given to the Black Panther Party. Officer Robinson was unable to produce a copy of the report for the Grand Jury.[231]

4. Black Strategy Center: An article appearing in the December 17, 1969 issue of the *Chicago Daily News* reported that the Black Strategy Center had made a $20,000 grant for an investigation by blacks of the December 4, 1969 incident. We have received no information concerning any such investigation.

5. The People's Inquest: This activity, apparently sponsored by the Black Panther Party, allegedly represented a coroner's inquest conducted by the "people". It took place on March 8, 1970, at the First Congregational Church, Chicago, Illinois, after all the seven survivors of the incident had refused to testify before this Grand Jury on constitutional grounds and was publicized by paid advertising in the daily press.

A transcript[232] of the proceedings listed Dr. Charles G. Hurst, President of Malcolm X College, as "coroner" and Mr. Jewel Cook as the people's attorney. The members of the "coroner's jury" were not named. Six of the seven survivors[233] of the incident at 2337 West Monroe "testified" at the inquest. The survivors testimony in that forum is incomplete, was not subject to cross examination and under no binding testimonial oath. For these reasons, the Grand Jury believes this testimony deserves little weight. It may be summarized as follows:

Brenda Harris said she was asleep in the front(living) room of the apartment and was awakened by a knock on the door. She heard a voice say "Policemen" and to open up. Mark Clark said "Just a minute". Clark got up, the police broke into the door and started shooting. She and Mark Clark were shot. An officer came in with a machine gun and started shooting through the wall towards the back. Someone in the back shouted "Don't shoot anymore," but the officer didn't pay any attention to them and kept shooting. Officers in the front and back were yelling back and forth to each other, "There's some over there, get them," and machine gun fire would start again. After the shooting stopped, the officers started cursing her and beating people in the back. She did not at any time have a gun in her hand nor did she see Mark Clark with a gun.[234]

Ronald "Doc" Satchel said he was asleep in the first (north) bedroom and was awakened by a knock on the door. Very shortly afterwards he heard shots. As bullets started coming through his bedroom, he got up and tried to put some pants on. He woke up the two people in the bed next to him and told them, "Let's get on the floor". He heard someone say "Come out" but they were afraid to come out because bullets were still being fired. The shooting continued and he and the other occupants of the room were shot and moaned. They were then told to come out of the room or be killed. He replied that he couldn't walk, but was told to "Come out of the room anyway." When he got out of the room, he was kicked by one of the officers and fell on the floor. He was then pushed and kicked towards the back, handcuffed and called "nigger" while the police laughed. He did not live at 2337 West Monroe and had no knoweldge of any weapons being there. None of the persons in the room with him had any weapons and no one in the room called for a "shoot out."[235]

Verlina Brewer said she was in the north bedroom. Ronald Satchel woke her up saying "Get on the floor, the pigs are here." Shooting was going on at that time, and she lay between the beds. The officers cursed the occupants telling them to come out but kept on shooting. Finally, she was hit. She was made to walk to the kitchen, where she was cursed and kicked by the officers. She never had a gun in her hand.[236]

Blair Anderson remembers being awakened and Ronald Satchel telling him ". . . the pigs are out here", and he got on the floor. Bullets were coming through the wall. He heard someone say "Halt fire" and then "Come on out" but, before they finished talking, they started shooting again. He heard a second "Halt fire" followed by a third "Halt fire." This was followed by machine gun fire coming through the wall. The shooting stopped but then started again, this time much lower. Bullets were striking paint buckets by his feet as well as the mattress on the bed. They called out that they were hit and the shooting stopped. The police told them to come out with their hands up. The police were cursing them and stomping Satchel, saying that they didn't deserve to live. He saw Hampton lying on the floor and knew that he was dead.[237]

Harold Bell was asleep when he heard a thud on the door followed by two shots. He immediately jumped up and ran towards the back to wake up Hampton. (He did not indicate what room he was in). As he started in the back (south) bedroom, police were coming in the back door. As he tried to wake up Hampton, the police came in and started shooting into the room. One of the police reached into the room and snatched him out. Another police officer came in and started firing into the room with a revolver. He heard police say "That's Fred Hampton." He believed that when he was pulled out, Hampton had already been shot. The police kicked him and cursed him.[238]

Deborah Johnson was asleep in the back (south) bedroom when someone came in and started shaking Hampton saying "Chairman, wake up, pigs are here". She looked up and could see that shots were being fired from the back and from the front. She saw a lot of police come in and start shooting at the door. Hampton looked up and then laid his head back down. She did not know if he had been shot then or not; he didn't move. The shooting continued. Finally it stopped and she said, "We are coming out with our hands up." After she got out,

the shooting started again. She heard a girl scream and the shooting stopped. As she was being taken out of the apartment she saw Mark Clark lying in a pool of blood beside the front door. Neither she nor Fred Hampton had guns in their hands at any time.[239]

As announced in the news media, the "jury" of the People's Inquest concluded that the fourteen State's Attorney Police officers were "guilty of premeditated murder" and held Mr. Hanrahan and the officers "in contempt of the people". The proceeding concluded with a request to the state, by Dr. Charles G. Hurst, for "appropriate action". (*Chicago Sun Times* Mar. 9, 1970.)

M. The scientific analysis of the physical evidence found in the apartment

As previously noted, the Grand Jury's investigative plan was to collect every item of physical evidence that had been removed by anyone from the apartment and submit it to the FBI Laboratory for detailed scientific analysis. Then, with the aid of a one-ninth scale model showing bullet holes, furniture and people, the Grand Jury attempted to reconstruct through testimony and physical facts exactly what had occurred.

In addition to the various items of ballistics significance collected by each of the investigation teams and described on pp. 164–167, infra, the FBI also obtained mattresses, box springs, clothing and various other articles of potential evidentiary value removed by the occupants' attorney. The FBI Laboratory examined forty-six weapons, two hundred thirty bullets, shells, wads and shotgun pellets[240] and associated material, and eighty-six other items of physical evidence, during the course of this investigation. Also, the State's Attorney's Police made available the following weapons seized at the scene:

(1) .45 caliber Argentina Colt automatic pistol.

(1) 20-gauge shotgun, Sears Roebuck Model 21.

(1) 12-gauge shotgun, Springfield Model 67H.

(2) 12-gauge shotguns, High Standard Model K–1200, Riot 20–6.

(1) 12-gauge shotgun, Browning.

(1) 12-gauge shotgun, High Standard Model K–1200, Flite King-Brush.

(1) 12-gauge shotgun, Remington Wingmaster, Model 870.

(1) 12-gauge shotgun, Ithaca, double barrel, sawed-off (below legal limit).

(1) 12-gauge shotgun, Ithaca, Model 37 Feather light (stolen Chicago Police Department).

(1) 12-gauge shotgun, Stevens, Model 520.

(1) .30 caliber carbine, National Ordnance, Incorporated.

(1) .22 caliber rifle, Stevens Springfield, Model 87A.

(1) 9mm Astra, Spanish automatic pistol, Model 600–43.

(1) 7.65 Llama Especial, Spanish automatic pistol.

(1) Caliber .38 Special Colt D.A. revolver.

(1) Caliber .38 Special Smith and Wesson revolver, Model M and P 1902.

(1) Caliber .32 S and W Long, Smith and Wesson revolver.

(1) Marksman pellet gun, caliber .177.

After the premises were sealed on December 17, 1969, a detailed examination of the premises was begun by the FBI on December 22.[241] A room by room summary of the FBI analysis of the physical evidence and the condition of the apartment follows; the numbers in parenthesis refer to the numbered areas on the sketch of the apartment appended to this report:

The Entrance Foyer

The entrance foyer revealed no bullet impact points; no bullets or shell casings were found there.[242] There is no physical evidence of any shots passing into, out of, or through this area.[243]

The Entrance Hallway

The entrance hallway walls reflect the impact of two shots. One is in the northeast corner, where a charge of No. 7½ or No. 8 shot struck (1); the other hole is consistent with a 12 gauge rifled slug high in the southwest wall (2).[244]

At the time of the FBI examination, wallboard had been removed from the northeast wall at the impact point (1), some No. 7½ or No. 8 shot had been recovered from it and a 12 gauge Remington shotgun wad had been collected from the nearby floor by a Black Panther Party investigator.[245] The No. 7½ or No. 8 shot and Remington wad could not be associated with any weapon by trajectory; the gun firing the shot could only have been held inside the front door pointed east, almost parallel to the doorway.[246] The Chicago Police Department Crime Lab and the State's Attorney's Police both failed to observe this impact point in their examinations of the premises, although unofficial photographs taken on the morning of December 4 reflect the impact site,[247] and the bullet damaged wallboard appears in official police Crime Lab pictures taken on 12/17–18/69.

The apparent shotgun slug hole in the southwest wall (2) was noted on December 4 by the Crime Lab and probed and excavated by the Crime Lab on December 17–18, but no recovery was made.[248] A 12 gauge rifled slug submitted by the Panther attorney had been recovered from the adjacent stairwell by a private ballistics expert on December 8, 1969.[249] The rifled slug impact point (3) was caused by a slug fired through the door from a point in the living room 15" from the door, probably by a gun at hip level. At this moment of impact, the door was open at a 45° angle.[250] The door panel was removed from the premises by a Black Panther Party investigator on December 8, 1969.[251] One additional hole appeared in the removed door panel, above the hole made by the rifled slug.[252] That hole (4) was made by a .38 caliber pistol bullet fired from the hallway into the living room, probably by Sgt. Groth.[253]

A large bundle of clothing found in the southwest hallway and examined by the FBI contained a 12 gauge shotgun wad.[254] A spent .45 caliber shell casing was recovered from the center of the hallway by Black Panther Party investigators on December 4, 1969.[255] No physical evidence was recovered from the entrance hallway by the State's Attorney's Police or Chicago Police Department investigators.

The Living Room

Prior to the FBI examination of the living room, a single bed originally in the southeast corner and a mattress originally in the center of the floor had been removed. In this room the FBI examination revealed the following marks identified with weapons' fire: one .30 caliber bullet hole of entry (5) in the top right drawer of a black bureau positioned on the northwest wall, and copious spatterings of Group B blood in and on this bureau;[256] a bullet mark (6) in the high northwest corner of the living room wall eighty inches from the floor made by a bullet on a rising trajectory originating in the center of the room near the space heater (from which FBI agents recovered a .380 bullet on March 8, 1970;[257] an apparent recovery site (7) on the southeast wall from which a .38 bullet (probably fired through the living room door) had already been recovered by the Black Panther Party investigators;[258] 42 holes of entry on the south wall (8);[259] a bullet hole in the bottom drawer of a white dresser on the southwest wall (9); from which no recovery was made;[260] and one hole in the south door jamb of the entrance door, 57¼" from the floor (10),[261] no bullet was found in this hole, the hole did not penetrate the plaster beneath the molding, and it was consistent with a pre-existing hole present in the molding when it was put up.[262] The trajectory of this hole was flat and angled directly to the center of the living room. There were no other impact points on the walls of this room.

Prior to the FBI examination, two 12 gauge shotgun shells (designated Q–58 and Q–59 by the FBI) and a .45 caliber shell had been recovered by the Police Crime Lab from this room, near the white dresser on the southwest wall.[263] One fired 12 gauge Winchester Western shotgun shell (Q–119) was found "on the scene" by the State's Attorney's Police on December 4, 1969.[264]

A firearms examiner of the Chicago Police Department Crime Laboratory testified before the Coroner's Inquest on January 20, 1969.[265] He stated that he had examined the seized weapons and recovered shells and bullets and found that two seized 12 gauge shotguns could be associated with discharged shells found in the premises. The first gun (FBI designation K–31) was positively identified as having fired the two shells (Q–58 and Q–59) found near the foot of the bed.[266] The officers identified this weapon (K–31) as the one held and fired from the bed by Brenda Harris.[267] The Police Crime Laboratory reports identifying these two shells as having been fired from the "Harris" gun were introduced in evidence before the Cook County Grand Jury.[268]

As previously noted, at the time of his examination, the firearms examiner from the Police Crime Lab did not have available the weapons the officers had carried on the raid.[269] These weapons were obtained and tested by the FBI and, among them was a High Standard 12 gauge shotgun (K–25) of the same manufacture as the "Harris" gun, which had been carried by Officer Ciszewski.[270] The FBI Laboratory positively established that the two shells in question had been fired from the Ciszewski weapon (K–25) and had not been fired from the "Harris" weapon (K–31).[271]

The other 12 gauge shell (Q–119) had been loaded with a single lead slug—commonly called a deer slug—and had been correctly identified as having been fired from the shotgun (K–46)[272] attributed by the officers testimony to the deceased Mark Clark. This gun also had Group B blood deposits on it which is the same blood group as Mark Clark.

The North Bedroom

Examination of the north bedroom walls and furniture revealed that all forty-two shots (8) fired into the south wall of the living room passed into the north bedroom and that eighteen of the forty-two shots passed through the south wall of the north bedroom into the south bedroom; presumably, one of these bullets (a .30 caliber carbine bullet) was the one recovered from Hampton's body.[273] Twenty-four of these forty-two bullets passed through the north bedroom door which was wide open.[274] The east wall had been struck by six bullets fired into it from the doorway (11); while three shotgun blasts (12) fired into the room struck the north wall.[275] Two of these blasts were #7½ or #8 shot fired from the hallway or dining room into this room through the doorway;[276] the other was double ought buck shot which entered high on the west wall from the direction of the dining room.[277] A number of .45 caliber machine gun bullets were fired southeast from the doorway of the north bedroom into the closet (13),[278] striking clothing and paint cans; some went through the closet walls into the south bedroom. At least five of the six impact points on the east wall were made by .45 caliber machine gun bullets fired into the room from the doorway.[279] There were eight bullet holes in the dresser (14), three made by bullets fired through the south living room wall and four made by bullets fired in

Footnotes at end of speech.

through the bedroom doorway; one (15) on the west end of the dresser was made by an incoming ricochet of unknown trajectory.[280]

There were no impact points or other physical evidence in the north bedroom which could be associated with firing outward from within that room.[281]

The State's Attorney's Office and Chicago Police Department Crime Lab recovered only eight items of physical evidence from this room, including wads and some shot.[282] More than forty items, including empty shells, bullets, shot, and shotshell components were recovered by the Black Panther Party and the FBI after the Chicago Police Department Crime Lab personnel had left the scene.[283] Fragments of .30 caliber carbine bullets and other bullet material were detected in the beds of the room by the FBI by radiographic examinations and were subsequently recovered.[284]

The South Bedroom

Examination of the south bedroom reflected nineteen entry bullet holes (8) on the north wall, of bullets fired from the living room, as well as eight entry holes of bullets fired from the north bedroom doorway or through the closet of the north bedroom.[285] At the time of the FBI examination of the south bedroom, there were two apparent 12 gauge double ought buck shotgun blast impact points (16) on the east wall, fired into the room from the bedroom doorway, and several apparent impact points on the shutters, south wall window frames and south wall (8) made by bullets fired south from the living room or southeast into the north bedroom from its doorway.[286] The mattress of the bed from which Hampton was dragged contained many bullet fragments; the foot of the bed had been struck by a shotgun blast from the doorway (17).[287] This shotgun blast was reflected in the lower east wall of the bedroom in line with the foot of the bed in films taken at the scene on December 4, 1969.[288] This portion of the wall had been torn out at the time of the FBI examination. The west window on the south wall was shot out by a police officer firing from the dining room (18).[289] This shotgun blast impacted on a neighboring shed outside and to the east rear of the apartment (18).[290]

The Chicago Police Department and the Black Panther Party investigators each retrieved eleven items of physical evidence from this room, and the FBI recovered four more at the time of its examination of the premises.[291] **There were no impact points or other physical evidence of any firing originating in this room.**[292]

The Apartment at Large

Only one other bullet impact point appeared in the premises; this was a shotgun blast fired from the dining room high into the east wall of the dining room (19), which passed through the dining room wall and into the north bedroom, striking the north wall of the north bedroom 80" from the floor.[293]

There were no bullet holes on the west walls of the hallway, none on the bathroom walls, none on the walls of the dining room other than that mentioned above and none at all on the kitchen, porch or outside walls of the apartment or adjacent buildings,[294] except for one impact point on a neighboring shed consistent with one officer's shot toward a south bedroom window.[295]

The Bathroom Door

In interviews with the press and in the TV reenactment of the incident, Sgt. Groth repeatedly referred to a charge of shot fired from the north bedroom impacting on the bathroom door.[296] The riddled door of the north bedroom was photographed and misidentified as the bathroom door in a *Chicago Tribune* feature story.[297] Groth testified that the bathroom door was the logical place for the shot he saw to have struck, and that the pictures of the north bedroom door (which he mistook for the bathroom door) may have influenced him.[298] Because of the absence of impact points on the west wall of the apartment corresponding to shots the officers said emanated from the north bedroom, the Grand Jury directed a scientific analysis be made of the bathroom door by the FBI to determine whether the door was the same one present at the time of the incident or whether an alteration or substitution of doors had been made. Chemical analysis of paint scrapings from the door surfaces and the inside of the bathroom showed that the same door was in place at the time of the raid, and that no substitution had been made.[299] There were no bullet holes in the bathroom door.

Recovered Empty Shells and Bullets

A total of seventy-six[300] empty shells were recovered from the scene by all parties. The breakdown of the empty shells, as associated with weapons by the FBI follows:

EMPTY SHELLS

Type shell	Number	Fired in police weapon	Fired in seized weapon
.45 caliber	44	44	0
.30 caliber	19	19	0
.12 guage	13	12	1
.38 caliber	[1]7	7	0
Total	83	82	1

[1] 7 .38 caliber shells, fired by Groth (2), Carmody (5), were removed from the scene by those officers. These were not recovered during the examination.

The recovered bullets, identifiable by the FBI with seized or police weapons, are analyzed as follows:[301]

RECOVERED BULLETS

Type bullet	Number	Fired in police weapon	Fired in seized weapon
.30 caliber	18	18	0
.38 caliber	5	5	0
.45 caliber	32	32	0
12-gauge slug	1	0	1
Total	[1]56	55	1

[1] Fewer whole bullets were recovered than shells, partially because many bullets fragmented on impact. Some of these fragments were recovered after radiographic examination to the mattresses (exhibit 101).

Based on the number of rounds checked out and returned to the State's Attorney's Police arsenal, it is possible that some of their shells were not recovered. Of forty 12 gauge shotgun shells issued to State's Attorney's Police seventeen were returned unused; there were thirteen recovered 12 gauge shells, of which one was fired in a seized weapon and two Jones claimed were his personal ammunition. Therefore, if all shells not returned were fired, thirteen shotgun shells issued to police were not recovered. Similarly, of one hundred ten .45 caliber bullets issued to Officer Gorman sixty-two were returned unused; and forty-four empty .45 shells and thirty-two .45 caliber bullets fired in the machine gun were recovered. Thus, again, if all ammunition that was not returned was fired, four .45 caliber shells and sixteen .45 caliber bullets issued to Gorman were not recovered.[302]

Upon the assumptions: (1) that only Jones fired his own ammunition, (2) that all other 12 gauge shells were issued by the State's Attorney's Office arsenal and (3) that all police-issued ammunition for heavy weapons which was not returned, was fired, the following table reflects rounds fired by the State's Attorney's Police:

Caliber and weapon	Comment	Number
.45 machine gun	44 empty shells and 32 identifiable bullets recovered.	48
.30 carbine	19 empty shells and 18 identifiable bullets recovered.	19
.38 revolver(s)	Shells disposed of by Groth (2) and Carmody (5).	7
12-gauge shotgun(s)	13 empty shells recovered	25
Total		99

The comparative recovery of bullets, empty shells, and shotshell components (wads and pellets) by all the investigators involved may be illustrated by a table:

Room	Recovered by SAO and crime laboratory	Recovered by BPP	Recovered by FBI
Entrance hall		3	3
Staircase		1	
Living room	3	7	1
North bedroom	8	30	13
South bedroom	11	11	4
Dining room		3	
Kitchen		0	1
Bathroom		3	
Adjacent shed		1	
In mattress			17
Location not specified	62	6	0
Total	84	65	39

The firearms examiner testified before this Grand Jury that due to daily pressure from the State's Attorney's Office[304] he was required to report his findings before he had examined all of the State's Attorney's Police weapons. The examiner said that he could not refuse to sign a report without being fired from his job.[305] He told this Grand Jury that the physical evidence was turned over to him by the State's Attorney's Police in such a condition as to make his work extraordinarily difficult, and that he could not complain because it was the State's Attorney's Office which had turned the materials in to him.[306] Had the materials been received from the Chicago Police Department, he would have objected to the procedure and would have obtained all of the weapons present in the apartment and a proper request for examination.[307] Under the circumstances, he felt that he could not object to the State's Attorney's procedures, and that he could not refuse to perform what he viewed as an inadequate analysis.[308] Although his reports were preliminary in nature and he was dissatisfied with them, they were not so labeled and he had testified to the results in the Coroner's Inquest.[309] The examiner indicated that he was revising his final report to correct the errors described above.[310]

Other than the few items recovered by Crime Lab officers, the materials submitted to the Chicago Police Department Crime Lab for examination were unclassified as to locus of recovery.[303] No fingerprints were preserved on any articles of evidence. The guns of the police officers were not turned into the Chicago Police Department Crime Lab for examination, although to do so is standard practice.

Nonetheless, a preliminary report was prepared by the Crime Laboratory firearms examiner, submitted to the State's Attorney's Office and presented by the State's Attorney to the State Grand Jury as evidence to consider for indictment of the surviving arrested apartment occupants.

As indicated above, the examiner erred in classifying two shells fired in Officer Ciszewski's shotgun as fired in a seized shotgun. There were several other errors in the firearms examiner's report, including mis-identification of shells fired in Jones' shotgun,

Footnotes at end of speech.

failure to count wads accurately, mis-labeling of materials as to location of recovery, and mis-identification of the core from a .30 caliber carbine bullet as a .32 Smith and Wesson slug.

N. Evidence of the eyewitnesses

1. Testimony of the Officers

Before the seven[311] officers principally involved in this action testified here, the results of the analyses of the physical evidence performed by the FBI were reviewed for them.[312] This was done on order of the Court upon application of this Grand Jury, to ensure fairness.

State's Attorney Hanrahan and the assistants whom he had assigned to this matter were also given the same detailed briefing on the physical evidence and were accorded the opportunity to examine the scale model of the premises with the involved officers before the officers testified. The officers were then each given detailed instructions as to their testimonial rights and privileges and were advised to reconsider their testimony in light of the analyses of the physical evidence.

These seven officers had testified at the Coroner's Inquest;[313] some had testified before the State Grand Jury; several testified that their testimony before this Grand Jury was substantially the same as that on other previous recitals.[314] Some discrepancies between the accounts given on different occasions were noted. The Grand Jury has attempted to resolve the various discrepancies, taking into account the darkness and unfamiliarity of the officers with the premises. There are no absolute resolutions of all the officers' statements, because they were not in clear communication with each other throughout the action. However, the most consistent version of their various recitals, as construed by the Grand Jury, is set forth below.

The first floor apartment at 2337 West Monroe consists of a living room, two bedrooms, a bathroom, dining room and kitchen.[315] The premises are located on the south side of Monroe Street between S. Western Avenue and S. Oakley Boulevard, bordered on the east by 2335 W. Monroe (a two story dwelling) and on the west by 2339 W. Monroe (a two flat apartment); a narrow sidewalk also runs north and south between 2337 W. Monroe and 2335 W. Monroe.[316] The officers' account is more easily followed by referring to the diagram of the premises attached to this report. [Diagram not shown in RECORD.]

At approximately 4:30 a.m., Sgt. Groth and the other officers left the State's Attorney's Office in three unmarked squad cars and a paneled State's Attorney's truck and proceeded to 2337 West Monroe Street.[317] Sgt. Groth and Officers Davis, Gorman and Jones were in the lead car;[318] Officers Marusich, Harris, Howard and Hughes next;[319] followed by Officers Carmody, Ciszewski, Joseph and Kelly in a third unmarked car and Officers Corbett and Broderick in the paneled truck.[320] At approximately 4:40 a.m., as Sgt. Groth neared the premises, he raidoed the 13th District to send beat cars to cover the front and rear of 2337 West Monroe.[321]

Sgt. Groth climbed the porch stairs of the premises accompanied by Officers Jones, Hughes, Gorman and Davis.[322] Officers Carmody, Ciszeweski, Broderick, Kelly, Joseph and Corbett proceeded to the area of the back door.[323]

As Groth went up the front steps, Davis was on his left, Jones was on his right and Gorman was behind Davis.[324] The four went into the entrance foyer through the outside door which was open.[325] Hughes remained outside.[326] Groth stood to the right of the closed door to the entrance hallway and knocked with his left hand.[327] He received no response, waited several seconds, then reached over with his revolver held by the barrel in his right hand and pounded loudly on the door; after several seconds a male voice from within the apartment said, "Who's there?" Groth said, "Police officers, I have a warrant to search the premises."[328] Groth waited ten to twelve seconds, which he considered to be a long time, and then reached over with his right hand and pounded loudly on the door.[329] A male voice within said, "Just a minute"; Groth waited ten to fifteen seconds and then told Officer Davis to go ahead.[330]

Thereupon Davis kicked the front door open with his right foot and went into the entrance hallway, with Groth right behind him.[331] As he went in Davis veered to the left and struck the entry door for the living room of the apartment.[332] As he went through the door, a shot was fired from within the apartment.[333] Gorman observed wood exploded out of the door right above Davis' arm.[334] The only light in the front of the apartment at this time was from a space heater.[335]

As Davis plunged into the apartment out of Groth's view, Groth, fearing Davis had been hit, stepped into the doorway of the living room and looked into the apartment. By the light of a gas heater, he observed a woman on a bed located in the southeast section of the living room against the south wall pointing a shotgun in his direction.[336] Groth was terrified and couldn't move; Jones and Gorman were just behind him and Hughes was outside of the apartment.[337] Groth shouted: "Look out, she is going to shoot again", assuming that she had fired a shot as Davis went into the apartment.[338] As Groth stood in the doorway, the girl fired a shot and Groth felt something go by his left shoulder.[339]

Gorman, who was looking right at the girl when she fired, observed a ball of flame come almost halfway to the officers.[340]

Jones observed the blast from the shotgun and saw Groth grab his left shoulder. Jones felt a sensation of a wind and felt the bottom flap of his fingertip length coat move as a result of the blast.[341] Hughes also felt something brush his shoulder.[342]

Thereupon, Groth took his service revolver in his right hand, backed out of the apartment, thrust his hand over his head with his revolver pointed into the apartment and his body concealed in the hallway, fired at least two blind shots in the direction of the girl.[343]

Groth then turned to Hughes who was now in the entrance hallway and told him "Put in a 10–1. They are shooting at us. Tell the fellows in the back. I think Duke is shot." At approximately 4:45 a.m., two beat officers in car number 1322, responding to Sgt. Groth's earlier request,[344] arrived at the scene. Hughes was unable to get his car radio to transmit and requested the 13th District beat car to place the 10–1 (police officer needs help) over the police radio at 4:45:40.[345]

Davis had gone into the hallway in a crouch,[346] and hit the living room door with his shoulder and arm in a continuing rush.[347] As Davis went into the apartment, he saw a flash which passed over him as he went through the door.[348] While he is not positive, he believes that Brenda Harris fired twice, the first shot being simultaneous with the shot fired through the door by Mark Clark. He thus stated that he immediately saw a second flash from the gun held by Brenda Harris.[349] Harris was on the bed braced against the east wall in the southeast corner of the living room.[350] Davis landed on his elbows and fired one shot at her from a prone position.[351] He believed that his first shot came after her second shot.[352] Immediately after shooting Harris Davis saw Clark out of the corner of his eye, illuminated by Groth's gunfire.[353] When he first saw Clark, Clark was sitting on a chair behind the door facing him and pumping a shotgun.[354] Davis turned and, in a kneeling position, fired two shots at Clark.[355] At the time when Davis fired, Clark had the gun across his body at the lap level on his right side pointing at Davis.[356] Clark stood up with the gun in his hands; Davis stood, threw his arms around Clark and threw him to the floor.[357] Despite evidence of violent bleeding by Clark, Davis found only a drop or two of blood on his clothes at the bottom of his suit coat.[358] Davis immediately climbed off Clark's body and moved toward the middle of the room. As he did, he noticed a man moving in the hallway near the rear bedroom of the apartment; he was holding a shotgun.[359]

Gorman heard shots ring out behind the living room door and heard Davis holler for him to come in. Gorman rushed into the living room, noted the girl was wounded, grabbed her shotgun and threw it toward the open doorway.[360] Jones had also rushed into the room and moved to the dresser on the west wall of the living room and Groth was still in the hallway when the other officers began to force their way in at the back; Davis saw flashes of fire from the south bedroom.[361] At this time, Groth came back into the living room and called for the first cease fire.[362]

The action at the rear of the apartment, led by Officer Carmody, commenced shortly after the action at the front began. As Groth and his men approached the front, Officers Carmody, Broderick and Ciszewski approached the rear door of the apartment.[363] Carmody went to the top of the stairs of the porch to the apartment at the rear and went up the stairs; the other officers remained at the bottom of the stairs.[364] Carmody waited at the top of the stairs and listened for voices from inside. He first heard a male voice at the front yelling, "Who's there?" and another male voice yell, "It's the police." Immediately he heard a loud bang, which he believed to be a shotgun blast,[365] and he kicked the kitchen door in with his right foot.[366] Just as he started to enter, he saw three flashes and saw a hand holding a gun around a corner of the doorway leading between the dining room and the kitchen.[367] The gun seemed to be pointed directly at him.[368] Carmody did not remember hearing any other shots between the time he heard the first shot before he kicked open the door and the three shots which he heard and saw after he kicked open the door.[369] Carmody insisted that he saw the hand holding the gun that fired the three shots, pointed at him, and although he searched the apartment and scoured the west wall of the kitchen, he could find no trace of bullet holes.[370] He assume that the bullets all went out the back door.[371]

Ciszewski, who was outside, heard three pop-like shots.[372] Carmody quickly backed out of the door and went over to the window where he smashed the window with his gun, cutting his hand in the process. He had intended to enter through the window, but didn't go in because he noticed that the burners on the gas stove right in front of the window were lit.[373] He then called to the men at the foot of the stairs that they were being fired at.[374] He then went back to the kitchen door, dove into the kitchen door on his stomach and saw a flash from the same general area as the first shots had come and fired a shot at it with his service revolver.[375] As Carmody went in the kitchen door, Ciszewski and Broderick followed him in.[376] A light was on in the kitchen, and Ciszewski saw there was a flush door lying on its side across the entrance between the dining room and kitchen.[377] Carmody heard someone yell, "Hold your fire, our men are coming in the back."[378] Upon entry, the front of the apartment looked dark to Carmody.[379] Ciszewski saw some dim illumination, but the dining room was dark.[380]

At the time of this first cease fire, the only rounds that had been fired by police at the

Footnotes at end of speech.

front of the apartment were two blind shots by Groth through the front doorway and three shots by Davis killing Clark and wounding Harris.[381] There are two bullet holes in the front door of the apartment, one from the inside going towards the outside and the other from the outside coming in. Groth initially thought that the shot fired as Davis went in the door had been fired by Brenda Harris, but concluded after examining the door panel that Clark fired the first shot from behind the door.[382] The upper hole in the door was made from the outside, with the door approximately a 45° angle, and may be consistent with one of the shots fired by Groth.[383]

Groth, Davis, Jones and Gorman all insist that a shot was fired by Brenda Harris at them as they came in the door.[384] None of them could explain what had become of this shot, and it is not possible to draw a line from the southeast corner of the living room where Harris was said by Davis and Groth to be on the bed holding the gun, out through the living room door, the entrance hall door and the outside door. There are no holes in the west wall of the apartment.[385] Groth believes the shot must have passed out the front door, somehow missing all of the officers in the hallway and foyer.[386]

At the time Groth called for the first cease fire, there was some firing going on in the back of the apartment.[387] But all firing stopped when Groth called for the first cease fire.[388] As he called for the first cease fire, Jones, Gorman and Davis were in the living room of the apartment; Jones handed Groth three long guns saying, "Get them out of here."[389] As Groth turned around to take the guns out of the apartment, the cease fire was broken by a shot that rang out from somewhere in the apartment.[390] Shortly after Jones handed Groth the three shotguns, a shot rang out from the north bedroom. Jones heard a gunshot and saw a flash as he was watching down the hallway. He did not hear any impact and had no idea where the shot went; he initially thought it would have gone in the direction of the front door or into the bathroom door across the hall from the north bedroom door.[391]

According to Davis, after the first cease fire was called, he heard a male voice call out "off the pig" or "shoot it out" or words to that effect.[392] He thereupon heard a gunshot which he identified as coming from the north bedroom and saw a gun flash reflected on the west wall of the hallway opposite the north bedroom.[393] Groth did not see the flash of the shot which broke the first cease fire because he had walked out with the shotguns.[394] He couldn't tell where the gunfire had come from other than that it was inside the apartment.[395] At about this time, Davis turned on a light in the living room.[396] The shot that broke the first cease fire sounded muffled and unusual to Gorman, who was standing next to the south wall of the living room.[397]

After this shot broke the first cease fire, Gorman concluded they could not safely go down the hall, and the shooting in back alarmed him over the safety of the men in the rear. He fired one machine gun shot through the south living room wall, asking Jones who was standing by the west wall to look to see whether it went through.[398] Jones said that it went through; Gorman and Davis told the occupants to come out.[399] At that time, someone shouted from the rear, "Shoot it out" and a shot appeared to be fired in the rear bedroom.[400]

Meanwhile at the rear, in the kitchen, Carmody prepared to leap over the flush door blocking the entrance to the dining room. Before he could get up, a shot went off behind him and he thought someone was shooting at him from behind; Ciszewski told him that Broderick had fired a shot over his head to keep the occupants of the apartment down.[401] This shot was fired high into the east wall of the dining room into the north bedroom.[402] Carmody got up on his knee, still in the kitchen, and fired two more shots towards the area where he had seen the gun.[403] Ciszewski said he would kick down the flush door between the kitchen and dining room but was unable to do so.[404] As Carmody prepared to jump over the barricade, someone in front of the apartment, presumably Gorman, called, "Wait a minute and I will cover you."[405] However, Carmody leaped over it and ran towards the north wall of the dining room firing his fourth shot toward the south bedroom as he ran.[406] Broderick followed him over.[407]

Gorman then stitched the wall with his machine gun.[408] Although Sgt. Groth stood behind Gorman while he fired through the wall, no order to fire through the wall was given.[409]

As Carmody leaped from the kitchen and stopped against the north wall of the dining room, he heard a second cease fire; Ciszewski shone his flashlight into the south bedroom and observed an individual, later identified as Harold Bell, come out with hands raised.[410] With his flashlight, Ciszewski also saw a shotgun against the south wall of the south bedroom, and someone on the bed on his face, lying with his head to the west; he also saw a shotgun and an automatic pistol on the floor.[411]

According to Davis, the second cease fire was broken by flashes he observed from the rear of the apartment.[412] Sgt. Groth believed these flashes came from the south bedroom.[413] Jones thought a shot came from the north bedroom.[414] After the second cease fire was broken, Gorman again fired into the south wall of the living room and was joined by Davis firing his carbine.[415] Groth gave Davis no order to fire at any time.[416] Davis believed that he might have fired with Gorman each time Gorman fired.[417] The bullets were fired on a depressed angle from northwest to southeast.[418] About this time, Jones heard another shot which he attributed to the north bedroom.[419] Gorman also thought the shot breaking the second cease fire came from the north bedroom.[420] Jones fired two shots into the north bedroom at that time.[421]

After Bell surrendered, the cease fire was again broken by the occupants. Carmody saw a flash from the north bedroom,[422] and insisted that this flash came from inside the north bedroom.[423] Broderick also saw two shotgun blasts light up the door of the north bedroom; he fired two shotgun blasts into the south bedroom.[424] One of these shots was toward the bedroom window, and one toward the back of the room. He fired to keep figures he had seen in the room away from the doorway.[425] Ciszewski also says he saw a flash from the south bedroom and he fired two shotgun blasts into that room.[426] From the dining room, Carmody called a warning to Gorman in the living room to stay back because "I am going to fire into this (north bedroom) door in case somebody is behind there." Carmody then fired his fifth shot toward the north bedroom door.[427] This was followed by gunfire (possibly from Gorman and Davis) from the front (north) of the apartment and a third cease fire was called. During this cease fire, which was the longest, Louis Truelock and Deborah Johnson surrendered from the south bedroom.[428]

During the third cease fire, after the surrender of Truelock and Johnson, Carmody went in the south bedroom and pulled out Hampton.[429] Carmody had never seen any shots from the south bedroom but assumed that whoever had fired the handgun shots at him had ducked into that room.[430] After the removal of Hampton, Ciszewski went into the south bedroom to pick up arms.[431] Immediately thereafter, Ciszewski called out that he was shot.[432] This broke the third cease fire. As Ciszewski cried out he was shot, Broderick saw two flashes from the front of the apartment.[433] He returned that fire by firing his weapon into the front bedroom from the dining room.[434] Broderick then rushed from the dining room to the bathroom, broke the bathroom light and looked into the north bedroom. He saw a male and female figure between two beds, but could see no weapons.[435] He fired three to five shots into the room above the figures.[436] As Broderick finished firing, he saw Gorman, who had reloaded his machine gun with a fresh magazine of 30 rounds, run past the door of the north bedroom firing his machine gun.[437] He did not see Gorman go into the north bedroom,[438] and could not tell where or at whom Gorman fired.[439] Broderick then observed Carmody rush toward the north bedroom.[440]

Gorman said that by this time it was obvious that the persons in the north bedroom would not leave voluntarily. As Broderick finished firing, he therefore placed his weapon on automatic fire and in a low crouch charged into the north bedroom. As he went in, some clothes in the closet to the right of the door caught his eye; he fired a short burst into the closet, turning toward the center of the room in one motion. By the flickering light of his machine gun, Gorman saw one man standing up very fast between the beds with a grey shotgun in his hands. He held the machine gun on this man until he grabbed his groin and fell.[441] As he fell, Gorman saw another figure moving between the beds and thought he saw a handgun being raised toward him. Gorman fired the machine gun at this figure (later identified as Verlina Brewer) until the 30 round clip was empty and the individual shouted, "I give, I give. I am hit."[442] For the first time, Gorman saw a third person (later identified as Ronald Satchel) between the beds on the floor.[443] Carmody had seen Gorman fire into the closet in the north bedroom but did not recall seeing Gorman fire the machine gun into the north bedroom.[444] Carmody said he rushed into the north bedroom, jumped on the bed and saw Anderson, Brewer and Satchel standing in the center of the room from north to south.[445] He could see that they were unarmed, by flashlight, and had their hands up.[446] There was no firing going on in that bedroom when Carmody went in.[447] He escorted all three of the prisoners out of the room at that time.[448] Anderson was wounded in the thigh and the groin; a grey shotgun later recovered from this room had a .45 caliber slug imbedded in it; this gun was a stolen police weapon. Verlina Brewer was wounded twice, once in the buttocks and once in the knee. A .45 caliber slug was removed from her knee; there is no record or testimony of the recovery of any weapon other than the stolen police shotgun from this room; Ronald Satchel was wounded five times.[449]

At approximately 4:52 a.m., car number 1101, who was on the scene, reported that the premises were under control.[450] Thus, the entire incident, according to the time signals impressed on the police radio tapes, took, at most, twelve minutes (4:40–4:52).[451]

2. Testimony of Witnesses in Neighborhood

Departmental attorneys conducted a canvass of the 2300 block of West Monroe Street in an effort to locate possible witnesses to the December 4, 1969 incident at 2337 West Monroe Street. Many residents were contacted; few admitted to having even limited information concerning the incident. Many were visibly frightened and reluctant to discuss the incident. Only one 83 year old neighborhood witness was located who claimed to have actually seen some part of the shooting; she testified before the Grand Jury that she saw an officer firing what appeared to be a machine gun down through the passageway between 2335 and 2337 West Monroe. She further testified that she heard no other shots and saw no officers enter the apartment.[452]

Footnotes at end of speech.

Other residents heard gunshots; a summary of their testimony follows:

One man was awakened by steady gunshots which continued for about ten minutes. He looked out his window and observed two police cross the street and kick in the door of the adjacent apartment.[453]

A next door neighbor, who also heard shooting, observed several police officers come to his apartment and kick the door open looking for a way to the roof.[454]

Another neighbor who lives across the street from 2337 West Monroe was awakened by steady shooting. She looked out her window while the shooting was going on and observed two uniformed police officers coming off the porch of the apartment at 2336 West Monroe. Police were shining lights on apartments and ordering people to get out of their windows.[455]

The next door neighbor on the east was awakened by the shooting. She got on the floor until the shooting stopped. She heard no voices from the Panther apartment. Later that morning she found a bullet hole in her kitchen door, and police officers later came and recovered a spent bullet from her kitchen and inspected her premises.[456]

Another neighbor on the east was awake and preparing to go to work when he heard a series of shots which appeared to be coming from the rear of the apartment. After about four or five seconds, he heard another series of shots from the rear of the apartment. All of the shots sounded as if they were being fired from an automatic weapon. About thirty seconds later, he heard shooting in the front part of the apartment. The only voices he heard from inside the apartment were those of women screaming.[457]

Two witnesses occupied the upstairs apartment directly over the apartment at 2337 West Monroe at the time of the incident. On the morning of December 4, 1969, one was awakened by a knock on the downstairs front door. A voice from inside the downstairs apartment asked, "Who is it?" A voice on the outside of the apartment replied, "Police, open up." Again, the voice on the inside of the apartment asked, "Who", and the voice on the outside again replied, "Police, open up." Immediately thereafter, she heard what sounded like a door or a wall being pushed in or bumped very hard. Then, a single shot rang out followed by a lot of shots. She heard someone call out, "Hold your fire. Come out of there with your hands over your head." Immediately after the cease fire, the shooting started again. Sometime later, she heard another cease fire called and a voice said, "John, are you all right?" No more shooting was heard after the second cease fire. She estimates that the shooting lasted for about ten to twelve minutes. Except for breaking glass, she heard no movement or voices emanating from the back of the apartment during the shooting. All of the shooting appeared to be coming from directly under her living room, above the front room of the Panther apartment. She could not distinguish the type of gunfire except that on several occasions she heard what sounded like machine gun fire.[458]

The other upstairs resident did not awake until the shooting had commenced and, therefore, heard no noises at the front door. The only voices she heard from downstairs first said, "Don't shoot each other," and, following a pause in the shooting of about two minutes, then said, "John, are you all right?" She heard no cease fires; she heard shooting from the back of the apartment as well as from the front. Both upstairs residents were in the same room during the shooting.[459]

3. Testimony of Apartment Occupants

In late February and early March, each of the seven surviving occupants of the raid at 2337 West Monroe were subpoenaed to testify before this Grand Jury. At that time, each of them declined to testify because state indictments were pending against them and the answer to questions regarding the incident could tend to incriminate them. As phrased by counsel for one of the survivors, called to explain his client's position:

"My professional opinion is that since there is a criminal case against her pending in the Cook County Circuit Court, that any answer she gives which might be a link in a chain the questions and answers cannot be separated. And at this point in your questioning that the use of the self incrimination clause of the Fifth Amendment is in good faith and entirely consistent with the principles of constitutional law as I understand them.

"I should add that it is no attempt to obstruct this body, but is in light of other proceedings that are pending." [460]

However, on March 8, 1970, six of these seven individuals voluntarily testified at the so-called Peoples Inquest. Each related publicly an account of what transpired, with no claims of Fifth Amendment immunity.[461]

On May 8, 1970, acting on information initially forwarded by this Grand Jury, the Cook County State's Attorney dismissed all outstanding indictments against the survivors because they were based in part on erroneous ballistics evidence introduced before the local grand jury. The same day each of the surviving occupants were directed to return to this Grand Jury on May 12, 1970.

On May 12, prior to being asked to testify, the four survivors who responded to this Grand Jury's summons, together with their counsel, were given substantially the same informal briefing on the results of ballistics analysis as that given the police officers prior to their testimony.[462] Moreover, each was advised that the FBI analysis requested by this Grand Jury had disclosed the Chicago Police Department Crime Laboratory's ballistics examiner's error and had occasioned the dismissal of charges against them. However, each was cautioned that subsequent indictments could be returned by a state grand jury and, to that extent, there was still some potential jeopardy of criminal charges. Each was advised that contrary to press reports, this Grand Jury had reached no conclusions and that the Grand Jury could not really finish its task of investigating the possible violation of the occupants' civil rights without the cooperation of the survivors.

Without exception each declined to furnish this cooperation. On the day of their appearance, a news article captioned "Survivors Can't Testify: Rush," reported that the leader of the Illinois Black Panther Party said the seven survivors would not testify "unless a majority of the panel is black." Rush was quoted as saying "We'll be there on time tomorrow . . . to keep them (the '7') from being found dead in the middle of the night." [463] As Rush had indicated, each witness refused to testify because the Grand Jury was not made up of his "peer group." All but one denied that his refusal was based in any way on the Fifth Amendment privilege against self incrimination, not withstanding the existence of a valid claim under that Amendment because of potential future indictments.[464]

The Grand Jury feels that it has exercised every possible means to obtain the missing facts which only these persons can supply. The depth of this Grand Jury's concern is best expressed by the following colloquy between witness Deborah Johnson and Mr. Branch, one of the Jury's attorneys:

Q. So I say to you again that this is the only Grand Jury you have got, and this is the only body in existence at this time who has power to do anything constructively concerning the bullets and the holes that you see in that Grand Jury Exhibit 17.

Now you are one of the persons who was in that apartment at that time along with others, and we do happen to know a little bit about you. We know that you are concerned with black people. You are concerned about your neighborhood. You are concerned about the injustices that have occurred. There are, I think, a lot of people who are concerned, and I have been concerned much longer that you have.

But one of the important things, Miss Johnson, in any civilization is that you must recognize the opportunity when it knocks because sometimes it only knocks only one time. There is a time and place when you stop talking and you start acting, and I submit to you that this is the time and this is the place and this is the body that you should start acting before because this Grand Jury has reached an impasse where it can't go forward, cannot do anything unless it has some testimony from some of the survivors as to what happened. We have the police story, we have the physical evidence, but that is not enough. As I told you before, what this Grand Jury is considering is whether or not your civil rights were violated or the civil rights of the other persons in that apartment on December 4th were violated, and it is impracticable and almost impossible and it is really contrary to all procedures to go forward in any constructive way without having the persons who are aggrieved, the persons who were hurt, the persons who were subject to danger come in and tell what happened. Do you follow me?

You have a small child, Miss Johnson, and I am convinced and I think the Grand Jury is convinced that what happend on December 4th, 1969 should not happen again. But their power to act, Miss Johnson, is tied into your power to cooperate with this Grand Jury, and I would hate to read two weeks from now or two months from now or two years from now that there has been another shoot-out in Chicago or any other city where two men are killed and four people are wounded. If I do read that, Miss Johnson, and if you read it, then I think we can both say one of the reasons this has happened is because you sat on this stand with the power to do something about it and rhetoric was more important to you than justice.

A. I don't think——

Q. So I ask you again, Miss Johnson, will you tell this Grand Jury what happened at 2337 West Monroe Street on December 4th, 1969.

A. I have nothing to say to this Grand Jury.

Mr. Branch: I have no further questions.[465]

The Grand Jury believes that the action of these witnesses is without legal justification and is nothing more than political posturing to publicize the Panthers' position on juries. Unquestionably, the Grand Jury could obtain a court order requiring the survivors to testify. The enforcement of such order could thus accord the Panther leaders the martyrdom they seek for the seven survivors. However, the interests of law enforcement would not be served by such action. The purpose of this investigation is to gather facts and make legal evaluations of them; the time for playing games is over. The Grand Jury will not permit itself to be used as an instrument of publicity and recruiting by the Panthers. Moreover, in the final analysis, there is no way to compel the survivors' testimony since they continue to have a valid Fifth Amendment claim to assert at anytime.

The public should know, however, that the Panthers who were so outraged at the time of the incident, publishing daily claims of mistreatment and murder and demanding one investigation after another, have now withheld their cooperation from the only investigative body with authority to do anything.

In addition, the Grand Jury recommends that the conduct of Mr. Rush, in formulating

Footnotes at end of speech.

and announcing the Panther policy against cooperation, should be carefully evaluated by a subsequent Grand Jury to determine if it violates federal laws prohibiting obstruction of justice. Particular attention should be given the means used by Mr. Rush to secure compliance with his directions.

II. DISCUSSION: THE GRAND JURY'S ASSESSMENT OF THE FACTS

A. Probable cause

Sgt. Groth testified he had received information from a previously reliable informant relating to the presence in the first floor apartment of 2337 West Monroe of illegal weapons and ammunition. The Grand Jury accepts this as adequate probable cause to seek and serve a search warrant for that location. This judgment is based solely on the information obtained by Sgt. Groth. The information forwarded by the FBI to Assistant State's Attorney Jalovec, while generally confirming the existence of an arms cache. would not, standing alone, have justified a search warrant. Mr. Jalovec's confusion of the term riot shotguns with illegal sawed-off shotguns and the inclusion of his mistaken allegations in the complaint for the search warrant, while confusing, did not effect the essential validity of the complaint or the search warrent.

Reliable information that there are illegal weapons in a premises, in the form of sawed-off shotguns and stolen police weapons, imposes a duty on local law enforcement officials to take the necessary steps to seize such weapons and to arrest and bring to trial those who possess them in violation of state laws. The possession of unregistered weapons is also a violation of state and local law and, if involved, should form the basis for other prosecutions.

In point of fact the State's Attorney's Police did find and seize from the apartment one illegal sawed-off shotgun and one stolen police weapon, and found some seventeen other weapons which had not been registered. However, there was a failure to record or otherwise identify in any systematic way the individuals who possessed such weapons or even the location in the apartment from where each was seized. That failure coupled with improper and inaccurate inventory records and other chain of evidence problems and complicated by a plethora of obviously prejudicial pre-trial publicity regarding the weapons, has seriously jeopardized and probably frustrated the potential prosecutions and the orderly processes of justice.

The Grand Jury feels strongly that there is no excuse for an organization to stockpile illegal weapons and that anyone, regardless of their color, creed or political persuasion, who is duly charged with a violation of the law in respect to possessing illegal weapons of any kind, should be arrested, tried fairly and, if found guilty, punished in accordance with the law. The Grand Jury believes that the law enforcement procedures in this case may be considered to have precluded either a proper charge or a fair trial, and cannot be justified.

B. The shootings: Testimony versus physical facts and evidence

The major concern of this Grand Jury has been the irreconcilable disparity between the detailed accounts given by the officers and the physical facts and evidence examined and reported by the FBI. The Grand Jury had available the detailed accounts given by the officers both in the media and before the Coroner's Inquest. As noted previously, before the officers were permitted to testify before this Grand Jury, they were advised of the fact that a thorough examination of bullet holes, ballistics exhibits and trajectories could confirm but one shot having been fired by all of the seized Panther weapons.

This disclosure was made for several reasons. First, the Grand Jury was concerned because the reports from the police Crime Laboratory had identified three shotgun shells with Panther weapons. This could have had the effect of confirming a mistaken impression of what the officers had seen. Second, since the officers had not previously had the benefit of the results of a competent and professional search of the scene, a review of the physical facts such as the absence of bullet holes and shells and the virtual impossibility of all the Panther bullets flying out the doors and windows, could conceivably have been the occasion for a better recollection of what went on under tense and trying circumstances. Finally, the Grand Jury wanted to negative any possibility that the officers' accounts were not their own and, by disclosing the physical facts, to give them final notice that this body wanted a full, truthful and detailed account of their present recollection.

After disclosing these facts to the officers, they were allowed some time in which to reflect and reconsider their individual accounts in light of the physical evidence. However, in almost all relevant matters, the testimony of the officers before this Grand Jury was the same as that given at the Coroner's Inquest.

