

the amount and environmental quality of packaging, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 18335. A bill to provide for the development of a low-emission engine for motor vehicles and for assistance to American industry in putting such engine into production as a replacement for the internal combustion engine; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 18336. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to ban polyphosphates in detergents and to establish standards and programs to abate and control water pollution by synthetic detergents; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 18337. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to protect the navigable waters of the United States from further pollution by requiring that pesticides manufactured for use in the United States or imported for use in the United States comply with certain standards of biodegradability and toxicity; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 18338. A bill to amend sections 5, 6, and 7 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 18339. A bill to amend sections 1, 3, 10, and 13 of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 18340. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 18341. A bill to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 18342. A bill to preserve, protect, develop, restore, and make accessible the

lake areas of the Nation by establishing a National Lake Areas System and authorizing programs of lake and lake areas research, and for other purposes, to the Committee on Public Works.

H.R. 18343. A bill to establish an Environmental Financing Authority to assist in the financing of waste treatment facilities, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. POFF:

H.R. 18344. A bill to carry into effect a provision of the Convention of Paris for the Protection of Industrial Property, as revised at Stockholm, Sweden, July 14, 1967; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POLLOCK:

H.R. 18345. A bill to amend the act entitled "An Act to establish a contiguous fishery zone beyond the territorial sea of the United States," approved October 14, 1966, to extend the seaward boundary of the contiguous fishery zone to 200 nautical miles; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. UDALL:

H.R. 18346. A bill to repeal certain provisions of the Airport and Airway Development Act of 1970; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mrs. MINK:

H.R. 18347. A bill to transfer the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange between East and West from the Secretary of State to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. OBEY:

H.R. 18348. A bill to amend the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act, to establish a National Marine Mineral Resources Trust, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. STEIGER of Arizona:
H.R. 18349. A bill to provide for disclosure of political fund-raising fees; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. ALEXANDER:

H.J. Res. 1292. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the offering of prayer in public buildings; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CARTER:

H.J. Res. 1293. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the month of January of each year as "National Blood Donor Month"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. OBEY:

H.J. Res. 1294. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States declaring that every person has an inalienable right to a decent environment; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TIERNAN:

H.J. Res. 1295. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the period August 1 through August 7, 1970, as National Roller Skating Week; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota:

H. Res. 1128. Resolution designating January 22 of each year as Ukrainian Independence Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

Mr. FARBSTEIN introduced a bill (H.R. 18350) for the relief of Benedicta Torremonia, which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ITALIAN-AMERICAN UNITY DAY

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, Italian-American Unity Day was celebrated throughout the country on June 29 to recognize the contributions which the Italian people have made to our Nation. It is most fitting that we stop at this time, to reflect upon the benefits we enjoy as a result of the influence of the Italian culture and heritage.

Ever since Cristoforo Colombo discovered America, Giovanni Cabota—John Cabot—first explored its mainland, and Amerigo Vespucci gave it its name, the Italians have participated in and contributed fully to every aspect of American life and culture from the arts and sciences to industry and government. President Nicholas Butler of Columbia University once wrote:

You can subtract Italian culture from civilization only by destroying that civilization.

Many Italians are known throughout the world for their contributions to the various fields of human endeavor. In science, both Galileo's discovery of the telescope and Enrico Fermi's discovery

of atomic power advanced their fields. The artistry of Da Vinci, Michelangelo, Raffaello and Cellini is recognized around the world. The writings of Dante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio, and the philosophy of Giordano Bruno, are still studied widely, just as the music of Verdi, Toscanini, Menotti, Caruso and Mario Lanza are enjoyed everywhere. In the fields of sports and entertainment, millions know Nino Benvenuti, Mario Andretti, Jimmy Durante, Anne Bancroft, Jerry Colonna, and Perry Como.

However much the Italians have been recognized by the world community, few Americans realize the contributions made by Italians right here in our own country. How many know that it was an Italian friend and adviser of Thomas Jefferson, Filippo Mazzei, who first penned the phrase, "All men are by nature created free and independent—It is necessary that all men be equal to each other in natural rights," which was used as the basis for the immortal "All men are created equal" phrase in our Declaration of Independence?

Italians discovered and explored many parts of the country—Alfonso Tonti aided Cadillac in the founding of Detroit and became its governor; Alessandro Malaspina was the first white man to explore Alaska and Vancouver; Father Marco da Nizza led Coronado's expedition beyond the Grand Canyon; Giovanni Verrazano discovered New York Harbor;

and Umberti Beltrami traced the sources of the Mississippi.

In defending our country, Italians have played a major role from Francesco Vigo, the fur trader who made possible the victory of George Rogers Clark at Vincennes; to Salvatore Catalano, who aided Stephen Decatur in the war against the Barbary Pirates; to the estimated 845,000 Italian men who served in the Armed Forces of the United States during World War II.

Right here in the Nation's Capital, we find numerous examples of the brilliant artistry of the Italians. Most of the frescoes, paintings, and sculptures are the works of Joseph Franzoni, John Andrei, and Constantine Brumidi, who conceived and executed the magnificent rotunda in the Capitol building, winning for himself the title "Michelangelo of the Capitol."

Many Italians are famed in a variety of other fields including education, industry, and government. These include the renowned child psychologist Angelo Patri; the gifted philologist Dr. Mario Pei; the Cuneo Brothers who founded the world's greatest printing establishment; Amadeo Giannini who founded one of the largest banking institutions in the world; Senator JOHN O. PASTORE; former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze; and New York's most famous mayor Fiorello La Guardia, for whom a hit Broadway show was named.

Although the Italian-Americans are among the most recent people to come to America as a group, they have already enhanced and enriched our culture immeasurably. It is with a great deal of pleasure that I pay tribute to them today.

FREEDOM FOR CHOICE

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, oftentimes we hear contrasts between the revolutionaries of today and those of 1776.

Our national press has chosen to give endless coverage to those who preach revolution. Few if any editors in the "name" newspapers or commentators on the television networks take these dissidents to task. Some opinion makers argue the Rubins and Hoffmans are not notable enough for such treatment, but this runs counter to the coverage they receive in the news columns.

A succinct editorial on revolutionaries, past and present, appeared in the Thursday, July 2, 1970, issue of the North Augusta Star in North Augusta, S.C.

Appearing under the title "Freedom for Choice" the Star editor, Samuel Woodring, used only a few words to bring home dramatically the liberalism of 1776 versus the liberalism of 1970. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

FREEDOM FOR CHOICE

One hundred ninety-four years ago come Saturday, a dissident group of British traitors signed their names to a document unique in the annals of the political history of the world.

The words of these men have echoed through the centuries with a clarity never misunderstood. Let us pause and weigh the weight of these words with the words of some traitors in our midst today.

First, from that document in 1776:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Government long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security."

Now let us review the words of today's revolutionary leader, one Jerry Rubin, leader of the Youth International Party (Yippie) spoken at Kent State University on or about April 10 of 1970:

"The first part of the Yippie program, you know, is kill your parents. And I mean that quite seriously because until you're prepared to kill your parents you're not really prepared to change the country because our parents are our first oppressors."

Interviewed at the Washington, D.C., anti-war demonstration on May 9, Yippie co-leader Abbie Hoffman said he agreed with Rubin: "Revolution begins at home. Yeah, I've already written that in my book . . . I think the way to bridge the generation gap is to eliminate one half of it."

While there may exist varying degrees of liberalism in our nation today, this may be regarded as the ultimate toward which liberalism leads.

The liberalism of 1776 versus the liberalism of 1970.

Where do you stand as we approach Independence Day, 1970?

TAKE PRIDE IN AMERICA

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague from Ohio, CLARENCE E. MILLER, has championed a campaign greatly overlooked amidst the debate and furor surrounding our social problems. Mr. MILLER's daily "Take Pride in America" series in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is directed toward countering a cancerous pessimistic attitude in this Nation, and it serves as a reminder that America is a progressive and productive land. When our Nation is under verbal attack from various quarters it is refreshing, indeed, for someone to point up what is right with America. In addition, it is important to note that Mr. MILLER's effort preceded the idea which sparked the successful Honor America Day activities celebrated across our country. Due recognition was given Mr. MILLER in a July 6 article by David Broder of the Washington Post. I would like to take this opportunity to bring it to the attention of this body and wish my colleague continued success in his endeavor.

The article follows:

"TAKE PRIDE IN AMERICA": LEGISLATOR GOES ON RECORD OVER WHAT IS GOOD IN UNITED STATES

(By David S. Broder)

"Mr. Speaker," the paragraph in the Congressional Record began, "today we should take note of America's great accomplishments and in so doing renew our faith and confidence in ourselves as individuals and as a nation."

It continued: "The United States is the world's largest producer of frozen vegetables. In 1965 the United States produced 1,569,000 metric tons of frozen vegetables. This was 15 times more than produced by West Germany, the second-ranked nation."

On virtually every day the House has been in session since last November, Rep. Clarence E. Miller (R-Ohio) has dropped a similarly intriguing item of information into the Record for the edification of his colleagues and the 49,000 subscribers to that document.

Under the standing headline, "Take Pride in America," and with the same introductory sentence each time, Miller, a 53-year-old

second-termer has been waging a one-man war of attrition against what he calls "the general outlook of negativesss toward our country and our government."

Saturday, while most of his colleagues were weekending in cool vacation spots, Miller was one of the thousands who gathered at the Lincoln Memorial for the "Honor America" day ceremonies.

"I think it's a wonderful idea," he said of the patriotic celebration. "It's a continuation of what we've been talking about since last Thanksgiving."

Actually, it was two days before Thanksgiving that the graying former mayor of Lancaster, Ohio, made one of his rare floor speeches since coming to Congress.

Taking note of the approaching holiday, he said, "Some of us might ask today: Just what have we got to be thankful for? Daily we see stories . . . of riots and crime . . . economic peril. Some say a war drains our money and kills our fine young men . . . our campuses are aflame with disorder and disruption. Black is pitted against white in some cities—it would seem to some that we have little to be thankful for."

But Miller quickly affirmed his own confidence. "The important thing," he said, "is that we in America are moving forward. We are trying to improve—we are tackling our problems, and making progress in many areas."

He concluded with the announcement that henceforth he would put into the Record every day "a specific fact illustrative of our nation's great economic, cultural and spiritual achievements to serve as a daily reminder of the success of the American way that is emulated throughout the world."

Providing those daily facts has been something of a challenge to the staff that Miller—always the positive thinker—earnestly proclaims is "the best on Capitol Hill." The Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress came up with a preliminary listing of American "mosts," and when that was in danger of exhaustion, Miller sent a letter around to industry and trade groups, inviting them to brag a bit about their superlatives.

RESPONSE HEAVY

The response was so heavy that Miller now has a healthy backlog of diverse American accomplishments, in addition to the 70 or 80 already noted in the Record. Although some might think Wednesday's frozen vegetable item indicated he was scraping bottom, that is not the Congressman's view. "I believe," he said Friday, "that I can keep this going as long as I'm here."

The "Take Pride in America" series has developed quite a following among close readers of the Record.

After reading through a long argument over an appropriations bill, it comes as a refreshing respite to see, for example: "In 1967 there were 285 million radios in the United States. This was three-and-a-half times more than the number in the Soviet Union, the second leading nation."

Or: "In 1966 there were 1,678,700 private hospital beds in the United States. This was more than any other country. Japan was second with 1,077,700."

Miller, a self-made man who studied electrical engineering through the International Correspondence School, believes his own optimism about America reflects the views of his constituents.

"That's the way most people feel," he said, "but they're bombarded daily by ideas that would tend to make them think otherwise."

He has done little to publicize his single-minded enterprise and ventured the guess that "not many people in my district even know of it."

But Saturday's outpouring on the Mall led him to believe that he may be the unheralded vanguard of a mass movement to restore "pride in America."

DIALOG ON DEBT: SENATOR BYRD'S
QUESTIONS

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Extensions of Remarks an editorial entitled "Dialog on Debt: Senator Byrd's Questions," published in the Norfolk Ledger-Star of July 3, 1970.

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

DIALOG ON DEBT: SENATOR BYRD'S QUESTIONS

We don't want to make matters sound too dolorous, what with the weather, but have you thought about the national debt lately? Or the interest you, as a taxpayer, help to pay annually on that debt?

Well, Senator Harry Byrd met in discussion recently with the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. David Kennedy, and Mr. Robert Mayo, the Budget Director, concerning the need to raise the ceiling on the national debt by \$18 billion—from the present \$376 billion to \$395 billion.

The debt limit has been raised just about every other year or so since we can remember; in 1940 our national debt was \$43 billion, in 1950 it was \$257 billion and it has increased each year since. The limit has been raised as well, for unless the legal ceiling is removed when the U.S. debt bangs its head against it, the United States couldn't legally pay its bills. So Congress increased the debt limit last year by \$12 billion, and this year will show an increase of \$18 billion.

This debt of \$395 billion will need servicing, of course; that is, the government must keep selling bonds, notes and the like to pay off other debts when they come due, so the effect is like a circus juggler keeping a dozen balls going in the air at once.

And so we come to the increase the taxpayers must pay on the national debt of close to \$400 billion. Let's tune in on the dialogue in the Senate Committee on Finance:

Senator BYRD. May I ask you the figure in the fiscal 1971 budget for the interest on the public debt, just in round figures?

Mr. MAYO. Yes. It is now \$20 billion even, I believe, with the revisions we published May 19th.

Senator BYRD. Let me get this straight now. Fiscal 1971 will call for interest payments of \$20 billion?

Mr. MAYO. Yes, \$20 billion.

Senator BYRD. \$20 billion. What were the interest payments for fiscal 1970?

Mr. MAYO. Let me see here. Current estimates, \$19,350,000,000.

Senator BYRD. \$19.3 billion. What have you for fiscal 1969?

Mr. MAYO. \$16.6 billion.

Senator BYRD. Fiscal 1968?

Mr. MAYO. \$14.6 billion.

Senator BYRD. So that in that four-year period—fiscal 1968 through fiscal 1971, that four-year period, the interest on the debt has increased from \$14.6 billion to \$20 billion?

Mr. MAYO. Yes, sir.

Senator BYRD. An increase of \$5.4 billion or percentagewise in that short period of time it has increased about 40 percent.

Mr. MAYO. Yes, that is correct.

Senator BYRD. So I am correct in this assertion that the \$20 billion interest charge figure in the fiscal year 1971 budget will be the second highest non-defense item in the budget, the highest being for HEW?

Mr. MAYO. I think that is a correct statement, lumping it in that way.

Senator BYRD. And for that \$20 billion the taxpayers get no programs, and they get nothing for that interest payment of \$20 billion.

Now that tells us what inflation's all about. The interest on the debt jumped 40 percent in about four years for two reasons: The Treasury had to keep selling U.S. obligations and the obligations, in order to compete in the money markets, had to pay a higher interest.

The question to ask now is, Why does the government have to keep selling more and more obligations? and the answer is that the government has got to raise money to pay for all the spending it does that can't be paid for by its annual receipts. When the government budget is out of balance, which is most of the time, the government has to borrow money to pay its debts. And the more government dollars around to chase goods and services, the higher in cost the goods and services will go. Result: Inflation.

A lot of funny-money economists tell us that the debt, and the interest the taxpayers pay on the debt, don't really mean a thing because it's all only money we owe to ourselves. Well, we'd personally like to pay off ourselves with some of that money we owe us, and if somebody could tell us how to do it we wouldn't worry so much about having to turn our pockets inside-out helping to raise just the interest.

LIBERTY LIVES

HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, at times it seems a troubled spirit walks the American land. The events of Independence Day in Washington and across the land show, however, that most Americans still hold to the values and ideals of liberty which are the cornerstone of our Republic.

Our Nation is founded on reality—in the blood of millions of men in thousands of battles. We keep the reality of these events in the symbols and documents of our Nation.

James M. Flinchum, editor of the Wyoming State Tribune, captured the views of Americans in a vivid and living editorial commemorating Independence Day. I am inserting the editorial from the July 3, 1970, issue of the Tribune in the RECORD:

THE "SPIRIT" STILL LIVES

Daniel Webster, Discourse in Commemoration of Adams and Jefferson, Faneuil Hall, Boston, August 2, 1826—"I shall enter on no encomium upon Massachusetts; she needs none. There she is. Behold her, and judge for yourselves. There is her history; the world knows it by heart. The past, at least is secure. There is Boston and Concord and Lexington and Bunker Hill; and there they will remain forever."

America tomorrow celebrates its most important national holiday, only a half dozen years short of the second centennial of its independence as a free nation of free men.

In the mere act of decreeing its independence, the gathering of representative men of the former British Colonies of North America who assembled in Philadelphia under the jerry-built structure of an agency known as the Continental Congress required vast courage and great vision to take such a step which marked the beginning of a long struggle to achieve their purpose.

If they were representative, it probably was only of a minority of the people of the American colonies; certainly, something less than a majority came forward to take part in the American Revolution either as soldiers or as civilian supporters.

The Declaration of Independence itself probably was productive of a series of relatively minor clashes beginning first with the so-called Boston Massacre and the Battle of Lexington and Concord, a mere skirmish that within the context of today's modern wars would scarcely rate a mention by a war zone headquarters press briefing officer.

It is to this that we wish to address ourselves today on the eve of the 194th observance of the signing of the Declaration of Independence; for this latter act amounted to a desperate gamble on the part of the signers, a contract that bound them to one of two very definite futures; a glorious triumph which would mean the emergence of a new nation, or else their hanging from the Crown's gallows. All of this was the product of some relatively trifling conflicts at arms that can scarcely be graced with the appellation of "battle" even though there were such events celebrated in history as the "Battle" of Lexington and Concord and the "Battle" of Bunker Hill.

This week, after the President of the United States had concluded a television address to the nation about a phase of a latter-day conflict, the Cambodian operation of the Vietnam war, a United States senator scornfully offered a comparative reference of the Cambodian affair with World War II.

Said Sen. George McGovern, D., S.D., who only by grossest understatement can be described as a nonsupporter of the Vietnam War: "For the President to compare the Cambodian fiasco with the great decisive battles of World War II such as Stalingrad indicates he is living in Disneyland." Senator McGovern's two-pronged sneer suggests, however, that his acute prejudices have blinded him to the American ideals of representative government of free men that have persisted almost two centuries now.

One also wonders how McGovern, a history professor at Dakota Wesleyan University before the people of his state unfortunately chose him for high office, would regard Lexington and Concord. Certainly it was no Stalingrad, a titanic struggle between two totalitarian forces representing the very antithesis of the American ideal, that decimated entire armies of the Russians and Germans before it was concluded in the former's favor. Yet even Stalingrad hardly compares with the gigantic struggles of World War I which cost millions of lives.

But it is not in terms of loss of life or armies committed that we measure these events, but their future impact of peoples and the course of the world.

Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill set in motion the entire panoply of American history. Regardless of their comparative puniness, they loom today as gigantic events because of what they ultimately produced, in the Declaration of Independence for one the firm resolve by the leaders of the American Colonies to form their own government based on the 18th Century ideas that government is best for all concerned if their authority is derived with the consent of the governed.

It is that American ideal that has persisted down through the 195 years since the Battle of Lexington and Concord, a tiny clash in which only a handful of men died in what was little better than a reconnaissance-in-force patrol of the British Army, that fought a motley group of citizens.

But it was a most decisive affair; it must be said to be perhaps one of the greatest such events in human experience, for it has given us one of the most just governments ever known; and greater than that, perpetuated an ideal that leads men to lay

down their lives in this very day and age for the belief that it is a living legacy that thrives in the souls of Americans as strongly, perhaps even more strongly, today as it did on the very first Fourth of July, 1776.

That legacy led this nation into Asia to give succor to beleaguered peoples beset by forces of oppression as dark and bitter as any known to man in his long history of despotism and terror; it is this "Cambodian fiasco" that the likes of Sen. George McGovern speak with such mocking disdain.

The future does not afford us the opportunity at this point of determining whether Cambodia or indeed the entire Vietnam War are decisive events in world history; but neither, it can be said, did Lexington and Concord at the time.

It is only when we look back down through the long corridors of time that we see their importance.

Cambodia, and the U.S. role in Southeast Asia, prove one thing.

Americans still revere liberty and many of them are still willing, if need be, to lay down their lives for it, not only for themselves but for others.

For if we be free and all others be slaves, what matter if it only we have our liberty? If that be so, we too shall soon lose it.

By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.

—Emerson's Hymn sung at the completion of the battle monument at Concord, July 4, 1837.

SENATOR HUGH SCOTT'S RECORD ON CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

HON. EDWARD W. BROOKE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, Senator HUGH SCOTT has fought the battle for civil rights for over 25 years. While still a Congressman representing a district in which few blacks resided, Senator SCOTT urged his fellow Members of Congress to respect the equality of all men.

Now serving as the Republican leader, Senator SCOTT is continuing his struggle for equal rights. Be it in the area of civil rights activity, voting, housing, education or employment, Senator SCOTT has always been in the forefront, doing what is right for all Americans.

I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a summary of Senator SCOTT's civil rights record.

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

SUMMARY OF SENATOR HUGH SCOTT'S RECORD ON CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

THE 91ST CONGRESS

Legislation

S. 818. To extend the 1965 Voting Rights Act for five years in order to ensure against use of discriminatory tests and devices to deny the vote of any eligible American.

Senate Joint Resolution 14. To designate January 15 of each year as "Martin Luther King Day."

S. 2029. Omnibus Civil Rights Act—To prevent discrimination because of race, color or creed on jury selection, and to authorize the Equal Employment Opportunity Com-

mission to take action against unlawful employment practices.

S. 2375. To permit the Attorney General of the United States to take action toward desegregation of public schools in order to ensure equal educational opportunities for all Americans.

S. 2453. Equal Employment Opportunities Enforcement Act.—To allow any person who has been discriminated against by unfair employment practices which are against State law to seek action from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission if action is not taken in State within sixty days after complaint is filed there.

S. 2455. To authorize funds to carry out all provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

S. 2806. Equal Employment Opportunity Act—To grant the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission freedom to file a complaint in Federal district court against any employer who appears to have violated equal employment laws when attempts at conciliation by the EEOC have failed.

S. 3643. To authorize the striking of a gold medal to be presented by the President to Mrs. Martin Luther King in commemoration of the life and work of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and to authorize striking of duplicate medals in bronze to be furnished to Morehouse College and the King family for sale, the proceeds of which will go to scholarship and building funds.

Votes

Voted to increase by \$500,000 funds available for grants to State equal employment practice commissions, and to increase by \$4.4 million funds for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Voted for Scott amendment to declare it the policy of the United States to apply uniformly in all regions of the United States guidelines and criteria in dealing with conditions of unconstitutional segregation in schools by race.

Voted to create a Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity.

Voted not to remove from any U.S. court, department, officer or employee, jurisdiction or power to require a State or local agency to bus public school pupils to alter the racial composition of the student body.

Voted to express the sense of Congress that the Departments of Justice and HEW should request such additional funds as were necessary to apply uniformly throughout the United States a policy of dealing with segregation in schools.

Voted for Scott-Hart amendment to extend the Voting Rights Act for an additional five years.

Voted against all amendments to the Voting Rights Act of 1969 that would have weakened its effectiveness of enforcement powers.

THE 90TH CONGRESS

Legislation

S. 1026. The Civil Rights Act of 1967—To ensure equal rights to all Americans in areas of employment, jury selection, housing and personal liberties by strengthening and expanding Federal jurisdiction in these areas.

S. 1358. Fair Housing Act—To prohibit discrimination on account of race, color, religion, or national origin in sale or rental, financing or provision of brokerage service in connection with purchase or rental of dwelling facilities.

S. 1359. To extend for five years the Civil Rights Commission.

S. 2979. To establish a Commission on Negro History and Culture.

S. 3249. National Manpower Act—To aid in the reduction of unemployment rates, to establish community service employment program for the hard-core unemployed, to create new jobs in areas of high unemployment or low-income population.

Votes

Voted to strengthen provisions relating to open housing.

Voted to provide Federal protection for persons engaged in civil rights work.

THE 89TH CONGRESS

Legislation

S. 1497. Protection Against Unlawful Official Violence Act—To set forth criminal penalties for law enforcement officials who deprive persons of civil rights.

S. 1564. Voting Rights of 1965—To prohibit any voting qualification or procedure designed to deny or abridge the right to vote on account of race or color.

S. 1654. To increase criminal penalties against those who interfere with the exercising of civil rights with violence or threat of violence.

S. 2548. To prohibit transmission of material which defames racial or religious groups.

S. 2846. To make it a Federal offense to take unlawful violence against civil rights workers.

S. 3451. To assist in provision of adequate housing in areas where a shortage of housing credit exists as a result of civil disorder.

Votes

Voted to strengthen and pass the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Voted to increase funds for civil rights educational activities from \$5 million to \$8 million.

THE 88TH CONGRESS

Legislation

S. 772. To facilitate desegregation of public schools by requiring school boards to file desegregation plans with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and to authorize grants to assist in meeting the additional costs incurred during desegregation.

S. 773. Federal Fair Employment Practice Act—To make it an unlawful employment practice for an employer or labor organization to discriminate because of race, color, religion or national origin; to create a Fair Employment Practice Commission to carry out the law.

S. 1211. To establish the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to ensure that no discriminatory practices exist in Federal employment.

S. 1212. To prohibit discrimination in employment in Washington, D.C.

S. 1213. To require states to assure decent housing be available to families displaced by Interstate Highway System.

S. 1214. Federal Voting Rights Act—To provide that successful completion of six or more grades of formal education shall satisfy requirement of any literacy test to determine qualification of voter.

S. 1217. To prohibit discrimination in furnishing hotel or motel accommodations.

S. 1218. To prohibit discrimination on account of race, color or creed by any hospital which receives Federal aid; to require such hospitals to provide adequate facilities for indigent persons.

S. 1219. To provide that Civil Rights Commission be a permanent Federal agency and that it serve as national clearing-house for civil rights matters.

S. 1590. To allow the Department of Justice to sue for preventive relief in Federal court to prevent infringement of rights of students at public schools.

S. 1591. To prohibit discrimination in furnishing services or facilities for business under State license; to permit the Attorney General of the U.S. to seek Federal court action to prevent such discrimination.

S. 1731. Civil Rights Act—To encourage equality in voting, public accommodations, public schools, and employment by establishing a Community Relations Service to aid with resolution of disputes relative to discriminatory practices and by withholding

Federal funds from any programs which individuals participating in or benefitting from are discriminated against.

S. 1732. Interstate Public Accommodations Act—To prohibit discrimination in places of public accommodations.

Votes

Voted to increase by \$60,000 funds for the Civil Rights Division, Department of Justice.

Voted to provide special training for school officials to deal with integration problems.

Voted to establish the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and to strengthen its powers.

Voted not to delay the effective date for the "public accommodations" provision of the 1964 Civil Rights bill; and to strengthen further this provision.

Voted to allow the Attorney General to enter into agreements with State and local authorities respecting literacy tests for voting.

Voted to authorize the Attorney General to intervene in any action in any Federal court seeking relief from denial of equal protection of the laws under the 14th Amendment on account of race, color, religion or national origin, if he certified that case was of general public importance.

Voted to allow Federal action to require any person in sale or lease of residential housing to negotiate or enter into any contract with a person not of his own choosing.

Voted to allow busing of students.

Voted to retain a Community Relations Service within the Department of Commerce.

THE 87TH CONGRESS

Legislation

S.J. Res. 58.—To propose amendment to the Constitution specifying that the right to vote shall not be conditioned upon payment of any poll or other tax or property qualification.

S. Res. 5.—To amend cloture rule on Senate debate in order to avoid delaying filibuster on civil rights legislation.

S. 1256.—Federal Anti-lynching Act—To clearly establish the definition of a lynching and to provide for strict penalties to persons who participate in or aid such lynchings and to law enforcement officials who do not act to prevent such lynchings.

S. 1253.—To ensure all persons equal privilege on public conveyances operated by common carrier engaged in interstate or foreign commerce without discrimination or segregation based on race or color with fines for any person who does not provide equal privileges.

S. 2981.—Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Act—To prohibit membership discrimination by labor unions.

S. Res. 313.—To authorize funds for study of discriminatory practices by institutions making real estate loans with the objective of ending any such discrimination.

Votes

Voted to extend the Civil Rights Commission for two years (has voted the same way every time since).

THE 86TH CONGRESS

Legislation

S. 456.—To authorize the Attorney General of the U.S. to take injunctive proceedings against local officials who deprive any person of his civil rights as guaranteed in the 14th Amendment when such person is financially unable to bring suit.

S. 942.—To create a Commission on Equal Job Opportunities Under Government Contracts to ensure equal employment opportunities for all persons, regardless of race, color, or creed, in performance of Government contracts.

S. 2868.—To prohibit States to impose any poll tax, property tax, or property ownership qualification or property tax in order to vote in Federal elections.

S. 3001.—To strengthen enforcement of civil rights laws by prohibiting interference with court orders in desegregation cases; by making it a Federal crime for any suspect to flee from one state to another to avoid prosecution for bombing schools or churches; and by providing grants to states or communities in order to hasten desegregation.

S. 3821.—To strengthen guarantees of civil rights by specifying areas in which legislative and administrative action should be concentrated: employment, voting, housing and justice in courts.

S. 3823.—To provide for dissemination of information to employers to eliminate employment discrimination and to provide for grants to help finance state agencies in desegregation process.

Because of Senator Scott's activities in the field of civil rights, Americans who belong to minority groups have achieved, by law, many rights which they were previously denied. Senator Scott recognizes, however, that civil rights laws are not the final answer. He will continue his fight to remove all the stains of inequality from American life, be they through law or custom.

LET US NOT BLAME OUR KIDS FOR ALL CAMPUS PROBLEMS

HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, one of the most outspoken journalists in my State and perhaps in the Southeastern United States is Mr. John F. Yarbrough, editor and publisher of the Southeastern Poultry Times, published in Gainesville, Ga. This newspaper is considered the bible of the poultry industry which Georgia has consistently led for many years.

In its July 1 issue, the Poultry Times carried an editorial by Mr. Yarbrough which is sparking in its logic and clarity. The editorial dealt not only with the Cambodian situation but also with campus violence and the failure of college administrators to deal firmly with disorders. I insert the editorial in the RECORD at this point so that others may see it:

LET US NOT BLAME OUR KIDS FOR ALL CAMPUS PROBLEMS

(By John F. Yarbrough)

DEAR FOLKS: Reports from Saigon Monday brought news that all of the U.S. fighting troops sent into Cambodia two months ago have now returned to Viet Nam. The President and Commander in Chief said they would be returned by July 1 and they were.

Success of the mission can be counted in the capture or destruction of 29,627 weapons, more than 11,000 tons of munitions and more than 8,500 tons of rice. In addition, a total of 14,488 North Vietnamese and Viet Cong were killed and 1,427 were captured.

The U.S. lost 339 men killed and 1,509 wounded in the Cambodian operation with 866 South Vietnamese killed and 3,724 wounded.

These facts and statistics add up to a substantial victory in our view.

Looking back on the violence and disturbances that flamed across this country at the beginning of the Cambodian campaign, leads us to wonder when city, county, state and federal law enforcement authorities and the administrators and teaching staffs of our

colleges and universities are going to really start coping with the violence and acts of destruction and mobism on our campuses.

The deaths of college students at Kent State and in Jackson, Miss., surely could have been prevented if we, the adult majority in this nation, had long ago lived up to our responsibilities and had taken any and all of the necessary action to keep the lid on our campuses.

Weak and timid college administrators must bear part of the responsibility. Wild-eyed, liberal teachers by the droves must accept an even greater share of the responsibility for they have spent too much of their time egging on the students under the guise of freedom of speech, academic freedom, etc., and entirely too little of their time demonstrating the responsibilities of citizenship which go hand in glove with freedom.

That the general population of this country has allowed the climate on our campuses to ferment until every point of political difference brings about a rash of clashes on the campus, is a responsibility every tax paying, voting, citizen must accept.

We are not prone to believe that under every bushy beard there lurks a communist conspirator, even though there undoubtedly are a good many operating in this country. The real problem, as we see it, is that we have not demanded that our colleges and universities be used for the purposes originally intended—as seats of learning—rather than as seedbeds for every cause celebre that appears on the political horizon.

The kids who don't want to go to college classes to learn and to prepare themselves for a more fulfilling life frankly don't have any business taking up space at our schools of higher learning. We don't think they have learned enough or earned the right to rule over the political decisions being made on a day to day basis in this country.

In addition, we think their methods are even worse than some of our decisions or indecisions, as the case may be. Mob violence is no fair substitute for the system of government and law, the birth of which we celebrate this Saturday, the 4th of July.

Independence, our forefathers learned, wasn't just a case of rising up against external oppressors, it was, and still is, the net result of good that can be and most of the time is achieved through a government of law rather than a hodge-podge of continually fomenting anarchistic violence.

But let's not put all the blame on the kids. They only rule with violence when we fail to act with fairness and, yes, firmness.

(NOTE.—Southeastern Poultry Times is independently owned and published by Southeastern Poultry Times, a limited partnership, Gainesville, Ga. The opinions expressed in this column are the opinions of the by-lined writer and do not necessarily represent the opinions of any poultry industry organization and should not be so construed.)

BEHIND THE DRIVE TO DESTROY ROTC

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, in May, just a few miles from the Nation's Capital, extensive damage was done to the Reserve Officers Training Corps building at the University of Maryland.

This disgraceful incident was but one of many similar episodes taking place on college and university campuses across the Nation.

The ROTC, as much as any one military training organization, has been responsible for the ability of this Nation to retain its civilian character while at the same time having the strength to meet military emergencies. It is an organization which has always had the support of the Congress and the American people.

The destructive force of the drive against ROTC was dramatically illustrated in the June 29, 1970 issue of U.S. News & World Report magazine in an article titled "Behind the Drive To Destroy ROTC." I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

BEHIND THE DRIVE TO DESTROY ROTC

Not in decades, since the program began, has the ROTC—Reserve Officers' Training Corps—been dealt such a devastating blow.

In the college year just ended, buildings used by ROTC units across the land were fire-bombed and dynamited. Classrooms were fire-bombed and dynamited. Classrooms were vandalized. Students were taunted for wearing the uniform.

Records kept by the Army, Navy and Air Force show more than 400 anti-ROTC incidents at many of the 364 schools where ROTC units function.

One result of this continuing harassment: ROTC enrollment dropped from 212,416 in 1968-69 to 157,830.

The Pentagon, after detailed investigation, reported that most of the violence was intended as a protest against the war in Southeast Asia.

There is a suspicion, however, among both military and federal law-enforcement officers, that some of the violence was perpetrated by radical groups with a wider goal: the overthrow of the "Establishment."

Student radicals—many from other schools—zeroed in on Kent State University, in Ohio, because it houses the Liquid Crystal Institute, home of research projects with military potential. The interest of the armed forces was anathema to the radicals. The campus erupted in early May—and four students were killed by National Guardsmen. At Kent State, radicals had also made ROTC a special target. The ROTC building was burned on May 2.

Although hundreds of students have been arrested around the country, few have been brought to trial. Those who faced a judge escaped, for the most part, with small fines for misdemeanors.

There have been only three arrests on federal charges of sabotage and destruction of Government property.

Law-enforcement officials, State and federal, complain they have trouble getting students or school authorities to identify anyone involved in the anti-ROTC incidents.

At the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, on May 7, a group of students occupied the ROTC building for nearly 24 hours. A fire was started in the basement. No one was punished, university authorities said, because none of the vandals could be identified.

While many incidents in 1969-70 involved only verbal abuse of cadets and brief disruptions of classes by demonstrators, others were serious enough to cause military instructors to send reports to the Pentagon. Those reports show:

At 76 colleges, ROTC units were singled out for 145 attacks resulting in property damage or personal injury.

There were 73 attempts to burn or blow up buildings provided by the schools for ROTC use.

Military instructors were assaulted at the Universities of Washington and Oregon and at Cameron State Agricultural College in Oklahoma.

At the University of Wisconsin, the home of a military instructor was firebombed. At Stanford, three shots were fired into the residence of an ROTC instructor.

There were at least 67 instances of vandalism in which ROTC offices were entered, records destroyed, weapons and ammunition stolen, trophies shattered, pictures slashed, furniture overturned, windows broken and walls defaced with paint and obscenities.

By way of comparison, there were a total of 95 anti-ROTC incidents of all kinds recorded by the Pentagon in 1968-69, including 20 attempts to destroy buildings by fire or bombs.

What all this has cost taxpayers, no one knows. Most of the damage was to State-owned university property.

Before the Department of Defense establishes an ROTC unit at a school, the college or university must agree to provide classroom and office facilities. The Federal Government supplies instructors, books, uniforms and teaching aids, such as sextants for courses in navigation.

The ROTC idea originated in 1819 on the campus of what is now Norwich University at Northfield, Vt. Then it was known as the American Literary, Scientific and Military Academy. It was the first school, aside from West Point, where military studies were included in the curriculum.

REMINDERS OF WAR

Why was the ROTC singled out for special attention? Pentagon officials conclude that cadets with their uniforms, neat haircuts and shined shoes are ever-present reminders on campus of the Vietnam war. Thus the student soldiers become handy whipping boys for those who were protesting against both the draft and the "Establishment."

In discussing the inability of the Federal Government to make more than three arrests, a Justice Department official said:

"If we could identify more, we would prosecute. We have some tough laws on the books."

College students and faculty members generally are shocked when they learn how tough those laws are.

On the statute books is a 1917 law making any attempt "to interfere with and obstruct the United States in preparing for and carrying on defense activities" an act of criminal sabotage. This carries a penalty of 30 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

The destruction of Government property is punishable by 10 years in jail. It also carries a \$10,000 fine.

On May 28, a federal grand jury in St. Louis, Mo., indicted two men for sabotage and destruction of Government property in the burning of an ROTC building at Washington University. Both were school employees. They await trial.

On Feb. 10, 1969, a student at the same university pleaded guilty to a charge of criminal sabotage that grew out of an attempt to bomb an ROTC building. He was sentenced to five years.

In all, the 1969-70 school year was one of guerrilla and psychological warfare against the presence of military men on campus.

An Army survey shows how the drive against ROTC has fared.

Since April 30, nine schools have voted to discontinue ROTC. In three instances, both students and faculty took part in the voting. On six campuses, the faculty alone voted.

On June 12, the Army announced that Yale University would drop ROTC after the 1970-71 academic year. The Navy's reserve program at Yale is scheduled to end in 1973. Other Ivy League schools that are dropping ROTC: Harvard, Dartmouth and Columbia.

In the same period—since April 30—18

schools voted to retain ROTC. Students were allowed to participate in six of those decisions.

Paradoxically, while the enrollment in Army ROTC fell from 150,982 to 109,705 between the academic years 1968-69 and 1969-70, the number of units rose from 268 to 283. Applications from 42 other schools are on file.

Both the Navy and Air Force plan to withdraw units from eight schools in the autumn. Neither service is certain how many new ROTC units will be formed.

The Navy hopes to have at least 50 units in the next academic year. The Air Force wants about 175. This would keep both services close to their present ROTC level.

Some officers insist the over-all problem does not worry them. They say that the decline in the number of cadets is probably a good thing. Their reason: The armed forces themselves are undergoing sharp reduction.

Still, the anti-ROTC violence and the over-all decrease in enrollment have alarmed the Pentagon.

After noting that the Army has signed up nearly 63 per cent of its newly commissioned officers from ROTC ranks in the past decade, one general made this comment:

"We really need these people—for our sake and the country's. If we have to take all our officers from the ranks, from West Point and officer-candidate schools, the Army is liable to become ingrown and stagnant. We need fresh ideas and a few mavericks."

A House committee recently asked Vice Adm. Charles K. Duncan, Chief of Naval Personnel, to account for the decline in Naval ROTC applicants. The Admiral replied:

"... The man enrolled in NROTC today is sometimes mentally or in some cases physically harassed or abused on campus. Of course, this is only our estimate, but the young man possibly shies away from being a ROTC member in view of this sometimes hostile environment."

Many high-ranking officers associated with ROTC programs expect to see a further decline in enrollment next autumn.

One such officer told "U.S. News & World Report" he considered the trend to be dangerous. In his words—

"I can think of no faster way to arrive at a militaristic armed force in this country than to have an officer corps that is rejected by the intellectual community and is forced to feed upon its own professional problems and grievances."

DR. L. EUGENE ROOT HONORED

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, a group of my constituents will gather in Palo Alto, Calif., in a few days to mark the retirement of a distinguished American, Dr. L. Eugene Root. Gene Root, as an engineer, scientist, adviser to our Government, and industrial leader has made tremendous contributions to the scientific standing and military security of our Nation, and I believe it is fitting that these contributions be noted here.

A graduate of the University of the Pacific and the California Institute of Technology, Gene Root began designing airplanes in 1934. Milestone airplanes like the DC-3 and World War II winners like the C-54, the SBD's, and the A-20

series flowed from his board. Named one of America's 10 outstanding young men in 1945, he was one of the first four engineers named to the group which later became Project RAND.

Over a period of 25 years, he served as a valued consultant to his Government—as a member of the Defense Science Board, the Scientific Advisory Board to the Air Force Chief of Staff, the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, as chairman of the Aerodynamics Advisory Panel to the Atomic Energy Commission, adviser to the USAF Institute of Air Weapons Research, and on and on.

As president of his company, the Lockheed Missiles & Space Co., Gene Root led his thousands of fellow employees in the programs that produced the critically needed Polaris missile years ahead of schedule, that designed and built the Agena satellite which has served America in both defense roles and in the scientific exploration of space, and in the Gemini-Agena program, provided a vital link in mankind's voyage to the moon. For his efforts in these and other programs, Dr. Root was awarded NASA's Public Service Award, the Air Force's Exceptional Service Award, the Navy's Distinguished Public Service Award. Both his alma maters named him among their outstanding alumni, and the National Management Association gave him its highest award for managerial leadership.

And finally, Gene Root in recent years planted the seeds that today are growing into programs—in his company and throughout his industry—to apply aerospace technology to the solution of a wide range of human needs, solutions we all hope will lead to better lives, in a cleaner environment, in a peaceful world.

Mr. Speaker, it is highly fitting that we note today for the record the contributions this distinguished scientist and industrial leader has made to our Nation's technology, to its security, and to mankind's continuing benefit. Thank you.

VOLUNTEERS HELP YOUNGSTERS ON 1-TO-1 BASIS

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, I wish to pay special tribute to Mrs. Genevieve Collins of Montclair, N.J., our State's "Teacher of the Year."

Mrs. Collins has taught on the staff of Glenfield Elementary School in Montclair for the last 11 years. In 1966, recognizing that the regular school year did not provide enough time for her pupils to get started adequately in reading skills, she asked her superiors for permission to keep her schoolroom open for 6 weeks during the summer. Mrs. Collins then invited all of her pupils to participate without applying pressure to attend the sessions. She was so satisfied with the outstanding results of the program that she expanded it the next sum-

mer and recruited a group of volunteers to help in a common effort.

The tutorials subsequently caught the eye of Mr. Robert W. Blanchard, superintendent of schools, who asked Mrs. Collins to incorporate the program into their year-round school curriculum. A corps of 128 volunteers now participates in the project to tutor the children during regular class time.

For this truly superior achievement, Mrs. Collins was named New Jersey's "Teacher of the Year."

The July 3, 1970 edition of the Christian Science Monitor contains an excellent article concerning her innovative program, and I commend it to my colleagues so that they might learn of the magnitude of Mrs. Collins' accomplishments.

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

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

VOLUNTEERS HELP YOUNGSTERS ON 1-TO-1 BASIS

(By a staff writer of the Christian Science Monitor)

MONTCLAIR, N.J.—Mrs. Genevieve Collins is proud to be New Jersey's "teacher of the year," but she's even more proud of the schoolchildren who made it all possible.

Mrs. Collins is on the staff of the Glenfield elementary school here in Montclair, where she's taught for 11 of her 14 years in the profession.

A motherly type, Mrs. Collins takes a personal interest in the progress of her first graders. Some years ago she became concerned that her pupils weren't getting the best start in reading. She decided to do something about it.

Glenfield school is 99 percent black. Montclair has a reputation as an upper-class community, on the fringe of New York. But Mrs. Collins points out that actually the description fits the neighboring town of Upper Montclair. Montclair itself is "another world," she says.

"I saw that 180 days [the school year] weren't enough for black kids to get started in reading," she explains. "So I went to the principal [Dr. Roland Patterson, now administrator of the inner-city decentralized district in Seattle] and asked him to keep my room open for six weeks in the summer. That was in 1966. He agreed."

Mrs. Collins mailed a letter to the parents of all 25 children in her class. It was an invitation to send the youngsters back to school three mornings a week during half of the summer vacation. No pressure was applied, the teacher comments.

Sixteen of the 25 pupils came, and all stayed for the full six weeks.

Two high-school girls served as volunteer aides to Mrs. Collins that first summer.

So satisfied was the teacher with the results of this initial effort that she pressed for, and was granted, an expanded program the next summer. This time, pupils in all three first-grade classes at Glenfield were welcomed, and a corps of unpaid helpers was recruited.

Twenty-eight children came to be taught, and a matching number of volunteers responded—26 from the National Council of Jewish Women, one from the National Council of Negro Women, and the wife of a school board member.

Before summer was out, the success of the tutorials caught the attention of Dr.

Robert W. Blanchard, then superintendent of schools, who now holds the top post in the Portland, Ore., school system.

Visiting the classrooms one day, Dr. Blanchard spoke with each child and volunteer. He then asked Mrs. Collins to develop the project into a regular feature of the year-round school program.

The one-to-one tutoring moved ahead rapidly under Mrs. Collins' direction. Teachers asked for help for their pupils, and available volunteers soon numbered 128. Now every teacher at Glenfield sends youngsters to the volunteers during class time, and the plan has spread to other local schools.

When each child reports to his tutor, he brings along materials from class and a notebook. The notebook is the communicator, Mrs. Collins says. In it the teacher suggests what she wants the volunteer to cover. And at the end of the session, the volunteer enters comments on the pupil's progress that day.

The fact that teachers and tutors don't have frequent face-to-face contact does not mean that volunteers function in a vacuum, Mrs. Collins emphasizes. There are training sessions and conferences, which she as coordinator, arranges.

"We had a workshop last Tuesday, with a social worker, a psychologist, and other specialists talking to the volunteers," she declares. "A discussion period followed. The volunteers need to know about particular learning difficulties, both physical and social or cultural."

It was because of the one-to-one tutoring that Mrs. Collins was nominated for the teacher-of-the-year award.

She didn't really expect to win the title, she reports; there were 50 entrants.

But win she did, and incidental honors continued for several months. Her board of education presented her with a plaque. The local PTA declared a "day" in her honor. And, most touching of all to Mrs. Collins, the pupils at Glenfield also set aside a "day" for her, complete with a school assembly program.

But the state's teacher of the year feels a need to share the recognition.

"It's not a Mrs. Collins thing," she comments. "If one thing characterizes the program, it's enthusiasm—the enthusiasm of the tutors and the enthusiasm of the students. The volunteers and the students are here because they both want to be. That's why the program works," she adds.

An observer might wonder whether Mrs. Collins's own enthusiasm isn't also a contributing factor.

THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM GOING UNDER—ABANDON SHIP

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 30, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the New York Post, in an article published June 26, reported that the entire five-man draft board in Kosciusko County, Ind., resigned with a blast at the Supreme Court for widening the definition of conscientious objector and thus making their task impossible. Mr. Speaker, I feel that although the Court's decision was correct, it does present local draft boards with the impossible task of determining whose beliefs are "deeply held".

The National Service Act of 1970 (H.R. 18025), which I recently introduced with bipartisan support, will leave the important decision of how to serve our country up to the individual. It will permit maximum freedom for the individual while retaining a draft lottery to meet military manpower requirements.

Mr. Speaker, we must completely reform our military draft. The Selective Service System is going down. Abandon ship.

The text of the New York Post article follows:

A DRAFT BOARD'S ADIEU TO ARMS

With a blast at the U.S. Supreme Court's recent ruling expanding the grounds for conscientious objection, the entire five-man draft board of Kosciusko County, Indiana, has resigned.

The five said the high court's decision made the Selective Service Act unworkable and the position of local draft boards intolerable.

"I don't know how we could do it," said board member L. Russell Bollinger, 61, a factory worker, referring to the task of implementing the guidelines and judging men.

"It's like they can thumb their noses at you and say they aren't going to go," he added. "You can't get the bite on anybody now. I don't know how we're going to get anybody drafted."

IT'S UNPOPULAR

He said the ruling is "very unpopular with local draft boards, not just here but everywhere."

The other members of the board who resigned yesterday were Charles O. Wainwright, 72, a retired railroad engineer who was the chairman; and Fred Beeson, Wendell L. Gusler and Herbert Creamer. Wainwright said the age range of the other four is "from 35 to my age."

Beeson is a farmer near Etna Green, and the others are residents of Warsaw, the 7000-population county seat in the predominantly rural and deeply conservative county, one of the few in Indiana to give the majority of its vote to Barry Goldwater for President in 1964.

Draft activities were suspended in the county until a new board could be named.

Wainwright said today that "in a small town you can find out whether they're really religious or not. But under this court decision anybody can claim to be a conscientious objector. He doesn't have to belong to a church; he doesn't have to have any religion. Out of a blue sky he can say he's an objector and be deferred. And we have no argument."

COURT RULING

The high court had said a draft-age youth may qualify as a conscientious objector if he "deeply and sincerely holds beliefs which are purely ethical or moral . . . which impose upon him a duty of conscience to refrain from participating in any war at any time . . ."

Wainwright, speaking firmly but without any apparent bitterness, said: "The court decision gives the irresponsible person a cloak to hide under. There are sincere objectors, but this gives anybody a place to hide. "Our board didn't believe in that type of law."

Wainwright said no pressure had been applied on any of the five members and that the decision to resign was entirely their own.

"In this county," he went on, "there are about 8000 [draft] registrants. Less than one-half of one per cent are what I would call bad boys; that would only be 40. The court decision gives a loophole to unpatriotic and nonreligious boys."

INDEPENDENCE DAY IN INDEPENDENCE, MO.

HON. WM. J. RANDALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. RANDALL. Mr. Speaker, all across our land the Fourth of July this year was called Honor America Day. In Independence, Mo., we honored our country by a well-attended ceremony which featured the ringing of a replica of the Liberty Bell.

Since 1958 it has been the custom of the citizens of Independence to assemble on the south front steps of the Truman Library. During most of these years we have listened to an address by former President Harry S. Truman. Last year he was unable to attend. Again this year Mr. Truman could not be present, and this year the speaker was Congressman RICHARD BOLLING of the Fifth Missouri District.

Speaking at the 12th annual July the Fourth celebration held at the Truman Library, Mr. BOLLING told the audience of the threats and dangers our country faces at home and abroad. He emphasized the fact that we are a free country today only because of the wisdom and courage of our farsighted leaders.

The sizable audience applauded Congressman BOLLING's words when he paid tribute to former President Truman for his work in reestablishing the free nations wasted by war, and for his courage in resisting aggression, both of which contributed greatly to the avoidance of a nuclear war.

Mr. BOLLING's remarks follow:

REMARKS BY CONGRESSMAN RICHARD BOLLING

Today we meet to celebrate the 194th anniversary of our country's declaration of independence.

It is well to remember that our declaration of independence preceded by several bitter years of fratricidal war the actual achievement of our independence. We must not forget either that we have remained independent—which is another way to say free—only because of the courage and wisdom of a succession of brave and farsighted men, political leaders who brought out the best in us—the American people—and often in the face of seemingly impossible odds led us to face up to the threats and dangers at home and abroad.

So far we have responded in time—sometimes just in time—to the call of our great Presidents Washington, Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Truman.

It is fitting that on this day and at this place we speak of our own President, Harry S. Truman.

A little more than twenty-five years ago he acceded to the Presidency. In a few short weeks the European war was done, in a few months the Asian war was over. In a few short hours after the Japanese surrendered on September 2, 1945, the American people began to force that disintegration of our military power which resulted in our unilateral disarmament.

By March of 1947, this had gone so far that the Selective Service Act, the draft, had been allowed to expire.

It was not until August of 1948 that it was reinstated.

Against all odds and with a "peace party" drawing votes away from him and his party, Harry Truman fought almost singlehandedly to achieve re-election in 1948.

He and his able lieutenants, George Marshall and Dean Acheson, created the economic and political concepts which restored free Europe to economic health and a measure of political stability. But it required every resource and every skill at his command to lead the American people to these great acts of humanitarianism, decency, and enlightened, long-range self-interest.

There was no such success in Asia. China fell to the communists. In June of 1949, the last U.S. troops were withdrawn from Korea. Almost exactly a year later the North Koreans attacked South Korea and the bloody rest we know.

There is no end to trouble in a divided world. Today we are deeply involved in Indo-China and the Soviet threatens freedom through its Arab agents in the Middle East. There is no peace.

But for twenty-five years, we have avoided the nuclear holocaust every sane man fears and our independence remains.

Had we not had Harry Truman and his Truman doctrine, his aid to Greece and Turkey, his Marshall plan, his North Atlantic Treaty Organization, his will to stand against aggression in Berlin and in South Korea, who can guarantee that we would still be free.

So I repeat, it is fitting on this day and at this place to honor our great President who led us to do the honorable task of re-establishing free nations wasted by war, who led us to do the courageous task of resisting aggression, and who by doing all this helped us avoid a nuclear war.

Let us today rededicate ourselves to the politics of honor, to the politics of courage so well exemplified by the man of Independence, the captain with the mighty heart, our great President Harry S. Truman.

FUNDS FOR HEALTH PROGRAMS

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, for many months we have been almost deafened by loud and angry voices accusing the Nixon administration of being indifferent to the Nation's health needs. The facts are to the contrary.

Both the executive branch, headed by the President, and the legislative branch, of which this body is one of the coequal branches, have been generous as far as funds for various health and medical programs are concerned. While the Chief Executive cannot himself appropriate the funds necessary to operate these programs, he has, through the budget mechanism, recommended whatever is needed. Both the House and the other body have conscientiously endeavored to provide sufficient money for the many Federal health programs.

While we must be certain that all programs dealing with the health needs of the Nation are adequately supplied with money, we must not forget that the source of the money is the taxpayer. Our justified concern for the physical health of our constituents must be tempered with a proper concern for their financial health.

When we consider the appropriations bill that will in due course come before us, we ought to scrutinize the figures carefully. As far as I am concerned, it is more important to heed the calls of our constituents for greater resistance to the demands of the spenders than to worry unduly about the anguished cries of those who believe that all human problems can be solved with huge transfusions of other people's money.

Let us continue to seek victories in our continuing war against disease. As far as money can help win the battles, let us provide it, but let us at the same time exercise prudence and insist that it be spent as efficiently as possible.

The tables which I am submitting for the RECORD as part of my remarks show the amounts that have been appropriated for the National Institutes of Health and other agencies of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, as well

as the amounts that have been provided for various programs directed against particular diseases and for other health programs.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that those who have been accusing the present administration of acting stingy toward those who are in need of medical attention will seek the truth by taking a look at these tables.

The tables and explanatory data follow:

[In thousands of dollars]

	Fiscal 1961	Fiscal 1962	Fiscal 1963	Fiscal 1964	Fiscal 1965	Fiscal 1966	Fiscal 1967	Fiscal 1968	Fiscal 1969	Estimate, fiscal 1970	Estimate, fiscal 1971
NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH											
Health manpower.....							500	155,028	172,176	234,470	242,234
National Cancer Institute.....	111,000	142,836	155,742	144,340	148,970	163,768	175,656	183,356	185,150	190,363	202,383
National Heart Lung Institute.....	86,900	132,912	147,398	129,325	125,171	141,462	164,770	167,954	166,928	171,257	171,747
National Institute of General Medical Sciences.....						127,188	145,113	160,284	163,514	164,644	148,376
National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases.....	61,200	81,831	103,388	113,679	113,344	123,203	135,687	143,954	143,888	146,334	132,152
Construction of health educational, research, and library facilities.....	30,000	30,000	50,000	56,000	168,782	146,599	216,727	238,000	93,200	126,100	126,100
National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases.....	44,000	56,091	66,142	68,723	70,100	77,987	90,670	94,422	96,842	103,695	99,219
National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Stroke.....	56,600	70,812	83,506	87,675	88,089	101,153	116,296	128,633	128,935	106,978	96,972
National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.....				34,000	42,696	55,024	64,922	68,621	73,127	76,949	93,303
Research resources.....	83,900	127,637	159,826	163,869	164,759	60,469	68,534	81,141	84,809	76,658	63,701
General research support grants.....	20,000	20,000	30,000	30,000	45,000	45,200	51,700	61,700	60,700	60,700	45,977
National Institute of Dental Research.....	15,500	17,340	21,199	19,689	20,190	23,677	28,308	30,307	29,984	30,645	34,563
National Eye Institute.....										24,343	25,686
National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences.....				4,239	9,380	15,983	24,298	17,289	17,820	18,328	19,843
National Library of Medicine.....	1,738	2,066	3,335	4,074	3,958	9,685	20,192	19,192	18,161	19,682	19,769
Dental health.....		2,500	3,006	6,270	7,228	8,383	9,693	9,635	10,224	11,722	10,954
Biologics standards.....				4,787	4,969	6,806	7,904	8,649	8,499	8,225	8,640
International Center for Advanced Study in the Health Sciences.....								500	600	2,954	2,664

The figures for 1971 are from the Budget; all others represent appropriations.