To understand the depth of the problem, it is useful to analyze the testimony of the officers with respect to the absolute minimum number of shots they say were fired at them.

Six officers testified to the deer slug shotgun blast through the living room door. A deer slug and its empty shell were recovered and the shell was positively identified as being fired in a shotgun which was found behind the living room door and which had on its bloodstains consistent in type with that of the deceased Mark Clark who was found lying behind the living room door.

Four officers say that they saw Brenda Harris fire one shot from a shotgun while she was half-sitting, half-lying on the eastern end of the bed in the southeast corner of the living room. One officer believed she fired twice—the first time simultaneously with the shot through the door. It is physically impossible for this shot or shots to have been fired from the described location and not hit a wall, a door or a piece of furniture. Had she been at the extreme west end of this bed, it is possible for a single projectile to have passed through all three open doors in the front and exist the apartment. No one says the gun was in this location and the possibility of such a shot not only passing through all the doors but also missing all four of the officers in or near these doors is also remote. Moreover, there are no empty shells identified as having been fired in the pump shotgun attributed to Brenda Harris. The expended shell in this type gun would either have remained in the chamber or if the pump had been operated, ejected in the living room. The State's Attorney's Police had custody of the gun from the time Gorman took it from the girl, and the mobile crime laboratory team searched the living room for just such shells, recovering in the process the two at the foot of the bed which were later misidentified.

Eight officers testified that they heard or saw shots originating in the north bedroom.[406] Three of them identify some or all of these shots as shotgun fire. The number of shots range from one (Davis) to four (Broderick and Ciszewski).[407] It is impossible to tell from the testimony whether the officers are describing the same shots; accordingly, no maximum figure can be set, but the testimonial minimum is from one to four shots. Available recovery records and testimony reflect that only one shotgun (the stolen police weapon) was recovered from this room. None of the expended shells recovered in that room or elsewhere were fired from that gun and there are no pellet marks outside the only door to that room that are consistent with such shots.

Four officers testified there was firing from the south bedroom. One of them, Jones identifies 2 pistol shots from this room. The others identified the shots by sound only; there is no way to determine if each heard the same shots so only a minimum of 2 pistol shots and 1 to 3 unknown type shots can be established. An automatic pistol and several long guns were recovered from this room, but none of the expended shells found in this room or elsewhere were fired from these weapons. There are no marks in the dining room, kitchen or hall that are consistent with shots fired out the only door to this room.

One officer, Carmody, says he saw 3 shots fired at him by a hand-held weapon from the doorway between the kitchen and the dining room and he later saw another flash from this same location. Ciszewski testified he heard 3 shots about the time of the 3 Carmody describes. There was a hand gun recovered in the adjacent south bedroom, but none of the recovered shells was fired in this weapon. There are no marks on the back door, the porch or adjacent buildings that could be associated with the fire described by Carmody.

Accordingly, the following shows the absolute minimum range of shots the officers testified were fired at them:

Location and Number	
Shotgun fire:	
Thru living room door	1
Living room couch	1
North bedroom	[1] 1–4
Pistol fire:	
South bedroom	2
Dining room-kitchen door	4
Unidentified type:	
South bedroom	1–3

[1] One officer says all 4 shots from the north bedroom were shotgun fire. The others identify some but not all the shots as shotgun fire. In computing a minimum range all 4 are listed under the shotgun heading.

Thus, at an *absolute minimum*, the participating officers say that they were fired at from 3 to 6 times with shotguns, 6 times with pistols and from 1 to 3 times by unidentified weapons—a total range of 10 to 15 shots, *at a minimum*. Only one bullet hole, one shell and one projectile—all associated with the blast through the living room door—can be identified ballistically as having been fired by the occupants.

By contrast, the officers also testified to the shots which they fired in the apartment. This testimony, together with the physical evidence recovered, indicates that they fired from 82 to 99 total shots. Of these, the Grand Jury has received in evidence 55 projectiles [408] and has accounted for 82 expended shells positively identified as having been fired in police weapons. Moreover, there are numerous bullet holes, marks and fragments in the walls and furniture that are consistent with this testimony.

The great variance between the physical evidence and the testimony of the officers raises the question as to whether the officers are falsifying their accounts. However, as noted above, the physical facts do corroborate many details of their testimony.[409] Each of the seven officers who were principally involved were asked to comment on how there could be corroboration of their fire and the almost total absence of physical evidence of Panther shooting. Although none of them had a total explanation, several had ideas and suggestions worthy of consideration.

Several officers suggested that during the period when the Panthers had control of the apartment, some of the evidence could have

Footnotes at end of speech.

been removed either intentionally or by some of the thousands of spectators who toured the scene. One of the officers provided the name of a news reporter who had allegedly witnessed one of the Panther guides remove one .45 cal. shell casing from the dining room area. The reporter was located and confirmed this story,[470] but the individual who allegedly removed this shell has not yet been located.

While it is conceivable that some items could have been removed from the premises in the manner suggested, the theory falls far short of explaining the total discrepancy. First, the theory does not explain the absence of bullet holes or marks from the alleged firing. Secondly, the possibility of intentional concealment by Panther agents seems implausible. Pursuant to Court order attorney Andrew turned over some 200 items of potential evidence including numerous bullets, lead fragments and shell casings, on his oath that this was everything removed from the apartment under his direction. Moreover, since neither he nor his ballistics examiner had access to any of the Panther weapons, it would have been impossible for them to determine which items to turn over and which to conceal. Finally, the statistical probability that sight-seers removed almost all of the evidence of Panther shots and almost none of the evidence of police shots is astronomical.

Another theory suggested was that changes had been made to significant items and structures after the police left the apartment. The Grand Jury was concerned enough over this possibility to request the FBI to run spectrographic analyses of the bathroom door to see if it had been replaced. The paint samples from the door, its hinges, the doorjamb and the adjacent walls matched. The door had not been replaced.

Similarly, the FBI did all that could be done to determine if bullets passed out either the front or the rear of the apartment. Although one can never negative this possibility entirely, the investigation covered all of the surfaces of the doors, the porches, and the surrounding buildings and no evidence of bullet impacts were found. Also, a marked brick was removed from a building across Monroe Street and tested without positive results.

Another suggestion was that some of the bullets and expended shells could have landed in the storage boxes, clothing, debris and rubbish in the apartment, from which it was never recovered. Again, while this could be a possible explanation for a few items, it seems rather unlikely that all of the missing evidence was lost. Moreover, FBI agents did sift through all of the debris in the apartment, finding in the process pieces of lead as small as 1.25 grains, and none of the identifiable items recovered were attributable to Panther weapons.

The most plausible explanation, but one rejected by the officers, is that in the darkness and excitement they mistakenly attributed to the occupants the fire of other officers. A careful analysis of the testimony shows the way such mistakes could be made and is even more credible if one considers the natural fear, confusion and tension that each must have felt.[471]

For example, Officer Carmody says he waited listening at the back door until he heard a loud shotgun blast at the front of the apartment. He then kicked the kitchen door in, but almost immediately saw three flashes of gunfire which he says came from a hand gun in the doorway between the kitchen and dining room. Significantly, he says he heard no shots between the shotgun blast in the front and the three shots fired at him. It should be noted that in the living room at the very time Carmody saw the three flashes, Officer Davis had dived in and fired his carbine three times—once at Brenda Harris and twice at Mark Clark. The distance between the center of the living room where Davis was firing and Carmody's location at the back door is approximately 39.5 feet; and, standing at the back door, one can look through the hallway into the living room on an unobstructed line of sight.[472] The possibility that Carmody, after kicking in the door, immediately saw the vivid flashes of Davis' fire from the darkened living room, heard the reports and concluded that he was being fired upon, seems very real to the Grand Jury.

Similarly, the officers entering the front say that after the initial shooting by Davis and Groth, a cease fire was called only to be broken by a shotgun blast fired from the north bedroom. About the same time at the rear, Broderick was firing a high shot from behind the refrigerator into the east wall of the hallway which impacted only a few feet south of the doorway to the north bedroom. Since Carmody was able to hear the first shotgun fire at the back of the apartment, through the closed back door, it seems logical that the blast of Broderick's shotgun would be both audible and visible to the officers in the living room. Moreover, because of the direction of fire, the flash and sound could very well have appeared to come from the north bedroom.

There are other bases for speculation that the shots attributed to the Panthers by the officers also could have been mistaken or confused with shots fired by other officers, but absent some direct evidence that this is what happened, no conclusions are justified on the basis of speculation alone.

The one group of witnesses that, perhaps, could have shed some light on what happened are the occupants of the apartment. However, without exception they have declined to testify.

Thus, while there is a serious lack of corroboration of the officers' accounts, no one has appeared before the Grand Jury with a specific allegation of wrongdoing by them. Unquestionably, the raid was not professionally planned or properly executed and the result of the raid was two deaths, four injuries and seven improper criminal charges. The grave issues of professional law enforcement raised by these facts are discussed elsewhere. The question here is whether the facts establish probable cause to believe that the officers involved intentionally committed acts which deprived the occupants of federally protected rights, contrary to law.[473] The Grand Jury is unable to reach that conclusion. The physical evidence and the discrepancies in the officers' accounts are insufficient to establish probable cause to charge the officers with a willful violation of the occupants' civil rights.

The Grand Jury also is not persuaded from the evidence available to it that the officers are intentionally falsifying their stories. Accordingly, the Grand Jury is unable to determine that there is probable cause to believe there has been a violation of the testimonial oaths taken by these witnesses. The Grand Jury knows of no additional line of investigation which might develop the missing facts.

C. The facts and the State indictments

When the Grand Jury received evidence from the FBI that the police Crime Laboratory had incorrectly identified two shells as having been fired from the weapon seized from Brenda Harris and that there was thus evidence of only one shot having been fired by Panther weapons, it promptly notified the Court of a potential miscarriage of justice. The seven surviving occupants were each charged with attempted murder and other crimes, and the Grand Jury had evidence that part of the evidence upon which those indictments had been based was false.

With the concurrence of the Court and pursuant to its order, agents of the Grand Jury were authorized to call these facts to the attention of the prosecuting authorities and request that the prosecutions be reevaluated in the interests of justice. The other results of the FBI investigation were also presented to the State's Attorney to indicate the significance of the police ballistics mistake.

At the request of the State's Attorney, the police laboratory firearms examiner reexamined the questioned evidence and testified that he had been in error.

Before acting on the Grand Jury's request to consider dismissal of the prosecutions, the State's Attorney requested that the officers be allowed to testify. He reported that he had reinterviewed each of the seven principally involved and that each requested an opportunity to convince the Grand Jury of the truthfulness and accuracy of his account. Several had offered to take polygraph tests. After their testimony, the State's Attorney agreed that if the Grand Jury persisted in its request he would re-examine the prosecutive facts and reach a decision. He also requested that the transcripts of the officers' testimony and other evidence the Grand Jury felt was pertinent to a prosecutive decision be disclosed to him for this purpose.

Pursuant to an order of the Court permitting the limited disclosure of evidence received by the Grand Jury, this procedure was agreed to and followed.

On May 5, 1970, the State's Attorney appeared before the Grand Jury, at his request, and responded to its inquiry. He stated that he had reviewed the evidence submitted and had concluded that all of the indictments of the survivors should be dismissed in the interest of justice.

III. LAW ENFORCEMENT PROBLEMS

The extensive investigation by this Grand Jury of the various factual controversies has presented a rare opportunity to evaluate the effectiveness of various law enforcement agencies and, indeed, the whole legal system, with the sort of insights available only in an actual case. It has amounted to a kind of cross section view of the administration of justice in a highly publicized and controversial setting where the local institutions were under abnormal stress and strain. Such an analysis of our law enforcement machinery is especially appropriate at a time when the basic fairness and fundamental competence of the American Legal System is constantly questioned and, by some, totally repudiated. The analysis which follows is disappointing because it demonstrates serious shortcomings in the performance of some public agencies and a mutual suspicion among the individuals involved that seems almost paranoic.

The Grand Jury's conclusions and recommendations are made with the sincere conviction that through the public exposure and discussion of these problems constructive change may result. The stakes are high. Either our society and institutions will prove to be responsive and responsible, with built-in systems for growth and learning and change, or the critics who claim that the law and the legal system are irrelevant and decadent will have another citation for their argument. It bears repeating that the following comments are not the abstract findings of a social scientist but are the considered evaluations of twenty-three ordinary citizens judging the performance of their institutions with real facts of life and death, with real people and with real controversies.

A. The concept and performance of the State's attorney's police

The Grand Jury appreciates the need of a large prosecutive office, such as the Cook County State's Attorney, to have adequate trained investigative and prosecutive assistance. Certainly, with the number of cases tried, the sensitivity of some of them, the need to gather evidence and guarantee the

Footnotes at end of speech.

safety of witnesses, a prosecutive agency must have professional investigative and enforcement personnel available. Moreover, this is frequently the practice in other metropolitan prosecuting agencies.

However, the Grand Jury is concerned that the use of such personnel, not for the above purposes, but to perform such basic police-type functions as the execution of search warrants on a matter that is not yet pending in the prosecutor's office, mixes the prosecutive and policing functions to the potential detriment of both.

Although it sought from many knowledgeable witnesses some justification that raids of the kind involved here should be conducted by a select group of officers responsible only to the prosecutor and his assistant rather than by regular police authorities, the Grand Jury is unable to conclude that there is a reasonable explanation.

Accordingly, the Grand Jury concludes that the State's Attorney's Office should discontinue or minimize the use of police assigned to it for normal police department functions such as the service of search warrants not connected with the trial or prosecution of pending cases. The Chicago Police Department has the available skill, manpower and program potential [474] to handle such assignments and, in our view, should be responsible for them. The Grand Jury believes the facts show that the State's Attorney's Police are neither trained nor equipped for such major undertakings.

The problems inherent in using the State's Attorney's Police in this way are readily apparent. It was never clear who was responsible for the crime scene, either its search or its security. Policy department officials say the State's Attorney's Officers had the responsibility because it was their raid, and the police department only provided assistance as requested. The State's Attorney said that when the Police Crime Laboratory men arrived, the whole scene was their responsibility. As a result, no gun was tagged or fingerprinted, no record made of where it was found, no proper inventory was made and no record shows what ammunition was in each, if any. The scene was abandoned by 7:30 a.m. through an unexplainable series of conflicting orders. The failure to collect and systematically preserve available evidence has contributed to the Grand Jury's inability to establish what took place with legal definitiveness.

Moreover, the whole concept of going on a raid in a high crime density area to obtain weapons from known militants—led by a convicted felon believed to be dangerous—with only fourteen men, in plainclothes, in the dead of night, with no sound equipment, no lighting equipment, no tear gas and no plan for dealing with potential resistance, seems ill-conceived. The Grand Jury believes that a professional police department would not have adopted such an approach but would have used a system similar to the one used by the FBI in June 1969, evacuating the entire Panther Headquarters and effecting eight arrests without firing a single shot.

The State's Attorney has advised the Grand Jury that the nine-man unit headed by Sgt. Groth is no longer independent but is now assigned to the regular contingent of State's Attorney's Police under Chief Ward. This is an appropriate step in the Grand Jury's view. Limiting the State's Attorney's Police to prosecutive investigation and assistance is also warranted.

B. Pretrial publicity

While the Grand Jury fully accepts and appreciates the public's legitimate right to know through the media what is happening in its community, that right cannot be allowed to prevent a fair trial. In the view of the Grand Jury, improper and grossly exaggerated stories were reported almost daily in the Chicago media. It seemed to become a kind of publicity contest with everyone involved releasing more and more to newspapers and other media who published anything and everything. Thus, the smoke had hardly cleared before Panther spokesmen claimed murder, and their claims were published. Similarly, the injured policemen made immediate statements to the press at the hospital which were either grossly inaccurate or grossly distorted. The ensuing escalations have been described in the first part of this report and culminated in a television spectacular being acted out by the policemen who did the shooting. While we can understand the State's Attorney's position—that he felt obliged to respond to widely published charges made by Panther spokesmen—the jurors cannot accept this as justifying the extraordinary television show or the exclusive (and in part erroneous) *Chicago Tribune* account. The Grand Jury does not understand how the right to a fair trial can ever be guaranteed when the major prosecution witnesses all give a detailed testimonial re-enactment.

The media must accept responsibility for some of the problems of pre-trial publicity. Especially where the public is intensely interested in a case, the journalists must recognize their duty of accurate and balanced reporting. In a competitive press, sensational headlines reporting unproved and unchecked allegations undoubtedly attract readership, but, if in error, they also publicize misinformation, sow distrust among citizens and may even prejudice the interests of justice. Similarly, speculative articles about the results of the secret investigation by this Grand Jury and about the impact of other developments on this Jury's deliberations, can only serve to invite controversy and shake the faith of the public in the Grand Jury. Grand Jury deliberations are not public, and, until they are made so by proper order of the Court, the public has no right to know, nor the media to speculate on, the steps a Grand Jury is considering.

Nor can the Grand Jury justify the equally prejudicial approach of attorneys for the apartment occupants. Press conferences were held by defense counsel and expert witnesses, which, at least in one instance, resulted in the widespread dissemination of totally erroneous information on drugs and cause of death, and resulted in flamboyant claims with no foundation at all that Hampton was intentionally murdered after being drugged.

In the opinion of the Grand Jury, the proper balance, between the public's right to know and the interest of the public in a fair trial, is set forth in the American Bar Association's approved draft of standards for pre-trial publicity set forth in the margin.[475] It is recommended that in the future these rules be studied and followed by members of the bar, the press and the prosecutors.

C. The Coroner System

The office of the Coroner, in Illinois as in other states, is a combination of archaic and statutory functions. The office is presently required by law. This investigation establishes reasonable grounds to question whether the continuation of that office is desirable.

The inquest function is archaic in origin and of doubtful relevancy. The findings of a Coroner's jury as to cause of death are immaterial; they neither prevent nor require prosecutions. Certainly, the "blue ribbon" Coroner's jury which sat in this case was made up of dedicated and competent individuals, all of whom were dedicated to finding the truth. Their determination of justifiable homicide, however, was inevitable in view of the refusal of the occupants to testify. The Grand Jury believes it is questionable whether the continuation of the inquest system is in the best interests of justice. The findings were based on incomplete evidence and, in fact, were not binding on anyone.

Nor, did the medical work of the Coroner's Office seem to be of high caliber. The reversal of the entrance and exit hole and the mis-description of one of Hampton's wounds could, in some cases, have caused serious repercussions. The understaffing, inadequate procedures, use of an unlicensed pathologist, loss of a crucial dicta belt and the reliance on dieners (autopsy assistants) to do work such as fluoroscopy, indicate serious problems.

Some states and metropolitan areas have replaced the coroner with an appointive medical examiner system. This eliminates the inquest function entirely and requires the examiner, an experienced forensic pathologist, to determine the cause of death from medical and scientific evidence. Such examiners are appointed, rather than elected, and this system has received wide acceptance as a more professional approach to forensic pathology.

In 1965, a resolution was introduced to submit a constitutional amendment to the voters of Illinois to abolish the coroner system and replace it with an examiner system. The bill was killed in committee after opposition formed around the Illinois Coroner's Association.

The Grand Jury is advised that the present Constitutional Convention is considering several proposals for the elimination or modification of the coroner's system in Illinois. The Grand Jury believes that such changes should be carefully studied and considered. To that end, the Jury will make available any of the relevant information in its files to the proper officials of the Constitutional Convention.

D. The Chicago police crime laboratory

The operation of this agency in this case indicated a serious lack of professionalism and objectivity. The whole purpose of a crime laboratory is to gather and analyze physical evidence. A scientific approach, in the Grand Jury's view, is necessarily objective and unbiased. It is inconceivable how the activities of the Mobile Crime Lab team can be justified in light of this standard. The team recovered but seven items and left behind at least eighty projectiles and casings and at least as many other items of physical evidence. The testimony of the team leader that the team's only purpose was to gather evidence supporting the officers' stories, makes it clear that there simply was no thorough professional examination made of the premises. Regardless of the directions allegedly received from the State's Attorney's Police on the scene, the Chicago Police Crime Lab should have insisted on such an examination if for no other reason than to guarantee the integrity of its own report.

Similarly, the work done by the lab after it received the limited amount of evidence submitted, displays questionable professionalism. While any firearms examiner can be excused a mistake—even one with serious consequences—there was more involved here. Not only did the State's Attorney Police fail to turn in their weapons for testing, the Crime Laboratory did not even request them to do so until after a mistaken report was prepared and indictments based on it and after this Grand Jury investigation was initiated. Had the Crime Lab refused to conduct an analysis of any recovered bullets and casings without having all the weapons present in the apartment, there is every possibility that the mistake would never have occurred and been submitted as fact to the Cook County Grand Jury.

In short, the Crime Lab was responsible, in part at least, for a totally inadequate search and for a grossly insufficient analysis. The testimony of the firearms examiner that he could not have refused to sign what he believed was an inadequate and preliminary re-

Footnotes at end of speech.

port on pain of potential discharge is highly alarming. If true, it could undermine public confidence in all scientific analysis performed by this agency.

The Grand Jury recommends that an immediate evaluation of the operating rules and procedures of the Crime Lab should be undertaken by the Chicago Police Department. Recommendations should be developed which would require the absolute independence of that agency and which would insure that the capable staff there will be free to pursue their work with absolute scientific detachment free from pressure or interference by anyone.

E. Internal Inspections Division

The performance of this branch of the Chicago Police Department—the branch dedicated to impartial and objective investigations of police conduct—was so seriously deficient that it suggests purposeful malfeasance. The regular channels of the IID were bypassed. Instead of a complete investigation of any of the factual controversies raging in the press, the investigation consisted only of gathering all police reports, soliciting cooperation from counsel for persons accused of crimes (knowing that no defense counsel would permit pre-trial statements by an accused) and asking the officers involved a few simple conclusory questions in which they denied wrongdoing. No officer was given the opportunity to explain what happened in detail and all the subordinate officers were asked only to ratify their sergeant's account—which itself was based not only on prepared questions, but suggested answers composed by a police department lawyer and shown to the sergeant in advance.

Nor did the IID investigate any potential violations of police department regulations by the officers. For example, the General Order 67–14 [476] relating to the use of deadly force in making an arrest, specifically prohibits the following practices:

1. Firing into crowds.

2. Firing over the heads of crowds except on specific order of a member of the Department above the rank of Captain.

3. Firing at a fleeing car except one in which a person who has attempted or committed a forcible felony is riding.

4. Firing warning shots in the case of individuals where the use of deadly force is not permitted *(even when deadly force is permitted, warning shots will not be fired when they are likely to injure persons other than those against whom deadly force is authorized)*.

5. *Firing into buildings or through doors when the person fired at is not clearly visible.* (Emphasis supplied.)

Even the media accounts available to the IID clearly frame an issue as to whether the police department's own regulations were violated.

Moreover, the publication of the results of this "investigation", in the view of the Grand Jury, was misleading to the general public by inferring that a legitimate investigation was held. The Grand Jury found a more detailed account of the raid in the Chicago Tribune than it did in the IID files.

The Grand Jury recommends that immediate steps be taken to insulate the IID from any interference or pressure; that firm written procedures be established for the handling of investigations where officers are involved in shootings; that a directive prohibit the advance reading of questions and suggested answers to persons whose conduct is in question; and, that an alternative system of dealing with investigations of police conduct be explored. An organization charged with the responsibility of evaluating the conduct of police officers must have public credibility to succeed. The facts in this case show that the IID's performance does not deserve such confidence.

Footnotes at end of speech.

F. Militant organizations and law enforcement

Organizations such as the Black Panther Party present law enforcement problems of the most serious dimensions. It must be reported that the Panther tactics and policies help create much of the very tension and conflict they have complained of in this and other cases. While the Grand Jury has focused on the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution to all persons, any analysis of law enforcement problems in this case must make it clear that there is no intention to defend or excuse any violations of state and local law. Certainly, gathering large numbers of unregistered firearms and ammunition is not an act of peace. Public advocacy of violence toward policemen is not an appeal for justice.[477] The constant rhetoric of revolution in the tinder of the ghetto will never solve the social and economic problems of black citizens.

Much has been done and is being done toward eliminating these human problems, but the continuing process of change and correction will take time, perhaps a number of years. In the meantime, the difference between chaos and order is the responsibility of local law enforcement agencies. In a difficult situation, the job of law enforcement agencies is to preserve order, administer justice and guarantee the fundamental rights of all citizens. In these tasks, they deserve public understanding and support. The activities of violence oriented groups such as the Panthers seriously complicate the achievement of legitimate goals of such agencies.

The FBI, for example, advised the Grand Jury:

"Hampton's favorite quotation from Mao's red book was that revolution comes about through the barrel of a gun, and that was his main philosophy that he expounded in all of his speeches; that the only way to insure that the revolution that they wanted to occur would be through the barrel of a gun.

"In June of last year, the Chicago [Panther] officers told every Panther member that if you are arrested, there had better be at least one shot fired at the arresting officer or we will not bond you out, and they have ordered all members to acquire firearms." [478]

Thus, in judging the facts of this case, the Grand Jury urges that the reader should keep the proper perspective. If officers of the law are on a legitimate and proper mission to search for illegal weapons that could endanger countless persons, they should not be met with gun fire. In this case, the State's Attorney's Police did, in fact, seize and remove from public circulation nineteen weapons and a large quantity of ammunition. The fact that the raid was poorly planned and executed and the evidence was mishandled does not mean that there should have been no raid.

The full and fair enforcement of the law and the obedience to the law by all persons involved in this case would have eliminated any need for this Grand Jury's inquiry.

CONCLUSION

This Grand Jury has sincerely endeavored to exhaust every reasonable means of inquiry to ascertain the facts of this case. The most concise conclusion is that, in this case, it is impossible to determine if there is probable cause to believe an individual's civil rights have been violated without the testimony and cooperation of that person. This cooperation has been denied to this Grand Jury. Given the political nature of the Panthers, the Grand Jury is forced to conclude that they are more interested in the issue of police persecution than they are in obtaining justice. It is a sad fact of our society that such groups can transform such issues into donations, sympathy and memberships, *without ever submitting to impartial fact finding by anyone.* Perhaps the short answer is that revolutionary groups simply do not want the legal system to work.

On the other hand, the performance of agencies of law enforcement, in this case at least, gives some reasonable basis for public doubt of their efficiency or even of their credibility.

The resulting competition for the allegiance of the public serves to increase the polarization in the community.

Under these circumstances, the Grand Jury believes the best service it can render is to publish a full and factual report on the evidence it has heard so that the entire public will be made aware of the situation.

RONALD C. ALBION,
Foreman.

MAY 15, 1970.

Finally, the Grand Jury wishes to acknowledge the invaluable investigative contributions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Without the cooperation, professionalism and proficiency of this agency, the Grand Jury could not have completed its assignment.

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APPENDIX A

Part I. Recommendations relating to the conduct of attorneys in criminal cases

1.1 Revision of the Canons of Professional Ethics

It is recommended that the substance of the following standards, relating to public discussion of pending or imminent criminal litigation, be embodied in the Code of Professional Responsibility:

It is the duty of the lawyer not to release or authorize the release of information or opinion for dissemination by any means of public communication, in connection with pending or imminent criminal litigation with which he is associated, if there is a reasonable likelihood that such dissemination will interfere with a fair trial or otherwise prejudice the due administration of justice.

With respect to a grand jury or other pending investigation of any criminal matter, a lawyer participating in the investigation shall refrain from making any extrajudicial statement, for dissemination by any means of public communication, that goes beyond the public record or that is not necessary to inform the public that the investigation is underway, to describe the general scope of the investigation, to obtain assistance in the apprehension of a suspect, to warn the public of any dangers, or otherwise to aid in the investigation.

From the time of arrest, issuance of an

arrest warrant, or the filing of a complaint, information, or indictment in any criminal matter until the commencement of trial or disposition without trial, a lawyer associated with the prosecution or defense shall not release or authorize the release of any extrajudicial statement, for dissemination by any means of public communication, relating to that matter and concerning:

(1) The prior criminal record (including arrests, indictments, or other charges of crime), or the character or reputation of the accused, except that the lawyer may make a factual statement of the accused's name, age, residence, occupation, and family status, and if the accused has not been apprehended, a lawyer associated with the prosecution may release any information necessary to aid in his apprehension or to warn the public of any dangers he may present;

(2) The existence or contents of any confession, admission, or statement given by the accused, or the refusal or failure of the accused to make any statement;

(3) The performance of any examinations or tests or the accused's refusal or failure to submit to an examination or test;

(4) The identity, testimony, or credibility of prospective witnesses, except that the lawyer may announce the identity of the victim if the announcement is not otherwise prohibited by law;

(5) The possibility of a plea of guilty to the offense charged or a lesser offense;

(6) Any opinion as to the accused's guilt or innocence or as to the merits of the case or the evidence in the case.

The foregoing shall not be construed to preclude the lawyer during this period, in the proper discharge of his official or professional obligations, from announcing the fact and circumstances of arrest (including time and place of arrest, resistance, pursuit, and use of weapons), the identity of the investigating and arresting officer or agency, and the length of the investigation; from making an announcement, at the time of seizure of any physical evidence other than a confession, admission or statement, which is limited to a description of the evidence seized; from disclosing the nature, substance, or text of the charge, including a brief description of the offense charged; from quoting or referring without comment to public records of the court in the case; from announcing the scheduling or result of any stage in the judicial process; from requesting assistance in obtaining evidence; or from announcing without further comment that the accused denies the charges made against him.

During the trial of any criminal matter, including the period of selection of the jury, no lawyer associated with the prosecution or defense shall give or authorize any extrajudicial statement or interview, relating to the trial or the parties or issues in the trial, for dissemination by any means of public communication, except that the lawyer may quote from or refer without comment to public records of the court in the case.

After the completion of a trial or disposition without trial of any criminal matter, and prior to the imposition of sentence, a lawyer associated with the prosecution or defense shall refrain from making or authorizing any extrajudicial statement for dissemination by any means of public communication if there is a reasonable likelihood that such dissemination will affect the imposition of sentence.

Nothing in this Canon is intended to preclude the formulation or application of more restrictive rules relating to the release of information about juvenile or other offenders, to preclude the holding of hearings or the lawful issuance of reports by legislative, administrative, or investigative bodies, or to preclude any lawyer from replying to charges of misconduct that are publicly made against him. (Note: The standards also suggest the same restraint by judges and court personnel.)

Part II. Massachusetts guide for the bar and news media 1963

1. Guide for Press

preamble

1. To promote closer understanding between the bar and the press, especially in their efforts to reconcile the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press and the right to a fair, impartial trial, the following mutual and voluntary statement of principles is recommended to all members of both professions.

2. Both professions, recognizing that freedom of the press is one of the fundamental liberties guaranteed by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, agree that this fundamental freedom must be zealously preserved and responsibility exercized subject only to those restrictions designed to safeguard equally fundamental rights of the individual.

3. It is likewise agreed that both the press and the bar are obliged to preserve the principle of the presumption of innocence for those accused of wrongdoing pending a finding of guilty.

4. The press and the bar concur on the importance of the natural right of the members of an organized society to acquire and impart information about their common interests.

5. It is further agreed, however, that the inherent right of society's members to impart and acquire information should be exercised with discretion at those times when public disclosures would jeopardize the ends of justice, public security and other rights of individuals.

6. The press and the bar recognize that there may arise circumstances in which disclosures of names of individuals involved in matters coming to the attention of the general public would result in personal danger, harm to the reputation of a person or persons or notoriety to an innocent third party.

7. Consistent with the principles of this preamble, it is the responsibility of the bar, no less than that of the press to support the free flow of information.

For the press

Newspapers in publishing accounts of crime should keep in mind that the accused may be tried in a court of law.

To preserve the individual's rights to a fair trial, news stories of crime should contain only a factual statement of the arrest and attending circumstances.

The following should be avoided:

1. Publication of interviews with the subpoenaed witnesses after an indictment is returned.

2. Publication of the criminal record or discreditable acts of the accused after an indictment is returned or during the trial unless made part of the evidence in the court record. The defendant is being tried on the charge for which he is accused and not on his record. (Publication of a criminal record could be grounds for a libel suit.)

3. Publication of confessions after an indictment is returned unless made a part of the evidence in the court record.

4. Publication of testimony stricken by the court, unless reported as having been stricken.

5. Editorial comment preceding or during trial, tending to influence judge or jury.

6. Publication of names of juveniles involved in juvenile proceedings unless the names are released by the judge.

7. The publication of any "leaks," statements or conclusions as to the innocence or guilt, implied or expressed, by the police or prosecuting authorities or defense counsel.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Many are group exhibits consisting of as many as 200 individual items.

[2] Tr. XII, pp. 72–75 (Tr. references are to volumes of the transcript of testimony before the Grand Jury).

[3] Tr. XII, pp. 94–96.

[4] Tr. XII, p. 92.

[5] Tr. XII, p. 76.

[6] Exhibit 113A.

[7] Exhibit 113A.

[8] Robbins police officers interviewed commented upon Panther recruitment efforts:

" 'Not too long ago we knew there was a Panther recruiter in town . . . A group of young guys ganged up on him one night, beat him up pretty good, and sent him back where he came from.

'We came by a little later and couldn't get much information on the incident. You know, sometimes it's almost a good idea to look the other way.' " (Exhibit 113, Vol. 1).

[9] Tr. XXV, pp. 160–161.

[10] See pp. 52–53, *infra*.

[11] Tr. XII, pp. 104–114.

[12] Again, the descriptions in this section are taken solely from newspaper accounts, except where otherwise indicated.

[13] See plat attached.

[14] Both officers acknowledged that this initial account was inaccurate. (Tr. XXVII, p. 69; Tr. XXVI, pp. 207–208).

[15] The Grand Jury has viewed both the televised re-enactment and film not shown and concludes that the re-enactment was carefully staged and rehearsed.

[16] As a matter of fact, the State's Attorney's Police were issued number 8 birdshot. See p. 63, *infra*.

[17] Ciszewski and Gilhooly are not related.

[18] S.H.A. Ch. 14, Section 5.

[19] Tr. XV, pp. 8–9.

[20] Tr. XV, pp. 7–8.

[21] Tr. XV, p. 9–10.

[22] On May 4, 1970, Mr. Hanrahan testified that he, too, personally participated in the selection of some of the officers.

[23] Tr. XV, p. 18. Records of IID subpoenaed by this Grand Jury show that each of the officers have had complaints registered against them at IID and that charges had been sustained against two of those selected. (Exhibits 88 and 90). The personnel file of each officer selected also contains records of commendations and citations. (Exhibit Group 6, #126).

[24] Tr. XII, p. 123.

[25] Tr. XII, pp. 117–118, Tr. XV, p. 30.

[26] Tr. XII, p. 119.

[27] Tr. XII, pp. 119–120.

[28] Tr. XXIV, p. 20.

[29] Tr. XXIV, p. 21.

[30] Tr. XXIV, pp. 23–24.

[31] Tr. XXIV, pp. 152–153; TR XV, pp. 83–84.

[32] Tr. XV, p. 29; Tr. XXIV, p. 24.

[33] Tr. XXIV, p. 24; Tr. XV, p. 31.

[34] Tr. XXIV, pp. 146–147.

[35] Tr. XV, p. 204; Tr. XXIV, pp. 25–26.

[36] Tr. XXIV, pp. 31, 153.

[37] Tr. XV, pp. 34–35.

[38] Exhibit 71.

[39] Tr. XV, pp. 35–36; Tr. XXIV, p. 31.

[40] Tr. XII, pp. 48–51; Exhibit 102.

[41] Tr XXIV, pp. 40–41.

[42] Tr. XV, pp. 37–38.

[43] Tr. XXIV, p. 155.

[44] Tr. XV, p. 38.

[45] Tr. XXIV, pp. 33–35.

[46] Tr. XXIV, pp. 34–35, 149; Exhibit 8, #5.

[47] Tr. XXIV, pp. 36–37, 101–103.

[48] Tr. XXIV, pp. 35, 41.

[49] Tr. XV, pp. 42–43.

[50] Tr. XXIV, pp. 36–37.

[51] Tr. XXV, pp. 163–165.

[52] Tr. XXIV, pp. 39–40; Exhibit 6; #124 (Order No. 68–16).

[53] Tr. XXIV, p. 42.

[54] Tr. XXIV, p. 45.

[55] Exhibit 47.

[56] Supt. Conlisk directly contradicts this version; he was informed that evidence collection was performed by the State's Attorney's Police, and that they refused to allow the Mobile Crime Unit officer to perform this function. (Tr. XXIX, pp. 32–33, 41–42).
[57] Tr. XIII, pp. 3–42.
[58] Tr. XIII, p. 105–110.
[59] Tr. XIII, p. 206.
[60] Tr. VIII, pp. 180–181.
[61] Tr. XXV, pp. 235–237.
[62] Tr. XVI, p. 235.
[63] Exhibit 87.
[64] Exhibit 113; Chicago Sun Times December 18, 1969.
[65] Tr. XIII, pp. 29–33.
[66] Tr. IV, pp. 60–69.
[67] Tr. IV, pp. 59–60.
[68] Tr. XIII, p. 110.
[69] Tr. XXIV, p. 92.
[70] Tr. XXIV, pp. 94–95.
[71] Tr. XXIV, p. 115.
[72] Tr. XXIX, pp. 33–34, 40–41.
[73] Supt. Conlisk subsequently advised that a radio transmission calling off the security had been made by a Capt. Casey. There was no Capt. Casey on duty, but there was a Sgt. Casey who denied any knowledge of the call. He also advised that a Lt. Coburn had advised the State's Attorney's Police that the guard had been ordered removed.
[74] Tr. XV, pp. 77–78, 94–96.
[75] Tr. XXXI, p. 11.
[76] Tr. XV, pp. 77–78, 808.
[77] Tr. XXIV, p. 83.
[78] Tr. XXV, p. 270.
[79] Tr. XXV, pp. 225–226.
[80] Tr. XXIV, p. 83.
[81] Sgt. Groth and Officer Carmody took their empty shells with them in their revolvers; Carmody threw his away (Tr. XXIV, p. 157; Tr. XXVI, p. 219). Officer Jones put his in his raincoat pocket and threw them in the box later in the day, unmarked. (Tr. XXVI, p. 68).
[82] Tr. XIV, p. 8.
[83] Tr. XIV, pp. 14–16.
A later examination of the area of the door behind the sheet was made on December 4 by a member of the Mobile Crime Unit team; he found no bullet hole in the door behind the hole in the sheet. (Tr. XVII, pp. 28–29) Apparently, this examination was not reported to the sergeant in charge of the team. (Tr. XVI, p. 278).
[84] Tr. XIV, pp. 18–22.
[85] Tr. XIV, pp. 18–19.
[86] Tr. XXIV, pp. 84–86.
[87] Tr. XIV, p. 24.
[88] Tr. XXIV, p. 112.
[89] Tr. XXV, p. 234.
[90] The space provided on standard inventory records which should indicate the name of the person from whom weapons were seized are mostly blank. One inventory did attribute a seized weapon to Brenda Harris. This was signed by an officer who had no knowledge of the seizure of this weapon. He affixed another officer's signature thereto. (Tr. XXVI, pp. 129–131).
[91] Tr. XXV, p. 238.
[92] Tr. XXIV, p. 112.
[93] Tr. XIII, p. 44.
[94] Tr. XVI, p. 231.
[95] Tr. XIII, pp. 55–57, 64. In his field report, the sergeant stated: "Examination of the front door leading to the front room showed what appeared to be shots fired through it from the inside to the outside." (emphasis supplied) Tr. XVI, pp. 244–248; Exhibit 62, p. 2.
[96] Tr. XVI, p. 241.
[97] Tr. XIII, pp. 59–60.
[98] Subsequent probing of this hole by Crime Lab personnel was unproductive; although lab personnel considered this shot to have possibly been fired by the occupants at the police officers. (Tr. XVII, p. 30) On March 8, pursuant to request of this Grand Jury, FBI agents probed the hole and recovered a .380 projectile which could not have been fired in any of the police weapons or seized weapons. (Tr. XIX, pp. 34–37).
[99] Tr. XIII, pp. 61–65.
[100] This identification was erroneous (infra pp. 156–157).
[101] Tr. XIII, p. 67; Tr. XX, p. 189.
[102] Tr. XVI, pp. 248–251.
[103] Tr. XVII, pp. 25–26.
[104] Tr. XVI, pp. 262–263.
[105] Tr. XVI, pp. 262–263.
[106] Tr. XVI, p. 266; Exhibit 62.
[107] Tr. XVI, p. 270.
[108] Tr. XVI, pp. 270–274.
[109] Tr. XVI, pp. 274–281.
[110] Tr. XVI, pp. 292–299.
[111] Tr. XVI, p. 306.
[112] Tr. XXIX, pp. 41–42.
[113] Tr. XIII, p. 204.
[114] Tr. VIII, p. 180; Exhibits 24, 54.
[115] Tr. V, p. 146.
[116] Tr. of Proceedings, Re: Michael Gray, 69 GJ 144 dated January 7, 1970 at p. 3.
[117] Ibid, at p. 27.
[118] Exhibits 24, 54; Group Exhibit 1.
[119] Exhibit 43; Exhibits 24, 54; Exhibit 103.
[120] Tr. IV, p. 22.
[121] Tr. V, p. 51.
[122] Tr. V, p. 99.
[123] Tr. V, pp. 149–150.
[124] Tr. V, pp. 120–121.
[125] Tr. V, p. 127.
[126] Tr. XIX, pp. 56–57.
[127] Exhibit 26.
[128] Tr. V, pp. 139–141.
[129] Tr. V, p. 192.
[130] Tr. VI, pp. 25–28.
[131] Exhibit 3.
[132] Tr. VII, p. 159.
[133] Tr. IV, pp. 78–79.
[134] Tr. IV, pp. 82, 90, 96, 97.
[135] Tr. IV, p. 110; IX, p. 20.
[136] *Chicago Sun Times*, December 9, 1969.
[137] Tr. IV, p. 122.
[138] *Chicago Sun Times*, January 7, 1970.
[139] *Chicago Sun Times*, January 15, 1970.
[140] Tr. XI, pp. 3, 7–12, 26–28; Exhibit 56.
The toxicologist who performed the tests for the private autopsy was aware of the gas chromatography method of testing, but was out of gas and could not perform the test. Tr. IX, p. 38.
[141] Tr. XVI, pp. 5, 22.
[142] Tr. VII, p. 159.
[143] Tr. XVI, p. 11.
[144] Tr. XVI, pp. 15–19; Exhibit 75.
[145] Tr. XVI, p. 13.
[146] Compare Exhibit 3 and Exhibit 75 and accompanying photographs.
[147] S.H.A. ch. 31, § 10.2.
[148] Tr. VII, p. 56–75, 156.
[149] Tr. VII, p. 60–61.
[150] Tr. VII, pp. 137–139; Exhibits 3, 39, 40.
[151] Tr. VIII, p. 38.
[152] Tr. VIII, p. 144.
[153] Tr. VII, p. 123–124.
[154] Tr. VIII, p. 50–75; Exhibit 10.
[155] Tr. XXVIII, pp. 269–270.
[156] Tr. XXVIII, p. 24.
[157] Tr. XIII, p 116; Tr. XXVIII, pp. 24, 186.
[158] Tr. XXVIII, p. 24.
Many IID examinations result in findings of unsubstantiated charges against officers; the former head of the Excessive Force Unit of IID for over a year (Tr. XXVIII, p. 177) could only recall one instance of hundreds during his tenure, of a shooting by police in which the officer was held at fault. (Tr. XXVIII, p. 213) In that instance, an officer responding to a rape victim's call fired his weapon through the door and killed the complainant. (Tr. XXVIII, pp. 213–214).
[159] Tr. XIII, pp. 116, 138.
[160] Tr. XIII, pp. 116–118; Tr. XXVII, pp. 220–221.
[161] Tr. XXIX, pp. 7–8.
[162] Tr. XXIX, p. 8.
[163] Tr. XXIX, p. 14.
[164] Tr. XIII, p. 119.
[165] Tr. XIII, pp. 120–121.
[166] Exhibit Group 6, Items No. 1–120.
[167] Tr. XIII, pp. 119–120.
[168] Tr. XIII, pp. 156–158.
[169] Tr. XIII, pp. 158–159.
[170] Tr. XIII, pp. 160–190; Tr. XXVIII, pp. 16–273; Tr. XXIX, pp. 1–87.
[171] Tr. XXVIII, pp. 223–227.
[172] Tr. XXVIII, p. 223.
[173] Tr. XXVIII, pp. 93, 223–224.
[174] Tr. XXVIII, p. 188.
[175] Tr. XXVIII, pp. 191–192.
[176] Tr. XXVIII, p. 95.
[177] In his testimony before this Grand Jury, Sgt. Meade did not mention that the questions were accompanied by proposed answers; it appears that proposed answers were tendered with the questions. (Tr. XXVIII, pp. 107–109, 114, 246) The Grand Jury asked Sgt. Meade to produce a retained copy of the format he had prepared, Sgt. Meade advised attorneys for the Grand Jury that no copy of the format could be found in his files.
[178] Tr. XXVIII, pp. 36–39.
[179] Tr. XXVIII, pp. 34, 40–43.
[180] Tr. XXVIII, p. 135.
[181] Tr. XXVIII, p. 136.
[182] Tr. XXVIII, pp. 158–162.
[183] Tr. XIII, p. 172; Tr. XXVIII, pp. 41, 246–248.
[184] Tr. XIII, p. 171.
[185] Tr. XXVIII, pp. 107–109.
[186] Tr. XXVIII, pp. 111–112.
Mr. Jalovec deleted one question upon reviewing Sgt. Meade's format. In substance, the deleted question was intended to show that the officers were represented by counsel who had advised them of their rights. (Tr. XXVIII, pp. 58–59).
[187] Tr. XXVIII, pp. 110, 113–114.
[188] Tr. XXVIII, pp. 59, 116–117.
The practice of the IID, in instances where officers are represented by counsel, includes this right to private consultation and, on occasion, includes advising counsel of the questions which will be asked of the officer. (Tr. XXVIII, p. 202). In represented cases, counsel may also be present during the interrogation; this procedure was declined by Mr. Jalovec, and the Assistant State's Attorneys were not present during the examination of the officers. (Tr. XXVIII, p. 59).
[189] Tr. XXVIII, p. 59.
[190] Tr. XIII, p. 164; Tr. XXVIII, pp. 114–115; Exhibit 6, Items 90–103.
[191] Tr. XXVIII, p. 115.
[192] Tr. XXVIII, p. 116.
[193] Tr. XXVIII, p. 86.
[194] Tr. XXVIII, p. 50.
[195] Tr. XIII, pp. 183–184.
[196] Tr. XXVIII, pp. 258–259.
[197] Tr. XXVIII, p. 259; Tr. XXIX, pp. 22–23.
[198] Exhibit 94.
[199] Tr. XXVIII, p. 246.
[200] Tr. XXVIII, p. 273.
[201] Tr. XXVIII, p. 264.
[202] Tr. XXIX, pp. 15–17.
[203] Tr. XIII, p. 147.
[204] Tr. XIII, pp. 138–139.
[205] Tr. XIII, pp. 174–177.
[206] S.H.A. Ch. 31 § 1–29.
[207] S.H.A. Ch. 31 § 10.
[208] S.H.A. Ch. 31 § 10.4.
[209] *Peoria Cartage Co.* v. *Industrial Board*, 284 Ill. 40 (1918).
[210] *Chicago Tribune*, December 21, 1969.
[211] *Chicago Daily News*, December 31, 1969.
[212] *Chicago Daily News*, December 31, 1969.
[213] *Chicago Sun Times*, January 16, 1970.
[214] *Chicago Tribune*, December 11, 1969.
[215] Coroner's Inquest Transcript (hereinafter known as CTR) Vol. E, p. 735.
[216] Exclusive of the medical evidence.
[217] CTR, p. 1148.
[218] Tr. XVI, p. 247.
[219] CTR, p. 1405.
[220] CTR, p. 893.
[221] CTR, p. 895.
[222] CTR, p. 896.
[223] CTR, p. 1162.
[224] *Chicago Today*, January 22, 1970.

[225] Exhibit 128.
[226] Tr. XXIV, p. 101-Groth; XXV, p. 124-Davis; XXVI, p. 279-Carmody; XXVII, p. 99-Ciszewski, 204-Broderick.
[227] Tr. XXIII, p. 96.
[228] Exhibit 124, Tr. XXVI, pp. 133–134, p. 86 *supra* n. 4.
[229] *New York Times,* December 16, 1969.
[230] Tr. XII, pp. 138–198.
[231] Officer Robinson declined to testify without a specific court order on the grounds that police authorities had imposed a unique requirement when they learned he was to testify, i.e., he was required to sign for the receipt of certain Police Orders and Regulations and feared disciplinary reprisals. Such an order was obtained and he testified. Supt. Conlisk denied any intention to interfere with Robinson's testimony. (Tr. XXIX, pp. 44–48) However, his subsequent 30 day suspension is presently being evaluated by the Department of Justice to determine if it was related in any way to this testimony.
[232] Exhibit 112.
[233] Louis Truelock did not testify.
[234] Exhibit 112, pp. 3–7.
[235] Exhibit 112, pp. 7–14.
[236] Exhibit 112, pp. 15–19.
[237] Exhibit 112, pp. 27–31.
[238] Exhibit 112, pp. 33–38.
[239] Exhibit 112, pp. 40–44.
[240] The ballistic examination of shot and wadding is of limited value, since these shotshell components cannot be identified with any gun or shell. This is because all shot is made standard weight and size irrespective of brand, and shotguns are smooth bore leaving no identifying marks on shot fired. Wadding may be identifiable as to manufacturer, because of distinctive colors; no identity of the weapon from which the wad was fired can be made.
[241] Tr. XIX, p. 23.
[242] Exhibit 103, Exhibit 17.
[243] Tr. XIX, p. 21.
[244] Tr. XIX, pp. 21–24.
[245] Tr. XIX, p. 21; Tr. V, pp. 71–72.
[246] Tr. V, pp. 69–71; Tr. XIX, pp. 71–72. Impact point (1) remains unexplained. On the basis of a photograph and motion pictures taken on December 4, 1969, it is clear that this shot was not fired after December 4 (Exhibit 45, 24, 54). The wad found on the floor near the impact point, and the size of the shot, are consistent with shotshells issued by the State's Attorney's arsenal, and with a shell fired in Jones' shotgun. Officer Jones denies firing the shot, and the Grand Jury cannot establish how long before the December 4, 1969 pictures the shot may have been fired.
[247] Exhibit 6 number 118, Item 9, 17; Exhibit 24, 54; Exhibit 45 St–2.
[248] Tr. XVII, pp. 37–38.
[249] Tr. V, pp. 97–99.
[250] Tr. XIX, pp. 61–63.
[251] Tr. V, pp. 83–84.
[252] Tr. V, pp. 84–85; Tr. XIX, pp. 57–62.
[253] Tr. XXIV, p. 59.
[254] Tr. XIX, pp. 27–30.
[255] Exhibit 24, 54; Exhibit 43.
[256] Tr. XIX, pp. 40–43.
[257] Tr. XIX, pp. 35–38.
[258] Tr. V, pp. 102–103; Tr. XIX, p. 32.
[259] Tr. XIX, pp. 31–32.
[260] Tr. XIX, pp. 43–44.
[261] Tr. XIX, pp. 86–87.
[262] Tr. XIX, pp. 87–88.
[263] Tr. XVI, p. 251.
[264] Exhibit 6 Number 108.
[265] CTR, pp. 1290–1414.
[266] Exhibit 103; Exhibit 84 Number 11D; Exhibit 62; Exhibit 6 Number 108.
[267] Tr. XXVI, p. 129.
This is the only weapon specifically attributed to any occupants of the apartment, by State's Attorney's Officers' inventory slip. This inventory slip was made out by one officer, who signed another officer's name to it. The officer whose name was affixed had no personal knowledge as to whether Harris had held this gun. (Tr. XXVI, p. 133; Exhibit 124).
[268] Tr. XXIII, pp. 91, 96, 133.
[269] Tr. XXIII, p. 89.
[270] Tr. XIX, pp. 225–245; Exhibit 101. All are High Standard K–1200 12 gauge shotguns.
[271] Tr. XX, pp. 48–68.
[272] Tr. XX, pp. 84–87.
[273] Tr. XIX, pp. 111–113, 124; Exhibit 101.
[274] Tr. XIX, p. 128.
[275] Tr. XIX, pp. 114–116; Exhibit 101.
[276] Tr. XIX, pp. 131–138.
[277] Tr. XXVII, p. 132.
[278] Exhibit 17 (A–H). This shot is consistent with the officers testimony that Broderick fired high from the kitchen to cover Carmody as he entered the dining room.
[279] Tr. XIX, p. 137.
[280] Tr. XIX, pp. 155–160.
[281] Tr. XIX, p. 172.
[282] Exhibit 103.
[283] Exhibits 101 and 103.
[284] Tr. XIX, pp. 168–169.
[285] Tr. XIX, pp. 124, 161–167; Exhibit 17.
[286] Tr. XIX, pp. 180–190.
[287] Tr. XIX, pp. 192–196.
[288] Exhibits 24, 54.
[289] Tr. XXVII, p. 144.
[290] Exhibit 17.
[291] Exhibit 103.
[292] Tr. XIX, pp. 178–188, 201.
[293] Tr. XIX, p. 202.
[294] Tr. XIX, pp. 83–86, 202–205, 224–225.
A scarred brick in line with the only possible trajectory from the west end of the bed in the living room to a building more than 100 feet away was removed from the building for examination at the FBI Laboratory. No traces of bullet metal were found on this brick. (Exhibit 101).
[295] Tr. XXVII, p. 144.
[296] Tr. XXIV, pp. 67–68, 213.
[297] *Chicago Tribune* (midnight edition), Thursday, December 11, 1969.
[298] Tr. XXIV, pp. 105–107.
[299] Tr. XIX, pp. 83–86; Exhibit 101.
[300] This does not include nine .32 caliber empty shells, matching no weapon seized or used by police, which were recovered, two of them from a dresser drawer (Exhibit 101, 103); a great number of live rounds were also seized (Exhibit 8B, Item 22, Inventory No. 752930). A reporter also testified that he had observed a Panther guide pocket a .45 caliber shell after being told to leave it alone by the occupants' attorney. This shell has not yet been recovered. (Tr. XXVIII, pp. 3–15).
[301] One .380 automatic bullet which matched no weapon seized or carried by police was also recovered.
[302] Tr. XII, pp. 55–56; Exhibit 102.
[303] Exhibit 108.
[304] Tr. XXIII, pp. 126–127.
[305] Tr. XXIII, p. 132.
[306] Tr. XXIII, pp. 86–87, 119–120, 122–123.
[307] Tr. XXIII, p. 117.
[308] Tr. XXIII, pp. 115–123.
[309] Tr. XXIII, pp. 91–96, 100.
[310] Tr. XXIII, pp. 111–113, 137–138.
[311] Sgt. Groth and Officers Davis, Gorman, Jones, Carmody, Ciszewski, Broderick.
[312] Tr. XXIV, pp. 233–235; Tr. XXII.
[313] With the exception of Officer Jones, these officers also appeared in the screened version of the State's Attorney's televised re-enactment. Although this re-enactment was incomplete, and Officer Jones' participation in the action was eliminated for his security, the TV re-enactment is generally consistent with the officers' testimony before this Grand Jury. (Exhibit 114, 7(a–e); Tr. XXIV, p. 125).
[314] Tr. XXIV, p. 101 (Groth); Tr. XXV, p. 124 (Davis); Tr. XXVI, p. 279 (Carmody); Tr. XXVII, p. 99 (Ciszewski); p. 204 (Broderick).
[315] Exhibit 17.
[316] Exhibits 17 and 117.
[317] Tr. XXIV, p. 45.
[318] Tr. XXV, p. 50.
[319] Tr. XV, pp. 146–147, 208–209.
[320] Tr. XVI, pp. 180–181.
[321] Tr. XXIV, pp. 35, 45; Exhibit 87.
[322] Tr. XXIV, p. 47.
[323] Exhibit 8A, Item 5.
[324] Tr. XXIV, p. 46.
[325] Tr. XVII, p. 126.
[326] Tr. XXIV, pp. 46–47.
[327] Ibid.
[328] Tr. XXIV, pp. 47–48.
[329] Tr. XXIV, p. 49.
[330] Tr. XXIV, p. 49.
[331] Tr. XXIV, pp. 49–50.
[332] Tr. XXIV, p. 50.
[333] Ibid.
[334] Tr. XXV, p. 246.
[335] Tr. XXIV, p. 52.
[336] Tr. XXIV, p. 50.
[337] Ibid.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Tr. XXIV, p. 50.
[340] Tr. XXV, p. 192.
[341] Tr. XXVI, pp. 44–46.
[342] Tr. XVII, p. 130.
[343] Tr. XXXIV, p. 50.
[344] One of the officers from the beat car heard machine gun fire from the dark apartment at about this time. (Tr. XVII, pp. 56–57).
[345] Tr. XVII, p. 54; Exhibit 87.
[346] Tr. XXV, p. 68.
[347] Tr. XXV, p. 69.
[348] Tr. XXV, pp. 69–70.
[349] Tr. XXV, p. 73.
[350] Tr. XXV, p. 72.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Tr. XXV, p. 73.
[353] Tr. XXV, p. 74.
[354] Ibid.
[355] Tr. XXV, pp. 76–77.
[356] Tr. XXV, p. 77.
[357] Tr. XXV, p. 79.
[358] Tr. XXV, pp. 82–83.
Davis believes he picked up Clark's shotgun later in the raid, from beneath the body; he did not remember blood on the gun, and he did not get his hands bloody (Tr. XXV, p. 106).
[359] Tr. XXV, p. 52.
[360] Tr. XXV, pp. 194–196.
[361] Tr. XXV, pp. 85–86.
[362] Tr. XXIV, p. 51; Tr. XXV, pp. 86, 262.
[363] Tr. XXVI, p. 162.
[364] Tr. XXVI, p. 162; Tr. XXVII, p. 24.
[365] Tr. XXVII, pp. 24, 44.
[366] Tr. XXVI, p. 162.
[367] Tr. XXVI, p. 162.
[368] Tr. XXVI, p. 177.
[369] Tr. XXVI, pp. 170–171.
[370] Tr. XXVI, p. 177.
[371] Ibid.
[372] Tr. XXVII, p. 44.
[373] Tr. XXVI, p. 174.
[374] Tr. XXVI, p. 163.
[375] Ibid.
[376] Tr. XXVII, p. 24.
[377] Tr. XXVI, pp. 172–173; Tr. XXVII, p. 25.
[378] Tr. XXVI, p. 178.
[379] Tr. XXVI, p. 175.
[380] Tr. XXVII, p. 47.
[381] Tr. XXV, p. 87.
[382] Tr. XXIV, p. 54.
[383] Tr. XXIV, p. 59.
[384] Tr. XXIV, p. 54; Tr. XXV, pp. 73, 192; Tr. XXVI, pp. 44–46.
[385] Tr. XXIV, pp. 55–57; Tr. XXV, pp. 137–138.
The only possible hole in the west wall is near the living room door and it could not be associated with any firing on this occasion. See discussion, supra, p. 154.
[386] Tr. XXIV, pp. 56–58.
[387] Tr. XXV, p. 86.
[388] Tr. XXIV, p. 63.
[389] Tr. XXIV, p. 64.
[390] Ibid.
[391] Tr. XXVI, pp. 51–53; Tr. XXIV, pp. 67–68.
[392] Tr. XXV, pp. 52, 87.

[393] Tr. XXV, p. 88.
[394] Tr. XXIV, p. 66.
[395] Ibid.
[396] Tr. XXV, p. 201.
[397] Tr. XXV, p. 250.
[398] Tr. XXV, p. 89; Tr. XXIV, pp. 71–72.
[399] Tr. XXV, p. 91.
[400] Ibid.
[401] Tr. XXVI, pp. 163–164; Tr. XXVII, p. 120.
[402] Tr. XXVII, p. 123.
[403] Tr. XXVI, pp. 164, 179–180.
[404] Tr. XXVII, pp. 27–28.
[405] Tr. XXVI, p. 164.
[406] Tr. XXVI, pp. 164–165.
[407] Tr. XXVII, p. 28.
[408] Tr. XXV, p. 263.
[409] Tr. XXIV, pp. 127, 219–220.
[410] Tr. XXVI, p. 181; Tr. XXVII, p. 28; Tr. XXV, pp. 94–95, 99, 264; Tr. XXIV, p. 77.
[411] Tr. XXVII, pp. 29–30.
[412] Tr. XXV, p. 98.
[413] Tr. XXIV, p. 78.
[414] Tr. XXVI, p. 71.
[415] Tr. XXV, p. 98.
[416] Tr. XXV, pp. 102–103.
[417] Tr. XXV, p. 101; Tr. XXIV, p. 219.
[418] Tr. XXV, p. 102.
[419] Officer Jones' testimony is ambiguous as to which cease fire his shots followed. He stated (Tr. XXVI, p. 71) that he fired after the second cease fire, but he relates this to a shot from the north bedroom.
[420] Tr. XXV, p. 263.
[421] Tr. XXVI, p. 67; Tr. XXV, p. 103.
[422] Tr. XXVI, p. 182.
[423] Tr. XXVI, p. 183.
[424] Tr. XXVII, pp. 123–124, 143–144.
[425] Tr. XXVII, pp. 127, 158.
[426] Tr. XXVII, p. 32.
[427] Tr. XXVI, p. 186.
[428] Tr. XXVI, pp. 186–187; Tr. XXVII, pp. 32, 124, 146.
[429] Tr. XXVI, pp. 186–187, 197; Tr. XXVII, p. 147.
[430] Tr. XXVI, p. 187.
[431] Tr. XXVI, p. 198; Tr. XXVII, p. 125.
[432] Tr. XXV, pp. 212, 263.
[433] Tr. XXVII, p. 149.
[434] Tr. XXVII, pp. 125, 149, 157.
[435] Tr. XXVII, pp. 127, 158.
[436] Tr. XXVII, pp. 158–159.
[437] Tr. XXVII, pp. 159–160; Tr. XXV, pp. 216–217.
[438] Tr. XXVII, p. 159.
[439] Ibid.
[440] Tr. XXVII, p. 160.
[441] Tr. XXV, pp. 219–221.
[442] Tr. XXV, p. 223.
[443] Tr. XXV, p. 224.
[444] Tr. XXVI, p. 187.
[445] Tr. XXVI, p. 188.
[446] Tr. XXVI, pp. 188–189.
[447] Tr. XXVI, pp. 189–190.
[448] Tr. XXVI, p. 190.
[449] Exhibits 5, 66–69, 96–98.
[450] Exhibit 87.
[451] Exhibit 6, Item 123; Exhibit 87.
[452] Tr. XII, pp. 213–220.
[453] Exhibit 86.
[454] Exhibit 86 G.
[455] Exhibit 86 D.
[456] Exhibit 86 I.
[457] Tr. XII, pp. 199–212.
[458] Tr. X, pp. 85–108.
[459] Tr. X, pp. 151–174.
[460] Tr. XV, p. 262.
[461] Supra, p. 141 et seq.
[462] Those who had not attended the briefing were given the basic facts of the briefing while on the witness stand.
[463] *Daily Defender*, May 12, 1970.
[464] One of the survivors combined the claim that the jury was not selected from his peer group with a claim of potential incrimination under the Fifth Amendment.
[465] Tr. XXXIII, pp. 78–80.
[466] Officer Ciszewski testified that he saw two shots fired from the barrel of a gun protruding from the north bedroom. (Tr. XXVII, pp. 26–27, 48).
[467] Officer Kelly estimated 5–10 shots from this room.
[468] Numerous additional projectile fragments were recovered with insufficient markings to be identifiable. However, most of them are logically identifiable with the Davis Carbine, i.e., the markings present indicate they were fired in a carbine and were not fired in the seized carbine which was the only other one on the premises.
[469] For example, the shotgun recovered in the north bedroom has a .45 cal. machine gun slug in it consistent with Gorman's account; the high covering shot fired by Broderick is plainly traceable on the dining room wall; the .38 slug recovered in the southeast corner of the living room is consistent in angle and trajectory with Sgt. Groth's description; Clark's wounds are consistent with Davis' account.
[470] This reporter was unable to identify correctly a .45 cal. shell. (Tr. XXVIII, pp. 12–13) He also said he had not contacted anyone regarding this incident for "a couple of months" because "as a newsman I did not want to involve myself in the matter in the event that the authorities were able to develop the information through other means." (Tr. XXVIII, pp. 9, 14).
[471] Police officers Gilhooly and Rappaport were allegedly killed by Panthers about three weeks before this incident. See Discussion under Section II A, *supra*.
[472] See Apartment Sketch, Appendix, *infra* (not printed in the RECORD).
[473] 18 U.S.C. 241, 242, 245.
[474] The Grand Jury notes with approval that the Chicago Police Department has undertaken a limited form of sensitivity training to familiarize all police officers, through the rank of Captain, with urban problems. (Tr. XXIX, pp. 52–53) This program supplements the newly expanded thirty-one week program commencing in January 1969, and required of all recruits, which includes instruction in the behavioral sciences. (Tr. XXIX, pp. 49–50).
[475] See Appendix A, *infra*.
[476] Exhibit 72.
[477] For example, Vol. 1, No. 6 of the Ministry of Information Bulletin of the Black Panther Party eulogized "Jake" Winters, a party member, for killing two Chicago Police Department officers and wounding several others. Winters was killed in this action. The article refers to the Chicago Police Department officers as "pigs" and encouraged other Black Panther Party members to follow his example. (Ex. 129)
[478] Tr. XII, p. 77.

JEWISH HOME AND HOSPITAL FOR THE AGED—100 YEARS OF DEDICATED SERVICE

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, recently there has been increasing concern on the part of many Americans regarding the care of our elderly citizens. We have come to realize that many Americans must face old age without a decent environment and proper care.

One exception is the Jewish Home and Hospital for the Aged. Founded by the women of New York City's Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, it is celebrating its 100th anniversary this month.

Back in 1870, the home operated one facility on West 17th Street under the name of the Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews.

Today, it operates one of this Nation's largest and highest quality geriatric hospitals and residences. In addition to the hospital facilities, there are now three residence homes: on West 106th Street and West 87th Street in Manhattan—in my congressional district, and on Kingsbridge Road in the Bronx. Another home is planned for the Bronx.

I would like to commend the Jewish Home and Hospital for the Aged for the work it is doing to bring happiness and kindness to the later years of older citizens. It is this type of care that should be available to all elderly citizens, and I think we can all agree that this institution serves as a splendid model.

I am including in the RECORD, a copy of an article that appeared in the May 3 New York Times, "A Home for Aged Notes 100th Year," about the program of the Jewish Home and Hospital for the Aged:

[From the New York Times, May 3, 1970]

A HOME FOR AGED NOTES 100TH YEAR; RESIDENCE AND HOSPITAL HERE BATTLE TRADITIONAL IMAGE

One hundred years ago this month, with thanks to the many "benevolent and charitable ladies of Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, under the leadership of Mrs. Henry Leo," the Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews first opened its doors on West 17th Street.

Today, under the name of Jewish Home and Hospital for the Aged, the same institution has grown into one of the largest and most comprehensive geriatric hospitals and residences in the country.

And during its process of growth, it has fought what is becoming a winning battle against the traditional image of "the-old-age home."

"It's become much more respectable in recent years to come to a home for the aged," the institution's executive director, Mitchell Waife, said last week. "And we feel we are in a large way responsible for this."

One hundred years ago, when Mrs. Leo and her friends organized the first home for 20 elderly and indigent Jewish women, there were no nursing homes and hospitals for the aged and very few old-age homes.

SON WAS PHYSICIAN

Mrs. Leo's son, Dr. S. N. Leo, was a physician and for nearly 50 years he treated without pay, all the residents of the home. In the nineteen-twenties, after Dr. Leo's death, a full-time medical staff was added to the facility and by the nineteen-forties it had received accreditation as a full-fledged hospital, one of the few specialized geriatric hospitals in the country.

"We are equipped for everything a hospital does," Mr. Waife said, "with the exception of cobalt treatment [for cancer] and major surgery. Any resident who comes here may be cared for, from the completely ambulatory to the terminally ill patient."

It is this "total-care" concept that Mr. Waife regards as the particular-pioneering thrust of the facility. Patients may enter the apartment facilities "totally ambulatory," become ill and receive comprehensive treatment including hospitalization without ever undergoing the trauma of leaving the familiar surroundings and friends in the home.

The total-care method also involves making use of a broad spectrum of specialists.

"We are able to learn from and absorb developments in general medicine, use of psychiatric methods, sociological studies," Mr. Waife said, "Geriatrics has come into its own in the last 10 to 25 years, and we've pioneered in many of these areas."

EIGHTY-ONE IS AVERAGE AGE

While there is no "typical patient," officials at the hospital said that the average

was 81 years old (more than 20 years older than when the hospital was first established in 1870). The men in the institution are outnumbered by the women 4 to 1.

"Many have tried a number of different alternatives before they come to us," an official said, "living with relatives, in hotels for the aged and so forth. But we try to have them live here as normal lives as possible."

To permit the best adjustment for each individual, the homes operates three facilities, one at 120-160 West 106th Street that has hospital and living facilities, an apartment facility at 302 West 87th Street and the Kingsbridge House at 100 Kingsbridge Road in the Bronx. Soon, a modern apartment building called the Kittay House will be opened at 2550 Webb Avenue, the Bronx.

To finance all these facilities requires an annual budget of $10-million. The money comes from contributions by the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, of which the home is a member agency; private gifts raised by the board of trustees and its president, Jack Marvin Brown, and government funds such as those for Medicaid and Medicare.

"I love it here, it is the happiest moment of my life," said Mrs. Anna Olin, a patient and formerly a lawyer with offices at 170 Broadway.

Now 75 years old, still vibrant and with pink cheeks, she sat in the courtyard and garden in the center of the 106th Street facility. "I keep up with current events here, I read magazines and newspapers and watch the television," she said. "And of course I have all my friends here."

"We're very flexible," Mr. Waife noted as several visitors strolled off after talking with Mrs. Olin and other patients. "We have no preconceived notion that this is a prescription for all old persons. But above all we want to break the idea in the minds of so many that homes for the aged hearken back to large dormitories, impersonal facilities with no individual consideration. This is their home, we want them to look at it that way."

SUPERSONIC TRANSPORT (SST)

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to join with many of my colleagues in the House in expressing opposition to the $290 million appropriation item for the supersonic transport (SST) included in H.R. 17755, the fiscal 1971 Department of Transportation appropriation bill.

The two major objections to the SST expenditure, in my opinion, are the skyrocketing costs of the program, at a time when America should be devoting a larger share of its economic resources to meeting the urgent domestic needs of our Nation, and the serious threat to our environment posed by the SST, when and if it ever becomes a reality.

As a strong believer in the American private enterprise system, however, I tend to agree with the former Director of the Federal Aviation Administration, Elwood Quesada, when he testified recently that the Government should never have put money into the SST, and that private development would have kept the costs down.

The present $290 million budget request is up $205 million from last year's $85 million appropriation, and future years promise to be more and more expensive, with the $76 million cost overrun of the last 6 months—$57 million of which must be assumed by the Government—becoming an annual occurrence along the lines of the Defense Department's financially disastrous experience with the C–5A aircraft.

It now appears that the ultimate cost to the Government of the SST may escalate to $5 billion or beyond, if the contractor cannot find financing for production. This compares with President Kennedy's promise when he approved the program in 1962 that the SST would not cost the Government more than $750 million.

I don't believe we can afford this kind of multi-billion dollar Federal subsidy to the aviation industry when the pressing housing, education, employment, health care, mass transportation, clean air and water, and related urban needs of our country go unfulfilled.

Of course, another serious problem created by the SST is the danger of a major degradation of man's environment.

The eminent physicist, Dr. Richard L. Garwin, a member of the President's Science Advisory Council, told a congressional subcommittee recently that the SST would produce as much noise as 50 747 jumbo jets taking off at once.

Mr. Russell Train, the chairman of President Nixon's Council on Environmental Quality, has expressed similar fears before a Senate subcommittee:

At present the most significant unresolved environmental problem I see for the supersonic transport is the high level of noise in the vicinity of airports. The current design of the U.S. supersonic transport and of the Concorde leads to a noise field radiated perpendicular to the runway called "sideline noise." In terms of the measures used by the Federal Aviation Administration to assess annoyance, the SST would be three to four times louder than current FAA sideline noise standards and four to five times louder than the 747. In terms of noise pressure, the sideline noise level would also be substantially higher than that of subsonic jets meeting FAA requirements.

These discussions of the ground "sideline noise" problem caused by gunning the engines for takeoff do not even mention the potentially even more destructive and dangerous problem of the sonic boom over inhabited land surfaces.

Mr. Speaker, I think the day is past when we must accept such penalties as the price of "progress." The present condition of our environment is in great measure attributable to the unheeding pressure of industrial advances. But I believe the people of this country today are determined to assess the impact of scientific advances in terms of their possible degradation of the environment. And the SST must be judged by that standard.

YOUTH HAS ONE CHOICE

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, a great dialog currently is going on in America with respect to the merits and demerits of the American presence in Indochina.

When one is confronted with a complication, there is generally the inclination to find an easy solution. But the easy solution too many times turns out to be the most unproductive of approaches, and it seems to be a rule of life that the roots of constructive action are imbedded deeply in the soils of deep conviction and strong effort.

A letter to the editor appearing in the May 16, 1970, issue of the Evening Sentinel of Carlisle, Pa., addresses itself to the Southeast Asia situation comprehensively and realistically, shedding light in what otherwise have been dark corners of this important matter. Because this letter provides a bigger and broader examination of a highly controversial issue, I insert it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and suggest that it be closely read by those interested in having a deeper understanding of this complicated issue:

YOUTH HAS ONE CHOICE

To the EDITOR of the Sentinel:

In spite of President Nixon's courageous effort to salvage a situation he inherited, to win previous administrations "No-win War," it was quite possible we will as a nation suffer the first defeat in our history.

It is not the enemy without that will bring this about but, as Lenin predicted, "The Enemy Within." A nation without the will to win cannot win though its military and economic technology make it the most powerful the world has ever known. That is the situation today.

One cannot blame youth for being tired of and disgusted with an inexcusably long drawn out engagement that could and should have been won and over within six months. Such a desirable ending was prevented by the baseless fear of Russia on the part of previous administrations and the opposition of powerful Liberals who have throughout so well served the Communist cause.

No President, no Senator, no Congressman has matched Nixon for courage and willingness to sacrifice himself and his party by taking those measures essential to any attempt to salvage the cause he inherited.

It is natural that youth should be fed up with a no-win effort. We are all equally so. It is, however, regrettable, indeed tragic, that so many have permitted themselves to be led from peaceful protest to militant action by the machination of the Communist organization boring from within and the propaganda of radical leaders at Washington plus news media, both T.V. and journals, almost all advocating our nation's defeat.

I think we should consider the consequences if we withdraw from Southeast Asia before attaining our objectives. To do so would be to acknowledge defeat. We would instantly become a second class power. Those of us who have spent much time in Asia, the Middle East, Africa and South America know only too well that power and power only breeds respect. This is a thoroughly distasteful fact.

If we lose in Southeast Asia we also lose in the Middle East, Africa and South America. In the Asian world we could find Japan, all Southeast Asia, Taiwan and the Philippines aligning themselves with the victor. The victor, as even the most blind Liberal must recognize, is not Hanoi but International Communism.

The Middle East would soon go down the drain. Why is Dayan calling for a cease fire in Israel's war with the Arab nations. The reason is obvious. He anticipates, as do Russia and Hanoi, that our internal strife will spell our defeat abroad and when that happens knows he will no longer have the sup-

port of a first class power. When we lose in Southeast Asia, Russia will move and Israel will cease to exist.

Russia will move in the Middle East and in Africa. There will be no power equal to hers to stop her. Africans, like Asians, are realists.

I think anyone who has spent much time in South America or kept in close touch with trends south of the border will agree that nothing but an all powerful northern neighbor prevents the collapse of what little orderly government is left. In South America we would indeed see the domino game played out.

What happens in Southeast Asia will determine the future of the world. It is the Key. The Key to a free world and the "self determination of nations" or slavery under the iron fist of Communism.

May I also call youth's attention to the immediate possibilities that confront them here at home. Anarchy, there is no other name for it, is abroad in the land from border to border. I wish that today's youth paid more attention to history. If they did they would realize that when a people cease to be law abiding, when the individual takes the law into his own hands, when mobs roam, destroy and murder there are but two results. Either Anarchy prevails and the nation disintegrates and dies or the military takes over.

Remain in, or withdraw from Southeast Asia, win or lose, unless the people of the United States determine very quickly to be governed by the laws of the land they will be governed by the military. Should the present rate of disintegration continue this step is inevitable.

So today's generation has its choice—obey the law at home or submit to a military government—unite behind and wholeheartedly support government policies which will assure victory for the free world in Southeast Asia or submit to the power of the Communist dictator.

FRANK E. MASLAND, Jr.

CARLISLE, PA.

HEADSTART PARENTS—THE KEY TO SUCCESS

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a communication from the chairwoman of the Parent Advisory Committee to the Headstart Committee of New York City. The letter from Mrs. Anne Campbell contains a comprehensive and persuasive analysis of the Headstart program, the need for the involvement of parents of Headstart children and the danger to the success of this program posed by suggestions for consolidation of antipoverty programs.

I urge my colleagues in the House to read this letter and to support efforts to keep Headstart independent. I include Mrs. Campbell's letter in the RECORD at this point:

QUEENS COLLEGE OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK,
Jamaica, N.Y., May 13, 1970.

Mr. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO,
Ozone Park, N.Y.

DEAR MR. ADDABBO: The City-Wide Head Start Committee is a sub-committee of the Council Against Poverty of New York City. It consists of twenty-six Head Start parents (each representing a poverty area of New York City), representatives of city-wide public and private agencies and local Head Start staff members. The primary function of the Committee is to develop and recommend policies and procedures for all of New York City's Head Start Program.

Head Start parents are actively involved in all phases of the Head Start program, from the local level to the citywide level. This involvement was mandated by the 1966 Economic Opportunity Act and New York City's Head Start parents have assumed this responsibility with demonstrated ability and at great personal sacrifice.

Head Start provides an environment for poverty area parents of pre-school children where they are felt needed as members of a team. The program does not exist solely for the education and benefit of the pre-school child. We try with great success to involve the total family (and, ideally the community as well), for we know that sending a child to even the best pre-school program for 15 to 30 hours a week while his home and family (where and with whom he spends the majority of his time) are beset with multiple problems is not going to enable that child to make any great strides academically or otherwise.

We in Head Start also know that all the Social Workers in the City cannot provide the services our target families need; that by taking a person by the hand to a welfare office or a clinic there is no guarantee that that person is going to return to these institutions for follow-up care and services.

We believe in self-help; in motivating our parents through developing their awareness, by providing them with models of Head Start parents who because of their experience with the program have secured gainful employment or learned to avail themselves of the services their community or city provides, enabling them to resolve their personal problems and/or fulfill their basic needs. They learn that the Head Start program is "their" program, that the Head Start staff is there to aid and support them. In turn, they become objective and concerned.

By expressing their needs and problems, in a conducive atmosphere, they realize that many of their difficulties are shared by their fellow Head Start parents and that they can be resolved! They learn the importance of the early years of their children's lives in determining their academic and emotional growth and development. And, most importantly, they realize that through their active involvement in Head Start will come the skills, the tools needed to improve the public education system of our City. This kind of dynamic must continue in order to eliminate the perpetual cycle of poverty which limits so many of our Head Start families.

One must realize and respect the kind of energy our parents have put into the Head Start Program here in New York, this way one can understand how insulted and disturbed we have become of late in discovering that a task force (Early Childhood Development Task Force) has been formed, emanating from the Mayor's Office, whose stated purpose is to absorb Head Start in a consolidation of all pre-school and day care programs.

We find any form of consolidation highly questionable but even above that we cannot perceive that in forming this Task Force, that our Committee was completely excluded. This insult is further compounded, when one considers that our Committee represents a minimum of 6,000 parents. We strongly object to any design or decision that does not reflect respect for the experience and involvement of the Head Start parent community. We are completely prepared to fight, by whatever means necessary, to keep Head Start the completely unique, child centered, community action program that it is.

There is $13.2 million involved, which, in our thinking, along with President Nixon's proposed Family Assistance Act are the underlying issues involved. We will not tolerate bureaucrats fighting over the lives and futures of our children and the potential enrichment of our families. We cannot stand idly by while plans are being developed to use or misuse our children.

Our parents feel that they have earned the right to determine where Head Start money can best be spent in maximally servicing our children. We have been doing it for the past two years! Our parents, on all levels of the program, develop, review new and refunding applications and have a vested interest in the following:

The non-professionals of our communities.

The development of the latent skills and talents of our parents.

The full realization of each Head Start child's potential.

The development of our parents to enable them to take leadership roles in their communities; to voice their own needs and actively participate in the programs developed to meet these expressed needs and to demand that the existing institutions that influence their lives do so responsively and positively.

The bureaucrats have not even begun to reduce the level of poverty in our City. We have been given an active role and means to, at least, begin, to change the direction of the lives of our families and their children. We only intend to build upon and improve upon these factors and not have them destroyed.

We need your support, advice and understanding. Since we are decentralized we ask to call upon you with Head Start representatives from your area. Together we can rally all the necessary forces and support we need to continue to irreversibly and effectively change the lives of those who in the past have been mere pawns in a political game.

We can arrange to meet with you at your earliest possible convenience and we are assured that we can impress upon you the importance of keeping all the unique aspects of the Head Start Program as they now exist.

BACCALAUREATE SERMON

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, the Baptist College at Charleston, S.C., held its graduation on Sunday, May 17, 1970. The distinguished evangelist and international theologian, Dr. John Haggai, delivered the baccalaureate sermon.

His message was so inspiring, so motivating, and so moving, I asked him to permit me to incorporate it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that it would be preserved for all time.

I want all of my colleagues and every American to have access to this stirring masterpiece from such a dedicated Christian.

Mr. Speaker, I was there.

CONTEMPORARY ALTERNATIVES TO JESUS CHRIST—I CORINTHIANS 2: 2

INTRODUCTION

Two weeks ago last Friday I stood on the steps of Sproul Hall on the Berkeley campus. Sproul Hall is right in the center of the campus . . . the center of the free speech movement. I had been invited to speak. My host, Dr. Jack Sparks, Ph. D. from the University of Iowa, accompanied me. He is head of the

World Christian Liberation Front. He is a totally committed Christian bearing a witness for Jesus Christ in that unique situation. Just before I was to begin the University officials who had cleared the meeting originally had to cancel it because of May Day violent confrontations which their intelligence information had predicted.

I shuddered as I thought to myself, "Is Berkeley a microcosm of the United States as a whole in the next two years?" Here at Berkeley the public school officials have set aside the birthday of Malcolm X as a public holiday when the children do not need to go to school. It is on a par with George Washington's birthday, if you please. Here you see violence, hard-lined activism, anarchy, seminudity, so called intellectuals on "trips" and all of the sordid rest. Here also you meet some of the most committed Christians I have ever confronted.

Yes, I concluded that it is a microcosm at least of the confusion, the conflicting ideologies, the cacophony of voices that are rapidly rising to a frightening crescendo across our land.

Is Jesus Christ relevant today or is there a better alternative?

On Page 29 of the May 11 issue of *Time*, a 19-year-old California co-ed, Linda Eldredge, is quoted as saying, "Violence? I abhor it. Somehow throughout all the broken promises and worthless agreements and 'reforms,' I still abhor it and condemn it. We cannot change this world through violence . . . we can only end it." But, she goes on, "Our parents hate us, our politicians desert us, our hope simply grew old and died. I sound as though I am wallowing in self-pity because the world is too harsh. I am not. I am only very tired."

Is Jesus Christ relevant today or is there a better alternative?

In 2 Timothy 3, the Apostle Paul said, "This know that in the last days perilous times shall come." And it seems dreadfully clear that these times have arrived.

For instance, last week metropolitan police forces around the world had to enlarge their active forces and intensify their efforts to protect American businesses and American embassies around the world. In London last week I saw coteries of police in front of every American business and in front of the Embassy to protect them from repeat performances of angry anti-American zealots throwing the entrails of dead animals and red paint on the buildings and smashing windows with stones. On the other hand I met and talked with responsible people who expressed total sympathy with America and her involvement overseas. Conflict and confusion.

Great Britain has gone into the permissive society. She has enacted more social reforms now than even Scandanavia. She has long since passed the socialized medicine era which provides medical care from the cradle to the grave. Her new laws make her the abortion capital of the world. And while I was there I saw advertisements announcing that special tours were scheduled round trip New York to London and these tours included the air fare, an abortion, one week in a nursing home, one week tour of London theatres. In the same paper I read that the pill is now available at certain clinics to everyone, married or single. And I thought of God's word, "Keep thyself pure." Conflict and confusion.

Graduates, you are walking out into a world that writhes with conflict and confusion as never before. You are walking out into a world of hardlined activists, disillusioned idealists and apathetic permissivists. Much of the business world is shot through with questionable ethics. Many civic leaders hold that right or wrong are relative. And, morality, integrity and conscience are painted a nasty grey. But, I must be honest and tell you that you are also walking out into a world where there is a small corps of people whose commitment to Jesus Christ has never been surpassed.

The question is: "Is Jesus Christ relevant today or is there a better alternative?"

Two weeks ago I walked onto the unspeakably beautiful campus of Stanford University in Palo Alto, California. I visited the chapel which is as beautiful as any European cathedral I have ever seen. The benefactress, Mrs. Leland Stanford, in her bequest, made it clear than the chapel was always to remain in the center of the campus. And, as buildings were erected they were to be erected in such pattern that the chapel would never lose its centrality. She said the reason for this was that it must remind people that unless Jesus Christ is the center of all life, life loses meaning and effectiveness. Was she right? Was that conviction one that is still relevant today?

Paul the Apostle, scholar, world traveler, philosopher and religious leader of his day said to the sophisticated intellectuals at Corinth, "I am determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified." The question is this: Can this conviction hold water today?

I. WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVES TO JESUS CHRIST?

1. There is the alternative of hedonism. Living for pleasure. Many are trying that alternative. In speaking to his young protege, Timothy, Paul said that in the last days men would be "lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God."

When Titov made his statement at the Seattle Worlds Fair that out in space he did not see God our nation expressed shock. His statement became grist for editorial mills and ammunition for ministerial salvos. However, he made that statement on Sunday morning. At least he was consistent. He was an atheist who was living like an atheist and talking like an atheist. Many of the people who were there were professing Christians who, interestingly, had permitted their passion for pleasure to overrule their responsibility for worship on the Lord's Day.

The hedonists are playing leapfrog with the commandments of God. Arrogantly they try to relativize the standard by which God will judge men and nations.

2. A second alternative to Jesus Christ is humanism.

Misrepresenting the nature of man as a creature, humanism destroys the sense of adoration of God. Man becomes his own self-contained universe: a microcosmos. Humanism ridicules the importance of receiving Jesus Christ as Saviour. Humanism inflates man's capability. If, as Sartre says, man can remake himself for the better by himself, then obviously there is no reason to trust Jesus Christ.

Humanism rationalizes man's revolt against the truth of God by theorizing that all assertions about the real nature of things are subject to revision.

3. The third alternative is syncretism. Syncretism scoffs at the unique superiority of the Christian Gospel. It dilutes the Gospel and every other philosophy with which it tries to effect an amalgam. Some people go all the way to India to engage their own private guru who will explain to them the interrelationship of all philosophies.

4. The fourth alternative is nihilism.

II. WHO IS JESUS CHRIST?

This is a valid question. I am convinced that the number of people in our own beloved nation who do not know the answer to this question is appallingly large. Understand, now, that I am not presenting the case for Christianity. I am presenting the person of Jesus Christ. I am constantly bombarded with such statements as, "The establishment is shot through with hypocrisy. They profess to believe in Christianity and violate the basic tenets of Christianity." Well, first of all, I am not presenting the case for Christianity but for Jesus Christ. And, I don't hesitate to ask these vigorous assailants of the establishment, "Are you living up to your highest ideals?" I have not yet received an affirmative answer.

When I was in Indonesia I was asked if I were trying to proselytize . . . to convert Moslems to Christianity. I simply stated that I wanted to present the person of Jesus Christ as a viable alternative. In Portugal I was asked if I were trying to convert Catholics into Protestants, and I said that I wanted only to present Jesus Christ as the only hope for man's sin and the only basis of a meaningful life.

When I present the person of Jesus Christ I am presenting to you, "Jesus Christ and Him crucified." What is meant by "Jesus Christ and Him crucified"?

Christ said "I am the truth," and it is the nature of truth to defend itself. But "Christ and Him crucified" means incarnate truth forgetting to defend itself as it gives itself in sacrificial service.

Christ is light, and it is the nature of light to display itself; but "Christ and Him crucified" means light refusing to display itself, while it gives itself for those in darkness . . . light willing to be obscured that others may have sight and light.

Christ is life, and it is the nature of life to protect itself; and when that goes too far, it is cowardice; but "Christ and Him crucified" means life forgetting to protect itself, as with sacrificial spirit it gives itself for the dead in trespasses and sins.

Christ is power, and it is the nature of power to exert itself; but "Christ and Him crucified" means power restraining itself, holding itself back, refusing to exert itself, in order that it might give itself for the weak and the helpless.

Christ is love, and it is the nature of love to enjoy itself; but "Christ and Him crucified" means love refusing to enjoy, love assuming burdens, love willing to bear pain, love giving itself in sacrificial spirit for the unlovely and the ugly.

Sum all this up and you have a partial definition of the meaning of "Christ and Him crucified" . . . sacrificial truth, sacrificial light, sacrificial life, sacrificial power, sacrificial love . . . all incarnate in Christ. "Christ and Him crucified" means heaven's best for earth's worst. "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me."

Truth as it defends itself may not be attractive.

Light, as it displays itself, is not apt to be attractive.

Life, as it protects itself, and love as it enjoys itself, are not the most attractive. It is the sacrificial spirit that makes truth, light, life, power and love attractive. "I, if I be lifted up, will draw . . . this He said, signifying what death He should die." Not the Christ of truth and light, not the Christ of power nor of love, but the Christ who gives Himself is the Christ . . . the attractive Christ . . . of whom I speak.

Jesus said, "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone, but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." Philip, coming to Christ, said "There are some Greeks who would like to see Thee." With an abruptness Jesus said, "The hour is come when the Son of Man should be glorified . . . except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone." "Philip, if your Greek friends see me now they will not see Jesus; the only way to see Jesus is to behold Him in the process of dying. Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone." It is by the process of dying that the wheat multiplies, and it is by the process of Christ dying that Christ multiplies. And this is the true Christian life . . . the life in which that principle of dying is incarnate.

Look at it for a moment. Truth on the altar

makes more converts than truth in the arena . . . defending itself. Truth ablaze for God, with sacrificial spirit, multiplies itself in large numbers of converts while truth defending itself may only confuse and antagonize.

Light displaying itself does not attract and multiply. What is light? Geologists tell us that during the carboniferous era there were great forests . . . forests taking in the light from the sun into leaf and limb, trunk and root; and then there came geologic revolutions by which these forests were buried under the ground, and by the processes of heat and pressure the coal beds were formed. We dig out the coal, and put it through a process of combustion. That liberates the light which was conserved from the sun, and locked up in the black coal, during the centuries. How does Christ become light? Through the Sermon on the Mount? No. Through the parables and miracles? No. They are but reflections of the Light. It is by the process of combustion on the altar. Out from the altar fires of Calvary there comes the Light that was conserved from heaven, and the Spirit of God turns to Christians . . . true Christians . . . and says, "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God that you present your bodies a living sacrifice." It is by the process of combustion that Christ becomes Light. "I am the light of the world." "Ye are the light of the world," said Jesus. The Christian is not a reflection of that light. Rather he is a convector. Reflection is a cold process. You cannot raise a crop by moonlight. You must have the direct rays from the sun. How do the disciples of Christ become the light? By the process of combustion while on the altar of God. As Christ became Light through death. We become light by sacrificial spirit.

The great mission of Satan is unveiled by Paul when he says, "Satan himself is transformed as an angel of light." The mission of Satan is to give light; he displays light. By scientific light, philosophic light, theological light, any sort of light he tries to satisfy men without the Light of "Christ and Him crucified" . . . and in that he accomplishes his purpose.

So also with life. It is the life sacrificed that multiplies. Life that merely protects itself has no power of propagation. Such a person dies an utter blank, his life devoid of meaning.

Power can compel without convincing; it can drive without persuading. But it is power on the altar, power being consumed for the sake of the weak . . . in other words, it is "Christ and Him Crucified." If twelve legions of angels had come, they could have destroyed his enemies, but there would have been no multiplication. It was holding back the twelve legions of angels . . . the grain of wheat dying . . . which brought the harvest.

So with love. Love refusing to enjoy, love giving itself out, thus becoming so attractive that it almost hypnotizes.

III. WHAT IS THE ULTIMATE END OF EACH OF THESE PHILOSOPHIES?

1. Lord Byron was one who tried hedonism. At 36 years of age when he should have been in the vigor of pristine manhood his body was shot through with sickness and disease . . . the harvest of unrestrained hedonism and sensuality. He wrote these words:

My days are in the yellow leaf
The flowers and fruit of love are gone
And I have nothing left
But the worm, the canker and the grief.

Ralph Barton was an outstanding cartoonist. He was highly gifted—a great writer. His life ended in tragedy—by his own hand. Here is the note he left:

"It (melancholia) has prevented my getting anything like the full value out of my talent, and the past three years has made work a torture to do at all. It has made it impossible for me to enjoy the simple pleasures of life.

"I have run from wife to wife, from house to house, and from country to country in a ridiculous effort to escape from myself . . ."

2. What about humanism? Is it a valid alternative? Forty seven percent of Hitler's SS troops had postgraduate degrees. They hailed the rise of the Third Reich. They were chortling over the anticipated disappearance of Christianity. And, on Christmas Day 1964 I had the great pleasure of sitting at the very table in the very home occupied by the head of his SS. And, as I bowed my head and asked the blessing, I thanked God for the viability of the religion of Jesus Christ. Then I thought to myself, after concluding the prayer, "Isn't it interesting that the same nation that can produce Bach and Beethoven and Wagner can also produce Dachau, Auschwitz and Buchenwald?" How do you account for it? The virus of humanism.

3. And what about syncretism? Have you ever known of any devotee of this philosophy who has found freedom from guilt, liberation from destructive habits and deliverance from fear?

4. And what about nihilism? It sows destruction, multiplies suicides and pervades all thought with the philosophy of despair.

Concerning all of these alternatives to Jesus Christ ask yourself this question. What contribution have they made to the betterment of mankind? What schools have they built? What songs have they written that they would have sung at their own funerals? What hospitals have they erected? The picture is totally different when you ask yourself what is the ultimate end of the person who is committed to the person of Jesus Christ.

The Congressional Record of November 25, 1969, Volume 115, Number 195, carries a report telling about Scott McBride, the former student body president at Stanford University. This man is an alumnus of both Stanford and Harvard. By any standard he is an outstanding intellect. His life was totally revolutionized when he made his commitment to Jesus Christ and Him crucified. Today his life has meaning. This is nothing new.

When Wilberforce committed his life to Jesus Christ and Him crucified in a John Wesley evangelistic meeting his life was transformed. And one of the results of that transformation was that single-handedly in 1805 he rammed through Parliament a bill that brought a cessation to slave trading by the British people.

Lord Shaftesbury was introduced to Jesus Christ and Him crucified by a little servant girl named Maria Millis. It was his commitment to Jesus Christ and Him crucified that gave him a real concern for the betterment of mankind, and he became the father of the Industrial Revolution.

A brilliant infidel committed his life to Jesus Christ and Him crucified, and immediately life took on meaning. His name was Russell Conwell. He delivered his famous *Acres of Diamonds* address thousands of times. With it he raised $6 million, all of which he gave to the establishment of Temple University and the Good Samaritan Hospital which is now Temple University Hospital.

The secular British historian Leckey wrote that it was the influence of John Wesley (a man totally committed to Jesus Christ and Him crucified) that saved England from the horrors of the French Revolution.

But what about some other contemporaries? I think of my friend Dr. Christy Wilson who, under God, has brought hope and help and healing in Jesus' Name to the people of Afghanistan. It all stems from his commitment to Jesus Christ and Him crucified.

I think of Dr. Kyung Chik Han who was the polarizing point of thousands of South Koreans back during the dismal days of their open hostilities with North Korea. He had fled from North Korea. He was the Number 1 wanted man by the North Koreans. . . so great was his influence among the Korean people. This man has established churches, built hospitals, created orphanages and founded schools. It all stems from his commitment to Jesus Christ and Him crucified.

Early one morning I was waiting for a plane in San Antonio, Texas. A man walked up to me and said, "Aren't you John Haggai?" I told him I was. He said, "I am Newt Godfree." I immediately recognized the name as the man who owned Newt Godfree Chevrolet and the El Tropicano Hotel in San Antonio. He told me that just a few years ago he came home from work, went out to his swimming pool and saw his wife dead in the bottom of the empty pool. Apparently she had fallen and died from a severe concussion. After the body had been taken away he slipped into the poolside master bedroom determined to take his own life.

As he opened the drawer of his bedside table to take pistol in hand, he saw a copy of my book on top of the table. He did not know where it came from. He read it. He said that he recognized that his only hope was in Jesus Christ and Him crucified. He committed his life to Jesus Christ. He is now a member and, I believe, a deacon of the First Baptist Church of that city. His life has taken on meaning. Do you know of any alternative to Jesus Christ that could have done for Newt Godfree what Jesus Christ did?

This past Friday I delivered my final lecture to a group of men in training in the second session of our International Training Center in Switzerland where we are training outstanding leaders from the non-Christian countries in the "how" of evangelism. Eleven countries and five continents were represented. I was looking into the faces of men whose lives have been in jeopardy on numbers of occasions. There were twelve of them there who had marked men by the Communists. In fact some of them had showed me the graves the Communists had dug for them in Indonesia just before the Communist coup . . . the aborted, thank God, coup . . . September 30–October 1, 1965. Some of these men had endured beatings, personal humiliation, loss of property because of their commitment to Jesus Christ and Him crucified. I wish you could have seen the glow on their faces and felt the radiance of their personalities. Could humanism have done that for them . . . or syncretism . . . or hedonism . . . or nihilism? No, a thousand times no.

But, you say, "what about our own country?" I could relate to you case after case. I could tell you about Lambert Dolfin, graduate nuclear physicist of Stanford, who ran the gamut in the arena of hedonism. On an L.S.D. "trip" he went outside and looked at the sun and his eye is permanently damaged. And, he never can be sure that delayed reactions from this horrible experience may not yet cause grave difficulties. However, he did commit his life to Jesus Christ and Him crucified, and today he is one of the most popular speakers on university campuses across America testifying to the meaning that Jesus Christ has given his life.

CONCLUSION

Graduates, the world is estranged from the living God because of man's unconquered sin. Crime and prejudice and greed stalk the world like the ancient Horsemen of the Apocalypse simply because of human sin. The answer is a commitment . . . a total commit-

ment to Jesus Christ. You are not entering into an easy situation, but in Christ you can be more than conquerors. I am not promising you ease. I am guaranteeing you conflict and difficulties, possibly persecution and Satanic opposition that defies human description.

I am thinking of a 29-year-old young man named Stephen who attended our first Training Session at the Center in Switzerland. He is a brilliantly trained man . . . a great scholar, an insuperable leader and a powerful speaker. He has addressed audiences of more than ten thousand in Southeast Asia. He was born on Mainland China. His life is totally committed to Jesus Christ and he feels that his ministry must be in Mainland China. He can go back to Mainland China because that was the place of his birth. He is making careful arrangements now to go back and to work as effectively as possible with the underground church, knowing that he faces certain death if found out. I do not give you his last name, because it could endanger his life even more. I wish you could see the glow on his face.

I do not know what Jesus Christ will require of you if you commit your life to Him, but I do know that He will give you all the resources you need to carry out His will. You may ask, "Does living a committed life mean danger and persecution?" It may. I know a man who in the last few years had to face this very decision. He was told that in an audience of 8,000 people there were known murderers. He was told that the government of that country had disbursed 250 of its crack military men to sit in various places throughout the audience in an effort to forestaff any violence. He was told before entering the platform that he very probably could be shot. He had to face the facts and come to a decision. He concluded that there was no alternative to obeying the will of God.

Let me show you how practical are the results of a total commitment to Jesus Christ and Him crucified. If everybody in our nation would receive Christ and Him crucified with all which that means, it would solve every public problem that perplexes our leaders today. It would settle the divorce problem in a week, because if every husband loved his wife well enough to die for her, and every wife loved her husband well enough to die for him, all the divorce lawyers would have to retire from business. It would settle the war problem in less than a week. If everybody loved everybody else well enough to die for them, they would not kill them. Christ and Him crucified would settle the capital and labor problem in ten minutes. If every employer loved every employee well enough to die for him and every employee loved every employer well enough to die for him we should never have another strike. If everybody accepted and loved Christ and Him crucified it would settle the violence problem. Christ and Him crucified would settle every problem that perplexes the public mind. Christ and Him crucified is the solution of politics, economics, statesmanship and religion. Let our schools crown Him, and learning will have the right relation to everything else in heaven and earth. Let our businessmen crown Him, and commerce will have the right relation to everything else. Let the home crown Him, and it will be a vestibule to heaven.

The uplifted Christ still draws with magnetic attractiveness today. The reason that people are not being drawn is because He is not being lifted up. He is lifted up as crucified churches reveal Him through a crucified program and corporate life. And this kind of life in a church is dependent upon crucified Christians making up its membership. There is nothing wrong with the church per se today that cannot be corrected by a total subordination of the members to Christ and Him crucified.

The problem is sin. This is the common denominator, and Christ and Him crucified is the only answer for our sin.

"Jesus! the Name that calms our fears,
That bids our sorrows cease:
'Tis music in the sinner's ears.
'Tis life and health and peace.

"He breaks the pow'r of cancell'd sin,
He sets the pris'ner free;
His blood can make the foulest clean,
His blood avail'd for me."

When you have totally committed your life to Christ and Him crucified you can expect a continuing battle. The forces of evil and the powers of darkness are stirred up to heightened belligerency when anyone makes a total commitment of himself to Christ and Him crucified. But the glorious thing is that Christ promises the resources necessary. We read "In the world you shall have tribulation: but be not afraid; I have overcome the world." It is a matter, in the final analysis, of letting Christ live His life in you.

There may be very dark and dismal days ahead for all of us. There surely will be for some of us. It is very possible that some will feel the scourge of ostracism and even the lash of persecution in return for their commitment to Jesus Christ, but His promise sustains when He said, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee."

A great Scot, George Matheson, was engaged to be married to a young lady who meant more to him than any person in all the world. Just before marriage he heard the startling word that in six months he would be blind. He went to her and told her of the situation and offered her release from the engagement and the forthcoming marriage, thinking that she would surely stand with him and that her love would bridge any physical deficiency. He was wrong. She gave him back his ring. He was crushed. But he found strength as he cast himself completely upon the Lord Jesus Christ. He wrote these words, words that choke up my heart if not my throat every time I sing them:

"O Love that wilt not let me go,
I rest my weary soul in Thee:
I give Thee back the life I owe,
That in Thine ocean depths its flow
May richer, fuller be.
"O Joy that seekest me through pain,
I cannot close my heart to Thee:
I trace the rainbow through the rain,
And feel the promise is not vain,
That morn shall tearless be."