The National Cancer Institute figure for 1965 includes \$10,000,000 for Special Cancer Research.

Congress authorized the transfer of \$34,-

000,000 from other NIH appropriations to establish the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development in 1964.

Beginning with 1966, the figure for Research Resources excludes the National Institute of General Medical Sciences, which is

listed as a separate appropriation from 1966 on. The figure for 1971 for Research Resources excludes the Division of Computer Research and Technology, which will be incorporated into the National Institutes of Health Management Fund (not included in these tabulations) in 1971.

[In thousands of dollars]

	Fiscal 1961	Fiscal 1962	Fiscal 1963	Fiscal 1964	Fiscal 1965	Fiscal 1966	Fiscal 1967	Fiscal 1968	Fiscal 1969	Estimate, fiscal 1970	Estimate, fiscal 1971
OTHER HEW HEALTH PROGRAMS											
Mental health.....	100,900	108,876	143,599	183,288	223,273	283,169	315,619	346,909	350,439	360,302	346,656
Maternal and child health.....	38,167	50,000	50,000	66,500	88,000	139,900	173,900	179,900	209,200	228,200	255,339
Comprehensive health planning and services.....							4,250	140,676	176,704	224,033	251,498
Air pollution control.....		8,800	11,069	12,999	20,995	26,662	40,061	64,185	88,733	108,800	106,003
Food and drug control.....	18,848	23,000	29,065	35,805	40,370	53,079	61,685	66,000	67,296	72,353	89,549
Medical facilities construction.....	186,200	211,500	226,220	231,287	266,907	303,304	313,525	293,357	273,368	186,123	89,321
Patient care and special health services.....	56,023	50,009	48,820	49,962	55,064	58,980	64,121	63,230	70,443	72,224	79,889
Health services research and development.....	27,277	24,336	26,526	29,644	33,230	82,182	138,665	54,234	49,931	44,975	57,403
Environmental control.....		7,424	8,536	9,073	9,170	13,842	21,963	41,750	42,995	55,208	50,780
Communicable diseases.....	9,579	10,000	18,892	28,405	29,974	40,497	44,220	72,109	62,144	38,638	41,538
National health statistics.....		4,642	5,150	5,949	6,304	7,230	9,312	8,317	8,230	8,841	9,918
VARIOUS HEALTH PROGRAMS											
Training grants.....	109,928	114,585	135,502	164,895	178,617	208,784	134,403	134,951	141,565	131,751	131,970
Research career program.....		10,012	14,224	19,811	22,448	25,937	25,292	26,840	27,987	28,399	28,558
Population research.....						5,400	7,700	7,700	11,500	15,500	28,300
Chemotherapy research.....							26,746	27,346	27,370	25,464	25,546
Regular research fellowships.....	14,245	15,812	20,137	21,215	24,003	26,679	22,153	23,789	26,647	18,202	16,089
Primate research centers program.....		9,495	4,444	6,194	7,000	7,000	9,000	10,500	10,500	9,907	
Animal resources.....							3,100	5,100	4,568	4,317	12,474
Special research resources.....							10,850	10,529	10,494	9,867	9,617
Dental research institutes (centers).....		4,329	6,117	5,077	8,169	10,618	2,996	3,000	3,000	3,400	4,200
Pharmacology-toxicology research centers.....							3,359	3,500	3,500	3,325	3,325
Respiratory vaccines.....							4,192	2,719	3,414	3,209	3,257
Environmental health science centers.....							2,529	3,000	2,993	2,850	3,050
Anesthesiology and diagnostic radiology centers.....							500	1,000	1,000	950	950
International postdoctoral fellowships.....		700	1,198	1,199	1,177	1,199	1,200	1,378	1,419	897	609

Note: The figures for 1971 are from the Budget; all others represent appropriations. The figure for 1971 for maternal and child health includes amounts for direct operations which, prior to 1971, are included in accounts that are no longer in existence.

Training grants. These grants support training in specified aspects of health, medicine, and allied fields with the major objectives of (a) insuring an adequate supply of competent research and teaching manpower, and (b) facilitating within the student bodies of health-related professional schools the development of knowledge about special areas of disease that have particular significance.

Research career program. This program is designed to increase the number of stable full-time career opportunities for scientists of superior potential and capability in the sciences related to health.

Population research. Two important developments in July, 1969, increased the scope of the responsibilities of the Center for Population Research. First, the programs of research and training grants in reproductive

biology and population of the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development were transferred to the Center, thus bringing together responsibility for all of the Institute's extramural programs in the population field. The second important development was President Nixon's call in his population message for "additional research on birth control methods of all types and the sociology of population growth."

Chemotherapy research. Under the stimulus of the National Cancer Institute's Chemotherapy program, new chemical agents are being discovered and developed into cancer drugs.

Regular research fellowships. The purpose of this program is to increase the supply of manpower available for research and teaching by providing qualified individuals with support for training in health related fields.

Primate research centers program. This program provides support for the operation of seven primate centers which provide a unique research environment where scientists can conduct biomedical and behavioral research using the nonhuman primate as an experimental animal.

Animal resources. This program assists institutions in providing animal resources required for medical research and education through grants for special animal colonies that support research related to improving animal health and care, disease diagnosis and control, studies directed to enhancing the usefulness of animal models for research, and general improvement of management and accommodations for institutional animal resources.

Special research resources. This program provides grants to nonfederal research institutions for the support of specialized re-

sources concerned with the technology and expertise vital to modern biomedical research and patient care. The primary emphasis is on computers (including those used in diagnosis of heart disease and monitoring of the critically ill); molecular spectroscopy (used for determining the molecular structure of chemical substances that comprise or interact with living organisms); biological materials preparation (such as enzymes or cultures otherwise unobtainable); and electron microscopy (which provides biomedical scientists with information about the detailed structure of living material which has not been available before).

Dental research institutes (centers). This program provides funds for the development and operation of dental research institutes as centers of excellence in the sciences related to oral health.

Pharmacology-toxicology research centers. This program extends the program efforts of the National Institute of General Medical Sciences in pharmacology and toxicology and provides funds for the planning, initiation, and support of centers or large scale projects for research in areas of pharmacology and toxicology related to the use of drugs and chemical intoxication.

Respiratory vaccines. Research programs

aimed at control and prevention of acute respiratory diseases, including those caused by bacterial and viral organisms, make up an important part of the current activities of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases.

Environmental health science centers. The purpose of the environmental health science centers is to establish university-based resources for both research and training which are embedded in the substance of graduate education.

Anesthesiology and diagnostic radiology centers. The anesthesiology and diagnostic radiology centers program provides research support for clinical and laboratory investigation related to teaching and patient care in these fields.

International postdoctoral fellowships. This program provides awards to promising foreign scientists to support their training in the United States. While these awards contribute to the improvement of foreign research capabilities, the primary objectives of this program are domestic. These objectives are achieved by enabling foreign investigators to share their ideas and background with American colleagues, and by encouraging foreign scientists to participate in research bearing on American health problems.

[In thousands of dollars]

Programs directed at particular diseases	Fiscal 1965	Fiscal 1966	Fiscal 1967	Fiscal 1968	Fiscal 1969	Estimate, fiscal 1970	Estimate, fiscal 1971
National Heart and Lung Institute: Research and training activities; arteriosclerosis and coronary heart disease			46,976	47,459	42,646	39,535	55,515
Special virus leukemia program (1967, 1968); special virus cancer program (1969 to 1971)			18,610	19,480	20,786	19,159	40,752
Specialized research centers: Heart, cancer, neurology			11,821	13,830	15,250	13,651	13,769
Kidney disease			3,900	5,096	5,456	4,661	4,665
Artificial kidney program (included in preceding item)			10,717	11,100	11,746	10,935	11,106
Arthritis, rheumatic diseases, and bone disorders			6,675	7,542	9,040	8,354	8,520
Diabetes			3,433	3,820	3,812	4,579	4,579
Heart cooperative drug study	447	1,770	3,494	3,036	3,260	3,014	3,031
Epilepsy			1,385	2,000	2,588	2,883	2,947
Cystic fibrosis			2,468	2,901	2,673	2,472	2,472
Parkinson's disease			824	1,425	1,491	1,401	1,401
Leukemia research support centers			1,800	1,600	1,400	1,200	1,200
Cleft palate and related speech disorders							

Note: The figures for 1971 are from the budget; all others represent appropriations.

Diet, drug, and hormone therapy in heart disease. The major thrusts of the National Heart and Lung Institute's research program directed against coronary heart disease are (a) the earliest possible identification of the highly susceptible individual; (b) modification or elimination, where possible, of factors known to increase coronary heart disease risk in the hope of preventing the development of the disease or else aborting or delaying the onset of its severer consequences, such as acute heart attacks; (c) development of improved techniques of diagnosis, patient monitoring, and treatment to improve survival among victims of acute heart attacks; and (d) the development and evaluation of therapeutic measures to minimize residual disability among heart attack survivors and to protect them against recurrent attacks and other complications of preexisting coronary heart disease.

Leukemias and other cancers. Beginning with the Special Virus Leukemia Program, which was enlarged in 1969 to the Special Virus Cancer Program, and which now embraces all types of cancer, the National Cancer Institute has developed an effective system for the conduct of major research efforts aimed at elucidating the human situation. The Institute has also developed the means for controlling certain animal cancers induced by viruses.

Specialized research centers. The initial design of this program was to provide support for planning and operational grants for specialized centers in the heart disease, cancer, and stroke areas.

Kidney disease, including artificial kidney program. The National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases has a primary responsibility for research in urological disorders and kidney diseases. This Institute also is the center for a centrally directed program of research and development in the fields of artificial kidneys and chronic renal failure (uremia), and seeks to advance kidney transplantation research and capabilities.

Arthritis, rheumatic diseases, and bone disorders. Most of the nation's research efforts to prevent or control arthritic and rheumatic disorders are centered in the National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases. Research conducted and supported by the Institute emphasizes finding the basic cause of the most common and crippling rheumatoid form of arthritis. Two main theories see the disease as an end result of either a disorder of immunity (autoimmunity) in which the body directs antibodies against its own tissues or of a virus infection. Extensive exploration of other areas continues to bring better drugs for control of arthritic diseases, an increased understanding of fundamental mechanisms of inflammation and tissue breakdown pertinent to a number of connective tissue disorders, and new information concerning bone formation and dissolution in health and disease.

Diabetes. The National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases conducts, fosters, and coordinates research into the cause, prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of diabetes mellitus.

Heart cooperative drug study. This pro-

gram is designed and organized as a national cooperative study to determine whether several lipid-lowering drugs will, over prolonged periods of use, reduce the mortality or morbidity of coronary heart disease.

Epilepsy. The epilepsy program of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Stroke includes basic brain research, research relating to medical and surgical treatment, better communications among scientists, training of scientists, and education of the public, to ease the social and economic pressures on victims of epilepsy.

Cystic fibrosis. The research conducted and supported by the National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases is aimed at specifically defining clinical manifestations and biochemical aberrations responsible for this inherited metabolic disorder.

Parkinson's disease. The program in Parkinson's disease of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Strokes includes the grant support of individual research projects in universities and other centers; the grant support of basal ganglia disease clinical research centers; an intramural research program centered around surgery; support of training in neurology, neuropharmacology, neurosurgery, and the many other disciplines bearing on the problem; efforts to aid communication in the field through sponsorship of meetings, production of publications, and the provision of information services; and the continuing monitoring of all basic and clinical research to provide for coordination of research efforts and early but prudent use of research findings.

Leukemia research support centers. These

centers are utilized to make platelet transfusions and domiciliary care available to children under treatment of leukemia. Platelet transfusions are an essential factor in the modern treatment of childhood leukemia. The massive platelet transfusions required have not been widely available and this program provides for the preparation, administration, and evaluation of platelet transfusions in institutions across the country responsible for the care of leukemic children.

Cleft palate and related speech disorders. Through support provided by the National Institute of Dental Research over the past ten years, dramatic progress has been made in improved diagnostic, surgical, and speech techniques to restore afflicted children to near-normal appearance and function. More recently, psychological studies are contributing valuable insights to the problem of total rehabilitation. Greater research emphasis is now being placed on etiology, focusing on genetic and environmental factors.

tation and the tendency to exercise thought in a non-applied fashion. The students represent a much larger variety of interests and orientation. . . . Yet they are segregated from much of the adult world, so that in a period in life when they are particularly open to change, they are secluded from potentially significant adults."

The conclusion of the study and President Bob Kennedy's opinions, based on a 30-year observation of results at Cal Poly, are basically the same: Colleges and universities need a considerable diversification of the kinds of people with whom we bring our students in contact. We must stop the academic inbreeding of appointing to universities faculties men and women who have never worked in any productive labor outside of their years as students, graduate students and teachers.

What better model could there be for some college student heading into a career in engineering than a licensed engineer who has successfully built bridges, dams and high rises before deciding on a second career as a college teacher? People of this kind, in all walks of life, frequently have a great desire to teach and to be in contact with young people. Such faculty "models" at Cal Poly influence their students not only through their intellectual knowledge, but also through the wisdom they have gained from practical experience.

Perhaps that's what all colleges need—especially liberal arts colleges. More professors who are acquainted with the world outside the classroom. Fewer professors who live in that dream world in which the Peace and Freedom parties seem the only logical choice.

[In thousands of dollars]

Health professions scholarships	Fiscal 1967	Fiscal 1968	Fiscal 1969	Estimate, fiscal 1970	Estimate, fiscal 1971
Medicine.....	1,769	3,293	5,293	7,258	6,828
Pharmacy.....	1,003	1,895	2,731	3,087	3,330
Dentistry.....	808	1,476	2,354	3,165	2,915
Veterinary medicine.....				908	896
Optometry.....	146	249	393	504	465
Osteopathy.....	98	177	288	392	362
Podiatry.....	51	109	160	227	206
Total.....	3,875	7,198	11,219	15,541	15,000

Note: The figures for 1971 are from the Budget; all others represent appropriations.

COLLEGE FACULTY COMPOSITION

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Dr. S. I. Hayakawa, president of San Francisco State College in California, recently published a column in which he warned that many teachers in the Nation's top institutions of learning are telling their students America is rotten to the core.

Dr. Hayakawa also stated that some colleges still provide the basis for a sound education, but noted the trend in the wrong direction was serious and deserved attention.

Mr. President, all of us have a responsibility to see that our young people are not hoodwinked by narrow-minded college professors who have no faith in the system which insures them the liberties they so freely abuse.

I ask unanimous consent that this column, which appeared in the Thursday, July 2, 1970, issue of the Washington Daily News, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

IT IS SIMPLY INCREDIBLE HOW RADICAL TEACHERS CAN BRAINWASH SO MANY BRIGHT YOUNG STUDENTS

(By S. I. Hayakawa)

It is incredible how many students, especially in prestigious colleges and universities, have been persuaded by their teachers that American society is rotten to the core. How can such a false idea be sold to an otherwise bright generation? Simply by inculcating in students the assumption that the scornful rejection of "middle-class values" and American institutions is a hallmark of intellectual distinction.

Are there any campuses today on which students are not being subjected daily to this anti-intellectual brainwashing by radical faculty? Of course there are. They just don't make headlines.

I delivered the commencement address recently at just such a college. From the rolling hills of the Santa Lucia chain of mountains by the Pacific coast, the California State Polytechnic College at San Luis Obispo has attracted more than 11,000 students to this sparsely populated and beautiful smog-free area of the state. More than 2,300 students received masters and bachelors degrees in a ceremony that overflowed the 7,000 seat stadium. Cal Poly, as it is popularly known, is, like my own institution, San Francisco State College, one of the 19 California state colleges. Unlike most of the others it did not evolve from normal schools and teachers colleges. Nor has it assumed the mantle of academic respectability by calling itself a "liberal arts" college.

Instead Cal Poly grew up from a little state vocational school established by the legislature in 1901. In the 33 year period from 1933 to 1966 Cal Poly was guided by the late Julian A. McPhee, a giant among educational leaders in California. He fought an uphill battle to make occupationally-centered college-level education an acceptable partner with the so-called "liberal arts." He retired at 70, having served 33 years as president. He died a year later.

Despite its merger into the California state college system, McPhee maintained the individuality, personality and local autonomy of Cal Poly. By law Cal Poly can offer liberal arts programs. But the emphasis is on occupational education leading to careers in agriculture, engineering, business, home economics and other applied fields. Even an English major finds himself in the "school of applied arts."

Cal Poly has always sought faculty members who have both stout academic records and practical experience in the professions and occupations directly associated with the courses they teach. This requirement, according to President Robert E. Kennedy, for 30 years a faculty member of Cal Poly and a disciple of Julian McPhee, squares with some recent scientific research into what can be done to improve all institutions of higher education.

Dr. Kennedy calls attention to a recommendation made by 14 psychologists and psychiatrists who worked with Joseph Katz in a four year study of Stanford and University of California at Berkeley graduates. One of their conclusions: "Present faculties tend to represent only one segment of humanity, primarily people with strong cognitive orien-

THE MINERAL KING CONTROVERSY CONTINUES

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, time may be running out in the struggle to save the natural values of the lovely Mineral King Valley in California.

Government and private plans call for "developing" the Mineral King area into a huge year-round resort, and, despite massive protest from conservation and environmental spokesmen, it appears that construction may start within the near future.

I do not oppose development of the Mineral King area.

I do oppose the unlimited, ravaging style of "development" blueprinted for the valley.

California desperately requires additional recreational land, but that need should not be met at the expense of perpetual ruin of the relatively few wildlife areas left in the State.

Last August I introduced H.R. 13521 which calls for enlarging Sequoia National Park to encompass the Mineral King area. If this bill were to pass, development at Mineral King could still take place, but under much more stringent conditions than are now planned.

Recently I received a study of the Mineral King controversy, made by Mrs. J. P. Reames, of Yorba Linda, Calif.

I believe Mrs. Reames' study is a valuable introduction and summary of the

issues at hand in Mineral King, and I would like to insert it in the RECORD at this point.

The study follows:

MINERAL KING

(By Mrs. J. P. Reames)

FROM "AUGURIES OF INNOCENCE"

(By William Blake (1757-1827))

To see a World in a grain of sand,
And a Heaven in a wild flower,
Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand
And Eternity in an hour.

PREFACE

I chose to write about the dispute over Mineral King because it contains much of what we have studied in class—power, alienation, bureaucracy, social action, courts. In places I have stated opinions of clubs or individuals without citing a reference. These were obtained from personal letters and reports so graciously loaned to me by two members of the Sierra Club.

I have included lines from the poem, *Auguries of Innocence*, because William Blake said so eloquently much of what I feel about nature, and, also, because there is significance in the fact that he was not understood in his own lifetime. Society had to evolve before his works became fully appreciated. During his lifetime he was thought crazy by many.

There it was—the natural dry fall that the other hiker had told us about. It was 25 feet high at least and, even with our rope, we could not get ourselves and our three children up it because we were not experienced enough. We had been hiking for about an hour and one half in Grotto Canyon in Death Valley. There was no trail; we simply followed the floor of the canyon and wound in and out of beautiful rock formations caused by roaring water rushing down the narrow canyon in the rare times that Death Valley has rain. Many times during the hike the floor of the canyon had jutting abruptly straight up, and we had scrambled up using rope or opposite leverage. Now we had come as far as we could go, and with reluctance, we turned around and started back along the route we had come. And then, as we wound out of the high canyon walls, I suddenly saw the floor of the valley. Except for a couple of roads winding through it, it was essentially the same as when that first hapless wagon train ventured into it in 1849.¹

As I looked at the valley floor, I could not help but wonder if perhaps the Los Angeles Basin had looked very similar to it at one time. True, the Basin must have had more vegetation, and it had several rivers flowing through it; but it also must have had the vast open spaces and the beautiful terrain that this valley has. It has it no more because man with his bulldozers has cut down the mountain tops to place houses there. He has filled the basin with tracks of houses, factories, office buildings, and across it all he has cut and filled to build those giant interchanges and freeways over which cars travel filling the air with smog and the Basin with more noise. I thought of another valley that I had visited two and a half years before, a valley over which a battle is being waged right now, Mineral King, and I wondered if it too could be saved, or if it will become another victim of our society.

Mineral King is located about 250 miles north of Los Angeles in the southern part of the Sierra Mountains and is bordered on three sides by Sequoia National Park. When the park was formed, Mineral King was not included because some mining was being done in the area at that time. However, the mining did not prove profitable, so the area remains largely undeveloped.² Both Mineral

King and Sequoia National Park are administered by the executive segment of our federal government, but by different departments. Sequoia National Park is administered by the National Park Service, a division of the Department of Interior. Mineral King is administered by the U.S. Forest Service which is a division of the Department of Agriculture. In 1928 an act of Congress made Mineral King a national game refuge.³

To reach Mineral King by car one has to take a 25 mile access road which is paved only part of the way and which winds in and out with the land and around large trees. Sunset Magazine reported that it had at least 700 road curves,⁴ and indeed it does! It takes two hours to travel by car the 25 miles to Mineral King Valley. It is not a road for one in a hurry, but the patience and time spent traveling to this area is well rewarded. The road ends in a beautiful alpine meadow through which flows a sparkling clear stream. The meadow which is at 7,800 feet is rimmed by snow topped mountains 12,000 feet high.⁵ If one hikes along the mountain trails he will be rewarded with the sight of marmots scurrying back and forth over the meadows, and by the springs he will hear the sound of the lark. There is peace and solitude here that is unknown in the daily hustle of city life. The air is clean and fresh with a smell of pine, and the quiet is not an absence of sound, but the absence of noise, for nature is never silent, but her sound is gentle music. Wildlife abounds in this area. Mule deer, bears, grouse, larks, bluejays, marmots, squirrels and rabbits all live here. The area has remained basically untouched and unchanged by man. There are about 50 to 60 summer homes, a general store, and a post office in the valley, but no asphalt parking lots, crisscrosses of roads or bulldozed hills mar the landscape. Unlike the Los Angeles Basin, Mineral King sits as a whole, but if a segment of our society has its way, it too will be divided—segmented—destroyed.

Our society seems to have but one way to look at problems and to solve them—one step at a time, one consideration at a time, and each consideration in its proper sequence, like the Winnie-the-Pooh game. If we look at the Winnie-the-Pooh game we will find that it is linear and segmented. It consists of a playing board which has a road or line drawn upon it and which line is divided (or segmented) into many parts. These parts are different colored. There is a starting point on the board and a finishing point. Each player places a plastic man on the starting point. Then each player in turn draws a plastic piece from a bag. The color of the plastic piece determine where he can move his man. If it is red, he moves ahead to the next red space, if blue he moves ahead to the next blue space, etc. If he lands on Pooh's Corner, he pays a penalty—he loses one turn. There is only one consideration to make in each play, and each player is concerned only with himself. The first player to have his plastic man reach the finish is the winner.

This step by step method of thinking has its place. If we look at an address on an envelope we will see that it is addressed this way: name, street, town, state. If it were addressed in any other sequence, much confusion would result and the letter would probably never reach its destination. The address in such a logical order facilitates delivery of the letter. This is good.

We also have division of labor. Each person has a specific job and it is not necessary for him to know another's job. This has given us our assembly line and has facilitated the rapid production of goods so that many may enjoy the benefits of these goods. The clothes we wear, the appliances we use, and the food we eat are all products of our linear and segmented society. Our division of labor has

made it possible for man to pursue new ideas and to develop new technologies by freeing him from having to find or to produce everything he eats or wears.

Our society has probably given us more creature comforts than any other society, and yet, because we solve all problems the same way—one segment at a time—we quite often "fall to see the forest because of the trees" and, therefore, create even more and greater problems.

Like children playing the Winnie-the-Pooh game, we tend to think of self. We separate ourselves from nature and look upon it as merely something for man's pleasure or use; so we tamper with nature without thought to the consequences. We have cut down the forests for lumber without realizing their importance as vital water sheds, as a result we have caused mudslides, flooding, and lowering of underground water tables. We have disposed of our wastes into rivers, destroying their beauty and killing fish, water fowl and plants. We have lowered the death rate and lengthened the life span because of advances made in industry, agriculture and medicine, but at the same time we have failed to appreciably lower the birth rate. As a result the earth's population is increasing at the rate of 2% a year. In thirty-five years it will have doubled. (4) This ever increasing population encroaches more and more on nature. More lumber is needed for houses, more wastes are created for disposal, more mountains are cut down to make room for houses or roads to the houses, more outdoor recreation is needed, etc. Homes for deer, rabbits, birds, coyotes and other animals become playgrounds for people instead. And so into the picture comes Mineral King.

The U. S. Forest Service, responding to the ever increasing demand for more "developed" outdoor recreational areas, decided to ask for private bids to "develop" Mineral King for skiing and other outdoor recreational pursuits. There were six plans submitted, and out of these the Walt Disney Productions' plan was chosen. (Six played, one won.) The plan calls for an expenditures of \$35 million and will take up 300 acres of land. The proposal plans to accommodate 5,000 to 10,000 visitors a day in the valley. It calls for a year-around alpine village with a five story hotel that will sleep 3,310 guests, 22 ski lifts to serve as many as 8,500 skiers per day, theater, heated swimming pool, golf course, tennis courts, heliport, hospital, maintenance shops, restaurants (one on a bulldozed mountain top), parking places for 3,600 cars, cog railway to run between the parking area and the village, and a reservoir to replace the river and meadow that now occupy the valley floor.⁶ All this on three hundred acres of land—eighty of which Walt Disney Productions will lease for thirty years. The other 220 acres will be leased on a year-to-year basis.⁷

Of the Walt Disney Productions' plan the Forest Service states: "It will be a mountain recreation area of the finest quality, developed—and used—according to Forest Service approved plans and wholly in harmony with its superlative surroundings."⁸ Like children playing the Winnie-the-Pooh game, the Forest Service is dealing with only what can be seen. Perhaps a village "which will be built to an 'American Alpine' motif reminiscent (but not a copy) of European mountain resort communities"⁹ will look like it belongs in the landscape. But if those in the Forest Service would close their eyes, they would hear the tramp of 10,000 to 20,000 human feet on the valley, and they would hear voices echoing off the mountain walls until the peace and solitude of the valley is no more—no more—no more—no more— — — They would smell the odor of man and of man-made things. And if they were to reach out to touch a flower, they would feel its crushed petals. If they would open their eyes and look up, away from the valley floor, they

Footnotes at end of article.

would see a scarred mountain top and slopes marred by ski lifts.

"Wholly in harmony"? No thought has been given to the animals that now call Mineral King their home, the animals that are supposedly in a national game refuge. No provisions are made for the marmots, the mule deer, the grouse whose very lives depend upon the valley meadow—the meadow that is to be replaced by buildings, people and reservoir. The ecological balance will be upset, animals will die, merely because of man's greed for money and pleasure.

There are many places where man can golf, play tennis, swim, eat and lodge, and there are places where man can ski. There are few remaining places for our wild animals to eat, play and lodge. So, too, are there few remaining places where man can escape this society for a while, where he can forget about time, and all his cares, and identify with nature. There are few places where he can observe the handiwork of God unspoiled by human hand and feel His presence. If we continue to approach the demand for more outdoor recreation by opening up wilderness areas, there will be no wilderness area left. Man will have destroyed it for all time purely for a passing pleasure. Right now in the United States only about 2% of our land remains wilderness.⁷ We must preserve it like misers if future generations are to see, feel, smell and hear it. Otherwise they will only be able to read about it in history books.

Many conservationists and conservation minded organizations, such as the Sierra Club, were unaware of the extent to which Mineral King was going to be "developed" until the plans were already approved by the Forest Service. When these plans became known, much opposition was encountered.⁸ The Sierra Club and other conservationists felt the project was too big for the valley. The National Park Service was afraid that so many people in Mineral King would endanger the Sequoia Park wilderness areas surrounding Mineral King. The Forest Service, however, was unrelenting.

Attention was also focused on the plans for a new road. If the Walt Disney Production plan was to be realized, a new road that would move traffic much faster and that could be kept open all year would have to be constructed. The state of California was asked to finance and to build it. Many felt this was unjust and argued that the people would be paying for a road that primarily helped a private enterprise. Yet others felt that the road would benefit the people of the state by making a new winter resort accessible. The state of California approved the funding of the road despite its cost of \$25 million. Since the road would go through nine miles of Sequoia National Park, the state needed the approval of the Secretary of Interior. At that time Mr. Stewart Udall was secretary, and he was reluctant to give his approval stating: "I am honestly worried by the thought that we will not be honored 25 years from now if we make a decision to violate this valley by a road."⁹ Many conservationists wrote to him urging him not to approve the road. The road would threaten some 40 giant sequoias, trees that were seedlings at the time of Christ. Also a road that would move some 1,200⁶ vehicles per hour would also bring problems such as noise and air pollution. But pressure was also brought to bear from others who saw the development of Mineral King so that it could be used by many as a good thing. Skiers, especially, were anxious to have this area opened up by a new access road. Many had the feeling that if a natural resource is not used to the utmost by man, it is being wasted. Of course, the Department of Agriculture was anxious for the road to be built since it was its division that had asked for bids and approved the

plan in the first place. So a power struggle developed between two departments of the executive portion of the federal government. It finally developed to such proportions that it became an embarrassment to the President⁶ and the deputy budget director was asked to help settle it. Since the Secretary of Agriculture had given in on the last dispute, the Secretary of Interior was told he should relent this time. He finally did so.

Just as it began to look as if all obstacles had been overcome and all battles had been waged and won for Walt Disney Productions, the Sierra Club filed a lawsuit charging the Department of Agriculture had acted improperly in granting Disney a lease on 80 acres of land for thirty years and a year-to-year lease on 220 acres. The Club claims that this is merely a way to get around the 80 acre limit set by Congress. The Club also charges that the Department of Agriculture should have held public hearings on the project and that the Department of Interior had no right to approve a road through National Park lands. In August 1969 the Club sought, and was granted, an injunction halting all work on the project until the case can be heard in court. Walt Disney Productions had landed on Pooh's Corner and lost one turn!

Time has become a very important commodity in our society. The Sierra Club is hoping that continued delay will discourage Walt Disney Productions and make it unprofitable for them to proceed with their plans. They also hope that in the time interval they will be able to generate enough adverse public reaction so that Walt Disney Productions will no longer feel it is desirable to continue with its project.

Meanwhile, a bill that would make Mineral King a part of Sequoia National Park has been introduced in Congress by George E. Brown of California.⁸ It has been referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. No action as yet has been taken.

And so, the game of Mineral King is almost finished. The players have used the available segments—state government, federal government, Forest Service, Department of Agriculture, National Park Service, Department of Interior, Congress, Legislature, judicial system. Walt Disney Productions has lost a turn. The winner is now anybody's guess.

The conflict over Mineral King, like the game of Winnie-the-Pooh, is a part of and a result of our society. There is hope for Mineral King. Many people are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that projects such as the one envisioned by Walt Disney Productions only bring us closer to a dead-end, and if the Sierra Club manages to stall the project long enough, public sentiment might well rise against the plans. So, too, is there hope for our society as there is an increasing awareness of the interrelationship of problems within it. Man is not perfect. He will always make mistakes. But if he goes forward ever aware of his imperfections, he can change, and with him, society.

"When I was a child, I used to talk like a child, and think like a child, and argue like a child, but now I am a man, all childish ways are put behind me. We are seeing a dim reflection in a mirror; but then we shall be seeing face to face. The knowledge that I have now is imperfect; but then I shall know as fully as I am known."—1 Corinthians 13: 11, 12.⁹

FOOTNOTES

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³ "After 700 road curves, there's old Mineral King . . . your destination or jumping-off

place," *Sunset Magazine*, June 1967, pp. 42-52.

⁴ Bengelsdorf, Irving S., *Spaceship Earth: People and Pollution*, Fox-Mathis Publications, Los Angeles, Calif., n.d.

⁵ Cahn, Robert, "Disney project sets off 'battle for sequoias,'" *The Christian Science Monitor*, June 7, 1969.

⁶ "Mineral King, A Planned Recreation Development," *U.S. Department of Agriculture Bulletin*, February 1969.

⁷ Hope, Jack, "The King Besieged," *Natural History Magazine*, November 1968.

⁸ "House of Representatives Bill 13521," *Ninety-first Congress, First Session*, August 13, 1969.

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YOUNG MARYLAND SOLDIER AWARDED BRONZE STAR

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sp4c. Thomas H. Wallace, Jr., a young man from Maryland, was recently awarded the Bronze Star Medal with "V" device for valor and the Purple Heart, in Vietnam. I should like to commend his heroism by including the following article in the RECORD:

YOUNG SOLDIER AWARDED BRONZE STAR FOR SAVING BUDDIES' LIVES

Spec. Four Thomas H. Wallace, Jr., attached to the Americal Division in South Vietnam, has been awarded the Bronze Star Medal with "V" device for valor and the Purple Heart.

Wallace's wife, Regina, and their seven-week-old son, Thomas, III, live with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Wallace, Sr., in White Hall.

The 19-year-old soldier is the eldest son of Mr. and Mrs. Wallace. He has five brothers and two sisters.

According to the citation accompanying the Bronze Star, "Private Wallace's unit was conducting a reconnaissance patrol near Tam Ky City when it encountered a well entrenched company size North Vietnamese Army force.

"The initial burst of hostile small arms and automatic weapons fire took the friendly unit by complete surprise, seriously wounding four of Private Wallace's comrades and pinning down the remainder of the patrol.

"With utter disregard for his personal safety, Private Wallace maneuvered through the intense enemy fire to the fallen soldiers and removed one of them to a more secure area.

"After administering emergency first aid to the wounded man, Private Wallace again made his way through concentrated enemy fire in returning to the site of the three other casualties.

"After administering first aid to two of the wounded personnel, Private Wallace then engaged the enemy with suppressive small arms fire, enabling the other members of the patrol to evacuate the wounded men from the contact area.

"Private Wallace's timely and heroic actions were instrumental in saving the lives of several of his fellow soldiers and served as an inspiration to the remainder of his unit."

Wallace was promoted to his present rank last May 16. At the time of the action for which he was decorated he was a private first class. In South Vietnam since last January, he is expected to return home in December.

WHAT 42,000 MEN DID NOT DIE FOR

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, a most thoughtful editorial appeared in the Worthington Daily Globe of Worthington, Minn., over the recent Memorial Day period, and I wish to bring it to the attention of my colleagues. The paper, edited by Ray Crippen, suggests several conditions for which our brave American men were killed in Vietnam obviously did not sacrifice themselves:

WHAT 42,000 MEN DID NOT DIE FOR

Few issues in modern times have so divided the American nation as the continuing war in Southeast Asia. The cost of lives and dollars has been staggering. Victory, even a stalemate, continues to prove elusive. The President has pledged our ultimate withdrawal, but within the past month, the scale of conflict has broadened importantly.

Critics and supporters of the President both have reason for sober reflection on Memorial Day Saturday. The losses of more than 42,000 Americans killed and 278,000 wounded is more than grim statistics. They are real facts which have spelled heartbreak in many American homes. They are awesome sacrifices in the name of service to country.

Some will ask Saturday: Were these sacrifices in vain? We are unable to answer that question, and we sincerely wonder whether any American has a good answer. In the cold weightings of big-power politics, gains can be cited. Indonesia, once a pawn of Soviet policy, has reversed its colors. Advocates of the domino theory argue that drawing the line in Vietnam has stopped the march of communism into other Asian nations. These gains, however, have not been cheaply won. Besides the price in lives and treasure, national prestige in the eyes of world opinion has suffered greatly. The division of the nation at home has been a bitter dividend. So, too, are rampant inflation in the economy and the "crisis of confidence" on Wall Street. Finally, it can be argued that the Saigon government is in no better control of its country than it was when American forces were first dispatched. Most of Laos is under communist rule, much of Cambodia and a portion of Thailand. A tremendous treasure has been invested; accomplishments are not easy to find.

But it is not our purpose here to rehash all of the pros and cons of the war. These arguments are well known.

Rather, we would suggest there is a consideration in the sacrifice of 42,000 of our countrymen that all of us should weigh. While there may be disagreement among citizens as to why these men died, there can be a degree of certainty as to what they weren't fighting for. We list some of these here:

These brave sacrifices were not made in the name of national disunity. And for obvious reasons. Grave problems in addition to Vietnam confront today's America: the threat of war in the Middle East; worsening economic conditions at home; a worldwide problem of environmental pollution; the still-unresolved East-West conflict, to name only a few. A divided America can marshal only limited resources in tackling these ills. A divided citizenry undermines our efforts. Problems as big as these depend upon a broad consensus for successful solutions. A contentious society must first heal the wound of division before it can be strong.

Our mourned servicemen did not die to invalidate the nation's ideals. When we speak of servicemen who made this sacrifice, the

list includes black and white, Protestant, Catholic and Jew. Young men nearly all, they possessed the vital, idealistic visions of youth, the idea of a more-perfect America which practices the letter of freedom and equality of opportunity. This realization should suggest to the nation some important unfinished business.

Our dead in Vietnam did not die to dishonor the flag. Though there may have been many who doubted the wisdom of our Vietnam involvement, they honored the concept of citizen contribution for national needs. This fact was implicit in their service.

Our lost GIs, Marines, airmen and sailors did not die to fatten the Swiss bank accounts of war profiteers, domestic or Vietnamese. Though this was not their purpose, the profiteering goes on, in Saigon and DaNang, in San Diego, Los Angeles and Washington. There may be an instruction to the American people in this fact.

The 42,000 now-dead Americans did not die to enhance the chances of World War III. This is obvious. Knowing the horror of war, they, more than anyone at home, could value peace. For those of us remaining, the question is pertinent: What is the substance of our current efforts to prevent a World War III? Are we making adequate attempts to reduce tensions and build the foundations for lasting peace?

Sober questions, all of these. And important ones. Appropriate topics for thought on Saturday.

How, for example, do we build unity? Do we raise our voices? Do we resort to violent protest? Do we misread other's motives? Do we react emotionally to the ideas of those with whom we disagree?

Or do we realize that our mutual stake in unity as Americans may be preciously important to all of us? Shouldn't we attempt to understand, if not agree with, the viewpoints of those which don't immediately square with ours? Shouldn't we beware of emotional overreaction? Shouldn't we place more emphasis on discussion, less on debate? What are your answers?

A TRIBUTE TO DANIEL NARCISO

HON. ROBERT C. McEWEN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I call to your attention today the name of Daniel Narciso, a student at the State University of New York College at Oswego, N.Y. I am sure that you will agree with me that this college student is to be commended for a recent act of valor in Oswego, N.Y.

While crossing a bridge over the Oswego River on June 19, Mr. Narciso saw a man falling from the bridge to the water some 40 feet below. Rather than concerning himself with personal danger to his own well being, he acted to save another. In attempting the rescue, Mr. Narciso plunged from the bridge into the waters below.

While he was unable to save the man's life, Mr. Narciso demonstrated great courage.

At 22, he is a highly respected student at Oswego and is an outstanding member of his college wrestling team.

His actions, I believe, are more typical of the character of our young people than the antisocial behavior of the noisy few who make the headlines. I believe that his courage and concern for another

are representative of the fine ideals that motivate the vast majority of our college students and other young people in whose hands the future of our Nation lies.

COLONEL ELLENBERG'S PRAYER

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, one of the last services which Col. Julian S. Ellenberg rendered before his untimely passing on June 13 was to organize a beautiful and appropriate memorial service to our veterans in my hometown of Greenwood, S.C., on Memorial Day. Colonel Ellenberg's career of spiritual and military service is one of national significance. He participated in the Normandy landings on Utah Beach on D-day, served with our occupation forces in both Japan and Germany, and while serving in Japan was chaplain to Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Even after retirement from the Army in 1959, Colonel Ellenberg continued to be active in National, State, and community affairs as a member of the American Legion, the Kiwanis Club, and the Shriners. He was elected to four terms as grand aumonier of the South Carolina 40 & 8, and then was chosen aumonier national for the 40 & 8 last summer. Colonel Ellenberg was a dear personal friend of mine, a devoted patriot, and an outstanding American. The following prayer, which I commend to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress and the people of our country, was written by Colonel Ellenberg for the memorial service in Greenwood:

MEMORIAL DAY PRAYER—1970

Dear Lord, Kind Lord, Gracious Lord we pray, Guide us, love us and protect us this Memorial Day;

Help us when we fall Thee; fail to turn this tiny planet

Into a province, into a province, into a province of The Kingdom of God.

In public proclamation, and in private legion, For God and Country, For God and Country We ask strength to uphold and defend law and order.

Dear Lord, Kind Lord, Gracious Lord we pray Asking Thy forgiveness for the foolish things things we say.

Those who are departed, those who are departed;

Those who nobly sacrificed,

Lived and died, lived and died that we might live in

A greater America, a greater America, a part of a better world.

They're trampling, they trampling, They're marching, they're marching, Rejoicing and singing praises unto Thee, most High and Holy God.

Dear Lord, Kind Lord, Gracious Lord we pray, Guide us, love us and protect us this Memorial Day.

All Armed Forces, in the air, on the land and on the sea;

Keep them safe;

Our Beloved America, America, America.

Lord make us harmonies of Thy Peace on This Memorial Day.

That all wars may cease!

A-men! A-men! A-men!

JULIAN ELLENBERG,
Lieutenant Colonel, Retired.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, last February I introduced H.R. 15779 to provide a national health insurance program for all residents of the United States.

Twenty colleagues from nine States have since cosponsored the bill. In addition, four other Members have introduced bills identical to H.R. 15779. No committee action has been taken nor is any scheduled by the House in the remainder of the second session of the 91st Congress on national health insurance.

So, for the reasons I shall give now, I plan to reintroduce my bill early in the next Congress.

There are two points I wish to make about the need for national health insurance legislation at this time.

One is that the cost of medical care has reached such astronomical proportions that only the very rich can afford to get sick in America.

The second is that we cannot afford to delay enactment of a program to control escalating health care costs. The longer we put off a comprehensive national health insurance program, the more it is going to cost when we finally implement it.

Mr. Speaker, H.R. 15779 is the only NHI bill pending in Congress which would control costs effectively and in a manner acceptable to all concerned. It permits the Federal Government to negotiate and contract with the providers of health services to deliver health care.

The providers would organize themselves into medical and dental groups, which would be responsible for fulfilling the contract.

The amount of the contract would actually set a budget within which doctors, dentists, hospitals, and laboratories would have to operate. Excessive care and unnecessary services by providers would reduce their profits. Efficiency would show up as budget surpluses and greater profits.

The medical and dental groups would pay their members in any way they chose. Presumably, the predominant method for paying for medical and dental services would continue to be fee-for-service, since a majority of physicians and dentists continue to prefer this method of payment.

However, the sum total of individual charges could not exceed the overall budget of the group. This is the cost control mechanism in my bill.

Unlike medicare and medicaid which simply underwrite the cost of care, as determined solely by the providers, with no objective restraints on excessive charges or unnecessary services, my bill establishes three national budgets: one for hospital services, one for medical services, and one for dental service. I believe this is the preferable way to put controls on runaway health and medical costs.

With regard to the expense of delaying

national health insurance, when I first began researching it a year and half ago, the cost of H.R. 15779 was estimated to be 7 percent of covered payrolls. That estimate was based on the latest available national health expenditure data, which was for the calendar year 1967.

At that time, it was felt that the providers of health services could live with and, in fact, prosper within the framework of a budget which raised 7 percent of taxable payrolls—1 percent from employees, 3 percent from employers, and 3 percent from general revenues.

After national health expenditure data became available for fiscal 1969, I asked for revised cost estimates. Using the same assumptions, the cost of my bill would now be 7.9 percent of taxable payroll. Obviously health care costs are rising much faster than taxable payrolls.

I should like further to point out, Mr. Speaker, that if health expenditures continue to absorb an increasing proportion of the gross national product at the same rate as has occurred during the last 10 years, then in just 30 years the proportion of GNP Americans will be spending for health care will have doubled; that is from 6.7 percent now to 13.4 percent in the year 2000.

This is why I believe it is imperative to bring the Nation's health delivery system under budgetary control as soon as possible.

The only questions that require answers are whether the providers of health care and services could live within the budget and whether the budget is one under which the quality of service would improve.

The point was succinctly made by Blue Cross Association President Walter J. McNerney in a speech before the 1969 annual convention of the Group Health Association of America. In that speech, Mr. McNerney referred to the capitation system of reimbursing medical groups, which is how prepaid group practice plans pay for medical services. He said:

Let me recall that the pressures for productivity, less fragmentation and greater access are growing. A scheme that is built on a service benefit, includes a broad scope of services with a heavy accent on prevention, contemplates a close working relationship between ambulatory and bed care, involves a utilization review structure that spans an episode of illness, keeps decisions close to the problems involved, and features a prenegotiated rate within which the system will live (emphasis supplied) . . . seems to bear directly on the key economic problems we face while respecting the need of the practitioner to make important clinical decisions.

Mr. Speaker, because of shocking health cost escalations, I will reintroduce my national health insurance bill in the next Congress. While I still think the providers could live within a 7-percent budget, such a budget would, I am afraid, cause too much of an adjustment problem. The new bill will contain some improvements over H.R. 15779 and will provide for increased revenue through raising the tax rate from 7 to 8 percent of payroll. I plan to raise the tax on employers to 3.5 percent and raise the matching Federal contribution to 3.5

percent, leaving the tax on employees at 1 percent.

On the basis of current trends, failure to enact a national health insurance program with effective cost control in the next Congress can only mean further increases in future costs.

I do not believe Congress can afford to let runaway costs and inadequate care go on much longer.

Certainly the vast majority of Americans are ready for a change in the system.

SIGMA DELTA CHI SUPPORTS ANTI-SECURITY AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 17654

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the House will be considering next week the first bill to propose major changes in congressional procedures and operations in more than 20 years.

Many of us feel that while the bill marks a step forward it is lacking in several areas. In particular, a bipartisan group, of which I am a member, will introduce a series of antisecrecy amendments. These include: The recording of teller votes; requiring disclosure of how committee members voted on issues considered by their committees; requiring a rollcall vote to close a House Committee hearing or meeting to the public and allowing a committee to convene if a majority of its members so desired.

Sigma Delta Chi, the professional journalistic society, recently issued a statement in support of these antisecrecy amendments. The society's release indicates a keen awareness of the importance of these proposals. In order to do his job properly, the journalist needs access to, and information about, the various parts of the Congress. As a result, the public's right to know is enhanced.

The following is the society's statement on the antisecrecy amendments:

SIGMA DELTA CHI SUPPORTS ANTI-SECURITY AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 17654

CHICAGO, ILL.—A call for elimination of secrecy in Congress was issued today by Sigma Delta Chi, Professional Journalism Society.

SDX announced support for a bipartisan effort which will get under way July 13 when the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970 (H.R. 17654) is scheduled to come up for debate on the floor of the House of Representatives.

The bill—first major attempt to revise congressional procedures to emerge from a House committee in 24 years—nevertheless has been called "an empty vessel" by a Democratic spokesman and "Pabulum" by a leading Republican critic.

"It is our hope that, in the amendment process on the House floor, the 'vessel' can be filled and the 'Pabulum' fortified," Frank Angelo, managing editor of the Detroit Free Press and SDX national president, said.

"Americans are entitled to have far more scrutiny of how their affairs are handled in the Congress they elect," Angelo added.

"This bill, and the amendments that will

be proposed to it, represent no 'ple in the sky' approach," Angelo said. "The amendments to be proposed represent a hard-headed, realistic approach aimed simply at opening up to greater public view the conduct of the public's business in Congress. This effort deserves far wider public understanding than it has received, and broad support, in this election year, by news media and the voting public."

The SDX national president said he hopes that announcement of the society's support for attempts to strengthen the reorganization bill—particularly as it relates to congressional secrecy—will induce SDX chapters to encourage their local members of Congress to support the effort, and will result in more news coverage and editorial endorsement for the campaign.

Emphasizing that the effort to amend the bill will be fully bipartisan, Angelo quoted a report by the Democratic Study Group that claims, "Secrecy pervades the legislative process in the House of Representatives."

"Secrecy is corrosive," the report adds. "It undermines the democratic process by denying members information they need to make intelligent legislative decisions and by denying voters information they need to make informed electoral decisions."

The DSG report takes special note of the effect of congressional secrecy on the press, radio and television—news media represented in the SDX membership.

"Closed committee meetings, secret or non-record votes and lack of information prevent the press from meeting its obligation to fully and accurately inform the public about the conduct of public business in the house," the report declares.

Reporters excluded from House committee sessions become dependent on "leaks," the report notes, pointing out that this not only may result in misleading reports but in "outright manipulation" if the information leaked is deliberately slanted to favor a particular point of view.

The bipartisan effort to broaden the bill will have as its major objective obtaining a record of how each House member votes on legislative amendments when the House is sitting as the "committee of the whole."

At present, amendments are voted upon either by voice vote, by standup "division of the house" or by "teller-votes"—where members file past tellers who count them—but do not record their names.

"Those in the gallery who might wish to record how members vote are thwarted by the fact that only the press is permitted to take notes in the House galleries, and the press cannot see members' faces during teller votes because the teller lines go in the opposite direction," the DSG report declares.

In addition to proposing a method of recording house members on teller votes, the bipartisan anti-secrecy campaign is likely to focus on such additional issues as:

- Requiring a rollcall vote to declare a House committee meeting or hearing closed to the press and public. Almost half such sessions in the House are now closed.

- Requiring public disclosure of how each member voted on issues in committee and subcommittee.

- Requiring that all committee reports—and particularly reports of conference committees, which reconcile legislative difference between actions of the House and Senate—be made available to members and the press earlier than at present. This would permit congressmen and newsmen to familiarize themselves with the contents of such reports before the House votes on them.

- Convening of House committees by majority vote of committee members, in the event a chairman refuses to call a meeting on request.

- Retaining in the legislation provision for radio-TV broadcast coverage of House committee meetings, subject to several restrictions: majority vote of the committee, a ban

on broadcasting testimony of witnesses appearing under subpoena without their consent and a further ban on commercial sponsorship of such broadcasts.

A similar measure, revising Senate procedures, has been awaiting floor action in the upper house for more than a year.

JERRY FORD—A SUPERB LEADER

HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, as Myra MacPherson wrote in last Sunday's Washington Post, the position of minority leader in the House of Representatives is "a job that requires a measure of toughness and unswerving dedication to the Republican administration" of President Richard M. Nixon.

The President is indeed fortunate in having in JERRY FORD a man of these qualities. Time and again on this floor JERRY has proved himself a superb legislative leader, welding the Members on our side of the aisle into a cohesive force with an impact that often extends beyond our numerical strength.

Miss MacPherson's article follows:

GERALD FORD: THE CRUSADER—THE MAN WHO WANTS JUSTICE DOUGLAS GONE

(By Myra MacPherson)

House Minority Leader Gerald Ford has been called a combination of Tom Swift and Horatio Alger.

He is easily pictured as a small town Kiwanis president, organizer of the Jaycees and Boy Scout Troop leader.

Colleagues describe him as pleasant, dogged, straight-arrow, ambitious and humorless. On first meeting Ford appears to be a cordial man who sincerely believes in all that embodies what has now become a cliché—the American way of life.

Gerald Ford brings this personality to a job that requires a measure of toughness and unswerving dedication to the Republican administration. In his congressional battles, it is sometimes difficult to know whether it is his personality or his partisanship that shapes his reactions.

For example, Ford currently is crusading for the impeachment of Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. Democrats and critics say the move to investigate Douglas is purely political—a Republican retaliatory measure for the defeat of G. Harold Carswell's nomination to the Supreme Court. Ford seems to have other reasons for investigating the investigation. He shows genuine shock at the behavior and writings of the four-times married Justice.

A few months ago, when part of Douglas' controversial book, "Points of Rebellion," was reprinted in Evergreen Review, Ford said, "If there was ever any doubt about the need to impeach Justice Douglas it was eliminated by publication of the April issue of 'Evergreen' magazine."

Why is writing a book critical of the Establishment, and having parts of it appear in a magazine considered by some to be pornographic, an impeachable offense?

Wearing his Burning Tree Country Club blazer, Ford sat down and sipped the iced tea he had fixed in his knotty pine and brick kitchen. "I don't think a man's lifestyle or his writing are impeachable," he said. "But for a Supreme Court Justice to be reprinted in that magazine . . . Have you seen 'Evergreen'? Several pages prior to his article there is as much hard core pornography of a man and woman as you can get."

He said that by allowing his writings to appear in a magazine like that, Douglas "shows some degree of insensitivity to his responsibility as one of the nine justices on the Supreme Court" and to "the popular conception of the role of the Supreme Court Justice."

As for others, such as Senators who have had articles published in Playboy, Ford said, "That's different. A Senator is elected every six years. There's a check and balance."

Ford says that the comments of Vice President Agnew or any other elected official are also different.

"The public citizen has a check rein," by refusing to vote for the person. But with the Supreme Court Justice, who is appointed for life, there is no check, "except the impeachment process."

Only in passing does Ford mention the charge of financial conflict of interest against Douglas—his connection with the Parvin Foundation, which had ties with Las Vegas casinos.

Ford again brings up the morality issue when speaking of Michigan's liberal Senator Philip Hart and his wife—she was convicted of violating an ordinance while taking part in a peace Mass at the Pentagon. Ford says, only half in jest, "Well, he's (Hart) had only one wife, that I know of."

A strong moralistic attitude about life and marriage was easy to acquire in the kind of middle-America Ford was exposed to. He grew up in Grand Rapids, Mich., where he won all-state honors in high school football and went to church often. His wife, Betty, used to teach Sunday School and Ford sometimes ushers at the Episcopal church his family attends near their home in Alexandria.

The Fords are conventional, pleasant and self-styled squares. Mrs. Ford said, "Jack (their 18-year-old son) told me the other night we were too conservative. I said, 'don't you know, Jack, we're just . . .'" and then she finished the sentence by making the shape of a square in the air.

Ford said, "I learned something from Jack. I implied all long-haired people were liberals and he corrected me. He said some were very conservative."

The Ford home is an unpretentious suburban home, with a green and blue living room, knotty pine den off the kitchen, a patio and pool built nine years ago when Ford felt he wasn't getting enough exercise. He uses it religiously at 6:15 in the morning, five months of the year.

There is an American flag on the front door screen and several elephants—ceramic, glass, papier mache—around the house. In their bedroom is a picture of Mrs. Ford and a family friend, General William Westmoreland. Pinned on a bulletin board in the bedroom is a poem, "Just a Boy." ("Got to Understand the Lad, He's Not Eager To Be Bad . . .").

Mrs. Ford is a tall, slim woman who was a fashion coordinator before her marriage. Her sons think she looks like Lady Bird Johnson, and there is some resemblance.

Mike, 20, puts his arms around his mother and said, "She holds down the fort. She's the anchor for the whole family."

Mrs. Ford said that she was "fairly firm" about raising Jack, Mike, Steven, 14, and Susan, who will be 13 this month.

"Gerry was gone a lot. It was not difficult, but challenging to be in a way both a mother and father. Of course, when Daddy was coming home it was a big event. Naturally, Gerry didn't want to come home to problems. He wanted it to be happy."

Ford instinctively defends the administration's foreign policy. When told that someone had called him a "natural born hawk," Ford laughed and said, "I believe we have to be prepared. We also have to have the conviction to use our strength." He is pro-ABM, and refers often to the Communist threat.