What about the future? I don't know. But we can know in a personal way who holds the future. Young people today are concerned about a coming utopia, about what's down the road. Their songs are filled with it.

A new theology coming out of Germany is called the "Theology of Hope" and it is creating a great stir because we are living in a period of pessimism and despair. Writers and contemporary philosophers are pessimistic. Bertrand Russell some time back predicted that we had only five years to exist as a human race. The Bible describes the future of the human race and tells us exactly where we are heading.

Jesus Christ came the first time to die on the cross. He bore our sins so that we might find complete and total forgiveness. And, we have God's own word that He will never hold us to account for those sins because Jesus Christ has paid the penalty. It's a wonderful thing to know that your sins are forgiven.

The head of a London mental institution has said, "Half of my patients could be released if they could know they are forgiven."

Jesus rose from the dead and is alive today. The Bible says He is coming back. But first the Bible indicates we are going to have violence, travail, judgment, troubles and difficulties beyond anything we have previously known. Then just before the world is ready to explode in self-imposed destruction Christ is going to come and set up His kingdom and rule the world. It will be a wonderful world where disease will be arrested, war abolished, nature changed . . . in short, utopia on the earth. It's wonderful to have this assurance and embrace this hope.

In the meantime through joy or sorrow, smiles or tears, wealth or poverty, health or sickness, peace or persecution we can say with the Apostle Paul:

"Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?

"Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us.

"For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come.

"Nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

(Romans 8: 35, 37–39.)

There is no viable alternative to Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ is our hope.

H.R. 1117: A START IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, one of the biggest problems facing Congress in its efforts to curtail or eliminate pollution is the plan of attack. The bill just recently passed by the House, H.R. 1117, is a start in the right direction. However, we should not stop with just an investigatory committee.

It is important that we have a single standing committee to which all pollution bills can be referred. It will bring to an end the current situation of almost every committee in the House handling pollution legislation. To speed up the handling of the legislative logjam I would also urge such a single standing committee in the Senate.

The concern over pollution is not new. Nor are the abatement efforts of the Federal Government new. The fight has been going on for quite some time. Today, however, we have an opportunity which we should not let pass. Pollution is now on the national conscience, it is center stage, and the energies of our economy and society are ready and waiting. What is needed is the very item that has been lacking all these years: direction.

I am told that there are currently over 28 subcommittees and ad hoc committees in the House of Representatives that handle pollution legislation. The first step in our plan should be better direction and a more orderly approach to the legislative effort in our attack on pollution.

The committee process is for all intents and purposes the legislative process. In order for legislation to be properly reported to the House it takes a combination of infinite patience, wisdom, and the blessings of the good Lord.

Leadership and a streamlined method of the legislative process is what pollu-

tion legislation needs. Unless we establish a standing committee on the environment, I foresee a wasteful expenditure of time and energy, and a delay in producing this vitally needed legislation.

Mr. BROTZMAN'S bill, H.R. 1117, of which I am cosponsor, will amend the rules of the House to create such a committee. I urge it be given every consideration and be quickly reported.

PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO COMMUNISM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I frequently receive requests from concerned Americans who want additional information on the evils and threats of communism.

Because there are numerous publications issued by the U.S. Government which can be obtained directly from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, I insert an official list of publications on communism at this point:

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

This is an official list of publications issued by the U.S. Government . . . relating to various aspects of communism . . . for sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

1. Issues Presented by Air Reserve Center Training Manual. 1960. (46)p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:Ai7. 15 cents.

2. How the Chinese Reds Hoodwink Visiting Foreigners. 1960. 34 p. Catalog No. Y4.Un 1/2:C 44. 15 cents.

3. Communist Persecution of Churches in Red China and Northern Korea. 1959. 35 p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2: C 47. 15 cents.

4. Organized Communism in the United States. 1958. 153 p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/35/958. 45 cents.

5. International Communism (The Communist Mind). 1957. 14 p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/76. 15 cents.

6. The Ideological Fallacies of Communism. 1957. 25 p. Catalog No. Y. 4.Un 1/2:C 73/84. 15 cents.

7. Communist Psychological Warfare (Brain Washing). 1958. 25 p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/90. 15 cents.

8. Communist Lobbying Activities in the Nation's Capital. 1959. 12 p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/105. 10 cents.

9. Lest We Forget! A Pictorial Summary of Communism in Action. 1960. 48 p. il. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/109. 20 cents.

10. Communist Economic Warfare. 1960. 23 p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/110. 15 cents.

WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, SELECTIVE CHRONOLOGY 1818–1957

11. Volume 1, 1818–1945. 1960. 232 p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/114/v.1. 65 cents.

12. Volume 2, 1946–1950. 1963. (254) p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/114/v.2. 75 cents.

13. Volume 3, 1951–1953. 1964. (290) p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/114/v.3. $1.00.

14. Communist Target—Youth, Communist Infiltration and Agitation Tactics. 1960. 18 p. il. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/115. 15 cents.

15. The New Role of National Legislative Bodies in the Communist Conspiracy. 1962. 47 p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/117. 20 cents.

16. U.S. Communist Party Assistance to Foreign Communist Governments (Testimony of Maud Russell). 1963. 51 p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:F 76/2.20 cents.

17. Communist Political Subversion, The Campaign to Destroy the Security Programs of the United States Government. 1957. 97 p. il. Catalog No. 85–1:H.rp. 1182. 45 cents.

"UNITED FRONT" TECHNIQUE OF THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

18. Hearings. 1962. 221 p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:C 73/103/962. 45 cents.

19. Report and Appendix. 1963. 242 p. il. Catalog No. 88–1:H.rp. 631. 65 cents.

20. A Communist in a "Workers' Paradise," John Santo's Own Story. 1963. 77 p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2/Sa 5. 25 cents.

21. The Communist International Youth and Student Apparatus. 1963. 83 p. il. Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:C 73/44. 30 cents.

22. Cuba as a Base for Subversion in America. 1963. 23 p. Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:C 89/3. 15 cents.

23. The Kremlin's Espionage and Terror Organizations. 1959. 16 p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:K 88. 15 cents.

24. Language as a Communist Weapon. 1959. 51 p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:L 26. 20 cents.

25. Soviet "Justice"—"Showplace" Prisons vs. Real Slave Labor Camps. 1960. 50 p. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:So 8/5. 20 cents.

26. Communist Propaganda and the Truth About Conditions in Soviet Russia. 1962. 46 p. il. Catalog No. Y 4.Un 1/2:So 8/7. 20 cents.

27. Education for Survival in the Struggle Ag inst World Communism. 1962. 127 p. Catalog No. 87–2:S. doc.93. 35 cents.

28. Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publictaions. 1962. 81 p. Catalog No. 87–2:H. doc.398. 70 cents.

29. Communist Youth Activities (Eighth World Festival, Helsinki, Finland, 1962). 1962. 68p. Catalog No. Y.Un 1/2:Y 8. 20 cents.

30. Patterns of Communist Espionage. 1959. 81 p. Catalog No. 86–1:H.doc. 119. 25 cents.

FACTS ON COMMUNISM

31. Vol. 1. The Communist Ideology. 1960. 135 p. Catalog No. 86–2:H.doc. 336. 45 cents.

32. Vol. II. The Soviet Union, From Lenin to Khrushchev. 1961. 367 p. Catalog No. 87–1: H.doc. 139. $1.25.

33. Communist Legal Subversion, The Role of the Communist Lawyer. 1959. 75 p. il. Catalog No. 86–1:H.rp. 41. 25 cents.

34. The Communist-Led Riots Against the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco, Calif., May 12–14, 1960. 1960. 22 p. il. Catalog No. 86–2:H.rp. 2228. 15 cents.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE FILM "OPERATION ABOLITION"

35. Part 1. 1961. 52 p. Catalog No. 87–1: H.rp. 1278/pt. 1. 25 cents.

36. Part 2. 1961. 80 p. Catalog No. 87–1: H.rp. 1278/pt. 2. 25 cents.

MANIPULATION OF PUBLIC OPINION BY ORGANIZATIONS UNDER CONCEALED CONTROL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

37. Part 1. 1961. p. 137–217, il., 4 pl. Catalog No. 87–1:H.rp. 1282/pt. 1. 65 cents.

38. Part 2. 1961. p. 219–309, il, 4 pl. Catalog No. 87–1:H.rp. 1282/pt. 2. $1.

39. Communist China's Agriculture. 1959. 50 p. Catalog No. A 67.16:115. 20 cents.

40. Communist Control Act of 1954. 1954. (6) p. Catalog No. GS 4.110/1:83/637. 5 cents.

41. Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China. 1961. 260 p. il. Catalog No. NS 1.2:C44. $2.

42. Soviet World Outlook, A Handbook of Communist Statements. 1959. 247 p. Catalog No. S 1.74:56. $1.25.

43. The New Drive Against the Anti-Communist Program. 1961. 82 p. il. Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:An 8/9. 25 cents.

44. Testimony of a Defector From Communist China. 1962. 16 p. Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:C 44/4. 10 cents.

45. Communist Controls on Religious Activity. 1959. 34 p. Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2: C 73/23. 15 cents.

46. Contradictions of Communism. Rev. 1964. 62 p. il. Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:C 73/25/964. 20 cents.

47. Communist Anti-American Riots—Mob Violence as an Instrument of Red Diplomacy. 1960. 66 p. il. Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:C 73/34. 20 cents.

48. Communist and Workers Parties' Manifesto Adopted November–December, 1960, Interpretation and Analysis. 1961. 108 p. Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:C 73/35. 30 cents.

49. Communist Appeal to Youth Aided by New Organizations. 1961. 42 p. il. Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:C 73/38. 15 cents.

50. Guide to Communist Tactics Among the Unemployed. 1961. 32 p. Catalog No. Y 4.J 89/2:C 73/39. 15 cents.

51. Khrushchev's Strategy and Its Meaning for America, 1960. 40 p. Catalog No. Y4.J 89/2:K 52/2. 15 cents.

52. A Communist Plot Against the Free World Police (An Expose of Crowd-Handling Methods). 1961. 32 p. il. Catalog No. Y4.J 89/2:P 75. 15 cents.

53. Technique of Soviet Propaganda. Rev. 1965. 72 p. Catalog No. Y4.J 89/2:So 8/8/965. 25 cents.

54. The Real Productivity of Soviet Russia, a Critical Evaluation. 1961. 61 p. il. Catalog No. Y4.J 89/2:So 8/14. 20 cents.

55. Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments. 1953. 50 p. Catalog No. Y4.J 89/2:Su 1/13. 20 cents.

56. Yugoslav Communism, a Critical Study. 1961. 387 p. Catalog No. Y4.J 89/2:Y 9. $1.00.

57. Wordsmanship, Semantics as a Communist Weapon. 1961. 18 p. Catalog No. Y4.J 89/2:W 89. 15 cents.

58. Communism in Action. 1946. 141 p. Catalog No. 79–2:H.doc. 754. 45 cents.

59. Permit Communist-Conspirators to be Teachers? 1953. 47 p. Catalog No. 83–1:H.doc. 213. 20 cents.

60. The Communist Party of the United States of America, What it is, How it Works, a Handbok for Americans. 1956. 101 p. Catalog No. 84–2:S.doc. 117. 30 cents.

61. Efforts by Communist Conspiracy to Discredit the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its Director. 1959. 27 p. Catalog No. 86–1:S.doc. 23. 15 cents.

62. Expose of Soviet Espionage, May 1960. 41 p. Catalog No. 86–2:S.doc. 114. 15 cents.

63. Analysis of the Khrushchev Speech of January 6, 1961. 1961. 101 p. Catalog No. 87–1:S.doc. 46. 30 cents.

64. The Communist Party Line. 1961. 6 p. Catalog No. 87–1:S.doc. 59. 5 cents.

65. Communist Interrogation, Indoctrination, and Exploitation of American Military and Civilian Prisoners. 1957. 24 p. Catalog No. 84–2:S.rp. 2832. 15 cents.

66. The Anti-Vietnam Agitation and the Teach-in Movement (The Problem of Communist Infiltration and Exploitation). 1965. Catalog No. 89–1:S.doc. 72. 75 cents.

67. Communist Party, USA—Soviet Pawn. Staff study prepared for Senate Judiciary Committee. 1967. 20 cents.

ENVIRONMENTAL PEACE CORPS

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, the Republican Task Force on Earth Resources and Population of which I am chairman,

has been studying environmental problems for the past year. We have become acutely aware of the urgency of these problems and the need to employ the creative talents of our concerned young people. This is one of the reasons that I introduced H.R. 16847, a bill to establish a National College of Ecological and Environmental Studies. The college 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. It would provide for an organized nonpolitical youth forum where needed communications can be channeled into solving environmental problems. This bill has been referred to the House Committee on Science and Astronautics and we hope to receive a favorable report in the near future.

Another propitious sign is the suggestion by the Honorable Walter J. Hickel, Secretary of the Department of the Interior, that a Peace Corps type of organization be established to help reclaim the Nation's environment. A recent article in the Washington Post by George Wilson describes this suggestion. I would like to include this article in the RECORD at this point for the benefit of my colleagues:

HICKEL SUGGESTS ENVIRONMENTAL "PEACE CORPS"

(By George C. Wilson)

PRINCETON, N.J., March 5.—Interior Secretary Walter J. Hickel tonight suggested setting up a Peace Corps type of organization to help reclaim the nation's environment. He said the new group "might be called ECO—Environment Control Organization."

The ECO, Hickel said, "could be a program backed by federal funding which would place young leaders with energy and enthusiasm in those areas of the nation needing study and help."

Aides to Hickel conceded the idea was still in the tentative stage, but indicated there had been some White House consultation on the proposal, which was floated here tonight at Princeton University's first ecological conference.

One thing the environmental group could do, Hickel said, would be to conduct an inventory of all the public lands in the United States as part of the federal effort to put the acreage to the best possible use.

He told the Princeton audience that another helpful step would be for universities "to set the pace and make ecology a priority. After all," he asked, "if feminists are now in your ranks, why not ecologists?"

He said public concern about the environment has reached the point where "we have an uprising on our hands in this country . . . we as a nation have been asleep in a room filling with poisonous gas. Thank God, we have finally awakened."

Besides responding to this public interest with ideas like the environment corps, Hickel pledged that the Interior Department "shall vigorously prosecute those who pollute." He said that polluters that ignore the public interest "are going to find just how tough we can be."

Hickel was interrupted repeatedly during his speech at the Princeton gymnasium by a small group of hecklers, some with faces painted to look like Indians. They shouted obscenities at Hickel, beat a tom-tom, let out war whoops and demanded that he "talk about the war." Robert F. Goheen, president of Princeton, warned them they they would be disciplined and publicly apologized to Hickel.

Earlier, a duPont executive acknowledged that industry's record on pollution control "is not good enough" and warned his colleagues that "people are losing patience with companies that seem to put the monkey on the other fellow's back."

Samuel Lenher, vice president of E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co. chemical firm, told an environmental conference here that some companies have held back on spending money for cleanup measures "hoping to gain a cost advantage over the companies that are moving ahead."

While industry must do better, Lenher said, the federal government must clean up its legislative house by defining clearly "the national policy on the environment—a straight forward statement of what we are trying to achieve."

He recommended tailoring anti-pollution standards to various parts of the country rather than imposing uniform national standards on industry.

Federal authorities however, are pushing for nationwide standards on the grounds that without them industry can play off one area of the country against the other in seeking sympathetic regulation of pollution.

The duPont company has developed a chamber for recirculating auto exhaust which Lenher said would keep hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide pollutants below the maximum discharge levels set by the federal government without having to abandon leaded gasoline.

DuPont drove a car equipped with the chamber to Princeton and put on a display for the 200 persons who attended the university's first ecological conference.

The chamber clamps onto the engine in place of the manifold. The exhaust is trapped inside the chamber while air is forced in, stirring up the unburned particles so they will have a chance to burn more completely.

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF SANTA CLARA?

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, recently four professors at the University of Santa Clara called at my congressional office to express their concern over the war in Vietnam and the Cambodian situation.

Since that visit, other faculty members and students at the University of Santa Clara have protested the visit as not representing the unanimous opinion of the university. The Rev. Arthur D. Spearman, S.J., has requested that a statement signed by 60 faculty members and administrators at Santa Clara University be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Signers to the statement were solicited through the following memorandum from Father G. V. Kennard, S.J., of the university's department of philosophy:

To: All faculty and administrators of the University of Santa Clara.

From: Father G. V. Kennard, S.J., Department of Philosophy.

You are invited to sign the declaration below, which will be sent to legislators, public officials, and to the press, concerning the Washington trip of Professors Anawalt, Flood, Heineke and Mackin.

From the May 9th San Jose Mercury (p. 4) we learn: "An unofficial delegation of ten faculty and students from the University of Santa Clara will leave for Washington, D.C., Sunday evening to lodge their protest against the war in Southeast Asia with U.S. Legislators firsthand." The same article quotes Patrick E. Tondreau, identified as a senior theology major, in explanation of the mission: "We hope that the fact that we who are faculty and students from an institution like the University of Santa Clara will underscore the seriousness which we attach to the situation."

I infer from the above, and from other evidence, that the group named proposes to pass itself off as a 'delegation' in some honest sense of that word, and that it intends to trade on the name and character of Santa Clara University to buttress its cause.

May I point out that signing the declaration below does not commit one to any view on the military action in Vietnam and Cambodia, nor does it express disagreement with the political views of the four professors named. What signing the declaration commits one to is a view of the relation of the college to the political arena, and to a set of standards regarding appropriate forensic behavior on campus.

If you are willing to go on record by signing the declaration below, please leave a copy of it (signed) at the University switchboard by Monday noon, May 11th, or phone Fr. Kennard or leave a message confirming your willingness to have your name so used. Names will be listed alphabetically, and no identification of academic or administrative office will be carried.

The statement referred to appears below:

MAY 11, 1970.

To the President and the Congress of the United States:

The undersigned are faculty members or administrators at the University of Santa Clara.

We declare that Professors Anawalt, Flood, Heineke and Mackin, presently in Washington with six students for the purpose of lobbying, have no mission from faculty or student body and are not authorized to speak on behalf of either.

We stand for an open University and open platforms. We deplore the fact that the rallies which solicited traveling funds for these professors systematically excluded speakers who would have supported the foreign policy of the federal administration.

We stand for the freedom of the University from political interference in its teaching mission, and we regard the non-intervention of university bodies in the political forum as the condition and price of academic freedom. We therefore deplore any manipulative use of the name of our University for partisan political causes.

We repudiate also any claim or inference that the political views of the aforesaid professors enjoy preferential status or backing from the democratic, humanistic and Catholic intellectual tradition of the University at which they are employed.

SIGNATURES

Francis J. Babbish, S.J., Edwin A. Beilharz, James L. Blawie, Thomas Bracco, S.J., Warner Brandenburg, Marc Callan, Shu-Park Chan, Marygrace Colby, Raymond F. Copeland, S.J., Francis J. Corrigan.

Richard Coz, S.J., Grover J. Daly, Jose A. Debasa, Raymond Dennehy, Donald J. Duggan, S.J., Eugene J. Fisher, Richard Garibaldi, Paul J. Goda, S.J., Maurice Belval, S.J., Phyllis Hazekamp, Joseph F. X. Monasta.

C. F. Guenther, S.J., Carl H. Hayn, S.J., John H. Hosemann, Merome Hubbard, Stephen Jurika, V. F. Kamena, Joseph Keane, S.J., George V. Kennard, S.J., W. J. Kropp, S.J., Marvin H. Langholff.

G. P Malley, Norman F. Martin, S.J., Roger

D. McAuliffe, S.J., William M. McPherson, Charles A. McQuillan, S.J., Alexis I. Mei, S.J., Myra Milburn, John S. Mooring, Bernard Kronick, John Kugler, D. Robert Papera.

Henry P. Nettesheim, Philip J. Oliger, S.J., W. Orenczuk, Peter A. Panelli, William B. Perkins, S.J., Mozelle Phillips, Richard M. Schmidt, William F. Sheehan, Arthur Dunning Spearman, S.J., Sal Taormina.

Salvatore A. Tassone, S.J., Thomas D. Terry, S.J., Dusan Uslakar, Doreen C. VanAssenderp, Christian Van den Berghe, Edward V. Warren, S.J., Carroll Williams, Tennant C. Wright, S.J., Thomas B. Maier, Tony Rodriguez, Peter Van den Dool.

A TRAGEDY IN ST. PAUL, MINN.

HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, last week a St. Paul policeman was killed while answering a routine call. In this instance a cowardly assailant shot Officer James T. Sackett from ambush after he and his fellow patrolman had responded to the call.

This is the first police fatality in many years in St. Paul, but it has aroused the public sympathy and anguish and I share their concern. There seem to be too many instances of senseless, random violence in our country as even our fine, well-policed city, shares in this unfortunate trend. Despite vast public compassion and offers of help, in all too many cases the bereaved families are left with little but their sorrow. State workmens compensation laws are most often vastly inadequate as the letter below indicates, and do not properly provide for adequate compensation to families of deceased officers killed in the line of duty.

I want to bring the attention of my colleagues to this tragedy and the need for Federal legislation aimed at providing help to disabled or deceased public service officials and their families. Such legislation (H.R. 9128) is before this body and more than 130 Congressmen have introduced similar bills. The legislation proposes that such widows would receive 45 percent of the deceased officers' wages and 15 percent for each dependent up to a maximum of 75 percent. These benefits would derive from the Federal Employees Compensation Act. I strongly feel we should get on with the job of providing security to families that have suffered such tragic loss. I might add that Officer Sackett is survived by a wife and four small children.

The legislation is supported by such national organizations as the Police Officers, the Firefighters, and the American Trial Lawyers Association. The Labor Department, the Justice Department, and the Bureau of the Budget have indicated their disapproval. Despite the administration opposition, I feel we should obtain hearings and favorable floor action on this needed and necessary legislation.

While action by this body is helpful, it does little to assuage the grief of the Sackett family, therefore, we must do all we can to halt irresponsible acts such as the one I have described. We must not only make safe the performance of duty by policemen and firemen, but we must make our streets safe for citizens as well. We cannot long endure as a society if our present conditions prevail and escalate as seems to be the case.

I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the following article in the St. Paul Pioneer Press of May 26:

DEPENDENCY BENEFITS

SIR: The untimely death of the St. Paul policeman during, and as a result of, his employment points again, dramatically this time, the need for amending the Minnesota workmen's compensation law.

Presently there is a maximum—$25,000—which, when there are small children, is exhausted long before they reach high school age.

The law should be amended to provide payment during dependency which would assure funds at least through the high school years when expenses are the highest.

Average death benefits paid are less than the maximum because widows remarry and children reach 18 years of age before the limitation is reached. The added expense would have minimal effect on insurance rates.

ART RAMBERG.

WHITE BEAR LAKE.

HORTON PRAISES WAYNE HARRIS AS MR. CONSERVATION IN MONROE COUNTY

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, ecology has become a main issue. It is a big word with a certain ring to it. It seems like everyone now wants to jump on the "ecology" bandwagon.

But years ago, people who became involved in the issue were thought to be alarmists and doom cryers. Before the name and the slogan became popular Wayne Harris, a lawyer in my district, Rochester, N.Y., joined the ecology movement. About 15 years ago, Wayne became interested in the problems of pollution and recognized the need for action.

He has been responsible for upgrading the classification of many local streams, closing polluted beaches, and obtaining State funds for pollution control in Monroe County.

Wayne is a man who feels it is his personal responsibility to contribute to the community. Many of the accomplishments in the fight against pollution, would not have been achieved if it had not been for him.

To begin his campaign, Wayne joined the Monroe County Conservation Council, an organization of delegates from 20 area conservation groups. He was president of the council from 1956 to 1959. Since then, he has served as chairman of the council's air and water pollution committee.

Certainly at no personal gain to himself, Wayne persists in trying to clean the environment. If he cannot get local action, he goes to the State, and if not the State, then the Federal level.

He has a reasonable manner, and a way of presenting the issues that make people want to assist him. When people ask him what they can do, he suggests working on the local level.

Wayne is an example of an idealistic man who works with reality. He leads a full and busy life, and yet he sacrifices his time for a cause in which he believes. He is the father of six children. A law partner in the firm of Keenan, Carroll, Harris, Creary, Beck & Galloway. He has been awarded the Rochester Downtown Club's 1965 Kiwanian of the Year; the Real Estate Board of Rochester's 1966 Lester P. Slade Civic Award; and the New York State Conservationist Council's 1967 Water Conservationist of the Year.

As chairman of the air and water pollution committee, Wayne has seen to it that the Monroe County Conservation Council is one of the most active in the country. The council has no paid members and the effort they put out in the month of April alone is an indication of their selfless work in the fight against pollution.

In April of this year, the council held five panels and 25 lectures on pollution, and one statewide television show on channel 21, educational TV. The total number of people lectured to in that 1 month was 9,763.

Wayne spends from 20 to 30 hours a week on the problems of pollution. He and the conservation council are a model for conservation groups all over the country. They possess persistent dedication to the goals they have set to end the deterioration of the environment.

I would like to share with my colleagues two articles that recognize the fine work Wayne Harris and the conservation council have done and continue to do. The first appeared in the May issue of Field & Stream, and the second, in the Rochester Democrat & Chronicle:

[From Field & Stream, May 1970]

WAYNE M. HARRIS: CITIZEN POLLUTION FIGHTER

(By Herbert G. Jackson Jr.)

When lawyer Wayne M. Harris invites his stockbroker wife for a Sunday walk in the country, it's likely to be a hike along a foul-smelling stream in search of an outfall pipe. If he finds what he's looking for, he photographs it, makes notes, and takes samples. If he doesn't find it, well, there's always next weekend.

Harris, senior partner in a Rochester, New York, law firm, is a citizen pollution fighter whose conservation efforts over nearly two decades have earned him a variety of sobriquets ranging from Mr. Clean to a few less printable ones.

As chairman of the Monroe County Conservation Council's Air and Water Pollution Committee, he has become a pain in the neck to those public officials who in his opinion aren't doing enough to abate pollution.

Harris knows how to make noise, or as he puts it, "create an awareness of a problem." About four years ago, for example, he became concerned about water pollution at his county's public beaches on Lake Ontario.

In the absence of any governmental action, Harris and his committee conducted a campaign of testing the water. They found

that the coliform count (measurement of fecal pollution) far exceeded state maximums.

The information was passed along to the county and state health departments and local news media. The county discounted the health threat but the state ordered the beaches closed until safe, which is not expected to be until after a new treatment plant, now underway, is completed.

Harris and his committee have had considerable experience in the field of water pollution. As far back as the early 1950's they made recommendations to the state for water pollution control standards, and a few years later were instrumental in securing a minimum "B" classification (suitable for swimming) for major waters in Monroe County. This made illegal the discharge into those waters of solid sewage or liquid sewage not effectively treated.

In preparing their case for the classification hearings the conservationists enlisted the aid of a host of skilled persons from their own membership, including scuba divers, pilots, scientists, engineers, and the like.

In 1968, with a donated $5,000, the committee launched an ambitious project to test the water in all major cities of the state, except New York City. Two college students—Harris' son, Wayne, now a junior at Temple University, and David Zogg, a biology major at Cornell University— conducted dissolved oxygen and coliform tests in Albany, Binghamton, Buffalo, Massena, Ogdensburg, Rochester, Rome, Schenectady, the State Fair outside Syracuse, Syracuse, Troy, Utica, and Watertown.

Harris, who planned and supervised the study, said its purpose was to determine the extent of water pollution in New York State and to make the information available to civic-minded groups in communities where the water was tested.

The study report paints a dismal picture of what has happened to the waters of New York State. Copies of the report were printed only last October and distributed to certain members of Congress, state and local officials, chambers of commerce, and conservation organizations. Excerpts follow:

Albany—"The tenth sample was taken [from the Hudson River] approximately one-half mile south of the Parker Dunn Memorial Bridge adjacent to an outfall pipe . . . [where] sewage solids, garbage and contraceptives were observed discharging. . . .

"The two creeks in the Albany area, Norman's Kill and Patroon's Creek, are no more than open sewers. . . ."

Binghampton, Johnson City, and Endicott—"The mouth [of Tributary II of the Susquehanna River] was filled with sewage solids, contraceptives, toilet paper, sludge and garbage. The banks were covered with a thick deposit of gray muck. . . ."

Buffalo—"Purple, red, and brown wastes could be seen dumping into the [Buffalo] river [near South Park Bridge]. Profuse solid waste lined the banks while the center of the river bubbled and was covered by a very heavy oil slick. An acrid odor was very noticeable. . . .

"The waterways . . . are flagrantly used as open cesspools for the dumping of untreated sanitary and industrial wastes."

Massena—"The Massena village beach on the St. Lawrence River . . . had total coliform counts as high as 36,800. This is more than ten times the standard for bathing water set by the state and more than thirty-six times the Federal standards."

Ogdensburg—"The water [of the St. Lawrence near a paper company outfall] was gray-green in color and could be distinguished from the normal blue of the river. Multi-colored solids were observed in the water. . . ."

Rochester—"Total coliform counts [at Ontario Beach] ranged from 4,800 to 21,000 during the test period [July 13–August 31, 1968]. The water [on August 31] contained grease balls, duckweed, foam and many small black solids.

"The water [at Durand Beach August 3] contained cigarette butts, toilet paper, contraceptives and small green balls. Total coliform counts ranged from 5,200 to 27,000 during the test period."

Rome—"Every sample taken of the waters in the Rome area was found to be at least three times over the maximum state standards for bathing water. Coliform counts in the city indicate a large quantity of raw sewage is being dumped into the water."

Schenectady—"at Freeman's Bridge . . . the Mohawk River was brown and covered with a thick gasoline slick. . . . There was tar on the river bank. . . . A dark, tar-like mess was observed. . . ."

Syracuse—"Onondaga Lake is of very poor quality . . . and appears to be serving as a large septic tank. The bottom was . . . composed of a filthy black material.

. . . Syracuse as a whole is in dire need of drastic and immediate measures. . . . Every stream observed was no more than an open dumping ground for sewage, with total coliform counts ranging from 40,000 to 1,400,000—far in excess of state standards."

Troy—"The City of Troy is built on a river of sewage. The Hudson River had coliform counts ranging from 34,000 to 150,000. The coliform counts at the mouths of Poesten Kill and Wyant's Kill were 395,000 and 265,000 respectively. The lack of any treating facilities severely aggravates this problem. . . ."

Utica—"The water [of Starch Factory Creek half a mile from its mouth] . . . contained large quantities of sewage solids and sewage material. A thick black sludge covered the bottom and banks and a strong sewage odor was noticed.

"The City of Utica has no sewage treatment plant and dumps sixteen to seventeen million gallons a day of raw untreated sewage into the Mohawk River."

Watertown—"The water (of Kelsey Creek at its mouth) was covered with gasoline slick. Black sludge and a brilliant orange and green film was observed. . . . A strong sewage odor was noted.

"A sample was obtained from the Watertown Primary Sewage Treatment Plant effluent after chlorination, just before it channeled into the Black River . . . sewage solids were observed."

In the report Harris summarized:

". . . each day our waters are being filled with an ever-increasing amount of untreated and poorly treated sewage material and industrial wastes.

"The waters of our state are in critical condition, with many of them hazardous to health.

"The public must act now to demand proper, modern treatment of municipal and industrial wastes, and must closely check the plans for correcting the pollution to see if they are really adequate. The public must not in the future be lulled into a sense of security or inactivity by . . . government officials."

As a result of this study the Monroe County Conservation Council, in the person of Harris, was able to speak with authority in the fall of 1969 at one of a series of public hearings conducted by the Joint Legislative Committee on Environmental Management and Natural Resources Subcommittee on the Ecological Problems of the Great Lakes.

In testimony Harris urged abolishment of existing ground water standards and adoption of a whole new set, copies of which he made available. He further declared that the state's water pollution control program "has been a complete failure . . . primarily a propaganda program with almost no enforcement."

Referring to the 1968 study report he continued:

"The attitude toward water pollution in our state perhaps can be best be exemplified by what has taken place at our state fair. A year ago, after it was revealed that the state fair was discharging raw sewage into Nine Mile Creek, it was found that coliform counts were over a million in 100cc of water, or more than 400 times the state limit of 2,400.

"This year we returned to the state fair and the discharge had increased . . . the coliform counts ranged from four to sixteen million."

Harris also thinks the Legislature should take over from the Executive Branch "the responsibility of our environment," creating a separate agency responsible directly to the Legislature and advised by a board of experts none of whom shall come from government or certain industries whose products or processes contribute to the pollution of the environment.

Harris' conservation efforts, which he estimates consume twenty to thirty hours a week, are not limited to water pollution. A few years ago he read a newspaper report that respiratory deaths in Monroe County had increased out of proportion to the increase in population. He asked the state and county health departments if they would undertake air pollution tests. In the absence of affirmative answers he decided that his committee would tackle the problem.

To find out how such testing is done he consulted experts who advised him to go to Los Angeles. There he studied what he describes as "the most effective program in the country." (He is also impressed with Pittsburgh and Toronto programs to abate all pollution.)

"Los Angeles, perhaps of necessity, realized the danger of air pollution sooner than any other city in the country," Harris relates, "and acted against auto manufacturers to reduce the amount of pollutants and placed stringent restrictions on the air pollution emissions by industry. I was able to secure information that the gases released by almost any type of industry could be filtered or treated so that almost no pollutant reached the atmosphere."

In the summer of 1965 with $350 worth of equipment he began the tests on a random scientific basis. One night a week from 8 p.m. to midnight he and his wife, together with the council's scientist, E. Grant Pike, and Mrs. Pike, obtained air samples at various points in Rochester. Later, with the aid of a rebuilt spectrophotometer, they measured the amounts of gases in their samples.

The results showed that the sulphur dioxide level was higher than the average of the fifteen cities used by the government as a yardstick, and the nitrogen dioxide level was slightly lower. On the basis of this testing, his committee made recommendations to the state for air pollution control standards.

"Our situation in Rochester is bad but not critical," he maintains. "We have pointed up areas of concern and we continue to monitor areas where complaints are received.

"But, more significantly, we have gone through the throes of setting up an air pollution testing program. We could help someone else with a serious problem."

The discharge of radioactive material from atomic plants has also come under Harris' scrutiny. On receipt of complaints about the atomic reprocessing plant near Springville, New York, Harris got himself a Geiger counter, went to the area, climbed fences, found the outfall, took readings, and reported that the discharge was 6,000 times over the limits prescribed by the Atomic Energy Commission.

Through Senators Javits, Muskie, and the late Robert F. Kennedy, Harris made noise. Subsequently, the AEC directed the plant to reduce the amount of radioactive material it discharges.

He and his committee are now undertaking to review the plans of every proposed atomic plant in the country and already have come out against the Bell Station plant on

Cayuga Lake in Central New York, the James A. Fitzpatrick plant on Lake Ontario, and the Oyster Creek plant on Barnegat Bay in New Jersey.

Still another area of concern is landfill. Harris realized that much of the state-owned lakes and rivers were being filled in for private use, so again he and his committee went to work. One problem area was right in their own backyard: the south end of Irondequoit Bay just east of Rochester. The committee dug up an 1870 map—"the earliest accurate survey we could find"—and showed that by comparison with recent aerial surveys fifty-one acres had been filled.

With this and other evidence the conservationists approached state legislators and on January 1, 1966, a landfill section of the conservation law became effective. Essentially, it forbids landfilling without a state permit, such permit to be granted only if benefit from the proposed fill derives to the state.

But more than three years later, at last September's state hearing, Harris expressed his utter disillusionment with the law:

"The legislative intent has been ignored and one need only to look around to see how ineffective the law has been," he stated. "Instead of the applicant being required to prove conclusively that the fill will be beneficial to the state, the public must rise up in mass to fight . . . to prove that the proposed fill is harmful, while on many occasions the Conservation Department plays a passive role or supports the applicant."

When a permit was granted to a motel firm to fill in a portion of the north end of Conesus Lake, south of Rochester, the committee decided the time had come to challenge the law in court. At this writing the decision was pending in State Supreme Court.

Harris speaks before college, civic, fraternal, church, or women's groups an average of once every two weeks. The topic, of course, is pollution. His committee also has put together a slide presentation on pollution, and this is available to schools.

A slim, earnest, friendly sort, Harris looks younger than his 44 years despite a full head of pepper-and-salt hair. A native of East Rochester, he finished high school there in three years, manned a light machine gun with the 45th Infantry Division in Europe during World War II and received the Bronze Star, completed two years at the University of Rochester, got married, and in 1948 went to Albany Law School. Three years and as many children later he was graduated and the next year was admitted to the bar, becoming a partner in his father-in-law's law firm.

In addition to conservation and bar organizations he has been active in the Fraternal Order of Eagles, Kiwanis, and his suburban Chamber of Commerce.

Children too are much a part of the lives of Wayne and Joan Harris. They have six of their own plus one granddaughter, two Korean "daughters" whom they are putting through college, and several foster foreign children. The Harrises also are active in the Teenage Diplomat Program.

Harris doesn't hesitate to enlist his family, friends, neighbors, and business acquaintances in the cause of conservation. Many reports and presentations have been compiled, collated, assembled, printed, bound, and so forth through hours of gratuitous help.

As a result of this kind of effort and enthusiasm, the twenty-club, 5,000-member Monroe County Conservation Council is the most active organization of its kind in the state and, perhaps, a model for citizen conservation groups everywhere.

THE RESPECTABLE WAYNE HARRIS

(By Talis Bergmanis)

Ten or fifteen years ago, Wayne Harris was considered sort of an oddball, an eccentric, a somewhat humorous character at best.

Today, he's known to many as the most important, most powerful conservationist in the area.

He's responsible, in great part, for upgrading the classification of local streams, closing polluted beaches, and obtaining more state funds for pollution control devices in Monroe County than in any other county in the state—including the boroughs of New York City.

Harris' rise to respectability is as much the result of his own hard work as of the new public awareness of the environment.

He became interested in conservation shortly after he graduated from Albany Law School in 1951.

In those days, conservation consisted of Boy Scouts planting trees and Smokey the Bear warning people not to burn them down. Environment was a word used by sociologists and psychologists. People worried about air only if the rear tire was losing it, about water only if the front lawn needed it.

But a few people were talking about pollution and Harris, "looking for a way to contribute to the community," was impressed enough to look into the problem. He joined the Monroe County Conservation Council, an organization of delegates from 20 area conservation groups, which today represents about 6,000 people. Harris was president of MCCC from 1956 to 1959. Since then he's served as chairman of the council's Air and Water Pollution Committee.

"We took tests (in 1955–1956) to find out how good or bad our water was," he recalls. "Federal recommendations are that coliform—which is an indicator of sewage bacteria in water—shouldn't exceed 1,000 parts in 100 c.c. of water. In New York, we're more lax, and have set a count of 2,400 as our standard. Well, we took tests at the mouth of the Genesee, where our beaches are and where our kids swim, and got counts of 800,000. We were amazed. But we were even more amazed by the attitude of the County Health Department. They said 'Naw, there's no real problem.' They ignored us completely, and that really set us off.

"Initially everyone thought we were wrong. It was hard for people to believe that the Health Department wasn't doing its job. But we always backed up our charges with tests and eventually the facts proved we were right.

"That's one reason we've been successful. If you talk in general terms about lost beauty and how the rivers are full of junk, you'll get nowhere. To impress the politicians and bureaucrats you need test results, expert witnesses, samples, photos, and statistics."

Harris' first major victory came in 1956 when the state was classifying all rivers as A, B, C, D, or E. "A" meant the river must be kept clean enough for drinking; "B" meant good enough for swimming; "C" meant good enough for fishing; and "D" and "E" meant good for nothing except shuttling sewage.

City Hall, the Chamber of Commerce, the County Health Department, and local industries all wanted the lower Genesee (from the barge canal to Lake Ontario) classified D. Harris and MCCC stood virtually alone in demanding a B classification.

Somehow, Harris came away from the hearing with a special B classification, not quite as good as B, but much better than D. In 1966 it was upgraded to B, and today, all streams in the area, plus the barge canal, have that classification.

"Unfortunately," Harris points out, "you still can't swim in them, because the classifications aren't enforced. Dumps leach into them, inefficient sewage plants discharge into them, industries pour wastes into them, and the Health Department does nothing about it. You see, if they jump on Henrietta, they'll have to jump on Brighton, and on Kodak, and on the City of Rochester, and so on. They don't want that.

"But God help you if you're a homeowner and a leak develops in your septic tank. They'll hop on you right way. The City of Rochester and Eastman Kodak can foul the Genesee with thousands of gallons of effluent each day. But you, a little guy with a leaky septic tank, they'll tell you to get that fixed quick. You're a health hazard, a menace to the community."

(Kodak is building its own $7 million treatment plant, but Harris fears it won't be as efficient as the company says it will.)

As the smoke settled from the Genesee River classification battle, Harris planned his next skirmish, on the sands of the city's two beaches, Ontario and Durand-Eastman. In the early 1960's, citing the high coliform count in the water, he asked that they be closed.

"The area's sewage plants were completely inadequate and Rochester was dumping 93 million gallons of untreated sewage into the lake every day. We felt that if we could force the Health Department to close the beaches, thus admitting there was a health problem, then we could work for action on the source of the problem—the over-loaded treatment plants. If officials don't acknowledge a problem, you can't press them to come up with a solution."

Getting no action locally, Harris repeatedly wrote and telegraphed the State Department of Health, Gov. Rockefeller, Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, and even Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall.

Finally, in 1967, after their own samples showed coliform counts as high as 52,000, the State Department of Health acted. They ordered that the County Health Department refuse the beaches a permit to open. County Health Director Dr. Wendell Ames termed the pollution "a trivial thing", but closed the beaches. They've stayed closed since. Sort of.

The county still keeps lifeguards at Ontario Beach, explaining that as long as people are using the beach, someone should be there to keep it safe.

Harris disagrees with the policy: "They close the beaches but keep the lifeguards. Some uninformed person comes along, sees the lifeguards and figures the water must be clean, right? Who would dream that the county would station lifeguards beside water that no one should swim in? This is the sort of thinking we have to deal with constantly. We'd laugh if it wasn't so serious."

Although Harris isn't laughing, he is perhaps frowning a bit less about water pollution here. Partly as a result of his long campaign for cleaner water, two large treatment plants (the $49 million Durand-Eastman and $28 million Greece-Parma) are under construction and should be operating by 1972. And while they won't come close to solving Rochester's water pollution problem, they'll be the best ones on the Great Lakes.

The interceptor sewers linking into them are financed in part by approximately $140 million in state funds that Monroe County has received for pollution control projects during the past few years. That's more than any other county has received, including the notoriously polluted Buffalo, Albany-Troy, and New York City areas.

"It's not proper or fair," Harris says, "but we're getting it. Presumably they figure if they can pour in enough money here, they can silence our group."

If anything, Harris and the MCCC are growing more influential and more vocal all the time. Their key to success is the cadre of multi-talented, hard-nosed volunteers Harris has gathered around him.

When a conservation group appealed for help in fighting a landfill on Conesus Lake, Harris had expert witnesses—scientists, professors, engineers—to testify at the hearings.

When he needed samples from the mouth of an outfall pipe, 40 feet deep in Lake Ontario, scuba divers were available.

He also has an excellent working relationship with the Rochester Committee for Scientific Information. RCSI is a non-profit group of scientists and laymen which controversial issues and investigates scientific findings.

("We never make recommendations, says George Berg, associate professor in UR's department of radiation, biology and biophysics, and past president of RCSI. "We report our findings and tell people what the choices are.)

Occasionally Harris and RCSI co-operate in gathering information, and Harris uses RCSI findings in his battles. Besides RCSI's outside help, Harris has his own group of maybe a half-dozen specialists, plus another dozen hard workers.

There's Jack Bennett, president of Stewart & Bennett, Inc. He's an expert in heavy construction and, among other things, reviews plans for treatment plants.

There are Grant Pike, a research scientist at Pfaudler Co., and Charles DeMarco, a staff physician in the medical department at Xerox. Both are experts on atomic plants and their accompanying health hazards.

There's Bill Lindner, a retired assistant supervisor in the Conservation Department. His vast knowledge of the state's fish and stream conditions is useful at hearings.

Then there are the engineers, Roger Hodley, Michael Rowland, and Ray Taylor, currently checking dams, combined sewer systems, and dredging problems.

Joseph Barra and Hugh Mitchell are preparing pollution information for high schools and colleges. Ray Huther is revising a slide presentation that he, William Hutchinson and Harris use when they speak before clubs and organizations. Herb Nerwin and Sam Thrash are working on air pollution tests. Art Littlefield and Stewart Cartier are doing similar work with water. And Jim Kuhn and Stan Collier are trying to drum up some funds to keep it all going.

No one is paid, but MCCC constantly needs money for buying equipment, for answering conservationists' pleas for help and information, for publishing reports, and even for occasionally hiring someone to watch dump violators or take state-wide tests. They rely mainly on MCCC dues and whatever their speakers can pick up, but occasionally a benefactor drops by. Several years ago, Robert E. Lee, a manufacturer's representative, donated $5,000. And sometimes they get a windfall in the form of contributed services.

Like the Daily Record printing 500 copies of a thick pollution report free of charge.

"I don't know much about printing," Harris says, "but that had to cost them at least $5,000"). Like Lawyer's Co-op binding 35 600-page briefs when Harris was battling a land developer. ("About a $1,500 job.") Like Crosman Arms Co., Inc., donating guns and ammunition for the MCCC shooting booth in the Sport and Boat Show. ("We made over $500 on that.")

Although people willing to help Harris are exceptions, so too are the ones trying to hinder him. Open animosity has declined considerably since the early years.

He's "respectable" by all standards. A family of six kids (plus two who are foreign students who are staying with them); law partnership in Keenan, Carroll, Harris, Creary, Beck & Galloway, and plenty of civic awards. (Rochester Downtown Club's 1965 Kiwanian of the Year; Real Estate Board of Rochester's 1966 Lester P. Slade Civic Award; and New York State Conservationist Council's 1967 Water Conservationist of the Year.)

No one scoffs or snickers at Harris' accusations any more—at least not openly. Even County Health Director Dr. Wendell Ames claims, "There are no real differences between us and Mr. Harris."

State Senator Thomas Laverne says, "Some people feel Wayne's a bit too idealistic, too uncompromising, too overzealous. But, personally, I've never faulted a man for actively pursuing a desirable goal. I've known him 20 years and during that time he's been the forerunner in pointing out environmental crises and proposing solutions.

"As for his disagreements with the Health Department, well, the department has legal limitations and these often conflict with Wayne's sense of urgency."

Assemblyman Frank Carroll puts it a bit more strongly: "Harris is the type to take the bull by the horns. He'll challenge authority if he feels that's what should be done. Authority isn't used to this, doesn't like it, and won't accept it.

"He's even bucked the governor's policies, and though I'm a Republican, I think he's often been correct. He doesn't go off half-cocked; he gets his information and when he's sure of his case, he presents it."

The recent public interest in the environment has helped Harris' crusading, and he's trying to convert that interest into action. He's speaking frequently and already is booking some speaking dates into October.

To people asking the inevitable question, "What can I do?" he advises forming small groups and working locally.

"I don't talk about the great problems, because people can't do anything about them. Instead I suggest they take a look at the Brighton dump leaching into Irondequoit Bay or the grossly overloaded Henrietta sewers. I tell them to go out in their own community, see what's wrong, organize, and then go ask the health officials and town councilmen why they're allowing those conditions to exist. The important thing is to work, document, and exert pressure.

"Boycotting non-disposable bottles and high-phosphate detergents is all right, but boycotting isn't a substitute for actively working on a problem. And as for some of the symbolic acts, like dumping a bucket of polluted water on some official's desk, I just can't see that. You can't convince anyone that way.

"What I think should be done is to form a state commission that would have all regulatory power in matters of air and water. They'd have power to set standards and to haul down violators.

"And this commission would answer to the legislature, not to the executive branch. The legislature is more responsive to the people. It's less likely to ignore the issue or to give in to interest groups. For instance, the legislature recently passed our toughest law on boat pollution, requiring holding tanks, only to have it nullified by Rocky's order to the State Health Department not to enforce it.

"That sort of thing can't go on. We've got to stop it and start anew. People have to get interested, they have to work, and they have to exert pressure."

SPEAKER JOHN W. McCORMACK

HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful for the privilege of being able to join my colleagues in paying tribute to a great, yet humble American, Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

There is really nothing anyone can say that will adequately describe his contribution to our Nation. Only history itself can do him the justice he deserves.

A great nation is propelled by continual progress, progress resulting from the actions of men of the caliber of JOHN MCCORMACK.

As Speaker of the House of Representatives, all of JOHN MCCORMACK'S energies were directed with only one purpose in mind—the good of the Republic. When the youth of our Nation will ask what is a true patriot, the life of JOHN MCCORMACK will answer their question.

I am honored and grateful to have had the privilege of serving in this body with JOHN MCCORMACK. My association with him has been more than beneficial. I have found him to be a kindly, a fine, a decent, and a tolerant man. He has always treated me decently and with kindness. If I am reelected, I shall indeed miss his presence.

Mr. Speaker, JOHN, I wish you good health, good fortune, and long life. May you continue to serve our country, in retirement for at least as long as you served it as Speaker of the House.

"SUPERHIGHWAY—SUPERHOAX"

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the crisis in transportation has been escalating in the past several years, and the need for a balanced transportation policy is evident. Yet highways and more highways are too often seen as the solution to the crisis.

Instead of being avenues of swift transportation, highways have become virtual interstate parking lots. They have brought increased traffic, increased automotive air pollution, and decreased efficiency of mass transportation systems.

They make transportation virtually impossible for those who cannot own or drive a car. These people often find it impossible to get anywhere as a result of our Nation's inadequate mass transit system.

In addition, highways are often built through our inner cities, displacing people from their homes and businesses without community consultation or planning.

A new book has been published by Doubleday & Co., which deals with the Interstate Highway System and the philosophy of those who promote it.

Entitled, "Superhighway—Superhoax," the book was written by Helen Leavitt, who was displaced by the freeway system which is presently being constructed in Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Leavitt's book criticizes the highway program for not accomplishing its major purpose—that of moving traffic. Instead, she sees the building of highways as a hindrance to mobility, further clogging the roads rather than clearing them.

I am inserting in the RECORD a review of Mrs. Leavitt's book, which appeared in the May 17 New York Times Book Review. It was written by A. B. C. Whipple, editor of the Time-Life Books Division.

I commend the review to my colleagues. I think it points out what Mrs. Leavitt is trying to say and what I have been trying to say every since I came

to Congress. If we are going to get ourselves out of our daily massive traffic jam, more super highway construction is not the answer.

The answer is a clean, quick, and efficient mass transportation system which will permit all Americans to reach their destinations in a reasonable amount of time:

[From the New York Times Book Review, May 17, 1970]

SUPERHIGHWAY—SUPERHOAX

(By A. B. C. Whipple)

A few years ago some highway engineers planned a new freeway for Washington, which would cut through an area containing some embassies, foreign restaurants, a bit of a slum and some renovated houses. One of those houses was owned by a lady named Helen Leavitt, and thus the highway engineers made a major miscalculation.

Hell hath few furies like a lady confronted with a highway through her living room, and the result in this case is a highly indignant book which should be read (at least in part) not only by those whose neighborhoods have been threatened but also by everyone who has bogged down in a traffic jam on a supposedly high-speed thruway (and who has not done that?). "Superhighway—Superhoax" is as one-sided and admonitory as it sounds. It is a slashing attack on the entire Interstate Highway System and on the philosophy of superhighway engineering itself.

Reading the book is a bit like driving cross-country. There are long arid stretches of statistics, transcripted remarks from interminable and countless hearings, committee reports and testimony in mind-dulling detail. And then there are striking glimpses of fascinating facts and compelling arguments. The reader, unlike the driver, can fly past the barren stretches and linger over such intriguing facts as these:

The Interstate Highway System has so far cost $33-billion, and it is only two-thirds completed. In other words, the United States has spent more in getting to California than in going to the moon.