"I think you have to find a proper balance between defense expenditures and non-defense. In the world in which we live today, when there are potential threats from the Soviet Union and other Communists, we can't afford to be unprepared."

He feels the U.S. must constantly advance its weaponry because "the Soviet Union has gone up dramatically in strategic capability."

Ford sees meaning in the conflict in Vietnam. "The actions of five presidents have been aimed at keeping us as a global power. That's our fate, whether we like it or not."

As for giving priority to domestic problems, Ford said, "If we lose (in conflicts), we don't have the opportunity to do any of these things at home."

Of his own domestic record he commented, "I was one of the cosponsors of the President's family assistance program and cosponsor of water pollution and solid waste proposals."

Ford, who turned down pro football offers to go to Yale law school, relaxes with his family in a way he knows well—sports. They take skiing vacations together and he takes the boys out for golf and tennis.

His sons are conservative, like their father and have volunteered to campaign for Republican candidates this fall.

Mike, who went off on a Sigma Chi fraternity weekend with classmates at Wake Forest University during the May protest against our involvement in Cambodia, said, "I argue a lot about the war in college. The college atmosphere is antiwar. I more or less try to defend us in general and President Nixon. I get a lot more information."

Looking at his father he said, "I have much better resources, although we're the ones who have to bring politics up when Dad's home."

"I think some students are dogmatic and really don't try to listen to anyone else," he added.

But there has been a change in Mike. "I was for bombing Hanoi at one point, but my viewpoint changed in school. Now I just want to get out of the war."

Ford thinks our involvement in Cambodia will be considered a success and will help, rather than hinder, Republicans in congressional elections this year.

Referring to Nixon's acceptance of a hard hat from the construction workers who support him, Ford said, "Well, I think he has to listen to everybody. He has to acknowledge those who support him and they certainly dramatically support his policy."

Nixon, whom he has known for 20 years, talks to Ford two or three times a week on the phone. They both have an affinity not only in politics but in their love of sports.

This was not the case with Ford and Lyndon B. Johnson. Once, when President Johnson was angered at Ford's ability to trim some of Johnson's pet Great Society programs, he took a slam at Ford's mental capabilities.

Tapping his head in mock sorrow the President is reported to have said, "Too bad, too bad—that's what happens when you play football too long without a helmet."

The other day Ford laughed at that and said, "you know, we've now become very good friends."

MEMBER OF GERMAN BUNDESTAG
SUPPORTS AMERICA'S POLICY
AND IMAGE

HON. DONALD E. LUKENS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, in a time when there seems to be little vocal sup-

port by foreigners of America's policy decisions and image, it is refreshing to receive a letter such as the one I received from Dr. Walter Becher, a member of the German Bundestag.

I would like to share his letter with my colleagues:

MÜNCHEN, GERMANY,
June 24, 1970.

HON. DONALD E. LUKENS,
U.S. Representative,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE LUKENS: On the occasion of July 4, the American Independence Day, I would like to send you the best wishes and congratulations.

In a time when many voices in the world criticize the U.S.A., because it has stood up for freedom, this day is a special occasion for me to greet your great country. Nobody in the free world could resist the pressure coming from the Soviet side if there were not the mighty counterbalance by the United States.

As a Member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the German Bundestag, I appreciate the efforts by your country to keep the peace in alliance with the free nations. Nobody can claim these efforts only for Europe, and—as many have done also over here—condemn them as far as Asia is concerned.

The right for freedom is indivisible. July 4 is therefore the Independence Day for all nations.

With best personal regards and wishes for you and your great country,

Yours very sincerely,
DR. WALTER BECHER,
Member of the German Bundestag.

THE DEPRESSION AND FARM LEGISLATION

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, back in the 1930's, there was no protection for the price of the products of our farms. As a result, prices dropped disastrously and the entire economy of our Nation suffered.

Because many of my colleagues do not remember those days, and to refresh the memory of those of us who were through them, I would like, with your permission, to insert an editorial by O. B. Augustson, in the West Central Daily Tribune, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

As Editor Augustson says:

Those were the days of the deflation of agriculture, the basic industry of the land. No wonder during that period the country plunged into a panic.

Mr. Speaker, I insert this editorial as a warning of what could happen if Congress fails to provide meaningful farm legislation:

A LA DEPRESSION

A gentleman by the name of O. M. Haaland of Glenwood came in the other day to renew his subscription. He used to live in rural Clarkfield. Brought in some farm produce sales slips from the depression years. Those prices made you sit up and notice the extent to which the bottom fell out of farm prices in that period. A 1490 lb. bull sold for \$2.75 per cwt which with some deductions brought only \$35.95. Then two hogs—490 lbs.—\$2.60

per cwt and with deductions brought only \$6.49. No. 1 wheat—56c; barley—35c; No. 2 corn—32c and eggs 8c a dozen. Those were the days of the deflation of agriculture, the basic industry of the land. No wonder during that period the country plunged into a panic, called at that time by a gentler term—depression.

RIVERWAYS AREA IN THE OZARKS OF SOUTHEAST MISSOURI

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, if you enjoy the beauty of nature—crystal clear water with a challenging current and good fishing, songbirds, flowers, and trees, in a breathtaking wilderness setting—I commend to you the Riverways Area in the Ozarks of Southeast Missouri. The Ozarks project, first in the Nation, was established and maintained under Public Law 88-492, approved by the 88th Congress. I am proud of my role in establishing and maintaining this scenic riverway and as one of the strong advocates and supporters of this measure, I cherish the pen President Johnson presented to me which he used to sign the bill at a ceremony in the White House in 1964.

The Kansas City Star magazine feature story on this scenic riverway, by Jim Lapham, with pictures by Wes Lyle, which appeared in the July 5 issue emphasizes the importance of timely congressional action to assure, as the story points out, that "here, for just one time, nature does not yield." The article follows:

THE WILD CURRENT RIVER TO STAY WILD (By Jim Lapham)

The silence. The silence!

There is no sound with which to contrast the silence. There is no civilization with which to contrast the wilderness. There is no human life with which to contrast the isolation. And you feel like this could go on for empty miles and empty hours and empty days.

Of course it couldn't, but here on the Current river can be glimpsed the balance of nature at work as it has been for millions of years before man created the need for a science to teach him to live in harmony with his environment. Man calls his new balance of nature ecology.

Public law 88-492 was approved by the 88th Congress August 27, 1964. It provided for establishment of what is known as the Ozark National Scenic Riverways. Involved were more than 100 miles of the Current river and a substantially lesser stretch of a tributary stream, Jacks Fork. The project was unique, the first in the nation.

The Riverways area is in four counties in the Ozarks of Southeast Missouri. It is 300 miles southeast of Kansas City, 145 miles east of Springfield and 50 miles west of Poplar Bluff. The Current river section starts at Montauk Springs.

Sometime this year in all likelihood, by the simple act of publication in the Federal Register, the secretary of the interior will determine in accordance with the authorizing law "that lands and waters, or interests therein, have been acquired by the United States in sufficient quantity to provide an administrable unit."

Then, as it was the first authorized scenic

riverway in the nation, this Ozarks project will be the first established. Since the pioneer undertaking, eight other National Scenic Riverways have been designated. Also in Southeast Missouri is the Eleven Point river. Wisconsin has two rivers scheduled for national park status, the Wolf and St. Croix. Idaho has two projected national riverways, the Clearwater and the Salmon. Oregon's Rogue river and California's Feather river presently complete the select group.

Before Missouri achieved statehood, one of its territorial laws read that "the Mississippi and Missouri rivers and the navigable waters flowing into them, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways and forever free to the public."

At some time between then and now that territorial law faded into oblivion. It is hoped that federal legislation will be of more enduring nature.

Coming out of Owls Bend below Ebb and Flow, upriver from Blue Spring and Paint Rock hollow, in what is generally overlooked by Cardareva mountain, is the Powder Mill ferry. Powder Mill is north of Van Buren and east of Eminence. Powder Mill is one of only half a dozen ferries still functioning in Missouri.

"Can't miss it," Willie Parks, of Van Buren, enthused.

"Road'll take you rat to th' river," Willie assured. "John an' I will meet you there. We'll have two john boats an' you can't miss John. Big. He so big he look like a skinned mule."

Thanks to having lost 40 pounds over the winter, John Voyles of Ellington, Mo., easily fitted back into the forest green Explorer Scout shirt he had earned several springs before.

A veteran of 30 years as a river guide, Willie Parks gave every assurance that if it was solitude we were seeking he was just the fellow to find it for us.

"See you at Powder Mill at 7:30 in th' mornin'" Willie said. "By t'morrow night we'll camp on a little old gravel bar so quiet you couldn't raise a racket there with a quart of whisky."

The ferry was easy enough to spot as a red pickup truck was being winched across at Powder Mill. Big John towered beside a grinning Willie Parks as they waited by two of the forest green john boats that seem almost indigenous to the Current river.

John slid one boat into the river and with an experienced eye began picking the way into deeper water.

"There's just enough current to aggravate you here and just enough rocks that we'll probably hit one or two," John commented.

La Riviere Courante its French explorers had appropriately named this, the running river. Subsequent English speaking settlers changed *Courante* to Current but the river suffered little in the translation. Fed by boiling springs, its current runs through deep ravines and past towering bluffs.

The brown pebbled river bottom flew beneath the boat which seemed suspended in air, so clear was the water, until it left the shallow rapids and moved into the deep green channel. Around the first bend and all signs of man's presence were gone as if the turning of the river had turned back time as well.

Bright columbine clung somehow to a rock cliff and hidden near the top a rain crow mournfully exhorted the blue sky to deliver rain. Though there was no visible evidence the crow was doing anything but wasting his time, a deluge arrived less than 48 hours later.

At Blue Spring we were near the center of the widest, protected strip of land that insulates the river from the world. The sun had been pouring heat into the river valley for several hours when we ran up on the bank where the waters of Blue Spring come

flooding into the river, an average of 65 million or more gallons a day.

Stepping into the valley from which the icy spring water issued was like entering a walk-in refrigerator as the spring chilled the air. A pool at the base of a cliff was the visible source. Its depth has never been plumbed although divers have gone below the 200-foot mark.

John Voyles had a thermos to fill from the spring. Spring and river water, Willie insisted make the best coffee in the world. John carefully permitted a young dragon fly to investigate his finger tip.

"A bird must have roughed him up," John remarked. "He seems to be havin' trouble moving."

Secure in the knowledge that he looked like the rest of the little oval brown pebbles, a small, tan toad solemnly observed this intrusion. A bright red star of a wild flower nodded on a short spike of a stem and water-cress swayed in an eddy at the pool's edge.

Set back from the pool on a stone, low enough to be noticed only by those who really cared, was a tablet which proclaimed: "Richard D. Hager owned and preserved this spring, 1920-1945."

Back at the river, heron and kingfisher piled their trade. Floating in the cool shade away from the sound of spring and rapids only the occasional song of birds broke the still. A kerplunk from the other side of the river, as if a boulder had been heaved in, signaled a turtle flopping from a log into the water, a sharp punctuation mark to the silence.

An even dozen buzzards spiraled in interlocking circles far above. In shadowy depths, bass bedded near the bank. A lone bullfrog sounded his first, deep, drowsy afternoon croak of the day.

Forests of oak and hickory and pine, predominantly, along with huge, riverbank sycamore and cottonwood, made a seemingly impenetrable green curtain along the river. The Current itself occupies center stage with its tawny, speckled bronze shallows and jade green to sapphire blue deeps strung on the chains of quick silver rapids, a jeweled necklace indeed.

On the right, Bee Bluff came into view, so called because bees use the hollows in the rock face for their hives. On the left, gray veils of moss hang from cliffside pines. Nowhere else along the river does either phenomenon occur.

In a young willow growth at the head of the gravel bar where we were to camp for the night, indigo bunting and goldfinch made brilliant sparks of blue and yellow as they darted back and forth.

As the sun sank lower in the sky a cardinal began its sweet clear whistling and deeper in the woods a big, crow-sized pileated woodpecker set up its wildly insane cry, sounding much like the laughter of the Australian kookaburra bird.

With dark, those kings of noisemakers, the frogs, took over. The high trilling of the little tree frogs sounds like all the crickets in the world singing over a powerful amplifier.

But it is the booming bull frog that furnishes the bass drum accompaniment to the night-time symphony. At times this bull frog vocalizing sounds almost like a pack of hunting dogs in full cry. And for sheer monotony the whippoorwill has no peer. Apparently this insomniac of the bird world does all its breathing in the daytime for it never seems to pause to do so at night.

River-wise guide that he is, Willie sets a lantern on the other side of the gravel bar as a lure for insects and takes up a position downwind from the campfire on which he has just tossed a chunk of cedar. Mosquitos avoid cedar smoke, he said.

Dawn comes early but gradually to these Ozarks mountain valleys. The stars disappear from the black velvet sky as it lightens through every shade of gray, bits of that gray seeming to break off to hang in the high

valleys as morning mist until the long arisen sun peers down at full strength from the bluff top to drive all thought of night from the river.

As we floated silently around a bend in the river it was, as usual, John's sharp eye that alerted us. A deer was just picking its way down to the river. Unaware of our approach, it leaped into the water, right in front of our boat.

If the appearance of eye and ear and panting mouth was any gauge, the doe was terrified when she saw us and began swimming desperately for a gravel bank. Photographer Wes Lyle, in the front of the boat, gave a graphic demonstration of what is known as buck fever. His skin was covered with goose bumps from the moment the doe appeared.

John held the boat back against the current so the doe could reach the gravel bar. She emerged, streaming water, then disappeared into the wood with a warning flirt of her white tail.

"How could anyone ever shoot a deer" Lyle asked.

"Humph," John grunted. "A farmer near here found three dead deer in his field. Hunters had shot them and never even touched them. Just left them laying there. He had to haul them away so he could work the field."

In Van Buren is the National Park service office where David D. Thompson, Jr., has his headquarters. Thompson is superintendent of the Ozark National Scenic Riverways. Ultimately this will embrace approximately 84,000 acres along 101 miles of the Current and 39 miles of Jacks Fork.

At the first of this year, Bib Alley and Round Spring state parks were turned over to the federal government as part of the scenic riverway system.

Not only has this project pioneered the National Scenic Riverways program but, Thompson said, it also has become a model for state-federal co-operation regarding wildlife management. State hunting and fishing regulations have been adopted by the federal government as applicable on its lands. State agents still man all fire lookout towers, but, of course, make no distinction as to whether it is local or federal land that is threatened.

With the many special and conflicting interests over the rivers, Thompson said it was indeed a happy bonus to find such freely meshing co-operation on the state and national levels.

Canoe enthusiasts delight in the challenge of these rivers. Fishermen see it as primarily the source for their favorite pastime. Some look to the potential for commercial exploitation. Last year an estimated 2 million persons visited the area. To still others, it was home and farm.

Although the administration of the riverway manages to accommodate these wishes with varying degrees of success, its true aim is alien to man's history on this earth. Here, for just one time, nature does not yield to man. Man is yielding to nature—albeit not always with good grace.

"We were lucky to get a river that really hadn't been touched to any great degree by man," Thompson said.

The principal idea of a scenic riverway, Thompson said, is to have it look and sound as if man had never been on the river.

Thompson is prepared to go to great lengths to do this. No standing vegetation, dead or alive, can be cut or knocked down. The only authorized wood cutters here are beaver. The raw white stub of a sawed off limb flashes unmistakable evidence of man.

If a leaning tree or hanging branch threatens a campsite or river passage, guides must now report it to the park service. Moving in from the landward side, winch and long cable may be used to snare the offending growth out or artistically lay it over as if stormfelled. The natural appearance of the river is maintained.

As a sort of compromise, both to project funding and to prevent hardship, a system of scenic easements has been worked out where some resident property owners are permitted to occupy some existing structures for their lifetime. No additional improvements are to be made and, through planting, those who occupy scenic easements are encouraged to partly screen structures on the river side.

Occasional power lines cross the river, betraying the presence of man uncontroversially. Thompson is philosophical about this setback, realizing that to route the lines around the area might involve hundreds of miles. At least where these lines march across the area they are not emphasized by the wide, denuded swath that normally marks the right of way of power transmission lines.

At the 14 campsites, campers must bring their own wood or purchase it from concessionaires. This also is to prevent them from leaving visible evidence of their passage. No overflow camping is permitted and sites are on a first-come basis. Camping also is permitted on gravel bars, and wood washed up there finds its way into the campfire.

Campers are urged to keep their fires small and to maintain quiet between 10 o'clock at night and 6 in the morning. Nails are not to be driven in trees, nor are trees to be stripped of bark or foliage.

A paramount rule is to carry out everything that you carry in.

This is what a scenic riverway is. Obviously, such stringent regulations along the river and extending back from it a minimum of one-eighth of a mile (and in most cases farther) do not always meet the interests of special groups.

Many frankly can see little practical use in going to all this effort just to have a strip of beauty untouched—to all outward appearance—by man.

"But," Thompson said, "it is exactly to preserve the natural aspect of this country that we have set this up."

Man has been used to being landlord and not tenant, making earth and all it contains yield to his immediate desire. In the Ozark National Scenic Riverways it is refreshing to see him belatedly, and in small measure, make some amends for the incalculable violence he has done his environment and those with whom he shares it.

APARTHEID AND WEAPONS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, July 6, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, recently four articles written by two distinguished foreign journalists have come to my attention. They deal with the conditions that exist in Southern Africa, especially in the Union of South Africa, and with the possible sale of military equipment to South Africa.

Mr. Jonathan Steele reports on the implementation of apartheid in South Africa in the first two articles. Mr. Colin Legum reports on the probabilities should various countries sell arms to the white regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa.

As has been proven by the National Guard in this country, equipment such as armored vehicles and helicopters are effective when used as weapons to control groups of citizens, and not for external defense. Juxtaposing these two series of

articles, then, it is evident what a profoundly negative effect sale of this equipment would have on the black majorities of these two states.

The articles follow:

[From the London Guardian, Mar. 2, 1970]

THE OTHER SOUTH AFRICA

(The first of a series of reports from Jonathan Steele)

In the strange terminology of the Department of Bantu Administration Dientjie is called a "township." But with scarcely a hundred houses it looks more like a village from the road. And even that description is flattering. Some of the houses are at best just shacks, propped up with corrugated iron, or sheets of cardboard from packing cases. There is hardly a tree for shade in the whole place.

Dientjie is a dump. One of the many places in South Africa which the Government sees fit to create as a dumping-ground for African families who are unwanted in "white" areas. All over the Republic out of sight, and usually out of mind of most white South Africans, these extraordinary resettlement townships have sprung up. Thousands and thousands of men, women, and children are being uprooted and transported from where they live and work, and deposited on the veldt. Needless to say, these places are not on show to visitors.

Fortunately, in one particular, Dientjie is an exception. You can see it clearly from the tourist highway that runs along the rim of the spectacular Blyde River Canyon. Most of the resettlement townships are deep in the reserves, out of bounds and well away from prying eyes and vulnerable consciences. This one is on the edge of a much-frequented beauty spot. Less than two miles away the Transvaal Provincial Administration is lavishing hundreds of thousands of pounds on building a holiday resort for whites.

Dientjie is less well endowed. A patch of dry and barren veldt on the lower slopes of a mountain, its amenities consist of two stores, a primary school, and a small pipe that emits an uncertain trickle of water if you are lucky. When it moved the first families in here ten years ago, the Government provided no electricity, no sanitation, no house-to-house water supply.

Not even houses. The people are simply brought to Dientjie and shown a plot of veldt, fifty feet square. This is supposed to be their home. If you ask them if they received any compensation for giving up their old homes, they smile politely at the question. Families who have been there for some time have built themselves houses out of home-made bricks, moulded and dried from the sunburnt ochre of the veldt soil.

Two families had just arrived the day I visited Dientjie. They sat woodenly on empty olddrums, with roped-up suitcases, a mound of bedding and cheap furniture around them. Blackened cooking-pots lay on the ground. An out-of-date calendar flapped on the side of an upturned dresser. Away across the veldt the rim of the eroded and pitted canyon loomed magnificently. But what use is a view like that to women and children facing a night in the open in a "homeland" they never wanted to see?

Other families who had been in Dientjie for some days had already made a shelter out of corrugated iron sheets. Children gathered round some of the half-built homes watching the growing embryo of a community that only the Government wanted.

The families' trouble was that they were tenants on land belonging to white farmers in the nearby region. Whole families worked to pay the rent. Children often had to stay out of school to help in the fields. But under the Government's policy of relocating Africans out of "white" areas and into their own "homelands" the families were told to move. The very first settlers were brought to Dient-

jie in 1960. Other groups followed in 1965 and 1968. Now a new trickle is coming in.

Mostly they came from three or four large white farms. They were discouraged, though not prevented, from bringing their own cattle with them. But the land is poor for grazing and water is scarce. Many cows have died.

Now, as a result of another unexplained change in Government policy, they tell you, Dientjie is being redesignated as a "township" instead of a Bantu trust area. This means that it is not meant to be an agricultural community any more, and the remaining cattle will have to be killed.

It is not clear what kind of agricultural community it was ever meant to be. The soil is too poor to support more than a few vegetables. There was only common land for grazing. The men have to work in the white towns fifteen or twenty miles away, or as migrant labourers on the very farms where they used to live as tenants. Some have to go as far as Johannesburg to find work. Bus services even to the nearby towns are inadequate and fares high.

The Government is authorized to provide emergency rations if necessary, but the families who had just arrived had seen nothing of them. Some children, I was told, were near starvation. There was no way of verifying this on a short visit. There is certainly no doctor nearby.

A year or so ago, a storm broke out in the South African Parliament about conditions in one or two of these resettlement townships. Limehill in Natal received particular attention when dozens of people, many of them children, died of an outbreak of typhoid and gastroenteritis. Clergymen, volunteers and reporters converged on the area. Since then the issue has faded again. There is little publicity now. It is virtually impossible to get permits to visit them. If you go without, you risk prosecution.

It is not sudden death that faces the people in Dientjie. Just a slow deterioration in their diet, an ever-deepening decline in morale, and a disruption of normal family life. The men who go away to work are the community's lifeline with the world. But they often form other attachments in the town. The postal orders dwindle to a trickle or stop outright.

Girls from the township who go away to work when they leave school run the risk of pregnancy. The cities are too full of men living artificial bachelor-type lives. The girls come home pregnant, have their babies, and the same bleak future closes in on them as on their mothers. You scratch at the soil for what it's worth. You wait for money from an absent man for what that's worth. Both are meagre.

People in Dientjie know better than to bombard a stranger with too many complaints. A family might like a sympathetic ear, but "if we say too much, the Government will say we're meddling in politics." That much they know, so they only give you the bare facts. A man adds: "We don't believe the people in Pretoria know what conditions are like here. The officials up at Bushbuckridge just send in good reports."

Surrounded by this misery, you can understand their incredulity. You don't like to tell them that in Mr. Vorster's South Africa Dientjie and places like it are central Government policy.

[From the London Guardian, Mar. 3, 1970]

THE OTHER SOUTH AFRICA—HOME IS WHERE YOU ARE TOLD TO GO

(The second report from Jonathan Steele)

In spite of limited opposition from a few white voices, even on occasion from within sections of the Dutch Reformed Church, Dr. Vorster's policy of disrupting African family life is being intensified. It makes nonsense of the label "verligte" ("enlightened") which is used to differentiate Dr. Vorster from his

ultra-extremist right wing. Marginally more flexible in his sports policy, and in his dealings with nearby black African states, Dr. Vorster is as rock-solid on apartheid as any of his right-wingers.

There are no official figures on the number of Africans being forced into the homelands every year, but the available evidence is that the trend is constantly being increased. Eye-witness reports from Johannesburg station suggest that about 70 people a day were being "endorsed" out of that city alone at the end of last year, an increase over previous months.

The policy under which this uprooting of human beings takes place is best explained in the words of an official circular from the Department of Bantu Administration, dated December 12, 1967. "It is accepted Government policy that Bantu are only temporarily resident in European areas as long as they offer labour." "Bantu in European areas who are normally regarded as non-productive and have to be resettled in home land are (a) the aged, the unfit, women with dependent children, squatters on mission stations, etc., (b) professional Bantu such as doctors, attorneys, industrialists."

The twin pillars of this policy were devised long ago, and are still supported by English-speaking South Africans. They are the "pass laws" which control the movements of every African and the reservation of 87 per cent of the country's land as "white." What the Afrikaner Nationalist Government has done is give ideological stiffening to English pragmatism, and attempt to take to its ruthless conclusion the traditional policy of racial segregation.

The task the Government has set itself is to move four million human beings against their will. In May 1968, Mr. G. F. van L. Froneman, the deputy chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission, confirmed that six million people, half the African population, were living in "white" areas. Of these, only two million were economically active, he said. The four million others who were not "active labour units" would be settled in homelands. By the end of the year one million had already been removed.

Some are luckier than others. In a few cases, existing African townships have been re-designated as homelands, and no one moved at all. In others, homeland boundaries are drawn so that they abut conveniently on white industrial areas. The Government can then maintain the bureaucratic fiction that more and more Bantustans are being created while still having a ready supply of labour on tap.

It is the agricultural "homelands" where the worst hardship is found. These are the rural settlement areas that are often economically quite unviable, the rural slums that have no industry nearby. These are for the Africans whom the whites no longer want, dumping-grounds for people who have ceased to serve white South Africa's purposes; landless tenants or squatters on white farms, people who own small chunks of land in "white" areas (known charmingly as "black spots"), and the aged, the widows, the doctors, and all the other "non-productive units" endorsed out of the towns.

The Government claim that people are not removed forcibly. But since they can and are prosecuted for staying in areas once their permits run out, the fact that some choose to leave a few days before being prosecuted hardly comes under the normal definition of what is voluntary.

In some of these settlements the Government builds houses before the people arrive. But in most they do not. They are either dumped on the open veldt, or allowed to rent tents. They have to dig their own latrines. The water supply is often poor.

In Natal alone there are estimated to be 500,000 tenant farmers liable for removal. By

the beginning of last year, 86,000 Africans had been removed from "black spots" in Natal. As for "non-productive" Africans in the white urban areas, the process of endorsing them out is being stepped up. Any woman in a township in a white area, who becomes widowed or divorced has to pack up and go with her children, unless she is entitled in her own right to stay.

For this she has to have been born in the area and have worked there continuously, or have worked there for at least 15 years, or for the same employer for 10 years. As a unanimous concession, the Johannesburg City Council recently allowed the wives of men killed in a train crash to stay on in Soweto, the African township. Women whose husbands die naturally are not so favoured.

Even in the homelands which have long been designated for Africans there is little basis for economic development. The Transkei, the one area that has come near being a self-governing "Bantustan," is at least a geographical unit. The other seven African "national units" are administrative disguises for about 276 separate pockets of land, dotted arbitrarily here and there, some large, some small, on mostly poor and unproductive land.

When, for example, the Minister recently inaugurated the new territorial authority of the Tsonga people, in their own capital and with their own executive council of government-subsidised chiefs the meeting took place in a marquee. No amount of fanfare could disguise the fact that no capital city, let alone a reasonable-sized town, existed.

In the Transkei itself there are only 1,700 Africans employed in industry. But agriculture cannot support the population either, and 80 per cent of the Bantustan male labour force has to work as migrants in other parts of South Africa.

It is statistics like this that are causing more and more voices to be raised saying the Government's policy of separate development has failed. The Government tries to keep more Africans out of the towns by giving white industrialists incentives to expand their businesses into the border areas on the edge of the homelands. But between 1960 and 1968 only 54,000 new jobs were created. In a desperate reversal of Mr. Verwoerd's policy, the Government is now encouraging businessmen to invest in the "homelands" as well.

But whatever the Government does, the African urban population is expected to increase rapidly. The chief economist of the Africa Institute, Dr. G. M. Leistner, predicts that the African population will be 30 million by the year 2,000. Fifty-three per cent of them will be in urban areas, and there will be 25 Africans in towns for every 10 whites. New projections which suggest that 35 or 40 million may be a better estimate will not alter the proportion of Africans who will live in the towns.

Like Sisyphus with his stone, Dr. Vorster goes on with the impossible task of forcing Africans into the reserves. As the human cost of the operation becomes more and more colossal and more and more families are smashed up, there is no sign that even the economic folly of it all is realised in Pretoria.

[From the London Observer, June 24, 1970]

SOUTH AFRICA'S FRIENDS IN POWER IN BRITAIN

(By Colin Legum)

LONDON, June 24.—The new Conservative British Government favours the resumption of arms sales to South Africa for two reasons. First, to improve the climate of trade relations between the two countries, somewhat chilled by the previous Labour Government's decision to maintain a complete arms embargo since 1964, in compliance with an earlier United Nations Security Council decision; and, secondly, to develop a strong naval alliance for the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean, based on the Cape port of Simonstown.

The new Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, has described the Cape sea route as "the main artery to the Western world, which must be kept secure."

Until 1955 Simonstown was a British naval base, serving as the headquarters for the South Atlantic Fleet. It was under British authority and control. This position was changed in that year, when the sovereignty of the base was restored to South Africa, but on condition that the British Navy could use its facilities, as well as those of Durban, freely in peacetime; and in wartime Britain and her allies—including the United States—could resume full control over Simonstown.

As part of this agreement South Africa accepted a larger share in protecting the security of the Cape route. Acknowledging this role, Britain agreed to supply South Africa with a number of warships and to provide her with equipment necessary to the defence of Simonstown.

The Simonstown agreement was slightly varied in 1961, when South Africa was forced to leave the Commonwealth. Then the dockyard itself passed over into South Africa's ownership; but the right of British warships to use Simonstown for victualling and repairs was protected.

Although the Simonstown Agreement was renewed in 1967, the South Africans have been threatening to end it since 1968, when Britain refused their demands for submarines, frigates, radar installations, sea-to-air missiles, and aircraft (particularly Buccaneers.)

At one point, in 1968, their threats produced a Cabinet crisis when the then-British Minister of Defence, Mr. Dennis Healey, led a Ministerial revolt demanding the sale of arms for South Africa's external defence. But the Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, defeated the move.

The Conservatives promised that if they were returned to power they would reverse the Labour Government's ban—a pledge made on behalf of the Tory (Conservative) Party by its chairman, Mr. Anthony Barber, as well as by Sir Alec Douglas-Home.

Both, however, insisted that the only arms to be supplied would be for South Africa's external defense, and both coupled their promise with sharp criticisms of the system of apartheid.

The problem that faces the British Government is to decide what arms are likely to be used only for external defense purposes, and what are likely to be used for internal repression.

The Buccaneer aircraft, a fast, low-flying bomber originally designed for naval use, was sold for South Africa's external defense. But it has been used extensively in fighting the infiltrating guerrillas in the Caprivi Strip—the northern military frontier area between South-west Africa, Botswana, Zambia and Rhodesia. Similarly, British-supplied Saracen armoured cars were used in suppressing local protest movements at the time of Sharpeville in 1960. And French-supplied helicopters—intended only for external defense—are used continuously in fighting the guerrillas.

The helicopters and Buccaneers are used not only on South Africa's frontiers, but also along the Rhodesian-Zambian frontiers.

Despite these difficulties, it must be assumed that Sir Alec Douglas-Home, using a licensing system for arms sales, will seek to reassure the Security Council—as the French have done—that supplying arms for South Africa's external defense is not contrary to its arms embargo. But there is bound to be a serious row over this new development.

For Sir Alec, however, conflicts with the UN are no new thing; he faced them over his controversial policies in the Congo at the time of Katanga's secession.

But Sir Alec's design for Simonstown goes much further than simply selling arms to South Africa. He is one of the foremost ex-

ponents of a naval strategy to counteract the expanding Russian naval presence in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean.

In a pamphlet he wrote for the Conservative Party in August 1969, entitled "Britain's Place in the World," he questioned whether in concentrating on the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) the British were looking far enough afield for their national security.

"It so happens," he wrote, "that Britain and Britain alone is placed to ensure that these trade routes are in all circumstances safe; we have the Simonstown Agreement with South Africa."

The South Africans have been hard at work in recent years developing the idea of converting Simonstown into a naval base for a much wider military alliance, to include not only NATO, but also Australia and New Zealand. Latterly, they have also made approaches to Argentina and Brazil to join in a sea defense alliance to "defend" the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean from penetration by the Russian Navy.

South Africa has a clear interest in getting the major Western Powers involved with her in such alliance. The Republic has strong supporters among NATO's military leaders, who have shown themselves critical of the attitude adopted by NATO's member-Governments for being unwilling to become closely associated with a regime whose policies are so widely unpopular.

The United States—even more than Britain—has in the past been reluctant to enter into a close relationship with South Africa; partly because of the domestic repercussions on her Negro population, and partly because of the damage to her image in the international community. Even under President Nixon, the U.S. Navy has avoided calling at South African ports, on the ground that the coloured American sailors could not be expected to be treated equally if they went on shore leave.

But with the closure of the Suez Canal, with the build-up of the Russian Navy, and now with Sir Alec Douglas-Home at the British Foreign Office, it would seem that South Africa's hopes of becoming an acceptable part of a Western alliance may be closer to fulfillment than they have been ever since the disastrous massacre at Sharpeville in 1960.

[From the London Observer, June 25, 1970]
BLACK AFRICA'S WORRIES ABOUT CONSERVATIVE PLANS

(By Colin Legum)

LONDON, June 25.—The new British Conservative Government has started off on the wrong foot in Africa. Its pre-election promises to resume arms sales to South Africa and to reactivate the Simonstown naval agreement to defend the Cape route in the South Atlantic have created the impression that British-South African relations are likely to improve—an impression which Mr. John Vorster's *apartheid* regime is doing its best to promote.

This prospect has immediately raised the anger and suspicions of many African States, vociferously led by Zambia's President, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda. He fears that the arms sale and the Simonstown agreement are only the first of a number of other crucial British decisions that may be taken in southern Africa.

Even while Mr. Wilson's administration was in office, Dr. Kaunda was anxious about the possibility of a deal over Rhodesia with the rebel regime led by Mr. Ian Smith; now that the Tories [Conservatives] are in power his suspicions are much stronger. He is also concerned about the future of Anglo-Portuguese relations in connection with the two Portuguese colonies, Angola and Mozambique, where guerrilla warfare has been going on since 1960.

There are three aspects of these relations which most deeply concern Zambia's President. The first is over the naval blockade of Beira, the main Mozambique port through which the Rhodesians operate their sanctions-busting operations. If the Conservatives were to end the blockade—as they promised to do when in Opposition—he would see this as the thin end of the wedge in further weakening the international sanctions campaign against Rhodesia.

Secondly, he is watching to see whether the new British Government will rescind the Labour Government's discouragement of British firms participating in the £170 million Cabora-Bassa hydro-electric project in Mozambique which, in his view, is designed to strengthen the economic and strategic interests of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

This project has been designed by the Portuguese, in cooperation with the South Africans, to achieve a number of objectives: to strengthen Portugal's economic hold on Mozambique in its struggle with FRELIMO, the leading Mozambique liberation movement, by creating an important new industrial base which will enable the Lisbon Government to fulfill its ambition of sending another one million Portuguese settlers to strengthen its present 100,000 settler population in the territory, and to supply additional electric power to South Africa and Rhodesia.

Apart from Barclays Bank DCO, which is involved in the project through its South Africa subsidiary, two other British firms have indicated a keen interest to participate in the development of Cabora-Bassa—English Electric and Guest, Keen and Nettlefold (GKN). The Wilson Government advised English Electric that participation in Cabora-Bassa might lay it open to charges under the sanctions laws against Rhodesia; as a result of this warning they withheld their participation. GKN has subsidiaries in South Africa and Rhodesia, as well as holding a controlling interest in a company registered in Zambia.

There is every likelihood that if British firms were to be given the green light at Cabora-Bassa, Zambia and other African countries would consider taking action against firms who became involved, as well as against their associates and subsidiaries.

The third aspect of President Kaunda's anxieties is the possibility of Portugal becoming involved with Britain and South Africa in a naval agreement centered on Simonstown.

As the neighbour country to Rhodesia, as well as to the Portuguese territories and South Africa, whose northernmost military base is located in the Caprivi Strip—his country is directly exposed to any increased pressures that might build up in Southern Africa. Hence his concern about British policies in that part of the world.

He has become increasingly concerned about the military vulnerability of Zambia, and on his recent European tour held discussions with various leaders about his future defence needs. The Yugoslavs are known to have offered their help. The Italians are already engaged in helping to train Zambia's air force.

President Kaunda is today the most influential African leader in Southern Africa. His country is economically strong and one of Britain's most important African trading partners. Even after the recent nationalisation of the copper industry, the two copper mining giants, American Metal Climax and Mr. Harry Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Company, have a large stake in the country's copper wealth.

Relations between Zambia and Britain cooled considerably even under the Labour Government, and as a result President Kaunda has been trying to diversify the range

of foreign firms engaged in developing his country's resources. Any further deterioration in Anglo-Zambian relations could be greatly damaging to British interests.

Nor does President Kaunda stand alone; as chairman of the 14-nation East and Central African Region he is able to play an important leadership role within a group of African countries extending southwards from Ethiopia and Somalia, through East Africa and the Congo, down to Botswana on Zambia's southern flank.

He is also a highly respected and influential member of the Commonwealth of Nations, which is due to hold its next meeting in Singapore next January. His Ambassador at the United Nations has already been given instructions to take an initiative in helping to mobilise the 42 African member-States to challenge British policies at a special meeting of the Security Council.

The very last thing Mr. Heath's new Government could wish for is to start its career by an open confrontation at the United Nations with the African members and their supporters, with its inevitable fallout at the next Commonwealth meeting.

Therefore the task facing Sir Alec Douglas-Home as the new Foreign Secretary is how to fulfill the Conservatives' pro-election pledges to South Africa without creating a new crisis of relations between Britain and the rest of Africa and the Commonwealth.

GAO REPORT SUBSTANTIATES TRUCK DAMAGE TO HIGHWAYS

HON. FRED SCHWENGL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. SCHWENGL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD a summary of a report released yesterday by the General Accounting Office on the question of the damage done to our highways by big trucks. I would also like to insert a story on this subject which appeared in this morning's Washington Post, and the text of my bill, H.R. 15051.

The material follows:

PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM DETERIORATION OF PAVEMENT ON THE INTERSTATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM

(Comptroller General's report to the Congress)

WHY THE REVIEW WAS MADE

The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 authorized construction of the Interstate Highway System and made Federal funds available to the States on a 90-10 participating basis (90 percent Federal) for construction of the system.

The 1956 act provided that highways be designed to carry the types and volumes of traffic forecast for the year 1975. A 1963 amendment to the act eliminated reference to the year 1975 and provided that highways be designed to carry the types and volumes of traffic forecast for 20 years from the date of approval.

In January 1967, the Federal Highway Administration directed that a reevaluation be made of those sections of pavements authorized for construction prior to October 24, 1963 (the date of the 1963 amendment to the act), and authorized placement of an added layer of pavement (called overlay) where it was determined that the existing pavement, with normal maintenance, would not provide adequate performance for 20 years. The estimated costs of such overlays of as 1968 were \$200 million. (See p. 9.)

During a review of the 1968 estimate of the

cost to complete the Interstate System, the General Accounting Office (GAO) noted that:

A substantial number of such overlays had been programmed for placement.

Overlays, although considered by the Federal Highway Administration to be new construction, appeared to relieve the States of some of their responsibility for maintaining the completed segments of the Interstate System.

GAO undertook this review to determine the nature and magnitude of the overlay program and the relationship between the overlay program and the statutory responsibility of the States to maintain, at their expense completed segments of the Interstate System.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

As of January 1, 1970, about 70 percent of the 42,500-mile system was open to traffic, 11 percent was under construction, 15 percent was in the process of engineering and right-of-way activities, and 4 percent was in a preliminary status. About \$39 billion of Federal-aid funds have been obligated for interstate highway projects.

GAO's review of the overlay program in nine States showed that:

The overlay program provided for extending the design period to 20 years for previously completed segments of the Interstate System that were initially designed to carry traffic for the year 1975. Since it is unclear whether the Congress intended that interstate highway funds be used to extend the design period of these segments, GAO concluded that the nature and magnitude of this program should be presented fully to the Congress. (See ch. 2.)

The overlay program thus far had been applied only to certain segments of interstate highways authorized prior to October 24, 1963.

There would be a continuing need for periodic overlays of the Interstate System, a need that would increase with the passage of time and with the expected increases in weights and volumes of traffic.

The cost of overlays for the entire Interstate System would vastly exceed the 1968 cost estimate. (See ch. 2.)

Although maintenance of the Interstate System was, by law, the responsibility of the States, overlays relieved States of their responsibility to maintain smooth and safe riding surfaces. (See p. 27.)

There were significant differences among the States in (1) the methods used for evaluating the condition of the highway surface to determine whether an overlay was necessary and (2) the design procedures used to establish the amount of overlay needed. (See ch. 4.)

There was a need for more precise procedures to ensure that overlays are placed at the proper times and at depths needed to provide necessary servicability.

RECOMMENDATIONS OR SUGGESTIONS

The Secretary of Transportation should require the Federal Highway Administration to:

Establish maintenance standards that define a State's maintenance responsibility and recognize (1) that overlays are required from time to time to provide a safe and efficient riding surface and (2) such overlays represent normal maintenance and, as such, the costs should be borne by the State. (See p. 39.)

Require that, when overlays are necessary to add structural strength to existing pavements, the costs of the portions of the overlays which would otherwise be required to provide new riding surfaces be classified as State maintenance responsibilities. (See p. 39.)

Amend its regulations to require uniform application of overlay standards by taking positive action to improve the pavement rating system to achieve optimum use of the

existing pavement and by establishing design methods which will provide greater assurance that a State is applying the proper amount of overlay to serve the design period. (See p. 52.)

AGENCY ACTIONS AND UNRESOLVED ISSUES

The Assistant Secretary for Administration, Department of Transportation, advised GAO that the Department did not concur in the need for the actions proposed. He also questioned the need to report this matter to the Congress, because he believed that (1) the overlay program was a long-standing program which was well known to the Congress and (2) the Congress had acquiesced in the Federal Highway Administration's interpretation of the statutes.

The Assistant Secretary's comments are included as appendix II and are discussed in the appropriate chapters of this report.

Although not all the nine States commented specifically on each of the issues discussed in this report, there was general agreement with GAO's views that there would be a substantial future need for overlays, that the need would not be restricted to highway segments authorized before October 24, 1963, and that improvements were needed in the methods used for determining overlay requirements.

With regard to the relationship of overlays to the maintenance responsibilities of the States, the States' comments were too diverse to indicate general agreement or disagreement with GAO's views. Comments by officials of the nine States are discussed in the appropriate chapters of the report and are included as appendixes III to XI.

MATTERS FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE CONGRESS

This report is being submitted to the Congress to present the nature and magnitude of the overlay program. The Congress may wish to consider the long-term need for overlays in its deliberations on the funding of the Interstate System, any future expansion thereof, or any follow-on highway program. The Congress may wish also to express its intent relative to the use of interstate funds for overlaying completed highway segments.

GAO wishes to present its views to the Congress on the administration of the program with regard to the need for the Federal Highway Administration to:

Establish maintenance standards for the Interstate System.

Recognize that overlays relieve a State of a portion of its maintenance responsibilities. Amend its regulations to establish a uniform method for determining overlay requirements.

[From the Washington Post, July 7, 1970]

INTERSTATE HIGHWAYS CRACKING

The nation's interstate highways are cracking up from heavy truck traffic that may force many hundreds of millions of dollars in repairs, government investigators reported yesterday.

The \$200 million spent so far to add new layers of concrete surfacing on top of badly cracked superhighways is only a start, the General Accounting Office said. The final cost may vastly exceed that amount, it warned.

After a nine-state study, the GAO, which is the congressional watchdog on federal programs, said virtually all of the interstate highways may need the added layers eventually.

The GAO report quoted officials as saying the cracks came from improper design of roads due to misjudgment of such factors as bad weather, underlying soil and truck weights.

"The crucial factor is truck traffic," said Bernard Sacks, who headed the GAO investigation.

The GAO report said the federal govern-

ment should set new maintenance standards for the 42,500-mile interstate system and require the states to pay the cost for adding the new layers to cracked roads.

The Department of Transportation, in a letter included with the report, turned down these recommendations.

By law, states pay all highway maintenance costs. But federal highway officials have defined the new layers as part of the construction program. Federal funds provide 90 percent of all construction costs.

H.R. 15051

A bill to establish a commission to study the effects on highway safety and expense of changing the existing limitations on the weight and dimensions of motor vehicles using the highways of this Nation

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby established a Commission on Highway Safety and Expense (hereafter referred to in this Act as the "Commission").

SEC. 2. The Commission shall make a full and complete investigation and study of all effects on highway safety and the expense of constructing, reconstructing, repairing, and maintaining highways resulting from any changes in the weight and dimension limitations established by section 127 of title 23, United States Code, including the possible imposition of weight and dimension limitations on other highways. Such investigation and study shall include, but not be limited to, a specific examination of the following:

(1) What share of highway construction and maintenance costs is allocable to each class of highway users?

(2) What would be the effect on the costs of the Federal-aid highway systems (both original costs and recurring costs) of permitting motor vehicles having greater weights or dimensions, or both, than those permitted under existing law to use the highways?

(3) What overall economic benefits would accrue from permitting motor vehicles having greater weights or dimensions, or both, than those permitted under existing law to use the highways, and which sectors of the economy would receive these benefits?

(4) How would the costs referred to in paragraph (2) be allocated on the basis of the economic benefits referred to in paragraph (3)?

(5) What would be the effect of permitting motor vehicles having greater weights or dimensions, or both, than those permitted under existing law to use the highways on all aspects of highway safety?

SEC. 3. (a) The Commission shall be composed of 15 members appointed by the President, one of whom he shall appoint as Chairman, and shall serve at the pleasure of the President. Two members shall be Members of the House of Representatives, one from the majority political party and one from the minority political party. Two members shall be Members of the Senate, one from the majority political party and one from the minority political party. One member shall represent the American Trucking Association, one the American Automobile Association, one the American Association of State Highway Officials, one the National League of Cities, one the American Association of County Engineers, one the National Safety Council, one the National Highway Safety Bureau, and three members shall represent the general public.

(b) A vacancy in the Commission shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment.

SEC. 4. (a) Except as provided in subsection (b), members of the Commission shall each be entitled to receive \$100 for each day (including traveltime) during which they are engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Commission.

(b) Members of the Commission who are Members of Congress or full-time officers or employees of the United States shall receive no additional compensation on account of their service on the Commission.

(c) While away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the Commission, members of the Commission shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same manner as the expenses authorized by section 5703(b) of title 5, United States Code, for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

Sec. 5. (a) The Commission may appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable.

(b) The staff of the Commission may be appointed without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and may be paid without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates.

Sec. 6. (a) The Commission may for the purpose of carrying out this Act hold such hearings, sit and act at such times and places, take such testimony, and receive such evidence as the Commission may deem advisable. The Commission may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses appearing before it.

(b) (1) The Commission shall have power to issue subpoenas requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of any evidence that relates to any matter which the Commission is empowered to investigate by section 2 of this Act. Such attendance of witnesses and the production of such evidence may be required from any place within the United States.

(2) If a person issued a subpoena under paragraph (1) refuses to obey such subpoena or is guilty of contumacy, any court of the United States within the judicial district within which the hearing is conducted or within the judicial district within which such person is found or resides or transacts business may (upon application by the Commission) order such person to appear before the Commission to produce evidence or to give testimony touching the matter under investigation. Any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by such court as a contempt thereof.

(3) The subpoenas of the Commission shall be served in the manner provided for subpoenas issued by a district court under the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure for the United States district courts.

(4) All process of any court to which application may be made under this section may be served in the judicial district where in the person required to be served resides or may be found.

Sec. 7. (a) The Commission may secure directly from any department or agency of the United States information necessary to enable it to carry out this Act. Upon request of the Chairman of the Commission such department or agency shall furnish such information to the Commission.

(b) The Commission shall, in carrying out this Act, utilize the existing test and other facilities of the departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the United States, to the fullest extent possible.

Sec. 8. Not later than two years after the date of enactment of this Act the Commission shall submit a report of the results of the investigation and study required by this Act to each House of Congress, and to the President, together with its recommendations, including specific recommendations with respect to each matter referred to in paragraphs (1) through (5) of section 2 of this Act.

Sec. 9. The Commission shall cease to exist ninety days after submitting its final report pursuant to section 8.

A CLEANER ENVIRONMENT

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, disposal of solid wastes is an acute problem of considerable magnitude. Large urban areas are in danger of being overwhelmed by trash-disposal problems. One factor is the high cost of disposal. Recycling of solid materials is a necessary goal toward which we are turning our efforts; however, the collection and sorting of materials is a complicated and expensive problem in itself. Machinery for recycling of some types of solid wastes is either not available or not located at readily available geographic intervals. Throw-away bottles and cans create one of the more obvious disposal problems. In this instance, instead of recycling, which involves costly collection, sorting and melting down of materials, a return to reuse of containers is a more economic solution; and a first step toward eventual recycling of all materials.

Not only must a cost factor be considered, but methods presently used for disposal, such as land fill, permeate the soil and create soil pollution which eventually, through percolation of water, reaches our water resources, too. Moreover, finding sufficient land for landfill areas is a growing problem. Suggestions have been made for moving materials to be disposed by train to outlying areas; but it would seem to me that a wiser suggestion would be to conserve our diminishing mineral resources through reuse of containers and eventually work toward the recycling of all solid waste materials.

Following is a fact sheet containing pertinent information on this subject:

CONSUMER ECONOMICS IN THE PURCHASE OF SOFT DRINKS IN RETURNABLE AND THROW-AWAY CONTAINERS

With the problem of keeping a cleaner environment and the ever increasing costs of solid waste management, many consumers and government officials are asking just *how much can the consumer save if he buys his soft drinks in returnable bottles.*

The Crusade for a Cleaner Environment has made some initial investigations in the Washington, D.C. and Richmond, Virginia areas and has obtained these figures on nationally distributed "Coca-Cola."

	[In cents]	
	Washington retail	Richmond retail
6-pack of 12 ounce cans (throw-away).....	0.89	0.83
6-pack of 12 ounce bottles (returnable).....	.69	.59
Saving per 6-pack.....	.20	.24
Saving per bottle.....	.367	.04
Percent savings.....	22.5	28.9

If similar savings could be made on a nation-wide basis, the *American public could save an estimated \$600,000,000* if the 15,000,000,000 soft drinks now purchased in throw-away cans and bottles were purchased in returnable bottles. If similar savings were made on the 21,330,000,000 throw-away cans

and bottles of beer, another \$840,000,000 could be saved.

While solid waste management—trash pick-up and disposal—figures for throw-away bottles and cans are hard to separate from the total cost of these services to consumers and taxpayers, they are significant and probably run into the hundreds of millions of dollars per year. In *Detroit alone*, the sanitation department says it costs them \$4,000 each day to dispose of bottles. Based on a five day week, this amounts to over \$1,000,000 per year. In addition, the cost of picking up litter across the country (as distinct from regular refuse collection) is estimated to be over \$500,000,000 annually. A substantial portion of this is attributed to throw-away soft drink and beer bottles and cans.

Sources: *New York Times*, May 25, 1970; *Detroit News*, June 2, 1970; Coca-Cola Bottling Company, Washington, D.C.

A COMMUNITY NEED

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the *Nutley Sun* articulates the critical lack of attention to the needs of elder citizens, both economic and social, which exists in communities throughout our Nation. Mrs. Charles Sherwood was suggested as director of a program so oriented. I fully support that nomination, for Mrs. Sherwood has always proved herself to be concerned and dedicated and able.

I am pleased to bring this editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

A COMMUNITY NEED

Our community—town officials, appointed and elected, civic leaders, civic organizations, and just plain citizens are not doing enough to help the plight of those among us who arrive at retirement age and desire to remain in and continue to be a part of—*Nutley*—a town which means home to those fortunate enough to have lived long enough to retire.

One of the most vexing problems of this age group is the economics of everyday life. For the most part these people live on fixed incomes. With the spiraling cost of food and shelter they find themselves in a financial bind. We have suggested a meaningful real estate tax subsidy for this age group. Around the country there are different plans already in effect providing for reduced rates for this age group using public transportation.

Here in *Nutley* we have a problem somewhat different than the big cities. Our older people have no community center where they can visit daily and exchange hellos. We believe an everyday program should be initiated by the Town Commission to provide our senior citizens with a community center available to them all day everyday.

There must be a room somewhere in town-owned facilities that can be made available for these people who have contributed so much toward making our town the good place that it is.

Our nominee to head up such an activity is a young lady who has dedicated most of her adult life to the service of our community, Mrs. Charles Sherwood.

Dorothy Sherwood, as she is known by at least half of the town, brings spiritual leadership to any activity or group lucky enough to claim her. Knowledgeable and dedicated,

alert and energetic, Dorothy very easily could come up with an activities program designed to make life for our elders just a bit more worthwhile.

Tax free buildings in the community owned by religious, veteran and fraternal organizations are secondary places that may be available if a study shows that no town owned facility is available.

For the most part the religious, veteran and fraternal organizations do not carry on day time activities, thus opening up to community service thousands of square feet of building and grounds which are on our tax-exempt rolls.

We know most of the religious, veteran and fraternal leaders. We are confident a plea to these people to assist our elders would be favorably received.

IS BIOLOGICAL AGING INEVITABLE?

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine has called attention to a very thought-provoking and timely article on aging. Entitled "Is Biological Aging Inevitable," the discussion appeared in the December 1969, issue of *Analog Science Fiction and Science Fact*.

I want to share this with my colleagues and other readers of the *RECORD*, but because of its length, I would like to insert it in the *RECORD* in three parts, the first to follow herewith:

IS BIOLOGICAL AGING INEVITABLE?

(By Major Donald G. Carpenter and Captain John E. Wrobel, Jr.)

Must man biologically age? Is it forever ordained that we must gradually lose our capability to fend off incipient disease, until death finally intervenes? These are critical questions . . . for no one dies of old age! Each of us dies of specific, often multiple, diseases resulting from the progressive weakening of our system as we grow older. Certainly aging—and its mistress, death—seem to be as intrinsic to us as breathing and eating, but is this necessarily so? Through the creeping millennia, man has emotionally argued these vital questions, often resorting to devious religious, philosophical and proto-scientific reasonings. Some of the resultant ideas have played prominent roles in our evolving culture and they influence us strongly, even today.

Yet, until recently, precious little had been done to alleviate this seemingly inevitable bane. In fact, many men have actually suggested that aging should not be studied—that biological aging and death are somehow beneficial both to individuals and to mankind. But their arguments sound suspiciously similar to those which were used against anatomical research during the Renaissance; and fortunately, not all humans pay attention to them. We'll discuss some of those arguments later but right now let's look at some creative efforts in the endeavor to conquer aging.

EARLY SCIENTIFIC EFFORTS

Only in the last century and a half has consideration of biological aging slowly shifted to a scientific approach. Rather than succumb to the lethargy which accompanies hopelessness, some scientists have studied—often in a most primitive way—the aging process. At first the proposed theories and experiments appeared completely unrelated to each other; the situation was somewhat

like that of the blind men and the elephant—all were seeing different aspects of the same thing. Although all were partially wrong, they were also partially right. And continually, the scientists have had to struggle against both active opposition and lack of interest . . . a result of the subtle apologetic themes intricately interwoven throughout the warf and woof of our culture.

There were isolated, groping attempts at scientific approaches during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but mankind was lacking the necessary tools and essential background knowledge, and there was little solid progress. Perhaps the first successful attempt to formulate a mathematical model was made by Gompertz in 1825. He plotted the log of the death rate of different sample groups of humans as a function of age and, not unexpectedly, found that the death rate—or the probability of death at any age—for each sample group increased rapidly as the group aged (Figure 1). Although this empirical model did not establish a cause of aging, it did demonstrate that death is not a purely random event¹ and that people become increasingly unable to withstand the stresses of their environment as they age.

With the beginning of this century came increased, less crude attempts to study the phenomenon of aging. In 1908, Ruebner astutely observed that among a wide variety of animals there is a curious relationship between the metabolic rate and the life span: the greater the metabolic rate, the shorter the life span. For example, mouse and man each expend approximately seven hundred calories per gram of tissue throughout their lives but the mouse expends its energy at roughly thirty times the rate that man does—and lives about one thirtieth as long. The basic reason for the mouse's greater rate of energy expenditure is that each gram of mouse tissue has far more surface area—on the mouse's skin—through which to lose heat than does each gram of human tissue—through human skin. Thus, the mouse must have a greater metabolic rate just to maintain the same body temperature.