Americans spend twice as much on highways as on education.

In 1967 the Air Force experienced 70 per cent more deaths in private off-duty motor vehicle accidents in the United States than from enemy action in Vietnam. (Mrs. Leavitt does not neglect to mention the already well-publicized statistic that automobiles have killed more Americans than all our wars combined.) You might try this one on your teen-age son: his chances of survival are greater in Vietnam than at home driving a car.

In car-truck collisions, for every truck driver killed 38 auto drivers are. (I wonder what the ratio is for those tractor-trailer drivers.)

When you buy a $3,000 car you are committing yourself to an expenditure of $11,000 over the next 10 years even if you can keep the car running that long. If you trade your car in every year, add $8,420. (These figures do not include financing costs.)

In Tokyo the carbon-monoxide situation is already so bad that traffic police have to take time out to inhale oxygen every two hours.

In some cities the school playgrounds have been made into parking lots for the teachers' cars.

But Mrs. Leavitt's major criticism is that the American superhighway program, "the largest public works program ever undertaken by man," with all its expense and destruction of city and countryside, has not accomplished its one objective: to keep traffic moving. The more highways we build, the more automobiles pour onto them and clog them.

"For the past 30 years," she claims, "the number of persons entering the central business district of our major cities has remained constant. Interestingly enough, the number of automobiles entering the same area has steadily *risen* over the same period of time." In other words, more people aren't clogging those highways. More cars are.

Evidently the more highways the engineers build, the more cars appear from nowhere to crowd them. Long Island is an impressive example of this frustrating balance of nature. The ground on that island is nearly covered with concrete. And yet such thoroughfares as the Long Island Expressway are known as "the longest parking lot in the world." Mrs. Leavitt estimates that a car-borne commuter on Long Island moves at the rate of six to twelve miles per hour, which is a slight improvement over pedestrian locomotion but not as fast as a horse and buggy and a great deal slower than a Boston Whaler with an 18 h.p. motor.

This phenomenon has some complex political causes. Local mayors seize the opportunity to divert highways into their cities, which helps provide communter thoroughfares but clogs and slows interstate traffic and has the longer-range effect of crippling such mass transit as railroads. And by the time the railroad has limped to a halt, the highway system cannot handle the former trainriders' cars. Commuters who are serviced (one is tempted to use the farmer's definition of the word) by the Penn Central Railroad have a vivid example of this.

Mrs. Leavitt is at her best at what she obviously enjoys most: exposing and condemning the superhighway proponents whom she calls the "highwaymen"—the construction firms, the auto manufacturers, the oil and rubber companies who band together to support more and more highways for more and more cars.

They are silly, of course, when they argue that superhighways could evacuate cities in time of war; anyone who has seen a rush hour in any city knows that is impossible. And Mrs. Leavitt is understandably sarcastic about one highway proponent's claim that highways are good for fish because trout like to nap under bridges. But she lets her indignation run away with her when she caustically quotes the Clay Report's claim that the automobile "has restored a way of life in which the individual may live in a friendly neighborhood . . . it has made us one country and a united people." This is true. The problem is that we have let our cars get out of control.

The answer? Abolish the Highway Trust Fund, Mrs. Leavitt urges. It is a repository for all auto-associated taxes, which by law can be spent only on highways. She claims that when Federal and local auto taxes are added together, they amount to a slush fund of nearly $15-billion a year. And since most of this money can be spent only on highways, Parkinson's Law goes into effect: instead of questioning what our highway needs really are, our politicians merely decide how to spend the money.

Mrs. Leavitt makes sense to me when she argues that the tax money collected from auto drivers should be used for some of our other pressing needs instead of only for highways as it is today. If we use Highway Fund money only for highways, why not confine cigarette-tax money to a massive program to find a safe cigarette? To confine auto-tax revenues to highways, she says, is like earmarking all liquor-tax revenues for improving saloons. She urges that auto-tax revenues be put into the general treasury, and highway needs should compete with other pressing needs—for education, ghetto renovation and even mass transit, which our highways have done so much to cripple.

She quotes a "Prayer for America's Road Builders," which was intoned for a Virginia Road Builders Association meeting by the Rev. Raymond F. Wrenn, presumably with a straight face. It goes like this:

"O Almighty God, who has given us this earth and has appointed men to have domination over it; who has commanded us to make straight the highways, to lift up the valleys, and to make the mountains low, we ask thy blessing upon these men who do just that. Fill them with a sense of accomplishment, not just for the roads built, but for the ways opened for the lengthening of visions, the broader hopes and the greater joys which make these highways a possibility for mankind.

"Bless these, our Nation's road builders, and their friends. For the benefits we reap from their labors, we praise thee; may thy glory be revealed in us. Amen."

Mrs. Leavitt had better brace herself for counter-attack from armies of superhighway proponents, some perhaps motivated by greed but many others as dedicated to the public welfare as she is. Judging by her polemical style in this book, I'd say she is quite capable of taking them on.

CONGRESSIONAL REPORT TO NINTH DISTRICT RESIDENTS

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

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

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By CONGRESSMAN LEE H. HAMILTON)

From the long view of history, perhaps the most significant action taken by the Congress in 1969 was the Senate resolution expressing its view that the President should not make foreign commitments without the approval of Congress.

The United States has treaties for collective defense with 43 countries. We also have many executive agreements and declarations, military assistance programs, and bases in more than 60 countries. Each treaty varies in the extent to which it commits the U.S., but in general, there is an agreement to assist in the event of armed attack. The treaties do not spell out the precise action which the United States would take; that is left for the President and Congress to decide.

Virtually all our foreign commitments are made in the belief that they are required by our national interest. They result from our view of the Communist threat, an awareness of the political and military vulnerability of other nations, and the limitations of the United Nations.

Why, then, are we reassessing our commitments? The most immediate reason is undoubtedly Vietnam, which has led us to question our other security commitments. The long struggle in Vietnam, now entering its 10th year, has profoundly affected public attitudes toward our security commitments, and has led, for example, to the Senate resolution urging limitations on executive action.

The American public recognizes the global responsibilities of a super power, but they reject the idea that this nation is the policeman of the world.

The Soviet Union, despite the Czechoslovakian invasion, no longer seems such an immediate threat as it did during the days of Stalin. The nature of the threat is difficult to assess, but if it is diminishing, the need for military alliances also is diminishing. Such a view changes the nature of an alliance, reducing the emphasis on deterrence and increasing the emphasis on political con-

sultation and a greater coordination of common interests. This is already occurring in NATO.

The gradual emergence of new power centers such as Japan, or a European grouping, eventually may relieve the United States of some of its international burdens as these new powers assume greater responsibility for defense. Some day, regional grouping may provide military protection for a wide area.

Faced with these considerations on the rapidly changing world scene, U.S. policymakers are asking themselves:

Has the threat to our interest by other powers changed or declined so much that we can begin to withdraw from collective security arrangements?

Have basic Soviet objectives changed?

Is Soviet and Chinese Communist armed strength declining or increasing with relation to that of the United States and its allies?

Which will lead us to peace: Some degree of withdrawal of U.S. military presence abroad, or the continued maintenance of clear and firm collective security arrangements in critical areas?

Do our commitments abroad create instability at home by reducing our capability to solve our domestic problems?

Although the Constitution provides that the Congress shall declare war, it is clear that under our constitutional system, the source of foreign policy is the President. He must weigh what the capabilities and resources of the U.S. are and what must be done for national security. He must assess the costs and risks of such commitments against the cost and risks of not making a commitment. Seldom can he—or any of us—be sure if the assessment is correct.

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker pro tempore, I would like to join with my colleagues in saluting today one of the finest men it has ever been my privilege to know, the Honorable JOHN W. McCORMACK, of Massachusetts, our beloved Speaker. So much can be said of JOHN McCORMACK and yet no matter how glowing our praise the words pale beside the man himself. We can talk of his expertise and determination in debate, his leadership in national and party affairs, and his valuable counsel. But this does not begin to scrape the surface of this giant of a man. How can one put into words what the presence of JOHN McCORMACK has meant to this body? In the past 8½ years during which he has served continuously as Speaker, Congress has enacted more vital social legislation than it had in its entire previous history. And I wonder how much of it could have been accomplished without the skills of JOHN McCORMACK. He knew how to compromise, and he knew how and when to press a point. But most of all he knew his House of Representatives. JOHN McCORMACK dedicated his life to this House of Representatives and it was a proud dedication, one shared only by his God, his country, and his lovely wife, Harriet. I feel very privileged in having known and served with JOHN McCORMACK for these many years. My mind fills with so many happy occasions shared with the Speaker. I remember in particular the evening we both received the rank of knight commander with star of the order of St. Gregory the Great from Pope Pius XII, presented to us at the apostolic delegate's residence on Massachusetts Avenue by the now Amleto Cardinal Cicognani. Over the years we have become, I believe, very close friends and so it is extremely difficult for me today to say farewell. We shall miss JOHN McCORMACK, the Speaker, and we shall miss JOHN McCORMACK, the man, but most of all we shall miss JOHN McCORMACK, our good friend. I join with all my colleagues here today in wishing many, many years of contented and well-earned leisure to Speaker and Mrs. McCormack.

GREENSBORO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

HON. RICHARDSON PREYER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Speaker, functioning as a community development corporation, the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce has moved aggressively but sensitively into the field of human relations during the past 3 years.

As its current president, Kemp C. Clendenin, Jr., has stated:

Race should not be a factor in community and personal life except to assure the development of an open community and equal opportunity community.

The chamber's executive vice president, William B. Little, underscores chamber policy by stressing that "leadership must come from within the community to solve the human problems and the conditions which keep a true spirit of community unity from being a reality."

The Greensboro Chamber of Commerce has more than 1,550 members, of which about 250 are black. It has long been noted as a creative and resourceful organization, more willing than many other chambers of commerce to enter new fields of chamber activity, to encourage open community discussion and forthright action, and to take the risks which arise from controversy and thinking out loud.

The chamber has now published two documents—one entitled "One Community," background on the various race relations activities of the chamber, and the other entitled "Something's Got To Give," a study of 12 attitudes which affect the community's ability to solve its human relations problems. These two documents show considerable insight into the whole complex of urban problems which beset our nation and deserve careful reading by each Member of the House.

Mr. Speaker, because of the timeliness of the chamber's two documents, I insert them in the RECORD for the information of the House of Representatives. I am also inserting, for background, an article ("Soul Chamber in North Carolina") which appeared this month in Emphasis magazine, published by the National Association of Market Developers:

"SOUL" CHAMBER IN NORTH CAROLINA

Probably the "most together" Chamber of Commerce in the country is the tradition-flouting Greensboro Chamber of Commerce.

"They catch a lot of hell from some of the white folk, but they keep right at it," says David Richmond, one of the four black students at North Carolina A&T State University in Greensboro who participated in the nation's first sit-in in 1960 and now is an active chamber committee member.

"They're for real," says Richmond, "and they've got something going here." The Greensboro Chamber—which has almost 250 black members, more than any other chamber in the United States—has become an effective "inside agitator" against racial discrimination and prejudice.

The Greensboro Chamber is nationally recognized among Chambers as the most thoroughly involved in socioeconomic development. "Cultural racism is our number one problem although it's hard for white citizens to admit," explains Allen Wannamaker, white radio executive and former chamber president. "We've got to get to the root of the problem. You can't solve problems unless you look at the causes, and you can't solve problems by just talking," he said.

"One of the biggest things we've run into is the bad general reputation of chambers of commerce—the fact that Chambers have largely shied away from controversy, scared to rock the boat, carried away with smokestack-hunting and luring tourists and all the while letting the conditions of poverty and racial discrimination take their expensive toll," Chamber Executive President William B. Little says. According to Little, black economic development is needed "if we really mean it when we say we're for an open community and total community development."

At last year's community memorial program in honor of Martin Luther King, cosponsored by the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce, one business leader put it this way; "We don't need a pacification program to make milque-toasts out of militants and Amy Vanderbilts out of bigots. We need to change the attitudes and conditions which underlie bad human relations."

One of four Greensboro citizens is black. This Piedmont North Carolina city of 160,000 is the manufacturing and marketing center of a metropolitan area of 750,000 people, including 170,000 blacks. Three colleges and two universities, including Bennett College and A&T University, are located in Greensboro.

Black Attorney Henry Frye, a member of the North Carolina House of Representatives and a former chairman of the Chamber's Community Unity Division, is now organizing a black-owned bank in the city. Albert Webb, one of four black members of the Chamber's board of directors last year and executive vice-president of a black-owned savings and loan association, sees white attitudes as changing slowly and believes that the white community, including the Chamber, doesn't fully realize how much change is necessary.

Chamber President and Realtor Kemp Clendenin isn't misunderstood by most blacks and whites in Greensboro when he says "we've got a long row to hoe but we've got to get the whole community turned on to get race out of the way as a factor in our business, civic, and personal lives." In April he helped to settle a rent strike (recognition of a black tenants union was one of the settlement terms) and led the Chamber to establish a substantially financed housing foundation.

The Chamber conducts year-round sensitivity training programs, finances a community-wide manpower development effort to bring hard-to-employ persons into productive employment, pushes for area representation in local government, and promotes open housing and the elimination of substandard housing.

Two years ago, the Chamber organized a network of neighborhood discussion cells "to talk about things some people say we aren't suppose to talk about, like open housing, school desegregation, and civic club discrimination." The name "cell" created some initial opposition because it sounded subversive, says Clendenin, but after hundreds of cell meetings both name and concept have caught on.

The Chamber's public relations director, Hal Sieber, outspoken impresario of the Chamber's thrust for an open community, dislikes publicity about the progress made in the community since 1967 when the Sieber-led Chamber revolt against racism got in full swing. "There is nothing to brag about." Even blacks in Greensboro who are most critical of the Establishment seem to take pride in the Chamber's sense of commitment and activist stance. Black Activist Cecil Rouson says "the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce, especially Hal (Sieber), is together, man, the closest thing to a soul chamber anywhere."

Defense Department Contracts Compliance official Charles E. Smith, a black man and former Detroit attorney, sums it up: "The Greensboro Chamber is the most effective civil rights organization in Greensboro. They don't pull any punches. They know their limitations but they take advantage of their strengths. As a black man, I'm impressed by what I have seen happen in Greensboro, and it ought to be happening everywhere else."

Editor's Note: Emphasis Magazine, recognizing the Greensboro Chamber's sustained emphasis of a total community concept, presents this special feature on the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce "for its awareness of the black business and professional man, the black consumer and customer, and the need for black economic development in the interest of one community and an equal opportunity community." Emphasis '70 congratulates the Greensboro Chamber and encourages other chambers of commerce to make similar entry into the field of socio-economic development and the promotion of attitude change.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Entitled *One Community,* this report includes certain Think-in results and other statistical data pertaining to the Greensboro Chamber's race relations-related activities during the past three years.

One Community represents the efforts of hundreds of Chamber members and community citizens under the leadership of three Chamber presidents, including Allen Wannamaker and Albert S. Lineberry. However, "one community" represents a goal, not a reality. This background report reflects a growing commitment of leadership and membership resources to the problem-insolving tasks posed by the "one community" goal.

In a sense, this report is an inventory of the accomplishments and frustrations, actions, and reactions, which have accompanied the Chamber's thrust into uncharted territory. Because the race relations-related problems are numerous, progress made by the Chamber and the community must be considered relatively small. On the other hand, the community's current posture would indicate that groundwork has been laid for considerable progress in the offing.

In a time of transition, change is difficult to evaluate. For this reason, some of the comments made in this report are bound to be understatements or overstatements.

In the face of day-to-day community events, some of the Think-in and survery responses are bound to be subject-thoughts by the participating Chamber members.

One Community includes more questions than answers. It shows a greater dependence on art than science, more room for improvement and less improvement than might be suggested by effort and commitment, and probably less effort and commitment than what a later generation of Chamber members might consider appropriate under the circumstances.

The Greensboro Chamber of Commerce acknowledges technical assistance from specialists on the faculties of North Carolina A & T State University, Guiford College, and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and Chapel Hill, also the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council and members of the North Carolina Association of Human Relations officials. Hundreds of Chamber members, principally of the Public Relations and Community Unity Divisions, actively participated in the development and execution of activities described in the report. The Chamber is also grateful to the North Carolina Fund, Inc., for grant-in-aid assistance to support some part of the Chamber's human relations program.

KEMP C. CLENDENIN, Jr.,
President.

ONE COMMUNITY

SOME BACKGROUND ON RACE RELATIONS-RELATED ACTIVITIES OF THE GREENSBORO CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

It is generally recognized that a community's institutional inflexibility and insensitivity to the various aspects and implications of poverty are major barriers to the correction of certain social and economic inequities. There appears to be a need for activism within the established institutions of the community in order to create a receptiveness to change and to bring about an effective coalition with the poor, not only in problem identification, but also within decision-making systems oriented to problem solution.

It is believed that a chamber of commerce, because it represents a community's economic power base and includes a large number of economic and social leaders of the community, can exercise effective leadership to change attitudes, especially attitudes of whites, toward the black and poor.

Because racial discrimination and poverty have identifiable economic consequences, with total community implications, chamber programming to overcome racial discrimination and poverty can be characterized as appropriate without resorting to special persuasion on behalf of the social responsibility which accompanies good citizenship. Established Chamber relationships with other organizations and governmental agencies permit chambers of commerce to exercise influence within decision-making circles. The relative invulnerability and economic independence of chamber leadership can provide a stable base for chamber activity in these non-traditional areas.

The Greensboro Chamber of Commerce in 1967 began a sustained program to improve community understanding of the relationship of cultural racism to major community development problems. During 1967–1970, the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce has experimented with a number of approaches to further businessman involvement in community affairs, improve businessman sensitivity to social responsibility, modify established problem-solving techniques, and initiate basic organizational and procedural changes within the Chamber to improve its responsiveness to the conditions and circumstances of the poor and black.

Some problems

Among problems encountered by the Chamber in its pursuit of a change of community attitude and conditions have been (1) the ultra-conservative reputation of all chambers of commerce, (2) the general disrepute of the established institutions of the community as credible initiators of meaningful change, (3) the unavailability of precedent and experience in the use of human relations techniques, (4) the complex interrelationships of community development problems, (5) difficulty in converting certain financial, staff and volunteer resources into new program areas, (6) the tendency of organization leadership to attempt to defuse crises and to encourage the black and poor to accept establishmentarian solutions, instead of seeking a productive involvement of the black and poor in the decision-making process to solve the problems which underlie disharmony and economic disparity, and (7) leadership accommodation of periodic black and white "backlash," thereby tending to neutralize gains and causing possible overadjustment of some policies and procedures.

Chamber programs

At the outset, it became clear that human relations and problem-solving activity could not become the exclusive property of any community agency such as the Human Relations Commission. They also could not become the exclusive responsibility of any single Chamber committee, task force, or division.

In other words, the inter-relationship and depth of problems, and the massiveness of required Chamber and community response, would require across-the-board understanding of problems and commitment to their solution.

Among specific steps taken to make Chamber participation more representative of the total community have been (1) the systematic recruitment of black business and professional men into Chamber membership, (2) systematic appointment of blacks to Chamber committees, including board of directors, (3) invitation to high school and college students to serve as voting members of Chamber committees, (4) invitation to representatives of the poor and other groups not normally included among Chamber members and participants, (5) adoption of equal-employment policy by Chamber administration, (6) selection of meeting places which would encourage attendance and participation by all Chamber members and community representatives, (7) adoption of forthright Chamber policy to further an open community, combat racial discrimination and cultural racism, correct past inequities and provide compensatory outreach, and improve attitudes and conditions which may be identified as barriers to a unified community, and (8) development of a community-oriented Chamber program reflecting non-traditional Chamber involvement and interest in other new areas, including the arts, education, consumer protection, youth affairs, community health, and environmental pollution.

Results of policy changes

Among programs developed by the Chamber during 1967–1970 have been (1) establishment of a special division (Community Unity Division) to study attitudes and conditions which can create barriers to an open and unified community, (2) initiation of a study of city council election methods and development of Chamber political activity to generate public support for area representation, (3) recruitment of 237 black Chamber members and election of black members to the board of directors, (4) conspicuous black participation in committee activity and in Chamber representation in general community activity, (5) establishment of a community network of neighborhood discussion cells, (6) creation of committee to seek the establishment of a housing foundation, (7) encouragement of black entrepreneurship, (8) active participation by Chamber staff and members in human relations-re-

lated activities of other organizations, (9) Chamber intervention in community crises in either mediator or advocacy roles, (10) establishment of Manpower Development Division to coordinate community programs for hard-to-employ personnel, (11) co-sponsorship of a community-wide Martin Luther King memorial observance, (12) development of T-group and other sensitivity training programs, including weekend retreats, (13) sustained supportive editorial policy of Chamber magazine (*Greensboro Business*) and other publications, (14) development of staff resources to provide support for general Chamber programming, and (15) technical assistance to other chambers of commerce developing human resources development programs.

The Chamber's Public Relations Department has undertaken a series of random, stratified, proportionate sample surveys (personal interview) of Chamber member attitude and opinion. These surveys indicate greater acceptance of Chamber leadership in the human relations field, greater acceptance of general "open community" policy, and increased reluctance to identify with former racist views.

The Public Relations Department has also conducted a series of Think-ins especially structured to elicit views on controversial and taboo subject matter. These Think-ins have indicated clear-cut support of Chamber judgment and approach and general approval of Chamber policy.[1]

Identifiable changes in the community

Certain changes have taken place in the community during the period of the Chamber's race relations-related activity. Some of these changes appear to be direct or indirect products of this activity or results of the Chamber's cooperative efforts with other organizations.

Among these changes have been (1) election of a black legislator, the first black in the State of North Carolina elected to the General Assembly in the Twentieth Century, (2) election of a black District Judge, (3) appointment of blacks to all commissions, boards, authorities, and committees of the City of Greensboro, (4) employment of blacks in such positions as senior city planner, administrative assistant to the city manager, assistant housing authority director, etc., (5) sustained political interest in area representation despite referendum defeat of two plans (current City Council development of a new plan for election of City Council and Mayor), (6) development of Model Cities application and other applications for urban renewal and housing development, (7) adoption of open housing resolution by City of Greensboro, (8) adoption of certificate of rental occupancy by City of Greensboro, (9) affirmative action in management of open housing by several community realtors, (10) community receptiveness to study of community attitudes and conditions by Civil Rights Commission of the United States and its State Advisory Committee, (11) greater community acceptance of and participation in OEO programs, including Head Start, (12) creation of office of ombudsman (Community Relations Director) by City of Greensboro, (13) in-depth sensitivity training for all City officials, including Police Department, (14) dramatic expansion of public housing program, including adoption of "scattered site" policy, (15) greater involvement of colleges and universities in urban affairs, (16) strong newspaper editorial support for open community policy, (17) increased private activity in social and economic field, including housing developments organized by church groups, (18) creation of black history study groups, dialogue groups, etc., (19) recruitment of about 50 blacks into membership of Jaycees, (20) conspicuous employment of black professional and non-professional personnel by business, industry, and government, and (21) addition of two black City Councilmen on seven-man City Council, one by at-large election and one by Council selection to fill vacancy.[2]

The quality and velocity of local change are difficult to evaluate because of the political, economic, and cultural changes which have taken place nationally at the same time. Furthermore, visible changes may have generated much more important but intangible changes, and some institutional changes, despite intent and appearance, may not be yielding substantive results.

The implied relationship of Chamber activity to the listed changes can only be loosely established by conjecture.

Problem attitudes in the community

There are a number of attitudes which are sufficiently prevalent in the community to make solution of some problems awkward or difficult. They are held by an unknown number of citizens. Their specific relationship to specific problems is unknown except by surmise. It would appear that some of these attitudes are softening, others hardening.

These attitudes, believed to have a negative effect on problem solving, are stated with some imprecision to permit inclusion of approximately related or similar attitudes under single attitude entries. They are (1) Greensboro can productively exist as two separate communities just because some blacks and some whites like it that way, (2) it is possible to work for good human relations without coming to grips with the basic problem of cultural racism, (3) there are such persons as "the leader of the black community" and "the people who are the powers that be," (4) the poor are all black and the black are all poor, (5) communication between the races automatically leads to action, (6) Greensboro has made adequate progress in achieving a "color blind" attitude among either whites or blacks, (7) racial discrimination in community life can be eliminated without affecting social patterns in personal lives, (8) the community can benefit from a suspension of law enforcement and law observance, (9) guerrilla warfare and revolutionary tactics are necessary to bring about changes or are an inevitable part of change, (10) capitalism is too inflexible to survive or to accommodate the social and cultural changes in the human environment and setting, (11) the community can mobilize to bring about institutional and cultural changes in a setting of continuous exaggerated dissent, and (12) changes which are initiated by the economic sector of the community are contrary to the interest of the total community.

Problem conditions in the community

There are a number of conditions and circumstances in the community which are the products of cultural racism and the cause of a significant degree of disharmony within the community. Some of these conditions and circumstances more generally affect the total community than others. Although most of them are inter-related, some may be identified as more serious problems than others and their alleviation would be likely to contribute to a modification of other problems.[3]

Among these problems are (1) scarcity of standard housing for low income families, (2) ineffectiveness of community policy for open housing (generally restricted housing mobility for black and poor), (3) rental of substandard housing, (4) discriminatory membership policies of black and white civic clubs and organizations, (5) status of desegregation and integration of public schools, (6) student concern about practicality of education, relevance of curriculum, and underemphasis of occupational education, (7) degree of equal employment opportunity for blacks, including non-discriminatory entry into the work force, upward mobility for employees, modification of hard-core management policies, employment of hard-to-employ personnel, and affirmative action by the community and employers to meet social problems of employees from multi-problem families, (8) degree of representation and visibility of poor and black in government, (9) degree of governmental responsiveness, flexibility, and outreach, and citizen participation in governmental affairs, (10) need for destigmatized and coordinated social services capable of reinforcing human dignity and providing enough assistance to do some good, and (11) private interpersonal relations in homes, churches, and social institutions and organizations, generally affected by taboos, which regulate degrees of personal commitment, persistence, and consistency to overcome racial discrimination.

There are a number of additional problems which are generally related to the community's responses to the listed conditions and circumstances. These problems, mostly attitudinal, are (1) demands for instant reform, (2) unwillingness to respond to pressure, (3) unwillingness to break ranks, (4) false racial pride, (5) fear of social consequence of "doing the right thing," and (6) time delay in solving recognized problems.

SUMMARY COMMENT

The Chamber's three-year experience has resulted in a conspicuous change in total community attitude toward the Chamber as an instrument of change and has brought about an alliance of the activist leadership of the Chamber and other organizations. During the same period, the Chamber has generally reversed some of its policy stances of long standing while maintaining a satisfactory degree of credibility among both its members and the rest of the community.

During these three years, the Chamber has demonstrated an ability to adhere to new policy positions generally contrary to community tradition and to overcome predictable opposition within the community to such non-traditional Chamber activity. During the same period, Chamber membership has increased about thirty percent and membership income and budget have increased more than fifty percent.

Some of the Chamber's activities have been predictably controversial. The Chamber has made some mistakes. Some experiments have proved the merit of trying new paths. Other experiments have fared poorly. This report, as a recount for record, is intended to provide a look at the Chamber's overall effort. This report does not offer a critique on the various parts of this effort, nor does it claim extraordinary accomplishments by the Chamber and the community.

A single community is hard to come by.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The Public Relations Division invited all Chamber members to participate in one of the Think-in sessions conducted in September-October 1969. Actual participation (323 or 16% of all members) showed a good representation of all membership classifications and a reasonable distribution of Chamber leaders and members. Thirty-seven (12%) participants were black—less than the proportion of black members of the Chamber (14%).

The nature of the questions for which answers were being sought required careful construction of questions to overcome predictable reluctance to relate to certain taboo subject matter. Responses to some "loaded" control questions, therefore, were disregarded in analysis. The complex set of data for the judgment survey included more than 10,000 individual verbal and written responses. Some of these depended for their meaning on certain key words in the questions which were asked. Some also depended on the context in which the questions were placed. Some, because of defect in wording of questions, were disqualified from analysis.

Evaluation of responses included cross ref-

erence among related questions. Some questions were repeated or restated, using different language or intonation, in order to assure correct interpretation and to vertify responses.

No question receiving less than 90% sample response rate was included in any response tabulation. However, almost all questions requiring written answers received more than a 95% sample response rate.

Housing and race relations emerged as the two most important Greensboro problems, according to the Think-in participants.

Fifty-three percent of the respondents indicated the desirability of greater Chamber support of the activities of law enforcement agencies. Thirty-two percent indicated mild to strong dissatisfaction with believed lack of emphasis by the Chamber on law and order.

Eighty-one percent of the respondents believed that the Chamber "was moving just right" or "not fast enough" in the field of race relations. Of the total respondents, 42% believed that the Chamber should "work aggressively" to secure open housing in the community and 47% believed that the Chamber was insufficiently action-oriented in high-controversy areas of community development. Seventy-five percent considered the Community Unity Division's program a necessary function of the Chamber, but a high percentage (92%) stated belief that the Community Unity Division is acting "responsibly" and that the Chamber's race relations activities are being pursued with good judgment. Sixty-one percent of the respondents believed that a majority of non-Chamber members mildly to strongly disapproved of the Chamber's race relations policies and programs.

More than 75% of the respondents believed that the Chamber's leadership should lead rather than follow membership consensus. However, 47% believed that Chamber leadership should more actively seek the views of Chamber members, either through opinion and attitude surveys or other means, but then the leaders should use their own judgment as to what positions to take "even if the positions are contrary to what the members think."

Eighty-two percent of the respondents believed that the Chamber should be community-oriented instead of business-oriented. However, 33% felt that the Chamber's public information programs inadequately interpreted the overriding community value of some Chamber programs, and 48% believed the Chamber insufficiently community-oriented in the development of its programs.

More than 60% of the respondents indicated that the Chamber should support the development of a major convention center in downtown Greensboro, aggresively seek more urban renewal funds for downtown development, develop programs to secure more and improved housing for low income and middle income families and encourage more effective programs to minimize substandard housing. More than 50% wanted the Chamber to develop programs to assist existing local industries in recruiting personnel outside the Greensboro area and approved the Chamber's manpower development efforts now funded by a minority of Chamber members.

Although more than 90% of the respondents considered the Chamber's public relations program good to excellent, more than 75% indicated the desirability of more information on the Chamber's program of work, policies, and activities, and more than 64% believed that the Chamber should do a better job in internal communications.

Forty-eight percent of the respondents believed that the Chamber should involve more college and high school students, but 61% believed that students should participate in Chamber meetings without voting privileges. Thirty-two percent believed that students should be assigned to Chamber committees as full voting members.

Eighty-nine percent of the respondents indicated a high degree of satisfaction with the Think-in survey technique.

Chamber officers served as observers during the Think-in sessions and generally agreed that questions as stated would tend to elicit the more conservative responses. Superficial analysis of responses was made by these observers immediately after each session and observers felt there was a high degree of satisfaction among the respondents with the Chamber's program of leadership.

There is disagreement among the consultants who assisted the Public Relations Division in the preparation of the Think-in technique as to whether the Think-in participants were better or less informed, more or less favorable to the Chamber's programs and positions, and closer or more distant to Chamber leadership than the average Chamber member.

The sample is believed to be generally representative of the Chamber. To the extent that the sample was not representative, it reflected a conservative bias.

However, there is agreement that this judgment survey is less reliable than would be certain other survey approaches. It is believed that the Think-in technique should demonstrate a higher reliability than most other techniques available to the Chamber within the Chamber's staff, volunteer, and budget resources. In other words, other survey techniques have long histories of use and their reliability has been repeatedly demonstrated. The Think-in technique has some experimental aspects and has not been tested. Nevertheless, for the kind of issues being examined by the study, it is believed that the Think-in is a reliable technique.

In May 1968, the Public Relations Division prepared a stratified, proportionate, random sample of the Chamber's membership to participate in a personal interview survey of membership attitudes. The 1968 sample and survey were so designed as to construct an accurate profile of membership attitudes within certain narrow margins of error. The survey included 150 Chamber members, of which 20 were not interviewed because they were either out-of-town, declined to be interviewed, or could not make arrangements with the interviewer for a suitable interview appointment. The consultants who assisted the Public Relations Division attributed good reliability to the survey's results.

In the 1968 survey, more than 65% of the respondents believed that the Chamber's position against racial discrimination—as it had been articulated during January-May 1968—reflected the thinking of the majority of Chamber members. Fourteen percent of the respondents, however, expressed strong disagreement with the position. Although no questions were asked in the 1968 survey which would have indicated membership opinion as to community orientation *versus* business orientation of the Chamber's programs, judgment analysis of several closely related questions indicate that opinion was more or less evenly divided between the alternative orientations. On the general questions related to the effectiveness of the various Chamber divisions, there is a marked similarity between the responses of the 1968 survey and the 1969 Think-in sessions. In short, there appears to be a substantive change of membership view during the two-year period in favor of the Chamber's involvement in socio-economic development.

An unstructured June 1966 survey of community leaders and Chamber members roughly indicated at that time a high degree (more than 50%) of dissatisfaction with the Chamber's communications program, principally regarding believed member inability to participate in decision making or problem identification discussions, leadership timidity, and protection of big business interests. Neither 1968 or 1969 surveys reaffirmed this view.

In May 1969, members of the Eight O'Clock Club, the Chamber's membership recruitment committee, assisted the Public Relations Division in evaluating negative responses from membership prospects, of which less than 10% appeared to find Chamber membership unattractive because of the Chamber's human relations activities or related programs. Analysis of resignations during 1969, however, indicated that 5% of the resignations could be clearly related to the Chamber's activism. An additional undetermined number of resignations could by surmise be related as a probable secondary reason for disenchantment. Not more than 25% of the cancellations for non-payment of dues could be similarly related, but it should be noted that exact causes for resignations and cancellations cannot be determined by customary evaluation and survey techniques.

A possible means of evaluating membership response to the Chamber's thrust in the human relations field may be found in the changes in the Chamber's total membership revenue and number of members between 1967 and 1970. During this period (January 1, 1967–January 1, 1970), Chamber's membership has increased by 378 members (net gain), a 31.6% gain. During the same period membership subscription value has increased from $222,083 to $338,420, representing a net increase of 52.38%. The 1970 Chamber budget, which includes the budget for manpower development, is $142,287 above the budget for 1967, representing a 57.2% net increase. The percentages of added Chamber members since 1967, in each membership classification, are (1) Automotive, 25.4%; (2) Construction, 23.9%; (3) Finance, 21.6%; (4) Utilities, —%; (5) Manufacturing, 7.7%; (6) Professional, 20.0%; (7) Real Estate, 19.2%; (8) Insurance, 7.4%; (9) Retail, 28.5%; (10) Wholesale, 3.2%; (11) Service, 72.9%; (12) Transportation, 10.0%; (13) Diversified (includes Hotels, Motels and Restaurants), 69.2%.

(The following breakdown of Think-in participation, as described above, shows the distribution of participants by general membership classification. (1) Automotive, 1%; (2) Construction, 6%; (3) Finance, 8%; (4) Utilities, 3%; (5) Manufacturing, 11%; (6) Professional, 19%; (7) Real Estate, 6%; (8) Insurance, 11%; (9) Retail, 7%; (10) Wholesale, 7%; (11) Service, 8%; (12) Transportation, 1%; (13) Diversified, 9%; (14) Other (including non-Chamber members), 3% (all percentages rounded to nearest percent). Of the total number of Think-in participants (323), five persons did not participate for a complete 90 minute session due to previous appointments or other scheduled conflicts. Each of the fourteen sessions lasted from 88 to 92 minutes. Because invitations to specific Think-in sessions were issued in alphabetical rather than random sequence, participation for particular sessions did not necessarily reflect the membership distribution of the total participation (all sessions), as indicated above.)

A separate personal interview survey of a random, stratified, proportionate sample (9% of the Chamber's total membership) has provided some demographic information, as follows.

Nineteen percent of the Chamber's members are owners of their businesses or self-employed; 44% hold the position of corporation president; 9%, vice president; 28%, other.

The average age of Chamber members is 47 years. Five percent completed eight years of school or less; 7% attended high school but did not graduate; 14% graduated from high school; 26% attended college but did not graduate; 28% graduated from college; and 20% attended some graduate school. An-

nual personal incomes reported by Chamber members are: One percent, less than $8,000; 10% more than $8,000 but less than $12,000; 39% more than $12,000 but less than $20,000; 12% more than $20,000 but less than $25,000; and 38% more than $25,000.

[2] Although these as well as other problem conditions exist in Greensboro, programming to correct them on a sustained community-wide basis is uneven for some, non-existent for others. Some of these problems, such as housing availability and employment, have been given priority private and governmental emphasis. Some, such as the open housing question, have been given token recognition, and others, such as the problems related to education, seem to be well-recognized but serious philosophical questions as to possible problem-solving approaches have created either stalements or universal avoidance of the issues.

Except in a general way, by promoting community reconciliation and an open community, the Chamber has addressed itself in depth to only some of these problems. A study of the implications of the various underlying attitudinal problems is now being undertaken by a Guilford College sociologist for the Chamber's Community Unity Division. The Chamber's Research, Manpower Development, and Public Relations Divisions are similarly involved in examining alternative programs directly related to some of the listed problem conditions.

The Chamber is currently exploring the possibility of a consortium between the Chamber and a small number of other chambers of commerce throughout the country, to assist in the development of specific local programs. Preliminary discussions have also taken place between representatives of the Chamber and the Guilford County Economic Opportunity Council (OEO) to determine the feasibility of cooperative efforts in areas of mutual concern. In the same way, the close working relationship between the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) and the Chamber's Manpower Development Division suggests the possibility of more effective programming in the area of employment. Systematic cooperation between the Chamber and North Carolina A & T State University (a predominately black institution) has resulted in a number of jointly sponsored or coordinated activities. These activities include an urban affairs conference, student internships, and Chamber representation at internal and external functions of the university. Along the same line, the Chamber is an active member of an industry-university committee considering a number of programs to make the university a problem-solving resource for the community. The Chamber is also exploring with the university the possibility of developing a cooperative education program for professional manpower predevelopment.

PREFACE: EXIT FROM INJUSTICE

In *Something's Got To Give*, the Greensboro Chamber—noted for taking the bull by the horns on a number of critical community problems—makes another worthwhile contribution to the search for an exit from injustice. In this report it sets up a dozen myths—attitudes to be understood and modified. Any dent it makes in the complex problem of changing attitudes ought to help more than just Greensboro.

Change of today's attitudes and conditions is inevitable. Wider recognition of this inevitability will do much to encourage analysis of today's people-problems and to recruit community search-parties for meaningful and more timely solutions to these problems.

The search-parties must be composed of men and women, large enough in numbers and talented enough, who are willing to keep looking, first trying this path, then the other, always zeroed in on the object of the search.

The Greensboro Chamber of Commerce is now organizing such a search party.

Like the nation, Greensboro and its Chamber are motivated by profit. Technological changes have made impact on both product and market. They have produced profit for industry and community. They have produced profits in economic and human terms. These technological changes in the end have been the result of tremendous human output of energy. There have been accompanying attitude changes about machines, chemicals, production methods, and marketing techniques.

On the other hand, human resources have become better recognized as a form of capital, and yet, despite a wider acknowledgement of this emerging concept of human capitalism, there have been few changes in attitudes which govern interpersonal relations and even fewer changes in "human relations technology." So there have been profits ungained.

There are profits which need to be gained. It *is* a matter of community profit.

CHARLES E. SMITH,
Deputy Chief, Contracts Compliance, Department of Defense (Atlanta).

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Something's Got To Give focuses on twelve attitudes. An earlier Greensboro Chamber report (*One Community*) suggests that these attitudes disable Greensboro, handicapping the community's efforts to overcome the influences of cultural racism.

This new report, prepared by Andrew W. Gottschall, Jr., for the Chamber's Community Unity Division, concludes that these attitudes—or more correctly, these attitude-clusters—are myths to be overcome.

Neither the Chamber nor this report makes qualitative judgments about the specific relationship of these attitudes to the various problem conditions of the community. However, the report makes a persuasive argument that these attitudes appear to govern the speed and thoroughness of Greensboro's attempts to correct the problems. If the report's contention is correct, the community is governed by a mythology which "does the community's citizens a disservice."

Sociologist Gottschall's words and certain special insights are his own. However, the Greensboro Chamber's programs during recent years have reflected a recognition of the implications of most of the attitudes discussed by him.

To further an open, unified, and equal opportunity community, the Community Unity Division encourages the community to make this document the subject of community dialogue as a prelude to individual and community action.

The report obviously takes into consideration the diversity of opinion within the Community Unity Division and the community at large. It has properly extracted from this diversity the common denominators which might most usefully lead to a better community understanding of these problem attitudes.

If this report does nothing else, it should give the community pause for thought, a pause which must be accompanied by a commitment not to pass on these problem attitudes and conditions to future generations.

Something's Got To Give, in its title, makes the point which needs to be made: something's got to give.

KEMP C. CLENDENIN, Jr.,
President.

SOMETHING'S GOT TO GIVE

A REPORT ON TWELVE ATTITUDES WHICH DISABLE THE COMMUNITY—THE MYTHOLOGY OF DISORDERLY SOCIAL CONTROL

Reasonable men know that all is not well in Greensboro. We seem beset with problems, issues, concerns and conflicting views. Any two persons who might agree that a specific issue is a problem may come into sharp conflict about the reasonable method of dealing with the issue, for example, how best to obtain representative government.

Many of our citizens are giving voice to the dissatisfactions they feel about the directions in which the life of the city is moving. Some of the voices, angrily raised out of sheer frustration, serve only to create anxiety and fear among those not only most concerned with seeking solutions, but also, those most able to produce solutions.

Lurking in the back of many minds is the specter of Greensboro becoming an insolvable system of problems such as other urban areas of the nation are experiencing. A vast uneasiness haunts our feelings about what kind of a city we are becoming—the catastrophe which may lie in our future—if we don't get about the business of building a better community.

Many of Nat Greene's citizens are acting as if the catastrophe is not only possible but, in fact, already at hand. Too many individuals are not participating in Greensboro's civil life. Comparative results of recent bond elections pinpoint the growing resistance to further extension of tax-supported services. Such resistance can be seen in the range of programs struggling for funds, for example, to maintain a City Zoo. Citizen anger and frustration have been long and vocal with regard to problems of providing pollution and sewage controls. Flight from the city's center as the hub of community life can be measured by walking the lengths of Greene, Elm and Davie Streets. An index of the degree of the social disorganization disrupting community life can be obtained from the mushrooming growth of major crimes as shown by statistics from law enforcement agencies. Drug use has moved out of the ghettos of the poor into the homes of the economically comfortable. These trends have developed during a period when unemployment has been well below the national level and per capita income has been on the rise.

The Community Unity Division of the Greensboro Chamber of Commerce, addressing itself to Greensboro's human problems, has identified twelve attitudes that appear to be prevalent in the community and which hinder the community's attempts to deal with its major problems. Generally these twelve attitudes have developed from misinformation and have been maintained and encouraged by wishful thinking.

Upon analysis, the Community Unity Division's classification of problem attitudes gives insight into the problem-solving task facing Chamber and community. These defined attitudes, in reality, represent attitude-clusters which—over and over again—appear as formidable stumbling blocks for both citizens and the institutions they manage.

This report reviews these problem attitudes as myths to be overcome. To a great extent, these myths appear to govern the speed and thoroughness of Greensboro's efforts to correct problem conditions. To that extent, the community is governed by a mythology which does the community's citizens a disservice.

1. "It is a myth that a black and a white community can productively exist as separate communities."

The civil disruptions of the past three years demonstrate that the quality of life in the "white community" is inextricably bound to the quality of life in the "black community." We have reached a stage of development in our mutual interdependence which permits relatively small groups to bring the life of the city to a standstill. Massive social disruption requiring the use of social control devices, such as an all-city curfew, has been accomplished by comparatively small groups on two different occasions. The need for disorder control not only

has cost the city large sums of money and man-hours, but also has added to the growth of resistance to various programs designed to promote human progress and fulfillment.

We are gradually learning that, while the technology of our modern industrial community demands a literate citizenry, it is also essential to the quality of our increasingly urbanized life to have a responsible and responsive citizenry. All citizens, regardless of class, color or creed, pay the bill when any of our social systems begin to malfunction.

There is, for example, no longer any doubt that the illegal hard drug user is not only a disaster to himself and to his family, but also a disaster to the community. His increasing dependency on drugs and their high cost probably account for much of the increase in robbery and street crime. Each of us pays part of his bill, in higher retail prices and in taxes to support needed law enforcement personnel, larger court dockets, and costly rehabilitation systems.

In a more positive sense we are inextricably bound together as our lives increasingly cross traditional boundary lines. It is critical to black and white alike that our teacher-training institutions at the University of North Carolina (Greensboro) and North Carolina A & T State University produce teaching professionals who can successfully teach either black or white children. Our record in this regard leaves something yet to be improved.

Similarly, the mobility of our people will demand that we evolve new ways of living productively together. Pressures for both housing and jobs inevitably will increase our contact with one another, as has been the case already. Social discontent will increase unless we can reduce the emotional separation which afflicts each of us and unless we come to an appreciation of how the quality of life enjoyed or not enjoyed by both black and white communities hinge on each other.

One is (and must be) so much a part of the other. Yet each community has an identity of its own, each with its own unique values, assets and liabilities. Part of our mutual problem today lies in our failure to recognize such an obvious distinction. The narrow obsession of some blacks and whites to create a "melting pot" society (or to prevent its development) has blinded many to the meaning this would have to black people. Such meaning might be sensed better if we were to imagine saying to Swedes, Italians and Greeks, Baptists, Methodists, Jews, and Roman Catholics, "Forget who you are, wipe away the memory of your parents and the heritage they bestowed upon you, become someone without a past. Do this so you can become an integrated American."

Such an exercise can only lead to the conclusion that the idea of cultural pluralism—in most respects an American phenomenon—must be extended to include the black community. As we have come to accept the participation of the Jewish community in the open marketplace of community life, at the same time respecting its needs to retain its distinctiveness to serve its own needs, so must we come to see that the black man must also be able to participate in the open life of the community yet retain his identity and whatever separateness will serve his needs and respond to those value systems which give meaning and purpose to his life.

Has the time come for us to give up the obsession with the "melting pot" so that we might proceed about the business of building an open and unified community? If so, it is time to define the character of such a community, the problems that can be foreseen in building it, the resources available to do the job and possible alternative plans of working toward it. Any plan must include at least a means of restructuring those attitudes which now form the base of the cultural racism which thwarts the thrusts on behalf of a successful community.

2. "It is a myth that it is possible to work for good human relations without coming to grips with the basic problem of cultural racism."

Before dealing with this myth and its implications, it is fundamental that the term "cultural racism" be properly understood as a complex of facts and feelings. First, the term does not suggest, as many white people believe, a direct charge of personal bigotry and prejudice. The term is not directed at that overt bigot who can angrily say; "I hate Jews," "I hate Niggers," etc. Nor is it directed at that polite, gentile bigot who will say, "I'm not prejudiced but—so and so just wouldn't fit in here," or some other phrase that politely excludes someone from participation because "he wouldn't be comfortable." These are the signs of a highly personalized pattern of prejudice and discrimination.

"Cultural racism" is particularly difficult for whites to understand. This refusal to believe the charge is most often the precise evidence which proves the charge to be true. Cultural racism refers to a kind of systematic, institutionalized blindness, insensitivity, or unawareness. It works in such a way so as to automatically define an individual's social position or status. It is a kind of implicitly defined group behavior and perception which stipulates unspoken norms. It is seen in the unstated assumption of the employment interviewer that a firm's top management "doesn't really mean what it says about Equal Opportunity and, besides that, a group of jobs has always been reserved for Negroes." Cultural racism is implicit in the actions of the middle-class teacher whose classroom management practices unconsciously assume that poor children cannot learn as much, as fast, or as well as children from the teacher's own status group. Cultural racism is to be seen 'n the governmental body whose policies and practices operate on the assumption that the people whom they are to serve really do not know what is best for them and, therefore, it is permissible to exclude them from the process of making those decisions which have a direct bearing on the quality of their lives. Another way of describing cultural racism suggests that the patterns of personal discrimination have been practiced for so long by the society's institutions that patterns are no longer consciously recognized as discriminatory. They are attitudes which have become legitimized by practice and socially approved as "the way things are." In another sense they have become a community habit.

The question asked by the Community Unity Division goes beyond dealing with the symptoms and products of cultural racism. It probes for a definition of the causes and origins of the community influences which not only generate bad human relations but also perpetuate cultural racism. Current manifestations, such as underemployment, are being dealt with in various programs. However, the continuing, angry unrest of blacks is being virtually ignored. Blacks see whites as being willing to respond to black anger with only forceful suppression. This black view responds to white attitudes about blacks even more deeply than to the conditions caused by these attitudes. Resolution of the unrest arising from attitudes must be dealt with by dealing with the attitudes, unless the community is content to project continuing unrest and disorganization into its future.

This raises the question then as to how the community may program itself to effectively deal with attitudes that precondition the behavior of the many systems of organization which control the life of the community. How may these systems be changed? What will be required to effect the total operation of any one system so that each individual has equality of access and use, and, perhaps equally important, effective means to participate in the decision-making and problem-solving processes of a system which has dealt with some members of the community as if they were something to be exploited and manipulated?

One of the important dimensions of this kind of consideration should be high-lighted. Its significance too often is overlooked. The ways in which people feel about things are far more important criteria than are "objective facts." Regardless of the objective evidence that race relations have improved in Greensboro, if I feel that they have not changed, or if I feel that I am further behind than ever, my behavior can be counted upon to reflect not the objective facts but rather my feelings. Feelings, while often unpleasant to deal with, are themselves facts with which we must learn to deal.

3. "It is a myth that there are such persons as 'the leader of the black community' or 'the people who are the powers that be.'"

This myth is one of the results of cultural racism. It is about as ridiculous a distortion of reality as would be a reference to "the Baptist Pope." It is the result of an all-too-human response, stereotyping—lumping together a politically, economically and culturally diverse population under a simple label. It represents an almost child-like desire to simplify interactive multisystems into neat, clean, air-tight compartments.

The white habit of seeking a black leader (frequently appointed by those outside the being-led group) with whom to deal, has been seen by blacks as a technique to stall for time or to buy off the opposition. Whites have frequently tended to seek out those blacks whose goals are negotiable. The white's unconscious intention is seen by blacks as a willingness to bargain for those changes which represent minimal ones which will satisfy the black and with which the white can live without major alteration of his life style. Akin to "finding the leader" is to do "another study of the problem." The white search for a "black leader" has too often meant to a disorganized black minority that the establishment is again delaying, diverting and deluding. Delaying a decision. Diverting attention from the problem. Deluding itself that something has been achieved. The white-identified "black leader" in effect becomes part of the establishment, diluting his leadership of a segment of the black community and deluding the total community that progress has been made.

Then there is the idea so often harbored by every disprivileged minority that "if it weren't for *them*" or "if it wasn't for some hunky Mister Charlie" or "if it weren't for The Man, we wouldn't be suffering the way we are." The black man knows how he feels, knowing what is done to him and knows where it hurts. He knows he is the target. He knows that no white man can really understand how the black man feels because he has never survived as a black man.

In a kind of mirror-image racism, his pain and hurt, drives him to seek his freedom and his manhood, but often blinds him to the dimensions of the task before him as he strives to be the active ingredient to aid the community to rid itself of racism. Only his black experience can help us to seek out and identify the subtle, covert means by which cultural racism is perpetuated. The rhetoric of anger and the catharsis of violent confrontation, although they may produce short term gains, in the longer run build higher the walls which divide us. Required is a widely-accepted community program not to reinforce but to weaken existing attitudes. A way needs to be found to establish a new set of ground rules that will move us from the adversary confrontation with which we have been engaged to a result-producing dialogue.