The important point is that a variety of animals undergo similar aging changes given the same amount of chemical activity. This relationship seemed to imply that exercise should be taken only in very small doses—if at all. The lower rate of energy expenditure should then result in an extended life span. That concept was eventually developed into a "Rate of Living" theory. Twenty years after Ruebner's original observations, the "Rate of Living" theory was hopefully tested by Pearl on one type of organism—man; however, no consistent relationship could be shown between life span and the amount of work done. It has since been suggested that compensating factors are involved, and that while the theory tends to hold between different types of organisms, these compensating factors mask the effect between organisms of the same type. This may well be true. The beneficial effects of exercise could easily outweigh the adverse effects of greater metabolic activity, and the only conclusion that could be reached forty years ago was that the degenerative changes which are associated with aging are also related in some unknown chemical fashion to the metabolic rate.

In 1923, Carroll and Eberling evolved what was actually an improvement upon Ruebner's "Rate of Living" concept. They suggested a specific way in which an organism's metabolic rate might be related to its life span. They came up with the interesting idea

¹ If death were a purely random event, the probability of death during any one year timespan would remain constant throughout life. But the probability of death does not remain constant, instead it increases with age.

that some metabolic waste products might not be excreted as rapidly as they are formed—a concept which could have evolved from Aristotle's "clash of the body's elements." Those waste products would then accumulate, slowly poisoning the organism or otherwise interfering with its operation. Such a "Waste Product" theory is easy to test: Carroll and Eberling ran a series of experiments in which they examined the blood of older people, looking for molecules which might inhibit growth or metabolism. However, they were unable to obtain conclusive evidence for this theory. Part of the reason for their failure was that they were looking in the wrong place. Later researchers have found chemically-inert collections of molecules within the body cells—not the blood—of organisms. Some of these molecules appear to be metabolic waste products while other molecules appear to be normal body molecules that have been oxidized or chemically-bound to other molecules, thus "clogging the system" as visualized by the "Waste Product" theory.

In the case of human nerve and muscle cells, some of those chemically-inert collections of molecules form fluorescent lipofuscins which are, at present, believed to be multi-oxidized lysosome molecules. (Lysosome molecules are digestive enzymes which are contained in sacs within the body's cells. When a cell is damaged sufficiently for an internal sac's wall to become ruptured, the lysosome molecules are freed. They proceed to disassemble the damaged cell.) If the lysosome molecules within a cell become chemically inert—multi-oxidized—they not only are unable to disassemble the cell when it becomes damaged, but they also may interfere with the cell's metabolism.

In the human heart muscle, the fluorescent lipofuscins can accumulate with age to where they total as much as 30% of the heart muscle's weight. It would be strange if replacement of 30% of a muscle by inert material did not have some adverse effect upon the muscle's performance! However, no firm conclusion can be reached regarding the validity of the "Waste Product" theory until we learn how to remove the waste products and other inert molecules without damaging the organism. Then, we can see if removal of the useless material noticeably benefits the organism. Until then, all we have succeeded in finding is a correlation between aging and the accumulation of inert molecules. Of course, that correlation does not prove that the accumulation of inert molecules produces aging. There is a definite correlation between baldness and aging but would you claim that baldness causes aging?

A more dramatic approach was tried by Serge Voronoff. During the 1920s he observed that serious hormonal imbalances occurred in elderly people. Voronoff attempted to rectify partially the imbalance condition in elderly men by transplanting—to over 1,000 of them—testicles from male chimpanzees. This produced only temporary improvement in the elderly men . . . and none in the chimpanzees. Perhaps he would have been slightly more successful with the men if he had been able to control the body's immunologic rejection of foreign tissue. Unfortunately, such important knowledge was not available in his day, but even if it had been, he might not have achieved any great success against aging.

Hormonal therapy is in use today, and although side effects and lack of knowledge limit the effectiveness of treatment, there is little solid evidence that those limitations are preventing man from achieving large extensions in lifespan. However, further experimentation is necessary to resolve this matter. (Proper practice of preventative endocrinology could add between five and ten years to the mean life span, as well as make the later years more vigorous, healthy and enjoyable.)

In the late 1930s, the last of the early

empirical scientific efforts against aging was initiated. Bogomoletz studied a group of Russians whose age ranged from 107 to 138 years. After many extremely detailed physical examinations and postmortems he concluded that the state of preservation of the connective tissue has a major effect upon life span. He then developed a serum which was intended to improve the condition of elderly connective tissue but the serum had little, if any, effect on life span. As a result both Bogomoletz and his serum fell into disrepute with Western scientists. Recently though, new evidence suggests that his basic conclusion was at least partially right—only his serum was completely wrong. It should be pointed out that Bogomoletz and his theory are still held in high esteem among Russian gerontologists.

RECENT SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

In 1941, the first of the exciting modern scientific efforts against aging was begun. John Bjorksten brilliantly proposed his "Crosslinkage" theory of aging (crosslinked-chemically-bound-together) in which he originally viewed monotonically increasing crosslinkage between protein and/or nucleic acid molecules as the basic cause of biological aging. That view has now been broadened to include crosslinkage between all types of large, biologically important molecules as being the basic cause of biological aging. It is well known that when a given molecule chemically combines with another atom or molecule, the original molecule's chemical and physical behavior is altered, and frequently the original molecule is then unable to perform its proper function. Thus, the progressive crosslinkage of molecules in an organism would lead to the progressive deterioration of chemical and physical performance, and to the eventual death of the organism. This theory has received increasing experimental support over the past quarter century and now stands as one of the most impressive of the modern theories.

On interesting side point is that essentially this same crosslinkage theory has been independently proposed by three different scientists working from three different viewpoints. Johan Bjorksten was first by about fifteen years; with his customary genius, he evolved the theory from the most difficult viewpoint—that of a chemist. Frederick Verzar deduced a variation of the theory next. He did this in 1956 from the viewpoint of a medical doctor and biochemist. The last individual to independently arrive at essentially the same conclusion was Donald Carpenter; in 1959 he reached this conclusion from studies of nuclear science and radiation effects. The important point is that three scientists independently evolved their own variations of essentially the same theory—each without knowledge of the other's work, and each working from a different scientific viewpoint. Of course, that proves only that the concept is highly plausible.

The variation developed by Verzar in 1956 has been referred to by many as "Collagen" theory. In essence, this theory holds that collagen—a fibrous protein accounting for about 40% of a human's total protein—tends both to increase in amount and to crosslink slowly, but progressively, with age. The progressive crosslinkage causes the collagen fibers to shrink with age² and to "choke-off" the surrounding tissue; thus the surrounding tissue becomes increasingly anoxic—oxygen-starved—and wrinkled. Such an environment forms an excellent breeding ground for cancer, and cancers do indeed tend to form in the crosslinked collagenous regions which exist along the edges of old scars.

The variation developed by Carpenter in

² As in the twisting of a rope, which causes to "shrink" in length.

1959 is called "Diffusion" theory. This theory holds that biological aging can be treated as a diffusion phenomenon: some large molecules in the organism are produced at a more rapid rate than that at which they are removed. These accumulating molecules can be produced by both normal and abnormal chemical reactions within the body. The successes of "Diffusion" theory are in explaining: (a) the accumulation of crosslinkage in rat tendon collagen (cross-linked collagen molecules are limiting cases with diffusion rates of zero); (b) the lack of observable biological aging in rapidly growing tissue; and (c) the accumulation of lipofuscins in the human heart muscle. On the other hand, this theory's greatest failure has been its inability to explain the "Lansing Effect" in which there is an inverse relationship between the mother's age at the birth of her offspring and the life span of that offspring.

In 1956, the dean of stress research—Hans Selye—proposed a "Stress" theory of biological aging in which he assumed that the every-day stress of life causes wear and tear upon the body. He suggested that a stressful situation would produce damage to the organism, and that a good rest would almost, but not quite, return the organism, to its pre-stress condition. This gradually increasing sum of stress-damage is thus what we call aging. "Stress" theory not only has all of the good points of the old "Rate of Living" theory—also called the "Wear and Tear" theory—but it also emphasizes the fact that excessive stress can terminate an organism's life. Furthermore, it emphasizes the fact that the older an organism is, the less stress it can withstand before becoming either ill or dead. Unfortunately, experimental data do not reveal a very direct correspondence between stress and aging.

Another 1956 development was the important proposal by Joseph Still of a "Cybernetic" theory of aging. Still quite correctly pointed out that every organism must be treated as a system and that organismal death can occur without any vital cells being dead. (He pointed to the possibility that the system could be disrupted by small changes in nerve transmission time.) From this viewpoint, aging is due to a gradual loss of the nervous system's control over the organism's cells; death results from passing a limit of the system. In providing experimental evidence to support this theory, Still succeeded in proving that nerve cells contain stable chemical materials. These materials could be removed from the metabolic pool through cross-linkage. Thus, Still's "Cybernetic" theory and Bjorksten's "Crosslinkage" theory are not only compatible, they are actually supplementary. In addition, the "Cybernetic" theory links physiological aging to molecular changes in the organism, but the theory is very general in nature. One has the distinct impression that this theory should be used as a framework within which other theories act as functional blocks.

In 1958, a "Mutation" theory of aging was suggested independently by Curtis and Gebhard, Szilard, and Falla. Within this group of scientists, only Howard Curtis has pressed this approach vigorously. The mutation approach postulates that the organism's somatic cells develop spontaneous mutations in the same way as do the organism's germ cells. Mutations can be produced by both crosslinkage and dissociation, as well as by deletions—vacancies—and nucleotide substitutions—replacements—when in radiation environments. These mutations can be propagated by subsequent cell divisions, and eventually the organism may be carrying a heavy body burden of mutations.

The mutations can cause essential body cells to lose the ability to translate certain chemical code "words," and such a loss of translation ability limits the cells' abilities

to synthesize molecules. Because almost all mutations are harmful, the organism's cells become less like their original appearances and much less efficient. Eventually, the organism becomes so inefficient that it is unable to survive. Curtis has gathered much impressive evidence supporting this outstanding theory. For example, the number of mutations in an organism increases with age, and those species with higher mutation rates tend to have shorter life spans. However, Curtis has also pointed out that the amount of somatic mutations in an organism at any given time is inadequate to explain aging and death, unless some other factors are involved.

Another such factor was suggested by Raymond Walford in 1962. He advanced the "Immunologic" theory of aging, in which it is postulated that mutated cells stimulate immunologic reactions within the organism's system, and that those immunologic reactions degrade and eventually destroy the organism. This important concept is supported by the increased incidence of immunologic diseases—such as arthritis—with age, but is opposed by the fact that not all elderly people develop immunologic diseases. Also, when twenty-two mice were fed 100 mg. of Imuran—an immunologic reaction suppressor—per kg. of food, their mean life span was only about 10% longer than that of the twenty-five specimens in the control group. This implies that the "Immunologic" theory is valid, but is only a part of the total picture.

Also proposed in 1962 was the "Free Radical" theory of Denham Harmon. Harmon suggested that chemical free radicals within an organism cause aging through combination with biologically important molecules. Chemicals which decrease the density of free radicals were administered to LAF₁ mice in a program of preventative therapy, and mean life span extensions of up to 50% were reported. Of course, this theory primarily emphasizes that crosslinkages can occur through the action of free radicals, but actual organisms contain many other crosslinkage agents besides free radicals—e.g., Aldehydes, Lipid oxidation products, Sulphur, Alkylating agents, et cetera. Again, we have here a prominent theory which appears to be correct so far as it goes, but which accounts for only a small part of the total effect.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SALUTES GRAYSLAKE, ILL., ON ITS DIAMOND JUBILEE

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, it is with special pride that I call to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives the Diamond Jubilee Celebration at Grayslake, Ill.—in my congressional district. This community of more than 5,000 population was incorporated in 1890 in a part of Avon Township—Lake County, Ill.

Avon Township is appropriately named, since many of the original settlers—who displaced the native Indian population—came from England's Avon River valley.

Among the early pioneers were Elijah Haines and John Gray who helped to develop the area's agricultural potential. Both the lake, which is located within the community, as well as the village

itself took their names from John Gray. Elijah Haines is commemorated in the name of the adjoining community of Hainesville.

In honoring its 75th anniversary, the Grayslake Diamond Jubilee Committee has designated August 8 through August 18, 1970, for appropriate ceremonies. These include a pageant, a parade, and many other special events which will recall the history and development of this community in the heartland of America.

I am pleased today to extend my personal congratulations to the village of Grayslake, to its president—Warren Chard, to the diamond jubilee chairman—Raymond Marotte, to the headquarter chairman—Marshall Schroeder, and to all who are organizing and participating in the Grayslake Diamond Jubilee celebration.

It is my intention to join the citizens of Grayslake and many other public officials and friends on Sunday, August 9 to pay tribute to this community's past and to express good wishes for its promising future.

COMPTON-LYNWOOD BOARD OF REALTORS SPONSOR ESSAY CONTEST

HON. DEL CLAWSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. DEL CLAWSON. Mr. Speaker, three young people in my congressional district were responsible for the sort of constructive thinking which is much needed in contemporary society. They were prize winners in an essay contest sponsored by the Compton-Lynwood Board of Realtors and their subject was "The Advantages of a Make America Better Program." Miss Karen Smith of Lynwood wrote the essay which won first prize at Lynwood High School, Miss Donna Edward received first place honors from Dominguez High School. Donna is a resident of Compton, Calif. The grand prize winner, Miss Karla Ellis of Lynwood will be a competitor at the California Real Estate Convention to be held in September. At this point in the RECORD I include these prize-winning essays.

THE ADVANTAGES OF A MAKE AMERICA BETTER PROGRAM

(By Miss Karla Ellis)

"Make America Better," a patriotic project, was conceived out of growing concern for the lack of involvement on the part of American citizens in community affairs, social unrest, disharmony among various racial and economic factions, the war crisis, and the ever-increasing decay of the moral fiber of this great nation. This particular program is designed to stimulate the minds of the people and motivate them into assuming a more responsible role in their society. The program, if to succeed, requires the active involvement and participation of each and every individual regardless of race or social standing. It also necessitates the uniting of all people into one, unseverable alli-

ance, in a common struggle to combat and overcome current internal problems plaguing America and the utilization of their ability to procure peace and understanding among themselves. Such a program encourages people to adopt, as well as develop, new and more open attitudes in an effort to mend the wounds America has suffered in recent years as a result of unfounded prejudices. Because people too often tend to take their position in life too lightly, a "Make America Better Program" would help to create a new awareness, a new insight into just exactly what the duties of an American citizen actually involve. Consequently, the fate of America lies in the hands of its inhabitants and therefore desires, and unquestionably deserves, the loyal universal support of its patriots. These patriots, in order to express their gratitude, must preserve their beloved homeland and the basic ideals and principles upon which America was founded—for without such support, America would face total oblivion.

WHAT ARE THE ADVANTAGES OF A MAKE AMERICA BETTER PROGRAM?

(By Miss Donna Edwards)

The advantages of a "Make America Better Program" are numerous. Let's not kid ourselves anymore. There are so many things we need to do for this country of ours. We've always said and heard that America is perfect and everything is right about it. I still think it's the best country in the world but we still have our problems here and there throughout the country and they've been more plentiful lately!

Pollution, over-pollution, starvation, wars, and campus violence are all part of America's problems. But none of these can be handled without accomplishing our simplest, but seemingly hardest, problem—understanding one another. Once we show each other that we're concerned about all, we can really get together and work out the badly needed answers to the problems surrounding us. We all want a peaceful, happy nation. A peaceful nation doesn't happen over night, unfortunately. It starts first in each little city, town, or community in which one lives. This takes team effort. Team effort must have individual effort in order to be a part of that team. Our own effort put with the efforts of others will help to make solutions to our problems possible and workable.

Today, the youth are crying out for love and for peace. Is this really asking too much? A part of the love and peace they are talking about is designated for all the world as one. This is great, but how about first starting to find the love and peace in this country. Most important of all, how about finding it in our own hearts. That is where it must begin!

WHAT ARE THE ADVANTAGES OF A MAKE AMERICA BETTER PROGRAM

(By Miss Karen Smith)

The advantages of a "Make America Better Program" are infinite. Although America is ahead of other countries in the rights to its individuals, it has many problems that need solving. Some of the improvements needed are educational facilities, better housing and building restrictions, and the involvement of the American with his own environment.

The American educational system needs improvement. Because of lack of government funds, students are forced to attend overcrowded schools. They are denied proper supplies and adequate facilities such as cafeterias and well-heated classrooms. Without appropriate funds, there are fewer teachers, and these teachers must do the best job they can with the limited materials they have. The advantages of a better education are better jobs and leaders for the up-coming America. A student who has the proper education is a

well-adjusted person who will be ready to cope with the many problems he will find confronting him.

A better housing program and building restrictions insure fewer ghettos. The advantages of this type of program are undefinable. A person raised in healthy surroundings is less likely to be bitter and abject. He is more likely to take pride in his community and himself. A better housing program would reduce crime as the reason for most crime is the gain of material wealth and power in the eyes of one's peers. With restrictions on the methods of constructing buildings, America could insure its population of well-built, stable establishments.

What should be considered the most important objective in a "Make America Better" program is the involvement of the American with his government and personal surroundings. Although Americans have the right to vote, there aren't many who have interest enough to cast a ballot. Many people are ignorant of the system of voting. Although Americans see and hear what is happening on our campuses and in our ghettos and prisons, few of them care enough to get involved. As well as being aware, Americans should become a part of their social problems so that a "Make America Better" program would be unnecessary. Then each American would be bent on making America better.

Education, housing, and involvement in their environment are but a few of the problems that plague America and its people. But, with the vast amount of advantages that a "Make America Better" program holds, America has a chance of becoming, if not the best, the most content nation in the world.

THE UNITED STATES IS STILL THE GREATEST

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi, formerly of Bulgaria, gave the commencement address this year at Windom High School, Windom, Minn., and received a standing ovation for his eloquent defense of America. Afterwards, the editor of the Windom Citizen, Ken Anderson, attributed the appreciative response by local citizens to the recognition that—

There are too many today who are willing to downgrade and destroy our nation and its institutions and we need something to counteract this sickness.

I believe this is generally true throughout the Nation and I am pleased to insert Mr. Anderson's full editorial in the RECORD:

THE UNITED STATES IS STILL THE GREATEST

Whether one agrees with him or not, the consensus seems to be that WHS commencement speaker Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi, gave the most challenging and provocative graduation speech heard here in some time.

Usually at most graduations you get the "rah, rah, go-out-and-get-'em" speech which everybody has heard before.

Not so with Dr. Nyaradi. He said things that needed to be said—straight from the shoulder—about our country and its institutions.

As one who lost his freedom in Bulgaria and then regained it in the United States, Dr. Nyaradi is in a position to define more clearly than anyone else just how precious our freedoms are in this country.

It was good to be reminded once again that, despite all of its faults, the United States is still the greatest free country in the world and that we who live here are blessed by Divine Providence.

No one claims that our nation is perfect. But the fact remains that our system of government is still the best devised by the mind of man and we should appreciate it.

Dr. Nyaradi reminded that audience, too, that you can't build by tearing down, a fallacy that seems to be sweeping our university and college campuses. Nor can you—or should you—change a system overnight that has been almost two centuries in the making.

Dr. Nyaradi reminded us that the price of freedom comes high. No one should know better than he, but it is a lesson we tend to forget in today's affluent society.

This is one commencement address which really gave both the graduates and the audience something to think about. It may have been old-fashioned flag-waving at its best, but we think it's something our country badly needs. There are too many today who are willing to downgrade and destroy our nation and its institution, and we need something to counteract this sickness.

Apparently most of the people at the graduation exercise agreed with Dr. Nyaradi. If they had not, they certainly wouldn't have given him a well-deserved standing ovation.

Mr. Speaker, Gordon Blakely, editor and publisher of the Sherburn Advance-Standard and the Welcome Times, attended the Sherburn High School's commencement where Mr. Erik Dundurs, formerly of Latvia, also took a strong stand in defense of America. I am also pleased to insert Mr. Blakely's editorial observations in the RECORD:

PROUD TO BE AN AMERICAN

"I'm damn proud to be an American," the speaker literally shouted from the stage of the Sherburn High School auditorium during the Memorial Day services held Saturday. The speaker, Erik Dundurs, added, "It may be considered corny to say such things, but now that I have a second chance at freedom, I don't care how corny it sounds. That is exactly how I feel."

Dundurs is in a position to know what being an American means and what America stands for.

He grew up and went to school in Latvia. He interrupted his medical studies there and left his native country in 1944, escaping the Soviets. He has lived in Minnesota for many years and became an American citizen in 1955—getting that second chance at freedom, which he obviously values much higher than many people who have never known anything else.

He told how proud he was to be a Latvian, especially on their Independence Day when the towns and cities were decorated with flags and flowers. Apparently he lived in the Capitol because he said the President's house would be decorated and the "fleet," consisting of a half-dozen small vessels, would be anchored in the river nearby on that special day. "When I walked down the street and looked at people's faces I was so damn glad to be a Latvian that shivers ran up and down my spine," he said. Then he told about the Communists' take-over and the change from freedom to slavery. That led up to the remark about how happy he was to be an American and living in a free country again.

Dundurs warned that the Communist's blueprint still calls for global domination and that the United States is the prime target.

He said that the enemy is not only attempting to encircle us, but is also working from within to attain their goal. The moral decline and the tremendous increase in law-

lessness in the U.S. today is playing right into the hands of the Communists, he says. To stop this deterioration from within we must improve our moral values, get involved, and insist on law enforcement on all fronts, he said. "Freedom," he added, "is like a delicate flower. It must be cared for and nourished constantly or it will die."

We thought about his "proud to be an American" and the fact that many do think it corny to express the thought out loud, but it shouldn't be and we should all be glad and proud we're Americans, although judging from the actions of some makes us wonder what they really think.

Let's look at the record. Consider the tremendous advances we Americans have made in the past generation or two—in every field. We have led all nations in the search for world peace; suffering and death has been alleviated by people willing to spend long hours and hard work in research; we've improved transportation and communications to the point where it seems there is no place to go from here; machines are doing much of the hard work necessarily performed by people a few years ago; we've raised the standard of living to undreamed heights; flown to the moon, and so on and on. Every year more and more money and effort goes toward the improvement of mankind's lot in one way or another.

It is true that we also have polluted our land, gotten involved in what appears to be a never-ending war in Southeast Asia, and we kill thousands on our highways every year. And there are other things—many of them—that aren't just as we would like to have them.

We did not create an utopia, but we were not led to believe that we would or could. We felt we would do well to continue to make advances and improvements, hoping to leave the world, but more especially our country, better when we left it than when we entered. We've remained free and continued strong.

To some all this isn't enough. Some want everything right now, preferably without effort, work, or expense. Perhaps they have a valid point—it isn't healthy or wise to be too satisfied, but we don't think that we, the so-called Establishment, need have any apologies about the state of the nation or its progress during the lifetime of the last generation or two.

Yes, Mr. Dundurs, we too are damn proud to be Americans!

AWARDS FOR "SESAME STREET"

HON. JOHN BRADEMAs

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Speaker, "Sesame Street"—in just 1 year's time—has become a household word for approximately one-half of the 12 million preschoolers across the Nation. "Sesame Street" as I am sure my colleagues know, is the extraordinary educational television series produced by the Children's Television Workshop. It has just finished its first season of programing and all indications point to a most successful future for the workshop in educational programing for children of all ages.

It should not be surprising, when one views the impact of this series, that "Sesame Street" received almost all of the honors in its class from the communications industry in 1970.

The list of awards received in "Sesame Street" includes three Emmys for outstanding achievement in children's programing; the Saturday Review Award for best in children's programing; the George Foster Peabody Award for imaginative use of television in teaching; the Newspaper Enterprise Association Award for show of the year; the Silver Anvil Award for contribution to public service; a special citation from TV Clio Awards for the use of a commercial-sell approach in the education of children; and the Prix-Jeunesse, an international broadcasting award.

Mr. Speaker, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting informs me that the 1970 fall season for "Sesame Street" will begin on October 19 with an expanded curriculum embracing many new concepts in mathematics, language arts, reasoning and problem solving skills. The series will also give more attention to the Spanish language than it did this past year.

At this time, the Children's Television Workshop is also working on a new daily half-hour show, projected for viewing during the 1971 fall season, which will emphasize reading skills for children in the age 7 to 10 bracket.

Mr. Speaker, the Sesame Street series was created in 1968 and financed through a unique cooperative effort by the U.S. Office of Education, the Ford Foundation, and the Carnegie Corp. These agencies advanced sufficient funds so that extensive research could be made into the most effective method of reaching and holding the interest of the preschool audience. This meticulous study, which explored children's reactions, learning ability, and rate of retention has certainly proved productive—the results of preliminary tests in three States—Maine, New York, and Tennessee—showed that poor children who watched Sesame Street regularly during a 6-week interval made gains in the recognition of letters, numbers, and geometric forms two and one-half times as great those made by poor children who did not watch the program during this time. And preschoolers are not the only ones who are avid watchers of Sesame Street; this series has mesmerized parents and educators as well.

The ultimate success of the 1970 schedule and the future development and expansion of the Sesame Street concept will depend on the support received from both Federal and non-Federal sources. The 1971 budget for Children's Television Workshop will be financed mainly by the U.S. Office of Education and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, with additional funding coming from the Ford Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, and other notable philanthropic organizations.

Sesame Street is presently shown on over 200 television stations from Maine to America Samoa, mainly through the free use of the Public Broadcasting Service network facilities supplied by Corporation for Public Broadcasting funds. This arrangement allows millions of children, many not able to attend nurseries, to receive this valuable instruction and entertainment in their own homes.

Mr. Speaker, "Sesame Street" was public broadcasting's show of the year—and this series did much to awaken commercial networks to the possibility and potential of quality programming. Since the success of "Sesame Street," all three commercial networks have appointed vice presidents for children's programming.

I have nothing but optimistic hope for the future of the workshop.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a most interesting and comprehensive article on "Sesame Street," by John Culhane, which appeared in the New York Times magazine of May 24, 1970.

REPORT CARD ON SESAME STREET

(By John Culhane)

From Watts to Westchester County, one recent Monday morning, preschoolers were watching a "Batman" cartoon on television. Batman and Robin were up in a tall building watching a crook over in the next building through open windows in their room and his. The problem perplexing the dynamic duo was how to get around the thugs who were guarding the crook's hideout. Readers of the Gotham City Times Magazine can presumably picture this scene because of our familiarity with the relational concepts "up," "through" and "around." But preschoolers often do not understand these terms unless they can see them demonstrated—which is exactly what the Caped Crusader and Boy Wonder did next:

ROBIN: Gee, Batman—if we could only get that guy without having to go through the guard.

BATMAN (producing a bat boomerang from beneath his cape): I believe this will assist us in apprehending that arch criminal, Robin. I'll tie this rope around the bat boomerang—like this. . . . Up in the air it goes and through that open window. (The bat boomerang sails from one building to the other, makes a midair turn inside the crook's hideout and hooks the archcriminal so that Batman can haul him in.)

ROBIN: Holy vocabulary, Batman! You got him!

BATMAN: Understanding the meaning of "up," "through," and "around" always leads us in the right direction, Robin.

That 33-second bit of "Batman" animation is part of "Sesame Street," the experimental educational series for preschoolers that ends its first season on May 29. Specifically designed to improve the language, numerical and reasoning skills of children between the ages of 3 and 5, this offering of the Children's Television Workshop of National Educational Television (NET) has proved to be such rollicking entertainment that commercial stations are running it, too. In New York, the hour-long show is seen on five channels, six times a day in all, and the latest Nielsen ratings estimate that almost half of the 12 million preschoolers in the nation watch it on 200 public and commercial stations from coast to coast. In Chicago, showing on a public TV station, it topped such formidable competition for daytime viewing as the "Beverly Hillbillies," "Concentration," a movie and an exercise show—as Variety said: "Probably the first time anywhere that an educational television station has topped the commercial competition."

So well known are the residents of Sesame Street that when lanky beaky Peter Janssen resigned as Newsweek's education editor recently to join NET, almost everyone at his farewell party got the joke when it was announced that he had been signed to play Big Bird. And on Alcatraz Island out in San Francisco Bay, where 42 Indian preschoolers watch the show on a set donated by the com-

munity utilization representative of the Children's Television Workshop, the rocky road to their nursery school bears the sign: "Pathway to Sesame Street." In short, nearly everyone likes the show. Still, if this educational experiment were to get a report card at the end of its first season what academic grades would it deserve?

Obviously, it gets high marks from the Government and the private foundations that jointly provided \$8-million for its groundwork and first season, because they have recently pledged a fresh \$6-million to cover the cost of producing and broadcasting a second season of 130 new shows. And clearly, the funding agencies have confidence in "Sesame Street's" ability to work on its own: the Children's Television Workshop will sever its ties with NET next season to become an independent corporation, with Mrs. Joan Ganz Cooney, this season's executive director, as president.

Also in the works is a second "Sesame"-type program, this one for grade-school children, aged 7 to 10, which should make its debut in the fall of 1971. "If these fresh attempts are as successful as 'Sesame Street' in capturing the attention and enthusiasm of the young people of America," said James E. Allen, United States Commissioner of Education, "our national campaign to assure by the end of the nineteen-seventies that no boy or girl will leave school without the skill and the desire to read to the utmost of his capacity will be off to a great start." What teacher ever wrote anything more laudatory on a report card?

And what prize pupil ever did better on Awards Day than "Sesame Street," which received television's coveted George Foster Peabody Award last month for "meritorious service to broadcasting"? The citation from the Henry W. Grady School of Journalism of the University of Georgia, which administers the awards, praises the series for demonstrating "what thoughtful, creative educators are doing for tomorrow's leadership."

Mrs. Cooney grades her own show A for appeal and entertainment value and A for teaching letters—but B for teaching numbers. "We set our sights too low," she explained. "We taught children to count from 1 to 10—we could at least have taught them to count from 1 to 20. Next year, we're going to do that and sets and simple addition and subtraction besides." In teaching reasoning skills, she gives the show a low B. "Buddy and Jim [the Laurel and Hardy of the show: adults functioning the way 3-year-olds do] are about the only thing we had that tried to get at reasoning and problem solving, and yet that was one of our principal goals."

But the final test has not yet been mentioned: the disadvantaged child. While the agencies that funded "Sesame Street" wanted to find out how television could give some advance help to all children not yet old enough for school, they particularly wanted to reach those children in the big city ghettos, Indian reservations and Appalachian enclaves who start school not knowing their letters and numbers like middle-class kids, and who get discouraged and lag farther and farther behind as they are shunted from one grade to the next. Have these children been reached? To answer that, one must first see "Sesame Street" as a child sees it.

An adult watching the entire show the day that Batman threw the concept-teaching boomerang would have seen "Sesame Street" as a series of little lessons in symbolic representation, cognitive organization, reasoning, problem solving, and various aspects of the child's world. Yet, if the show was to be successful, the child would see the same bits as a bunch of quick, funny and entertaining moments—like a collection of the catchy commercials that most young children chant around the house. Even the show's theme song is part of the experiment:

Sunny day, keeping the clouds away
On my way to where the air is sweet,
Can you tell me how to get,
How to get to Sesame Street? . . .

Joe Raposo's melody is bouncy by design, because tests have shown that this kind of beat best attracts the attention of preschoolers. The words of the song are accompanied by quick shots of things preschoolers are interested in—shots of kids their age swinging on a jungle gym and following-the-leader through a field of grain; of a white girl riding a tricycle and a black boy sitting on a tractor; a big brother helping his sister down a slide; kids roller-skating, kids running; a seal wiggling his whiskers . . .

"Every element in 'Sesame Street' must say to every preschooler, 'This is for you,'" said Dr. Edward L. Palmer, the Workshop's 36-year-old research director. Before joining the Workshop, he was involved in pioneering research in children's TV-watching habits as associate professor of research with the Oregon State System of Higher Education.

How does a 3-year-old child, wrestling with his first phrases, let Dr. Palmer know whether a segment of the show is for him? "The answers we're looking for come from what they indicate by their behavior while watching a segment," he explained. "We watch the children as they watch." For example, during "Sesame Street's" five preseason test shows, Dr. Palmer relied on a device called a distractor. It was, in fact, a small screen set up next to a television set on which color slides were projected from time to time. If the child watching "Sesame Street" was easily distracted, it was a tip-off that the material being shown was not sufficiently absorbing.

"The children we used for our appeal studies were all poor children in day-care centers," said Mrs. Cooney, "but it turned out that all preschoolers have pretty much the same concerns—and they're all conditioned by the same television shows: 'Batman,' 'Get Smart,' 'Laugh-In.'"

On the television, the theme song fades away, and Sesame Street itself fades in. It is actually a set on a television soundstage on Manhattan's West Side, but it could be any street in East Harlem. ("It looks real, except there's no litter," said one young visitor to the set—and the fact that his attention was immediately attracted by the ideal is the reason the litter is absent.) The viewer sees an aged brownstone, No. 123. If he's a regular viewer, he knows that Gordon and Susan and Bob live there. Gordon (Matt Robinson) and Susan (Loretta Long) are married and they are black. Gordon is a high-school science teacher. Bob (Bob McGrath) is also a high-school teacher and he is white. There is a front stoop from which they greet their friends and neighbors, who are integrated not only by race but—if you count live animals and even fantasy figures like Big Bird—by species. Big Bird is actually a man named Carroll Spinney wearing a bird costume with gorgeous yellow plumage.

On one side of the street are the famous Sesame Street garbage cans, lids tightly shut, including the can that is the home of Oscar the Grouch, one of Jim Henson's band of hand puppets, called Muppets. (Oscar is operated by Spinney when Spinney isn't being Big Bird.) A vacant lot separates 123 Sesame Street from the candy store owned by Mr. Hooper (Will Lee), an elderly white man. The folks on Sesame Street relate even to senior citizens.

Each show starts on this street, and is loosely tied together by a little running story about the people and creatures in the neighborhood. Today, Gordon is host: he'll introduce the various segments of the program's so-called "magazine format." Other days, Bob or Mr. Hooper will do the honors, or Susan will act as hostess. Each segment has a spe-

cific educational goal. These goals were set by research groups made up of educators, psychologists, advertising people, film makers and children's authors who met at five three-day seminars in the summer of 1968. For example, the Batman segment was actually called "Relational Concepts—Around/Up/Through" in the outline given the show's writers.

The show begins: the camera pans to the vacant lot, where the viewer sees Gordon, sitting on a lawn chair, reading a newspaper. We see the headline: "Nurse Shortage Critical." Today's running story has been introduced.

"Oh, hi," says Gordon, putting down the newspaper and looking into the camera. "... Today, the entire hour of 'Sesame Street' is coming to you through the courtesy of the letter L, the letter U, and the numbers 4 and 5, but most especially by this letter..." Gordon holds up a plastic letter Y and the camera zooms in on it. "You know what letter that is? The letter Y."

Each show is "sponsored" by different letters and numbers that the Workshop wants to teach, and, in the time-honored television tradition, must frequently pause for "messages" from its various sponsors. Naturally, repetition of the messages will cause the child to remember the letter M, for instance, just as it causes him to remember M&M, the chocolate-covered candies ("No Mess!").

Now the camera cuts to a commercial for the letter Y called "Yellow Yahoo"—listed in the script as a 1-minute 10-second film essay in symbolic representation. The screen shows a Y-shaped tree: "This a letter, the letter Y," says a perky narrator. "You know how I know? It looks like the trunk of the tree where the Yellow Yahoos go—listen..."

"Yahoo," yells a voice.

"There's the Yahoo now," says the narrator, and he tells of the beautiful yellow bird in many words that begin with Y—which immediately appear on the screen: "When you ask him if his lunch was good, he says, 'Yes, quite Yummy'—and then he Yawns..."

Fade-in: a frog Muppet named Kermit. "Today," says Kermit, "we are fortunate to have with us Professor Hastings, who is going to lecture on the letter Y. Professor."

Professor Hastings is also a Muppet, with a white walrus mustache and heavy-lidded Ping-Pong-ball eyes. He and the frog engage in a kind of "Who's on First?" bit to teach the letter Y. "Young man, what am I here to talk about?" asks the professor. "Y," says Kermit. "Because I forgot," answers Hastings.

Out to Sesame Street again. Susan goes next door to Mr. Hooper's candy store to buy a magazine. But Mr. Hooper is closing early.

"Is something wrong?" Susan asks. (The outline told the writer to prepare a minute-and-a-half "Reasoning and Problem Solving" segment to illustrate "Problem Sensitivity—What's Wrong Here?" This is his illustration.)

"My sister Emily is sick again," answers Mr. Hooper. "We tried to get a nurse but they're all so busy, so I'm going to stay with her for a while. She lives alone."

"Well, I could stay for you," offers Susan, "because, you know, I was a nurse before I got married to Gordon."

"Thank you, Susan, but she's expecting me," Mr. Hooper says. "I don't think it's too serious..."

"Well, listen, if there's anything I can do, be sure and let me know. I'd be happy to go stay with her."

In addition to "Reasoning and Problem Solving," this brief vignette is intended to dramatize not only the concern of the good neighbor, but the idea that a woman's place is not necessarily in the home.

Next comes a counting film. This one teaches the number 4, so it shows four

of many objects in syncopated rhythm—while little boys wait for the inevitable counting-film climax in which a waiter appears at the top of a flight of stairs carrying a tray holding four (or whatever) coconut-cream pies—then falls head-over-heels down the stairs.

"I don't like it," Mrs. Cooney says flatly of the pratfall finale. "Banana-peel humor is male and it's from age 4 on. Younger children—2-year-olds, say—think he's hurt." Then why does the guy stay? "The show," said Mrs. Cooney, "is definitely male-oriented."

"Sesame Street" is male-oriented for the same reason that the character of Gordon dominates the series. "This was done in order to upgrade the black male," said Mrs. Cooney. "We felt very strongly that it would be a good thing to show a black male who works and is strong and who is the force in the Sesame Street community, because the father is missing in so many slum homes."

Yet Gordon as the force in the Sesame Street community does not necessarily reflect the views of Mrs. Cooney. "I am a feminist, myself," said the executive director, who, though married, is childless. "Our society doesn't need more babies, we need more doctors." So she pushed for Susan, who is portrayed as also married but childless, to get a job outside the home. "We felt we had put her down a little in making Gordon so important," Mrs. Cooney said. "Susan was just the little woman in the kitchen. We talked about making her a doctor, but it didn't seem real, with them living where they live."

So the next scene in the continuing story of the people of Sesame Street has Susan discuss with her husband whether she should go back into nursing. "The reason we chose public-health nurse," said Mrs. Cooney, "was that the medical services in this country are going to need more and more people. Then, too, we wanted a job with a uniform that little girls could identify."

In the script, Susan wants Gordon to approve her intention to go down to the Public Health Department and renew her license, and Gordon approves. However, the dialogue is partly improvised; like many of "Sesame Street's" improvisational scenes, it is partly clumsy; and for that very reason, it is rather revealing. Susan tells Gordon that she wants to discuss whether or not she should go back to work, but no discussion actually takes place. "After all," she begins, "I'm a trained nurse and I just think they could use my services, and I was wondering what—how you felt about it, what you thought about it?" To this awkwardly phrased question, Gordon replies that he had spoken to her when she came back from Mr. Hooper's store, but she walked right by him without answering. Susan apologizes, explaining that the critical nursing shortage was on her mind. "If it bugs you that much, I'll tell you what," Gordon grumpily concludes: "Try it and see how it works out."

Neil Smith, who has been directing the first season but is now leaving to return to soap operas, says that he would have liked more time to rehearse the improvisational material. "The show has a soft underbelly," said Smith. "It's on five hours a week, so we have to turn out a lot of tape. Some things have to go in the can, not because they are the way I want to see them, but because we've got to produce a certain amount of tape each week." This scene is clearly a case in point: what chiefly comes through is the ambivalence of actor Matt Robinson as a person toward the situation on which he is being asked to improvise. Off screen, Robinson says he realizes that feminists want to use "Sesame Street" to upgrade the female; still, he says, many black Americans consider that the most important role black women can

play at present is as ego supports for their husbands. The problem with the scene as played is that it gives the impression that Gordon is acquiescing to Susan's desire to go back to work ("If it bugs you that much..."), but doesn't really approve. The effect is hardly a contribution to building a strong male image. I felt that this scene, at least, should not have gone into the can until there was agreement on the effect "Sesame Street" wanted it to achieve.

The transition from this segment to the next is accomplished by Gordon as he watches Susan go off to the nurse's registry. "Well, she's happy now," he rather moodily tells a black child named Kwame and a white child named Ann. "And, speaking of happy people, take a look down there..."

Down the street, Bob McGrath sings "Happiness Is" to another group of children in that gentle, quiet-voiced, non-threatening Misterogers manner that is the staple of most television for middle-class preschoolers.

But immediately afterward, Oscar the Grouch raises the lid of his garbage can to sing his anthero's version ("Happiness is... sand in your sandwich, rocks in your sneakers...") and this acerbic touch, to a rock beat, is the kind of thing that keeps "Sesame Street" from getting too bland for the kid who loves "Laugh-In."

Since the relational concepts being taught this particular day include "up," there is now a film of the Muppets singing "Up, Up and Away" while doing a comedy turn in a beautiful balloon.

When the filmed musical number is finished, the camera focuses on the street again. Gordon gives a coffee can with both ends removed to a black boy named Chet and an Oriental girl named Mia and lets them demonstrate the meaning of "through" with their hands—which leads into the Batman film on "up," "through" and "around."

And so the show progresses, from street to segment and back again. Just before Susan returns to Sesame Street in her visiting nurse's uniform, bringing the internal story to a conclusion, the "Yellow Yahoo" cartoon and another Y commercial are repeated. Why? Watching in Chicago, Sarah Biggins, who was a Head Start teacher before she began to teach remedial reading in inner-city schools, knew immediately. "I can see that 'Sesame Street' is definitely geared to preschool because of its repetition," she said. "My nephew, who is 2 and a half, knows most of the numbers 1 to 10, and points them out. But the older kids can get a lot out of it because of the goldmine of creativity involved in the production. Man! Those guys sure know how to get to the young minds."

It is a talent they exercise cautiously. To teach the concept of roundness for example, a script called for the camera to show such round objects as a button, a coin, a pop-bottle top—and the writer had written in the peace symbol," said Lutello Horne, the studio producer. "I deleted the peace symbol and substituted something else." Horne touched the peace symbol on his own coat: "I wear that button, but it's not for this show. I couldn't see it as part of 'Sesame Street.'"

"Can you tell me how to get to Sesame Street?" ask the bright yellow buttons that have sprouted all over the land on preschoolers and graduate students alike. The story of how the creators of Sesame Street got their starts in February, 1966, at a dinner party that Joan Cooney gave in her Manhattan apartment. Among the guests were Lewis Freedman, director of programming at Channel 13 and Mrs. Cooney's boss at the time, and Lloyd Morrisett, then vice president of the Carnegie Corporation and now chairman of the newly independent Children's Television Workshop.

"Channel 13 had been having a sensational season," Mrs. Cooney recalled, (Indeed: she

won an Emmy in 1966 for a three-hour documentary on the Federal poverty program.) "Lew was saying, 'Television is the new educational tool, whether it's educating now formally or not.' Since Carnegie was in preschool research, something clicked in Lloyd's mind: Why not marry television to preschool education? Within a few weeks he called me and said, 'how would you like to do a study for us on the potential of television in preschool education?'"

"I'd never seen a children's show," Mrs. Cooney confessed. "I knew what I knew from McLuhan: kids were watching shows like 'Batman' and 'Get Smart' and they were watching a lot of commercials. I was in television and I'd majored in education at the University of Arizona, but I wasn't in commercial television and I wasn't an educator. But that was what Lloyd wanted: someone in television who could figure it all out for them without any axes to grind on what kind of preschool theory triumphed."

By November, 1966, her report was ready. "Spend a lot of money on this," she recommended. And while Morrisett went after financing, Mrs. Cooney began to look for a staff.

The way to Sesame Street was eventually paved by a two-year grant of \$8 million jointly from the Carnegie, Ford and Markle Foundations, Operation Head Start, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the U.S. Office of Education. "When the project was announced, I was the only staff," said Joan Cooney. "I had been appointed by the heads of the funding organizations to be the executive director. Within a day or two after the story broke in The Times, I got a letter from Michael Dann, senior vice president of C.B.S., whom I had never met. 'You are faced with a very serious problem—whom are you going to select as your executive producer?' he said. 'You are going to make a terrible mistake if you don't go for a guy who has had some experience in volume producing.'"

Dann recommended David D. Connell, who had been executive producer of Robert Keeshan Associates, which produces "Captain Kangaroo." "Kangaroo" is the commercial networks' only daily children's show. While it and "Sesame Street" are both basically entertainment with an informational content, the Captain's quiet conversation and gentle fantasy are oriented toward middle-class kids. Besides, he isn't watched in the slums, because ghetto kids go to bed late and get up after the early-morning "Kangaroo" is over.

"Bob Keeshan deserves all kinds of credit for 'Sesame Street,'" said Mrs. Cooney of the man who is the Captain. "He built extraordinary talent, and although his turnover rate is not high at all, most of the guys who have been very interested in high-quality children's television have passed through his show."

The problem for such men was: "After 'Kangaroo,' what?" As Connell said: "I left 'Kangaroo' because I'd been with the show for 12 years and producing it for 9, and I was at an age and a stage where I thought that if I was going to do something else, I'd better move. But I was discouraged enough about the direction of children's television that I didn't care if I ever did it again."

To produce "Sesame Street," Connell left a vice presidency at Ken Snyder Enterprises, producers of TV, industrial and documentary films, where he did not work on children's shows. Then, as the first of a series of reunions of "Kangaroo" veterans, he lured back a writer named Jon Stone who had fled TV for a freelancer's hideout in Vermont.

"Jon Stone has really been the creative spark," said Mrs. Cooney. "He thought through the format, wrote the pilot, and is the head writer now. We were always talking about short segments in various production styles. Jon came up with the idea: 'Why

not an inner-city street where these people live and they're neighbors?'"

"It seemed to me that a street in an urban run-down area would give the children we were most interested in reaching a neighborhood to identify with," said Stone, a brown-bearded man with a sense of comedy, an awareness of the possibilities and limitations of the electronic medium and a 38-year-old mind that digs the 3-to-5-year-old mind. "It would be depressing in color scheme, as these streets are, but totally and happily integrated—a street in which the people who live take tremendous pride."

"Initially," said Connell, "we felt we should keep the street very realistic. Initially, it was not a place where fantasy would happen. But we found that when we cut away from the street to a piece of animation, for example, the child's interest went up. Conclusion: we've got to make the street more exciting. So it turned into a street where Oscar can come out of a trash can or Big Bird can come wandering by."

Matt Robinson, for example, who plays Gordon, had been a staff writer, producer and performer for WCAV-TV in Philadelphia. Connell originally hired him as a producer to supervise the making of the live-action films that are dropped into "Sesame Street" as part of the carefully calculated package. Robinson was not to remain a producer long, for Connell was having trouble casting the key role of Gordon. "One day, we asked Matt to read. About two minutes into the first audition, we knew he was the right guy," Connell recalled.

About one minute into any installment of "Sesame Street," viewers know that Connell has the right guy: a big, self-confident man who wears an Afro, a mustache and bushy sideburns, and speaks to children of all colors in a tone that exudes color-blindness. Still, he thinks of himself as a black performer: "Somewhere around 4 or 5," he said, "a black kid is going to learn he's black. He's going to learn that that's positive or negative. What I want to project is a positive image."

"One of our biggest problems," said Joan Cooney, "was naming this street. We had suggestions as square as 'Fun Street' to as hip as '123 Avenue B.' A writer submitted 'Sesame Street.' We got some flack on it. Some people thought the kids would pronounce it 'See Same Street.' But that's because they were linear types thinking of children only reading rather than reading and hearing."

In grading "Sesame Street," which does not, after all, have the captive audience of even the most uninspiring nursery-school teacher, the first yardstick must be: is it being watched by its target audience of preschoolers—from the inner city and rural poverty areas?

A. C. Nielsen has no problem in measuring middle-class viewing: During one week in December, he found 2.2 million homes watching at least part of the show each day. Using rater's formulas for numbers of viewers per set and adding an estimate for the large numbers of group viewers in nursery schools and elsewhere, the Workshop projected a daily viewing audience of between five and six million children. That is still short of the 6.6 million in the age group who watch the major network shows on Saturday morning—designed to teach children to recognize products, rather than letters and numbers.

The viewing habits of the poor, however, are seldom market-researched, though 90 per cent of America's families with incomes under \$5,000 have television sets. So, to learn if the poor child was watching, an in-depth study of 500 families in New York's low-income Bedford-Stuyvesant area was conducted for the Workshop last March by the Daniel Yankelovich public-opinion polling firm. Their findings: 90 per cent of the

children between the ages of 2 and 5 who spend their days at home rather than in day-care centers or nursery schools watch "Sesame Street." Even more promising, half of the children tune in the set themselves each day without waiting for prompting or help from their elders. The audience in rural poverty areas still hasn't been measured.

Next year, the Workshop will increase its efforts to reach more poor children by waging the kind of promotion and utilization campaigns that it carried out this season in Bedford-Stuyvesant and among the Indians of Alcatraz in 15 or 20 larger cities. The Workshop will be helped, of course, by the self-help of various communities. In New Orleans, this past season, for example, block parties for "Sesame"-watching have been held, with mothers taking turns supervising the children, and the Housing Authority of New Orleans has used its resources to encourage tenants to get preschoolers to take in the show.

But in an area of few expectations in Detroit, a first-grade teacher commented that "Sesame Street" seems irrelevant to the disadvantaged ghetto children. "They have no motivation to watch it, especially at home. Whereas, the black and white, middleclass mothers encourage their children to watch it, the lower-class mother isn't around to encourage it. We tried looking at it in our classroom, but the kids were uninterested. They did enjoy the numbers because they were so fast, but they just didn't want to watch the rest."

Still, the first studies suggest that "Sesame Street" is achieving its limited but quite specific goals. Dr. Palmer gave an example: "When we defined our goals in the seminars, one of them was: 'If a child is shown a rectangle, he can supply its name.' Nothing ambiguous about that. But nothing easy about it, either, if you're 3. I have a nephew who got 'circle,' 'square' and 'triangle'—but instead of 'rectangle,' he said 'refrigerator.' He knew it was some big word that started with an R."

The first impact studies focused on 130 poor children in day-care centers in Tennessee, Long Island and Maine. Half were viewers, half non-viewers; both groups were divided about equally racially. Children who watched "Sesame Street" regularly in its first six weeks made gains two-and-one-half times as great as the gains made by those who did not watch it. One result that Dr. Palmer found dramatic was the learning gains made in letter recognition. The letter W was featured regularly on the early shows through frequent repetition of the 1-minute cartoon spot about Wanda the Witch, Who Walked to the Well one Wednesday in Winter to get Water to Wash her Wig. (If you must know, the Wig was Whipped aWay by a Wild Wind. Moral: Witches Who Wash their Wigs on Windy Winter Wednesdays are Wacky.) Before Wanda and the series got started, one out of four in the viewing group could name the letter. Six weeks later, their numbers had doubled. Yet there was virtually no gain in recognition among the control group of non-viewers. Substantial increases were also noted in the experimental group's ability to solve simple logic, sorting, classification and enumeration problems.

But it is the goals themselves that are challenged by Frank Garfunkel, professor of education at Boston University, who contemptuously refers to "Sesame Street" as "the great palliative."

"If what people want is for children to memorize numbers and letters without regard to their meaning or use . . . without regard to the differences between children, then 'Sesame Street' is truly responsive," Professor Garfunkel wrote to The Boston Globe.

"To give a child 30 seconds of one thing and then to switch it and give him 30 seconds of another," he says, "is to nurture ir-

relevance and to give reinforcement to a type of intellectual process that can never engage in sustained and developed thought."

Professor Garfunkel's objections were challenged, in turn, by Dr. Gerald S. Lesser, professor of education and developmental psychology at Harvard University, and an adviser to the producers. "Different children learn in different ways and profit from different experiences," Dr. Lesser wrote to the Globe, "and 'Sesame Street' is an effort to provide one option, one alternative that may be useful to some children. We do not intend that this one television series . . . will substitute for all other forms of educational experiences young children need, 'personalized' experiences included. We are providing one small component of what ultimately must become a full range of educational opportunities for all young children."

The use of television techniques to teach continues to gnaw at educators. Carl Bereliter, a professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and an authority on preschool learning, complains that what he has seen of 'Sesame Street' has been too far removed from "structured" teaching. He says that the show has been "based entirely on audience appeal and is not really teaching anything in particular."

Probably the principal objection to the use of television for preschool education, however, is that while the middleclass child will learn the things TV can teach anyway, from a rich environment of books and records and vacations and parental conversations overheard, the ghetto child needs much more than its smattering of cognitive learning. "Mainly to meet the demands of minority group parents," wrote critic Robert Lewis Shayon in *The Saturday Review*, "'Sesame Street' stressed cognitive learning—the teaching of numbers and letters of the alphabet." Shayon conceded that "early results suggest that minority children do learn from the programs"; still, he is one of those who feel that preschoolers most need the kind of affective learning—learning related to feelings and emotions—that calls for a teacher. "The acquisition of cognitive skills is important," wrote Shayon, "but they are hardly the answer to our society's social and personal ills."

Indeed, it is the fear that "Sesame Street" will become a substitute for "personalized experiences," rather than a supplement to them, that worries educators with long experience in preschool education in the ghetto. "If 'Sesame Street' is the only thing ghetto kids have, I don't think it's going to do much good," said Sister Mary Mel O'Dowd, who drew up the curriculum for Chicago's Archdiocesan Head Start program and now directs the curriculum of Capitol Head Start in Washington, D.C. "It never hurts a child to be able to count to 10 or recognize the letters of the alphabet, but without the guidance of a teacher, he'll be like one of our preschoolers who was able to write 'CAUTION' on the blackboard after seeing it on the back of so many busses, and told me 'That says 'Stop.'"

Significantly, Joan Ganz Cooney is in agreement. "Television is a very poor substitute for a comprehensive preschool development," she said. "All the effective and certain cognitive things are better done by a teacher."

In our racially polarized society, however, one affective thing "Sesame Street" can do that many teachers are prevented by circumstances from doing is to show blacks and whites living together in harmony. "Racial equality is being instilled by showing no distinction between races," as Cheri Chamberlain, a fifth-grade teacher in Buffalo Grove, Ill., observed. Or as one mother in New Jersey observed: "When my 4-year-old first started watching 'Sesame Street,' she thought Susan and Gordon were bad people. When

asked why, she said, 'They are different from us. Their hair and skin are all funny.' After watching the show for some time, one day she said, 'Mommy, Susan and Gordon are not really funny or bad people. They still have different skin and hair, but now I know them . . .'"

"The black and white being together—that means a lot," a black Bedford-Stuyvesant mother told a black interviewer. On the other hand, a white, middle-class liberal who has spent a lifetime in television calls the show "a white, middle-class cop-out."

Well, if the show gives in to the temptation to capitalize on its great appeal to the middle class at the expense of the disadvantaged, then it will be a cop-out. But "Sesame Street's" plans for the future don't look that way. For next season, Mrs. Cooney has already promised "new material designed to better reach key ethnic groups, specifically the teaching of English vocabulary to Spanish-speaking children."

A more likely cop-out is that the Federal Government—which provides half of "Sesame Street's" funds, will decide to make the television show a money-saving substitute for Head Start. Mrs. Cooney has anticipated this reaction: "I think the project is going to be attractive to Government officials and Congress because it seems to be cost-effective and an answer to preschool education," she said, "whereas, in my view, it is a project that could help make effective—and enrich—preschool programs. I see its great importance to the innercity child as a supplement."

President Nixon has written Mrs. Cooney that "the Children's Television Workshop certainly deserves the high praise it has been getting from young and old alike in every corner of the nation. This Administration is enthusiastically committed to opening up opportunities for every youngster, particularly during his first five years of life, and is pleased to be among the sponsors of your distinguished program."