4. It is a myth that "the poor are all black and the black are all poor."

Once again the attitudes of cultural racism lead to unreal effects. Racism promotes a closed circle of prejudice, discrimination, stereotyping, isolation, ignorance, prejudice and discrimination.

One of the more interesting characteristics of cultural racism is its resistance to facts. We believe what we believe regardless of the input of hard, undebatable facts. Comparable myths to "the black are all poor" are those that say "all blacks are immoral, dirty, lazy and musical." The facts are just not so.

It can be a revealing exercise to drive by automobile someone not familiar with our city from section to section asking him to tell you about the people who live in the houses. He has no trouble with the crowded slum areas. "Poor people live here." His surprise comes after visiting the more affluent middle-class neighborhoods and being told that the neighborhoods are black ones. But such facts don't change his attitudes. His prejudices will remain untouched. His individual racism is still available as a reservoir which can be drawn upon by the covert systemic racism of the institutions of his community and society. Facts don't impress a cancer.

The cruel myth that the black are all poor and poor are all black continues to be reinforced by another pervasive attitude. It is the attitude characterized by Americans telling each other that if you are poor it must be because of some defect in you, and if so, you don't deserve either help or compassion. It is this attitude about the "undeserving poor" which permits our consciences to be blunted and which permits us to ignore the inhuman treatment perpetuated upon the poor. Who are these poor that our cultural racism aids us in exploiting?

First, they are the aged who have grown too old or too sick to continue self-support. During the 1968–1969 year, Guilford County had enough elderly poor to equal the population of the combined student bodies of Guilford College and Greensboro College—1,560 persons. The *average amount* paid to each person came to a total of $81.20 *per month,* inadequate by any reasonable standard of public welfare or social service.

During the same period we needed to give aid to the totally disabled. In this group from Guilford County there have been 1,225 people (slightly greater than the student population at Guilford College) each of whom received aid in the average monthly amount of $106.95. The 240 blind persons in Guilford County received assistance amounting to an average monthly payment of $94.66. The individuals who receive aid under these "welfare" programs are both black and white. So are the 1,112 human beings who have been aided by average monthly payments of $35.46 to provide for foster home care, general emergency and hospital assistance.

The controversial area evoking great emotion has been the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program. In Guilford County this program has assisted 4,910 persons with an *average monthly* payment of $33.65. Of this amount $27.50 per month is to be spent to purchase food, another $5.00 per month for clothing. The cost of shelter is handled as a separate item.

Controversy surrounds this program because cultural racism causes us to believe that black welfare (AFDC) mothers have more "illegitimate" babies in order to get more money. A mother with seven children under the 1968–69 payment schedule would receive a maximum total payment for food of $94.50 per month—an average monthly food allocation of $11.81 for each person in the family.

The facts of the matter are these. In North Carolina less than 4% of the children receiving aid were born after the mother became eligible for aid. Only 15,400 children (of the total of 182,248 born outside of marriage) have received AFDC. In North Carolina this means that only 8.4% of all children, black and white together, born out of wedlock, are currently receiving aid. It is also a fact that, contrary to public opinion, the AFDC rolls have declined by 6,000 persons over the five year period of 1963–68.

The conscience of our community must come alive to the inherent inequity of a system which demands that a child grow into a productive and capable citizen, yet, which denies him the dignity of his humanity, and which gives him the barest minimum to survive, and which then expects him to be grateful to the society which keeps him alive but non-competitive.

The cycle of poverty cannot be broken by such tactics or philosophy.

Nor can the cycle of cultural racism be broken by clinging to a myth that suggests that all blacks are poor, even those who are not, and therefore beyond consideration for social or civic club membership, corporation boards, and so on.

Nor by clinging to a myth which suggests that blacks do not seek personal and community goals of affluence.

5. It is a myth that "communication between the races automatically leads to action."

One is tempted to recall the numerous occasions that a parent disciplining his child has said, "If I've told you once I've told you a thousand times." He may very likely have been "told a thousand times," but somehow the parent's intended message was never received. It is as if the sender is using smoke signals to transmit information to a receiver tuned in to Telstar.

Simple transmission of messages in the direction of a receiver is no guarantee that the so-called communication will produce response. Indeed the sender must be sure that the receiver is not only turned on, but tuned in to the particular frequency being used. If the sender wishes to obtain a reply to his message, he must be sure that the receiver also has a transmitter available to which the sender's own receiver is properly tuned. The process becomes somewhat more involved because the message originator must be sure to first get the attention of the person whom he has selected to receive the message, and that the receiver has the capability of acting upon the message.

Numerous cases could be selected from the recent history of civic life in Greensboro to illustrate the malfunctioning of communication attempts. For years black and white ministers and laymen have shared fellowships in which blacks have told whites (clergy and laymen alike) about the problems of housing, employment, the needs of black families for improved health, education, welfare and recreation. Furthermore, if one were to total the number of inches devoted by Greensboro's two daily papers and the black community's weekly paper between the years 1960 and 1969, he would discover that an astounding volume of information has been available. In spite of such detailed, voluminous data, white ministerial groups have been relatively ineffective in producing any significant changes in the conditions affecting the lives of black people.

If the history of black progress in Greensboro is retracted, it can be largely measured in terms of sit-ins, protest marches, sit-downs, boycotts, pickets, rent strikes, violent disruption and the threat of disruption. Most of these methods of protest have used the "system" to correct wrongs and inequities. Parenthetically, no or little reduction of cultural racism has paralleled or accompanied the communication conveyed by the sit-downs, sit-ins, boycotts, and other activities. The white community has generally reflected a need to restore peace and order rather than a commitment to rid itself of underlying racism.

Much of the abysmal failure of communication attempts between black and white is the result of a failure sufficiently to define for both parties what the message-sending was supposed to accomplish. What purpose is our communication supposed to achieve? Too often has the black man sent word that he is in pain, expecting this to result in understanding, compassion, and *action* to relieve the pain. Just as often, white men have heard the cry of pain, apparently with the expectation that listening would be enough to make it go away. Precious hours of time have been wasted in such "communication." Interracial Sundays and brotherhood meetings by the score gave a voice to the pain and gave ears to hear the cry for help. Neither connected with the kind of muscle needed to produce a commitment to reduce the influences of cultural racism and to bring about substantive attitudinal change.

Thus, the success of the black myth that "only violence can produce change" was fathered by the white myth that "communication is the solution to the problem." One must ask "communicate for what?" Are we to communicate to achieve understanding? Or commitment? Or action? To what end are we to engage in the dialogue? What are the ground rules that shall govern our dialogue? Only after we have mutually arrived at satisfactory answers to these questions can we begin those communication processes that offer a reasonable chance of creating a common sense of unity.

When communication is offered as a technique to "improve" race relations, it is critical to success that there are commitments among both black and white to achieve an understanding of what communication actually is, what purpose it is to serve, what its goals are to be, and how the process may malfunction if the communicants are unaware of the pitfalls in the process.

6. It is a myth that "we have made considerable progress in achieving a 'color blind' attitude among either whites or blacks."

"Black power," "black studies," "black identity," "black business," "black schools," "black self-determination"—all items current in the "black community" with high frequency usage, indicate increasing degrees of "black sensitivity" and "black awareness." This self-awareness serves to heighten "color awareness" rather than "color blindness" among both black and white. It serves the black man as an instrument for developing racial cohesion in the black community. Simultaneously it serves to increase his visibility in the white community. As the terms take on meanings of black self-determination they also increase the sense of personal threat and fear among whites who choose to bestow special meanings to terms such as "black power." This personal fear is in effect a fear that alleviation of cultural racism will produce the very color blindness that threatens white cultural identity and concepts of race. An attitude shared by black and white alike is that a lack of "color blindness" has certain benefits which serve to maintain black and white identities. Hence, the heightened sense of self, conveyed by the term "black," has increased color consciousness and reinforced cultural racism.

Witness the scramble of "white" organizations and institutions consciously to select and include black people so that their organization might be "representative." Blacks feel this is phony tokenism. Whites feel that they are extending the limits of democracy. Can it be reasonably supposed that each possesses all the truth?

Another of the interesting manifestations of color sensitivity is to be seen in the experience of businesses whose top-level officials are committed to an Equal Employment Policy and who have made strong efforts to communicate this policy down through the

chain of command to directors of personnel who post policy statements in conspicuous places and leave line interviewers to implement the policy. Their perceptions, shaped by a heritage of cultural racism, may then actually operate on the premise that such and such jobs have always been set aside for males, these jobs are for females, that work group has always been black. To the extent that such conditioned (unconscious) perceptions operate to influence worker selection, top-level officials are likely to be taken aback when, one day, they face charges of violating Equal Employment agreements.

Some changes in the historical experience are evident. More blacks are moving into better paying jobs. More blacks are going into the same classrooms with white children. (Few white children go into the classroom with black children—the movement is mostly one-way.) Restaurants and motels now generally serve blacks. (Some motels still set aside a black section.) Blacks can try on suits and dresses before purchasing. More middle income homes are available to blacks. (But not as many as there are for whites.) More streets are being paved. (Are there as many as for whites?) Fewer blacks remain below the official poverty line. (But they haven't gained relatively as much as whites.) Fewer young black men are unemployed. (But whites are less subject to unemployment.)

Yes, some change is evident. And the more things change, the more they remain the same. The more we have changed outward visible signs of color blindness, the more we have seemed to strengthen inward, invisible, color sensitivity. If so, where then do we begin a new beginning? Remaining problem attitudes and conditions are many.

7. It is a myth that "racial discrimination can be eliminated without affecting the social patterns of our personal lives."

Necessary to the sustenance of racial discrimination in the community is the capability of the larger community to systematically "confine, conceal and control" the black community. The "Jim Crow" legal system of racism, affecting as it did almost every area of a black or white person's life (job opportunities, education, housing, health, nutrition, voting rights, power or powerlessness before the law, access to redress of grievance, and even the church), in effect confined both black and white within the geographic, psychological, social and economic walls of racial ghettos. Once confined behind such walls it was possible to conceal the black man's problems, to desensitize whites to his presence and his needs, to permit the larger community to shape the dimensions of his destiny, to say "we have no racial problems—our niggers are happy." Once confined and concealed, the black man could also be controlled. He could then be the last hired and the first fired in the plethora of marginal and dirty jobs no one else wanted. His "separate but equal" education could systematically render him incapable of competing in the larger community. His need of housing could be systematically exploited. His hopes for a family life, destroyed as the community systematically destroyed both manhood and ability to be a "good provider." Through a successful program to confine, conceal and control the black, the larger community also created a life style, a pattern of living, a system of relationships which structured a social pattern controlling the personal lives of blacks and whites. Thus, it follows that any attempts to correct the social problems of the ghetto will inevitably require change in the life style of the larger community—a life style which must be reflected in the personal lives of its members.

If the community is to deal with cultural racism, each and every person, white and black, must accept fundamental changes in the ways his life is organized. This will produce change in his private clubs, his churches, his schools, his neighborhood and his home.

"Jim Crow" cultural racism was designed as the nation's systematic and final solution to the "black problem." It had the effect of totally limiting the black man's freedom, his freedom to choose, his freedom to participate, and his freedom to control his own destiny. The framers of the Jim Crow system, however, failed to anticipate one fatal flaw in the system. While it succeeded in limiting the freedom of the black man, it also succeeded in limiting the freedom of the white man. As the black man was forced to the back of the bus, the white man was forced to the front. As the black man was forced to the back door of a restaurant, the white man was forced to the front door. As the black man was forced to create and support his "freedom churches," the white man was forced to maintain his closed church. As the black man was forced by cultural racism to create the social structure of his politicized community, so the white man struggles to insure the survival of the white community and its institutions. The black ghetto, when subtracted from the total community, leaves an afflicted remainder—the white ghetto.

Freedom is not divisible. If one man is to have it for himself, he may not limit another's. Cultural racism determines artificial, unnecessary, and destructive limits to the freedoms that may be enjoyed by either black or white.

8. It is a myth that "the community can survive a suspension of law enforcement and law observance."

The fabric of social order and regularity is at best a tenuous and relatively flimsy, superficial invention. Social regulation can exist outside of a police state only where there is a large consensus of the citizenry voluntarily to impose sanctions upon itself in order to maintain order. The foregoing are propositions of demonstrable reality as one considers the chaos created by the recent, relatively short garbage-disposal worker strikes, teacher and hospital-worker strikes, fireman and police strikes and slowdowns. It has been suggested that the 1967 Detroit riots might not have been so severe had the city been able to muster its police forces at total strength instead of operating for approximately the first three days with only 400 men from its 3000 man force. Given the sense of alienation from government and law that many black and white citizens seem to feel, it is no longer unreasonable to hypothesize about the possible extent of disorder that could result from a suspension of the institutionalized systems of voluntary social control.

The black man's heritage, which rides as an unseen ghost on the entire community's shoulders, tells blacks there is no justice for blacks in the white man's law and order. Liberation of black and white together from this heritage of bondage must change not only the law to be enforced but also the methods by which they are enforced. Law (regulation) is necessary to the process of social change and to the protection of change once accomplished. But social order can no longer be subjected to the question, "Whose law?"

9. It is a myth that "guerrilla warfare and revolutionary tactics are necessary to bring about changes, or, are an inevitable part of change."

Many younger citizens, black and white alike have a strong tendency to accept the rhetoric of this myth uncritically. Their life experience provides a distorted perspective of a short ten-year civil rights history replete with social movement hinged to sit-ins, sit-downs, freedom rides, boycotts, student strikes, and civil disorder. The drama of these events, and the concurrent social progress, easily give the impression that revolutionary tactics are the causes of social progress.

It is doubtful that causation can be so easily attributed to such tactics. Indeed, it is equally reasonable to suggest that the rate of progress has in fact been retarded by the deliberate use of such tactics, and that, in reality, other more potent forces may have been at work to produce progress in spite of revolutionary philosophies, rhetoric or operations. Nor is it unreasonable to hypothesize that the working of these more profound social forces—related to population growth, mobility and impaction, to employment patterns, to the changing nature of the nuclear family, to industrialization, cybernetics and ecology—have produced the selfsame dramatics of revolutionary rhetoric and actions which are said to have "caused" social change. One of the smaller civil rights tragedies is that so many young people attack older generations for "Uncle Tomism." They fail to realize that they are eating bread from the tops of heads which were the cutting edges of progress that made possible the social change out of which young people are finding the "new" freedom to press toward further change, a "new" freedom to make the present institutions work better for more people.

This is not to say that disruption and confrontations have not served a purpose. It is demagogical to say that they necessarily have been the "cause" of social change. It is probably more accurate to view a violent confrontation tactic as a catalyst which can speed up or accelerate processes already in motion. Confrontation does add a dimension of attention-getting in the communication and problem solving processes. However, violence and guerrila warfare have built-in shortcomings as change agents in that they frequently make methods more important and more easily defined than goals, and even more frequently create substitute problems as complex as the problems violent confrontation is supposed to solve in the first place. At worst, they force attention to only the tactic, not the fundamental problem.

10. It is a myth that "capitalism is too inflexible to survive or accommodate the social and cultural changes in the human environment and setting."

While capitalism may be indicted on many counts, to do so on the basis of inflexibility seems a grevious error.

Flexibility is vital to survival in the marketplace which in itself is responsive to technological changes and consumer demands for change. The competitive process, by definition is dependent on flexibility. Our fabrics industry in this country has been able to survive the rigors of foreign competition, consumer demands, and competition for labor from other industries because it was able to adapt and develop new technologies. These new technologies in turn have been developed by the industry's commitment to both basic and applied research.

Closer study of the major social ills of the nation and the efforts being made to combat them will find commitments of "capitalistic" dollars, personnel and resources to various experimental programs dealing with a range of social problems from pollution control, employment, crime, and drug addiction, to housing, health, welfare, and education. Even in the face of massive governmental involvement, the loss of private business commitment to social change would probably render the community helpless in the attempt to deal with these problems. A sound perspective of history, past and present, would serve well to reinforce the sense of how the "team" or "system" approach is already making significant use of the problem—solving resources available to the community.

Capitalism appears to be the only economic system which thrives on change, and, in fact, requires continual social change for its suc-

cess and survival. Capitalism in practice, rather than resisting change, systematically encourages change. It often artificially creates demands for change for its own sake. What rational reason can support a yearly change in auto body styles, the elevator effect on women's hemlines, and the back-and-forth widths of men's neckties. Capitalism has specifically benefited from all aspects of the Civil Rights Movement. Motels and restaurants have enlarged their markets. Most of American industry would be unable to meet its labor force requirements were it not for the new manpower made available through Equal Employment Opportunity.

Capitalism's need to survive, to meet change with better change, must come to be seen by the black man as one of the most powerful levers available to him to produce the kind of social change he so passionately desires. His freedom is linked to the survival of the system and to his capability of helping it to work for him.

11. It is a myth that "the community can mobilize to bring about institutional and cultural changes in an atmosphere of continuous exaggerated dissent."

Continuous exaggerated dissent forces the attention of the community to the problem of "exaggerated dissent." It forces the community to deal with contending groups rather than the object of contention. The 1969 Dudley High School incident, which attempted to raise the question of the desirability of student government changes, was lost when the community was forced to focus its attention on physical conflict. The community in order to survive was required to deal with disorder and its regrettable products.

After the disorder the original cause of student government change became far less important than the disorder itself. While considerable attention has been given to fixing responsibility, and to "who said what to whom," few persons have claimed any measure of social progress as a result of the incident. Some have claimed that the incident "heightened the contradictions" inherent in cultural racism, thereby making the community in the long run more vulnerable to change. However, it now appears that the incident has primarily served to heighten the contradictions supplied by exaggerated dissent. Neither the death of a student, nor the injuries sustained by a number of policemen, have been related by the ensuing community dialogue to a defensible cause.

The earlier comments about guerrilla warfare and revolutionary tactics are also relevant to this mythology.

12. It is a myth that "changes brought about by the establishment are suspect as contrary to the interest of the total community."

This is a highly simplified view given to scape-goating and stereotyping—a view that sees "the establishment" as an automatic, sinful evil. It is a view which assumes that cultural racism is necessary to the survival of the establishment, when in fact it appears that the survival of the establishment is most vulnerable because of cultural racism. Thus it is logical to assume that the establishment will at some point move to rid itself of cultural racism. It assumes that "good communication" cannot result in productive change. It assumes that there must inherently be an "us-them" adversary relationship. It assumes an inability or unwillingness to come to grips with basic problems. It assumes that all the previous myths are not myths at all but statements about reality. Such a view not only assumes all this, but it presumes to judge that the complex motivations of the establishment are always in the establishment's narrowest self-interest. Here again the accumulation of evidence suggests that while preservation of orderly change is in the interest of the establishment, the involvement of the establishment in initiating and supporting social change must not be seen as only a selfish expression of the profit or power motives. While it is true that the establishment has responded to pressures from the outside in most instances, it is also true, that the outside pressures have been generated by certain changes sought or brought about by the establishment. For example, much has been said about the rising expectations of the black for the good life. What is the source of this, if it does not lie at least indirectly in the establishment? The genius of the Civil Rights Movement has been its ability to capitalize on this establishmentarian trait.

It is likewise a myth that all blessings flow only from the establishment. The establishment seems to be increasingly aware of this fact as it draws nonestablishment members more and more into a mutual decision-making process.

A final comment is in order here about the supposed singular, monolithic structure of this "establishment myth." If it has not already become painfully aware that there is no single "establishment," the black community will have to come to a sophisticated awareness that there are many establishments. Just as there are many conflicting groups and loyalties in the black community, so too are there many conflicting groups and loyalties in an admittedly white-dominated complex of "establishments."

The vested interests of political structures are not necessarily identical to the vested interests of government or business structures. Few expect the vested interests of one political party to coincide with the vested interests of its opposition. The educational establishments must regularly compete with the health and welfare establishments for their allocation of the public dollar. Corporate goals are rarely identical to those of various labor groups.

The black community has its own contending groups, groups which vie for the loyalty of the members of the black community. Black churches are frequently found in competition with each other for community leadership and recognition. Black freedom movements have often suffered from weakness produced by splinter groups taking off in directions thought to better serve the members of that group. Nationalists divide themselves from separationists and from integrationists. Those who come to acquire some power and influence are subject to suspicion and hostility from those who lack power. The cancer destroys the tissues which sustain it. So too does the black community's fragmentation of goals, purpose and method of work to destroy its capability to bring about meaningful social progress.

PRELUDE TO A BEGINNING

Reasonable men know that all is not well in Greensboro. Many feel that we must set about healing the wounds and the pain. Many more feel helpless before the immensity of the problems. Further anger, frustration and hostility can only continue to build higher the walls which keep us apart. Means must be found to subtract the anger, frustration and hostility from the community equation. Steps must be taken to insure that the black man can believe in the integrity of the white man. Because the heavier burden of cultural racism has been borne by the black man, the heavier burden of proving honesty and openness to change must be borne by the white man. The total community must be able to admit the truth of cultural racism and the personal individual responsibility to be active participants in seeking it out and removing it.

The white man cannot do this without the help of the black man. The white man is not likely to get such help until the black man is convinced of a commitment to do more than just listen to a cry of pain. The next step is in the hands of those who are willing to make an irrevocable commitment to act with integrity.

Productive communication is possible if one fundamental fact is understood: black and white generally come to negotiations and other discussions with diametrically opposed attitudes about "the system." Blacks, from their vantage, fear "the system." Whites, from their vantage, trust "the system." This attitude conflict forms the common denominator of the twelve attitudes identified by the Chamber's Community Unity Division.

Whites trust the system for they feel it protects them. Blacks distrust the system for they feel it threatens them. Whites want to keep the system as it is since they feel secure within it. Blacks want the system to operate in new ways in order to feel the same security whites feel.

The fears, anxieties, and distrusts that the black man holds are a reality which reaches deep into his collective soul and personality. There is little in either individual lives or the history of the race to cause anything but fear of the white man and his system. Whites do not know or understand this gut-level feeling. If the problem of race is to be dealt with effectively, whites must begin to function from a base which understands such fears. The black man's fear must be changed to trust. The burden of this task must fall on white shoulders.

The black man has a similar, equally difficult task to accomplish. The task begins from a base which understands the white man's trust of the system. The white feeling that "the system" has protected him, produces behavior protective of the system. Blacks fear the system as it is. Whites fear what the system may become if men tinker too much with the ways it operates.

Put another way, neither the black man nor the white man can succeed alone in removing fears and distrusts. Whites need blacks to tell them what whites have not been able to see and feel. Blacks need whites who are open to change so black fears can at last be laid to rest. Whites fear of change can be laid to rest as all citizens demonstrate to each other that the new is to be trusted as much as the old.

REPORT OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT

HON. HAMILTON FISH, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, the first session of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment was held at the United Nations Headquarters in New York from March 10 to March 20, 1970. Twenty-seven countries make up the membership of the committee, and the sessions were attended by observers from 20 additional States and specialized agencies.

During the first session I inserted in the RECORD the opening statements by the Secretary General and by the Honorable Christian A. Herter, Jr., Chief Delegate of the United States to the Preparatory Committee.

The first working session in March concerned itself with organization, and consideration of program content for the United Nations Conference to be held in 1972.

The report of the first session of the Preparatory Committee is herewith inserted in the RECORD:

REPORT OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT

I. ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST SESSION

1. The first session of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (established under General Assembly resolution 2581 (XXIV)) was held at United Nations Headquarters in New York from 10 to 20 March 1970.

Attendance

2. The session was attended by representatives of all States members of the Preparatory Committee, by observers from twenty States not members of the Committee and by observers of specialized agencies and of other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. A full list of those attending is given in annex II.

3. The Preparatory Committee noted with great satisfaction the intense interest in the Conference, and on the subject of environment as a whole, shown by many intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. It looked forward to their active co-operation in the preparatory work.

Documentation

4. The documents before the Preparatory Committee at its first session are listed in annex III.

Opening of session and election of chairman

5. The session was opened by the Secretary-General, whose statement is given in annex IV. The Committee then unanimously elected Mr. Keith Johnson (Jamaica) as Chairman.

Rules of procedure

6. The Committee decided, on the basis of rule 162 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, to be guided in the conduct of its business by the general principle that the rules of procedure of the General Assembly should apply to the Committee in so far as they were appropriate for the performance of its functions. The Committee decided to amend rule 105, which provides for one Chairman, one Vice-Chairman and one Rapporteur, so as to ensure broader geographical distribution of States members of the Committee by providing for the election of three Vice-Chairman instead of one, as well as a Rapporteur.

7. The Committee agreed that it would make every effort to reach all decisions by way of consensus, but that in the absence of consensus decision should be reached by a vote, as provided for in the rules of procedure of the General Assembly.

8. The Committee noted that the General Assembly, in resolution 2581 (XXIV), had invited the specialized agencies, the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development to collaborate closely with the Secretary-General in the preparations for the Conference and to assist, as appropriate, in the work of the Preparatory Committee. In addition, the General Assembly, after adopting resolution 2581 (XXIV) had decided ". . . that any interested Member State not appointed to the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment may designate highly qualified representatives to act as accredited observers at sessions of the Committee, with the right to participate in its discussions".

Summary records

9. On the basis of General Assembly resolution 2538 (XXIV), paragraph 10, it was decided that the Preparatory Committee would not have summary records.

Election of officers

10. The Committee elected the following officers:

Vice-Chairman: Mr. Fereydoun Hoveyda (Iran), Mr. Rastislav Lacko (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Vernon Johnson Mwaanga (Zambia).

Rapporteur: Mr. Börje Billner (Sweden).

Agenda

11. The Committee adopted the agenda (see annex I) at its opening meeting.

Report of the Secretary-General on the preparatory work required for the Conference

12. The representative of the Secretary-General introduced the various documents prepared for the first session and gave a brief outline of the functions to be performed by the Committee. He also reviewed the preparatory work up to the time of the first session, particularly the preparation of the Secretary-General's report entitled "Problems of the human environment (E/4667), and acknowledged the important contributions made to the preparation of that report by many Governments, by organizations of the United Nations and by various intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

Organization of work

13. To facilitate its work, the Preparatory Committee established three *ad hoc* working groups as follows:

Working Group I: Further definition of the programme content and selection of topics.

Chairman: Mr. G. C. Butler (Canada).

Working Group II: Questions relating to a possible declaration on the human environment.

Chairman: Mr. N. N. Jha (India).

Working Group III: Preparation of national reports.

Chairman: Mrs. Neoma de Castañeda (Mexico).

It was agreed that the chairmen of the working groups would also act as rapporteurs. The recommendations of the working groups, as approved by the Preparatory Committee, appear in the relevant sections of the report.

II. CONSIDERATION OF THE PROGRAMME CONTENT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT AND THE PREPARATORY WORK

Further definition of the programme content and selection of topics for the conference

14. The general debate on item 6 was based on the considerations contained in the Secretary-General's report (E/4667), particularly in paragraphs 82 to 121, and on document A/CONF.48/PC/2 relating to certain aspects of the report. The representative of the Secretary-General pointed out in his introductory statement that, with regard to the programme content of the Conference, the wish of the General Assembly to concentrate on international problems had been interpreted widely—while the number of environmental problems which are international by nature (for example, the oceans) is comparatively small, those which are international in the sense of being of international concern (for example, the unwise use of resources), or in the sense that the attack on these problems can be greatly facilitated by concerted international action or exchange of experience and information (for example, urbanization of land-use planning), form the bulk of the problems of major concern at the present time.

15. In the context of this agenda item, it was agreed that the main task of the Preparatory Committee would be to assist the Secretary-General in the selection—on the basis of the views of Governments—of topics and headings for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, as well as in the formulation of ideas, suggestions and proposals with regard to the programme content for the Conference.

16. The debate showed a large degree of consensus on the characteristics and seriousness of environmental problems in different countries and on the general conception and objectives of the 1972 Conference. At the same time, the great diversity and complexity of the problems of the human environment, in various countries as well as in various regions, was stressed. These problems had to be considered in relation to technological, geographical, economic, social, cultural and other factors.

17. As regards the general scope of the subjects to be covered by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, the debate emphasized the fact that questions of environmental pollution were of vital importance, but that other matters, such as urban and rural planning, conservation of nature, and proper management of natural resources, were also important. It was recognized that an appropriate balance should be attained, in the range of subjects to be considered by the Conference, between the environmental problems of the developed and those of the developing areas of the world. One important result of the Conference should be to help developing countries to avoid the undesirable side-effects of industrialization. Preventive measures were to be preferred to curative ones. At the same time, it would have to be clear that management of the environment must not retard the development process or the maximum rational use of natural resources. Continuing economic progress must be ensured, while minimizing environmental degradation and pollution.

18. Particular emphasis was placed on the link between environmental control and economic and social development, and on the fact that while there remained many technological questions to be solved, problems of the human environment were increasingly of a socio-economic nature. Thus the need for "new economic thinking, new legal instruments, new administrative measures and new governmental priorities", stressed by the Secretary-General in his opening address, was generally recognized by the Committee. The Conference should be a focal point of present efforts as well as a starting-point for future action in the environmental field.

19. It was also felt that more attention should be given to the socio-cultural aspects of the problems of the human environment in order to appraise in its totality man's relation to his environment. At the same time the difficulties of a world-wide approach in this field were recognized.

20. It was furthermore emphasized that no comprehensive action related to environmental change could ignore the effects of constantly growing population and its tendency to concentrate in large urban areas. The problems of the working environment and of urban transportation were stressed in that respect. The Conference should consider by what ways and means developing countries might be assisted in their efforts to cope with their environmental problems. It was the consensus of the meeting that the problems to be considered by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment should be of such a character that their solution would require, or would be greatly facilitated by, international co-operation. That was not to be taken that the Conference programme should be limited to global or regional problems only. There was a clear need for international action with respect to many areas where solutions depended primarily on measures that had to be taken at the national and local levels—for example, problems of urban growth, soil conservation, administrative methods for the national use and management of natural resources etc. In those fields, countries would be assisted by the international exchange of knowledge and experience. In that connexion some participants sug-

gested the establishment of international information centres.

21. It was generally agreed that national reports would be of great value both as a means of collecting information for the Conference and of helping the countries to assess their own situation.

22. It was furthermore the consensus of the meeting that the Conference should be action-oriented. It should encourage and provide guiding principles for action by Governments and international organizations. It should therefore concentrate on those areas where such action appeared practical, feasible and urgent. At the same time, the Conference should not lose sight of problems of a more long-term nature. It was stressed in that connexion that much technological knowledge was already available, but not sufficiently used, and that the Conference should aim at ensuring acknowledgment by the political leaders in all countries of that need for action.

23. Several delegations indicated that the action might well take the form of international agreements and conventions, which could be put into final form at the Conference or identified for further preparation. It was also generally recognized that an international declaration on the human environment should be prepared for possible adoption by the Conference.

24. Particular emphasis was placed during the debate on the ways and means of taking action at the local, national and regional levels. The importance of thorough exchanges of views and experience at the Conference among those responsible in each country for planning, management and control policies relating to the problems of the human environment was emphasized as a major objective. It was noted in that respect that the question of governmental and administrative structures to deal with environmental management from an over-all point of view in each country should receive special attention.

25. The importance was stressed, in connexion with the problem of action for environmental management, of exchanging information about environmental problems and for data collection and systematic monitoring of certain environmental parameters which should be established on a global basis. The need for further scientific research on all environmental problems was also mentioned, including those problems where partial technological solutions had already been found. The particular need for economic and social research in relation to environmental preservation was also stressed. Some of the delegates referred to the need for proper environmental education at all levels and ages.

26. The representatives of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies reminded the Preparatory Committee of some of their activities related to the subject of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, a brief summary of which had been given as an annex to document E/4667. It was the firm view of the Preparatory Committee that repetition or duplication of effort in dealing with technical environmental matters should be avoided. The 1972 Conference should make full use of work already going on or being planned in the various international organizations concerned. These activities could be taken account of in the preparations for the 1972 Conference in a way which would give them additional support, fresh impetus, common outlook and direction. This applied, for instance, to the atmospheric monitoring programmes of WMO, to the Man and Biosphere Programme of UNESCO, to certain aspects of the FAO Indicative World Plan, or to specific international agreements being prepared by other United Nations agencies, such as the ILO, WHO or IMCO. As regards the meeting of ECE on the environment, to be held in Prague in 1971, it was recognized by the Committee that the methods of preparation and the results of that meeting could be of great value for the 1972 world-wide United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.

Recommendations

27. Following the general debate on agenda item 6, the Preparatory Committee adopted the recommendations contained in the reports of working groups I and II, which were the following:

I. Further definition of the programme content and selection of topics—

(1) After studying the proposals contained in document E/4667 (paras. 113–116) the Working Group recommended the division of the subject matter of the Conference into the three following areas:

(a) Environmental aspects of human settlements;

(b) Rational management of natural resources;

(c) Environmental degradation from pollution and nuisances;

and established the following outlines and recommendations for action.

A. Environmental aspects of human settlements

1. Demographic and settlement trends

(2) Under this heading the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment would review questions related to environmental problems arising from population growth and distribution, and from policies and programmes which have a bearing on the settlement process. The subject could be subdivided as follows:

(a) Analysis of demographic trends, including the urbanization process and changes in the balance of population between rural and urban areas, resulting trends in rural and urban settlement and the location of industry; their effects on the human environment;

(b) Review of trends in the geographical distribution of population, including migrations, in order to identify polices and strateges for rural and urban development which are conducive to economic growth and social improvement and are compatible with satisfactory levels of environmental quality.

2. Problems of human settlements (in their physical, biological and cultural framework)

(3) (a) A comprehensive analysis and review of the urban and rural environment, present trends, problems, causes and effects, concerning cities and settlements of different sizes and socio-economic patterns;

(b) Review and analysis of specific problems, such as:

(i) Effects of pollution of air, water, soil, as well as noise and vibration on the health and living and working conditions of rural and urban populations;

(ii) Water supply and waste disposal;

(iii) Land use and related aspects of traffic and transportation;

(iv) Housing, slum clearance, urban renewal and community facilities;

(v) Frontiers of settlements and the impact of agricultural, pastoral and forestry activities on the environment;

(vi) Commercial collecting, hunting and fishing activities and their impact on the environment;

(vii) Environmental deterioration through mining and industrial enclaves and over-concentration of industry;

(c) Studies of the total effects of environmental changes on man, such as:

(i) "Man-made" diseases; creation of situations in which such diseases are difficult to control;

(ii) Undesirable influences of these elements and new substances on biochemical mechanisms;

(iii) Genetic effects;

(iv) Effects of the absence of natural stimuli;

(v) Preservation of optimal socio-cultural patterns.

B. Rational management of natural resources

1. Introduction

(4) The original title of the subject read "Rational use and development of natural resources" and was later expanded to include the question of conservation. Rather than maintaining the usual dichotomy associated with natural resources—that is, the development of the resource base vis-a-vis convervation of the resource base—it was thought preferable to speak of the "rational management of natural resources". Implicit in the term "rational management" is the concept of "managed-use" of the resource base and, secondly, the conservation of the resource base.

(5) Although it was recognized that environmental pollution is a special subject area, it was necessary to include in this review the question of regulatory control of the environment through natural resource legislation. Although it may seem somewhat anomalous to include environmental legislation in a policy designed to encourage the utilization of natural resources, it is believed the two are inextricably bound together. Because it is recognized that human intervention results in constant change to the total natural environment, the Working Group has expanded the phrase "environmental pollution" to read "environmental degradation". It then includes things such as land damage due to thermal erosion or thermal karst, or the loss of wildlife habitat through altering watershed patterns and removing vegetative cover. These considerations include due attention to minimizing disturbance to the natural environment in the study, survey, design and planning of utilization of natural resources. This is particularly true in the case of developing countries entering the phase of rapid industrialization and development.

(6) There are many methods of treating the subject "The rational management of the natural resources", for purposes of conference preparations. But each of the six choices listed at the end of this section had certain limitations. The Working Group feel that many of the current problems in the field of natural resources are due to the limited single-sector approach adopted by many managers and administrators. In order to achieve the desirable objective of integrated management, the Working Group feels it will be necessary to adopt a multidisciplinary "management approach" to the problem.

2. The management approach

(7) It is recommended that for the portion of the 1972 Conference dealing with the question of natural resources, the subject be dealt with in the following way. Against a background consideration of: an inventory of the resource base; a projection of demand on the resource base; and the effect on the total environment of utilizing the resource base in meeting the future demand, several major headings were defined as follows:

(a) Resource managament structures: Comparative studies on international and national structures, in different socio-cultural and economic systems and stages of economic development, for different types of resources and resource work stages;

(b) Resource management organization requirements:

(i) Manpower, training facilities;

(ii) Scientific and technological research and application;

(iii) National technical services and institution-building;

(iv) Financial requirements and prospects;

(v) Legal and administrative framework;

(vi) International co-operation;

(c) Resource management problems (with emphasis on those needing guide-posts in relation to environmental aspects):

(i) Selected technical problems and techniques (including effects of technological revolution on resource development and utilization—for example, desalination of waters);

(ii) Economic problems (including effect of environmental actions on demand and supply of natural resource products and resources, and on development opportunities for developing countries and frontier regions, need for new economic concepts to compute cost of environmental degradation and its modification etc.);

(iii) Administrative and legal problems;

(d) Policy formulation based on adequate data collection, with a view to harmonizing development and conservation;

(e) Long-term natural resources in relation to environment prospects;

(f) Resource data and document storage and retrieval systems.

3. Illustrative list of topics for background papers and case studies[1]

(8) (a) Survey of future manpower needs, availability and requirements for training facilites;

(b) The problems arising from recent technology—for example, in transmission and transportation;

(c) The external diseconomies resulting from regulatory control of the environment in developing countries;

(d) Quantifying the costs and benefits, both social and economic, resulting from economic growth while maintaining and improving the quality of the environment;

(e) The effect of environmental legislation on the demand and supply of natural resources and on the development opportunities within developing countries;

(f) Man-made environmental value:

(i) National parks—recreation and aesthetic value;

(ii) Protection of historic sites and monuments;

(g) Natural environmental value:

Loss as a result of the extinction of plants and wildlife;

(h) Cost of restoration and reclamation of surface lands; cost of restoration of water quality in fresh-water systems;

(i) Preliminary survey on the advantages and problems, ecologically and economically, of the implementation of recycling of waste materials;

(j) A study of the possibilities of increasing the information and education of staff on all levels and, concomitantly, a case study on information and education centres in developing countries with respect to natural resources management;

(k) The impact on the environment of utilization of the resource base, including agricultural and pastoral activities, in frontier and sparsely populated areas;

(l) The impact of resource-based industry upon people living in a frontier area whose traditional livelihood has been gained from living off the land;

(m) Irreversible damage to the environment produced by inadequate ecological studies prior to the application of technology;

4. Alternate approaches to studying the subject

(9) (a) By type of natural resource—such as soil and agricultural land, forests, fisheries, flora, fauna, protista, water, mineral, energy resources etc.;

(b) Local, national, regional, international, global;

(c) By type of physical environment—atmosphere, hydrosphere, geosphere;

(d) By climatic and geomorphic areas;

(e) Renewable and non-renewable resources;

(f) Stages in industrial utilization of the resource base—that is, research, exploration, evaluation, pilot project, development, utilization, reclamation and restoration.

C. Environmental Degradation From Pollution and Nuisances

(10) The following paragraphs outline the suggested approach to the question of environmental pollution at the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.

1. Definition

(1) Need for some generally accepted definition of pollution as a framework within which the various media, pollutants and sources could be examined.

2. Pollutants

(12) Their sources, characteristics, media and effects (both long- and short-term) on plants and animals, including man. Possible classifications are:

(a) Sources:

(i) Industrial;

(ii) Agricultural;

(iii) Urban and other human activities;

(iv) Natural causes;

(v) Resource development;

(vi) Transportation;

(b) Types:

(i) Physical (including noise and radiations from all sources);

(ii) Chemical;

(iii) Biological;

(c) Media: Air, fresh water, the seas, soil.

3. Criteria and standards

(13) (a) Study of existing national and international standards for establishing limits for chemical, physical and biological contaminants and other quantifiable effects injurious to health or the environment. The compilation could form the basis of international standards for consideration for acceptance by all members countries of the Conference.

(b) Establishment of criteria and standards where these do not yet exist;

(c) Identification of areas requiring research leading to criteria;

(d) Application of standards.

4. National, regional and international environmental monitoring systems

(14) (a) Consideration should be given to the progressive co-ordination of existing or planned national, regional and international monitoring programmes involving compilation, evaluation and dissemination of data, including:

(i) Improvement of national, regional and international systems;

(ii) Identification of substances to be monitored;

(iii) Internationally accepted methods of measuring changes in the environment;

(b) Consideration should be given to the roles of:

(i) National systems and their participation in international networks;

(ii) Data management (acquisition, storage and communication);

(iii) International organizations.

5. Relation of pollution management to the human environment as a whole

(15) Necessity for multidisciplinary studies prior to the Conference on the effects of pollution, and of preventive and corrective measures, upon the entire ecological system in which human society exists.

6. Economic and social causes and implications

(16) Economic and social causes and implications of pollution prevention and correction:

(a) Effects of pollution control costs on relative competitive positions among countries with similar industries;

(b) Special problems of pollution costs affecting economic growth in developing countries;

(c) Domestic, legal and administrative aspects;

(d) Possible case studies;

(e) Cost-benefit studies of anti-pollution measures.

Recommendations for action

(17) In addition to the above outlines of subject matter the Working Group also prepared lists of national and international activities which seemed appropriate for the Conference to consider.

(18) One activity identified as being basic to any programme was that of education and training in all aspects of environmental problems.

(19) Lists of recommended actions are presented below. In considering them, however, it should be borne in mind that the division of the Conference subject into the three areas listed above is sometimes artificial and that it is essential to consider the problems of the human environment as a whole from different points of view.

(20) Further, the problems of the human environment are multidimensional and characterized by complex interactions between the various parts of ecological systems, as well as between these systems and human activities. It is necessary to recognize in any one of the three subject areas problems and approaches such as:

(a) The preservation and development of cultural, aesthetic and scientific values of human environments;

(b) The understanding and control of unintentional influences on climates resulting from various activities such as air pollution, land management, urbanization etc.;

(c) The forecasting of and the control of the effects of catastrophic alterations of the environment resulting from earthquakes; floods etc.;

(d) Long-term forecasting studies of trends and developments and of their interaction, including certain technological forecasting studies;

(e) Development of early-warning systems for environmental deterioration;

(f) Systems analysis and operational research methods, planning, programming, management and decision-making techniques, systematic analysis of goals and objectives in this field, of their interdependence and their compatibility.

(21) It follows that in any approach to environmental problems, it is necessary to employ a strategic assessment which takes full account not only of effects on the environment, but also of financial, fiscal, administrative, legislative, social, economic, scientific and technological factors.

(22) No recommended action should be planned or implemented in a fragmentary isolated way, but rather integrated into a co-ordinated effort, based on over-all views of problems and priorities.

Recommendations for national action to be considered by the Conference

A. Environmental Aspects of Human Settlements

(23) (a) Formulation of national environmental policies, plans and programmes of a comprehensive and interdisciplinary nature, including the provisions of adequate financing;

(b) Regional planning for land use and organization of economic activity including improved settlement patterns, location of agricultural and industrial activities and other forms of employment;

(c) City planning and the organization of the urban environment, and its infrastructure;

(d) Rural land-use planning;

(e) Urban renewal with emphasis on slum clearance and rehabilitation of squatter settlements;

[1] Similar lists may be requested for subject areas (8) (a) and (b).

(f) Establishment and maintenance and protection of areas of cultural, aesthetic, recreational and scientific values;

(g) Mobilization of public support—including educational measures—and active participation of all elements of the community in the planning and execution of preventive and corrective measures;

(h) Systematic development of research and co-operation on environmental problems of human settlements, including the identification, collection and evaluation of necessary data for operational use.

B. Rational Management of Natural Resources

(24) (a) Review national requirements for natural resource management and organization in light of national development goals and plans;

(b) Specify gaps between those requirements and actual facilities and provisions;

(c) Determine priorities for filling gaps:

(i) Through national means;

(ii) Through international co-operation;

(d) Review regional and national policy, legislation and regulatory control as it pertains to preservation of unique living organisms and biomes, including national parks, wildlife sanctuaries, flora and fauna and areas of scientific, recreational and aesthetic value. Determine in which way existing policy and legislation is inadequate;

(e) Review regional and national policy, legislation and regulatory control of utilization of the resource base as it pertains to environmental degradation, to determine the manner in which existing policy and legislation in inadequate;

(f) Develop a programme of research including the collection of ecological data which will permit a more accurate forecast to be made of the degree to which the environment will be altered as a result of utilizing the resource base.

C. Environmental degradation from pollution and nuisances

(25) (a) Identify reasonable techniques and methods to reduce, cure and minimize all forms of pollution and to disseminate all available information to member countries;

(b) Define, in particular, the problems of pollution both where effects are evident and action is urgently needed as well as where long-term or cumulative effects are anticipated;

(c) Evaluate the direction in which future work on the improvement of the environment should proceed;

(d) Identify areas for specific research on criteria, methodology and techniques for the abatement of pollution;

(e) Assess the consequences of new technology for the environment including research of alternative technological solutions—for example, plant derivatives and biological methods to replace persistent toxic chemicals for controlling pests.

Recommendations for international action to be considered by the Conference

(26) In making suggestions for international action, the Working Group stresses the fact that the United Nations Organization, its components and other international bodies, have important roles to play. These roles could include facilitation of communications, prevention of unnecessary duplication of efforts, and provision of financial and technical aid to prevent, arrest and reverse environmental deterioration.

A. Environmental aspects of human settlements

(27) (a) Multinational aspects of regional planning of neighboring areas in different countries with strong economic or physical links;

(b) International co-operation and technical assistance to share knowledge and experience;

(c) Exchange of information on matters related to policies, legislation, administration, planning, financing and public participation;

(d) Formulation, through international consultation, of criteria for setting up national standards for land-use planning;

(e) Furthering research in areas related to urban and regional planning;

(f) Programmes for action to foresee, prevent and remedy harmful environmental consequences of natural catastrophes directly or indirectly related to man's activities.

B. Rational Management of Natural Resources

(28) (a) Promote international aspects of natural resource management—for example, the seas and water systems common to two or more countries;

(b) Promote international co-operation or conventions for the management of natural resources—for example, migrating wildlife or the resources of the sea;

(c) Promote international co-operation and technical assistance to share knowledge and experience to facilitate, for example, the developing of criteria for use in setting up national standards in natural resource management;

(d) Exchange information on policies, legislation, administration, planning, financing and public participation;

(e) Provide long-term natural resource and environmental prospects and forecasts—for example, projected sources and demands and the effect upon the environment of meeting these demands;

(f) Promote the gathering of inventory and resource data and document storage and retrieval.

C. Environmental Degradation From Pollution and Nuisances

(29) (a) Identify those areas where results which can have meaning in pollution control can best be achieved through international co-operation. Taking into account the varying circumstances in which pollution occurs, certain international regulatory "legislative" action may be needed:

(i) On a global scale, in the form of conventions or agreements;

(ii) On a regional or bilateral scale, in the form of agreements;

(b) Promote international co-ordination of national programmes;

(c) Promote internationally accepted criteria, standards and monitoring. These are prerequisites for items (a) and (b) above;

(d) Request the Secretary-General to prepare a brief up-to-date report on present activities in the field of pollution undertaken by the specialized agencies, other governmental organizations and certain non-governmental organizations, as well as on information obtained from Governments on national action. When possible, the above-mentioned information should pertain as well to planned activities with special emphasis placed on the following topics:

(i) Pollutants (their sources, recipients and effects on human beings);

(ii) Criteria and standards (an inventory of existing national and international criteria and standards);

(iii) Monitoring (global, regional and national);

(iv) Economic and social implications (that is, studies on impact of anti-pollution action in these areas).

(30) The Working Group requests the Preparatory Committee to draw to the attention of the Secretary-General the fact that studies on these subject areas and the recommended actions should begin as soon as possible, with the assistance of experts and the specialized agencies. The Secretary-General should be requested by the Preparatory Committee to report the progress of these studies at this second session, including an indication of priorities.

(31) The Working Group deems it urgent that areas for immediate action should be identified prior to the 1972 Conference, and that the Preparatory Committee should discuss at its next session the preparation of draft recommendations, agreements and conventions for consideration by the 1972 Conference.

II. Drafting of a declaration on the human environment—

(32) The 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment should be presented with a draft declaration on the human environment.

(33) The function of the Preparatory Committee, at the present stage, is to advise the Secretary-General on the objective(s) of the declaration and the best modality for its formulation.

(34) In addition to the declaration on the human environment, the 1972 Conference should also adopt recommendations for action, resolutions, and other conclusions.

(35) The declaration should be a document of basic principles, calling mankind's urgent attention to the many varied and interrelated problems of the human environment, and to draw attention to the rights and obligations of man and State and the international community in regard thereto.

(36) The declaration would serve to stimulate public opinion and community participation for the protection and betterment of the human environment and, where appropriate, for the restoration of its primitive harmony etc., in the interest of present and future generations. It would also provide guiding principles for Governments in their formulation of policy and set objectives for future international co-operation.

(37) In formulating the declaration on the human environment, due account has to be taken of the environmental stresses caused by the differences in social and economic development between various parts of the world.

(38) The Preparatory Committee is not, during the current session, in a position to draft the declaration. It, therefore, recommends to the Secretary-General that, after consultation with the Member States and in the light also of the discussions at the first session, that he include in his report to the second session of the Preparatory Committee suggestions as to the content of the declaration.

Organizational structure of the conference

28. The Preparatory Committee gave preliminary consideration to this matter on the basis of paragraphs 106 to 121 of document E/4667 and of document A/CONF.48/PC/3. The Committee generally endorsed the view expressed in the latter document that it could only proceed at its first session to a preliminary exchange of views and should consider the matter in full detail at later sessions when the program content of the Conference had been more fully defined.

29. Several delegates felt that the number of commissions during the Conference should be kept to a minimum and that the division between discussion of subtantive problems and strategic areas for action proposed in document E/4667 might not be the most appropriate way of dealing with the subject matter since the difference between the two approaches might be difficult to make in many cases. Other delegates indicated that the consideration of actions, dealing "horizontally" through the over-all question of environmental management rather than with a particular element of it, such as, for instance, training problems, economic problems, or administrative bodies, should find its place in the structure of the Conference. The view was also expressed that, in the opening plenary sessions

of the Conference, presentation of an introductory report of the Secretary-General, of reports on the problems in the major regions of the world and of reports from specialized agencies and international organizations, should be envisaged.

30. It was agreed that the Secretary-General should be invited to prepare further proposals for the organizational structure of the Conference for consideration by the next session of the Committee.

Documentation for the conference

31. The Preparatory Committee considered this matter on the basis of paragraphs 122 to 129 of document E/4667 and document A/CONF.48/PC/4.

32. The special consultant to the Secretary-General outlined the different nature of the various types of documents which were proposed for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment. He stressed that a clear distinction would have to be made between conference documents, which would be limited in number and volume and presented in the official languages, and information documents, which would be substituted under the responsibility of Governments or international organizations. He also emphasized that, while at this stage the whole question of documentation could obviously not be considered in detail, it appeared essential that the first session of the Committee should give its views on:

(a) The recommended outline of national reports to be requested at an early date from Governments;

(b) The desirability of having case studies presented at the Conference and the procedure to be followed for their selection.

33. It was the general consensus of the Committee that the documentation produced by the secretariat for the Conference should be kept to the strictest minimum and should be of the highest professional calibre and practical value. The need for making full use of already available material was stressed in that respect.

34. As regards national reports, the Committee recognized that they would be of great value, not only as a means of collecting and presenting information for the Conference, but also as a tool for each country to evaluate its own situation and thus prepare itself for full participation in the Conference. It was agreed that national reports should as far as possible be prepared on the basis of a common outline, with one emphasis on the management problems encountered and lessons learned in each country.

Recommendations

35. Working Group III, which was established to draw up a general outline for national reports, made the following recommendations which were adopted by the Preparatory Committee:

General outline for national reports:

(1) National reports should serve as background material for the preparatory work of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment. They should therefore be considered as an integral part of the over-all preparations for the Conference.