"Sesame Street" alone, of course, will not open up those opportunities. An illustration of why it cannot was in a recent Head Start newsletter in which Oralle McAfee of the New Nursery School at Colorado State College discussed "Using 'Sesame Street' in the Early Childhood Classroom."

"Some things," she wrote, "can really be learned only by doing . . . On television, a concept such as 'round' can be presented only in two dimensions, which really is inadequate. So we would supplement . . . with actual round objects. Eat oranges, grapefruit, and wieners; notice that the clay balls and snakes the children make are round; blow bubbles. . . ."

Making "Sesame Street" a substitute for Head Start would not only be a pennywise cop out, but would bode ill for "Sesame's" future. Head Start was a does-no-wrong darling of the middle-class when it had its fad five years ago, and now it is being faulted for failing to outweigh all the defects of life in the ghetto. How much more vulnerable will a television show be to that criticism. Poor kids, like affluent kids, must live in a three-dimensional world, relating to people, not images, and the opportunities that a society offers can't all be on a screen.

Perhaps the best way to evaluate "Sesame Street" at its first season is to consider what it has taught the commercial networks. Before "Sesame Street," the same vice president of daytime programming who worried about whether soap operas were selling soap also worried about whether kids' shows were selling toys and cereal. "The concensus among agencies and executives then was that quality programming for Saturday TV was not commercial," said Jon Stone. "They believed that the kids would tune out. We hope that, what we've proved with this show is that this isn't the case—that kids

will watch quality shows and will choose them over sleazy competition. The real gain is that our ratings have shown the networks that quality television is commercially viable."

So now, the eyes of parents who have seen "Sesame Street" are on George Heinemann, vice president of children's programs for NBC; on Allen Ducovny, supervisor of the children's line-up at CBS; on Charles (Chuck) Jones, executive director of children's programming for ABC. If the next commercial season is as wasteful of children's time as this one was, at least there'll be high-salaried executives to blame.

In "The Medium is the Message," Marshall McLuhan reproduced a New Yorker cartoon from 1965. It showed a boob watching the tube and commenting to his wife: "When you consider television's awesome power to educate, aren't you thankful that it doesn't?" The kids watched it anyway, of course, and, anyway, it does. Just before the first "Sesame Street" program was shown to Head Start Children in the Abraham Lincoln Community Center in Harlem, one mother mentioned what TV had already taught her 3-year-old: "He learn the cigarette commercial, the one about you come a long way, baby."

Now we have "Sesame Street," and in New Jersey, recently, a regular viewer—also 3 years old—burst into his parents' bedroom in the middle of the night, shouting and clutching his pillow. His parents woke with a start, thinking: An accident! But the child was shouting: "Mommy, Daddy! My pillow—it's a rectangle!"

We've come a long way, baby.

EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH BY NAACP HEAD CALLING ADMINISTRATION ANTI-NEGRO

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention to the remarks of the chairman of the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Bishop Stephen G. Spottwood, delivered in his keynote address to the 61st annual convention of that organization at Cincinnati, Ohio, on June 29, 1970, and partially reprinted in the June 30 issue of the *New York Times*. I feel these remarks are significant because they indicate the growing disillusionment of a large number of responsible black citizens in this country with the policies and practices of the Nixon administration.

The history of the NAACP as a courageous organization not given to extreme action or inflammatory rhetoric is too well known to require documentation. It would be tragic indeed if that fine group became convinced that its longstanding commitment to the realization of equality for black people within the American system of government was no longer a realistic course to follow. This can only be prevented by the administration's immediate recognition of its obligation to formulate national policies which are responsive to the needs of all Americans, not just the so-called silent majority.

Bishop Spottwood's remarks follow:

**EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH BY NAACP HEAD
CALLING ADMINISTRATION ANTI-NEGRO**

CINCINNATI, June 29.—Following are excerpts from the keynote address of Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood, chairman of the board of directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at the association's annual convention here today:

Two years ago, former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, speaking for the Kerner commission, called for "the reaffirmation of our faith in one society," and the commission itself sounded a warning that the nation is moving in the direction of two societies—one black, one white—separate and unequal.

Today, the signs are even more ominous. On every hand, the commentators and the politicians, the fainthearted liberals and the tragically misguided black separatists, are announcing the end of integration, especially in the schools.

For the first time since Woodrow Wilson, we have a national Administration that can be rightly characterized as anti-Negro.

This is the first time since 1920 that the national Administration has made it a matter of calculated policy to work against the needs and aspirations of the largest minority of its citizens.

Here are a few instances supporting our contention of the Administration's anti-Negro policy:

1. Signing of defense contracts with textile companies long in violation of contract requirements versus our recommendations that these contracts be canceled.

2. The pull-back on school desegregation. The Administration went into court to secure delays in already ordered desegregation. Thank God, the Supreme Court struck down these attempts.

HIGH COURT NOMINATIONS

3. The nominations of Clement Haynsworth and G. Harrold Carswell to the United States Supreme Court (which nominations were defeated by the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P., along with other organizations, including the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, of which Roy Wilkins is chairman and in which fight our Clarence Mitchell demonstrated his superb skills on Capitol Hill as truly the 101st Senator).

4. The Administration at Washington weakened our hard-won voting rights act in the House.

5. The Administration opposed the cease-and-desist order power of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

6. The Administration supported the Stennis amendment on the school appropriation bill.

7. The Administration produced the Moynihan memorandum calling for "benign neglect."

8. The Administration supports tax exemption for white, separate private schools, designed to avert desegregation of the public schools.

9. On April 9, after the rejection of his nominee, Judge Carswell, for the Supreme Court, the President described the ideal judge as "someone who believes in the strict construction of the Constitution, as I do—a judge who will not use the power of the Court to seek social change by freely interpreting the law or constitutional clauses." This is the Administration's expressed opposition to the equal protection clauses of the 14th amendment.

The effect of this has been exactly what was predicted. It has given encouragement to the Southern racists whose fullpage advertisements have exposed their radical retreat to the calendar level of the 1870's, such as produced by Senator [John C.] Stennis of Mississippi and Gov. [John J.] McKeithen of Louisiana, to say nothing of the melodramatic pose of Florida's Gov. [Claude R.] Kirk in defying the Federal court's or-

ders to desegregate the Public schools of the Everglades State.

Before us today, in the solution of the problem of a single society, are the issues arising from what seems to many the futility of our effort toward integration. There is a tremendous white backlash as we have forged a difficult path through the metallic barriers in housing, employment and politics.

A small but vociferous number of Negroes has effected the black retreat, as indicated in the black college students' demands for separate dormitories, separate cafeterias, separate curricula and separate facilities. Incidentally, we should sympathize—even as we disagree—with young black youth whose bitter and bloody experiences on white college campuses have driven them to "the black retreat."

ACCENTUATING POLARITY

The white backlash on the one hand and the black retreat on the other hand have combined to accentuate the racial polarity of which the Kerner commission warned.

At this juncture in our national life, we of the N.A.A.C.P., recalling Abraham Lincoln's declaration that "this nation cannot endure half free and half slave," emphatically paraphrase Mr. Lincoln and declare "this country cannot endure half white and half black." If American democracy is to survive, we shall be one society, as the Declaration of Independence visioned and the Constitution declares.

Ours is a national problem affecting all Americans, and no matter where we live, the problem of one society is before us. For instance, it is easy for Northern Negroes to forget the South because local needs are urgent and desperate, but they do so at their own peril.

Fifty-two per cent of black Americans still live in the South, mostly in cities, where the problems of overcrowding, housing, crime, discrimination, poor education are the same as the North's. In addition, they have the Southern segregation traditions, white supremacy ideology and wanton murderousness.

KILLINGS BY POLICE

Even as lynching was the Roman holiday sport of the 19th century America, killing black Americans promiscuously has been the 20th century pastime of our police, whose primary duty is law enforcement and keeping the peace.

I'm thinking of the six Negroes killed in Augusta, Ga., all shot in the back; of the Panthers slain in their beds in Chicago; of the students slain at Jackson State College; of the almost daily news stories of the indiscriminate, ruthless slaying of black Americans by police and civilians, under the guise of "law and order," but actually fulfilling the guidelines of a bitter, white majority, whose vain effort to keep us "in our place" leads them to resort to the policeman's pistol and kangaroo court trials.

The white liberals and the churches have not been conspicuous in the fight for freedom lately. No one questions the demand for an immediate end of the Vietnam war. We ask again, why is it that white people always manage to find some issue other than race to which they give their priority attention, the latest of which is pollution and the ecology?

If racial justice and civil rights had commanded just 10 per cent of the attention that white liberals have given to the Vietnam war, we would not be in the position we are today—and it is unlikely that we would have Nixon in the White House either.

We must counteract some black authors who have tried to show that bad English grammar and slurred consonants and special terminology found among poorly educated Negroes (and poorly educated white people) are really a different language which should be learned and used in ghetto school teaching. Recently a black architect has been

working on the theory that Negroes should have distinctive type housing—one which adequately accommodates their tribal instincts inherited from our African past—reductio ad absurdum!

Then, after the long series of suggestions of self-imposed apartheid, we must beware of those who once stood on the solid ground of full freedom for all Americans and have now retreated to the wabbling field of compromise and sinking sands of surrender.

For example, Roy Innis, national director of CORE, recently made a Deep South visit where he was warmly received by Govs. John Bell Williams of Mississippi, John J. McKeithen of Louisiana, Albert Brewer of Alabama and Lester (Ax-Handle) Maddox of Georgia.

FOR DUAL SYSTEM

He was there to solicit their interest and support of the Innis plan to re-establish a dual school system. His scheme is not to have separate black and white systems by race—oh, no—but to split the city in half along residential lines, with the white half under its school system and the black half under its system.

You can imagine how the Governors were delighted with the Innis proposal.

There are others who advocate a separate nation, to be set up somewhere, or for autonomous neighborhoods or districts in the cities—to run our own police, fire department, hospitals, schools and everything else. But they always make it clear that they expect to get the money from the rest of the community. There is no such thing as autonomy on someone else's money.

No major problem afflicting black Americans can be solved except by solving them for all Americans.

We have worked too long and too hard, made too many sacrifices, spent too much money, shed too much blood, lost too many lives fighting to vindicate our manhood as full participants in the American system to allow our victories to be nullified by phony liberals, die-hard racists, discouraged and demoralized Negroes and power-seeking politicians.

A BILL TO CREATE A SINGLE TRANSPORTATION TRUST FUND

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a bill to create a single transportation trust fund to meet the total transportation needs of this country in the 1970's and beyond. My bill is designed to cut across the rigid modal patterns that today restrict the development of a balanced transportation system and which result in inefficient and distorted uses of our transportation resources. It is a vital step toward achieving our national goals for safe and efficient transportation for everyone.

In section 3 of the recently enacted Airport and Airway Development Act of 1970, the Secretary of Transportation is called upon to formulate and recommend a national transportation policy to the Congress within 1 year. The act requires the Secretary to take into consideration "the coordinated development and improvement of all modes of transportation, together with the priority which shall be assigned to the development and improvement of each mode of transportation." For any policy to be turned into

reality, the means must be provided to apply resources in the transportation areas where they are most needed. This cannot be done if we are to continue to maintain separate trust funds for highways and for airport and airway development and if urban mass transportation is to be denied an equally stable, long-term source of revenue. We need a unified, systematic approach to deal with America's transportation problems.

In the Department of Transportation Act passed by the 89th Congress, Congress stated that its purpose is to "assure the coordinated effective administration of the transportation programs of the Federal Government." The Department of Transportation has not achieved this goal, and it cannot do so under its present statutory authorities. While the Secretary of Transportation is granted broad policymaking functions, actual responsibility for transportation programs remains split among the modal administrations as it was before passage of the Department of Transportation Act. Most importantly, moneys are separately provided for and expended for each of the modes of transportation without effective coordination and assessment of their relation to the country's total transportation needs.

If we are to make our hopes for a balanced and coordinated national transportation system into reality, two things must be done. There must be centralized administration of transportation resources that can put the money where the needs are; and second, there must be a reorganization of transportation authority and operations within the Government that will make balanced and effective transportation planning possible.

The bill I have introduced today lays the foundation for making these changes in our Government's approach to transportation problems and in moving forward towards a balanced national transportation system. Title I of the bill requires the Secretary of Transportation to develop a comprehensive plan for the utilization of the Nation's transportation resources to implement the national transportation policy. It supplements section 3 of the Airport and Airway Development Act calling for the development of a national transportation policy by requiring detailed and specific recommendations as to what is to be done with respect to funds in the next decade. It also calls for recommendation for changes in Government organization to make it better equipped to effectuate the national transportation policy.

Title II of my bill will create a single transportation trust fund which will be available for expenditures in accordance with the comprehensive national transportation plan to be approved by the Congress. It will unify and coordinate the way we spend our money on transportation and lead to more effective utilization of our resources.

Title III of my bill amends the Urban Mass Transportation Act to provide increased revenues for, and expand the effectiveness of, our programs for dealing with our most urgent national transportation problem—the movement of people

in our crowded cities. This portion of the present bill is based upon the bill which I introduced on February 18, 1969, to create an urban mass transportation trust fund and which now has 106 sponsors. It is designed in the context of my present bill to bring urban mass transit into the single transportation trust fund on a more equal basis with highways and aviation.

The time for a reassessment of transportation priorities is long past. The time for action to redress the imbalance created by the present isolation of transportation programs is upon us. My bill would get us started on this vital work.

I am aware, Mr. Speaker, that however urgent the need, the reorientation of our Nation's transportation system that my bill calls for cannot be accomplished overnight. I have, therefore, provided for a series of measured steps to be taken toward that goal. By taking the appropriate action now, we will be in a position to effectively implement the national transportation policy that we will hopefully approve in the next session of Congress.

The steps envisioned in by bill are these:

Effective July 1, 1971, the bill would create a single transportation trust fund consisting of first, the present highway trust fund; second, the airport and airway fund adopted by the Congress this year; and third, a new urban mass transportation fund based on the automobile excise tax. In 1972 all highway trust fund moneys would be included in the single transportation trust fund. This new unified trust fund would be the source of all transportation expenditures for the decade of the 1970's.

Until 1972 when the comprehensive plan for the implementation of the Nation's transportation policy has been approved by the Congress, my bill would, in effect, continue the highway trust fund and the airport and airway trust fund while adding an urban mass transportation trust fund to be funded from the automobile excise tax. No more than 10 percent of the funds for any of those programs could be shifted to another program. Lopsided as our present allocation may be among the various transportation modes, I do not think it appropriate to propose very substantial changes until the Congress, through the approval of the comprehensive plan, has determined the direction in which it wants our transportation system to move. During the first stage, the single transportation trust fund would be basically a consolidated conduit for transportation money. It would, however, establish the foundation upon which a later reallocation of resources can be made in accordance with the national transportation policy approved by the Congress.

In order to move expeditiously to the second step, my bill would require the Secretary of Transportation to submit a comprehensive plan in 1971 along with his recommendations on national transportation policy to the Congress for approval. In that plan the Secretary would outline the expenditures required during the next decade in order to achieve a balanced transportation system in ac-

cordance with the national transportation policy. He would also recommend to the Congress how the transportation functions within the Government should be reorganized in order to assure effective coordinated policy management cutting across rigid modal lines.

Finally, Congress will then adopt a plan for utilization of the Nation's transportation resources, providing for an allocation among the transportation modes and among various sections or regions of the country. Until that time, no fundamental changes will be made except for the establishment in the bill of new resources for urban mass transportation.

Mr. Speaker, many months may be required for the development and approval of a comprehensive plan for our Nation's transportation, but it is not too soon to start to lay the foundation for its implementation through the creation of a single transportation trust fund. New approaches to America's transportation problems are already long overdue. If we are to prevent strangulation of this Nation's transportation life line, we must act now.

LILLY FIRM COMMENDED FOR ENVIRONMENTAL CONTROLS

HON. JOHN T. MYERS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. MYERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues details of a most significant decision by Eli Lilly & Co. of Indianapolis, Ind. Already recognized as one of the major pharmaceutical firms in the world, Eli Lilly recently disclosed initiatives in the construction of its newest facility north of Clinton, Ind., which qualify the company as a leader in the effort to improve our environment.

The Lilly laboratories now under construction on a 684-acre site along the Wabash River in western Indiana will become the company's fourth fermentation facility, on a worldwide basis, and its third major chemical manufacturing plant. Scheduled to begin operations this summer, the plant will employ a work force of about 300 persons.

As explained by Mr. Burton Beck, president of Eli Lilly, at a recent news conference, the primary goal is that the operation of this major plant will not cause pollution or degradation of the environment for the people who live in Clinton, Terre Haute, and surrounding communities. At the same time Lilly has committed itself to achieving the same degree of control at other plants in Indianapolis and Lafayette.

I applaud Eli Lilly & Co. for its initiative in this field. As Mr. Beck said in his public statement:

In our opinion, industry must accept a greater degree of responsibility for disposing of the wastes which it creates. We are hopeful that innovations in our new plant at Clinton may also serve the purpose of pointing the way for other industries to a new approach for more effective control of pollution.

What follows is the text of the Lilly announcement which outlines the program for maximum pollution control:

ELI LILLY & Co.

CLINTON, IND.—Eli Lilly and Company is building a plant here which will generate about 175,000 pounds of industrial waste every working day. But if the plans of Lilly engineers work out as pilot studies indicate, this massive waste will be converted each day into steam for power generation, harmless gases, a high-protein feed additive for farm animals, and about 1,200 pounds of ashes.

A total of 6,340,000 gallons of water will be discharged by the plant daily, but only 192,000 gallons will need to pass through the treatment plant for removal of impurities. Process treatment at the source will reduce by two-thirds the hydraulic burden on the waste treatment plant. The only liquid effluent will be clear water.

The disposal of pollutants without contamination of the air and of surface and underground water resources will be achieved largely through the drying and incineration of solid wastes, the scrubbing of gaseous effluents, and the recycling of water and processing chemicals.

The chemical manufacturing and fermentation facility, located near here and about 17 miles north of Terre Haute, is scheduled to begin operations in July with a work force of about 300 persons.

Viewed as something of a pioneering effort in the field of pollution control, the Clinton Laboratories have been designed from the ground up to provide a plant with "maximum—not just acceptable—control of wastes."

Eugene N. Beesley, Lilly chairman of the Board, points out that more than a year ago it was decided that waste treatment was to be of primary concern in the design of the plant.

"At that time," he said, "members of our corporate engineering component were asked to seek new approaches to waste disposal even if this meant designing new manufacturing processes." As a consequence, many processes have been changed to concentrate potential pollutants for recycling or disposal.

The new ground rules were outlined by Lilly management at a meeting January 31, 1969. The following decisions resulted:

Deep-well disposal would not be used.

Organic wastes would not be buried, nor would they be removed from the plant site. Thermal input to the adjacent Wabash River would be kept at a minimum.

Optimum recycling of process and cooling water would be used.

The maximum recycling of solvents and other waste streams would be provided for even if economics favored purchasing new materials.

Biological treatment would be used only as a last resort, since many of the wastes do not biodegrade well.

Plant design would conform to, or be better than, the most stringent requirements of all Indiana regional air and water pollution agencies.

It is estimated that the cost of facilities required to meet these criteria will be between \$8-10 million. Total operating costs for waste treatment are expected to exceed \$1.5 million annually.

Plant design calls for automatic, around-the-clock surveillance of effluents. A control center and laboratory will contain recording monitors reporting the rate of flow and pH (acid-base values) from selected waste streams. In addition, the monitors will record and report the time of any unusual solvent flows in the key production buildings. The absence of floor drains in many buildings will make it nearly impossible for tank over-

flows to escape proper treatment and planned disposal.

An electronic recording monitor also will be installed to perform automatically seven tests on all treated watery effluents before their discharge into the river. The monitor will report test results, recording the information once each hour. The Lilly company has volunteered to connect the monitor also to recorders of the state Stream Pollution Control Board, when such state equipment becomes available and if state authorities wish it.

Several basic concepts have governed plant design:

Water will be recirculated in all high heat-load areas, and cooling towers will be used to avoid thermal pollution of the Wabash River.

Purification processes for fermentation products have been modified so there will be no high-BOD (biochemical oxygen demand) spent fermentation broths to treat, as in conventional plants.

Waste-water overloads in the system will be minimized by the use of recirculation and dry-equipment cleaning methods and by neutralizing regenerants from ion exchange columns at the source.

Oversized stripping columns will be used to recover 99.99 percent or more of solvents from waste streams for reuse.

While solvent recovery at such a high level is usually uneconomical, it is dictated by the policy of maximum waste control.

The system is unique in that waste control is built into the production processes. The idea of isolating all wastes as concentrates at their sources avoids the extremely difficult task of attempting to completely treat large amounts of mixed and more dilute wastes at the "end of the line."

According to Raymond E. Crandall, Lilly vice-president of facilities and operations planning, "The utilization of 'closed systems'—in which potential pollutants and waste streams are recovered and recirculated—is probably unique in industry, especially on the scale which will be attempted at the Clinton Laboratories."

"As a corporation, we feel that the ultimate solution to the control of waste streams will be through the use of closed systems, and we are continually working in this direction. The segregation and separate treatment of all classes of wastes should be a useful approach for other industries."

Every waste product in the plant will be identified, categorized, and controlled until final disposal in a waste treatment system. Six different systems will be used in handling pollutants.

The major components of the treatment plant will include:

Two incinerator systems for burning mixed concentrated organic and inorganic wastes. The nontoxic combustion gases from these operations will be "scrubbed" to remove fly ash before being exhausted through a 75-foot stack.

A dehydration process for concentrating and incinerating waste solids from high-BOD watery waste streams. This process will result in the generation of steam which then will power the waste treatment complex.

A multichambered, enclosed rotary-kiln incinerator for the burning of trash and rubbish.

Special evaporation and stripping columns in the solvent-recovery areas of the plant.

A sanitary treatment plant capable of handling wastes from a population of 1,000. It will provide treatment equivalent to the more sophisticated biological degradation systems.

Lilly engineers said they found that solution of one problem in pollution control often created another. For example, to avoid polluting the atmosphere with fly ash from the incinerator, "scrubbers" were installed.

These utilize a large volume of water which is heated to about 180 degrees (F.) by passage through the incinerator exhaust. But it is cooled again by dilution with water from cooling towers and processes. Thermal pollution of the Wabash is thus avoided.

Eighteen cooling towers will recirculate and reuse about 42,000 gallons of water each minute. Recirculation will also have the indirect benefit of conserving the area's supply of fresh water.

The plant will reuse approximately 91.4 percent of its total water requirements. Only 4,000 gallons of water per minute will be discharged into the river, or less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the average flow of river water at the site.

Lilly engineers say that products and processes at the Clinton Laboratories are not expected to produce substantial amounts of objectionable odors.

Noise generated by such machines as natural-gas-driven engines, air compressors, and gear reducers will be lessened through the use of various types of mufflers and by additional acoustical control devices, if necessary. The noise is expected to be kept at least within the limits set forth in antinnoise laws now in effect in several of the nation's larger cities.

The Clinton Laboratories will continue to maintain, and strive to advance, the high standard of waste control set by Lilly plants since the early 1950's, Lilly engineers say. In 1966 the Lilly company's Tippecanoe Laboratories, situated on the Wabash River near Lafayette, Indiana, received the Wabash Valley Association's top award for excellence in handling wastes.

The citation termed the Tippecanoe plant "an outstanding example of a modern corporation's efforts to live in harmony with its environment."

When the Tippecanoe plant was opened in May, 1954, its waste treatment facilities were larger than those of the city of Lafayette (about 39,000 population at the time). Today these Lilly facilities remove BOD and solids equivalent to the waste from 800,000 to one million people from biochemical manufacturing waste streams.

The Tippecanoe pollution control program continues to expand rapidly, and the corporate intent is to see that Tippecanoe remains in the forefront of industrial plants in the disposal of wastes.

The new approach developed by Lilly engineers can be applied more rapidly at Clinton because the plant is new and it was possible to make provision for concentrating and minimizing wastes in the design stage.

Robert H. Ellis II, manager of plant engineering for the Clinton Laboratories, said: "Although the system will not be proved until we are under full operation later this year, we are confident that the results of our design, investigations, and small-scale pilot studies will be satisfactory. For example, we expect the entire system to reduce BOD wastes by 99.4 percent. This may be the most efficient system in the world."

"Of course, we anticipate that some 'bugs' will turn up and may require a year to eighteen months after operations begin for their elimination, but a very high goal has been set. We have every intention of reaching it."

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. SCHERLE, Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother asks:

"How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,500 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

TRAINING ASSISTANCE FOR LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in the last session I introduced H.R. 15031, to amend the Education Professions Development Act to authorize training of local school board members. Much of the concentration on education has concerned the quality, or lack thereof, of teaching and teaching methods, on the one hand, and the performance of the students, on the other hand. Yet, a very significant aspect of the educational complex is composed of those citizens who sit on school boards and make the very real, and very important, decisions which affect the operations of the schools in the district for which the board is responsible.

In my own district, and in New York City as a whole, school board members will be assuming new and increased responsibilities in the coming academic year as a result of New York's new school decentralization law, yet very little has been done to prepare for this transition of power.

An article in this month's issue of the American School Board Journal discusses the urgent need for training felt by many school board members. I think it offers in very understandable and very compelling terms justification for the passage of my bill, H.R. 15031, and I commend it to my colleagues.

The article follows:

THE NEW BOARDMANSHIP: BETTER—LOTS BETTER—TRAINING IS NEEDED FOR NEW BOARD MEMBERS—AND HOW

(By John Francois)

Hand them the board policy manual, a copy of school regulations, maybe minutes from past board meetings—and be certain to include wishes for good luck in their new positions.

Sound familiar?

Too familiar, according to a survey of school board orientation practices that shows a majority of new school board members have not been trained well, if at all, to assume their duties. Reason: Few school districts devote more than the slightest effort to orientation program for new boardmen.

And where some orientation is provided, be it comprehensive and well organized or otherwise, the task falls mainly to the superintendent with little help from the board president or veteran board members, who seem willing to let their new colleagues sink or swim.

Furthermore, boardmen and administrators do not have the same ideas about what should be stressed in an orientation program (page 10). For example, superintendents rated board policies and rules as the subject calling for top priority in board

orientation, but board presidents placed much less emphasis on that subject; they tended, instead, to stress the ages-old question of what differences still exist between policy making and administration, a topic superintendents, surprisingly, seem to shun. The area of second most importance to boardmen—the nonlegal status of board members outside of the body corporate—was placed halfway down the list of priorities by superintendents.

The survey set out to test the logical assumption that school board members must be highly qualified, highly motivated and highly conscientious citizens, given the facts that collectively they devote more than 20 million hours a year to board business, spend at least \$35 billion of the taxpayers' money, and are responsible for the education and welfare of more than 44 million school children. Any group of such qualified and conscientious people, the assumption was, would have developed a fairly comprehensive program of orientation and training for new members.

Conducted in 45 school districts scientifically selected on the basis of pupil enrollment, size, and geographic location, the survey consisted of a seven-point questionnaire sent to board presidents in a majority of the 45 districts. Some questionnaires were mailed to superintendents only, others to both board presidents and superintendents in the same district.

Responses were received from 33 of the 45 school districts, and ranged from a solitary No at the top of the questionnaire to lengthy personal letters accompanying the completed form.

Survey findings indicated most school districts have some minimum program of board orientation that needs upgrading. The average boardman's orientation and training consists of little more than being given reading materials, having a private conference with the superintendent, and touring a few schools. As would be expected, new board members, most of whom take office at the time they are elected, receive their limited training after they are on the job.

The lists of topics boardmen and administrators would stress in an orientation program contain few surprises other than no mention of specific problem areas, such as school finance or collective bargaining or rights of students or curriculum controversy.

When a majority of boardmen agree that their orientation could have been much better, it is surprising, if not amazing, that the number of effective school board members is as large as it certainly seems to be.

Here are the questions asked in the survey, and the way they were answered by school board presidents and superintendents:

1. Does your district have an orientation program for new school board members?

*69%—Yes.
9%—No.
12%—Answered, along with Yes or No, "an informal one."

2. Is your district's orientation program considered comprehensive or less than that?

15%—Comprehensive.
51%—Minimum.
9%—Insufficient.
9%—Between "Minimum" and "Insufficient."

3. Indicate the items that are used in your orientation program for new board members (if your district has such a program).

A. Reading material:
69%—School board policy guide.
52%—Minutes of board meetings.

*Percentages that total less than 100 indicate that not all persons responding answered the question. Percentages that total more than 100 indicate that some respondents provided more than one answer to the question.

60%—School regulations.

45%—Other (literature from school board association and commercial sources; board reports, curriculum and budgetary materials; state codes; seminars; group sessions).

B. A private conference in which problems and issues are covered:

30%—With the superintendent.
0%—With the board president.
45%—With both the superintendent and the board president (an additional .03% indicated a conference with a staff member below the rank of superintendent).

C. Visits to the district's offices and schools:

42%—With the superintendent.
24%—With other board members, a principal or a central staff employee.

D. A letter of welcome and congratulations:

45%—From the superintendent.
18%—From the board president.

4. When does the new board member receive his orientation?

18%—Before taking office.
45%—After taking office.
18%—Before and after taking office.

5. Who indoctrinates the new board member?

39%—Both the board president and the superintendent.

33%—The superintendent (an additional .03% indicated just the board president).

33%—Other (board secretary; county and state staff; other board members; a principal).

6. On reflection, do you wish you had received a better orientation to your seat on the school board?

30%—Yes.
.06%—No.
20%—Don't know.

7. If you were orienting a new board member, what points would you stress to him as most important?

How board members replied:

1. Policy making and administration; the differentiation between them and the responsibility for them.

2. Lack of legal status outside of board meetings.

3. Board policies, rules and regulations.

4. Conditions and needs of the district.

5. Meaning of membership in a group.

6. Familiarity with responsibilities of school board committees.

7. Personnel employment; delineating responsibilities for recommendation and employment.

8. Study of board minutes from past years.

9. Establishment of personal contacts with principals and teachers.

10. Time required to perform effectively.

11. Reasons for not fearing change—and the importance of investigating, trying, recommending, asking questions.

12. Rules of conducting a meeting and conduct at it.

13. Attendance at conferences (NSFA, AASA, ASBO, etc.).

14. Importance of being informed before taking action.

15. School philosophy.

How superintendents replied:

1. Board policies, rules and regulations.

2. Proper role of a board member.

3. Value of touring schools to observe conditions and needs.

4. Informal conferences with staff.

5. Importance of not obligating the entire board when discussing school business with patrons.

6. Keeping the superintendent informed of community wishes.

7. The board member's legal obligations and duties.

8. The need to study problems carefully before jumping to conclusions.

9. Past history of school board operation in the district.

10. Importance of being a good listener.

11. Importance of not playing superintendent.
12. Program planning and evaluation in conjunction with superintendent and staff.
13. Possible board pitfalls.
14. Difference between policy making and administration.
15. District's financial structure.

LYNCHBURG, VA.

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, the rich and colorful history of Lynchburg, Va., cannot successfully be capsuled.

However, I have found in the July-August 1969 issue of *Generator*, published by one of her most important industrial citizens, Babcock & Wilcox, a little article which pays appropriate tribute to the city. Under leave to extend my remarks, I quote the article in full:

LYNCHBURG, THE CENTER OF VIRGINIA

At first glance Lynchburg, Va., which hugs the James River in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains, seems a rural southern town surrounded by history and natural beauty. A closer look reveals a city with a thriving economy located where the South's two main railroads intersect—and at the crossroads of modern highway and air transportation.

If the Lynchburg area—home of B&W's Naval Nuclear Fuel division, Power Generation division facilities and nuclear Research and Development division operations—needed a further qualification as a good place to live and work, it would be that these two aspects are perfectly balanced.

The enterprising spirit that settled Lynchburg has remained with the city. It began in 1757 when John Lynch, son of an Irish immigrant tobacco planter, recognized the need for a ferry across the James River and saw it through to completion at a crossing used by Indians and traders. In 1786 he secured a charter for a townsite and donated 45 acres of his land near the ferry for that purpose.

In spite of Lynchburg's hilly terrain, the city became a tobacco market of importance in the 18th century. Careful attention to grading the land made the town famous for its dark leaf tobacco, which when flavored with licorice, became a favorite chewing tobacco throughout the South.

As the only intersecting point for the two main rail systems in the South, Lynchburg played a vital role as one of the most strategic supply depots for the Confederacy during the War Between the States. After the war Lynchburg boomed and became one of the first industrial cities in the predominantly agricultural South.

In recent years the Piedmont area's natural resources, overlooked during the rush West in the country's early days, have been recognized. The area abounds in timber, minerals, building stone, semi-precious stones and other resources. Retail and service establishments within the city of Lynchburg have grown in number to more than 800, and the city lays claim to diverse industries.

Lynchburg's location in the geographical center of Virginia—combined with transportation facilities that few cities of equal size can offer—have contributed to its growth rate. Today about 60,000 people live in the city, with an estimated 25,000 more in the immediate suburbs. About 150,000 people live

within a radius of 25 miles, the area served by the city's trade and industrial facilities.

Area residents are also in the midst of the state's richest historical and cultural region, as thousands of new tourists are discovering each year. So centralized is Lynchburg, that most of them find it easier to stay in or near the city and make day trips in various directions, finding this preferable to packing and unpacking suitcases each day.

For the sightseer, nearby are Appomattox, the reconstructed 19th century village that saw the surrender of Lee to Grant; Red Hill, the last home and burial place of Patrick Henry; Monticello, Jefferson's classic residence; Fort Early, a memorial to General Jubal Early who built the stronghold and other landmarks.

A willingness to support education has made Lynchburg one of the leading education centers in the state. Within its limits are Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg College, University of Virginia Extension and five other institutions of higher learning. Nearby are Washington and Lee and the Virginia Military Institute, both in Lexington, Sweet Briar College in Amherst County and others.

For viewing nature at its best, Lynchburgers have close at hand a number of resort areas, including Smith Mountain and Leesville Lakes (offering over 500 miles of coastline); Peaks of Otter, offering a panorama of the surrounding country; and Natural Bridge, with indoor and outdoor, summer and winter activities.

For the less energetic, in the heart of Lynchburg is the Fine Arts Center, supported by private membership, but open to the Lynchburg public. The galleries, studios and rehearsal rooms are available for a variety of uses, with an auditorium seating 550 people. The center is the home of the Lynchburg Little Theater, Lynchburg Art Center, Lynchburg Civic Music Club, Virginia Grass Roots Opera and other affiliated groups.

AGRICULTURE BARS DDT STOP ORDER

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, regrettably, the U.S. Department of Agriculture has decided to contest further the suspension of the use of DDT.

When the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia gave the USDA 30 days in which to either suspend immediately the registration of DDT or give its reasons for not doing so, the opportunity was at hand for ridding our environment of a pesticide which has been proven time and again to be a hazard to fish and wildlife and man himself.

The fact that the USDA chose the other alternative—to stick by its reasons for not banning DDT—is truly unfortunate. It is a missed opportunity, but not a forgotten one. The fight against DDT has been long and frustrating.

I believe the case against DDT is convincing. I have confidence that sooner or later these facts will become compellingly clear to the Department of Agriculture.

A copy of a news article explaining the USDA action appears below:

[From the Washington Post, June 30, 1970]

AGRICULTURE BARS DDT STOP ORDER

(By Peter Osnos)

The Department of Agriculture refused yesterday to order an immediate suspension on general use of DDT and asserted that the pesticide does not pose "an imminent hazard to human health."

Agriculture took its position in papers submitted to the U.S. Court of Appeals here, which told the department May 28 either to suspend use of DDT or explain its reason for not doing so.

Yesterday's response, signed by Ned D. Bayley, Agriculture's director of science and education, amounts to an endorsement of the department's policy of eventually—but not immediately—cutting out all but essential uses of DDT.

The court was acting on a suit brought by five conservationist groups which maintain that the danger of DDT is so great that it should be removed from the market at once while the question of a permanent ban is decided.

Agriculture ordered last November that all but essential uses of DDT be phased out by 1971. That ruling, however, was nullified temporarily when it was appealed by six major pesticide companies.

REFUSAL EXPLAINED

In explaining its refusal to withdraw the pesticide while the companies' appeal makes its way through the department and then, in all likelihood, the courts, Agriculture said:

"The scientific evidence now available does not establish that the use of DDT constitutes an imminent hazard to human health.

"Scientific evidence indicates that there are some adverse effects upon certain species of fish and wildlife . . . but such effects do not constitute an imminent hazard to fish and wildlife or the environment.

"DDT has indisputably important and beneficial uses in connection with human health and agriculture, and there are not yet available suitable substitutes for all essential uses.

"The use of DDT should continue to be reduced in an orderly, practical manner which will not deprive mankind of uses which are essential to the public health and welfare."

The statement added that research into possible harm and benefits of DDT is continuing. A group of outside experts are reported to have just completed a study of DDT, but the statement does not indicate when the report will be made public.

Agriculture's position about "imminent hazard" apparently differs from that of the Interior Department, which earlier this month banned the use of the pesticide on 534 million acres of public lands.

The next move in the conservationists' suit is up to the Court of Appeals, which could order Agriculture to impose a ban. In his opinion last month, Chief Judge David Bazelon called the evidence against DDT presented by the conservationists "impressive."

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION CALENDAR OF EVENTS, JULY 1970

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the excellent schedule of events of the Smithsonian

Institution for the month of July 1970. The Smithsonian Institution is to be congratulated for their outstanding programs and events which I am glad to call to the attention of my colleagues and the American people:

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

July 1: Festival of American Folklife: This 4th annual gala on the Mall, sponsored by the Smithsonian Division of Performing Arts, runs through July 5.

Daily demonstrations of traditional folk crafts and folk foods begin at 11 a.m. and continue until 5 p.m. Informal music workshops throughout the day and nightly music concerts at 8 p.m. at Sylvan Theater (except for July 4).

The State of Arkansas will be featured this year with a mule-drawn sorghum mill, craftsmen such as a cooper who makes one barrel each day, one who hand carves fiddles, and a split oak cotton-basket maker. A lady who cooks jelly from smashed up corn cobs, a gentleman skilled in the making of turkey callers, and a fishing fly tier are all from the razorback state. Other craftsmen will be making saddles, knives and tools, corn husk brooms, quilts, and chairs. One area of the Festival will be devoted to a presentation of the Southern Plains Indians culture, including the demonstration of bone carving, finger weaving, hide tanning and leather work, drum making, feather and bead working and doll making. There will also be a presentation of tribal Plains Indians' dances as well as tribal ceremonial and contest dances.

A special exhibit on dairying will feature milking demonstrations, butter churning, cheese making, and songs of the farm and dairy.

Among the foods to be sold at the Festival will be barbecued buffalo meat, Indian fried bread, Arkansas barbecued chicken, and blackberry cobbler prepared Ozark style.

Exhibit, Indian Images. Photographs of North American Indians 1847-1928. Rotunda, National Museum of Natural History. Through August.

July 2: Exhibition: Five Paintings from Thomas Nast's Grand Caricaturama. At the National Collection of Fine Arts through August.

Creative Screen: Leonard Baskin. This production presents a tantalizing view of Baskin's sculpture and wood engravings. Continuous showings on the half-hour from 11 a.m. to 2:30 p.m., at the National Collection of Fine Arts.

July 4: Creative Screen: Leonard Baskin. See July 2 for details.

July 10: Dorothy Liebes: Retrospective. An exhibit tracing the work of the famous textile designer over thirty years. At the Arts and Industries Building through September 28.

July 11: Pageantry on the Mall: The 1st Maryland Regiment, in authentic Continental uniforms and equipment, will make camp on the Mall; demonstrate the camp routine; and march to an 18th century "band of musick." A musketry and artillery display will climax the show. 2 p.m. to 4 p.m.

July 14: Gallery Talk: Leonard Baskin. By Alan Fern of the Library of Congress. 11 a.m., third floor exhibition area, National Collection of Fine Arts.

July 16: Creative Screen: Leonard Baskin. See July 2 for details.

July 17: Photo Exhibition: Reptile Behavior and Feeding Habits. National Museum of Natural History. Through September 8.

July 18: Creative Screen: Leonard Baskin. See July 2 for details.

SMITHSONIAN RESIDENT PUPPET THEATRE

Confetti, presented by Bob Brown Marionettes. This production, which continues through September 7, is a half-hour of merriment aimed to delight children and adults alike. Summer hours: 11 a.m., 1 p.m. and 3

p.m., Wednesday through Sunday. Reservations are advised and can be obtained by telephoning 381-5241. The Puppet Theatre is located on the third floor of the National Museum of History and Technology and is produced by the Smithsonian's Division of Performing Arts.

RADIO SMITHSONIAN

You can listen to the Smithsonian every Sunday night from 7:30 to 8:00 p.m. on radio station WGMS (570 AM & 103.5 FM). The weekly Radio Smithsonian program presents music and conversation growing out of the Institution's exhibits, research and other activities and interests. Program schedule for July:

5. India Chintz; Jacquard Mechanism and 19th Century Jacquard Woven Coverlets.

12. The Hamilton College Choir.

19. Music: New recording featuring instruments from the Smithsonian collection.

26. Same as July 19.

Radio Smithsonian is also heard on WAMU-FM and WETA.

MUSEUM TOURS

NATIONAL COLLECTION OF FINE ARTS

Weekday tours 11 a.m. and 1 p.m. For advance reservations and full information, call 381-4188 or 381-6100; messages 381-5180.

NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY

Adult tours, Thursday and Friday, 11 a.m. and 12 noon.

Student tours, Monday-Wednesday, 10 and 11 a.m.

A Presidential Portrait tour is available by appointment.

To arrange for special tours call 381-5380 (adult) or 381-5680 (children).

MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND TECHNOLOGY

Highlight Tours of the Building—Meet at the Pendulum.

Weekday tours arranged through Office of Academic Programs call 381-5680, 381-5019.

Early American Furnishings—Monday through Friday.

First Ladies Gowns—Monday through Friday.

Ceramics—mornings by request.

FOREIGN STUDY TOURS

The Smithsonian has organized several special tours concerned with archaeology, architectural history, art museums, private collections, and natural history.

Classical Greece: July 6-27; a tour designed for first-time visitors to Greece. (Itinerary available, but waiting list only.)

Medieval Greece: July 6-27. Dr. Howland will accompany a group of 22; Byzantine churches, Salonica, Mt. Athos, and Patmos are included; 7 day cruise on private yacht "Blue Horizon." \$1,575, of which \$350 is tax-deductible. (Itinerary available.)

Decorative Arts & Textile Tour: England, centering in Oxford and Cotswolds; emphasis on needlework, weaving, etc., with lectures and visits to public and private collections, under the direction of Mrs. W. L. Markrich. Leaving September 10th, for two weeks, with a third week free for members' arrangements at will in Europe. (Itinerary available.)

Northern Italy: Palladian Tour of Venice, Vicenza and Verona. Leaving September 14th for two weeks, with a third week free for members' arrangements at will in Europe. \$1,300, of which \$350 is tax-deductible. (Itinerary available.)

For reservations and details contact Miss Kennedy, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560, or call 202-381-5520.

DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND TECHNOLOGY

A printing demonstration of the 19th-Century Columbian Printing Press:

Where: Graphic Arts Hall 3rd floor.

When: Thursday from 2:00 to 4:00.

Spinning:

Where: Special Exhibits 1st floor.

When: Tuesday and Friday 10:00 to 12:00.

Power Machinery—steam engines and pumping engines:

Where: Power Machinery Hall 1st floor.

When: Wednesday, Thursday and Friday 2:00 to 3:30.

Saturday and Sunday 10:30 to 12:00 and 1:00 to 3:30.

SUMMER ADVENTURES

(Sponsored by the Smithsonian Associates)

Archeology dig (July 19-25). Six days of working on an archeological dig in New Hampshire. Digging and lab work under supervision of Franklin Pierce College staff. For information call 381-6158.

Mineral and Gem Collecting (August 27-30). Three days of collecting in quarries of northwestern Maine, under supervision of Dr. Thomas Feininger, Smithsonian mineralogist. For information call 381-5159.

(NOTE.—Added starters: As the Journal went to press, two informal concerts were scheduled. The dates for these performances, using instruments from Smithsonian collection, are July 8 and 22 at 1:30 p.m. in the Hall of Musical Instruments, Museum of History and Technology.)

PERMANENT EXHIBIT: ICE AGE HALL FEATURES GIANT CREATURES

(By Tom Harney)

The extinction of wildlife in our century can almost always be blamed upon the activities of one agent—man. But 10,000 to 15,000 years ago there was a wave of extinctions that remains mysterious to this day. The Great Ice Age mammals, the Megatheres, Woolly Mammoths and Mastodons vanished from the Earth.

What happened to these giant vertebrate creatures is still a matter of speculation and controversy, although there is a respectable body of scientific opinion that the villain may have been the same creature who more recently has threatened the existence of the Bald Eagle, the Atlantic Salmon, and the American Alligator.

Who else but man, who in the one million year period of the Ice Age established himself as the world's preeminent mammal.

Whether in fact he was the villain may never be known because as Smithsonian Institution paleontologist Dr. Clayton E. Ray says, "It's very difficult to solve the problem of Ice Age extinction. Scientists find it very difficult to even figure out what to study for the answers."

The fascination of these mega-mammals and their disappearance is dramatized freshly by the recent opening of portions of a new exhibit hall at the National Museum of Natural History. The area contains awesome Ice Age skeletons, reconstructed under the supervision of Dr. Ray and Lucius Lomax of NMNH's Office of Exhibits.

Dominating the center of the Hall are skeletons of two huge prehistoric ground sloths (Megatheres), one of them rearing up 15 feet high, supported by a large tail and two colossal hind feet that measure 36 inches from heel to claw, possibly the largest of any land animal.

The remains of these grotesquely unwieldy and sluggish beasts were discovered by a 1950 Smithsonian Institution expedition at El Hatillo, Panama, led by NMNH paleontologist Dr. C. Lewis Gazin.

He shipped hundreds of fossil fragments to the National Museum of Natural History. Specialists in the Museum's Preparation Laboratory spent thousands of man hours accurately reassembling the skeletons.

The Quaternary Age that the Hall describes was characterized by radical changes in the physical environment—the advance and retreat of four great ice sheets, fluctuations

between cold and warm, wet and dry climates and low and high sea levels.

No less spectacular were its biological events—which saw the amazing proliferation of large mammals like the Megatherium and his two peers in body size, the Mastodon and the Woolly Mammoth.

Ten-foot high skeletons of the Mastodon and the Woolly Mammoth stand in the Hall nearby the Megatherium.

We know that prehistoric man hunted these giant animals because spear points and other artifacts have been discovered associated with their remains. Drawings by paleolithic men on the walls of caves depict mammoths complete with sweeping curved tusks, great bulbous heads, sloping backs and fur trailing to their ankles.

"Some believe that man was directly responsible for the Ice Age extinctions through hunting or indirectly responsible because of the changes he produced in the habitats and communities of the mega-mammals," Dr. Ray says.

Jay Matternes, the noted science illustrator, has prepared a mural for the hall that recreates the variety of mammals, including peccaries, antelopes, ground sloths and saber-toothed cats that lived three million years ago along the Snake River at Hagerman, Idaho. Matternes is currently doing research on a second mural for the hall that will depict Quaternary Age Alaskan wildlife.

In another section of the hall Lomax has used innovative design techniques to illustrate Ice Age deaths at the La Brea tar pits (an area located in what is now a park in the center of Los Angeles). Thousands of animals became mired in the pits and their struggles often lured carnivores like wolves and sabertoothed cats into the same trap.

One of the Hall's exhibits is devoted to man, the "Super-survivor" of the Quaternary Age, who some pessimists fear may be headed for the same fate as the Mastodons, Mammoths and Megatheres.

"It should be remembered that man evolved along with other Ice Age plants and animals. Some live today, others are extinct. Why? There are important lessons to be learned in this hall at a time when we are so concerned about our environment," Dr. Ray says.

CONTINUING EXHIBITIONS: HOMER SHOW FOCUSES ON HIS EARLY WORKS

(By Benjamin Ruhe)

A warm, winning exhibition of art by Winslow Homer, the great 19th century American painter, is featured at the National Collection of Fine Arts.

Most of the 51 oils, watercolors, drawings and graphics are from Homer's popular early period, and all but 10 of the works are on loan from a sister Smithsonian art museum, the Cooper Hewitt Museum of Decorative Arts and Design, in New York City. The showing, on the second floor of the NCFCA, will be kept on display indefinitely.

Dr. Joshua Taylor, Director of the NCFCA, says of the collection: "It is an extraordinary group of small Homers, giving an intimate view of Homer's work and suggesting how he saw things. Many of the paintings show the artist's delight in just 'seeing'. And Homer always saw with a fresh eye."

The majority of the works date to the 1860s and 1870s, when Homer sketched camp and campaign life of the Union troops for *Harper's Weekly*, went to Paris, and on his return to America settled in New York, spending summers hunting, fishing, and painting in the Adirondacks and the White Mountains. His work is in a mode characterized thus by Henry James: "Mr. Homer goes in, as the phrase is, for perfect realism. . . . He is a genuine painter; . . . he naturally sees everything at one with its envelope of

light and air. He sees not in lines, but in masses, in gross, broad masses. Things come already modelled to his eye. . . ."

OTHER CONTINUING EXHIBITIONS

Arts and Industries Building

1. Arts Protis—closing indefinite.
2. Air Force Art—through July 12.
3. Gutenberg: Printing Transforms the World—through July 27.
4. Moon Rock—indefinite.
5. Polish Folk Art—through September 21.

Museum of History and Technology

1. Voyage of the U.S.S. Manhattan—through August 31.
2. Photographs by Elliot Erwitt—through July 12.
3. Women and Politics—closing indefinite.
4. Laser 10—through Labor Day.
5. Weather—through July.
6. The Demand for Water—through September 15.
7. Westward to Promontory—through July 14.
8. Spanish in North America—permanent.

Museum of Natural History

1. South African Costumes—closing indefinite.
2. Vanishing Totems of Alaska—closing indefinite.
3. Malay Archipelago—July.
4. Coral-eating Starfish—indefinite.

Freer Gallery of Art

1. Whistler's Landscapes and Seascapes—closing indefinite.

National Portrait Gallery

1. Language of African Sculpture—through September 7.
2. Portrait of Robert F. Kennedy—through July 19.

National Collection of Fine Arts

1. Leonard Baskin—through July 26.

SUMMER HOURS

Smithsonian Museums are open to the public 7 days a week. Hours: 10 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily. Museum of History and Technology: 10 a.m. to 9 pm daily through August. Dial-A-Museum—737-8811 for daily announcements on new exhibits and special events.

Dial-A-Phenomenon—737-8855 for daily announcements of satellite passages and worldwide occurrences of short-lived natural phenomena.

The Smithsonian Monthly Calendar of Events is prepared by the Office of Public Affairs, 381-5911. Deadline for August Calendar: July 8.

Mailing list requests and change of address should be sent to the Smithsonian Calendar, 425 Smithsonian Institution Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20560.

HOURS AT NATIONAL ZOO

Gates open 6 a.m., close 6:00 p.m.

Buildings open 9 a.m., close 6:30 p.m.

SPECIAL REPORT: NAKED CAME THE PRESIDENT—CONGRESS WAS AGHAST

(By Mary Krug)

George Washington, Richard Henry Lee eulogized, was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." A statue of the Founding Father, however—ironically bearing that famous quotation—has not found such popularity.

The Horatio Greenough statue, commissioned by Congress in 1832, has been maligned by the public, damaged by the elements, and moved to four different locations. In the process it has lost three pedestals, including the one with the quotation, before coming to rest in the National Museum of History and Technology.

Despite—or because of—its difficult life, the heroic Greenough figure is an important

American work, historically and artistically. Congress invited Greenough, the first U.S. citizen to make sculpture his full-time occupation, to produce the statue for a tomb of George Washington in the Capitol rotunda. Because Washington's heirs would not allow his remains to be removed from Mt. Vernon, however, the crypt was never built, portending the other mischances the sculpture would later encounter.

Greenough was instructed "to execute, in marble, a full length pedestrian statue of Washington, to be placed in the centre of the rotunda of the capitol; the head to be a copy of Houdon's Washington, and the accessories to be left to the judgment of the artist."

Secretary of State Edward Livingston added to the instructions the admonition that "Never did a leader better deserve the epithet of Good; never was it more important to embody the expression of his virtues, and, by the touch of genius, to restore life and animation to features which, in a very short time, no one living will behold."

Their high hopes were dashed nine years later when the Navy delivered from Florence, Italy, an 11½ foot, 20-ton George Washington, half nude and seated on a chair embellished with a similarly attired Christopher Columbus, an American Indian, and figures from Greek mythology. The head, as ordered, was modeled after Houdon. The bare body was possibly that of an Italian; Greenough's expense account lists \$166.95 for "Salaries of the life models who stood for the naked."

The general public was outraged at the sight of Washington's muscular chest. One Congressman called it "the most horrid phantasmagoria I have ever seen." Greenough wasn't happy either, when he got back to the U.S. and saw his work in place. Light struck it at the wrong angle, he said, and distorted its features. Nor was it standing at the right height. He had recommended an elevation at which, "at the distance of 30 feet from the pedestal in front, the fold of skin above the navel may be visible, and not hidden by the knees."

Thus, in 1843, the statue made its first move, to the Capitol grounds, and acquired a new pedestal, granite with the Lee quotation. Now instead of problems of public opinion and lighting, there was deterioration from the weather to be faced. A Congressman noted, "It is not designed for an outdoor work, and in its present location the semi-nude figure of Washington excites pity rather than admiration."

By 1908 Congress wanted to get the statue in out of the rain, and offered it to the Smithsonian's National Museum, "not as an object of art, as an object of historic value."

Debating the proposal, a Representative remarked that "I will say that an old artist who is skilled in interpreting the meaning of works of art was asked what Washington was doing, what he meant by extending his hand, and the artist replied that he was reaching for his clothes, which were down in the Smithsonian Institution. So it would seem proper that the statue itself should go there."

So disintegrated that the marble was "little better than chalk," Greenough's work, sans pedestal, was moved down the Mall to the old Smithsonian building. There it sat while movers and officials debated how to get it inside and worried about the onset of winter and "mischievous boys in this section, to whom the statue is an object of great interest."

George Washington finally entered the Smithsonian through a hole in the wall and rested in peace on a new base for 55 years. Then he was moved—without incident and without pedestal—to the new Museum of History and Technology, where he exemplifies the classical revival in the United States after the American Revolution.

The original lower base of the statue wound up in the Capitol architect's reservation area. The upper base, with inscription, became the cornerstone of the Capitol Power Plant building.

The first President's half-draped figure still shocks tourists unfazed by the topless-a-go-go movement. Greenough himself observed that "... the same purblind squeamishness which gazed without alarm at the lascivious Fandango, awoke with a roar at the colossal nakedness of Washington's manly breast."

The artistic value of Greenough's statue might still be debated, but it was defended by no less a thinker than Ralph Waldo Emerson. And Harper's New Monthly Magazine stated unequivocally in 1853, "This is a magnificent work of art, and not unworthy of any age. It is purely classical in design, and hence it finds little favor with strict admirers of modern art."

MORE JET NOISE AND AIR POLLUTION AT LOS ANGELES INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to report another incident of injustice and lack of sensitivity that has occurred in our land. While I am not speaking of the trampling of minority group rights because of their race, religion or creed, I am speaking out against the harm being done to the people living near Los Angeles International Airport. These individuals constitute a minority group within the Greater Los Angeles community and accordingly are being treated as second-class citizens whose interests are subverted due to corporate pressures and an unresponsive bureaucracy.

At a time when our country is beset by inflation and rising unemployment, when interest rates have never been higher and when taxes are soaring, at a time of war in Southeast Asia and another war threatening in the Middle East, when we have a widening gap between generations and between workers and students, at a time of race polarization, of lunatic left and right fringe groups, of talk of assassination and burning of cities, at such a time the problems of jet-caused noise and air pollution must necessarily be assigned a place on the second rung of priorities by those responsible for reaching solutions to the myriad of problems besetting our Nation. But taking a second rung does not mean being ignored. Taking a position of secondary importance should not be taken to reflect an unconcern or a denigration of the harmful effects that are occurring. And doing less than is possible to alleviate the situation should not be tolerated.

Air and noise pollution are killers. They are not the bringers of quick death that America has gotten used to through actual wars and through television violence but they are killers nonetheless. And the people existing adjacent to air-

ports such as Los Angeles International, Kennedy, Logan, O'Hare, and others, are daily being exposed to an increasingly menacing danger brought about by the fact that available technology is not to be utilized to save lives because the cost is high and the powers that be and the special interest groups behind them refuse to pay it. With this type of thinking prevailing, it is no wonder that the United States faces so very many grave problems. The placing of the dollar before life, which many of the youth of today sincerely rebel against, is manifested in so many different ways in our country that one wonders if the changes urgently needed to improve this land can be brought about in time to save it.

Getting back to specifics and on a more mundane level, I applaud the recent resolution passed by the Los Angeles City Council under the sponsorship of Councilwoman Pat Russell. This resolution calls for restricted use of the new north runway opened June 29 which is now causing increased noise and air pollution. As reported in the Los Angeles Times, housewives are talking of revolution with conversations spiked with words such as "bomb," "dynamite," and "blowup." The residents of this area are doubly afflicted by the problems caused by the aircraft arriving and departing Los Angeles International. Besides the pollution problems, residents cannot move out even if they desired to since banks and loan companies will not finance new buyers and property values in the area have suffered due to the airport's annually increasing encroachments.

The north runway supposedly had to be put into operation so that the terminal's three other runways could be rebuilt to handle the heavier aircraft now being introduced. These heavier aircraft, specifically the 747's, have, by the way, been granted immunity from the Federal Aviation Administration's new noise regulations. Taking this as one example of the bureaucracy's insensitivity to the needs of the people, I can hardly wait to experience the din to be created by the unfortunately federally subsidized SST.

While the noise problem created by jets may still be fairly limited to airport neighborhoods, the air pollution problem is spreading literally across the country. The problems now faced by the citizens near Los Angeles International Airport will be faced by citizens throughout the Nation in the near future. I am, therefore, urging my colleagues to take steps now to evidence their concern with this problem, to apply pressure on the FAA to get tough with polluters, to inform airport commissioners that they must be more responsive to the needs of their communities rather than merely to airline companies and manufacturers and to support legislation to remedy a situation that has grown intolerable to some and will continue to grow, reaching more and more Americans everyday. Let us act now for time is running out.

For my colleagues' additional information, I now include in the RECORD, the text of the city council's resolution and a pertinent article that appeared in the Los Angeles Times. The material follows:

CITY OF LOS ANGELES RESOLUTION

Whereas, the new north runway (24R) at Los Angeles International Airport opened on Monday, June 29th; and,

Whereas, the use of 24R is causing critical noise problems for the residents to the north of LAX jeopardizing their health and welfare;

Now therefore be it resolved, that the City Council of the City of Los Angeles request the Board of Airport Commissioners to restrict the use of 24R to 747's and aircraft under 12,000 pounds for a period of at least four months.

Presented by:

PAT RUSSELL,
Councilman, Sixth District.

Seconded by:

THOMAS BRADLEY,
Councilman, Tenth District.

HOUSEWIVES TALK OF "REVOLUTION" AS RUNWAY OPENS

(By Richard West)

Housewives gathered in little groups in front of their middle-class homes in the residential area alongside International Airport's new north runway Monday and talked of "revolution."

At times the angry voices of the women drowned out the roar of jet airliners taking off from the runway, which went into operation for the first time Monday morning.

"He ought to be tarred and feathered," Mrs. Michael Fontecchio of 7401 W. 93rd Place, a blonde mother of six, said of one official in the airport's noise abatement office. "No," she added, "that's too good for him—he ought to be hanged by his toes."

Mrs. Fontecchio heads North Runway Residents, an organization of homeowners which fought unsuccessfully to keep the airport's second north runway from going into operation.

"GETTING CLOSE TO REVOLUTION"

"It's getting close to revolution," she said. "You should hear some of the telephone calls I get from neighbors about this situation. Words such as 'bomb,' 'blowup' and 'dynamite' are common.

"Naturally, I wouldn't sanction such talk or actions."

Another housewife referred to a certain city councilman as "a very nasty man" because of the cavalier manner in which he assertedly heard their complaints.

"My elderly mother is trying to give a piano lesson to a child across the street," said still another woman. "This will probably put her out of business."

Mrs. Clemens Kroll, who has lived at 7265 W. 94th St. for the last 18 years, contended that it was untrue that the airport was there first.

When she first moved to the neighborhood, she said, the airport was east of Sepulveda Blvd. Later the airport jumped Sepulveda and moved north, she added.

"The airport moved—we didn't," she said. Mrs. Fontecchio said there are 292 homes in the area immediately adjacent to the new runway, and a total of 1,300 homes in the general area.

Residents cannot move out, she said, because banks and loan companies will not finance new buyers—if any could be found.

The housewives said the new runway started off with heavy volume. Three big Boeing 747s and an assortment of Boeing 707s and 727s and smaller airliners took to the air during the morning hours.

An airport spokesman said the new 8,925-foot north runway had to be put into operation so that the terminal's three other runways—two south and one north—can be rebuilt to handle the heavier aircraft now being introduced.

The old runways will be rebuilt one at a time, he said, and the airport needs three runways in operation every day.

He said the north runways will not operate between 10 p.m. and 7 a.m.—except in unusual cases or in emergencies.

A preliminary injunction to restrict use of the north runways by jets was denied June 15 by Superior Judge Richard Schauer.

The judge warned, though, that such a prohibition could be ordered if large numbers of homeowners should seek court relief from the noise, vibrations and air pollution.

RUBELLA VACCINATION PROGRAM REDUCES DISEASE THREAT

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, as ranking Republican on the House Commerce Committee's Public Health and Welfare Subcommittee, I have been pleased to play a role in expediting the availability of rubella vaccine on the market and in forcing price reductions which have made the vaccine more readily available.

So I was delighted to note an article which appeared in the New York Times on June 17 reporting that areas of the Nation where the vaccine is being widely used show reductions in the incidence of this German measles disease, including my own State of Minnesota.

The article reports that in the State of Minnesota, where 86.3 percent of the population aged 1 through 12 has been vaccinated, had a drop in measles incidence of 46.1 percent during the 12-month period ending May 23, 1970. By comparison, Florida, where only 9.4 percent of the children aged 1 through 12 were vaccinated, had an increase of 82.8 percent in rubella cases.

Rubella has always been a tragic disease because when it infects expectant mothers, it often causes birth defects in their unborn children. It is good to know that our national rubella vaccination program is beginning to reduce the risks that this tragedy will occur.

I insert the full news account from the Times at this point in my remarks:

RUBELLA DECLINES IN STATES USING VACCINE WIDELY

German measles vaccine appears to be reducing the incidence of the disease in states where the vaccine is widely used, the National Foundation—March of Dimes said yesterday.

Dr. Virginia Apgar, the foundation's vice president for medical affairs, said nine out of 10 states with "high vaccine coverage" had reported reduced incidence. Eight of ten states with poor coverage, she said, reported increases in German measles, also called rubella or three-day measles.

"While the data are not yet conclusive," Dr. Apgar said, "they do offer encouragement that widespread use of the vaccine among children may eliminate the disease as a threat to unborn babies."

The Federal Government began a \$50-million campaign last summer with the aim of vaccinating 40 million to 60 million children between the ages of 1 and 12.

The program is directed at children to prevent the transmission of the German measles virus to women, since contraction of the disease during early pregnancy can cause birth defects.

Women are not being directly vaccinated because doctors fear infecting a woman who may be pregnant and not know it.

The National Foundation found a 37 per cent decline in rubella in the 10 states with the highest percentage of vaccination in children aged 1 to 12. The states with the lowest percentages reported a 54 per cent increase.

The survey was based on the number of cases for the year ending May 24, 1969 compared to the year ending May 23, 1970.

Examples of states with declines were: Minnesota, with 86.3 per cent of the population aged 1-12 vaccinated, had a drop in measles incidence of 46.1 per cent; Hawaii, 75.5 per cent covered, a drop of 71.3 per cent; and Alaska, 82.7 per cent covered a drop of 65.6.

Examples of states with increases were: Florida, 9.4 per cent vaccination coverage, 92.2 per cent increase in cases; Texas, 6.3 per cent coverage, 154.0 per cent increase; and Alabama, 5.4 per cent coverage, 140.6 per cent increase.

GRADUATION ADDRESS BY THOMAS B. SPRATT III

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, in the following class address delivered at Dentsville High School in Columbia, S.C., Thomas Benjamin Spratt III reflects upon the significance of the National Anthem to young people in our present troubled times. Tom was an outstanding athlete, scholar, and student government leader during his high school years, and his remarks concerning the challenge inherent in "The Star Spangled Banner" are perceptive and thought-provoking. Tom Spratt is himself a superb example of a young American deeply concerned over our country and its future, and I commend his address to the attention of the Members of Congress and the citizens of our Nation:

GRADUATION ADDRESS BY THOMAS B. SPRATT III

Mr. Havird, Mr. Gardner, Members of the Board of Trustees, School District No. 2, Faculty Members of Dentsville High School, Honored Guests, Fellow Students, Ladies and Gentlemen: This graduation exercise has a special significance. Tonight my fellow classmates and I will be the last students who will wear these red and white caps and gowns of Dentsville High School. As you know, Dentsville will be replaced next fall by Spring Valley High. We look at these changes with more than just mixed emotions. On the one hand, this is the price for progress. I speak for all of our class when I say that our best wishes for success go to this new institution, and especially to the Viking athletic teams.

But, it is not without a feeling of sorrow that we watch Dentsville High School, our Alma Mater, closing its doors, never to open again under that name.

If I may depart from the customary graduation day practice a few moments, I would like to address myself to a matter which strikes me as being especially significant today. Each of us has sung the National Anthem on many occasions . . . probably most often at the beginning of a sports event. Its words . . . in this context . . . are often wasted on us, because we are anxious to get

on with the game. But I wonder how many of us realize that the National Anthem is not so much a statement as it is a question. The final passage, for example, is in itself a question, asking "Oh, say does that Star Spangled Banner yet wave, o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?" I do not think it is an accident that the anthem ends in a question. Its writer intended this question to be answered and re-answered by each succeeding generation of Americans.

It is a challenge to all generations that we cannot take our heritage for granted; that all of us, young and old alike, must be constantly vigilant to the principles which make our nation great.

Tonight, as we separate ourselves from the familiar surroundings of high school, we feel a special concern about the future. All of us have had warnings from parents and those in the other generations saying "In my day, this wouldn't have happened," "When I was in high school, we didn't do things that way." But our generation is stepping forward into a new and highly significant role in the development of our society, the responsibility, if you will, for the maintenance of the things that make our country great. There is a difference between "their day" and "our day," and I say this with the deepest affection for the parents and the others who have contributed so much to bringing us where we are now, graduation night, after twelve long years of work and study.

Our generation is faced with many unique problems; problems, unheard of in past generations, problems which relate only to this day and age. There are those who will say that we represent the newest recruits for the Battle of the Generations, and that we will be called upon to continue the confrontations, demonstrations and provocations which have split our nation apart. There are also others who will undoubtedly look to us to sustain the outdated institutions and traditions which have given rise to so much unrest in our nation today.

Neither group is correct.

Simply because we are young does not commit us to fighting our elders. Simply because we are young loyal Americans does not blind us to the problems which our nation faces.

To those who would enlist us on the side of the political battles which are splitting our nation, I would suggest that we are a new generation, a generation which will seek to unite, and not split, our nation further. Whatever our individual futures may bring . . . college . . . military service . . . employment, our generation will be called upon to mature more rapidly than any generation that has preceded us. If we are to respond to these pressures, we must go away from here tonight with at least an awareness of our role. In 1936, President Roosevelt said, "This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny." Twenty-five years later, President Kennedy said, "the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans, born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed."

If we look at the world today in this kind of perspective, we see that the words of both these great men have special meaning for us; for ours is the generation which now falls heir to their hopes and promises.

We have witnessed in recent years the fruitlessness of violence, and the utter failure of a whole generation to either express itself or to achieve its purposes. Its only accomplishments have been bitter distrust and fear throughout the nation, and the kind

of public alarm which retards, instead of encouraging, progress.

Let our generation be determined to reject the appeals of those who now claim to speak for the younger generation. They speak only for themselves. We have become the young men and women who must once again ask, "Oh say does that Star Spangled Banner yet wave, o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?" And we must answer our own question.

Let this challenge be the purpose for which our generation now commits its full energies and capabilities in the crucial times which lie ahead.

YOUR OPINION, PLEASE: 1970

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the country has plenty of persons eager to tell the citizens of the American Republic what to think, but it is relatively rare when anyone goes directly to these same citizens and asks them straight out what they think. It is especially important, however, for a public official to follow the latter.

This is a course I have taken for some years, and once again I am asking for "Your Opinion, Please." A public opinion poll serves as an extremely useful supplement to the normal contacts by letters, wires, phone calls, and personal meetings. For the constituent, it generates new and revived interest in the major issues of the day; for the Congressman, it gives him new angles, approaches, and perspective to these same issues.

It is hard, I will admit, to answer some questions with just "yes" or "no" but these are the only answers open to Members when a vote comes up in the Congress.

Issues change, but interest remains the same. The questions, and their possible answers, have all been mentioned, at various times by various sources. The replies will be tabulated, the results inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and a copy of the results sent to all those who were polled.

The questions follow:

QUESTIONNAIRE

- | | Yes | No | Opinion |
|--|-----|-----|---------|
| 1. Do you think President Nixon has charted a good course to end the Vietnam War? | () | () | () |
| 2. Should the voting age be lowered to 18? | () | () | () |
| 3. Do you favor continuation of draft deferments for college students? | () | () | () |
| 4. The Administration estimates five years and \$110 billion needed to deal with pollution. How should this be financed: | | | |
| a. Tax credits to private industry? | () | () | () |
| b. Special tax on business and individuals? | () | () | () |
| c. Cut other Federal programs where possible? | () | () | () |
| d. Some equitable combination of all the above? | () | () | () |

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No
Yes No Opin-
ion

- Do you favor the expulsion of students in tax-supported schools who, by intimidation or violence, upset normal academic routine, disrupt university life and cause destruction of property? () () ()
- In the fight against crime, would you favor:
 - Making bail bond more difficult for repeated offenders? () () ()
 - The "no knock" principle in serving search warrants? () () ()
 - Legislation insuring speedier trials? () () ()
- What should we do in the future if a nation friendly to us is threatened?
 - Whatever aid is needed including troops. () () ()
 - Arms and equipment only, except if U.S. is attacked. () () ()
 - Arms and equipment only. () () ()
 - Stay completely neutral. () () ()
- This is admittedly a troubled and unsettled time for the world and for our country. Nevertheless, does your basic belief in the American Republic, its institutions and our way of life remain firm and steadfast? () () ()

ACTION ON THE MILLS BILL

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, as James Kilpatrick reports in his recent column, it is indeed high time in the protection of certain industries in this country that Congress take action to limit the floods of cheap foreign imports. In this regard, it is vitally important that all should clearly understand that the Mills bill, and its prototype orderly marketing legislation, does not shut off imports in the future; nor does it materially, or even significantly, reduce them.

Rather, it provides that they shall not exceed the amount prevailing during a designated base period. Foreign producers of shoes and textiles will enjoy the same access to the American market they had during the base period, 1967-68, but will be prevented from increasing their dangerously and disproportionately high share of our market, now up to 32 percent. This is urgently needed legislation, and in this connection an exchange of letters between Mr. John E. Mellor, Chief, International Business Affairs Division, Department of State and Mr. Mark Richardson, president and executive officer, American Footwear Manufacturers Association is most telling.

The article and letters referred to follow:

HIGH TIME TO PLACE CURBS ON IMPORTS FROM JAPAN

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

With the collapse last week of textile trade agreement talks with Japan, Congress

has but one course left open to it. This is to smack the Japanese with what is known in the trade as the Mills bill. And high time!

Granted, this is not a pleasant prospect for members of Congress who are dedicated to reducing trade barriers, not to raising them. Approval of the Mills bill would be a step backward from the lofty goal of free commerce envisioned under the international General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs. If protective quotas are granted to the textile-apparel industry, other industries hurt by foreign competition will be crying, "me, too."

There is this further objection, that by imposing even the mild and reasonable restraints proposed in the Mills bill, the United States would subject its diplomatic relations with Japan to additional strain. The leaders of last week's massive anti-government riots in Tokyo, protesting extension of the two nations' security treaty presumably would pick up wider popular support.

Yet the case for a quota system, intended to protect the domestic textile-apparel industry, is supported by compelling evidence. And the record of patient efforts to reach a voluntary agreement suggests that the Japanese propose to stall indefinitely.

Time has run out. The U.S. industry is in deep trouble. Its profits are down. Employment has declined by 65,000 workers in the past 15 months. New capital investment has dropped sharply over the past year. The number of closed plants is increasing. The gloomy picture is almost entirely the result of one cause: The dramatic increase in textile imports.

Dramatic is the word for it. The picture began to change as far back as 1957, when textile imports for the first time exceeded our exports. Now the imbalance amounts to \$1.4 billion annually; and more than a third of this imbalance winds up in the hands of Japanese. In the past five years, the volume of textile imports has tripled. If the increase is merely alarming in cotton and wool, it is staggering in the field of man-made fibers.

Several elements account for the situation. Primarily, the imbalance results from wage differentials. The typical American textile worker earns \$2.43 an hour; his counterpart in Japan gets 63 cents. In Korea and Taiwan, the figure is 11 cents. The suit that is mail-ordered from Hong Kong is sewn together by tailors paid 25 cents an hour.

Another significant factor lies in trade policies here, and trade policies there. The Japanese, while they adamantly oppose quotas anywhere else, impose relentless import restrictions of their own. Within the European Economic Community, the same picture obtains. No nation in the world has a freer policy on imports than the U.S. As a consequence, one-third of Japanese production goes to American buyers.

Finally, Japanese manufacturers operate without the restraints of anti-trust law. Nothing prevents them from entering into price and market agreements that would be patently illegal here. It is a great convenience not to have a Justice Department breathing down one's neck.

The Mills bill, sponsored by Rep. Wilbur Mills, D-Ark., and 200 other members of the House, would put a ceiling on imports of textiles, apparel and footwear geared to the levels of 1967-68. These limits would be adjusted annually to reflect increases or decreases in domestic consumption. A more reasonable or more generous policy scarcely could be proposed.

Opponents of the Mills bill contend that the effect of even these mild limitations would be to raise the price of goods to the American consumer. It could happen, but the remarkable record of price stability within our domestic industry suggests otherwise. In any event, the consequences of continued in-

action are as visible as a mini-skirt but much less attractive. Free trade is like peace: it is wonderful. But peace at any price is no bargain, and neither is free trade that imposes a ruinous cost on industry here at home.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., June 12, 1970.

Mr. MARK RICHARDSON,
President and Executive Officer, American
Footwear Manufacturers Association, New
York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Samuels has asked me to respond to your questions, submitted at the Commerce Department's May 13 Conference on U.S. International Business Problems and Prospects and relayed to us a few days ago by the Commerce Department. The questions were: (1) "The Hudson Institute and other organizations have predicted that by the turn of the century, Japan will be the world's No. 1 industrial nation. What policies, sir, have they been following in order to achieve this marvelous growth?" (2) "You state: 'Our exports to Japan are up 160 percent.' Would you please also indicate what the growth of Japanese exports to the U.S. has been?"

Japan's phenomenal economic growth is not, as popularly believed in the United States and Japan, based primarily upon exports. Instead, it is the result of massive plant and equipment investments financed by a high rate of domestic savings which serve a rapidly growing domestic economy, in which the growth of *per capita* purchasing power has been accelerated by a low rate of population growth. (The enclosed article from the *Scientific American* may be of interest to you in this regard.)

Japanese national priorities have meant, however, that growth rates in different parts of the economy have been uneven. It now appears, for example, that Japan is beginning to consider placing greater attention on such items as housing, environmental control, and other social investments which were largely ignored during the country's dedication to economic growth.

During the period 1960-1969, U.S. exports to Japan increased from \$1.3 billion to \$3.5 billion. Japanese exports to the U.S. increased during the same period from \$1.1 billion to \$4.9 billion. Each country began and ended the decade as the largest overseas market of the other.

We are pleased to have this opportunity to respond to your interest.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN E. MELLOR,
Chief, International Business Affairs
Division.

AMERICAN FOOTWEAR MANUFACTURERS ASSOCIATION,
New York, N.Y., June 22, 1970.

Mr. JOHN E. MELLOR,
Chief, International Business Affairs Division,
Department of State, Washington,
D.C.

DEAR MR. MELLOR: I have your letter of June 12 purporting to be responsive to my questions submitted at the Commerce Department's May 13 conference on U.S. international business problems. I have read your "reply" with a certain amount of wry amusement.

You state that "Japan's phenomenal economic growth is not, as popularly believed in the United States and Japan, based primarily upon exports." This may or may not be true, depending in major part upon what definition one cares to assign to the word "primarily." However, it was the contention of Mr. Samuels, to whom I addressed my question, that we should continue our present "free trade" policies because of the dependency of the Japanese government upon exports.

In addition, your enclosed article—which I had read—from the *Scientific American*

indicates quite clearly that Japan's annual growth rate is running at 13 or 14 percent—and that exports represent 10 to 12 percent of their total national output.

This is two to three times the percentage of our G.N.P. involved in exports; and hence my question again arises: How does it happen that the world's most protectionist nation has substantially greater exports percentage-wise than the United States if the premise of the State Department that "protectionism" limits the opportunity for exports is accurate? Nothing in your response clarifies for me why protectionism, which has served Japan very well in enhancing its domestic and external growth rates, is "per se" bad for a country attempting to increase exports.

Your answer to my second question is even more interesting, and I am left with the impression that you must not be familiar with Mr. Samuel's speech. He had asserted that we should not place any limitations on imports into the United States from Japan because "our exports to Japan are up 160 percent" (really closer to 170 percent). From your own figures, it becomes quite clear that whereas our exports to Japan are up by about 170 percent, Japan's exports to the United States are up 345 percent—hence, affecting most adversely our balance-of-payments problem vis-a-vis the Japanese. This would appear to be diametrically opposed to Mr. Samuels' premise that we should not limit imports from Japan because of its effect on our trade.

In effect, both of your answers when analyzed establish beyond a doubt that the policies followed by Japan (strong protectionist attitudes) have been highly successful and in that nation's best interest. Since this was exactly what I was attempting to point out by my questions, I am still at a loss to understand on what basis the U.S. Department of State advocates an opposite position as being in the best interests of the United States.

In particular, I am deeply concerned that any spokesman for the Government would seek to advocate a position by supporting it with carefully selected data which tends to deceive the layman into feeling that the position being advocated is the only possible course of action. Any deliberate hiding of relevant information (e.g., that the Japanese are heading toward becoming the world's No. 1 industrial nation while pursuing very highly protectionist policies, and that we are losing our position as No. 1 because our "free trade" approach is causing our balance of payments to be adversely affected due to increased imports from Japan and other nations—far exceeding our exports to those other nations) is unworthy of responsible government officials.

Sincerely yours,

MARK E. RICHARDSON.

I believe it is significant to note that programs were established for the oil industry when foreign imports exceeded 12 percent of the domestic market; that the steel industry was protected when market penetration reached 20 percent; and that similar quotas have been invoked to prevent excessive importing of certain agricultural products.

BALTIMORE GI KILLED IN VIETNAM
FIGHTING

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Sp4c. Joseph Turowski, a courageous

young man from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I should like to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

BALTIMORE GI KILLED IN VIETNAM FIGHTING

A Baltimore infantryman who never told his family of the tough fighting he was doing in Vietnam has been killed in the Southeast Asian war, the Defense Department announced yesterday.

Spec. 4 Joseph M. Turowski, Jr., 21, of Brooklyn, was killed June 22 by a booby trap while on patrol in Vietnam, his family said.

WROTE OF QUIET

Mrs. Joseph M. Turowski, Sr., recalled that her son always wrote that "it's quiet here and nothing is happening."

"But he wrote to a friend and said he was so tired that he felt like 40 and could hardly keep his eyes open," she said.

A 1967 graduate of Poly, her son worked for two years as a cable repairman at the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company before being drafted in March, 1969.

He was sent to Vietnam last August as a member of the 4th Battalion, 21st Infantry Division, 11th Brigade and by the time he was killed had only about two months to go before being sent home, according to Mrs. Turowski.

The soldier was engaged to Miss Brenda Carter, of Linthicum, his mother said.

Besides his parents, he is survived by three brothers, Richard, James and Patrick, all of Baltimore.

DOCTOR SHORTAGE

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, over 14 years ago this Nation was stunned and shaken into a reappraisal of its educational system by a single event—the orbiting of a small satellite named Sputnik.

That feat by the Soviet Union opened a deep questioning of national educational priorities and opened the race for the conquest of outer space.

At the time, there was a great clamor for more and better qualified engineers and scientists, for a redoubling of efforts by universities to educate a new generation of technicians.

We as a nation met that crisis. We did it through a mobilization of the public temper that was unprecedented in a peaceful venture. We declared, in essence, a peaceful war, a war of technology.

Although most Americans knew of Sputnik and demanded new priorities, few, if any, were touched personally by the event.

Today, we are faced with a crisis of the same nature and a crisis that calls for the same kind of national reappraisal, but one where there is no shocking impetus—no figurative Sputnik.

We are faced with a medical manpower shortage that touches each of us. To fill that shortage tomorrow, the Nation's medical colleges would have to graduate 50,000 new physicians and another 5,000 in a year's time. Unfortunately, that is not about to happen overnight.

The public must be made sharply aware of the crisis and must demand a

national commitment to provide doctors and other skilled medical personnel to meet the growing needs of the sick.

I want to commend the efforts of the Washington Star in spotlighting this issue in a lead editorial appearing in the Sunday, July 5 edition, and commend that editorial comment to the attention of my colleagues. It follows:

DOCTOR SHORTAGE AT BASE OF HEALTH WOES

This country's health-care system is wretchedly inadequate and seems headed for a crisis that could provoke an angry public reaction. The President, Congress and the American Medical Association are well aware of that, and are constantly being reminded of it by a bevy of groups that propose national health insurance, more public clinics for the poor and other remedies. As the Southeast Asia war winds down, the debate over national health proposals could become the political sizzler of the 1970s.

At this point, however, there is incredible apathy about the key deficiency: There simply aren't enough doctors and nurses, nor will there be in the foreseeable future.

A year ago, President Nixon sounded an uncommonly loud alarm: "We face a massive crisis in this area (health care), and unless action is taken both administratively and legislatively to meet the crisis within the next two or three years, we will have a breakdown in our medical care system which could have consequences affecting millions of people . . ." One year of the President's "two or three" has passed and there is less momentum toward solutions than when he made the speech.

For there can be no serious grappling with the paltry supply and spiraling costs of medical services until the critical shortage of medical personnel is alleviated. The outlook for that is gloomier than ever. Many medical schools are in desperate financial straits, largely because of declining federal grants, and curtailments of already insufficient programs are being planned for next year.

The physician shortage is estimated at more than 50,000 and is worsening by about 5,000 a year. By some estimates, about a fourth of the nursing posts in the country are unfilled. Our medical schools annually turn down thousands of qualified applicants for lack of space, and about 3,000 Americans are attending foreign medical colleges. Conversely, the United States is raiding the schools of other countries, importing every year almost as many foreign doctors as American medical schools graduate. Without the yearly influx of some 7,000 physicians from abroad, many of our metropolitan hospitals would be out of business.

Just last week Congress demonstrated, by overriding a presidential veto, that it is concerned about the nation's health, or at least that it is acutely aware of a political backlash in the making. With only the briefest of debate, it shoved through a \$2.8 billion health aid bill that Mr. Nixon said was fiscally irresponsible and that Senator Yarborough of Texas hailed as "the greatest, most comprehensive hospital construction program ever passed by Congress."

But the senator didn't say who will staff all those new and expanded hospitals. There may be some lonely corridors if more federal money isn't made available for enlargement of medical training, accompanied by some long-needed changes in curricula.

Retrenchment is the immediate prospect for some medical schools, and there are hints that a few might close if more federal aid doesn't arrive soon. More than a dozen institutions are severely wracked, including the redoubtable Johns Hopkins, which projects a med-school deficit of \$900,000 and has lost more than \$1.5 million in federal financing. The medical and dental schools of George Washington and Georgetown Universities

may have to close if they can't obtain special funding from Congress. More than half of the nation's medical schools have been receiving federal distress grants, and many are planning program scaledowns as those funds ebb in the administration's anti-inflation drive. Education costs are still inflating, but there is a slackening of the dollar flow for medical college operating costs, construction, research and student loans.

That is a dismal commentary on priority-setting. Of course colleges of all kinds across the nation are financially strapped, but—let's face it—medical education is in a privileged category. That is implicit in the extraordinary chunk of the cost of doctor training that always has been borne by the taxpayers. The public rates good health care ahead of legal defense or musical excellence—probably ahead of anything except national defense. But it is not training the people needed to man the massive health enterprise—not enough to meet current requirements, much less the strains that will accompany population growth in the rest of this decade.

This is traditionally an "industry-regulated" field, and the American Medical Association has long drawn fire for allegedly preventing the expansion of medical schools through admissions controls and political influence. For many years the AMA opposed direct federal subsidy of medical education. But this year, perceiving a Frankenstein monster on the horizon, the organization reversed gears dramatically, approving the abolition of the one-year internship training which most doctors must serve before being licensed. That will increase the physician force in the near future, but it is only a stopgap measure. More promising are suggestions by Dr. Walter C. Bornemeier, the new AMA president, for two-year shortening of the education period and for training through field apprenticeships. He said the No. 1 priority of the AMA and the nation should be a sharp increase in the output of physicians.

Dr. Bornemeier's call to action was right on the mark. We hope the nation heeds, and especially the responsible people at the federal level. A Department of Health, Education and Welfare report on the medical education dilemma is expected soon. It may recommend, as the AMA head does, truncated training and other changes to reduce costs. Apparently there is much waste in some medical schools, and HEW quite properly is anxious to achieve better use of resources and especially of federal dollars.

Still, the federal contribution is growing thinner and apparently no proposal is in the works for heavier financing in the future. No doubt Mr. Nixon has more on his hands than he wants in the veto-overridden health spending bill that will place more strain on existing manpower without contributing significantly to medical training. But systematic changes alone are unlikely to forestall the health care crisis that seems to be bearing in.

It is senseless to talk about adequate medical care for all, regardless of economic station—that is a popular political cliché—until this core problem has been whipped. The medical schools must not only be saved from fiscal calamity, but expanded, and the administration should not ignore the necessity for heavier federal funding.

what I believe to be one of the finest editorials on Independence Day that I have read. Perhaps many of us have lost sight of the meaning of the Fourth of July, but Mr. McKnight has recalled this meaning and under leave to extend my remarks, herewith is his editorial:

OUR SACRED HONOR . . .

(By Felix R. McKnight)

Tomorrow provides the moment for Americans to get up their guts and go old-fashioned; to pause and ponder, to seek the way to recapture values temporarily lost in canyons of confusion.

It shouldn't take a special day like the Fourth of July to move this country to a positive posture—free of discord, distrust and strife.

It is a strange and uncomfortable task to exhort Americans to rediscover patriotism.

But in this nation today are elements that have sprayed a fog of doubt about the proven values of respect for each other, respect for a symbolic flag, respect for leadership.

The people are timid about patriotism—afraid a neighbor might catch them flying a flag; firmly repeating, and not mumbling, an oath of allegiance or singing The Star-Spangled Banner.

Are we such fools that we do not realize that the very absence of such fervor is the reason for our ills?

Once we had a national fiber that withstood internal cleavages; that permitted free and open expression of dissent without the slightest fear of it turning to anarchy. We had it because each citizen knew he had privileges in a free society. He respected a nation that guaranteed him those privileges, and he bristled if a malcontent debased his America.

We are defaulters. We have permitted a gang of nobodies to get our minds off America.

On this Fourth of July—and from that day hence—there should be personal resolves to proudly support this greatest free bastion of the world. To honestly dissent, not chide and demean and destroy. To become a "flag waver" and not give a damn about those who snicker.

Trite words?

It wasn't very trite on July 4, 1776, when men with fortitude assumed the most positive attitude the world had known to free themselves of bonds and declare:

" . . . And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

Tomorrow, plain citizen Bob Hope will stand on the Washington Monument grounds and make a few simple requests—like, "Will you assume true citizenship in these United States of America?"

It is a good question on this July 4, 1970. Citizen Hope, and 200 million more like him, would like some answers.

It has been said before. It can be said again.

Nations and civilizations have died of many things . . . Some died of old age . . . Some committed suicide . . . Some were murdered.

The ultimate disaster would be for this nation to die in its sleep . . .

OUR SACRED HONOR

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Felix McKnight, editor of the Dallas Times Herald, Dallas, Tex., has written

HEW'S TAX-PAID ATTACK ON NIXON

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, many of our citizens who are not close to national politics or the intricacies of Fed-

eral agencies usually do not appreciate the "holdover" problem which faces each incoming administration especially when it supplants the machine of the opposite political party. I do not refer to the many hundreds of thousands of Federal employees who give top priority to Federal service over their political persuasions. Each administration, regardless of political alignment, receives from these employees services devoid of political motivations. Unfortunately, promoting the general welfare via Federal employment is of secondary importance to some ensconced in positions in various agencies who await a return to a friendly administration and who are not above sandbagging the present administration's programs.

The July 11 issue of *Human Events*, the alert newsweekly here in Washington, made public some late developments in the never-ending holdover problem at HEW. While some recent changes in this Department have caused some degree of satisfaction, the *Human Events* account underlines the complications which are confronted with employees who are less than sympathetic and whose ideas of promoting the national welfare are secondary to their own political and ideological designs.

I insert the article, "HEW's Tax-Paid Attack on Nixon," in the *RECORD*, at this point:

HEW'S TAX-PAID ATTACK ON NIXON

For a full hour last week, some 250 student interns and veteran employees at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare were entertained by a "radical political light show" called "Days of Listening." Introduced by a hippie wearing American flag pants, the show treated the assembled group to slides and films of a "nation in crisis"—Viet Nam, campus protest, etc.—all superimposed over an official portrait of President Nixon.

With rock music blaring in the background, the group viewed pictures of nude bodies, David Eisenhower and a flickering sign that read: "Get your improved Dickie doll," an obvious swipe at the President. "We wanted the first day to be a real shocker," explained Bob Purvin, who helped the show which began an Office of Education summer program with a bang.

Budgeted at \$5,000, the program's purpose is to make the Office of Education "aware" of the student scene and will allow student interns one day off their normal jobs each week to participate in seminars, hear guest speakers, produce films or visit government officials.

"The coordinators look at this as a continuation of the student lobbying that began after Kent State," said Purvin. "We see this as an encouraging opportunity to have an avenue of communication opened for us." HEW officials claimed to be upset at the vehemence of the attacks on the Nixon Administration, and Deputy Associate Commissioner Hal Lyon acknowledged the film was "a little too one-sided. . . ."

But he added that HEW has more potential for far-reaching social change than any other department, and without these young people we "can't achieve it."

The staging of anti-Administration propaganda within HEW is only the latest sign of the Administration's loss of control over its own department. For the truth is that HEW has been eliminating Administration supporters at a steady pace.

Robert Myers, chief actuary of the Social Security Administration for many years, had his resignation abruptly accepted last May 25 when he began to criticize hold-over Democrats who were pushing for wildly expansionist programs within the Administration. When Myers left, he was the sole Republican in the Social Security hierarchy, although the Social Security Administration is the largest agency in HEW, with more than 50,000 employees. Commissioner Robert Ball, who now firmly holds sway over his powerful agency, is a dyed-in-the-wool Democrat.

Nor is this all. When Secretary Robert Finch left HEW on June 19, leaving with him was his talented young aide Alan May, who has processed political appointments and checked on the loyalties of hold-overs.

May says he left because it is the tradition for aides to resign when a new HEW secretary comes in. Yet White House and HEW sources maintain that May, a former helicopter pilot in Viet Nam, was moved out to appease the HEW liberals who have long marked May for political extinction because of his loyalties to the Administration.

Indeed, Jonathan Spivak, when describing Finch's troubles at HEW, wrote in the June 10 *Wall Street Journal* that Finch could "probably have recovered the confidence of many HEW civil servants by a symbolic gesture that was clearly within his power. He was urged to get rid of a highly conservative young aide named Alan May. . . ." When Spivak speaks of recovering the confidence of HEW civil servants, he means, whether intentionally or not, liberal Democrats.

May had earned the wrath of HEW liberals for a wide variety of loyalist activities, including his efforts to block the promotion of Robert Aptekar, a peacenik Democrat who had even been branded as "disruptive" by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Thus May's departure is viewed by many as a new effort to appease the liberal Democrats at HEW.

The result of all this weeding out of loyal Republicans has been more than the staging of a radical light show. As *Human Events* has revealed, for instance, the Social Security Administration recently produced a training film, "Urban Black America," filled with militant black rhetoric. Moreover, the film, which cost \$50,000, tended to blame the whites for the condition of poor blacks.

A secret memorandum from Russell R. Jalbert, a holdover Democrat, to Robert Ball, however, shows how the film was approved. Jalbert showed it to more than a dozen people, including such holdover Democrats as Stu Hunter, Maurice MacDonald and Irving Goldberg. He also showed it to such un-Republican Republicans as James Farmer and Donald Wendell, a militant anti-Nixonite and a Farmer assistant.

"Reactions from these people have been decidedly favorable," said Jalbert. "Mr. Farmer says it is a good, useful film, and he is now discussing with his staff how it might be used within HEW. The Community Service Division of SRS hopes to use the film to train its people involved in inner city programs. Most representatives of the other agencies are requesting the materials for use in their EEO and inner-city programs."

Only two people really criticized it, said Jalbert. And the "only substantial criticism I have heard of the film inside SSA the [Social Security Administration] came from Bob Myers, who considers it racist and inaccurate."

Myers, of course, is no longer around to protest racist films or anything else. In short, HEW is a liberal Democratic bureaucracy, and it will take all the powers of new HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson to turn the department into an ally of the Nixon Administration.

OUR VITAL RELATIONS WITH THE JAPANESE

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the question of import barriers and trade protection will be considered by the House of Representatives shortly.

I am disturbed by what may be the unforeseen results of the current protectionism cycle, results not only affecting the total trade picture, but also our diplomatic posture throughout the world.

I recommend to my colleagues attention the following article by Mr. Henry Owen, which most clearly points out the inherent dangers in the current trade trends—danger to our most pressing diplomatic problems:

OUR VITAL RELATIONS WITH THE JAPANESE (By Henry Owen)

The collapse of U.S.-Japanese negotiations reminds us that the central long-term issue in Asia is the U.S.-Japanese relationship. Japan is where the power in Asia is; if present trends continue and our relation with Japan goes sour, the resulting damage could overshadow anything that happens in Southeast Asia.

The immediate issue is textiles. President Nixon—like Mr. Humphrey—promised Southern textile firms and labor unions in 1968 that he would protect them against cheap Japanese imports. But the textile industry and unions are also powerful in Japan, where the issue has become a focus for reviving nationalism and latent anti-Americanism. The United States and Japan have not been able to agree on the terms of a voluntary limit on Japanese exports. This sets the stage for congressional action on proposals for a mandatory limit on U.S. imports—which could trigger a chain of retaliation whose end is hard to foresee. In the end, the textile question will probably be compromised; the two sides will learn to live with each other. But some damage will have been done along the way, and a vivid illustration given of the greater damage that lies ahead if the U.S. and Japanese governments are not able to take account of each other's domestic political problems in addressing issues which concern them both.

The skillful way in which the Okinawa question was handled shows that the problem can be licked, if both sides work at it. The trick will be to repeat that success in dealing with two upcoming key issues: the U.S. security role in Asia, and Japan's nuclear status. On each of these issues, attitudes are changing on one side of the Pacific but there is great insensitivity to that change on the other. This could end badly.

First, as to the U.S. security role: In the past, the United States fixed that role on the basis of what it took to be its own interests in Asia. If the Japanese felt that their interests were also being advanced, they applauded; if not, they were critical privately and silent publicly. American governments enjoyed the luxury of deciding what to do without having to defend U.S. actions to their own public.

But now the United States is moving toward a lower profile and coming increasingly to see its interests in Asia as centering on the main aggregation of power in that area—Japan. Future U.S. governments will probably be reluctant to undertake Asian military actions or commitments which do

not relate clearly to that interest. This means that they will wish to consult closely with the Japanese, and prefer to act only when explicit U.S.-Japanese agreement can be secured. They will not expect Japan to join in military action, but they will want and expect public Japanese political support.

But most Japanese are still living in the 1950s: when told that U.S. action will henceforth be geared to U.S.-Japanese concert, they feel an uncontrollable urge to change the subject. The U.S.-Japanese relationship of the 1950s enabled them to escape unwelcome responsibilities, and many of them want to keep it that way. The end result, if an effective U.S.-Japanese dialogue on security issues cannot be developed, may well be a more rapid U.S. withdrawal from Asia than most Japanese desire. This, in turn, could hasten the advent of the second looming problem in U.S.-Japanese relations: the nuclear issue.

Japan signed the nonproliferation treaty, but has not ratified it; no one should be so foolish as to think that the matter is settled. The Japanese see two European countries inferior to them in economic power—England and France—swanning about as members of the supposedly exclusive nuclear club. China is setting off nuclear explosions close at hand, and India may follow suit; Japan would not relish being the only major Asian country without first class weapons. Add to this the alleged industrial-technological benefits of going nuclear, plus fears that the U.S. will cop out of Asia, and the stage is set for a major Japanese debate on this issue in the late 1970s.

But Americans are as insensitive to changing Japanese nuclear attitudes as Japanese are to changing American views of the U.S. security role in Asia. This makes Americans as reluctant to consider what it takes to offer Japan a viable alternative to going nuclear, as the Japanese are to help define U.S. security interests in Asia. The two sides are talking past each other; it is a dialogue of the deaf. The outcome could be the emergence of a Gaullist-type Japan, relying on its own nuclear strength to protect its own interests, separated from an increasingly isolated United States by a widening Pacific.

This is not a nightmare; it could happen. The way to make sure it doesn't is for both countries to discard the past clichés which now color their views of each other. It is a job not only for governments but for Americans and Japanese in private life. When a skeptical Japanese emperor was being told by his military in 1941 that they could win a war with America, he reminded them that this was what they had said before the Sino-Japanese war, and an embarrassed army chief replied that China was a very big country. The emperor answered caustically that if China was large, the Pacific was boundless. The task for both Americans and Japanese in the 1970's is to make it less so: to bring the two powerful countries which border its western and eastern shores closer together. This will be a lot harder than most people now realize. The textile issue illustrates the point, but the real test will come when security and nuclear issues come to the fore.

CAPITOL PAGE SCHOOL GRADUATES CLASS OF 1970

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the Capitol Page School held its graduation exercises on Monday evening, June 8, 1970,

in the Ways and Means Committee room, Longworth House Office Building. Twenty-six graduates were addressed by the Honorable David H. Pryor, former Capitol Page School graduate, and Representative of Arkansas Fourth Congressional District. Mrs. Anita F. Allen, president of the Board of Education of the District of Columbia Public Schools, awarded the diplomas. In addition to his diploma, each graduate received a certificate of recognition from President Richard M. Nixon. The Reverend Dr. Jack P. Lowndes, pastor of the Memorial Baptist Church offered the invocation and benediction. The U.S. Navy Band under the direction of Comdr. Donald W. Stauffer provided the music. And, senior class president, Frank Gordon, presided.

Mr. Speaker, the following pages were awarded diplomas:

William R. Anderson, Eric Louis Anchuets, Raul Cleafas Blanco, Danny R. Day, James Phillip DiMeglio, Gerard F. Gehring, Frank Stephen Gordon, Michael Gross, Robert C. Henry, Ralph Everett Hood, Kim Joel Hughes, Kenneth Randall Jackson and William David Kiser.

Forrest Wayne Lacy, Edward Joseph Leonard, Stephen Frank Lowndes, Dennis Michael Miller, Lowell Vincent Muse, Daniel F. O'Reilly, Sammy I. Paradise, Dennis John Phillips, Russell William Royal, Philip Leonard Tannenbaum, Clifford H. Tutelian, Karl Kuldrian Warner, and Walter Robert Weiss.

Mr. Speaker, the following honors and special awards were presented by John C. Hoffman, principal of the Capitol Page School.

Danforth Award for character and leadership awarded to Walter Weiss.

Rensselaer Award for excellence in Science and Math awarded to Richard Holland.

Bausch and Lomb Award for excellence in Math awarded to Phillip White.

Journalism Award to Frank Gordon. Salutatorian Medal awarded to Gerard Gehring.

Valedictorian Medal awarded to Walter Weiss.

School letters for academic achievement and service to the school awarded to Mark Pelish, Lowell Muse, Kim Hughes, Dennis Miller, Walter Weiss, Scott McGeary, David Faderle, Craig Graves, and Geoffrey Spencer.

Letter and star to Gerard Gehring.

Letter and four stars to Frank Gordon, outstanding school citizen for being editor of the yearbook, student council president, senior class president, and member of the National Honor Society.

National Honor Society members—Gerard Gehring, Dennis Miller, Craig Graves, Phillip White, Mark Pelish, Richard Monroe, Richard Holland, Frank Gordon, and Walter Weiss.

Appointments to the U.S. Military Academy—Dennis Miller and Karl Warner.

Varsity basketball letters to Gerard Gehring, Mark George, Steve Lowndes, Ed Leonard, Ralph Hood, Raul Blanco, Bob Bergin, Karl Warner, Kim Hughes, and Dennis Phillips.

Athletic Award to Gerard Gehring. The results of achievement scores in

algebra and geometry disclosed that the Capitol Page School median score in algebra was 10 points above the national norm and 10.2 in geometry. In respect to citywide norms we were 21 points above the median in geometry.

Some of the institutions of higher learning who have accepted our 1970 graduates are Amherst, Virginia, V.P.I., Vanderbilt, L.S.U., Oklahoma, Drexel, Missouri, Michigan, California, Catholic University, Maryland University, George Washington University, Texas, Washington, American, Columbia, Fairleigh Dickinson, Tulane, Duke, Rider, Hawaii, and the U.S. Military Academy.

Esprit de corps was evidenced at the graduation as 20 of the 22 members of the class of 1969 were present, including Paul Tucker, Harvard scholarship recipient. Not uncommon is the fact that these boys are attending college for in a follow-up survey taken in the fall of 1969 of the 191 former pages of whom we received information there were 94 bachelor degree recipients, 44 master degrees, 24 doctorates, as well as 15 graduate students, 24 seniors, 22 juniors, 17 sophomores and 24 freshmen now attending. Our graduates matriculated at 72 different outstanding colleges and universities and professional occupations include Congressmen, attorneys, ministers, professors, physicians, surgeons, psychiatrists, teachers, newspaper correspondents, and biochemists.

Mr. Speaker, following are the proceedings of the commencement exercises of the Capitol Page School, June 8, 1970:

CONGRESSIONAL PAGE GRADUATION CEREMONY
INVOCATION BY THE REVEREND DR. JACK P.
LOWNDES

Lord, we are thankful for the young men of Page School, their work and their achievements. We realize that many influences have brought them to this hour. Homes, teachers, friends, experiences have all made a contribution and we give thanks for all that has motivated them.

Now as they are ready to take the next step, be with them. Guide them unerringly with Thy hand into the place Thou has appointed for them. May each one, grateful for their opportunities, mindful of their responsibilities, and eager for heroic tasks in a distracted world, be used by the Lord of men and nations to help bring peace and a better world for all mankind. Let none hold life lightly nor carelessly spend the precious years allotted to them. May each be used in carrying to completion Thy wise and loving plans for man.

In His Name. Amen.

SALUTATORY ADDRESS OF GERARD GEHRING

It is my pleasure to welcome our honored guests, parents, friends, and associates of the 1970 graduating class of Capitol Page School.

Tonight, we are ending one phase of our education. Our school and work experiences have given us a foundation for thinking, doubting, and drawing our own conclusions about life. But learning is a continuous process. Whether we go to college or pursue a career upon graduation, we must keep our education alive. Winston Churchill stressed a need for education when he said, "no generation in history has been bequeathed the responsibility that we will face."

We will be confronted by those who advocate violent disruption to the orderly processes of business, education, government, and society. Those who threaten our educational processes will probably be the im-

minent menace to our well-being. This small minority on campus condemns the past, curses the present, and ignores the future. Some are against everything and for nothing, and their vocabulary is limited to "destroy, destroy, destroy." An old saying might apply to this misguided few: "It takes a carpenter to build a barn, but any jackass can kick it down." Our recent campus disorders have shown us the need to work for social reform in a peaceful and lawful manner.

This is just the beginning of our responsibilities. For the extent of our stay on campus, in the military, in various business pursuits, or in our personal life, we will face the irresponsible, the cringing coward, the hate-blinded racist, the "something-for-nothing" hustler, the slavery-peddling narcotics pusher, the Maoist agitator, and the greedy criminal. Despite the seriousness of these threats, I feel confident that we the class of '70' are prepared to meet these challenges.

I realize that none of us would be here tonight without the guidance of our parents and teachers; so I salute them.

But in closing I wish to salute the graduates. And also to remind them of the responsibilities that follow them when they leave here. Daniel Webster stated this very aptly when he said, "a sense of duty pursues us ever. It is omnipresent, like the Deity. If we take to ourselves the wings of the morning, and dwell in the outermost parts of the sea, duty performed or duty violated is still with us, for our happiness, or our misery. If we say the darkness shall cover us, in the darkness as in the light our obligations are yet with us."

Another American statesman put it a little more succinctly when he said, "I believe that every right implies a responsibility; every opportunity an obligation; every possession a duty."

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY CONGRESSMAN DAVID
PRYOR, OF ARKANSAS

You do me a great and undeserved honor tonight by inviting me to speak during your graduation exercises. I want you to know that I am very grateful. I must admit that I thought of a thousand things which I might say this evening, but each time I sat down to compose my thoughts, I was reminded of the fourth-grade girl I recently read about who was assigned to write a short essay on the life of Socrates. It consisted of two lines: "Socrates went about giving people advice—they killed him." Now, claiming neither great wisdom nor yearning for an early demise, I shall be sparing in advice to you tonight.

You have been a part of America's most unique school and also a working part of the world's most unique form of government.

Already, whether you believe it, or like it, you are also a part of "THE SYSTEM" which in some quarters today is a somewhat sinister word. You know its strengths, and let's be honest—you also know some of its weaknesses.

You know, for example, that the allegations now being heaped upon it that it is "too slow" to respond are in some instances too true. You know that sometimes it is sluggish, cumbersome, and prone to error. You and I both know that it is not perfect, but that it is a mere reflection of the human character and the human condition. And most importantly, I hope you know that it will and must be YOU and YOUR generation who care enough to make it better, rediscover and redefine its purposes, reestablish its goals and chart its future course.

We commonly refer to an event such as this as "commencement" or a beginning. Also, I hope we could think of this evening as a Dedication . . . a dedication by you and me, by all of us, to the basic concept that man IS capable of governing himself

and that we somehow will find the wisdom to pass this concept of self-government on to future generations.

For, today, that concept is being challenged. We see its fibre tested. We see its survival doubted. We see some of its nobility tarnished. We seem, at least momentarily, to have "lost our way."

Yes, it is our greatest time of testing. But I am confident that you will be a participant in the great cause of meeting that test.

Crisis is not new to us. This nation was conceived in crises. For 180 years, we as a people, as a nation, have never been removed from the throes of crises. Famine, pestilence, disease, war, civil strife, depression. But, somehow, the deep and strong foundations have resisted its adversaries. The anvil has outlasted the hammers and our basic premises remain intact.

It has not been an easy road. It has not been a road for the fainthearted or the quibbler; and tomorrow promises to be no easier.

As Robert Frost has said, we do have "promises to keep" and miles to go before we sleep.

I remember vividly some of those long afternoons 19 years ago, when I too sat on the page bench looking over the Speaker's chair to see chiseled in stone for the first time those words of Webster:

"Let us see whether we in our own generation may not perform something worthy to be remembered."

Yes, a very noble part of America is personified in this room tonight. It is the excitement of youth anticipating a challenge, hoping, but yet just a little nervous about being called into battle . . . the desire to create, produce and to construct.

You and I know that it is simple enough to "flail away" at all the accumulated evils of mankind. It is easy enough to raise false hopes or false fears—both sins of equal magnitude. It is something else to work to correct those evils.

But when we look back at the decade of the 60's, we see it as a time when we found the problems, accentuated our differences, drew the battle lines—

Race against race.

Poor against rich.

Urban against rural.

Section against section.

And finally American against American. We all talked. No one listened. We became polarized. I sometimes agree with Pogo: "We have just met the enemy and they is us."

Yes, we became our own worst enemy. We accentuated the negative. We became too busy stereotyping each other and we sometimes forgot: the odious act of Lamar does not represent the South; the unspeakable violence and destruction of Newark is not the North; Oswald was not Dallas; Kent is not the National Guard.

We consumed ourselves with each other's wrongs—we forget each other's rights. We exploited fears—a seed of suspicion planted in just the right place, just the right time, just the right way. Codewords became battle-cries. Man against man—neighbor against neighbor. The sinew torn, the purpose dissipated, the dreams shattered. Yes, we somehow lost in the hysteria the admonition of John F. Kennedy: "Let us not emphasize our differences, but our common interests."

And if we continue down the same path, we will defeat our strengths. We will fragment our purpose. We will scuttle our dreams.

It will be you in this room tonight who will make us come together, reason together and walk together. It will be you in this room who are saying and will continue saying "let's try, before it is too late." It will be you who will answer Webster by saying, "We did indeed, in our generation, perform something worthy to be remembered" and chisel it deeply and surely in the stones of

history. More love than hate; more wisdom than wrath. No two societies in America cannot exist. There cannot be a North and a South, a rural and an urban, a black and a white. There cannot be a super-rich and a super-poor, a well and a sick, a full and a hungry.

America is one. That is its purpose. That must be its promise. America must not be a memory; America must be a hope.

There is a long and uncertain road ahead. We must walk it together, step by step, mile by mile.

Not only do we honor you tonight and thank you, but, most importantly, in you we place our hope and faith.

VALEDICTORY ADDRESS OF WALTER ROBERT WEISS

Congressman Pryor, Mrs. Allen, Dr. Lown-des, Mr. Hoffman, classmates, parents and friends:

At this time of year across the nation people are talking to this year's graduates, talking about this year's graduates, giving them words of advice, ideas to ponder, and phrases to remember. I do not intend to offer words of advice, ideas to ponder, or phrases to remember. I do not feel qualified to do so. What I would like to do on behalf of my class is to reflect upon the recent past, the near future, and, as graduates, attempt to see how they affect us.

It has often been said by Valedictorians of past years that when we graduate from high school we are immediately thrown out into that cold, cruel, and demanding world—that upon graduation, we begin our long, arduous search for the immediate solutions to the pressing problems which confront us as individuals in that world. I cannot agree with that statement.

In reflecting upon our recent experiences as Pages in the Congress of the United States a number of things come to mind. Today as I stood in the Capitol and glanced around, I thought to myself: "Look where my classmates and I are." Here in the Nation's Capitol, our high school education has been completed, not only in the most unique school in the nation, but also in the halls of Congress. We have absorbed knowledge in the formal learning situation of the classroom, but in addition we have also absorbed the knowledge of how the so-called "system" works. What people in Los Angeles see on the six o'clock news each evening is what each of us has witnessed in person: the President addressing a joint session of Congress, a voting rights bill being debated, or a march for peace. Yes—we have witnessed history. And, this is what we must reflect upon tonight. In between our duties of delivering messages and packages and placing phone calls for the members, we have become aware!

We have become aware of the complex nation and world we live in—aware of its many problems and achievements. We have seen and become aware of people from all parts of the country, from all ways of life. This has greatly increased our knowledge and insight into this world of ours.

However, no matter what our experiences at Capitol Page School and on the Hill were, we are not fully matured, not capable of solving the problems of society. This is why I cannot agree with opinions of many valedictorians. This maturing process has been started and will continue for the rest of our lives, whether we go on to college, to military service, to the Peace Corps, or whatever the future holds. We are now aware of politics, of the workings of our government and of the complexities of today. From this awareness must and will come a maturing, a sense of responsibility to contribute. We are fortunate to have become aware at such an early age; therefore our responsibility to contribute to society is increased because the feeling of awareness diminishes with the passage of time. We have been educated, and

we will continue to be educated. We have grown, and we will continue to grow. And, as we learn and grow so must we go out beyond ourselves as individuals to each member of our society. An individual must reach out and offer himself to others.