(2) National reports will not be considered as conference documents; however, they could be made available before the Conference to Governments through the Secretariat upon request.

(3) National reports should be submitted to the Secretariat not later than 31 March 1971. Such reports should be limited to from twenty to thirty pages. It is suggested that the Secretary-General determine the progress being made in the preparation of national reports at appropriate intervals.

(4) Countries which so desire could submit additional and more comprehensive reports as well as case studies.

(5) In order to ensure the uniformity of the national reports, the Preparatory Committee recommends that the Secretariat should send a formal request to Governments containing detailed guiding principles, preferably by the end of April 1970.

(6) The following suggestions for the structure of national reports are provided to assist the Secretariat in such preparation:

(a) Description of problems (the guiding principles for this section should be based on relevant parts of the report of Working Group I);

(b) Measures at the national level:

Existing, planned and desirable measures at the national level:

Organizational and institutional arrangements;

Legislation and administration;

Planning;

Fiscal and financial policies;

Education and training;

Research;

Dissemination and practical use of knowledge;

Public information;

(c) Measures at the international level: Existing, planned and desirable measures on the international level.

This part of the report would deal with problems that are difficult or impossible to solve by the actions of one country only, or whose solution would be greatly facilitated by international co-operation and bilateral or multilateral agreements, or both. The reports should also indicate such solutions which, in the view of the countries, could usefully be promoted by the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.

36. There was broad support in the Committee for the need to have a number of selected case studies prepared by Governments for the Conference. A suitable procedure would be for the Secretary-General to invite Governments to submit proposals for case studies that they would be willing to prepare. The Governments concerned would then be invited by the Secretary-General to prepare selected case studies. The list of case studies would be submitted to the Preparatory Committee at its second session and the Committee might then wish to recommend additional studies.

37. It was stressed in that connection that case studies relating to problems in developing countries would be very desirable and that technical assistance should, at the request of the Governments concerned, be extended as far as possible and desirable for their preparation—as well as for the preparation of national reports—particularly through the United Nations and the specialized agencies having relevant operational activities in the countries concerned.

38. The need for a limited number of specific reports from international organizations was stressed by the Committee. It was felt in that respect that such reports, the list of which could be established at the next session, were not to be of a general character, but should be geared towards the objectives of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment and should stress specific programmes of direct relevance to the Conference.

39. Among such reports, it was felt that the regional economic commissions could be invited to prepare reports on the situation concerning their specific regions. The preparation of these reports as conference documents would not prevent international organizations from making available, under their own responsibility, additional information on their activities.

40. Some consideration was given to the subject of introductory papers. Some delegations felt that a number of such reports might be useful as a starting point for the work of the Conference and its various commissions, particularly if short introductory reports synthesizing the contents of the available background material could be drawn up by the Secretariat. That matter, however, could not be settled until the organizational structure of the Conference had been fully considered.

41. Finally, as regards background discussion papers (commission papers) to be prepared especially for the Conference, the Committee considered that the number and organization of the papers could not be firmly decided upon before the programme content of the Conference and its organizational structure had been put into final form. It was agreed that the papers should be of a limited number. They should in general be prepared with the help of leading specialists and reviewed by other leading experts from different countries and organizations, so as to gain the best possible presentation of the problems. It also felt that these discussion papers should, as far as possible, be geared to the basic objectives of the Conference—that is, adoption of recommendations and agreements by the Conference.

Measures to encourage national participation

42. The Committee gave preliminary consideration to the encouragement of national participation on the basis of paragraphs 102 to 105 and 135 of document E/4667. Paragraph 105, referring to the universality of the subjects to be discussed at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment and the fact that environmental problems in any country may have repercussions throughout the entire world, stressed the fact that it was essential that all participating countries be adequately represented at the Conference. It suggested that consideration should be given to concrete steps which might be taken to ensure adequate representation from developing countries. Paragraph 135 dealt with steps which countries themselves might take immediately in preparing for their own participation.

43. Several delegations indicated the steps which their own countries were already taking in preparing for the Conference and pointed out that they were awaiting the views of the Preparatory Committee. The need for co-ordination at the national level of the many different agencies and authorities concerned with the environment was stressed. It was suggested that aid-giving countries should ensure that their aid ministries or authorities be represented on any national committees.

44. There was unanimous agreement on the need to ensure the fullest participation of developing countries in the Conference and on the need to maintain consultation with developing countries at all stages during the preparations for the Conference.

45. The Committee agreed to invite the Secretary-General to prepare a report for its second session making suggestions as to what concrete steps could be taken to facilitate the active participation of developing countries at the Conference.

Public information

46. The Preparatory Committee heard a statement from the Director of the Centre for Economic and Social Information (CESI), based on document A/CONF.48/PC/5, which set out a number of general considerations regarding arrangements for public information in relation to the preparations for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.

46a. The estimates for the Conference presented to the General Assembly had provided funds to cover information activities only in relation to the Conference itself in 1972, but the Director of CESI explained that he did not feel that the Secretary-General's mandate for promotional activities during the preparatory period could be carried out adequately without further appropriation of funds.

47. On that point, some members agreed that that aspect of the Conference preparations was of such great importance that fur-

ther consideration should be given to the provision of additional funds, including appeals for voluntary contributions from Member States so that the Secretary-General could adequately fulfill the mandate entrusted to him under resolution 2581 (XXIV). Others, however, felt that this resolution had been adopted in the light of the financial estimates, provided to the General Assembly, and that the work to be carried out should be limited to what it was possible to accomplish within the framework of the regular budget of the United Nations information services.

48. There was unanimous agreement among members of the Preparation Committee on the vital importance of ensuring the fullest possible information coverage not only for the Conference itself but also for the preparatory activities. The value of visual media was emphasized. Valuable information and educational activities could be undertaken through museums (and exhibits). Films were to be of the greatest importance, but, in particular, care was necessary to ensure their accuracy. The fact that television was not generally available in some developing countries would have to be borne in mind.

49. The Preparatory Committee agreed that it was important that the fullest possible use be made of national information sources and some delegations suggested that the Secretariat might prepare a programme of action which could be submitted as a guide for national activities to the national preparatory committee for the Conference. United Nations delegates should draw the attention of their Governments to these matters. The importance of a flow of information from Governments to the United Nations, as well as in the reverse direction, was emphasized.

50. Some members felt that the proposed United Nations Conference on the Human Environment provided one of the most promising opportunities ever available for the United Nations to have a positive influence on world opinion. So far, while the media had covered the question of the Conference in a number of Member States, the coverage in the local Press at United Nations Headquarters had been disappointing; more attention should be given to arousing interest among the press corps. The United Nations information facilities were very extensive and full use should be made of them.

51. The vital importance of involving youth and youth organizations in the preparation and in the work of the Conference was stressed by some delegations, as well as the need to provide information for that section of the community in all countries. It was also necessary to bear in mind the educational needs.

52. A suggestion was made that the possibility of a direct world telecast of part of the Conference itself should be examined.

Organization of the secretariat and consultations with United Nations agencies and other organizations

53. The Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs announced the appointment of Mr. Jean A. Mussard as Director of the Conference secretariat.

54. The Director for the Office of Science and Technology outlined briefly to the Committee the arrangements proposed for the Conference secretariat. It was to be associated with the Office for Science and Technology and would work in the closest association with the specialized agencies, with other units of the United Nations, and with the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination (ACC) Sub-Committee on Science and Technology. The principal work of the Conference secretariat would be substantive preparation for the Conference and it was intended to appoint an officer to lead the work. Several specialized agenceis had undertaken to second professional staff to this unit of the secretariat and, in addition, the fullest use would be made of consultants and experts. An officer would be seconded from the Centre for Economic and Social Information to undertake information activities (see A/CONF.48/PC/5, paragraph 6). As far as the actual organizational arrangements in Stockholm were concerned, the Conference Services of the United Nations Office in Geneva would carry the major responsibility. The Conference secretariat would be located at United Nations Headquarters in New York, though it might be desirable to have a small liaison group of the substantive preparations unit in Geneva to facilitate co-operation with the specialized agencies.

55. Most delegations who spoke on that point expressed their satisfaction with the proposals and considered furthermore that the arrangements were the responsibility of the Secretary-General, who had been entrusted with the organization of the Conference. But several delegations considered that it would be preferable to concentrate the essential part of the Conference secretariat in Geneva, taking into account the necessity for the secretariat to work in close liaison with the specialized agencies. The importance of proceeding with the substantive preparations immediately was emphasized.

III. OTHER BUSINESS

Second session of the Preparatory Committee

56. The Preparatory Committee discussed the question of the time and place for its second session. It was agreed that final decisions on these matters should be left to the Secretary-General in the light of the progress made by the Secretariat in following up the recommendations of the current session. If the Secretary-General felt it was desirable, the Committee would be prepared to meet in September 1970; otherwise it was proposed that its next session should be in January 1971. Several delegations suggested that if the latter course were to be followed, consideration should be given to holding the session in Geneva if this did not involve significant financial implications compared with meeting in New York. In connection with the selection of the time of meeting, it was pointed out that the Secretary-General, in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 2581 (XXIV), would be making a report to the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly on the progress being made in preparation for the Conference. In any event, the Secretary-General would keep in touch with the permanent missions of the members of the Preparatory Committee regarding the progress being made in the preparatory work.

57. The possibility of establishing contacts between the Preparatory Committee and the regions was discussed and several suggestions mentioned. One possibility would be for the Committee itself to hold meetings at the headquarters of the regional commissions. An alternative would be for the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee and members of the Committee to visit the regions concerned. The Secretariat was requested to examine the financial implications of such proposals.

ANNEX I—AGENDA

1. Opening of the session and election of Chairman.
2. Adoption of rules of procedure.
3. Election of officers.
4. Adoption of the agenda.
5. Report of the Secretary-General on preparatory work required for the Conference.
6. Further definition of the programme content and selection of topics for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.
7. Consideration of the organizational structure for the Conference.
8. Preparation of documentation for the Conference.
9. Measures for encouraging national participation in the Conference.
10. Arrangements regarding public information in relation to preparations for the Conference.
11. Organization of the secretariat of the Conference and consultations with United Nations bodies and other appropriate organizations.
12. Arrangements for the next meeting of the Preparatory Committee.
13. Other business.
14. Adoption of the report of the Preparatory Committee on its first session.

ANNEX II—LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

A. Members of the preparatory committee

Argentina

Representative.—José María Ruda, Ambassador.

Alternate.—Eduardo Bradley, Minister.

Adviser.—Carlos H. Bunge, Secretary.

Brazil

Representative.—J. A. de Araujo Castro, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission.

Alternates: Celso Antonio de Souza e Silva, Deputy Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission;

Hilgard O'Reilly Sternberg; and

Bernardo de Azevado Brito, First Secretary of Embassy, Permanent Mission.

Advisers: José Jeronimo Moscardo de Souza, Second Secretary of Embassy, Permanent Mission, and

Claudio Cesar de Avellar, Second Secretary of Embassy, Permanent Mission.

Canada

Representative.—D.C. Reece, Minister, Deputy Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission.

Alternate.—K. Wardroper, Head, Scientific Relations and Environmental Problems Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa.

Advisers: L. Burgess, Resources Research Officer, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Ottawa;

G. C. Butler, Director, Division of Biology, National Research Council, Ottawa;

I. Jackson, Head, Economic Geography Section, Resources Research Centre, Department of Energy, Mines and Resources, Ottawa;

D. Low, Scientific Relations and Environmental Problems Division, Department of External Affairs, Ottawa;

B. B. Migicovsky, Director-General, Research Branch, Department of Agriculture, Ottawa;

E. J. LeRoux, Director général adjoint (Instituts), Direction de la Recherche, Ministère de l'Agriculture, Ottawa;

J. Naismith, Chief, Land, Water and Forest Division, Northern Economic Development Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa; and

C. O. Spencer, First Secretary, Permanent Mission.

Costa Rica

Representative.—Luis Dobles, Ambassador, Permanent Mission.

Alternates: Alvarado Cordero; Luis Vives; and Emilia C. de Barish, Minister Counsellor, Permanent Mission.

Cyprus

Representative.—Zenon Rossides, Ambassador, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission.

Alternates: A. J. Jacovides, Minister Plenipotentiary, Deputy Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission, and Costas Papademas, Counsellor, Permanent Mission.

Czechoslovakia

Representatives: Rastislav Lacko, Deputy Permanent Representative;

Václav Kasalicky, C.Sc., Scientific Worker, Research Institute for Building and Architecture, Prague; and

Jan Pechácek, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, Expert.

France

Representative.—Pierre Auger.

Alternate.—André Marelle, Ingénieur général des mines, Ministère du développement industriel et scientifique.

Advisers: Ivan Martin-Witkowski, Attaché financier, Permanent Mission;

Bernard Prague, Attaché commercial, Permanent Mission; and

Hubert Joly, Secrétaire des affaires étrangères, Délégation générale à la recherche scientifique et technique.

Ghana

Representative.—Emmanuel Sam, First Official Secretary, Permanent Mission.

Alternates: B. Godwyll, First Secretary, Permanent Mission.

Michael C. Hamenoo, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission.

Guinea

Representative.—Boubacar Diabate, First Secretary, Permanent Mission.

India

Representative.—S. Sen, Permanent Representative.

Alternates: N. N. Jha, First Secretary, and A. H. Mani, First Secretary.

Advisers: B. Swaraj, Permanent Mission, and Krishnan P. Saksena, Permanent Mission.

Iran

Representative.—Fereydoun Hoveyda, Deputy Foreign Minister for International Organizations Affairs.

Italy

Representative.—M. Piero Vinci, Ambassador, Permanent Mission.

Alternate: Giovani Migliuolo, Minister Counsellor, Permanent Mission.

Advisers: Mario Vittorio Zamboni, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission, and Fabrizio Behmann.

Jamaica

Representative.—Keith Johnson, Ambassador, Permanent Mission.

Alternate.—P. V. Marsh, Counsellor, Permanent Mission.

Japan

Representative.—Senjin Tsuruoka, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission.

Alternates: Takeo Suzuki, Director, Department of Community Environmental Sciences, Institute of Public Health, Ministry of Health and Welfare and Takeshi Naito, Counsellor, Permanent Mission.

Advisers: Sumito Nakagawa, Deputy Head, Document Division, Minister's secretariat, Ministry of construction;

Masumi Oike, Assistant Chief, General Affairs Section, Environmental Sanitation Bureau, Ministry of Health and Welfare;

Sho Watanable, First Secretary, Embassy of Japan, Washington, D.C.;

Takanori Kazuhara, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission;

Taira Sunami, Assistant Chief, Second Public Nuisance Section, Enterprise Bureau, Ministry of International Trade and Industry, and

Kumao Kaneko, Secretary, Scientific Affairs Division, United Nations Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mauritius

Representative.—Radha Krishna Ramphul, Ambassador, Permanent Mission.

Mexico

Representative.—Neoma de Castañeda.

Netherlands

Representative.—L. J. Mostertman, Professor of Hydraulics, Director of the International Courses in Hydraulic and Sanitary Engineering.

Advisers: J. W. Tesch, President of the Organization for Health Research, TNO;

J. W. F. la Rivière, Professor of Environmental Chemistry and Biology;

K. C. Zijlstra, Director of the National Institute for Purification of Waste Water; and

H. V. M. van Gils, Senior Adviser on Environmental Conservation (SHELL).

Nigeria

Representative.—E. O. Ogbu, Ambassador, Permanent Mission.

Alternates: J. O. Edremoba, Counsellor, Permanent Mission;

O. A. O. Oshodi, First Secretary, Permanent Mission; and

Olajide Alo, Counsellor, Permanent Mission.

Adviser.—Kamiru Ahmed, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission.

Singapore

Representative: Alan F. C. Choe, Head of the Urban Renewal Department of the Singapore Housing and Development Board;

C. R. Ananthan, Public Health Engineer; and

T. T. B. Koh, Ambassador, Permanent Mission.

Sweden

Representative.—Sverker Aström, Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission.

Alternate.—Carl Swartz, Ambassador, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Stockholm.

Advisers: Arne Engstrom, Professor, Secretary of the Scientific Advisory Council of the Swedish Government, Stockholm.

Börje Billner, Deputy Permanent Representative;

Hans Palmstierna, Secretary of the National Environmental Advisory Committee, Stockholm;

Jan Mårtenson, Secretary-General of the Swedish National Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, Stockholm; and

Lars-Göran Engfeldt, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission.

Special advisers: Gert Overvad, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of Denmark;

Kauko Sipponen, Under-Secretary for Inter-Departmental Affairs, Helsinki;

Arto Tanner, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission of Finland;

Aimo Haapanen, Deputy Director of the Office for the Protection of Nature, Helsinki;

Hannes Jónsson, Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Iceland; and

Jan Arvesen, First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Norway.

Togo

Representative.—Alexander J. Ohin, Ambassador, Permanent Mission.

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Representatives: Victor A. Kovda, Corresponding Member, Academy of Sciences of the USSR;

G. P. Lissov, Counsellor, Permanent Mission;

N. S. Novikov, Counsellor, Adviser, Economic Affairs, Permanent Mission;

V. A. Anissimov, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission;

M. A. Fomitchev, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission; and

O. N. Briouchkov, Attaché, Permanent Mission.

United Arab Republic

Representatives.—M. M. Gobba, Counsellor, Permanent Mission.

Alternate.—M. M. El Baradei, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission.

United Kingdom

Representative.—Lord Caradon, G.C.M.G., C.V.O., Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Ambassador, Permanent Mission.

Deputy representative.—M. E. Allen, C.M.G., C.V.O., Minister, Economic and Social Affairs, Permanent Mission.

Alternate.—W. R. Cox, Office of the Secretary of State for Local Government and Regional Planning, London.

Adviser.—Susan Darling, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission.

United States

Representative.—Christian Herter, Jr., Special Assistant to the Secretary for Environmental Affairs and Director of the Office of Environmental Affairs.

Alternate representative.—Shirley Temple Black, Woodside, California.

Congressional advisers: George P. Miller, United States House of Representatives and Hamilton Fish, Jr., United States House of Representatives.

Advisers: Paxton T. Dunn, Adviser, Economic and Social Affairs, United States Mission to the United Nations;

Guy Ferri, Office of Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State;

Thomas F. Malone, Hartford, Connecticut; and

Peter S. Thacer, Counsellor for Disarmament and Outer Space Affairs, United States Mission to the United Nations.

Yugoslavia

Representative.—Lazar Mojsov, Ambassador, Permanent Representative.

Alternate.—Ante Skataretiko, Counsellor, Permanent Mission.

Adviser.—Stipan Orcic, Attaché, Permanent Mission.

Zambia

Representative.—Vernon Johnson Mwaanga, Ambassador, Permanent Mission.

Deputy representative.—Arnold Kenneth Simuchimba, Counsellor, Permanent Mission.

B. States members of the United Nations represented by observers

Australia: P. Shaw, C.B.E., Ambassador, Permanent Mission (leader);

C. Garrow, Scientific Attache, Australian Embassy, Washington, D.C. (alternate); and

R. S. Merrillees, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission (adviser).

Austria.—Wolfgang Wolte, Counsellor, Permanent Mission.

Belgium.—Edouard Decastiaux, Minister Plenipotentiary (Economic and Social Affairs), Permanent Mission.

Bulgaria.—Stefan Todorov, First Secretary, Permanent Mission.

Cameroon.—Michel Njine, Ambassador, Permanent Mission.

China.—Daniel Yu-tang Lew, Adviser, Permanent Mission.

Denmark.—Gert Overvad, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission.

Ecuador.—Leopoldo Benites, Ambassador, Permanent Mission.

Finland: Kauko Sipponen, Under-Secretary for Interdepartmental Affairs, Helsinki;

Arto Tanner, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission;

Aimo Haapanen, Deputy Director of the Office for the Protection of Nature, Helsinki.

Guatemala.—Antonio Aris de Castilla, Counsellor, Permanent Mission.

Israel.—Reuven Hillel, Counsellor, Permanent Mission.

Kuwait.—Khaled Al-Babtin, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission and Mubarak Al-Sabah, Attaché, Permanent Mission.

Liberia.—David W. Wilson, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission.

Libya.—Mohamed M. El-Bahi, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission.

New Zealand.—Priscilla J. Williams, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission.

Pakistan.—M. Farooq, Third Secretary, Permanent Mission.

Philippines.—Ernestina E. Kodikara, Attaché, Permanent Mission.

Spain.—Amador Martinez Morcillo, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission.

Ukrainian SSR: Mikhail Z. Getmanets Deputy Permanent Representative, Permanent Mission and Aleksei K. Yeremenko, First Secretary, Permanent Mission.

Venezuela: Jesus Alberto Fernández, Counsellor, Permanent Mission and Freddy Christians, Second Secretary, Permanent Mission.

C. United Nations Secretariat

Secretary-General.—U Thant.

Representatives of the Secretary-General: Philippe de Seynes, Under-Secretary-General for Economic and Social Affairs;

Jean A. Mussard, Director of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment secretariat; and

Guy B. Gresford, Director of the Office for Science and Technology.

Special consultant.—Michel Batisse.

Secretary, Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment.—Adolfo Korn.

Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).—Gerard Dekker, ECA, Addis Ababa.

Economic Commission for Europe (ECE): Amasa S. Bishop, Director-Designate, Division of Environment and Housing, and B. F. Reiner, Officer-in-Charge, Division of Environment and Housing.

D. United Nations bodies

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).—George R. Francis, Evaluation Officer, New York.

E. Specialized agencies, IAEA

International Labour Organisation (ILO).—Aamir Ali, Chief, Relations Conference Department.

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO): Donald W. Woodward, Director, FAO Liaison Office, New York, and L. D. Swindale, Chief, Soil Resources Development, and Conservation Service.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO): Alfonso de Silva, Director, UNESCO Liaison Office, New York and A. Varchaver, Acting Director, UNESCO Bureau of Relations with the United Nations in New York.

World Health Organization (WHO): R. L. Coigney, Director, WHO Liaison Office, New York and M. M. Kaplan, Special Assistant for Science to the Director-General.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD).—Ernesto Franco-Holguin, Deputy Special Representative for United Nations Organizations.

World Meteorological Organization (WMO).—Carl Christian Wallen, WMO, Geneva.

Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO).—Y. Sasamura, Head of Marine Science and Technical Division.

* * * * *

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).—L. L. Issaev, Representative of the Director-General to the United Nations.

F. Other intergovernmental organizations

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.—Fred Hubbard.

Organization of America States: Jesse D. Perkinson, Director of the Department of Scientific Affairs of the General Secretariat and José F. Sáiz, Department of Scientific Affairs of the General Secretariat (alternate).

G. *Non-governmental organizations—Category II*

Commission of the Churches on International Affairs.—Richard M. Fagley.

Friends World Committee for Consultation.—Barrett Hollister, representative at the United Nations.

International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources: Harold J. Coolidge, President and Helen Carlson, New York representative.

ANNEX III—LIST OF DOCUMENTS SUBMITTED TO THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE AT ITS FIRST SESSION

Agenda item and description of document and symbol

Provisional agenda (item 4), A/CONF. 48/PC/1.

Further definition of the programme content and selection of topics for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (item 6), A/CONF. 48/PC/2.

Consideration of the organizational structure of the Conference (item 7), A/CONF. 48/PC/3.

Preparation of documentation for the Conference (item 8), A/CONF. 48/PC/4.

Arrangements regarding public information in relation to the preparations for the Conference (item 10), A/CONF. 48/PC/5.

Adoption of rules of procedure (item 2), A/CONF. 48/PC/L. 1.

ANNEX IV—STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OPENING THE FIRST SESSION OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT

1. I wish to welcome you to this first session of the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment. Never in the twenty-five-year history of the United Nations has there been a problem of more relevance to all nations than the present environmental crisis. The time has come for the United Nations, in the spirit and the letter of the Charter, to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in solving the problems of the human environment.

2. The work which you are about to undertake is symptomatic of the new trends which are emerging in contemporary events and which seem to me to mark the beginning of a new era in human history. The mastering of energy and the transformation of natural resources into innumerable instruments and goods at the service of man, brought about by the industrial revolution, have provided one of the most astounding pages of human history. It would seem, however, that the aims and methods of the industrial revolution, which has brought such immense prosperity to some areas of the earth, must come under review before it has even reached the entirety of the globe. A new civilization characterized by more human beings, with longer lives and a better quality of life has flowered in the last two centuries, and is spreading slowly over the entire world. Justice in the world-wide distribution of these benefits so far has not been ensured. Indeed, it has been one of the major preoccupations of the world community during the last twenty-five years to enhance the share of the poorer countries in these benefits and to help in their development.

3. The realization of a new and very disturbing aspect of the spreading and growing industrial civilization has now arisen: man has suddenly awakened to the dimensions, to the rapidity and to the mass effects of productive processes on the physical endowment and configuration of this planet and on its basic biological balances. To produce at any cost, without due consideration to effects on the environment, can no longer be the central preoccupation of man. Control of the effects of productive processes will require new economic thinking, new legal instruments, new administrative measures and new governmental priorities. I am convinced that men and institutions will be able to solve this problem in time, for under the pressure of necessity, man is quite capable of adapting to new conditions. The new challenge posed to industry can be solved by industry itself, once the minds of our best scientists and engineers are bent on devising clean processes of production and proper means of waste disposal.

4. Mankind is also coming to the realization that a new dimension of time, reaching substantially into the future, must be added to its thinking, planning and endeavours. For never before has the future been so decisively engendered and moulded by present-day decisions. Historically, man has been preoccupied with a time range of scarcely a few years ahead. Life spans were short. The rate of change was slow. Anyone who dealt with forecasts was labelled a utopian, a visionary or a dreamer. In our time it is the utopians who have become realists, and even their forecasts often fall short of reality. The seeds of future benefits and levels of life on our planet are being planted now and are already beginning to germinate. We must carefully weigh the effects of present behaviour on the future if we do not wish to be considered by later generations as having failed in our foresight. It is consequently of paramount importance that the youth of the world be fully involved in our planning. I think that their current unrest and revolt against many of the values of the past arise in part from their uneasiness with the deterioration of the human environment and human situation. Seldom has any century or any generation been faced with such serious responsibilities.

5. The United Nations and its specialized agencies pioneered in dealing with prospective problems. We possess today sound long-term projections for a great variety of economic and social phenomena such as population, urbanization, education, food requirements, international trade, rates of growth in national income, and so forth. But much remains to be done: we need similar long-term forecasts for the consumption of our natural resources such as water, minerals and energy which will increase prodigiously in the decades ahead. We will need statistics and projections on the total effects of consumption, production and transportation processes on the human environment.

6. We are thus necessarily on the threshold of a new era of international co-operation. Whatever the political stalemates may be and however long they may last, it seems clear that most economic, social and physical world indicators will change by at least 100 per cent every twenty-five years: world population will double and so will world consumption of water, of energy, of minerals, of transportation, and so forth. Under the impact of rapid scientific and technological changes, nations are being brought closer together and problems are progressively becoming the same in all countries. The total effects of changes within all countries, added together, will require joint international surveillance, consultations and actions if human life on this planet is to be preserved and enriched.

7. It is urgent that we rapidly fill the gaps in our knowledge. While immense resources are being devoted by many towns, States and national Governments in order to obtain better knowledge of their territorial areas, not enough is being done to improve our collective knowledge and to monitor what is happening to our atmosphere and our oceans. Little is being done, for example, to calculate the totality of wastes and deleterious materials which are being introduced by nations and by international transports into our common resources through rivers and oceans, combustion and radiation. As noted in my report [1] on the problems of the human environment issued in May 1969, only a few regional efforts had been made toward the development of systematic air-pollution sample networks.

[1] Document E/4667.

8. I sincerely hope that the international community will decide to make the necessary arrangements so that all nations will be informed year by year of the changes occurring in vital elements of the human environment. The time has come when we must establish an appropriate world-wide network of environmental statistics and forecasts as we have done in other major economic and social areas of collective concern. The time has come when nations must realize that each of them has responsibilities towards the state of the natural endowment of the earth as a whole and that its individual actions added to individual actions of other nations may have collective deleterious effects. Concerted preventive action now is far less costly than to repair the damage after it has occurred.

9. At this first session of your Preparatory Committee, I would like to make one remark on the orientation of your work. When the Conference was proposed by the Government of Sweden [2]—to which we must be so grateful—one of the major preoccupations was to arouse world-wide attention to human environment problems. We are living in a world of extremely rapid communications and of great sensitivity to new emerging problems, and it would seem that this original objective of the Conference has already been largely achieved. The human environment is now a matter for almost daily discussion in Governments, in the Press, in non-governmental organizations, in the schools and in the municipalities of industrialized societies. Two years will pass before the Conference takes place. You must be alert to the rapid changes which are likely to take place during this period. The Conference must be in step with whatever developments may occur during this interval. It must live up to the expectations which will prevail two years hence. Knowledge about the human environment is likely to improve considerably in that time as well as public awareness of the problem. It would seem to me, therefore, that the Conference should be planned in a predominantly action-oriented manner.

10. The 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment can provide a unique opportunity for the United Nations family to provide leadership in dealing with a complex of problems which endanger the most fundamental well-being of mankind. I would like to make a passing reference to the considerable efforts already made by the United Nations institutional system in the environmental field as well as to the first international agreements concluded by major Governments. Let me remind you that the universality of the concern with human environment was dramatically recognized in 1963 with the entry into force of the tripartite treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.[3] This was one of the most enlightened acts of statesmanship witnessed in recent years. May I express the hope that the wisdom of nations inspired by the vision of a world united around the human objectives of peace, justice and prosperity will soon enrich human life with a renewed respect for the earth's resources, and reward us with a hostility-free and weapon-free human environment. Perhaps it is the collective menaces, arising from the world's scientific and technological strides and from their mass consequences, which will bind together nations, enhance peaceful co-operation and surmount, in the face of physical danger, the political obstacles to mankind's unity.

11. May I add that while the Conference is still more than two years away, the work to be done is considerable and it is important that no time be wasted. On my part, I hope to be able to announce to you in the very near future the appointment of a full Director in charge of the secretariat assigned to the preparation of the Conference.

12. I wish you every success in your important deliberations.

[2] *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Forty-fifth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 12, document E/4466/Add.1.

[3] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480 (1963), No. 6964, p. 43.

THE SYSTEMS APPROACH

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday, I included in my remarks a portion of a report of an unofficial pilot study of the possible application of a systems approach to appropriations evaluation undertaken by a seminar team under the direction of Dr. George K. Chacko, professorial lecturer at American University, Washington, D.C.

At this time, I should like to offer for the information of the House an additional increment of the report, outlining the methodology, as follows:

ORDERING OF STUDY ELEMENTS FOR ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES

Given the appropriations point of view of the accomplishment of the overall objective by allocating resources to the five study elements, the first question that is to be resolved: Is one element more important than another? For example, is forest protection more important than acquisition of land? Again, is acquisition of land more important than National Park Service? Is outdoor recreation more important than forest protection? Etc.

TWO-BY-TWO COMPARISONS WILL NOT DO

These questions cannot be answered pairwise.

Instead, they each have to be related to the same overall objective.

IDENTIFY NEXT HIGHER LEVEL OF OBJECTIVES

To determine whether forest protection is more important than acquisition of land, it is necessary to identify the next higher level of objectives. One may say that the next higher level of objective for forest protection is: Averting ecological disaster. Similarly, one may say that the next higher level of objective to the acquisition of land is: Improving the environment.

Both the acquisition of land and forest protection are desirable objectives. As a matter of fact, for the purposes of this study, the overall objective combines both of them with part of the same, viz., averting ecological disaster by improving the environment.

How can this be done?

It is crucial to identify some criterion which will permit establishing the choice of one over the other. For instance, one could think of a measure for the improvement of the environment. The question then is: What constitutes improvement of the environment—more grass; more plants; more trees; less industry?

How can this be determined—by counting the additional growth of grass; the additional number of trees; the additional number of plants; a reduction in the number of industrial plants?

While the index of an improvement in the environment is desirable, it easily becomes intractable. On the other hand, a *negative* approach, if employed, could more clearly identify the averting of clear disasters, e.g., acres of forest burned up by fire. One could compare the number of acres being ravaged by fire one year with that in the subsequent years; and relate the improvement of the environment to the *fewer* number of acres of forest that were burned.

Turning to the overall objective itself, the avoidance of disaster is easier to identify. Three years ago, on Thanksgiving Day, New York City experienced an atmospheric inversion, to which was attributed a significant increase in the number of deaths. The avoidance of an episode such as that can be recognized in successive years, much more readily than the decrease, say, in the SO_2 content of the atmosphere. The stark predictions of impending ecological doom lend readier identification to the measures of averting ecological disaster. Thus, though less palatable, averting ecological disaster can be compared with improving the environment to the advantage of the former. The key question is *not* how desirable improving the environment is, but rather how bad is the *nonfulfillment* of averting ecological disaster.

The choice has to be made between the two higher level objectives; further, one has to decide how much worse is nonfulfillment of the given objectives. Is the nonfulfillment of averting ecological disaster, say 100; is improving the environment, say 80?

THREE LEVELS OF OBJECTIVES

The highest level of objectives identified for the segments of the Department of the Interior Budget under study was the unit comprising man and the environment in the U.S.

ORGANISMIC OBJECTIVES

It should be emphasized that there are several characteristics associated with this highest level objective. They are:

1. The objectives relate to people.
2. Systems involving people can foul up neat solutions.
3. The people are animate.
4. The people interact.
5. The interaction generates a whole larger than the sum of parts or a whole smaller than the sum of parts.

To emphasize the fact that the decision-affecting and the decision-affected entities are both unamenable to any neat theoretical solutions, the word organism is used in the present discussion. As stated elsewhere:

The decision-affecting and decision-affected entities are organisms. The term "organism" denotes the fact that the constituents are animate, that they interact, that their dynamic interrelationships tend to generate intangibles which can sometimes make the whole considerably larger or considerably smaller than the sum of its parts. Thus, a well-motivated team of workers produces much more than the arithmetic sum of their individual capabilities, measured in common units like salaries, years of training and experience, etc., whereas a poorly motivated team produces much less than their individual capabilities.

Organismic viewpoint underlies operations research. It is the art of applying the scientific method to executive type decision problems. It is also the practice of translating progressively what-can-be into what-is in industrial, commercial, military and/or institutional environments. Thus operations research is indispensable to identify the potentials of alternate solutions to meet the challenges of the environment as well as to implement them.[1]

STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

Just as the score of 100 was assigned to the organismic objective of averting ecological disaster and 80 to the organismic objective of improving the environment, a consistent set of scores need to be assigned to the second highest level of objectives: Strategic objectives.[2] The term "strategic" connotes a sequence of actions as opposed to a single specific action. Thus, forest protection and utilization is a strategic objective because the activity envisioned by the element calls for a

[1] George K. Chacko, *Today's Information for Tomorrow's Products—an operations research approach*, Thompson Book Company, Washington, D.C., 1966, pp. 5–6.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 32–42, 55, 208.

large number of coordinated activities directed toward the achievement of the goal. Similarly, acquisition of land for forests is also a strategic objective, which can be accomplished by means of a number of activities directed toward the same goal.

Distinguishing the two organismic objectives of averting ecological disaster and improving the environment, the five strategic objectives may be illustratively listed as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2.—ORDERING OF ORGANISMIC—STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES

	Averting ecological disaster	Improving the environment
	Score 100	Score 80
Element 1: Forest Protection and Utilization		
Element 2: Acquisition of Land		
Element 3: National Park Service		
Element 4: Bureau of Land Management		
Element 5: Bureau of Outdoor Recreation		

TACTICAL OBJECTIVES

The organismic objectives are pursued through strategic objectives, each of which are sequences of actions. To implement the strategic objectives, each sequence of actions must have logical components which are the action items. These are called tactical objectives.[3]

The tactical objectives pinpoint the specific actions that must be taken, such as improving fire prevention/fighting techniques; improving the access to national park sites.

SUCCESSIVE ROUNDS TO RELATE HIERARCHIES OF OBJECTIVES

Which is more important: Fire prevention/fighting techniques or access to national park sites?

It is necessary to compare alternative means of accomplishing each strategic objective with each other and with the overall objective.

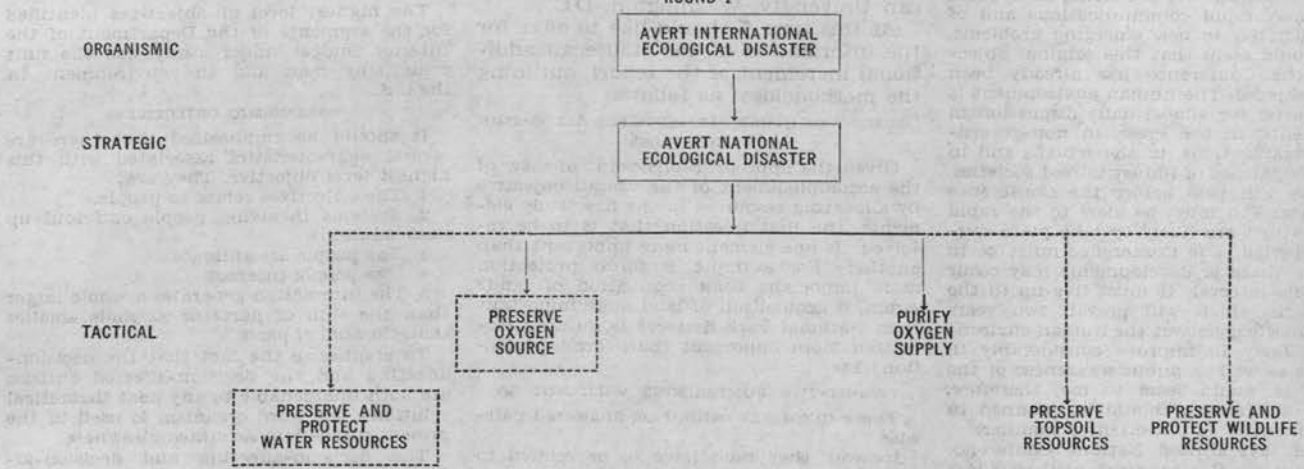
ROUND 1

Consider Element No. 1: Forest Protection and Utilization. How is this element related to averting ecological disaster?

One could start at the international level of ecological disaster and work one's way down to averting national ecological disaster. In this case averting international ecological disaster is the organismic objective, and averting national ecological disaster is the strategic objective.

National ecological disaster may be averted by preserving our oxygen source or purifying our oxygen supply. Just as oxygen is critical for averting national ecological disaster; so is water; so is land. Therefore, corresponding to the strategic objective of averting national ecological disaster, one could go to the tactical objective geared to preserving oxygen and water. Both the alternatives are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3.—ELEMENT 1. FOREST PROTECTION AND UTILIZATION
ROUND 1



ROUND 2

The tactical objectives of Round 1 become the organismic objectives of Round 2. Thus, the organismic objectives in Round 2 are: Preserve oxygen source; preserve and protect water resources.

Corresponding to the objective of preserving oxygen sources there are identified three strategic objectives in Table 4. They are:

1. Prevent further loss of trees.
2. Increase existing stands of trees.
3. Build oxygen generators.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 34–42, 55, 207, 208.

Similarly, one could identify three strategic objectives corresponding to the organismic objective: Preserve and protect water resources. They are:

1. Prevent lowering the water table.
2. Improve watershed holding capacity.
3. Prevent natural man-made pollution of water resources.

At the tactical level there are five choices to accomplish the objective of preventing further loss of trees. They are

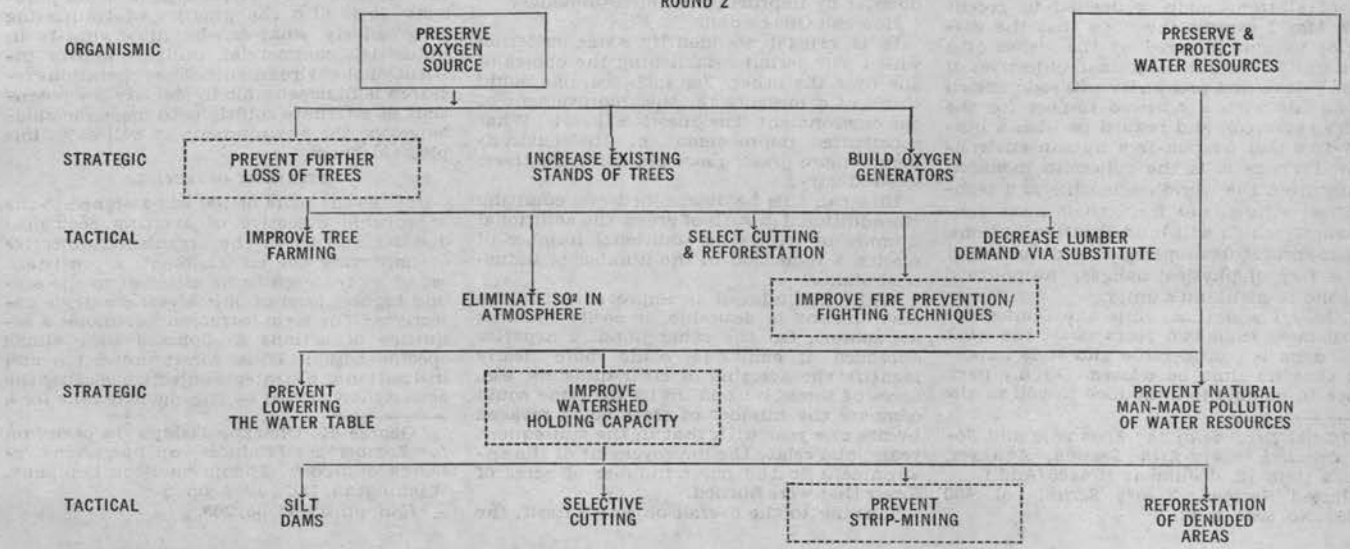
1. Improved tree farming.
2. Eliminate SO_2 in atmosphere.
3. Selective cutting and reforestation.
4. Improved fire prevention/fighting techniques.
5. Decrease lumber demand via substitute.

Similarly, one could identify four tactical objectives corresponding to the strategic objective of improving watershed holding capacity. They are:

1. Silt dams.
2. Selective cutting.
3. Prevent strip mining
4. Reforest denuded areas.

The process may be repeated in further rounds until the action item levels and/or budget line items are reached.

TABLE 4.—ELEMENT 1. FOREST PROTECTION AND UTILIZATION
ROUND 2



STRICT CONSTRUCTIONISM AND THE WAR

HON. ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 20, 1970

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the administration's decision to intervene in Cambodia is reviving interest in the meaning of the term "strict constructionist," which in recent discussions of the Supreme Court has been used with something less than semantical rigor. In recent weeks it became a full-throated battle cry in the administration's attempt to convert the Supreme Court into a major battleground of its "southern strategy," and we all know what happens to subtle distinctions when words are used in such stirring fashion.

Strict constructionist, as loosely construed by the administration and its congressional supporters, seemed to mean someone who had doubts about racial equality and thought the way to restore law and order was to give the Bill of Rights, regarded as an unfortunate appendage to the Constitution, the loosest possible construction or maybe simply to replace it with a kind of local law of the jungle.

One only had to recall that the term went back to Jefferson, who was on record in favor of the proposition that all men are created equal and certainly regarded the Bill of Rights as sacrosanct, to realize that the administration was assuming Humpty Dumpty's linguistic prerogative:

> When I use a word, it means exactly what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less.

An administration touting the virtues of strict constructionism, no matter how lax the definition, should expect to be reminded of it when it commits an act that would outrage the scruples of the loosest of constructionists. The decision to invade Cambodia was based on such a flexible interpretation of the Constitution that the President now faces a possible constitutional crisis.

Mr. Nixon did not even bother to offer a loose construction of international law, doubtless because the invasion so flagrantly violated it that even on Humpty Dumpty's principle it could not be read to support his action.

Article II of the U.N. Charter commits the members to "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." Our unilateral intervention across the borders of neutral Cambodia, without consulting the Cambodian Government or the U.N. Security Council, is a grave violation of international law. Because it was ratified as a treaty the U.N. Charter was incorporated into the "supreme law of the land," and thus our own domestic law was violated as well.

Just as international law could not be construed, even loosely, to excuse the administration's action, neither could two documents that have been used to justify our intervention in Vietnam. The Gulf of Tonkin resolution and the SEATO Treaty both specify as a minimum condition that U.S. military assistance can be rendered to a SEATO member or protocol state only if requested. Cambodia is neither a SEATO signatory nor a protocol state, nor did it request the armed intervention of the United States.

These may seem the pedantic quibbles of an unreconstructed strict constructionist, especially as concerns the administration's failure even to attempt to square its actions with international law. Given the absence of effective sanctions against violators of international law, it may have seemed almost refreshing in a way to be spared the strenuous scholastic exercises that the State Department's Legal Office used to go through under Mr. Rusk to show that Presidential activities in Vietnam were justified in international law.

But there are sanctions available when the President flouts the U.S. Constitution. The most direct and responsible of these involves the use of Congress' power over the national purse, the traditional parliamentary remedy for Executive excesses.

Recall what Mr. Nixon said at his press conference explaining his decision to send our troops into Cambodia:

> Decisions, of course, are not made by vote in the National Security Council or in the Cabinet. They are made by the President with the advice of those, and I made this decision.

What was intended to sound like a commendable fulfilling of responsibility was actually a presumptuous assertion of authority that properly must be shared with another branch of the Government. Mr. Nixon's words sounded like those of an absolute monarch and called to mind the historical experience that led the Founding Fathers to limit Executive power to make war, experience summed up by Abraham Lincoln when he was a Member of Congress:

> The provision of the Constitution giving the war-making power to Congress was dictated, as I understand it, by the following reasons: Kings had always been involving and impoverishing their people in wars, pretending generally, if not always, that the good of the people was the object. This our Convention understood to be the most oppressive of all Kingly oppressions; and they resolved to so frame the Constitution that no one man should hold the power of bringing oppression upon us.

Although the fathers conferred broad powers in foreign affairs on both the Executive and the Legislature, in keeping with the doctrine of checks and balances, there is no doubt that they intended Congress to be the final arbiter in questions of war and peace. The power to declare war and to raise and support armies is explicitly granted to Congress under article I, section 8.

This legislative preeminence was inspired by a proper Republican suspicion of concentrated power, especially where the question of committing the blood and treasure of the Nation was concerned. Thomas Jefferson expressed it this way in a letter to James Madison in 1789:

> We have already given one effectual check to the dog of war by transferring the power of letting him loose from the Executive to the Legislative body, from those who are to spend to those who are to pay.

The legislative leash on Jefferson's "dog of war" was firmly held throughout the 19th century, but during this century Congress has acquiesced in a steady accretion of the Executive's power to commit us to wars and foreign adventures, power that has been loosely construed to inhere in the Presidency by virtue of the role assigned its occupant by article II, section 2 as "Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy."

The anxieties and fears of the cold war, the intimidating influence of a huge and presumably knowledgeable national-security bureaucracy, and the theory, badly in need of qualification, that modern warfare requires decisive action by an unfettered decisionmaker have conspired to lull us into subservience in an area where we were intended to be at the very least partners.

So now at last with House Resolution 1000 and the parallel measures in the Senate we have before us the substantive question of the war as well as the constitutional question of how we get into a war and how we get out once in. These questions are especially urgent now because the war is at a critical turn and how we decide what turn to take has been severely shaken by the events of recent days.

We have the authority to decide if this war should end and the duty to decide that it will. The same Constitution that accords the President the right to command and deploy American troops assigns to Congress the authority to decide when, where, and for how long we will commit those troops and the resources necessary to maintain them.

We have abdicated that authority and responsibility for too long with tragic results. We must now act so at the very least the American people will have by November 5 a clear record of which of their elected representatives are willing to act to end the war.

Merlo J. Pusey of the Washington Post, an authority on this constitutional question, has posed the issue before us:

> Somehow the country must get back to the principle that its young men will not be drafted and sent into foreign military ventures without specific authority voted by Congress.

Those who regard themselves as strict constructionists should find nothing wrong with that.

SOCIAL SECURITY ESTABLISHMENT—ALL POWERFUL

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday this body set the stage for the complete nationalization of all economic se-

curity for the American people. Thus, a bill which started out as a social security reform, H.R. 17550, has now ended up turning the full and complete control of the program over to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The HEW bureaucrats have now been delegated not only the power to adjust the benefits but also to regulate the contribution tax from the workers.

Today, we learn that the Chief Actuary of the Social Security Administration has resigned because the top social security policymakers are dedicated to elimination of all private efforts in economic security; that is, insurance. It would thus appear that Congress has again surrendered its responsibility to another monopolistic bureaucracy.

I include a pertinent newsclipping, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, May 27, 1970]

TOP AIDE ON PENSIONS QUITS JOB

The chief actuary of the Social Security administration has resigned after charging that Democrats in the agency have attempted to undermine the Nixon administration.

The actuary, Robert J. Myers, left the government after 35 years because he said administration officials refused to heed his charges about political sabotage by Social Security officials.

"Certain of the top policymaking officials of the Social Security administration (who are holdovers from the Johnson administration) have strong beliefs in the desirability—even the necessity—of the public sector taking over virtually all economic security provisions for the entire population and thus eliminating private efforts in this area," Myers said in his letter of resignation.

"It is my deeply held conviction . . . that these officials of the Social Security administration have not and will not faithfully serve the Nixon administration," he said. "Rather, they will exert their efforts to expand the Social Security program as much as possible by aiding and supporting any individual or organizations that are of this expansionist conviction."

Myers is reported to have had several runins with Social Security Commissioner Robert M. Ball, appointed to the post by President John F. Kennedy.

In a statement yesterday, Myers accused Ball of attempting "to muffle and intimidate" him regarding three speeches Myers plans to make on the Social Security administration. A Social Security spokesman denied the charges.

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, today's Washington Daily News carried a front-page story about an American University professor who is a man after my own heart.

Prof. William F. Fuchs has had enough of the brick-throwing, obscenity-shouting anarchists who pollute college campuses disguised as students and he has issued his own "demands" to those who have been skipping his classes under the guise of being involved with the so-called "National Student Strike."

He has told them plainly and simply that if they don't do their work they flunk.

I include the newspaper article for insertion in the RECORD at this point in the hope that it comes to the attention of all the spineless college administrators who have cowardly knuckled under to the protesters:

AU PROF TO STUDENT PROTESTERS: WORK OR FLUNK

(By Anne McFeatters)

William F. Fuchs, 47, teaches communications at American University, and he thinks that students should "keep quiet, pay attention and do as they are told." Today he is telling them that unless they have turned in their course work by tonight, they flunk—student strikes notwithstanding.

When he isn't teaching communications, Mr. Fuchs writes feature stories for the American Trucking Association. He was once a sports and feature writer for the Evening Star. He chose to communicate today's ultimatum to his students by way of the mass media.

In a letter to the editors of the city's newspapers, Mr. Fuchs wrote: "This is to serve notice on those AU students who have not concluded the requirements of the course, "17.101, Techniques in Mass Communication," given at 10 a.m. Saturday, on the basis that they are taking part in the so-called National Student Strike.

"I, William F. Fuchs, instructor in that course, am staging my own demonstration—a demonstration for sanity, law and order, common sense and discipline. My protest will appear on your report cards. It will look like this: F.

The F, of course, stands for failure.

NO KNOCK

Actually, Mr. Fuchs says, his class of 15 is a good one and his letter is "not to knock the students" but to "go on public record as being opposed to that regime (the university administration) up there."

AU president George A. Williams issued a notice on May 6 leaving it up to individual instructors whether to "cancel, reschedule and-or reorient the nature of regularly scheduled class sessions." He also recognized the right of individual students "to attend (class) or not attend."

Mr. Fuchs wrote in his letter:

"I am not surprised that Dr. Williams and other administration-faculty persons at AU are encouraging you (students) in your insane behavior. Those same persons have welcomed onto the AU campus and have applauded one subversive group after another in the name of 'academic freedom'."