The world we face today is like no other one in history? Our society is prosperous, yet it suffers. Our citizens probably enjoy more freedom and democracy than any others in the world, yet we lack equal opportunity for all because we fail to practice our Forefather's ideals. We have peace on our soil, yet we suffer from a war effort elsewhere. Our leaders are among the most dedicated men in the nation, yet blind adherence to tradition often clouds these men's minds. Our education system is one of the best, yet we see campus after campus marred by violence and bloodshed. We are wealthy, but our dollar power is falling. Our technology has taken us into space, yet on earth our waters and skies are polluted by industry and technology.

What is wrong? Who can answer that? I cannot. But something is wrong. Whatever the reasons for our problems, there is one thing I do know. We, as a society have yet fully to accept the challenges brought about by our problems—challenges which can be met only through the application of every public and private resource backed by a deep and sincere concern on the part of all citizens and national leaders.

The problems of this country have not been solved because of the manner in which we approached them. Too long have we taken a piecemeal approach; a momentary enthusiasm and a "lets-do-something-about-it-now-attitude" have been the manner in which we attacked our problems. People got excited and jumped on the bandwagon, but in a few months or years, if no solutions had been achieved, they gave up and drifted into some other activity. Ten years ago it was poverty—today it is pollution. We can no longer attack our problems in this manner, for these are problems that will not be overcome easily or quickly. The nation's attempts to solve its problems, despite some important accomplishments in the past decade, have scarcely scratched the surface.

With the insight and awareness that we have gained at school and on the Hill, we hopefully can go beyond the traditional and find new ways of attacking these problems. We can make things better for ourselves, for those near us, and for society in general. As Thomas Wolfe said in writing about the land he loved and all its people:

"Go, seeker, if you will, throughout the land, and you will find us burning in the night. To every man his chance, to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity—to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him—this, seeker, is the promise of America."

The vision of Thomas Wolfe is my vision for America and for all of our citizens. All should have the right to live, to work, to be themselves, to become whatever their manhood and vision can combine to make them.

With our awareness of the world to guide and support us, we can contribute to a better life for all. This is the task and the challenge of the young men assembled here this evening: not to make our world a utopian society overnight but to help each other, to make more people aware. And if we can accomplish this, we will succeed. I thank you.

BENEDICTION—THE REV. DR. JACK P. LOWNDES

Again we thank Thee for our schools and teachers and others who have made successful the school years now closing. Let us not be satisfied with educating the mind alone. Give us respect for moral and spiritual values.

Bless the young men of this class with Thine own presence. Help them to remember their Creator in the days of their youth. Keep them mindful of the meaning which Thou alone can give to life. Grant them the satisfaction of genuine success and the joy of real accomplishment in the years ahead. In our Lord's Name.

Amen.

Recently, we inquired of the present status (college, employment, etc.) of two hundred fifty (250) Capitol Page Alumni. To date, we have information relative to one hundred ninety-one (191) former school Pages.

We submit, for your information, a compilation of statistical data received thus far with the hope that you share our interest and concern.

Sincerely,

JOHN C. HOFFMAN,
Principal.

EDUCATIONAL STATUS

Bachelor degrees.....	94
Master degrees.....	44
Doctorates.....	24
Graduates students.....	15
College seniors.....	24
College juniors.....	22
College sophomores.....	17
College freshmen.....	24

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES ATTENDED

Air Force Academy, Alabama, American, Amherst, Auburn, Beckley, Bowdoin, Brandeis, Columbia, Copenhagen.

Dartmouth, De Pauw, Duke, East Carolina, Emory, Florida, Florida Southern, Franklin, Frostburg State, Georgetown.

George Washington, Harvard, Haverford, Howard, Indiana, Indiana State, Iowa State, Johns Hopkins, Louisiana State, Loyola of the South.

Lycoming, Maryland, Merchant Marine Academy, Michigan, Michigan State, Mississippi, Montgomery Jr., Naval Academy, N.Y.U. North Carolina, Northern Virginia Jr.

Northwestern, Ohio Wesleyan, Oklahoma, Oxford, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Rensselaer, Richmond, Sacramento State, Santa Fe.

Southeastern, Southwestern State, St. Olaf, Stanford, Swarthmore, Syracuse, Tennessee, Texas, Tulane, U.C.L.A.

Virginia, Wake Forest, Washington, West Point, West Virginia, West Virginia State, William and Mary, Wisconsin, Wittenberg, Xavier, Yale.

PROFESSIONAL STATUS

Attorneys, Bankers, Bio-chemists, Congressmen, C. P. A.'s, Draffees, Industrialists, Military Careers, Ministers, Newspaper Correspondents.

Peace Corps, Police Officers, Physicians, Professors, Psychiatrists, State Senators,

NAVIGATION AIDS

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, recently the Coast Guard discontinued the navigation aids upon Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay as part of a General Services Administration campaign to make the island uninhabitable to American Indians residing there.

The American Indians have continued to maintain the lighthouse beacon with auxiliary generators. Other aids to navigation have ceased to operate.

The heavy traffic of shipping in San

Francisco Bay is therefore exposed to the danger of an unmarked island adjacent to the main shipping channels.

A potential for marine disaster exists in this petty spite of the Federal Government. Representatives of the pilots, officers, and seamen who are responsible for the safety of vessels in the bay have requested that the light be restored promptly.

In a letter to the editor of the San Francisco Chronicle these men state:

NAVIGATION AIDS

EDITOR—We the undersigned request that the aids to navigation on Alcatraz island be reestablished as soon as possible.

Alcatraz island's location in the bay relative to the inbound and outbound traffic pattern with frequent fog and strong currents makes its mandatory that the fog horns, the flood lights on the fog horns and the amber perimeter lights be restored.

Alcatraz lighthouse was established in 1854, the first aide to navigation in the bay. This alone indicates its importance to Maritime commerce.

The United States Coast Guard has long been known for its careful attention to safety and we are certain that it would not voluntarily do anything to endanger safe navigation in San Francisco Bay.

Jack W. Hall, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union; Louis Goldblatt, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union; O. Larson, Masters, Mates and Pilots, Local 90; A. M. Simenstad, S.F. Bar Pilots-Masters, Mates and Pilots, Local 89; Morris Weisberger, Sailors Union of the Pacific; C. Black, Marine Engineers Beneficial Association; Al Clem, Operating Engineers, Local 3; Norman Wainwright, California Inland Pilots Association, San Francisco.

DISMAY OVER SITUATION IN VA HOSPITALS

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, recently I visited the Kingsbridge Veterans Hospital in Bronx, N.Y., along with several of my distinguished colleagues. My colleagues, the House Veterans' Committee chairman, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. TEAGUE), and Hospital Subcommittee chairman, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. HALEY), have done an outstanding job investigating the plight of the VA hospitals.

Both citizens and Members of Congress are distressed over the current situation in these hospitals. Therefore, I would like to extend my remarks today to include a petition I recently received which expresses some of the dismay that people have expressed over the current situation in VA hospitals:

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, CONGRESS OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

We, the undersigned, hereby petition this honorable body for the purpose of investigating a grave injustice and indignation that is occurring at the Kingsbridge Veterans Hospital, Bronx, New York.

This hospital is a rehabilitation center and permanent home for approximately 90 para-

plegia and quadraplegic who can never lead a normal life due to the ravages of war. That these men should receive the best of care is a fact that can never be disputed by anyone. This is not the case however, as a recent issue of Life Magazine demonstrated, (May 22). One issue was not mentioned in the magazine but is very important to the 90 men who are the focus of our attention. These men come from all over the country to Kingsbridge Veterans Hospital, some from as far away as North Dakota. They very rarely see their family, loved ones, and friends. This denial of companionship amounts to a cruelty that can only be remedied by this august body. What is needed is action by the Congress of the United States to create and make available more facilities in existing Veterans Hospitals throughout the country.

These are men who served their country nobly when they were called upon.

Now, they are calling upon the Congress of the United States and you for consideration and action in remedying this deplorable situation.

Thomas C. McNally, Joseph R. Schmit, James F. Sewins, Andre Schwed, Louise Schwed, Sigmund Peheil, R. L. Hansen, George E. Hoffman, Rose M. Hoffman.

SPEAKER McCORMACK

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, it has been a great honor to serve under the Speakership of JOHN W. McCORMACK through my entire tenure in the House of Representatives. I shall always cherish these years and my friendship with this remarkable legislator.

JOHN McCORMACK has served his country as a Member of this body for more than 42 years—as a Member, as whip, as majority leader, and as our Speaker. He has held the high office of Speaker longer continuously than any other man in the history of our Republic—nearly 8½ years—and his total service in that position is second only to that of the late Sam Rayburn.

Speaker McCORMACK has distinguished himself as a man who always put his country above his party, regardless of the issue involved. The true measure of his leadership can be found in the respect accorded him by all Members of the House. He has always been exceedingly fair and impartial in the discharge of his duties as Speaker, and for that he has rightfully earned admiration from both sides of the aisle.

JOHN McCORMACK also was a battler for causes he believed in. He has played a leading role in the formulation of the myriad pieces of progressive legislation that have marked the last four decades.

Although I have been here only four terms and have not known the Speaker as long or as well as many of my senior colleagues, I am, nevertheless, grateful for the opportunity to have benefited from his guidance and counsel. I know I speak for all Members of both political parties when I say that we shall miss the outstanding leader from Massachusetts, JOHN W. McCORMACK.

J. HOWARD PEW TALKS COMMON-SENSE ON INFLATION

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, the other day at home I heard one of our Southern Baptist leaders say:

I know of no finer Christian layman in America than J. Howard Pew."

Most folks in Texas have known and respected Mr. Pew as the progressive, dynamic, business executive leading Sun Oil Co. Combined with his active leadership as a layman and business executive has been his devotion to Americanism in our U.S. Government.

Just this weekend, I had the opportunity of reading a speech he made on May 21 to the William Penn Award Dinner. J. Howard Pew of Philadelphia has a message that all of us in Congress should carefully consider. It follows:

SPEECH OF J. HOWARD PEW

We of the Delaware Valley are the beneficiaries of the greatest heritage ever handed down to posterity. Not only did we inherit the wisdom of some of the greatest minds of all time, but we were bequeathed a vast industrial empire—an empire which is now being so eroded by inflation that its very survival is in doubt.

Inflation is generally supposed to be the result of the increase in the quantity of money and credit. This is no doubt true, but it is not as simple as that. The increase in the quantity of money and credit may be but the symptom of the disease. As government has absolute control over our monetary system, government alone is responsible for inflation. Inflation operates by reducing the purchasing power of the assets of the people and of corporations. Just as the people and corporations are hurt, to that extent the government is benefited. Inflation, therefore, is a device by which the government in effect becomes a legalized counterfeiter. Because inflation is a hidden tax and most of the peoples of the world do not recognize it as such, governments have for thousands of years periodically employed inflation for the purpose of swindling the people out of their savings. President Nixon, with the counsel and advice of some of the greatest economic minds in this country, is making a real effort to control inflation. However, as the government has for 35 years imposed inflation upon the American people, it is inconceivable that it can be stopped in a month or in a year or in several years, and it can never be stopped as long as the Federal, state, and local governments impose a tax on the American people of \$336 billions of dollars per year.

The measure of inflation, as I have already pointed out, is the increase in the quantity of money and credit. In my talk here tonight, I am using the words credit and debt interchangeably. In 1945, at the end of World War II, the total of all private and public debt was approximately 400 billions of dollars. If we take the 24 years from 1945 to 1969 and divide them into four 6-year periods, we find in the first period total debt increased 29% to \$519 billions. In the second period it had increased 40% to \$728 billions. In the third period it increased 47% to 1,071 billions. In the fourth period, ending in 1969, it increased 56% to 1,669 billions. Or, putting it another way, the increase in the last 6-year period ending in 1969 equalled 1½ times the total debt that existed at the end of World War II. This is

such a fabulous debt that the mere interest on it at 8% amounts to 133 billions of dollars per year, which is equivalent of \$2,600 for every family in the United States.

As I pointed out a moment ago, the total taxes which the American people must pay to the Federal, state, and local governments totaled last year \$336 billions. This is such a fantastic figure that our minds cannot comprehend it. It is the equivalent of \$6,600 for every family in the United States. Obviously, it is impossible for the American people to carry such a burden.

Government has not been generous to American industry. It has not allowed industry to adequately depreciate its property. American industry should be permitted to include in its operating expenses a fund sufficient to reproduce such of its plant and equipment as has become worn out or obsolete. But government will not permit depreciation to be increased by inflationary costs. An understatement of depreciation results in an overstatement of earnings and an increase in federal taxes. The United States Steel Corporation, in its last annual report to stockholders, had this to say about depreciation, and I quote:

"The current tax formula for the recovery of capital and investment of plant and equipment is based on charges for the depreciation of dollars invested in the past, but because of inflation these dollars have less buying power today. Thus allowance for depreciation is too small even to maintain existing investment."

American industry has made this country a great nation, and yet last year, according to the Federal Trade Commission, the consolidated earnings of all manufacturing corporations in this country were \$58 billions. This \$58 billions was after the allowed depreciation but before federal taxes. Now we know that the average life of an American industrial plant is 17 years. We also know that the cost of such a plant is 2¼ times what it was 17 years ago. As the allowed depreciation was \$23 billion, it becomes obvious that the inadequacy of depreciation was \$28 billion. Thus the real earnings, before Federal taxes, of American corporations were not \$58 billions but only \$30 billions. Of this amount, industry paid over to the Federal government in taxes \$25 billions, leaving the real net earnings of American industry \$5 billions. But industry paid to its stockholders last year in the form of dividends \$15 billions, a large part of which was paid over to the government in taxes by the stockholders. This amount of taxes which the government obtained, directly and indirectly, as a result of the operations of American industry, was more than industry actually earned. American industry normally creates 83% of the wealth in this country. As American industry produced no wealth last year, where did the wealth come from to support the government? Obviously, it came from the borrowings of the people and of the corporations which was eventually paid over to the government under the guise of taxes.

Harry Hopkins, one of the early bureaucrats, is reputed to have said: "We will spend and spend and tax and tax and elect and elect." Whether he said it or not, the orgy of government spending has been unprecedented. To satisfy government's appetite for more and more taxes, American industry and individuals have been compelled to borrow vast sums of money—money which was created by the government at no cost to itself. This is the real source of inflation. This situation cannot be cured until the government drastically curtails its spending—until the government comes to understand that it is not its responsibility to provide for welfare, security, agriculture, education, health, foreign aid, etc. This is an entirely different concept than that which exists in government circles.

I would not have you believe, from what I have said, that I am opposed to aid for the needy. I am not. But this is the responsibility of the churches and other charitable institutions. It is not the responsibility of the government. America can survive only if a sufficient number of knowledgeable and dedicated men are willing to involve themselves in bringing the government back to its proper perspective—the Constitution of the United States, as conceived and interpreted by our founding fathers.

CURBING DRUG USE

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, the last of the Christian Science Monitor's series on drug trafficking deals with an analysis of the different methods available to curb drug uses. What is necessary is a complete assault on the drug traffic, from the point of origin to the point of use. A good part of the emphasis should be placed on methods to assist users to "kick the habit"; for if we can stop the buyer from consuming drugs, then the problem will solve itself. To help the addict, we must not only think in terms of punishing those who use drugs, but also understand the reasons people resort to drugs and assist them in overcoming those problems. It is a difficult challenge, but one which we must meet.

I commend this article to the attention of my colleagues:

REFORM OF ADDICT WILL CURB TRAFFICKING: "SOLUTION TO HIS PROBLEM MUST BE A METAPHYSICAL ONE"—PART X

(By John Hughes)

(At one end of the narcotics pipeline the solution to the drug menace rests with the addict. Cure him by education and regeneration and the junk merchants' market will dwindle. But there is a lot to be done at the other end—by elimination of narcotics sources. In the last of 10 reports: some recommendations.)

WASHINGTON.—In the course of this series I have talked with hundreds of people deeply involved with the international narcotics traffic.

On the one hand there have been pushers, junkies, Mafia types. On the other there have been undercover narcotics agents, doctors, police chiefs, government officials.

The interview which stands out above all others, however, is one which took place on a spring day in the Swiss city of Geneva, the United Nations European headquarters.

A senior international civil servant, with long experience in the narcotics field, was analyzing the problem.

"In the long run," he said reflectively, "the solution must be worked out on the metaphysical level. Programs to cut back the flow of drugs are important. Those of us involved in them are fascinated by the technique. But this is basically cops-and-robbers stuff.

"It all ends up with the user, the addict. The solution to his problem must be a metaphysical one. He has to work out the riddle: what is man? And can he find himself through drugs?

"The drug is no more than a placebo. Medical experiments show you can get the same effect on a user by injecting ordinary water. What the addict is seeking is escape, and the ultimate escape into oblivion is suicide.

Many of them attempt this. But clearly, it's not the answer."

CRUX OF PROBLEM INDICATED

Five months of investigation into the narcotics traffic around the world lead one to a similar conclusion: that the crux of the problem is the education and regeneration of the actual user—and perhaps, too, of the society which contributes to his degradation.

At the other end of the pipeline, much more can be done to eliminate the sources of narcotics. More can be done, too, to disrupt the traffic en route to major consuming areas like the United States and Western Europe.

But if one looks to these two aspects alone, the prospect of substantially reducing, let alone eliminating, drug addiction is dismal. As long as there is a market, the junk merchants will somehow get some of their high-paying "merchandise" through.

The gloomiest of those in the antinarcotics business argue that without reform of the addict, successful disruption of the narcotics traffic would create crisis in such countries as the United States. Says one:

"We'll get drugstores held up, and doctors and hospitals will be robbed as addicts try to get their hands on anything they can."

Whether or not this picture is overdrawn, elimination of the illegal inflow of narcotic drugs seems hardly an early prospect.

Opium is still pouring out of Turkey, the main source of naturally produced narcotics for the American and West European markets. Despite government promises to get out of the business, Turkey still produces opium legally for medical needs. Along with this goes a massive flow of illegally grown opium, which the government has proved unable to halt.

Turkish politics complicates the issue. Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel is under public fire. He needs all the support he can get, and he is unlikely to alienate 110,000 Turkish opium farmers just at this moment by banning their principal crops.

France, whose clandestine laboratories around Marseille turn opium and morphine into heroin for the American market, is the other big offender. The French have promised a more vigorous drive against narcotics traffickers, but the resources and manpower of their police narcotics squads are slender. Promises have yet to become reality.

OTHER COUNTRIES INVOLVED

While 80 percent of heroin used in the United States comes from Turkey and France, Mexico cuts itself a substantial 15 percent share of the American heroin market.

The Mexican Government, too, has pledged itself to eliminate opium crops and cut back the narcotics flow into the United States. But these good intentions are snarled in a web of bureaucracy, lethargy, and corruption. So far there has been no significant decline in drug traffic across the border.

Should these traditional sources be eliminated, growers and traffickers have stockpiled enough narcotics to keep the existing market supplied for several years.

New sources beyond this are not difficult to pinpoint. The flow of opium out of Afghanistan is practically uncontrolled and could be expanded.

Iran, once one of the world's major opium producers, is back in the legal business after banning opium production for 13 years. Despite harsh penalties for trafficking, legal production will probably mean some diversion to the illegal market.

Beyond this are the opium-growing lands of Burma, Laos, and Thailand. American syndicates are already showing interest in this Southeast Asian source.

As for cannabis, the plant which provides marijuana and hashish, this sprouts like a weed in countries throughout the world.

Against this background, top narcotics agents are cautious in their claims for the

future. Not a single one I have talked to speaks of total eradication. Says one agent:

"The best we can hope for is to disrupt the traffic, to keep the producers and the traffickers off balance. The rest of the job has to be done at home."

CROSS SECTION OF EXPERT OPINION

This is not to say that disrupting the traffic is not important. Here, extracted from a cross section of expert opinion, are some moves that might help:

1. A bigger role for the United Nations. Member nations are never likely to give the UN a policeman's assignment, with UN narcotics agents deployed operationally. But the UN could do more to replace opium with better, cash-paying crops.

Afghanistan says it would welcome UN help—although it is reluctant to make any contribution of its own. One way to reduce opium growing in backward countries is to uplift the economy in general. The UN could assist.

This involves a great deal of money, and thus a far deeper commitment on the part of member nations to narcotics eradication. It is also a long-term project.

2. More pressure on major offending countries. Some of this could come from the UN. Says one narcotics expert:

"If the UN had been tougher about Turkey earlier, we would be further ahead than we are today."

Most of the pressure now comes from the United States. John E. Ingersoll, the dynamic director of the United States Justice Department's Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, has spoken out publicly and bluntly about Turkey's performance. Those around him believe he will not stop there. Says a U.S. narcotics agent:

"The time has come to stop being nice guys around the world. This problem is too serious."

But though President Nixon is personally enthusiastic about the antinarcotics campaign, other U.S. Government agencies have differing priorities.

Turkey may be the source of murderous heroin, but it plays a key role in NATO. It has a strategic position in the eastern Mediterranean at a time when Soviet influence and military power in the area are expanding fast. The State Department does not want the present Turkish administration ruffled.

DEVELOPMENT LOAN AUTHORIZED

Therefore the White House has just reportedly authorized a new \$40 million development loan to Turkey. Narcotics officials would like to see that kind of money used to exert leverage on the Turks to hasten their exit from the opium business.

More overt pressure from countries other than the United States might also help. But these have so far tended to dismiss the narcotics traffic as primarily an American problem. This may change. Some of these countries now have discovered they too have serious addiction problems.

3. Strengthening of antinarcotics agencies. In the United States this is being done, largely as the result of public concern over the narcotics problem.

At a time when other departments are fighting for funds, the Bureau of Narcotics budget is booming. This year it is \$27 million compared with \$18 million last year. The bureau has 835 agents in the field, and between 50 and 60 in Washington.

Earlier this month, the bureau chalked up a major success with nationwide raids against a ring of narcotics wholesalers. Federal agents arrested some 130 people and seized substantial quantities of heroin and cocaine.

But even when funds are on hand, it takes time to train good new agents, and more time for them to become experienced. One

possible shortcut: more office staff and back-up personnel for agents in the field who complain they spend too much time at their desks.

The Treasury Department's Bureau of Customs also got an additional \$8,750,000 this year for antinarcotics works. As a result, it is boosting its personnel by 879.

Though some other countries are spending more than previously on antinarcotics work, none is putting this kind of effort into the task.

PROMISING DEVICES PRODUCED

4. Research. So far the scientists have made no dramatic breakthroughs with equipment that might eliminate the narcotics traffic. But they should go on trying.

The Vietnam war has produced several promising devices, notably ground sensors to monitor movement across remote borders, as well as "sensing," or "sniffing" devices to detect opium and marijuana growth from the air.

The Atomic Energy Commission is working on a portable atomic camera to pinpoint narcotics shipments hidden in cargoes and suitcases.

Research is under way to trace chemical waste from clandestine heroin factories.

Most of all this is still in the experimental stage. Best results so far have come from the old-fashioned police dog, specially trained to sniff out narcotics.

5. Stiffer legislation and court action. This is a tricky area. Almost without exception, narcotics officers feel restricted and on the defensive when they go into court these days. Almost unanimously they want tougher legislation against narcotics offenders. If they do not have the "no-knock" provision when raiding suspect narcotics dives, for example, they contend traffickers can always get rid of drugs (usually down the toilet) before opening up to lawmen.

Narcotics agents are frustrated, for instance, when a San Bernardino, Calif., judge throws out a case in which they discovered heroin being smuggled in a baby's diapers. The judge ruled the search unconstitutional because the nine-month-old baby did not consent to the search.

CLEANUP OF CRIMINALS ORDERED

Agents complain that some judges undermine their work. Last fall President Nixon ordered a cleanup of criminals in the Washington area. The Bureau of Narcotics moved in crack agents, expended considerable time and money, and brought 42 alleged traffickers to court. Today 38 of them are out on bond. Those who are traffickers are presumably back pushing drugs.

The problem, of course, is that the desire for tougher action against narcotics offenders runs slap into the opposition of groups and individuals sensitive to any diminution of civil liberties.

Even so, the trend in a number of countries is toward tougher penalties for traffickers, with greater leniency for drug users. This is the pattern of new legislation in Britain, where drug addiction has suddenly emerged as a major problem.

Some lawmen, like Paris-based Interpol chief Jean Népoté, want improved extradition procedures for traffickers. Mr. Népoté favors more severe penalties for traffickers. He would like to see them punished not only for narcotics crimes in the country of arrest, but also for offenses committed previously in other countries.

If these suggestions proved acceptable and desirable, and could be implemented, they still, however, would not touch the problem of the addict's own reform.

Is the addict "sick" or a criminal? How best can he be reached? Young dabblers in narcotics, particularly those on "soft" drugs like marijuana, are often "turned off" by drug-education lectures that "preach."

What role can reformed addicts play in getting through to potential addicts? How about pop disc jockeys? Some radio programs, both commercial and underground, have encouraged drug taking. Now a number of disc jockeys are working with narcotics officials to combat this trend.

What can industry and business do? They should be concerned. According to the Research Institute of America, leading American companies now consider drug taking by employees a serious problem.

Along the international narcotics trail, brave young agents can work long and difficult hours, sometimes putting their lives on the line, to brake the traffic.

But their dedication is meaningless unless questions like these are answered at home.

INVESTIGATION OF FAMOUS WRITERS REQUESTED

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I would like to voice strong concern over a recent article in the Atlantic magazine describing deceptive sales practices of the Famous Writers Correspondence School.

I have written to both the Federal Trade Commission's Bureau of Deceptive Practices, and the Veterans' Administration, registering my concern, and requesting that they provide reports on the activities of the Famous Writers School.

If these allegations are correct, I am concerned that elderly widows, veterans, or anyone who does not have genuine need for, nor adequate ability to utilize such a course, might be encouraged to enroll. If there is a real desire to learn to write, there are apparently cheaper and more effective courses. High-pressure tactics and misleading information should not be used to gain enrollments for a course which would not attract enrollees on its merits. I believe the people of this country are entitled to protection from such unfair practices. The article follows:

LET US NOW APPRAISE FAMOUS WRITERS

(By Jessica Mitford)

First thing in the morning write down "The." Then follow with another word, then another . . . Such advice and more goes out to the would-be author from the Stratford-on-Avon of correspondence schools. A successful author, self-taught, here tells about the fun and profit, or profit at least, in teaching writing for fun and profit.

"Beware of the scribes who like to go about in long robes, and love salutations in the marketplaces . . . and the places of honor at feasts; who devour widow's houses . . ." (Luke 20: 46, 47.)

In recent years, I have become aware of fifteen Famous Faces looking me straight in the eye from the pages of innumerable magazines, newspapers, foldout advertisements, sometimes in black and white, sometimes in living color, sometimes posed in a group around a table, sometimes shown singly, pipe in hand in book-lined study or strolling through a woody countryside: the Guiding Faculty of the Famous Writers School. They are Faith Baldwin, John Caples, Bruce Catton, Bennett Cerf, Mignon G. Eberhart, Paul Engle, Bergen Evans, Clifton Fadiman, Rudolf Fleisch, Phyllis McGinley, J. D. Ratcliff, Rod

Serling, Max Shulman, Red Smith, Mark Wiseman.

Here is Bennett Cerf, most famous of them all, his kindly, humorous face aglow with sincerity, speaking to us in the first person from a mini-billboard tucked into our Sunday newspaper: "If you want to write, my colleagues and I would like to test your writing aptitude. We'll help you find out whether you can be trained to become a successful writer." And Faith Baldwin, looking up from her typewriter with an expression of ardent concern for that vast, unfulfilled sisterhood of nonwriters: "It's a shame more women don't take up writing. Writing can be an ideal profession for women. . . . Beyond the thrill of that first sale, writing brings intangible rewards." J. D. Ratcliff, billed in the ads as "one of America's highest-paid freelance authors," thinks it's a shame, too: "I can't understand why more beginners don't take the short road to publication by writing articles for magazines and newspapers. It's a wonderful life."

The short road is attained, the ads imply, via the aptitude test which Bennett Cerf and his colleagues would like you take so they may grade it "without charge." If you are one of the fortunate ones who do well on the test, you may "enroll for professional training." After that, your future is virtually assured for the ads promise that "Fifteen Famous Writers will teach you to write successfully at home."

These offers are motivated, the ads make clear, by a degree of altruism not often found in those at the top of the ladder. The Fifteen have never forgotten the tough times, the "sheer blood, sweat and rejection slips," as J. D. Ratcliff puts it, through which they suffered as beginning writers; and now they want to extend a helping hand to those still at the bottom rung. "When I look back, I can't help thinking of all the time and agony I would have saved if I could have found a real 'pro' to work with me," say Ratcliff.

How can Bennett Cerf—chairman of the board of Random House, columnist, television personality—and his renowned colleagues find time to grade all the thousands of aptitude tests that must come pouring in, and on top of that fulfill their pledge to "teach you to write successfully at home"? What are the standards for admission to the school? How many graduates actually find their way into the "huge market that will pay well for pieces of almost any length," which, says J. D. Ratcliff, exists for the beginning writer? What are the "secrets of success" that the Famous Fifteen say they have "poured into a set of specially created textbooks"? And how much does it cost to be initiated into these secrets?

My mild curiosity about these matters might never have been satisfied had I not learned, coincidentally, about two candidates for the professional training offered by the Famous Writers who passed the aptitude test with flying colors: a seventy-two-year-old foreign-born widow living on social security, and a fictitious character named Louella Mae Burns.

The adventures of these two impelled me to talk with Bennett Cerf and other members of the Guiding Faculty, to interview former students, to examine the "set of specially created textbooks" (and the annual stockholders' reports, which proved in some ways more instructive), and eventually to visit the school's headquarters in Westport, Connecticut.

An Oakland lawyer told me about the seventy-two-year-old widow. She had come to him in some distress; a salesman had charmed his way into her home and at the end of his sales pitch had relieved her of \$200 (her entire bank account) as a down payment on a \$900 contract, the balance of which would be paid off in monthly install-

ments. A familiar story, for like all urban communities ours is fertile ground for roving commission salesmen skilled in unloading on the unwary housewife anything from vacuum cleaners to deep freezers to encyclopedias to grave plots, at vastly inflated prices. The unusual aspect of this old lady's tale was the merchandise she had been sold. No sooner had the salesman left than she thought better of it, and when the lessons arrived, she returned them unopened.

To her pleas to be released from the contract, the Famous Writers replied: "Please understand that you are involved in a legal and binding contract," and added that the school's policy requires a doctor's certificate attesting to ill health before a student is permitted to withdraw.

There was a short, sharp struggle. The lawyer wrote an angry letter to the school demanding prompt return of the \$200 "fraudulently taken" from the widow, and got an equally stiff refusal in reply. He then asked the old lady to write out in her own words a description of the salesman's visit. She produced a garbled, semilliterate account, which he forwarded to the school with the comment: "This is the lady whom your salesman found to be 'very qualified' to take your writing course. I wonder if Mr. Cerf is aware of the cruel deceptions to which he lends his name?" At the bottom of his letter, the lawyer wrote the magic words, "Carbon copies to Bennett Cerf and to Consumer Frauds Division, office of the Attorney-General." Presto! The school suddenly caved in and returned the money in full to the widow.

Louella Mae Burns, the other successful candidate, is the brainchild of Robert Byrne and his wife. I met her in the pages of Byrne's informative and often hilarious book *Writing Rackets* (Lyle Stuart, 1969, \$4.00), which examines the lures held out to would-be writers by high-priced correspondence schools, phony agents who demand a fee for reading manuscripts, the "vanity" presses that will publish your book for a price.

Mrs. Byrne set out to discover at how low a level of talent one might be accepted as a candidate for "professional training" by the Famous Writers. Assuming the personality of a sixty-three-year-old widow of little education, she tackled the aptitude test.

The crux of the test is the essay, in which the applicant is invited to "tell of an experience you have had at some time in your life." Here, Louella Mae outdid herself: "I think I can truthfully say to the best of my knowledge that the following is truly the most arresting experience I have ever undergone. My husband, Fred, and I, had only been married but a short time . . ." Continuing in this vein, she describes "one beautiful cloudless day in springtime" and "a flock of people who started merging along the sidewalk. . . . When out of the blue came a honking and cars and motorcycles and policemen. It was really something! Everybody started shouting and waving and we finally essayed to see the reason of all this. In a sleek black limousine we saw real close Mr. Calvin Coolidge, the President Himself! It was truly an unforgettable experience and one which I shall surely long remember."

This effort drew a two-and-a-half-page typewritten letter from Donald T. Clark, registrar of Famous Writers School, which read in part: "Dear Mrs. Burns, Congratulations! The enclosed Test unquestionable qualifies you for enrollment . . . only a fraction of our students receive higher grades. . . . In our opinion, you have a basic writing aptitude which justifies professional training." And the clincher: "You couldn't consider breaking into writing at a better time than today. Everything indicates that the demand for good prose is growing much faster than the supply of trained talent. Just consider how a single article can cause a magazine's newsstand sales to soar; how a novel can

bring hundreds of thousands in movie rights . . ."

There is something spooky about this exchange, for I later found out that letters to successful applicants are written not by a "registrar," but by copywriters in the Madison Avenue office of the school's advertising department—Donald T. Clark's ghostwriter in earnest correspondence with ghost Louella Mae Burns.

Perhaps these two applicants are not typical of the student body. What of students who show genuine promise, those capable of "mastering the basic skills" and achieving a level of professional competence? Will they, as the school suggests, find their way into "glamorous careers" and be "launched on a secure future" as writers?

Robert Byrne gives a gloomy account of the true state of the market for "good prose" and "trained talent." He says that of all lines of work, free-lance writing is one of the most precarious and worst paid (as who should know better than Bennett Cerf & Co.?). He cites a survey of the country's twenty-six top magazines: of 79,812 unsolicited-article manuscripts, fewer than a thousand were accepted. Unsolicited fiction manuscripts fared far worse. Of 182,505 submitted, only 560 were accepted. Furthermore, a study based on the earnings of established writers, members of the Authors League with published books to their credit, shows that the average free-lance earns just over \$3000 a year, an income which, Byrne points out, "very nearly qualifies him for emergency welfare assistance."

What have the Famous Fifteen to say for themselves about all of this? Precious little, it turns out. Most of those with whom I spoke were quick to disavow any responsibility for the school's day-to-day operating methods and were unable to answer the most rudimentary questions: qualifications for admission, teacher-student ratio, cost of the course. They seemed astonished, even pained to think people might be naive enough to take the advertising at face value.

"If anyone thinks we've got time to look at the aptitude tests that come in, they're out of their mind!" said Bennett Cerf. And Phyllis McGinley: "I'm only a figurehead. I thought a person had to be qualified to take the course, but since I never see any of the applications or the lessons, I don't know. Of course, somebody with a real gift for writing wouldn't have to be taught to write."

One of the FWS brochures says, "On a short story or novel you have at hand the professional counsel of Faith Baldwin . . . all these eminent authors in effect are looking over your shoulder as you learn." Doesn't that mean in plain English, I asked Miss Baldwin, that she will personally counsel students? "Oh, that's just one of those things about advertising . . ." she replied. "Anyone with common sense would know that the fifteen of us are much too busy to read the manuscripts the students send in."

Famous Writer Mark Wiseman, himself an adman, explained the alluring promises of "financial success and independence," the "secure future as a writer" held out in the school's advertising. "That's just a fault of our civilization," he said. "You have to over-persuade people, make it all look optimistic, not mention obstacles and hurdles." Why does the school send out fleets of salesmen instead of handling all applications by mail? "If we didn't have salesmen, not nearly as many sales would be made. It's impossible, you see, to explain it all by mail, or answer questions people may have about the course." (That is to say, the school that claims to be able to impart the techniques requisite to becoming a best-selling author by mail, cannot explain the details of its course to prospects and answer their questions in the same fashion; but perhaps that is just another fault of our civilization.)

Professor Paul Engle, a poet who directed the Writers' Workshop at the University of Iowa, is the only professional educator among the fifteen. But like the others he pleads ignorance of the basics. The school's admissions policy, its teaching methods and selling techniques are a closed book to him. "I'm the least informed of all people," he said. "I only go there once in a great while. There's a distinction between the *guiding* faculty, which actually works with the students—who've spent really quite a lot of money on the course!" Professor Engle has met only once with the Guiding Faculty, to pose for a publicity photograph: "It was no meeting in the sense of gathering for the exchange of useful ideas. But I think the school is not so much interested in the work done by the guiding faculty as in the prestige of the names. When Bennett Cerf was on *What's My Line?* his name was a household word!"

How did professor Engle become a member of the Guiding Faculty in the first place? "That fascinated me!" he said. "I got a letter from a man named Gordon Carroll, asking me to come to Westport the next time I was in New York. So I did go and see him. He ask me if I would join the Guiding Faculty. I said, 'What do I guide?' We talked awhile, and I said, well, it seems all right, so I signed on." How could it come about that the Oakland widow and Louella Mae Burns were judged "highly qualified" to enroll? "I'm not trying to weasel out, or evade your questions, but I'm so very far away from all that."

Bennett Cerf received me most cordially in his wonderfully posh office at Random House. Each of us was (I think, in retrospect) bent on putting the other thoroughly at ease. "May I call you Jessica?" he said at one point. "I don't see why not, *Mortuary Management* always does." We had a good laugh over that.

He told me that the school was first organized in the late fifties (it opened for business in February, 1961) as an offshoot of the immensely profitable Famous Artists correspondence school, after which it was closely modeled. Prime movers in recruiting Famous Writers for the Guiding Faculty were the late Albert Dorne, an illustrator and president of Famous Artists, Gordon Carroll, sometime editor of *Coronet* and *Reader's Digest*, and Mr. Cerf. "We approached representative writers, the best we could get in each field: fiction, advertising, sports writing, television. The idea was to give the school some prestige."

Like his colleagues on the Guiding Faculty, Mr. Cerf does no teaching, takes no hand in recruiting instructors or establishing standards for the teaching program, does not pass on advertising copy except that which purports to quote him, does not supervise the school's business practices: I know *nothing* about the business and selling end and I care less. I've nothing to do with how the school is run; I can't put that too strongly to you. But it's been run extremely cleanly. I mean that from my heart, Jessica." What, then, is his guiding role? "I go up there once or twice a year to talk to the staff." The Guiding Faculty, he said, helped to write the original textbooks. His own contribution to these was a section on how to prepare a manuscript for publication: I spent about a week talking into a tape machine about how a manuscript is turned into a book—practical advice about double-spacing the typescript, how it is turned into galleys, through every stage until publication." How many books by FWS students has Random House published? "Oh, come on, you must be pulling my leg—no person of any sophistication, whose book we'd publish, would have to take a mail-order course to learn how to write."

However, the school does serve an extremely valuable purpose, he said, in teaching history professors, chemistry professors,

lawyers, and businessmen to write intelligibly. I was curious to know why a professor would take a correspondence course in preference to writing classes available in the English department of his own university—who are all these professors? Mr. Cerf said he did not know their names, or at which colleges they were presently teaching.

While Mr. Cerf is by no means uncritical of some aspects of mail-order selling, he philosophically accepts them as inevitable in the cold-blooded world of big business—so different, one gathers, from his own cultured world of letters. "I think mail-order selling has several built-in deficiencies," he said. "The crux of it is a very hard sales pitch, an appeal to the gullible. Of course, once somebody has signed a contract with Famous Writers he can't get out of it, but that's true with every business in the country." Noticing that I was writing this down, he said in alarm, "For God's sake, don't quote me on that 'gullible' business—you'll have all the mail-order houses in the country down on my neck!" "Then would you like to paraphrase it?" I asked, suddenly getting very firm. "Well—you could say in general I don't like the hard sell, yet it's the basis of all American business." "Sorry, I don't call that a paraphrase, I shall have to use both of them," I said, in a positively governessy tone of voice. "Anyway, why do you lend your name to this hard-sell proposition?" Bennett Cerf (with his melting grin): "Frankly, if you must know, I'm an awful ham—I love to see my name in the papers!"

On the delicate question of their compensation, the Famous ones are understandably reticent. "That's a private matter," Bennett Cerf said, "but it's quite generous, and we were given stock in the company, which has enhanced a great deal." I asked Phyllis McGinley about a report in *Business Week* some years ago that in addition to their substantial stock holdings each member of the Guiding Faculty receives 1.6 percent of the school's annual gross revenue, which then amounted to \$4400 apiece. "Oh?—Well, I may have a price on my soul, but it's not that low; we get a lot more than that!" she answered gaily.

With one accord the Famous Writers urged me to seek answers to questions about advertising policy, enrollment figures, costs, and the like from the director of the school, Mr. John Lawrence, former president of William Morrow publishing company. Mr. Lawrence invited me to Westport so that I could see the school in operation and meet Mr. Gordon Carroll, who is now serving as director of International Famous Writers Schools.

The Famous Schools are housed in a row of boxlike buildings at the edge of Westport ("It's Westport's leading industry," a former resident told me), which looks from the outside like a small modern factory. Inside, everything reflects expansion and progress. The spacious reception rooms are decorated with the works of Famous Artists, the parent school, and Famous Photographers, organized in 1964.

The success story, and something of the *modus operandi*, can be read at a glance in the annual shareholders' report and the daily stockmarket quotations (the schools have gone public and are now listed on the New York Stock Exchange as FAS).

Tuition revenue for the schools zoomed from \$7 million in 1960 to \$48 million in 1969. During this period the price per share of common stock rose from \$5 to \$40 (it has fallen sharply, however, in recent months).

The Schools' interest in selling as compared with teaching is reflected more accurately in the corporate balance sheets than in the brochures sent to prospective students. In 1966 (the last time this revealing breakdown was given), when total tuition revenue was \$28 million, \$10.8 million was spent on "advertising and selling" compared with \$4.8 million on "cost of grading and materials."

The Famous Schools have picked up many another property along the way: they now own the Evelyn Wood Reading Dynamics, Welcome Wagon, International Accountants Society (also a correspondence school), Linguaphone Institute, Computer College Selection Service. Their empire extends to Japan, Australia, Sweden, France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria. An invasion of Great Britain¹ is planned (the report warns) as soon as the English prove themselves worthy of it by stabilizing their currency situation. In the "market-testing stage" are plans for a Famous Musicians School, Business Courses for Women, a Writing for Young Readers Course.

Summarizing these accomplishments, the shareholders' report states: "We are in the vanguard of education throughout the world, the acknowledged leader in independent study and an innovator in all types of learning. We will continue to think boldly, to act with wisdom and daring, to be simultaneously visionary and effective." The schools mindful of "the deepening of the worldwide crisis in education" are casting predatory looks in the direction of "the total educational establishment, both academic and industrial." The shareholders' report observes sententiously, "As grave times produce great men to cope with them, so do they produce great ideas."

From Messrs. Lawrence and Carroll I learned these salient facts about Famous Writers School:

The cost of the course (never mentioned in the advertising, nor in the letters to successful applicants, and revealed only by the salesman at the point where the prospect is ready to sign the contract): \$785, if the student makes a onetime payment. But only about 10 percent pay in a lump sum. The cost to the 90 percent who make time payments, including interest, is about \$900, or roughly twenty times the cost of extension and correspondence courses offered by universities.

Current enrollment is 65,000, of which three quarters are enrolled in the fiction course, the balance in nonfiction, advertising, business writing. Teaching faculty: 55, or 118 1/2 students per instructor. Almost 2000 veterans are taking the course at the taxpayer's expense through the GI Bill.

There are 800 salesmen deployed throughout the country (14 1/2 salesmen to every instructor), working on a straight commission basis. I asked about the salesmen's kits: might I have one? "You'd need a dray horse to carry it!" Mr. Carroll assured me. He added that they are currently experimenting with a movie of the school, prepared by Famous Writer Rod Serling, to show in prospects' homes.

I was surprised to learn that despite the school's accreditation by such public agencies as the Veterans Administration and the National Home Study Council, it preserves considerable secrecy about some sectors of its operation. Included in the "confidential" category, which school personnel told me could not be divulged, are:

The amount of commission paid to salesmen.

Breakdown of the "sales and advertising" item in the shareholders' report as between sales commissions and advertising budget.

Breakdown of the income from tuition fees as between Writers, Artists, Photographers.

Terms of the school's contract with Guiding Faculty members.

If Bennett Cerf and his colleagues haven't time to grade the aptitude tests, who has? Their stand-ins are two full-timers and some forty pieceworkers, mostly housewives, who "help you find out whether you can be trained to become a successful writer" in the privacy of their homes. They grade the

tests at the rate of one every ten minutes. There are no standards for admission to FWS, one of the full-timers explained. "It's not the same thing as a grade on a college theme. The test is designed to indicate your potential as a writer, not your present ability." Only about 10 percent of the applicants are advised they lack this "potential," and are rejected.

The instructors guide the students from cheerful little cubicles equipped with machines into which they dictate the "two-page letter of criticism and advice" promised in the advertising. They are, Gordon Carroll told me, former free-lance writers and people with editorial background: "We never hire professional teachers, they're too dull! Ph.D.'s are the worst of all!" (Conversely, a trained teacher accustomed to all that the classroom offers might find an unrelieved diet of FWS students' manuscripts somewhat monotonous.) The starting salary for instructors is \$8500 a year, falling a bit short of the affluent and glamorous life dangled before their students in the school's advertising.

As I watched the instructors at work, I detected a generous inclination to accentuate the positive in the material submitted. Given an assignment to describe a period in time, a student had chosen 1933. Her first paragraph, about the election of FDR and the economic situation in the country, could have been copied out of any almanac. She had followed this with "There were headlines everywhere." I watched the instructor underline the headlines in red, and write in the margin: "Good work, Mrs. Smith! It's a pleasure working with you. You have recaptured the atmosphere of those days."

Although the key to the school's financial success is its huge dropout rate ("We couldn't make any money if all the students finished," Famous Writer Phyllis McGinley had told me in her candid fashion), the precise percentage of dropouts is hard to come by. "I don't know exactly what it is, or where to get the figures," said Mr. Lawrence. "The last time we analyzed it, it related to the national figure for high school and college dropouts; let's say about two thirds of the enrollments."

However, according to my arithmetic, based on figures furnished by the school, the dropout rate must be closer to 90 percent. Each student is supposed to send in twenty-four assignments over a three-year period, an average of eight a year. With 65,000 enrolled, this would amount to more than half a million lessons a year, and the fifty-five instructors would have to race along correcting these at a clip of one every few minutes. But in fact (the instructors assured me), they spend an hour or more on each lesson, and grade a total of only about 50,000 a year. "What happens to the other 470,000 lessons?" "That's baffling," said Mr. Carroll. "I guess you can take a horse to the water, but you can't make him drink."

These balking nags are, however, legally bound by the contract whether or not they ever crack a textbook or send in an assignment. What happens to the defaulter who refuses to pay? Are many taken to court? "None," said Mr. Lawrence. "It's against our policy to sue in court." Why, if the school considers the contract legally binding? "Well—there's a question of morality involved. You'd hardly take a person to court for failing to complete a correspondence course."

Mrs. Virginia Knauer, the President's special assistant for consumer affairs, with whom I discussed this later, suspects there is another question involved. "The Famous Writers would never win in court," she said indignantly. "A lawsuit would expose them—somebody should take them to court. Their advertising is reprehensible, it's very close to being misleading." Needless to say the debtors are not informed of the school's moral scruples against lawsuits. On the contrary, a Finnish immigrant, whose husband complained to Mrs. Knauer that although she

¹ FAS announced in May that it had acquired Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons Ltd., London.

speaks little English she had been coerced into signing for the course by an importunate salesman, was bombarded with dunning letters and telegrams full of implied threats to sue.

A fanciful idea occurred to me: since the school avers that it does not sue delinquents, I could make a fortune by advertising in the literary monthlies: "For \$10 I will tell you how to take the Famous Writers course for nothing." To those who sent in their \$10, I would return a postcard saying merely, "Enroll in the course and make no payments." I tried this out on Mr. Carroll, and subsequently on Bennett Cerf. Their reactions were identical. "You'd find yourself behind bars if you did that!" "Why? Whom would I have defrauded?" A question they were unable to answer, although Bennett Cerf, in mock horror, declared that the inventive mail-order industry would certainly find some legal means to frustrate my iniquitous plan.

Both Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Carroll were unhappy about the case of the seventy-two-year-old widow when I told them about it—it had not previously come to their attention. It was an unfortunate and unusual occurrence, they assured me, one of those slipups that may happen from time to time in any large corporation.

On the whole, they said, FWS salesmen are very carefully screened; only one applicant in ten is accepted. They receive a rigorous training in ethical salesmanship, every effort is made to see that they do not "oversell" the course or stray from the truth in their home presentation.

Eventually I had the opportunity to observe a presentation in the home of a neighbor who conjured up a salesman for me by sending in the aptitude test. A few days later she got a printed form letter (undated) saying that a field representative of the school would be in the area next week for a very short while and asking her to specify a convenient time when he might telephone for an appointment. There was something a little fuzzy around the edges here—for she had not yet heard from the school about the results of her test—but she let that pass.

The "field representative" (like the cemetery industry, the Famous Writers avoid the term "salesman") when he arrived had a ready explanation: The school had telephoned to notify him that my neighbor had passed the test, and to tell him that luckily for her there were "a few openings still left in this enrollment period"—it might be months before this opportunity would come again!

The fantasy he spun for us, which far outstripped anything in the advertising, would have done credit to the school's fiction course.

Pressed for facts and figures, he told us that two or three of the Famous Fifteen are in Westport at all times working with a staff of forty or fifty experts in their specialty, evaluating and correcting student manuscripts. . . . Your Guiding Faculty member, could be Bennett Cerf, could be Rod Serling depending on your subject, will review at least one of your manuscripts and may suggest a publisher for it . . . there are 300 instructors for 3000 students ["You mean, one teacher for every ten students?" I asked. "That's correct, it's a ratio unexcelled by any college in the country," said the field representative without batting an eye] . . . hundreds of university professors are currently enrolled . . . 75 percent of the students publish in their first year, and the majority more than pay for the course through their sales . . . there are very few dropouts because only serious, qualified applicants (like my neighbor) are permitted to enroll. . . .

During his two-hour discourse he casually mentioned three books recently published by students he personally enrolled; one is already being made into a movie! "Do tell us

the names, so we can order them?" But he couldn't remember, offhand: "I get so darn many announcements of books published by our students."

The course itself is packaged for maximum eye appeal in four hefty "two-toned, buckram bound" volumes with matching loose-leaf binders for the lessons. The textbooks contain all sorts of curious and disconnected matter: examples of advertisements that "pull," right and wrong ways of ending business letters, paragraphs from the *Saturday Evening Post*, *This Week*, *Reader's Digest*, quotations from successful writers like William Shakespeare, Faith Baldwin, Mark Twain, Mark Wiseman, Winston Churchill, Red Smith, an elementary grammar lesson ("Verbs are action words. A noun is the name of a person, place or thing"), a glossary of commonly misspelled words, a standard list of printer's proof-marking symbols.

There is many a homespun suggestion for the would-be Famous Writer on what to write about, how to start writing: "Writing ideas—ready-made aids for the writer—are available everywhere. In every waking hour you hear and see and feel. . . ." "How do you get started on a piece of writing? One successful author writes down the word 'The' the moment he gets to the typewriter in the morning. He follows 'The' with another word, then another. . . ." (But the text writer, ignoring his own good advice, starts a sentence with "As," and tangles himself in an unparsable sentence: "As with so many professional writers, Marjorie Holmes keeps a notebook handy. . . .")

Throughout the course the allusion is fostered that the student is, or soon will be, writing for publication: "Suppose you're sitting in the office of a magazine editor discussing an assignment for next month's issue." The set of books includes a volume entitled *How to Turn Your Writing into Dollars*, which winds up on a triumphal note with a sample publisher's contract and a sample agreement with a Hollywood agent.

In short, there is really nothing useful in these books that could not be found in any number of writing and style manuals, grammar texts, marketing guides, free for the asking in the public library. (Or, for under \$20 a writer can assemble his own textbook library. Everyone has his preferences; among my own favorites, sources of endless pleasure and instruction, are Fowler's *Modern English Usage*; *The Art of Writing* by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch; *The Elements of Style* by William Strunk, Jr., and E. B. White; *Roget's Thesaurus*; *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*.)

Thrown in as part of the \$785-\$900 course is a "free" subscription to *Famous Writers* magazine, a quarterly in which stories written by students appear under this hyperbolic caption: "Writers Worth Watching: In this section, magazine editors and book publishers can appraise the quality of work being done by FWS students." According to the school's literature, "each issue of the magazine is received and read by some 2,000 editors, publishers and other key figures in the writing world." However, Messrs. Carroll and Lawrence were unable to enlighten me about these key figures—who they are, how it is known that they read each issue, whether they have ever bought manuscripts from students after appraising the quality of their work.

The student sales department of the magazine is also worth watching. Presumably the school puts its best foot forward here, yet the total of all success stories recorded therein each year is only about thirty-five, heavily weighted in the direction of small denominational magazines, local newspapers, pet-lovers' journals, and the like. Once in a while a student strikes it rich with a sale to *Reader's Digest*, *Redbook*, *McCall's*, generally in "discovery" departments of these magazines that specifically solicit first-person anecdotes from their readers as distinct from

professional writers: Most Unforgettable Character, Turning Point, Suddenly it Happens to You.

The school gets enormous mileage out of these few student sales. The same old successful students turn up time and again in the promotional literature. Thus an ad in the January 4, 1970, issue of the *New York Times Magazine* features seven testimonials: "I've just received a big, beautiful check from the Reader's Digest . . ." "I've just received good news and a check from Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine . . ." "Recently, I've sold three more articles . . ." How recently? Checking back through old copies of *Famous Writers* magazine, I found the latest of these success stories had appeared in the student sales department of a 1968 issue; the rest had been lifted from issues of 1964 and 1965.

As for the quality of individual instruction, the reactions of several former FWS students with whom I spoke were varied. Only one, a "success story" lady featured in FWS advertising who has published four juvenile books, expressed unqualified enthusiasm. Two other successes of yesteryear, featured in the school's 1970 ad, said they had never finished the course and had published nothing since 1965.

An FWS graduate who had completed the entire course (and has not, to date, sold any of her stories) echoed the views of many: "It's tremendously overblown, there's a lot of busy work, unnecessary padding to make you think you're getting your money's worth. One peculiar thing is you get a different instructor for each assignment, so there's not much of the 'personal attention' promised in the brochures." However, she added, "I have to be fair. It did get me started, and it did make me keep writing."

The staggering dropout rate cannot, I was soon convinced, be laid entirely at the door of rapacious salesmen who sign up semiliterates and other incompetents. Many of those who told me of their experience with the school are articulate, intelligent people, manifestly capable of disciplined self-study that could help them to improve their prose style. Why should adults of sound mind and resolute purpose first enroll in FWS and then throw away their substantial investment? One letter goes far to explain:

"My husband and I bought the course for two main reasons. The first was that we were in the boon docks of Arkansas and we truly felt that the Famous Writers School under the sponsorship of Bennett Cerf etc. was new in concept and would have more to offer than other courses we had seen advertised. The second was the fact that we had a definite project in mind: a fictionalized account of our experiences in the American labor movement.

"I guess the worst part of our experience was the realization that the school could not live up to its advertised promise. It is in the area of the assignments and criticism that the course falls down. Because you get a different instructor each time, there is no continuity. This results in the student failing to get any understanding of story and structure from the very beginning.

"My husband completed about eight assignments, but felt so intensely frustrated with the course that he could not go on. He couldn't get any satisfaction from the criticism.

"While the school is careful to advise that no one can teach writing talent, they constantly encourage their students toward a belief in a market that doesn't exist for beginning writers. For us, it was an expensive and disappointing experience."

Another frequently voiced criticism: "The school attempts to indoctrinate its students with a universally palatable style geared strictly to the closest farm and garden market. They don't expect, or accept, experimental work. Forty years ago the sort of bland writing they encourage might have

found a home in the mass circulation family magazines—I doubt if it would today."