Mr. Fuchs said he referred to lectures to students by members of the Black Panther Party and recruitment on campus of students to pick sugar cane in Cuba for the Venceramos Brigades.

After sending a letter to Dr. Williams complaining about the sugar incident and asking for explanations, Mr. Fuchs said he received a reply from his department head which said, "it gives me pause to know that you are teaching in a university—and in this department—and have no appreciation of the importance of this (academic freedom)."

Mr. Fuchs reports that he defines academic freedom as "freedom to pursue knowledge. I don't think it includes the encouragement of and paying homage to individuals in groups who want to destroy everybody else's freedom."

PRESIDENT'S POSITION

Dr. Williams' official position is that "The American University is and must remain a center for free inquiry and expression. It is such a center when the rights of such inquiry and free expression are extended equally to all members of the university community."

Mr. Fuchs is a vigorous Nixon and Agnew supporter who prefers to be called a "supporter of our country." He feels that national pride is languishing.

"I'm tired of people putting our country down," he says. "Students should be taught to love their country and be in there cracking books and learning, not fomenting dissent and anti-United States propaganda."

He feels sufficiently at odds with the university to consider resigning. "I feel for those young people. They need guidance," he says.

EASY DOES IT

Mr. Fuchs likes to give his students such assignments as writing up mock interviews on "reasonable" issues. He discourages controversial subjects.

He said some of his students "wanted to go out and write about world problems. I tell them, 'No, you don't know enough. Why not go down and do a nice feature on the airport, the Smithsonian, the zoo, the Moslem mosque?"

ALL THE BREAKS

The father of a 3-year-old son and a 2-year-old daughter ("by the time they get to college I hope this is all straightened out") Mr. Fuchs spends his leisure time mowing the grass at his home at Clifton, Va., playing croquet, reading and writing such treatieses as "ecological factors related to trucking."

He's uncertain whether in his four years of teaching he has failed anyone—"I give all my students every break in the world." But he's ready to lay out the F's this time.

PRESIDENTIAL BODY ON PORNOGRAPHY: A WHITEWASH COMMISSION?

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, from time to time I have commented on the operation of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, established in the last administration to cope with the deluge of pornography which we have been witnessing here in our country. The Commission's final report to be made public in a matter of several months has long been awaited by both public and private sectors to aid in the fight against obscenity and pornography. Unfortunately, some members of the Commission indicate that the vast amount of money and the effort expended might well go for naught if the present direction of the Commission is allowed to continue.

It has been pointed out that the permissive position of the American Civil Liberties Union is a major factor in the Commission, and the position of the many citizens who are crying out for corrective action could finally be shunted aside.

The April 1970 issue of Columbia, the monthly publication of the Knights of Columbus, conducted interviews with three of the commissioners who have grave misgivings about the final accomplishments of the Commission. Their views provide a background for any evaluation of the Commission's final product. At this point I am inserting the text of the interviews plus a comment by Mr. Elmer Von Feldt, editor of Columbia:

PRESIDENTIAL BODY ON PORNOGRAPHY: A WHITEWASH COMMISSION?

(By Columbia reporters)

On Jan. 2, 1968 President Lyndon B. Johnson announced the formation of an 18-member Commission on Obscenity and Pornog-

raphy which was to bring to the president and to Congress definite recommendations on how to control the nation's deluge of smut.

The enabling legislation of Congress which led to formation of commission spelled out these tasks:

To analyze and evaluate present laws and statutes designed to control obscenity and pornography and particularly to describe and define the evil;

To study the methods used to distribute pornographic literature and the nature and volume of this traffic;

To study the effect of pornography on the public, particularly on minors, and to examine its relationship to crime and other antisocial behavior; and, above all,

To recommend to Congress, legislative, administrative and other appropriate action which could cope effectively with the problem without violating constitutional rights.

The appointment of a commission with president status gave rise to high hopes in the American public that this country's top government leaders were truly concerned about the extent and magnitude of the problem and that constitutional ways would be found to cope with it.

Now, two years later, with the life of the commission running out soon, there is substantial evidence that the work of the committee will add up to nothing more than a goose egg. Advance indications are that the basic results of the commission's efforts will be two and a half precious years wasted, millions of dollars squandered in misdirected research and the probable conclusion there really is nothing wrong with pornography, hard-core or otherwise.

This frightening revelation of the trend within the commission comes from charges made by three members of that body in special interviews with Columbia.

The commission members interviewed were Father Morton A. Hill, S.J., president of Morality in Media, Inc., New York, and a long-time campaigner in the fight against pornography; the Rev. Winfrey C. Link, a Methodist minister and the administrator of McKendree Manor, a home for the retired operated by the United Methodist Church in Nashville, Tenn.; and Charles H. Keating, Cincinnati attorney who is founder of Citizens for Decent Literature, a nationwide organization dedicated to decency in the mass media.

Keating was not among the 18 original members named to the commission by President Johnson. He was assigned to the presidential body by President Richard M. Nixon in June 1969 after an original appointee, former Senator Kenneth B. Keating of New York, resigned upon being named U.S. ambassador to India.

Charges against the present operation of the commission by these three members include the following:

The commission "is heading in the wrong direction." Its staff and leadership "do not believe there is any such thing as obscenity." It will accomplish "absolutely nothing."

Expecting some key staff members, with a background of opposition to any controls on pornography, to devise ways and means to solve this problem is like "putting a burglar in charge of the jewels."

Those in charge of the commission's research are ignoring the ordinary people and their desires and going to far-off "ivory-towers." Commission members genuinely concerned with the problem of pornography are "excluded from the confidence of the commission leadership."

Originally the commission was to complete its work by Jan. 31 of this year. However its life has been extended. It issued a "progress report" in August 1969. In a minority statement Father Hill objected to this report as designed to apply "a bandaid to a festering, cancerous sore."

The final report of the commission is expected in September 1970.

The chairman of the commission is William B. Lockhart, dean of the University of Minnesota Law School, Minneapolis.

Other members of the commission, in addition to Father Hill, Dr. Link and Charles Keating, are:

Edward E. Elson, president, Atlanta News Agency, Inc., Atlanta, Ga.;

Thomas D. Gill, chief judge, Juvenile Court for the State of Connecticut, Hartford;

Edward D. Greenwood, child psychiatrist, The Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kan.;

G. William Jones, assistant professor of Broadcast-Film Art, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.;

Joseph T. Klapper, director, Office of Social Research, Columbia Broadcasting System, New York;

Otto N. Larsen, professor of sociology, University of Washington, Seattle;

Rabbi Irving Lehrman, Temple Emanu-El, Miami Beach, Fla.;

Freeman Lewis, vice president-publishing, Simon & Schuster, Inc., New York;

Morris A. Lipton, professor of psychiatry, University of North Carolina Medical School, Chapel Hill;

Thomas C. Lynch, attorney general for California, Sacramento;

Barbara Scott, attorney, Motion Picture Association of America, New York;

Cathryn A. Spelts, instructor in English, South Dakota School of Mines, Rapid City;

Frederick H. Wagman, commission vice chairman and director, University Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; and

Marvin E. Wolfgang, professor of sociology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

The commission staff has offices at 1016 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C.

The professional staff members include: W. Cody Wilson, executive director, a social psychologist; Paul Bender, general counsel, a lawyer; Jane M. Friedman, a lawyer; Karen I. Green, a clinical psychologist; Bernard Horowitz, an educational psychologist; Weldon T. Johnson, a sociologist; Lenore R. Kupperstein, a criminologist; John J. Sampson, a lawyer; and Virginia P. Banister, an administrative officer.

The criticisms of the presidential commission are detailed in the following three interviews conducted by Columbia reporters:

Q. Father Hill, what do you estimate the commission will accomplish?

A. I expect absolutely, positively nothing from this commission.

Q. Why not?

A. I have to talk here about the direction the commission is heading in, and it's heading in the wrong direction. Now if an airplane is supposed to be going to California and it's heading for Europe, it's not going to get to California. That is exactly what is happening with the commission. The leadership in the commission is heading in the wrong direction. The American Civil Liberties Union and the liberals do not believe there is any such thing as obscenity. It's not a problem for them.

Q. Are you saying that the commission was created merely to whitewash the problem or that its members were selected to represent only one point of view?

A. All I can do is read you the position of the American Civil Liberties Union. Here is a quote taken from one of their briefs: "It is our position that obscenity, as much as any other form of speech or press, is entitled to the protection of the First Amendment." This viewpoint is woven into the way of thinking for ACLU members. They say it in a thousand different ways on radio and television and in magazines and newspapers.

Now let me give you some background about the American Civil Liberties Union and this commission. First, they never wanted the commission. They fought against it for about 10 years. Finally, when the bill came before Congress, it was watered down considerably. Someone took out the commission's power of subpoena. And then the whole idea of "effects studies" was inserted into the bill although "effects studies" in the area of obscenity are not required by federal law or state law.

Q. Could you explain what "effects studies" are?

A. Yes, these are psychological studies which attempt to show whether obscene or pornographic materials have ill effects on people. In other words, they're asking: "Is the smut industry or any item in the smut industry the direct cause of antisocial behavior?" And by antisocial behavior, they mean crime; they mean rape. Now it is impossible to prove that an individual obscene item is the efficient cause of a specific crime. The whole person is the cause of an act, not a particular item. I'm afraid the commission will conclude that it can't be proven that the smut industry has any bad effects on people; therefore they don't have to worry about it.

Getting back to the American Civil Liberties Union. . . . Now after the liberals watered down the bill, the next thing they did was seize control of the commission. The White House announcement of Jan. 2, 1968 said William B. Lockhart had been "selected" chairman, even though the bill provided that the chairman should have been selected by the commission members.

Q. Who in the White House was responsible for this? President Johnson?

A. No. One of President Johnson's assistants. I don't want to mention his name.

But this is my main objection to the whole commission. First of all, the chairman was appointed by the White House, which is not in accord with the directives of the bill. Secondly, Dean Lockhart is a member of the Civil Liberties Union, many of whose members have shown themselves champions of the smut industry over the years. Thirdly, the chairman appointed Paul Bender as general counsel of the commission. Now Paul Bender happens to be an executive of the Philadelphia and Pennsylvania Civil Liberties Unions, and when he was appointed, the chairman failed to tell the commission this fact. In other words, he withheld the knowledge.

Q. Were there any objections to these appointments?

A. I objected strenuously to the fact that the commission wasn't given the choice of counsel. The people I had recommended for the job weren't even considered—even though one of them since has been named a judge in New York City. The chairman put great emphasis on the fact that he couldn't work with the people I had suggested, that they weren't of his caliber. He said Mr. Bender was the only one he could work with.

I also reacted strenuously to the manner in which Dean Lockhart was appointed chairman. I had a call from the White House saying that if I didn't like it they would dissolve the commission and appoint a new one, practically inviting me off the commission. So I couldn't say anything.

Q. Why do you feel free to talk now?

A. It's too late for anyone to dissolve the commission now. The work has progressed too far. Besides, the entire commission later on did vote its approval of Dean Lockhart as chairman. By then it was too late to change.

Q. Getting back to the commission, can you tell us how it is organized and what kind of work it has been doing?

A. The commission is organized into four panels: the legal panel (of which I am a member), the traffic panel, the "effects" panel, and what they call the "positive approaches" panel. The panels assign work to the permanent staff members and the staff either does the research itself or assigns it to a contractor. The contractor assigns work to individual researchers in the field.

I disapprove of this method of operation

because it doesn't bring the individual commissioners into direct contact with the problem. They are far removed from the reality of obscenity and pornography. I have maintained from the very beginning that each one of the commissioners should specialize in a different specific area—for instance the "sexploitation" film, the sex newspaper, song lyrics that incite people to use drugs, underground newspapers, magazines, paperback books, comic books. An individual commissioner should specialize in each one of these areas. He should know all about it. Then he should report his conclusions to the entire commission.

I don't mean to be critical of the other commissioners. They are all brilliant people and eminently qualified. But for most of them obscenity and pornography are notions, ideas. They don't look at it as a concrete reality.

Q. Do you have any other objections to the way the commission is proceeding?

A. Yes, I feel that the commission is not directly concerned with the viewpoints of the local community. Smut is being injected into the local community and so it is extremely important that people in local communities should get a hearing. I find great fault with the commission for bypassing the community, especially when the basic law of the land—as far as obscenity is concerned—revolves around community standards. I don't see how you can ascertain community standards unless you are in contact with the community.

This is the reason why, along with Rev. W. C. Link, I am holding separate public hearings in key cities.

Q. You said the basic law of the land revolves around community standards. Doesn't this open you to criticism? Would you accept the standards of a community that wanted to keep pornography in circulation?

A. When I say "community standards" I am referring to the Roth case (United States vs. Roth, 1957). There have been many decisions subsequent to this and it is these subsequent decisions that have caused trouble. Some people say that the test of obscenity is not the violation of community standards but whether a particular book or film is utterly without social value.

Q. Wasn't that part of a Supreme Court decision?

A. No. Three justices of the Supreme Court said it, but never a five-judge majority. This "social values" test is not the law of the land; it is an opinion of three individual judges. But the idea is getting around that it is the law of the land and it is being built into state law in several states. As soon as this "social values" test is built in, that's the end of law enforcement.

Now here's the crux of the whole situation: The law of the land states that once a thing is judged obscene it has no social value—that's the Roth decision. The ultra liberals are coming in and saying, "Okay, this movie is obscene. But let's apply a second test: Does it have social value? If it does, it ceases to be obscene." They are using a bad test and they are using it to destroy all law.

Now I'll admit that the phrase "community standards" has to be explained and understood. But to me it is perfectly clear that it means what the community expects in any communication—especially mass media communication. And these qualities exist in the medium itself. When you look at the medium itself, community standards are invariable, they're absolute. They're the same in any community in the country.

Q. Father Hill, let's say the commission were doing the kind of job you would like it to do. What kind of new legislation would you like it to recommend?

A. I would like to emphasize that if the present obscenity laws were enforced—this includes state laws, the three federal laws that regulate mail, interstate transportation and importation, and also the Federal Communications Commission regulations—if these existing laws were enforced and if the court really caught the spirit of the community and sensed what the community wants, then we would have a different America and a different mass media.

The court is the problem. If the phrase "social values" were eliminated from court decisions and if individual items were judged purely on whether or not they violate community standards, I would be happy. I wouldn't wany any new legislation.

In light of the failure of the American courts to do this, it may be that new legislation—federal and state—is imperative. There are a number of possibilities. First I would favor the Dirksen bill (S. 1077) which would make it impossible to appeal a decision of a local jury on the fact of obscenity. This is extremely important because the Supreme Court has reversed countless numbers of cases.

Secondly, I would be opposed to any statute that allows obscenity for adults and keeps it away from minors by tacking on a label that says "Adults Only." After several years' experience I find that this only increases the interest of children. The only area where a "minors' statute" makes any sense is in the movie industry. You could keep children out of X and R films the same way you keep them out of bars.

The kind of legislation I would be most interested in would be a series of definitions of obscene things. For instance, we could construct a definition of a sex newspaper and then we could say that material that fits this definition cannot be mailed. About 30 of these definitions could be constructed for different kinds of materials. They would serve to guide the postmaster general and they could be built into state laws.

Q. What can people on a local level do to reinforce their community standards?

A. I would like to see every clergyman in the country speak to his people, especially young people, and ask them if they are getting the kind of movies and mass media they want. Ideally we would like every clergyman to speak on this subject during May. If the people are dissatisfied with the way things are, let them write their mayors and express their feelings. If they did this, I think there would be a tremendous reaction all over the United States. People today are really concerned about the problem. There has been a tremendous change over the last 18 months—both in the problem and in the realization of the people that something is happening.

Q. Do you expect the commission to heed the results of what you find in your public hearings?

A. No, I think the chairman of this commission has a closed mind. This is true of many of those on the commission. There are some however who I think will be amazed at the data we uncover and will join us in signing what will be a minority report.

Q. Mr. Keating, are you satisfied with the operation of the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography?

A. First of all, I object to the fact that Paul Bender was appointed general counsel of the commission. He is a member of the ACLU. To me, this is like putting a burglar in charge of the jewels. The record of the ACLU is one of unwavering opposition to controls on pornography and to laws against obscenity. ACLU has been active in innumerable briefs filed in courts all over the U.S., including the Supreme Court, in opposition to control of obscenity and pornography. Any member of the ACLU comes in with obvious recorded bias against control by law or otherwise of obscenity.

Q. What is Mr. Bender's background?

A. Bender, a Philadelphia lawyer, was appointed after having served in the office of Solicitor General Thurgood Marshall. When the Ralph Ginzburg case (Eros) was heard before the Supreme Court, Bender, because he hadn't been a lawyer for the required five years, had to be admitted to the Supreme Court by special motion. It was ludicrous to have such a green attorney represent the government in such an important case. It was obvious in his arguments that he didn't believe in the government's position. But the government won its case in spite of Bender.

I debated Bender on television (this was after the Ginsburg case and prior to his appointment as commission counsel) and his position was typical of the ACLU. Everything he does is consistent with the ACLU position.

Q. Is your objection to Mr. Bender serving as general counsel your only dissatisfaction with the commission?

A. No. My second major criticism is its appointment of W. Cody Wilson as executive director. He was chosen by Lockhart and appointed by the commission. He came in from the Defense Department and had no knowledge or background in the problem of pornography and obscenity. He thinks this is helpful because it enabled him to start out unbiased. So far as I know he hasn't got enough knowledge to be biased one way or another. His engagement of Professor Bert Kutschinsky of Copenhagen as an expert consultant to prepare a report on the Danish legalization of pornography is typical of Wilson's hirings.

[At this point Keating pointed to the text of an interview conducted by Raymond P. Gauer, national director of the Citizens for Decent Literature, with Professor Kutchinsky in Copenhagen. According to the transcript, the Danish professor said he holds as a basic thesis the fact that the stimulus of hard-core pornography cannot possibly lead to a sex crime. He added that as far as government is concerned there should be an absolute divorce between sex and morality.]

Q. What has been your personal relationship with the commission chairman and the staff?

A. I repeatedly have requested all the information turned up by Wilson and Lockhart so that I could become informed and informative on the problem. I have received very little so far. I only can conclude that Wilson is strongly influenced in the direction of noncontrol. To hire Professor Kutschinsky to write on pornography is ridiculous.

Q. How has Mr. Lockhart functioned as chairman?

A. Dean Lockhart at best has a very narrow view of what can be controlled by law, Lockhart is a member of the ACLU but I wouldn't make a point of it as I did with Bender. The president has a right to name anyone as chairman of a commission whereas the commission ought to hire people who will be effective in making it work.

I don't criticize the Johnson administration for its appointments, though I don't like the appointments. The predominant view of the commissioners obviously is opposed to obscenity control. The media—including distributors of published material—are well represented on the commission—also broadcasting, motion pictures.

Q. Can you be more specific?

A. Certainly Barbara Scott, attorney for the Motion Picture Association of America, is there to stop any control or suggestion of control.

Q. Do you think the commission is achieving what Congress wanted it to accomplish?

A. The commission doesn't take direct action or receive complaints. I know that the legislation was intended by Congress to look into the obscenity and pornography problems and to make recommendations as to what to do about them.

About 80% of the commission membership is oriented to the part of the act that

refers to "a study of the causal relationship of such materials to antisocial behavior."

The commission has met only twice since my appointment (June 1969). But I consider the obscenity and pornography problem to be extremely serious. When I joined the commission I hadn't the slightest intention of relegating my authority on the commission to a panel or to the staff. I was perfectly ready and willing to do the job. I asked to be made a part of everything the commission did. I tried to attend meetings of various panels (law, effects, distributors, etc.) or send a representative, but they said no.

An agreement on confidentiality saying that nothing discussed by the commission or submitted to it was to be discussed—I refused to be bound by it.

Q. Why do you object to this confidentiality or secrecy rule?

A. The commission budget for 1970 is $1,250,000. It is funded by the people of the United States. I think studies and reports of the commission ought to be public information.

Q. Dr. Link some people claim that pornography has no antisocial effect upon the public. What is your opinion on this and what is the presidential commission doing with regard to this claim?

A. This is an area that is being studied by the commission. And this will come out eventually. Even if I found it permissible right now—in light of the commission's policy of working in secret—I do not know that there is a study that I definitely could point to. But my own personal feeling is that there are hard business men who spend millions of dollars a year advertising. The purpose of advertising is to change the mind of people so that they will buy the product. In other words, it's evident that the minds of people can be changed when they see something over and over again. Now if a person is bombarded constantly with perversion, is told constantly that antisocial types of behavior are right today, is told he is not with it if he does not swap wives once in a while, or if he has sex relations in the normal way then something is wrong with him—if a person is bombarded with this constantly, naturally he is going to say, "Well, maybe I am a square. Maybe I am out of step today. Maybe I ought to try something different." If men spend millions of dollars to advertise their product in order to change people then I see no reason that we can't identify in the same way that changes come about in people who are bombarded with erotic materials constantly.

Q. What is your feeling about the commission?

A. I am interested in seeing our studies that will come in. I have persistently requested alternatives. I do not want said to me in this commission: "This is what the Supreme Court has said." We don't have to spend two million dollars of the taxpayers' money to know what the Supreme Court has said. Congress has told us: "Find the alternatives!" And this is what I am looking for. This is a thing that I hope the commission will come up with. This is a thing that I think will come from the ground level, not from the people who are in the ivory towers of the colleges, who are separated from society—or certainly are separated from a large segment of society. They may be with the liberal group that sees nothing wrong with anything. This is where we need to hear the people speak. We need to hear some constitutional lawyers who honestly feel that there are some alternatives. And I want the commission to listen to them as well as the constitutional lawyers who say: "This is what the Supreme Court has said and that's as far as we can go." And as we see a change in the complexion of the Supreme Court, some decisions might be made that would make it possible to have stricter interpretations of the law than are able to be made now. I have heard that one man is going out of the pornographic business because he foresees a change in the Supreme Court that is going to make the pornography business unprofitable.

Q. Do you have some reservations about the direction in which the commission is going?

A. I have some reservations about the way that they are getting toward the goals that we have. I am not sure we are going to have all the information we need to give the alternatives that Congress has asked for specifically in the bill. The bill has said that we should try to identify any relationship between pornography and antisocial behavior. Well this is fine and good. But most psychiatrists will tell you that this is impossible to prove definitely. So if the commission simply says, "Unless we can prove there is definite relationship, we can make no changes,"—then I think the commission is taking the wrong tact. I think the commission needs to look at the alternatives and say: "These are some possibilities." Now whatever we come up with is not going to be law until Congress enacts it. But whether it is completely constitutional or not is for someone else to decide besides us. So I have some reservations that if we do not go into it on a broader scale than we are at the present time, then our report will not be worth a hill of beans.

Q. Are you uneasy about some of the people who are doing research for the commission?

A. I have nothing against any of the researchers personally. I have no feelings about the researchers themselves, except the general fact of their being only in the scholastic community. I think we have leaned too much to one type of researcher.

Q. Is it true that a disproportionate number of the researchers are either members of the American Civil Liberties Union or at least are very close in their thinking to the ACLU?

A. I do not know whether the researchers are members or not. But I do know that some of our staff and some of the officers of our commission are ACLU members because they have admitted it. Now they say: "We are members of this little branch out here." But it does not matter whether they are in a little branch or the national group—they are still ACLU. And the problem is this: when your leadership is ACLU you are not going to get a fair shake.

Q. Is the research of the committee overlooking the average citizen?

A. This is what I have been trying to say. We are reaching only a minority reaction to the problem. Too many of our answers are coming from the ivory tower rather than where people are living. I still believe that our country should be ruled by the majority, not by the minority. I think the majority should have something to say. I want to hear what the police officer has to say. And I don't want to hear what he says through a research group. As a commission member I've got an obligation to hear what he says to me. I want to hear what the district attorneys have to say. I want to hear what a mother, whose child has been receiving this unsolicited sex material through the mail, has to say. I'm afraid we are going to miss a great segment of our population if we do not listen to these people. And we are going to miss the alternatives that I keep speaking about.

Q. Are you and other members of the commission planning public hearings?

A. Let's state it another way. The law prohibits any hearings by the commission without at least five members being present—at least that is what I have been told. But this does not prohibit a few of us, as individuals, from going out at our own expense to find all the information we can for our own background. And I can assure you that some of us are concerned enough about this that we are going to put our own money—not the taxpayers' money—into finding out all that we can. It's unfortunate that we have to do it this way.

Q. Is it possible that some people wanted to appear before the commission as a whole and were refused?

A. I just don't know. Let's put it this way: I am not taken into the confidence of the leadership of the commission.

Q. Is it not improper for you to be excluded from this confidence?

A. Well, let's just say that three or four of us are fairly well left out. While I have voted with the majority of the commission on almost everything, I have done so many times with some reservations. I had the feeling that we could accomplish more with harmony than with disharmony. But finally the time comes, as it is running real short, where you realize that maybe you have got to do something a little bit different.

COMMENT: VYING FOR THE TITLE OF SODOM AND GOMORRHA

(By Elmer Von Feldt)

Three special interviews with members of the Presidential Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, reprinted in this brochure, suggest that tragic misdirection will turn the commission's work into bitter disappointment.

Evidence shows that the cards are being stacked by designing and determined individuals so the final report will frustrate completely the intent Congress had in establishing the commission. Instead of bending its energies to find constitutional ways to control the plague of obscenity, as desired by Congress, the commission is using the bulk of its public funds to gather proof that there is nothing wrong with pornography, hardcore or otherwise.

A key study which the presidential commission is financing to provide such "proof" reportedly is being conducted by a 33-year-old, bearded psychologist at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark, Bert Kutschinsky. The Danish professor is on record as expressing the conviction that no scientific support can be established for the common belief that pornography contributes to sex offenses. Therefore, he concludes, pornography has no antisocial consequences.

This obviously is not the judgment of the vast majority of the American people as indicated both by special surveys (a Gallup poll last year revealed that 85% of the American favored more stringent controls on pornography) and by letters to members of the U.S. Congress.

Sen. Mike Mansfield of Montana, Senate majority leader, has testified that one of the most insistent demands from constituents to congressmen is that this legislative body take action to control the flood of pornography.

"The growth of pornography in the United States is the number one pollution problem," he declared. "Every senator whom I have talked to since Congress reconvened gives me the same report. The people want something done to curb pornography."

Mansfield is pressing the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee, headed by Sen. Gale McGee of Wyoming, to move more swiftly on preparing legislation to stop smut. Mansfield said he hopes to get a bill onto the Senate floor sometime this month.

Rep. John W. McCormack of Massachusetts, speaker of the House of Representatives, has revealed that he is ready to expedite similar legislation on the House floor once it clears the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Significantly President Richard Nixon in his State of the Union message cited pornography as one field in which the federal government must take special action to protect the public.

This deep concern of both the president

and congressional leaders dramatizes the tragedy of the misdirection of the presidential commission which had been counted on to develop new insights to help deal with the galling problem of obscenity and pornography.

At the same time there is new evidence on what can happen when a country lowers the bars completely and lets pornography run rampant. This comes from Raymond P. Gauer, national director of Citizens for Decent Literature. Gauer has issued a report on his recent trip to Denmark, which last summer abolished all laws regulating pornography.

Gauer reports that the production and sale of hardcore pornography have mushroomed into a major industry in Denmark, both for local consumption and for export.

The volume of pornographic literature has led to the establishment of what are described as "sex supermarkets" which offer to both adults and children color picture magazines graphically exhibiting every type of sexual perversion. The publications display in vivid detail all forms of homosexuality, sadism, masochism, heterosexual love play and even copulation between women and animals. For some unexplained reason some models are dressed as nuns and monks. Gauer reports that back rooms of these "sex shops" stage live sexual activity for paying customers.

The C.D.L. director declares that earlier press reports stating that abolition of anti-pornography laws had reduced sex crimes are deceptive and misleading. An interview with Clor Christiansen, chief deputy of police in Copenhagen, established that violent sex crimes such as forcible rape and assault have not decreased. The overall decrease in reported sex crimes is due to the fact that many acts formerly considered crimes no longer are classified as such. This includes the sale of pornographic material and the seduction and statutory rape of minors—now completely legal.

Gauer states that profits from the sale of pornography are so high that organized crime is being attracted to the industry with the hope of smuggling shipments to the American market.

Concomitant with the degradation of sex through ultrapermissiveness, Gauer reports that the influence of traditional Judeo-Christian morality has reached the low point of irrelevance in Denmark. An interview with Bishop P. Werner Hansen, Lutheran auxiliary of Copenhagen, brought out that 98% of the people in Denmark nominally are Lutheran, but only 3% of these attend church services. In Copenhagen, the Danish capital, attendance is down to 1%. The Danish churchman also noted the country's 10 Lutheran bishops meet each year and issue a statement related to national life. But Bishop Hansen added the religious situation has deteriorated so badly that the spiritual statement of these prelates has about as much public impact as a declaration by "ten shoemakers."

Gauer also visited Sweden where laws on pornography have been relaxed greatly. He reports that the most shocking hard-core pornography is exhibited in the windows of sex shops throughout Stockholm. Because of the vivid display of pornography in Sweden the assault upon the young in many ways is worse than in Denmark, he notes.

The biblical book of Genesis says that God in His anger rained "fire and brimstone" from heaven and destroyed the cities of Sodom and Gomorrha because "their sin had become exceedingly grievous."

If Gauer's reports are accurate and if God were tempted to send fire and brimstone today, the new symbols of sin, the 21st-century substitutes for Sodom and Gomorrha would be Stockholm and Copenhagen.

Certainly defense of American moral stamina dictates that our cities should be kept from vying for the title.

ADDRESS OF JOSEPH MONSERRAT

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to call my colleagues attention to the recent statement of the Honorable Joseph Monserrat, president of the New York City Board of Education, addressed to all students, teachers, supervisors, and other school personnel in regard to the slaying of students at Kent State University. His thoughts, so important in those tension-filled days following the slayings, still carry the same message today, that our concern and shock over this tragedy must bring us together. For the sake of those young students' memory, and for the future of our Nation, we cannot forget the lesson of Kent.

The statement follows:

ADDRESS OF JOSEPH MONSERRAT

Good morning! My name is Joseph Monserrat. I am President of the New York City Board of Education. I am sitting here accompanied by my colleagues on the Board of Education: Dr. Mary Meade, Mr. Murry Bergtraum, Mr. Isaiah Robinson, and Dr. Seymour Lachman. Also present with us is Mr. Irving Anker, the Acting Superintendent of Schools.

Although the voice you hear is mine, the message I am about to deliver comes from all of us. It is addressed to you, the one million, one hundred and fifty thousand boys and girls and young men and women who comprise the student body of the New York City public school system. It is addressed to the more than sixty thousand teachers and their supervisory personnel and principals. It is addressed to the clerical and secretarial staff and to the paraprofessionals and other workers and volunteers who make up the whole of the large family which is the New York public school system. It is also addressed to the parents and guardians of our children and to the citizens of New York City in general.

On Monday of this week—May 4th—we all heard over radio, on television, in the papers and by word of mouth the news that four young students who attend Kent State University in Kent, Ohio, were shot to death in a moment of panic and violence and fear—others were seriously wounded.

Like all Americans, you the students, your teachers, your supervisors and principals have expressed shock and dismay and horror over this tragic event. We, the members of your Board of Education, as well as the Acting Superintendent of Schools, share your deep sorrow over the needless and senseless death of four fine young students.

This tragedy has deeply affected all of us, as well it should, for these are not the first students to be killed or hurt in schools and colleges around the country over the years.

During the lifetime of most of you, you have witnessed over television and on radio and through the press many assassinations and other acts of violence.

Yours has been the generation that has never known a day of peace. Your lives so far have been lived in a setting of violence and it may be that some of you have begun to accept violence as a "normal" way for men to live in our country and to resolve their differences. It is NOT!

This is the lesson that we must all learn and re-learn so that Allison Krause, Jeffrey Glenn Miller, Sandra Lee Scheuer and William K. Schroeder will not have died in vain.

As an educational institution, we of the New York City Board of Education have the special responsibility to remind ourselves and all others that ours is a country in which all men are guaranteed by law, as inalienable rights, the right to peaceful assembly, to protest and to dissent, for the major responsibility of a public school system in a democratic society is to teach democracy, not only by word, but also by deed.

So deeply do we all feel this responsibility that the Board of Education is taking extraordinary steps, including this broadcast, to underscore and reinforce the lessons we must learn from the tragedy of this past week.

Therefore, in response to this feeling and in response to you who have asked to demonstrate the depth of our mutual concern, on Friday, May 8th, all of the public schools in the City of New York shall be closed and the day proclaimed as a memorial to the four students who were tragically killed at Kent State University. We share with other Americans an increasing feeling of horror at the violence that is escalating throughout the nation and the world, dividing one people from another. We call upon our fellow New Yorkers to condemn violence in any form and in every situation. Violence begets violence and solves no problems. Nor does it bring about any real change. We must learn the lesson that violence can lead to the ultimate—the slaughter of the innocent.

We urge the students and staff of our schools, their families and their friends alike to join with us in making May 8th a day of prayer and soul searching as well as a day of re-dedication to the fundamental principles that make this great nation free and must make it greater and freer for all.

The flags on our public schools and other educational installations throughout the city will fly at half staff tomorrow so that all who see may be reminded of what our Mayor has called "A Day of Reflection."

And on this Day of Reflection, we, the members of the Board and the Superintendent of Schools will remind ourselves and reflect upon our responsibility to see to it that—

Our high school students are provided with the opportunity to participate more fully and meaningfully in the decisions that do and will profoundly affect their present and future lives;

That all students from the kindergarten and the elementary schools through the Junior and Intermediate schools as well as the high schools must be afforded every opportunity to learn the principles of democracy, not only through books but by actually living democracy in the schools;

That teachers, supervisors and principals must be afforded the opportunity and resources to carry out their respective responsibilities in an atmosphere free from threats and harassment;

That parents can feel secure in the knowledge that their children are safe and are receiving the meaningful education all parents have a right to expect our public schools to provide;

That all citizens of our city who support and maintain our public school system can feel proud of their schools and the role they must play in making our city and country a better place in which to live.

We will reflect to find means by which orderly process can become an effective instrument for effective democratic participation—not a code word for repression of dissent.

On all of these things we will reflect.

We also ask you to reflect. We ask you to reflect on whether there is any real difference between the violence at Kent and the bodily pain and even death that can result from attempts to set fires or break down the door to a principal's office.

We ask you to reflect upon the great damage to mind and soul that is caused by discrimination and hate because of color or ethnic background, or creed or religion. This, too, is a form of violence.

We ask you to reflect on how best to bring our school community together again and by so doing to help to bring our nation together.

There is much food for thought for all of us.

Each of us carries his own personal share of the total responsibility to change and improve our schools together in peace.

We, as part of the family which is the Board of Education, share together in the responsibility to insure that our schools fulfill the promise of education to all. We must bring ourselves together, to learn together, to plan for the future together, even to disagree together—in that way we shall have honored the four students and those who died before them in the deepest way we know.

A father of one of those who died last Monday put his own feelings in this simple and human way: "I just *hope* something comes out of this." It is up to us to fulfill this hope.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 1970

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, it is with a sense of personal loss that I call the attention of my colleagues to the passing of one of my most distinguished constituents, Joseph Wood Krutch.

Mr. Krutch first came to fame as a man of letters, a professor and drama critic, while living in the East. But then he moved to Arizona and began a second career as a man of nature, taking as his subject the great desert of the Southwest. It is indeed remarkable that he achieved at least as much fame in his second career as he did in his first.

I knew Joe Krutch as a friend, a correspondent and an adviser on matters of the environment, national parks, and many other subjects. He was a man who followed a severe regimen of work, but he was no recluse. He loved life, he was gentle with his friends, and he gave of himself to make this a better world.

If he had any enemies, they were the advocates of growth for growth's sake, the plunderers of our human and natural resources. I recall a wonderful exchange he had some years ago with the president of the Advertising Association of the West, who had suggested that the economy would benefit by encouraging people to discard still-usable products and buy new ones. His answer, in the form of a devastating Socratic dialog, anticipated by some 15 years the awareness, now emerging in this country, that we have been misusing our resources and living on borrowed time.

Today the New York Times and Washington Post published editorials commenting on the passing of this great man. Without objection I insert them at this point in the RECORD:

[From the New York Times, May 26, 1970]

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

A world in which "environment" has become the word of the day might profit from looking back at the prescient works of Joseph Wood Krutch, who died last week in Arizona. Twenty years ago that cultivated critic and teacher exchanged Manhattan for an adobe home in the Southwest to escape the crowds, to get air he could breathe and to enjoy "the natural beauty of the desert and its wildlife."

It was not on some college campus in 1970 that this wistfully prophetic man, denouncing an economy of waste, wrote that the ultimate good was not a rising standard of living but rather a system of values whose end is man. The idea ran through his writings over a period of four decades, coupled with warnings that the reality revealed by science was not necessarily, or even generally, compatible with the human spirit.

As a philosophical view, his work had a curiously old-fashioned ring—until suddenly the world, largely ignoring him, took up his early contention that "smog, pollution, the horrors of war" could be eliminated by a technological society if only it had the sense of values to put such objectives above its greater desire for "more speed, more power and more wealth." Rejecting the notion of man as the master of Nature, he liked to cite Thoreau's view of a world "more to be admired than it is to be used."

Three years ago, in a deeply pessimistic mood, this fine humanist and naturalist concluded that while most of his fellow-citizens were hopelessly materialistic, most of the intellectual minority had become "nihilist—interested chiefly in destruction and violence." The current wave of concern for the environment, the contempt for materialism voiced by so many youthful Americans, and now perhaps their growing rejection of nihilism as well—these should turn a generation unfamiliar with Joseph Wood Krutch to a reading of his books with delight to themselves and profit to the world.

[From the Washington Post, May 26, 1970]

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Not many men who brave or battle the strain of the cities for a major part of their lives get to leave it all behind and go back to the earth, to live according to the land ethic. Joseph Wood Krutch was one who made the pilgrimage, and his death last week at 76 in the Arizona desert left many calling him a 20th Century Thoreau. The description does not fit exactly; but a fair chance exists that the books and essays that Krutch produced in great number about the mysteries and sacredness of nature will be read as long as those of the odd man of Walden.

Long before saving the environment became a best-selling term, Krutch saw ominous signs that something was going wrong. "In our time," he wrote, "we seem to have been increasingly aware how persistently and brutally groups of men undertake to eliminate one another. But it is not only the members of his own kind that man seems to want to push off the earth. When he moves in, nearly everything else suffers from his intrusion—sometimes because he wants the space they occupy and the food they eat, but often simply because when he sees a creature not of his kind or a man not his race his first impulse is 'kill it.'"

When he first began to read what are called "nature writers," Krutch was an urban journalist seeking escape literature. Years later, after abandoning the metropolis for the desert and writing elegantly about the natural world himself, he reflected on his decision: "I hope . . . to meet myself face to face, to be compelled, indeed to do so. In the busy life I had been leading it was too easy to think only of immediate tasks and to solve only immediate intellectual problems."

The importance of the life of Joseph Wood Krutch, aside from the wealth of written ideas and thoughts left behind, is what it says about reverence for the earth. This is a vitally needed activity of man, even more so today. As Krutch asked many times in many different ways, if we cannot learn to cherish and revere the lower forms of life how can we do this to the higher forms—such as one's neighbor or brother?

TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE JOHN W. McCORMACK

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker—and as I utter the words, "Mr. Speaker," I am stricken with a sense of sadness and regret as I have just learned that Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK has announced plans to retire and not seek reelection to the Congress.

Speaker MCCORMACK is unquestionably one of the great Speakers of all time—and history will record his greatness in deeds and performance.

Speaker MCCORMACK is in the tradition of the great Speakers of the House—Speaker Sam Rayburn, his predecessor; Speaker Henry Clay, Speaker Thomas B. Reed, Speaker James K. Polk, Speaker Joe Cannon, Speaker Nicholas Longworth, and Speaker Champ Clark, among others—men whose names live forever on the roll of honor of outstanding leaders who have guided the House through challenging and momentous times.

Such a man is Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

Speaker MCCORMACK has served ably, courageously, and effectively during one of the most difficult periods in American history—one of the periods of turmoil, upheaval, and change that "try men's souls," in the words of the great patriot Thomas Paine.

Speaker MCCORMACK has never wavered or vacillated in providing the strong, firm leadership needed in the House. He has been instrumental in the passage of volumes of legislation in the public interest. The 89th Congress under his leadership is regarded as perhaps the most productive legislative Congress in our history.

He has never hesitated to take strong positions and to step out in the vanguard in advocating and supporting needed and necessary legislation, always championing the public welfare and the public interest.

Speaker MCCORMACK, apart from his ability and integrity and force as a leader, is a grand gentleman—a man of unfailing compassion—a thoughtful man whose acts of kindness and consideration are countless. He is not only a great man, he is a good man in the fullest meaning of the term.

He is a great leader and a great American—and the House will sorely miss his leadership and his guidance. He has made his mark as he lays down the gavel.

Speaker MCCORMACK came to the Congress in the 70th Congress in 1928 and has served faithfully and effectively since that time in subsequent Congresses—a period of 42 years. He became

Speaker in the second session of the 87th Congress in 1962 following the death of Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas.

Before becoming Speaker he served as majority leader and Democratic whip. Prior to coming to Congress he had an illustrious career as a member of the Massachusetts Legislature.

His vast experience and great ability have provided the House with excellent and effective leadership, and it is with deep regret that we acknowledge his decision to retire.

The lessons of history teach clearly that the greatness of a nation lies in the greatness of its leaders.

Certainly the greatness of JOHN MCCORMACK has elevated him to a prominent place in history. As a lighthouse on the foggy Massachusetts coast provides light and guidance to the mariners at sea, so JOHN MCCORMACK has provided guidance and leadership necessary for the House of Representatives across the shoals and breakers to many right and just decisions for this Nation.

We shall miss JOHN MCCORMACK as Speaker.

When a great man relinquishes the mantle of leadership it is always a sad occasion.

As Speaker MCCORMACK ends his leadership in the House, there is pain and regret—but the footsteps he has left in the sands of time and history as Speaker will always remind us that we were privileged to walk beside one of the great and good men—a giant in history.

It has been my great pleasure to enjoy a close personal relationship with Speaker MCCORMACK. To know the Speaker is to know greatness—and to know kindness and generosity.

The Speaker appointed me as chairman of the Select Committee on Small Business during this Congress and the three preceding Congresses. I was also fortunate in being appointed by the Speaker to serve as chairman of the Speaker's Committee on Personnel. I deeply appreciate these appointments and his continued confidence and trust.

Certainly I want to wish Speaker MCCORMACK and his beloved Mrs. McCormack the best of good luck and happiness as he relinquishes his duties as Speaker. He deserves rest and relaxation from the stresses and strains of leadership after many years of dedicated service. Our thoughts and prayers and best wishes will always be with Speaker MCCORMACK of Massachusetts—an all-American.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 27, 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 1,500 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

CONGRESSIONAL REPORT TO NINTH DISTRICT RESIDENTS

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 28, 1970

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

CONGRESSMAN LEE HAMILTON REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

Hoosier visitors to my Washington office invariably comment about two aspects of the nation's Capital—its beauty and its traffic. The perils and frustrations of Hoosier rush hour traffic jams are not a part of the work-a-day world for most of us from Indiana, as they are in the East Coast metropolitan centers.

Experts tell us that the family car, a necessity in rural areas, has continued to increase in numbers in the metropolitan centers, to the point where it threatens to strangle all vehicular movement at rush hours. Public or mass transportation, meanwhile, has undergone a steady decline.

The number of cars in this country has increased from 25.8 million in 1945 to 80 million in 1967. In that same 22-year period, the annual number of passengers riding on buses, subways and elevated local trains decreased from 23 billion to 7.7 billion. The trend of urbanization makes the picture even more bleak. The U.S. population increased from 100 million in 1917 to 200 million in 1969, and more than 80 percent of the residents now live in the cities. At the present rate, there will be 300 million Americans by the year 2000, and 90 percent of them will be in the cities.

Improvements in living standards have contributed not only to the growth in cities, but to the traffic problems. Higher wages have made it possible for the worker to buy a home in the suburbs, away from the environment of the factory, and to buy a car to travel to his work. The rush to and from the suburbs now threatens to strangle traffic all together in some cities.

Transportation experts, then, are faced with two strategies for dealing with urban transportation: (1) all-out accommodation of automobile traffic, or (2) replacing automobile traffic with mass transit facilities.

The cost and the scale of the efforts to accommodate cars in cities has convinced many experts that this effort is the wrong one. Freeway construction in urban areas averages about $3.7 million per mile. This is a conservative estimate, and does not include interest costs like the removal of large tracts from tax rolls, expensive traffic control and patrol needs, and the dislocation of hundreds of urban families. Additional cars also call for additional parking facilities in the central city area, and add to a growing air pollution problem in the cities.

Many experts have become convinced that improved mass transit systems are the solution to metropolitan congestion. But transit systems have had their problems with increasing costs, decreasing passengers, lower profits. Many have gone out of business and the others give their riders fewer runs, older equipment, less service and increased rates. It is not surprising, then, to learn that the Federal government has been concerned with the quality of the transit systems.

The first major Federal program for mass transit was enacted as part of the 1961 housing Act, providing $25 million in grants and $50 million in loans to update and improve urban transportation systems. This program was expanded with the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 and 1966, and last year in the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Act.

Although HUD has the authority to decide which urban areas will receive transportation assistance, the management of these projects has fallen to the Department of Transportation. The newly-formed Urban Mass Transportation Administration (UMTA) under the Department of Transportation, reports that Federal assistance to date literally has saved transit systems in at least 25 cities, three-fourths of them under 100,000 population.

Federal assistance for transportation has favored the highways, however. UMTA officials point out that more than $5 billion was spent on highway construction in 1969, more than twice the amount of total federal expenditures on mass transit since 1964. Further, UMTA officials said only 55 employees are now working on mass transit problems, as compared with 5,000 employees in the Federal Highway Administration. Now there is sentiment to bring Federal participation into "balance".

TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE JOHN W. MCCORMACK, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 26, 1970

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, it is with the deepest respect and sense of affection that I pay tribute to a truly great American, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK of Massachusetts, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Your forthcoming retirement will bring to a close a long and brilliant period of public service to our Nation, and I am honored to have served my first term in Congress under your expert and compassionate leadership.

As a new Member, I am grateful for your counsel and advice, which enabled me to translate the needs and desires of my constituency into legislative action. I know that, through the years, you have helped many other new House Members to best direct their efforts through the parliamentary procedures of our democratic process. I am sure I express the sentiments of hundreds of present and past Members when I say that was it not for your good counsel, graciousness, and tact, our service in the House would have been less rewarding.

As Speaker, you served as an inspiration to many of us. You transcended party politics and called upon your good sense of judgment and unerring sense of fairness in steering the House into the right course of action on so many crucial issues over the last 8 years. And the national interest has been served well because of your actions. Your particular devotion to duty during one of the most troubled eras of our time inspired me long before I was elected to the House and was influenced by your personal magnetism.

You are a man who has made an indelible mark on history. The record of

your achievements are far too many for me to mention here. We can see that you possess a distinct ability to perceive great issues of the future. You were one of the original proponents of the need to push into space and to develop our space technology and science. As a result America in 1970, ranks first in this important field, and the space spin-off programs have benefited every American and indeed all peoples of the world. This example of vision and foresight can be applied to countless other issues which blossomed to maturity under your able guidance.

Mr. Speaker, over the many years of service, you have gained the respect and admiration of colleagues on both sides of the aisle because of your effective legislative ability and your 8 years as an exemplary impartial presiding officer of the House. This Congress and those to come will long remember the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Speaker of the House, gentleman, dedicated servant, man of deep religious conviction and exceedingly good character.

Mr. Speaker, I wish you well. It has been my honor and pleasure to have served with you.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—*Monday, June 1, 1970*

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel.—Psalms 73: 24.

Almighty and everlasting God, who hast created us in Thine own image and called us to live together in the spirit of brotherhood, grant unto us to fearlessly contend against evil, to make no peace with oppression and to use our freedom in the maintenance of justice between men, good will among our people, and peace in our world.

We pray for our Nation in these troubled times. Direct the decisions of these Members of Congress that they may be in accord with Thy will, seeking the welfare of our country and the well-being of all mankind.

Guide the nations of the world into the ways of justice and truth and establish among them the peace which is the fruit of righteousness and good will—to the glory of Thy holy name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, May 27, 1970, was read and approved.

BIRTHDAY OF THE LATE HONORABLE JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, last Friday was the birthday of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Had our late martyred President not been the victim of an assassin's bullet, he would have been 53 years old. As one who was both a close personal friend of President Kennedy and intimately associated with him throughout his public career, I should be remiss if I failed to recall for this body, however briefly and inadequately, his exemplary life and public service.

John F. Kennedy was representative of everything that is noble and ideal in American life. In time of war he unhesitantly answered his country's call to service and served courageously and with distinction under combat in the Navy. The injuries which he sustained during World War II he was to carry throughout his lifetime. In lesser men they might have very well been more than an adequate excuse for the avoidance of an active and demanding political career. For John F. Kennedy, however, they represented a challenge which further inspired him to enter the political arena.

His public career should be an inspiration and stimulation for all young people who desire to serve their country through participation in the political process. A Member of the House when only 29, he was elected to the Senate at 35 and became our youngest elected President when but 43 years of age. Throughout his public life he exemplified the basic tradition upon which our American political process is grounded, that men can disagree, yes, disagree very strongly, over public issues, yet never be disagreeable. His political philosophy both by inclination and study placed him in what is generally referred to as the liberal camp. He was invariably found on the side of those battling to improve the quality of American life for the Nation as a whole, but particularly for those who found themselves economically and socially depressed. In his only too short tenure as President of the United States his vision and leadership established the pattern for progress in a wide spectrum of areas ranging all the way from economics to human rights.

It was he who pointed the way toward the brilliant achievements which this Nation was to attain in housing, health, education, and civil rights during the 1960's.

While as a liberal or progressive, John F. Kennedy however sharply rejected the dogmatism which unfortunately is so characteristic of some liberals. Intellectually his liberalism eptomized liberalism of the classic mold. He was the possessor of a mental process which eschewed preconceptions. He was not only able to entertain widely divergent views about problems facing our society and their solutions, he actually welcomed them and he went out of his way to assimilate them. Likewise, when it came to political action, he was a pragmatist. As a political realist, he was ever cognizant that a necessary prerequisite for statesmanship is the ability in the public arena to distinguish the attainable from the ideal. Having come to the Presidency only after experiencing the rigorous rough and tumble of political life at the State and congressional level, he was ever mindful that progressive causes never achieve total victory overnight. The depth and breadth of his training in statecraft enabled him to recognize that which many liberals failed to comprehend, that all progress today must be built on that achieved in past years. Like all great progressive leaders, he was also fully conscious that any act or recommendation of his would not yield the ultimate solution to any problem. Absence of intellectual arrogance permitted a realization on his part that as those of his time and his generation had been required to perfect and update the accomplishments of his predecessors, so would those who would follow, have to build on the attainments of President Kennedy's era.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS TO FILE PRIVILEGED REPORT ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE APPROPRIATIONS, 1971

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations may have until midnight tonight to file a privileged report on the foreign assistance and related programs appropriation bill for fiscal year 1971.

Mr. SHRIVER reserved all points of order on the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS TO FILE PRIVILEGED REPORT ON DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS, 1971.

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations may have until midnight tonight to file a privileged report on the District of Columbia appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1971.

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin reserved all points of order on the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Kentucky?

There was no objection.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. PASSMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may be granted 12 days leave of absence from the House from June 5 to June 17, inclusive, to attend to official congressional business in my congressional district.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Louisiana?

There was no objection.

CONSENT CALENDAR

The SPEAKER. This is Consent Calendar day. The Clerk will call the first bill on the Consent Calendar.