I showed to an English professor some corrected lessons that fell into my hands. One assignment: "to inject new life and color and dimension into a simple declarative sentence." From the sentence "The cat washed its paws," the student had fashioned this: "With fastidious fussiness, the cat flicked his pink tongue over his paws, laying the fur down neatly and symmetrically." The instructor had crossed out "cat" and substituted "the burly gray tomcat." With fastidious fussiness, the lanky tweed-suited English professor clutched at his balding, pink pate and emitted a low, agonized groan of bleak and undisguised despair: "Exactly the sort of wordly stuff we try to get students to avoid."

The phenomenal success of FWS in attracting students (if not in holding them) does point to an undeniable yearning on the part of large numbers of people not only to see their work published, but also for the sort of self-improvement the school purports to offer. As Robert Byrne points out, what can be learned about writing from a writing course can be of great value in many areas of life "from love letters to suicide notes." For shut-ins, people living in remote rural areas, and others unable to get classroom instruction, correspondence courses may provide the only opportunity for supervised study.

Recognizing the need, some fifteen state universities offer correspondence courses that seem to me superior to the Famous Writers course for a fraction of the cost. True, the universities neither package nor push their courses, they provide no handsome buckram-bound two-tone loose-leaf binders, no matching textbooks, no sample Hollywood contract.

Unobtrusively tucked away in the Lifelong Learning bulletin of the University of California Extension at Berkeley are two such offerings: magazine-article writing, 18 assignments, fee \$55, and short-story theory and practice, 15 assignments, fee \$35 (\$5 more for out-of-state enrollees). There are no academic requirements for these courses; anybody can enroll. No danger here of the Oakland widow or Louella Mae Burns getting sucked in, for those who in the instructor's opinion prove to be unqualified are advised to switch to an elementary course in grammar and composition.

Cecilia Bartholomew, who has taught the shortstory course by correspondence for the past twelve years, is herself the author of two novels and numerous short stories. She cringes at the thought of drumming up business for the course: "I'd be a terrible double-dealer to try to sell people on it," she said. Like the Famous Writers instructors, Mrs. Bartholomew sends her students a lengthy criticism of each assignment, but unlike them she does not cast herself in the role of editor revising stories for publication: "It's the improvement in their writing technique that's important. The aim of my course is to develop in each student a professional standard of writing. I'll tell him when a piece is good enough to submit to an editor, but I'll never tell him it will sell." Have any of her students sold their pieces? "Yes, quite a few. Some have published in volumes of juvenile stories, some in Hitchcock Mysteries. But we don't stress this at all."

In contrast, Louise Boggess, who teaches magazine-article writing by correspondence in addition to her classes in "professional writing" at the College of San Mateo, exudes go-ahead salesmanship: she believes that most of her students will eventually find a market for their work. The author of several how-to-do-it books (among them *Writing Articles that Sell*, which she uses as the text for her course), she points her students straight toward the mass writing market. In

her streamlined, practical lessons the emphasis is unabashedly on formula writing that will sell. Her very first assignment is how to write a "hook," meaning an arresting opening sentence. What does she think of the word "The" for an opener? It doesn't exactly grab her, she admitted.

During the eighteen months she has been teaching the correspondence course, several of her 102 students have already sold pieces to such magazines as *Pageant*, *Parents*, *Lady's Circle*, *Family Weekly*; she has had about six drop-outs, an enviable record by FWS standards.

My brief excursion into correspondence-school-land taught me little, after all, that the canny consumer does not already know about the difference between buying and being sold. As Faith Baldwin said, most advertising is sometimes misleading; as Bennett Cerf said, the crux of mail-order selling is a hard pitch to the gullible. We know that the commission salesman will, if we let him into our homes, dazzle and bemuse us with the beauty, durability, unexcelled value of his product, whatever it is.

As for the tens of thousands who sign up with FWS when they could get a better and cheaper correspondence course through the universities (or, if they live in a city, adult-education extension courses), we know from reading Vance Packard that people tend to prefer things that come in fancy packages and cost more.

There is probably nothing illegal in the FWS operation, although the consumer watchdogs have their eye on it.

Robert Hughes, counsel for the Federal Trade Commission's Bureau of Deceptive Practices, told me he has received a number of complaints about the school, mostly relating to the high-pressure and misleading sales pitch. "The real evil is in the solicitation and enrollment procedures," he said. "There's a basic contradiction involved when you have profit-making organizations in the field of education. There's pressure to maximize the number of enrollments to make more profit. Surgery is needed in the enrollment procedure."

There is also something askew with the cast of characters in the foregoing drama which would no doubt be quickly spotted by FWS instructors in television-script writing ("where the greatest market lies for the beginning writer," as the school tells us).

I can visualize the helpful comment on my paper: "Good work, Miss Mitford. The Oakland widow's problem was well thought through. But characterization is weak. You could have made your script more believable had you chosen a group of shifty-eyed hucksters out to make a buck, one step ahead of the sheriff, instead of these fifteen eminently successful and solidly respectable writers, who are well liked and admired by the American viewing public. For pointers on how to make your characters come to life in a way we can all identify with, I suggest you study Rod Serling's script *The Twilight Zone* in the kit you received from us. Your grade is D—. It has been a pleasure working with you. Good luck!"

HIGHWAY SAFETY LEADERSHIP

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, the need for State and local initiative in developing traffic safety programs was very graphically pointed out by Brad Crittenden, Director of Traffic Program

Services of the Transportation Department's National Highway Safety Bureau, in a recent speech.

Mr. Crittenden, who was formerly the head of the California Highway Patrol, has made it crystal clear that if the slaughter on the Nation's highways is to be reduced, State and local governments "must lead and bring forth the impetus in creation of traffic safety programs, highway planning, driver education and law enforcement."

I commend Mr. Crittenden for his outstanding analysis of the Nation's traffic safety program made before the National Assembly of Local Leaders for Traffic Safety here in Washington recently.

I would also like to point out that Mr. Crittenden was high in his praise of the efforts of the National Association of Counties to upgrade State and local safety.

I urge that my colleagues take the time to read Mr. Crittenden's outstanding remarks and I hope that it will be brought to the attention of local government officials throughout the country. They follow:

PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTATION OF HIGHWAY SAFETY STANDARDS

I am complimented, as the director of the Traffic Safety Programs Service, to have the opportunity to talk to your organization. It is no overstatement to describe your group as one of the most influential bodies of decisionmakers in the country. I welcome this chance to plead for your help and counsel.

In the past year we killed about 1100 persons a week, about 155 a day. These statistics have been repeated frequently in this and other conferences. They are familiar to you. You also know that those who were killed were not "out there" in never-never land. They were in our counties. They were our friends, relatives and close ones. Their deaths have left unfillable voids, created indescribably tragic family situations, and made a ghoulish art of calculating the incalculable cost of the deaths and injuries on the highways. But I repeat, they happened on our highways. They came about for a variety of frequently complex and interrelated reasons, but on our roads, in our communities and political jurisdictions.

From this preface, that you all know so well, let me address myself to the role of local governments in highway safety.

The National Highway Safety Bureau recently concluded its evaluation of State highway safety plans as required in our basic legislation, Public Law 564 of the 89th Congress. The charge to the bureau, as laid down in that law reads as follows:

"1. Each State shall have a highway safety program, approved by the Secretary.

"2. He shall not approve any program which does not authorize political subdivisions to carry out highway safety programs within their jurisdictions. . . . In accordance with the uniform standards promulgated under this section.

"3. The plan shall provide that at least 40 per centum of all Federal funds apportioned (for this purpose) will be expended by the political subdivisions of such State. . . . And

"4. After December 31, 1969, the Secretary shall not apportion any funds . . . to any State which is not implementing a highway safety program approved by the Secretary in accordance to this section as well as reduce Federal aid highway funds by 10% until the State is implementing an approved highway safety program."

The law further requires the intensive involvement of local governments with explicit references to local governments in—

1. Stating the authority of the Secretary to assist and cooperate with them;
2. Authorizing local government participation;
3. Prescribing minimum financial benefits;
4. Interpreting base year aggregates to include local government participation;
5. Including their requirements in highway safety research and development; and
6. Providing for their representation on the National Highway Safety Advisory Committee.

Further, the Secretary must evaluate the effectiveness of local safety programs and include in his detailed cost estimates recommendations for local as well as State and Federal matching funds.

The concern of the Congress to provide help for local governments and to hold local governments responsible for providing traffic safety is thus explicit throughout the law.

Since the inception of the Highway Safety Bureau's programs we have had evidence of problems in getting local governments' attention to highway safety, and our review confirmed these misgivings. Let me quote from some of our letters to the States:

"Inadequate involvement of the State's local governments."

"Local government participation is lacking."

"Considerable weaknesses in programs at local levels."

"Local government programs reflect a somewhat lower level of participation."

"There is a need for fuller involvement of local governments."

"There is a need for much more participation by local governments."

"The absence of local government participation is a significant deficiency."

"The program is weak in most programs at the local government level."

Thus, it may be fairly stated, that one of the real disappointments in the reviews of State safety plans, was the confirmation that too little effort was being expended by local governments.

We are aware of the intense competition for the tax dollar. We are aware of the fiscal problems in all local governments. But it is a fair question to ask if local governments are doing all they can to reduce the incredibly high price being paid on the Nation's roads. We don't think they are and we don't believe they are pressing for all the help they could get from their States and the Federal Government.

Our resources are not unlimited but we are most anxious to share them—our skills, our manpower, our finances and our research with you. But in the traffic safety programs administered in local governments the demands for attention to highway safety are too few and its voices are too weak. It is necessary that local government officials call for attention from their Governors' representatives for highway safety and from us. Only in that way can all concerned become responsive to these very obvious needs.

Your citizens are asking questions about:

The alcoholic driver,
How long do I have to wait for an ambulance if I am in a traffic crash?

Whom do I call for such services?

Why aren't older drivers reexamined more often?

Why aren't traffic laws uniform in this country?

Why can drunk drivers get away with only a fine for reckless driving?

Why can't the curve in the road near my home be improved?

Why are there so many confusing signs on the road?

Why don't we ever see a policeman when we need one?

One State is proposing a 50 percent increase in availability of driver education to high school students. Another has found a cost reduction by the use of simulators. Al-

ready, over 135,000 professionals and technicians in highway safety have, by this law, been provided training of all types. First aid, police training, emergency medical personnel, school bus drivers are only a few disciplines receiving this training. One state found that 22 percent of people renewing their driver licenses did not pass the initial vision tests. More than half of the federally funded projects in the alcohol area are at the local level.

One state has already conducted over 1800 on-site accident investigations resulting in safety improvements to over 400 of them. Seventeen thousand policemen have been given specialized training as a result of this program. Twenty thousand others have been given training in alcohol testing.

Normally it is the local policeman who investigates vehicle crashes, arrests the drunken driver, and administers the alcohol test following the arrest; it is the local judge who hears cases involving traffic violations; it is the secondary school teacher who provides training for prospective drivers; and it is the local traffic engineer who is responsible for improving the street system and modernizing traffic control devices.

Local government officials are in the best position to know what the problems are in their communities. The traffic engineer can determine where the high accident locations are and the steps which are needed to correct the problems. And the police chief is familiar with the rising trend in traffic deaths and injuries that stem from the abuse of alcohol and the kind of preventive action which should be taken to protect innocent drivers and pedestrians.

When you go home, take a look at what needs to be done to improve traffic safety in your county. Look into driver education in your schools. Is driver education available to all youths of licensing age? Is there a traffic education program for all children from kindergarten through high school?

Has your community provided for adequate emergency medical services? Community emergency medical services are vital to the survival of the seriously injured, and, in many instances, determine the extent of the aftereffects of the injury.

Maybe you will find that the intoxicated alcoholic driver is a major cause of traffic fatalities in your community. Recent studies have shown that alcohol is the largest single factor leading to fatal crashes.

We have found that the use of alcohol by drivers and pedestrians is a factor in about 25,000 traffic deaths and in at least 800,000 crashes in the United States each year.

Within the standards we have recognized the role of local governments. In driver education, for example, the standard calls for each State, in cooperation with its political subdivisions to have a driver education and training program which provides, among other things for the driver to learn the local motor vehicle laws and ordinances.

In codes and laws our standard requires a plan to achieve rules of the road in all jurisdictions of the State.

In traffic courts the standard provides that all courts complement and support local highway safety objectives.

In alcohol the State is required, in cooperation with its political subdivisions, to develop and implement a program to achieve a reduction in traffic accidents resulting from persons driving under the influence of alcohol.

Our engineering standards call for cooperation between State and county and other local governments in identifying and maintaining surveillance of high accident locations, in highway design, maintenance and construction, in programs relating to the use of traffic control devices.

Other standards prescribe cooperation between State and local political subdivision, police services, traffic supervision, and emergency medical services.

However, the next step is up to the local officials. Action programs to meet these needs depend upon their initiative. They must identify the problems, develop proposed programs and submit them to the Governor's representative for inclusion in the State's comprehensive highway safety program.

Ask questions to determine what the situation is. Examine local resources to see whether you are getting the greatest payoff from current activities. For example, maybe a little more money in the field would result in improved pedestrian safety for school children and would not hurt other programs.

Local planning and solid effort are essential if we are to succeed in bringing about a reduction in traffic deaths and injuries. This can only be accomplished through the interest and active support of local government officials.

To assist local governments in their overall plans for highway safety activities, the National Highway Safety Bureau recently published a booklet entitled, "Local Participation in State and Community Highway Safety Programs." I brought several copies with me for those of you who are interested, and you are welcome to take a copy if you so desire.

You will note that instead of the complicated instructions generally accompanying a Federal program, we have tried to keep the procedures as simple as possible, and you will also note that in 12 of the 16 standard areas, local government activity can be an effective means of reducing crashes and resulting tragedies.

The booklet covers representative projects and identifies where the Federal Government may participate in their cost, and also contains a copy of the standards and the methodology which must be followed to apply for a grant.

In order to make it easier for you to find out more about this program, I have brought a list of the Governor's highway safety representatives from the various States in this area, copies of these are also available.

I hope this information will assist you in helping your Governor develop truly comprehensive and effective State programs for highway safety in your area.

You will be interested to know that as of a month ago almost 47% of our section 402 grant in aid moneys were being spent by or for the benefit of local political subdivisions. This was in contrast to under 41% a year ago. This is an indication that the percentage of our funds going to local governments has increased in most States. For example, in two Southern States the increase was from 45 to 59%, 39 to 51%, 26 to 37% and from 14 to 43%. In two Midwestern States from 33 to 81% and 21 to 65%.

On the other hand local government participation in other States slid from 56 to 49%, 39 to 32.5% and 42 to 36%. And there are yet a few States not doing enough to involve their local governments. For example, one State rose from 31 to 34% but this is inadequate. One fell from 24 to 22%. One remains at about 26%. One rose from 19 to 29% but this is also far short, and one State fell from 42 to 29%.

Our recent reorganization, to which Mr. Toms addressed himself, will make it easier for your governments and the States to be heard at the top levels of the Department of Transportation. And within the Bureau, our nine regional offices are anxious to help you and your Governors' representatives. Those offices are strategically located in principal cities around the country—from San Francisco to Albany, and from Atlanta to Portland, Oregon.

But there are actions you can take to make your roads safer, to educate your drivers, to enforce safety laws and most of all, to make your citizenry aware of the increasing peril that attends our daily driving and what they must do to reduce the terrible price we are paying.

Call on us and on your States for help. We and they will respond. I have recently read part of the draft of a NACO guide on "responsibilities of local officials to participate in the implementation of the National Highway Safety Standards." I found the following quote thoroughly commendable:

1. "Like all successful programs, highway safety—at any level of government—demands interaction, coordination and planning among the various elements in the community.

2. "Highway safety is not regarded by local governments as a primary function and is treated as a complementary function in relation to other services such as public works, health, and safety. People are being needlessly killed as a result of motor vehicle accidents. Obviously, various jurisdictions and their elected officials are yielding to the temptation of openly and enthusiastically supporting first and foremost the programs that do not seem to cost much and do not seem to need any more of an input than normal.

"The fact still remains that someone has to take the initiative to make highway safety a reality; to make it something that requires effort, but is worth far more than the effort; to make it something that is measured as expensive, not because it costs money and time, but rather because its absence measures expense in life and limb. . . .

"Highway safety programs must be implemented. Local elected officials, alone, have access to the machinery necessary to make highway safety an important issue. Local elected officials, alone, have the forum through which support for such programs can be gathered. Local elected officials, alone, have access to the statistics that can be used to make highway safety an economically desirable goal. And local elected officials, alone, are the dominant subjects in the local daily papers which can generate, arrest and manipulate public opinion in favor of such programs. No elected official should deny his responsibility in implementing traffic accident measures in his community."

GOODBYE, BOOKER T.

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, it is not often in these days of polarized thought to hear voices which express balanced, reasoned, and objective views on the problems which confront our Nation.

One such exposition recently appeared in the Spring issue of *Beacon*, which is published by the Emerson College Press. The article, entitled "Goodbye, Booker T.," was written by a young Cleveland attorney, Robert Storey. Mr. Storey is a trustee of Exeter, of the Ohio Foundation of Independent Colleges and an elected director of the Associated Harvard Alumni. I felt that his plea for change within a framework of unity and understanding is most articulate and recommend it to the attention of my colleagues. The article follows:

GOODBYE, BOOKER T.

(By Robert Storey)

For a period of approximately one and a half years before he entered Hampton Institute, Booker T. Washington worked as a house boy in the Virginia home of General Lewis Ruffner and his wife, Viola. In his book *Up from Slavery*, Washington recalled

that Mrs. Ruffner was a Yankee lady from Vermont with a reputation for strictness in her dealings with domestics. She "wanted things done promptly and systematically. . . . Nothing must be sloven or slipshod; every door, every fence must be kept in repair." The President of Tuskegee Institute reflecting on this experience wrote that "the lessons I learned in the home of Mrs. Ruffner were as valuable to me as any education I have ever gotten anywhere since."

This attitude perhaps best illustrates why Booker T. Washington is no idol to young black people in America today. Washington, with his unflinching faith in industry, perseverance, learning, and the ultimate triumph of individual merit, is about as fashionable in youthful black circles today as is his white counterpart, Horatio Alger, among the membership of SDS. In today's parlance neither is exactly a household word. Indeed, they are the enemy. They are the enemy because they personify the kind of individual success which no longer placates young Americans—black, brown, yellow, red or white—who see themselves as shock troops in new mass revolutions. Men such as Roosevelt, Churchill, Eisenhower, and DeGaulle who continued to inspire even my college generation of the Fifties are of no consequence, except in a negative sense, to today's young activists. Such men devoted their lives to preserving a socio-economic system which is the common object of assault by Weathermen, Black Panthers, The Indian Patrol, and Chinese Red Guard. The latter groups find their culture heroes in such men as Malcolm X, Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, and Fidel Castro—men who advocate major, radical surgery to mend a society that has not responded to what is regarded, as heretofore minor treatment.

Perplexed parents, college officials, and employers understandably wish to know how all this has come about and what can be done about it.

When a black seamstress named Rosa Parks refused to yield her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama bus to a white man on December 1, 1955, it occurred to few people, least of all Mrs. Parks, that her simple act of defiance of local custom would touch off one of the greatest and broadest reform movements that this country has ever known. What southern segregationists saw as an act of an arrogant black woman and northern liberals saw as a *cause célèbre* was probably best and most perceptively described by Martin Luther King, Jr. when he called it "her intrepid affirmation that she had had enough. It was an individual expression of a timeless longing for human dignity and freedom."

It was the genius of King that permitted him to grasp the universality of Rosa Parks' defiance and to help transform that act into the broadly based civil rights movement of the late Fifties and early Sixties. Under his leadership, black and white, young and old worked together across religious, economic, and state lines "to overcome." Young collegians especially delighted in the exhilaration of commitment and participation demonstrated by sit-ins, wade-ins, kneel-ins, and the like. Voter registration drives allowed them to assert personally what they had only theorized about in political science classes. They came to believe that they could indeed have an immediate role in making America a better place and increasing numbers of them determined to make the effort.

The Civil Rights Movement of the early Sixties was an affirmation of hope that injustices accumulated over the years could be eradicated by appealing to the rational and moral sense of the nation. It was an acting out of the stated American belief that citizens may effectively petition government for the redress of grievances. The guiding philosophy of the Civil Rights era was the concept

of nonviolent resistance. There were five elements of nonviolent protest, according to Dr. King. The first was to use the process of mind and emotion to persuade your opponent that he is wrong. Second, the nonviolent protester did not seek to defeat or humiliate his adversary but rather to win his friendship and understanding. Third, protest was to be centered not against persons but rather against "forces of evil." As King said to the people of Montgomery:

"The tension in this city is not between white people and Negro people. The tension is, at bottom, between justice and injustice, between the forces of light and the forces of darkness. And if there is a victory, it will be a victory not merely for fifty thousand Negroes, but a victory for justice and the forces of light. We are out to defeat injustice and not white persons who may be unjust."

The fourth point of nonviolence, as advocated by King, was a willingness to accept suffering without retaliation, to be hit without hitting back. Fifth, the nonviolent resister had to avoid what King called violence of the spirit. He must not only refuse to shoot his opponent but must also refuse to hate him. "To retaliate in kind," wrote Dr. King, "would do nothing but intensify the existence of hate in the universe; along the way of life, someone must have sense enough and morality enough to cut off the chain of hate. This can only be done by projecting the ethic of love to the center of our lives."

One need only reflect on the events growing out of the 1968 Democratic Convention, the many confrontations on university campuses, and even shoot-outs between police and militants in our cities to see to what degree protesters have abandoned the King approach. There are undoubtedly a number of reasons why this has occurred, but the major explanation is that a growing number of persons have despaired of the demanding methods of, and slow response to, nonviolent protest. To these people, the 1963 March on Washington, which was the crowning achievement of the bi-racial Civil Rights Movement, was a fraud because the nation and its leaders did not respond adequately to the urgency of the plea. The problem of jobs, housing, and education for the black masses remained largely unattended to, and the nonviolent approach to solutions came under critical scrutiny.

The central figure in the attack on non-violence of action and spirit was Malcolm X. Malcolm was a man of great talent and insight whose ideas converted the intellectual and bi-racial Civil Rights Movement into a struggle for identity for the masses of black people. Whereas King sought to appeal to the minds and hearts of all Americans, Malcolm aimed for the jugular of what he termed the collective white man. "You cannot find one black man," he wrote, "who has not been personally damaged in some way by the devilish acts of the collective white man."

The issue and the goal were quite clear to Malcolm:

"Human rights! Respect as human beings! That's what America's black masses want. That's the true problem. The black masses want not to be shrunk from as though they are plague ridden. They want not to be walled up in slums, in the ghettos, like animals. They want to live in an open, free society where they can walk with their heads up, like men and women."

The nonviolent Civil Rights Movement was bound to fail, in Malcolm's view, because it appealed to instincts and qualities which were present in too few white Americans. "The problem here in America," he wrote, "is that we meet such a small minority of individual so-called 'good' or 'brotherly' white people. Here in the United States, notwithstanding those few 'good' white people, it is the collective 150 million white people

whom the collective 22 million black people have to deal with!"

The assassination of Malcolm X brought to the fore a number of would-be successors to the throne of radical protest. Through the medium of television and the front pages of the newspapers, they have been paraded before the American consciousness. One of them, Stokely Carmichael, popularized the concept of "black power." "We are oppressed as a group because we are black," Carmichael said. "We are oppressed because we are black, and in order to get out of that oppression, one must feel the group power that one has. Not the individual power which . . . is called in this country . . . integration." The falling of the concept of integration, according to Carmichael, is that it is a concept of, by, and for a few. He addressed himself to the problem of the many in these words in a 1966 speech at Berkeley:

" . . . we cannot afford to be concerned about six percent of the children in this country. I mean the black children who you allow to come into white schools. We have 94 percent who still live in shacks. We are concerned about [that] 94 percent. You ought to be concerned about them, too. . . . Are we willing to be concerned about the black people who will never get to Berkeley, who will never get to Harvard and cannot get an education . . . ? The question is, how can white society begin to move to see black people as human beings? I am black, therefore I am. Not that I am black and I must go to college to prove myself. I am black, therefore I am."

We are now in a situation in America where the rhetoric and techniques of the last stages of the Civil Rights Movement have been adopted by disenfranchised youths across the land. The hallowed procedures of protest, negotiation, and compromise are being discarded by young radicals of every hue. As one of their contemporary heroes, Eldridge Cleaver, states it:

" . . . problems . . . can no longer be compromised or swept cleverly under that national rug of self-delusion. . . . Those who are victimized by these 'social problems'—Negroes, the aged, unemployed and unemployable, the poor, the miseducated and dissatisfied students, the haters of war and lovers of man—have flung back the rug in outraged rebellion, refusing to be silenced until their grievances are uncompromisingly redressed. America has come alive deep down in its raw guts, and vast contending forces of revolutionary momentum are squaring off in this land for decisive showdowns from which no one can purchase sanctuary."

As viewed by Cleaver and his black, white, brown, red, and yellow adherents, the fundamental political problem facing the world today is whether America moves decisively to the right or to the left. Who are the true patriots, he asks, the new right or the new left?

It seems to me that the only answer to this question must be that neither the new right nor the new left should be allowed to claim the exclusive banner of true patriotism. America must restore and reactivate the broad national consensus for change which was in the process of development during the Civil Rights era. Significant and lasting change can only come about within an institutional framework. Therefore we must make the institutions of this nation—political, financial, legal, educational, and union—responsive to just demands and proper grievances. Students and ghetto leaders are not in a position to bring about the necessary changes; they can only focus our attention on the problems. Those who sit in a position to bring about orderly change within commonly respected institutions must do so or the consequences will be severe for America.

This is not to say that every demand of student or ghetto spokesmen is a just one

or can be acted upon immediately. However, many can be, and it is the task of enlightened leadership to determine what ought to be done and how to go about doing it.

In order to go about what President Kennedy termed "America's unfinished business," we must first rid our minds of diversionary attitudes and biases. We must not permit inconsequential matters such as age, dress, hair style, or skin color to derail us. We must also acknowledge that no group of people, whatever their age, mode of dress, or pigmentation, can legitimately claim a monopoly on wisdom. There are probably as many fools under thirty as over.

Once we have cleared the air of such polluting irrelevancies, thereby permitting the patient to breathe, we must acknowledge such illnesses as exist in the body of our institutions and go about healing them. We should accept, as the radicals point out, that aspirin will not cure the patient but will merely make it easier to live with the problem. Where major surgery is required, we must prepare the patient for the operation and enlist the skills of the needed specialists to do the jobs.

The task of leadership in the Seventies is not to close the door on needed change or to attempt to censor or silence its adherents. My generation in particular, branded "silent" in the Fifties, must let contemporary America know that silence is neither golden nor necessarily virtuous. Articulation of problems and the related struggle to correct them are necessary ingredients of change. As Frederick Douglass said:

"If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its waters."

We shall need all the talent and support which can be mustered for this great effort and it will require nothing less than a broad national commitment. It must be the kind of effort which has the delivery capacity to repudiate not only the new left but also the new right. Fundamentally, we must demonstrate to America and the world that black and white together, young and old in concert, rich and poor united, we can overcome. Then and only then can we say with authority that Booker T. Washington's faith in America was not misplaced.

BATTLE OF THE BOTTLENECK RUMBLING ON

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, a recent article from the New York Times documents various "bottlenecks" faced each day by the commuter who drives in and out of New York City during rush hours. A number of facts cited in the article are of particular interest.

First, 18,000 cars are parked illegally in Manhattan every day. Second, 10,000 cars receive parking tickets each day. Third, despite a citywide crackdown on illegal parkers that has raised the cost of retrieving a towed car to \$75, only 320 of the 18,000 illegally parked cars can be towed away each day.

The article also states that a New York Times survey showed that many drivers stated that in spite of the predictable traffic jams, driving to work was still

quicker or more comfortable than using mass transit. Mr. Speaker, this must change. We must provide modern, fast, and economical mass transportation systems to our cities if they are to survive.

I want to urge, once again, that the Congress adopt measures which will permit the use of money from the highway trust fund for mass transportation. Such money truly would benefit highway users since it would unclog our bottle-necks without contributing to the ever-increasing paving of our countryside.

The text of the New York Times article follows:

BATTLE OF THE BOTTLENECK RUMBLING ON (By Edward C. Burks)

On a 10th Avenue parking lot about 5 P.M. the other day, a natty young man from Nyack stood beside his auto with all the jauntiness of an Errol Flynn about to launch himself against Baron von Richthofen.

He had that same glazed look of the World War I ace as he headed for "doomsday alley," in his case, the cobbled West Side Highway.

As one of some 700,000 drivers who creep, honk, lane-jump, zoom and squeeze their way into Manhattan each day—bumper to bumper, fender to fender, temper to temper—the man from Nyack was intent on proving that it was possible to get out again.

Why do they do it? Why do they undergo the daily torture of battling inch by inch across a no-man's land of overstuffed tunnels, overcrowded highways, and overage pavement especially when the "fearless forecaster" in the helicopter is radioing down to them the implausibility of it all?

How do they do it when every "expressway" has a way of becoming a traffic trap at peak periods? There are so many traffic terrors around town that the Automobile Club of New York, an organization of 400,000 motorists, has drawn up its own "hit parade" of 11 most horrible cases—and decided to stop right there. Any motorist could add a dozen more.

THE JANGLED WEBS

The automobile club's examples range from "kamikaze circle"—the \$65-million wrangle in the Bronx at Bruckner Circle, where an interchange of three expressways is under construction—to chronically overloaded spots on the Franklin D. Roosevelt Drive, and various Expressways.

Many drivers questioned in a New York Times survey said that, despite everything, the ride by car is still quicker, or at least far more comfortable, than rapid transit or commuter railroad. Quite a few are business or sales people like the man from Nyack, and can write off the \$1.50 to \$4.50 daily parking fee.

Many others are "gamblers" who take a chance on street parking. Eighteen thousand of them, according to the Automobile Club, park illegally on a given day in Manhattan, remaining minutes or hours.

Nearly 10,000 drivers throughout the city get parking tickets every day, and 320 each day find their vehicles have been towed away by the police. (The charge to recover a car is \$50 plus the \$25 parking fine.)

At day's end, the man from Nyack and countless thousands of others roar up the ramps onto the elevated West Side Highway, which is a twisting affair, because of engineering problems of the past, and rough, because its stone roadbed is too thin for proper rebuilding.

THE BIG-TIME PROBLEMS

But the driver bouncing along the West Side Highway, must know that, for all his bravado, he is viewed as an amusing amateur, no more, by drivers "in the big time" for instance, by fellows on the East River Drive, that noxious nightmare that the official maps call the Franklin D. Roosevelt

Drive. The same goes for the fellows on the glutted Brooklyn-Queens Expressway ("Snooze Alley" at "rush" hour on the Kosciuszko Bridge), and of course on the "big parking lot," the Long Island Expressway.

In spite of all problems, Traffic Commissioner Theodore Karagheuzoff and top officials of the Automobile Club agree that traffic flow has improved a bit generally in the past five years, or at least is no worse.

"We are stuck with too many compromises in design standards from years ago," Mr. Karagheuzoff said recently, "often because of public pressure when the highways were built. Even so, it's a lot faster now from point to point in the metropolitan area than five years ago."

IMPROVEMENTS NOTED

In an interview at his Long Island City, Queens, headquarters, he pointed to these major improvements:

Computers controlling 350 traffic lights on major Queens arteries, and plans to extend the system to Brooklyn and the Bronx early next year; the reconstruction of Queens Boulevard; a new signal system to limit access to expressways through use of quick-changing ramp lights allowing only one car at a time to enter; a proposed system of television surveillance on major highways; express-bus service to Manhattan; and a new "pusher service" to expedite removal of cars that break down on the West Side highway.

But the number of vehicles on the streets here keeps increasing at a rate of 3.5 per cent per year. Gilbert B. Phillips, president of the Automobile Club of New York, says that "the city doesn't have a comprehensive transportation program," and that the Planning Commission has virtually sabotaged a Traffic Department plan for more municipally owned midtown parking garages.

WORST BOTTLENECKS

Paul Petrillo, director of traffic engineering for the Automobile Club, lists the following "worst bottlenecks."

Grand Central Parkway in Queens, where eastbound traffic has to use a single exit lane to reach the ramp to the Whitestone Expressway and to Northern Boulevard. Mr. Karagheuzoff says that having two exit lanes would only slow parkway traffic. He is "working" on the problem.

East River Drive at 48th Street, where northbound traffic at the rate of 900 to 1,200 cars an hour during peak periods tries to force its way onto the drive by an entry ramp that leads into the fast lane of traffic. A signal light on the ramp to limit access to the drive to one car at a time has been suggested.

East River Drive at 96th Street, where again, during the evening rush hours, the northbound traffic entering from the ramp overloads the drive. The Traffic Department says that the drive is "pretty much outmoded" and running to capacity. It suggests that northbound traffic in the area use First Avenue.

Eighth Avenue in midtown. The traffic signals are progressive, but the flow is so heavy, especially turning in from cross-streets during the evening peak period, that it cannot clear the intersection before the light changes. The Automobile Club suggests a "simultaneous" system with lights up and down the avenue all green at one time. Mr. Karagheuzoff disagrees.

The Long Island Expressway, eastbound on the steep upgrade from Springfield Boulevard to Little Neck Parkway, where trucks pass and double pass, often slowing down the fast lane of the three-lane roadway. The Traffic Department already has signs warning trucks to keep out of the fast lane and also plans to limit rush-hour traffic entering the roadway from the Cross-Island Parkway.

George Washington Bridge exit ramps, where southbound traffic headed for the

Henry Hudson Parkway or Riverside Drive has a difficult "merge" with traffic coming off the Cross-Bronx Expressway and moving in same direction.

Major Deegan Expressway in the Bronx at the southbound exit at 138th Street, where the exit suddenly narrows to one lane for a short stretch and then leads onto a busy intersection of local streets. The eventual plan, says the Traffic Department, is to put in "more sophisticated" signals.

West Side Highway, southbound at the curving underpass approach to the Brooklyn-Battery tunnel. The Automobile Club feels that overhead signs are needed to show that both lanes are through lanes. The Traffic Department counters that traffic tends to crowd into the left lane because up ahead (and most drivers know it) heavy truck traffic is entering in the right lane.

Bruckner Traffic Circle in the Bronx, where the Bruckner and Cross-Bronx Expressways come together in an antiquated circle. A mammoth construction job taking years will create a complex interchange of the two roads, as well as the Hutchinson River Parkway below them. Meanwhile, big trucks and cars creep around the circle and try to scissor across each other to get on different roads.

East River Drive, southbound, at the ramp leading to the Brooklyn Bridge. The ramp overloads and spills traffic back onto the drive.

The Brooklyn-Queens Expressway, where it merges with the Grand Central Parkway in Queens. The motorist who wants to go eastbound on the Grand Central finds that traffic exiting from the "B-Q" is funneled into one lane and then has to merge with a heavy stream coming from Astoria Boulevard to the Grand Central. The Traffic Department is considering a plan that would force traffic exiting from the "B-Q" at peak periods to use Astoria Boulevard instead of Grand Central.

Mr. Karagheuzoff favors "a hard-nosed policy on enforcement of parking regulations" and soon expects to add one hundred meter maids to the present staff of 250.

In 1969, policemen and the "meter maids" issued a total of 3.5 million tickets, an increase of 750,000 over the 1965 total.

Mr. Gilbert B. Phillips of the Automobile Club complains that the politicians allow relatively small minorities to block major arterial improvements, such as the Lower Manhattan and Cross-Bronx Expressways, which he finds are indispensable to the general welfare.

INDIAN EDUCATION: THE RED MAN'S BURDEN

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, while Congress, the anthropologists, the White House, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and a myriad of other agencies, disciplines, and groups all continue "studying" them; the role and place of the American Indian people in our society keeps deteriorating.

I do not intend to make a long-winded, rhetorical statement on the "Indian problem"; rather, I prefer the facts to make the case in point.

We should remember one thing, though. Studies are not action. Nor does spreading the blame around really solve problems.

Today I would like to focus upon one critical area in Indian policy: education. The following two articles—one from

Saturday Review and one from *Ramparts*—tell a dismal story. But they also highlight what can—indeed, must—be done. These are very important articles because they do not mince words. So much of the future of the American Indian people relates to the type and quality education they are offered.

I pledge myself to seeing that such quality education is available for every American Indian adult and child as soon as possible, and I hope that other Members will join me in this action.

The articles follow:

[From the Saturday Review, Jan. 24, 1970]

AN ISSUE FOR THE SEVENTIES

(By James Cass)

Community involvement in the schools is an old objective that has taken on new meaning in recent years. For a generation or more before World War II, the education literature regularly paid its respects to the need for citizen participation in school affairs, and the PTA provided limited liaison between school and parent. It wasn't until the 1950s, however, that the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools set out to alert the business and professional communities to the central position that education must occupy in the postwar world. The effort was successful and, combined with other forces at work during the decade—James Bryant Conant's study of *The American High School Today*, the activities of a number of foundations, and the advent of Sputnik, for instance—served to focus public attention on both the needs and the problems of the schools. But the message of the NCCPS, and the state and local committees it fostered, was directed primarily to the middle class.

During the 1960s, community participation took a new and dramatic turn as inner-city leaders and parents increasingly demanded a role in determining policy for the schools that were failing to educate their children. Appearing originally as part of the black civil rights movement, the demand was taken up by other urban minority groups—notably the Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans.

Members of still another minority—the American Indians—have been less vocal in their demands for a controlling voice in the management of the schools that educate their children, because they have been less united and because they are primarily rural rather than urban peoples. But indications are that their demands will be no less persistent than those of other minorities, and their claims have a special appeal in the light of the shameful history of Indian-white relations.

Professor Estelle Fuchs reviews this history in these pages as background for discussion of the issues that face us today in planning for the future of Indian education. We may hope that attempts to use the schools as instruments for the forced assimilation of Indians into the white man's world, and the efforts to destroy the Indian cultures are things of the past. But too often the schools still see their mission as that of "civilizing the natives," and sensitivity to cross-cultural conflicts is all too rare.

A few experimental attempts to involve the Indian community in the management of its own schools offer some promise for more effective educational programs in the future. The employment of more Indians in the schools, bilingual instruction, teaching English as a second language for the high percentage of students who come to school speaking only their native tongues, and efforts to incorporate studies of tribal cultures in the curriculum can, seemingly, be successful, though many problems of understanding and commitment remain.

The federal government has traditionally been reluctant to become involved in local educational issues, perhaps with good reason, yet, in this instance, where its responsibility is unequivocal, its record has been singularly undistinguished. But the basic problem is that white, middle-class America has long paid lip service to cultural diversity—the richness that alien cultures have added to American life—while rejecting the culturally different in practice. It may be that the time has come for us to learn from our own rhetoric, to accept in practice as well as in theory the values of diversity, and to provide an environment in which minority cultures can flourish. In the process we are almost certain to find that the result will be not only more effective education, but better Americans as well.

[From the Saturday Review, Jan. 24, 1970]

AMERICAN INDIAN EDUCATION: TIME TO REDEEM AN OLD PROMISE

(By Estelle Fuchs)

(NOTE.—Estelle Fuchs is associate professor of education at Hunter College, City University of New York, and author of *Teacher's Talk*. She is currently on leave at the University of Chicago with the National Study of American Indian Education.)

The complexity of the issues raised by Indian education and the passion that pervades discussion of them can be understood only as part of the long and tortured history of Indian-white relations in this country. The Indian cannot easily forget the white man's attempts to exterminate his people, their forcible removal from ancestral lands, the efforts to convert them from their ancient religions, and the guarantees of rights to traditional homelands that were so often broken in practice. The record is varied; no one tribe's story is an exact duplicate of another's. But all share a history of subjugation and deliberate attempts to destroy their diverse cultures—sometimes by force, at other times by missionary zeal. And always their very identity and diversity (as Navahos, Pimas, Cherokees, Pawnees, etc.) were obscured by the common misnomer "Indian."

Concern for the education of American Indians appeared early in the history of the English colonies in the New World. Dartmouth was founded for the education of "youth of Indian tribes . . . and also of English youth and others." Harvard was established for the schooling of English and Indian youth, and the campus of William and Mary still treasures an early building erected for Indians. But the issues raised by the white man's efforts to extend the benefits of his educational tradition to the natives of the New World were clearly defined at an early date—and still endure. Benjamin Franklin told of the response by Indian leaders to an offer of education for Indian youth:

"You who are wise must know that different nations have different conceptions of things and will therefore not take it amiss if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same as yours. We have had some experience with it. Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the northern provinces; but when they came back to us, they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods . . . totally good for nothing. We are, however . . . obliged by your kind offer . . . and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send up a dozen of their sons, we will take great care of their educations; instruct them in all we know and make men of them."

Today, nearly a quarter of a million Indian children are in American schools. About half of them are the educational responsibility of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), which is an agency in the Department of the Interior. But the problems of education and cultural differences remain. After two years

of exhaustive hearings on Indian education, a recent Senate subcommittee report was entitled "Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge."

The dimensions of the problem are indicated by the record of absenteeism, retardation, and dropout rates in Indian schools. Yet, despite the dreary statistics, more Indian children are coming to school, and they are remaining in school longer. Thus, the issues in Indian education today cut to the core of the problems facing all American education—the quality of educational environment, its responsiveness to the rich diversity of American life, the roles of federal and state governments in supporting the educational enterprise, and, perhaps most important of all, the degree to which the local community shall share in educational decision making.

The position of the Indian differs from that of other minorities, because Congress, as it extended its rule across the continent, recognized the Indian tribes as sovereign nations, and concluded some 400 separate treaties with them. Many of these agreements promised education as one of the federal services that would be provided in exchange for Indian lands.

From the beginning the federal government was uneasy about running schools itself and sought to turn over responsibility to other agencies. During the late nineteenth century, funds were distributed to various religious denominations to maintain mission schools. But public protest against federal aid to sectarian schools led the government to discontinue the practice. As a result, a system of federally operated schools was developed. (The government chose to close down two successful nineteenth century Indian school systems organized by the Cherokee and the Choctaw.)

Paying little attention to the multitude of linguistic and other cultural differences among the tribes, and the varied traditions of child rearing in preparation for adulthood in the tribal communities, the government entered the school business with a vigor that caused consternation among the Indians. The package deal that accompanied literacy included continuing efforts to "civilize the natives." Old abandoned Army forts were converted into boarding schools, children were removed—sometimes forcibly—long distances from their homes, the use of Indian languages by children was forbidden under threat of corporal punishment, students were boarded out to white families during vacation times, and native religions were suppressed. These practices were rationalized by the notion that the removal from the influence of home and tribe was the most effective means of preparing the Indian child to become an American.

The Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, perhaps best known for its famous alumnus, the athlete Jim Thorpe, helped to usher in this ignominious period in the history of education for Indians. The policy might even have succeeded in obliterating Indian cultures and destroying Indian children, if it had not been for two factors. First, the facilities available were totally inadequate, leaving enormous numbers of children untouched by the policy's influence, and second, children resisted the system by running away, and lower echelon BIA personnel sometimes conspired with Indian families to keep the children at home.

Attempts to force Indians into the white man's mold extended to economic policy as well. The Dawes Act of 1887, ignoring the fact that the Indian had no tradition of private ownership of land, and that some tribes did no farming, distributed tracts of reservation lands, called allotments, in parcels of forty to 160 acres. The result was disastrous for the Indians, because the land left over after the allotments were made was declared surplus by the government, and some unsuccessful Indians lost even their allot-

ments. But the result was extremely profitable for those who, by 1934, had managed to grab ninety million acres of former Indian lands.

Both the educational and the economic policies of this period led to the impoverishment of the Indians and to the shattering of their morale. The bitterness of that era remains in the living memory of many older Indians today.

The general pattern of corruption and intolerance of cultural differences that was characteristic of American society in the 1920s pervaded the Indian Service as well, and led to a Senate investigation that produced the best critical survey of federal Indian programs conducted to that date. The Meriam Report of 1928 called for a reversal of former policy in order to strengthen the Indian family and social structure rather than destroy it, to expand day schools and to humanize the boarding schools, to stimulate community participation and to relate needs of Indian youth.

The ensuing years ushered in a more humane and creative period in Indian affairs. It was the era of the New Deal and generally progressive legislation. John Collier, commissioner of Indian Affairs, was empathetic to Indian problems and a strong proponent of the value of cultural diversity and the rights of Indian people. The Indian Reorganization Act, passed in 1934, put a stop to land allotments. Tribal governments were formed, funds were pooled for the purchase of lost lands, and community schools were built. Although problems of poverty and economic development remained to be solved fully, it was a generally exciting and hopeful period.

World War II brought a cutback in federal spending for the New Deal Indian programs, and before they could be vigorously renewed another radical reversal in policy took place that today leaves its mark in anger, suspicion, and fear that will not be easily erased.

The new policy, known as "termination," was instituted in the 1950s and aimed to sever reservations from the services of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Although different in form, it smacked of the allotment era and other previous attempts by the government to escape its obligations to Indians by forcing them into the general population. Even when they received large sums of money for their lands, the Indians enjoyed little lasting benefit, and many former reservation residents became city dwellers—too often lower-class with their income from tribal resources gone. The experience of the Klamath of Oregon who lost their timberland income, has served as a warning to all reservation Indians. They are wary of any program leading in the direction of hated termination.

Although the termination policy has been currently halted, all contemporary issues in Indian affairs—including Indian education—are interpreted in the light of possible relationship to the ending of federal services to Indians.

Within this shifting pattern of government policy, the federal school system for Indians has grown tremendously in size and complexity from its small beginning at the turn of the century. At present, the BIA operates 226 schools located in Alaska, Arizona, New Mexico, North Dakota, and South Dakota—states where the greatest concentrations of Indians are to be found. There are schools also in California, Florida, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, and Utah.

Most of the schools located off reservations are secondary schools with boarding facilities. The majority of elementary schools, both day and boarding, are located on reservations. Attending this far-flung school system are almost 35,000 Indian children in boarding schools, more than 15,000 in day schools, and nearly 4,000 who are housed in dormitories close to reservations, while at-

tending local public schools. The BIA also administers federal funds under the Johnson-O'Malley Act for some 63,000 Indian youngsters attending public schools on or near reservations, runs programs for some 30,000 adults, and offers a modest scholarship program for 4,000 college undergraduates.

Like other growing school systems, enrollment in the BIA schools doubled from 1959 to 1967. The present rate of growth of the Indian population on reservations is 3.3 per cent per year, three times the rate of increase for the national population at large. More than 200,000 Indians out of a total estimated population of fewer than a million are of school age, and the bureau is responsible for educating nearly half of them.

This natural population increase is compounded by the rather recent acceptance of universal schooling on the part of the Indians generally, and the growing expectation that it extend through secondary school and into college. At present, grades eight and ten have the highest dropout rates, but the numbers remaining in school longer appear to be growing yearly. A generation ago, for example, only one child out of four school-age Navahos was in school. Today, more than 90 per cent of the children are, and dropout rates are no greater than the national levels. The Hopi too are making extraordinary progress. But in some tribes the picture is far less bright.

To keep pace with growing enrollment, the BIA has sought to provide classroom space by a crash program of building schools both on and off the reservations. And because the federal government has not instituted the kind of road building program that would have made school attendance more feasible in remote areas, an extensive pattern of boarding schools has been maintained, and transfers to public schools have been encouraged.

Like schools all over the country, those for Indians are a mixed lot. While older buildings with unattractive barracks-like dormitories remain, the newer BIA schools are modern structures that could sit comfortably in any of the more affluent suburbs of the nation. Complete with inviting cafeterias, spacious dormitories with semiprivate sleeping quarters, large social halls, and auditorium-gymnasiums, they include modern classrooms with the latest textbooks and equipment. If these new school plants are to be subjected to any criticism, it is that they are too conventional, too much like schools that might be anywhere. They have not been imaginatively styled for the communities they serve. While conditions vary depending upon the administration, often the interiors of these suburban-type school buildings offer no indication that the children within them are Indian. There are, of course, notable exceptions, among them the Indian Arts and Crafts School at Santa Fe, which, although in an older building, clearly honors the Indian heritage of its students.

It is characteristic, too, that the usual federal school sits apart from the Indian community it serves. Located on or off reservation, in a compound surrounded by a fence, it is an enclave of federal property. On reservation, the life of the staff tends to be quite separate from that of the local people. The schools are characterized by what has come to be called "compound culture," in which staff members generally socialize with one another rather than with the Indians. There is little visiting back and forth in the community.

The BIA system has its share of concerned professionals as well as those who find safety within the protective confines of a tenured civil service system. And staff turnover is high; the isolation and the compound culture do not appeal to many.

With rare exceptions, employment in the schools of the BIA is subject to the rules

and regulations of the federal civil service system. Consequently, teachers in Indian schools meet national standards. The civil service requires at least a B.A. degree from an accredited university and training in education or relatively high scores on national teaching tests. Salaries have also risen to national levels, ranging at present from \$7,649 to \$12,119. These standards represent a vast improvement over the past, and there are generally few differences between BIA teachers and public school teachers in regard to educational background, sex, experience, and age.

However, the establishment of rigid requirements for certification within the system seems to be operating to keep Indians from easily entering the teaching ranks. Efforts to improve this situation by the employment of paraprofessionals are being made, but these do not solve the problem of moving increasing numbers of Indians professionals into decision-making positions within the schools themselves.

At present, 16 per cent of the teachers in BIA schools are Indians. But fewer Indians are entering teaching now, compared with twenty years ago, and most Indian teachers are not assigned to teach in their home communities.

Controversy over goals for Indian education becomes evident in the area of curriculum. Inhumane, forced assimilationist practices are largely a thing of the past. Today, some would like to see the schools emphasize traditional Indian life. Others see the schools serving the function of teaching "Anglo" culture. Growing among Indians and educators alike is the desire to develop curricula that are pluralistic in emphases—retaining respect for the various Indian traditions and for Indian identity while teaching skills needed for life in urban, industrial America as well as on the reservations, where new economic and political developments are taking place.

The complexity of the curriculum problem is indicated by the fact that even today two-thirds of all Indian children entering BIA schools have little or no skill in English. There are nearly 300 Indian languages in use today; more than one-half of the Indian youth between the ages of six and eighteen use their native tongue. All Indians express a concern that the schools teach English, and experience indicates that programs in Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) provide a more valid and humane way to teach English than to depend upon exposure. TESL programs have been developed and instituted, but funding language programs in both BIA and public schools is a perennial problem. Of the \$7.5-million appropriated for the National Bilingual Education Act, only \$300,000 is being spent on Indian programs benefiting 773 children.

Aside from the TESL program, curriculum and methodology for Indian children are little different from those employed in schools throughout America. Minimum or no attention is given to the Indian heritage, or to contemporary issues in Indian life. On the whole, attention to the pedagogical complexities of cross-cultural education has been neglected by educators despite their clear relationship to school success or failure, and very few social scientists have concerned themselves with Indian children and the preparation of teachers to work especially in this setting. It is usual for the schools to ignore the cultural heritage of the children as if it didn't exist—or worse, as if it required eradication.

An exciting departure in Indian education is provided by the program of the DINE (Demonstration in Navaho Education) experimental school at Rough Rock, Arizona. Instruction in Navaho language and culture is part of the curriculum, and the school itself is supervised by an all-Navaho

school board. The newly organized first Indian college, the Navaho Junior College at Many Farms, is also gearing its curriculum to the special needs of Indian students. These are among the first tribal-run schools since the Choctaw and the Cherokee ran their own school systems during the last century.

Critics of the BIA and its schools are responding to conditions that are sometimes peculiar to the BIA, but in other cases are not unlike those found throughout American education: the discontinuity between teacher education institutions and the schools in which their graduates will be teaching; the inadequate number of Indians recruited into teaching; the lack of understanding and empathy for the culturally different and the poor; unsuitable instructional materials; inadequate professional leadership; and the lack of involvement of the communities being served.

Aside from its inheritance of distrust and suspicion stemming from an earlier era, the BIA is also beset with all the usual problems faced by an entrenched bureaucratic system. Official policy from above is often frustrated by inadequate execution in the field. Indeed, the educational staff in the field is responsible to BIA area offices concerned with many matters other than education, rather than to the director of educational programs.

Also, the system tends to encourage the maintenance of the traditional structure and methods; advancement into administration is through the ranks and encourages the promotion of those defensive of the system rather than those who are innovative or experimentally inclined. Most important, responsibility and accountability, at all levels, are to the bureau rather than to the Indian communities.

Part of the BIA's difficulty is due to the fact that, while it maintains an educational system of its own, it has been committed to the principle that, whenever possible, Indian children should be placed in public schools. This policy is in keeping with assimilationist goals, the general reluctance of the federal government to run a school system, and the unwillingness, except on a small experimental basis, to allow Indians to run their own schools. This ambivalent position of presiding over a school system dedicated to its own demise is not conducive to adequate Congressional funding, support, and planning.

States and local communities generally have been unwilling to assume educational responsibility for Indians living on reservations because the land is tax-free. Therefore, the federal government has provided subsidies to reimburse public schools for the education of Indian students.

But the transfer of Indians to public schools is a two-edged sword. On the one hand, it seems reasonable that public education allows the Indian child access to common schooling along with others. It appears to encourage integration, and it supports the rights of states to oversee education. It appeals to liberals as a means of rescuing Indians from the custodianship of the BIA, which smacks of a colonial service.

On the other hand, attendance at public schools has frequently placed the Indian child in the position of a minority group within a largely white institution. It often puts him in a position of economic and social disadvantage, especially in areas with long histories of antipathy toward the Indian population. Sometimes the public schools are a greater distance from home than the bureau day schools, and in some instances the federally supervised BIA school is superior to the local public school in facilities and staff, as well as in attention to the special needs of Indian children.

In addition, Indians have rarely been in a strong political position in their local com-

munities, and thus have had little say over the design of programs and the allocation of funds received for their people by the local school districts. And again, in the light of the long history of Indian-white relations, transfer to public schools without approval of the local Indian community is suspected as a policy of renegeing on the federal obligations to provide education.

Growing Indian political consciousness has led several Rio Grande pueblos to institute court actions charging misappropriations of federal funds by local public school boards; Indians are exercising their vote to elect school board members; and demands are being made that no school transfers take place without community approval.

Increasingly, nevertheless, the problems of Indian education are likely to be found in the public schools. Since World War II, growing numbers of American Indians, together with other rural Americans, have moved to the cities. Some have gone on their own, searching for jobs, others in urban relocation programs designed by the federal government to assist young Indians to move from the reservations to urban employment. One-third of the Indian population now lives in cities, although for many reservation ties remain strong and there is much moving back and forth.

For those Indian children who are recent migrants to the city, school generally means attendance at a large inner-city slum school, where they are submerged among the rest of the "disadvantaged" children of the city. The absence of special programs to meet their particular needs, plus the high transiency rate typical of many, is not conducive to successful completion of school programs, and dropout rates are high. As members of the urban poor, they lose out in the competition with other larger and more powerful minorities as recipients of federal programs.

Virtually every critic of American Indian education has pointed to the urgent need to elevate the BIA, which is now a relatively low-level bureau within the Department of the Interior. Some, such as Alvin M. Josephy reporting to President Kennedy, have argued for transferring the BIA to the executive office of the President where it would be more visible and have a mandate for change. Others have urged that it be transferred to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, kept intact, and be placed under an Assistant Secretary or Administrator for Indian Affairs. Still others have proposed that the educational functions of the BIA be transferred to the Office of Education in HEW. A proposal for a more fundamental change was made in a Carnegie Corporation report that called for the creation of a federal commission to assume control of Indian education, with an explicit mandate to transfer this control to Indian communities within five years. The report was careful to state that it was not calling for termination, but rather the continuation of federal responsibility except with Indian control.

The recent Senate subcommittee report elected to retain the BIA in an elevated position within the Department of the Interior. Taking a strong stand in favor of fulfilling federal responsibilities to Indians, it urged that the federal Indian school system be developed into an exemplary system that can play an important role in improving education for Indian children. In addition, it recommended increased and extended funding to public schools, calling for the involvement of Indians in the planning, execution, and evaluation of the use to which the funds are put. Over and above the strengthening of existing schools, it urged policies that permit tribal governments and Indian communities to run their own schools.

In calling for the government to commit itself to a national policy of educational excellence for Indian children, the report em-

phasized the need for maximum participation and control by Indian adults and communities, more demonstration and experimental programs, and a substantial increase in appropriations to achieve these goals.

The 1960s was a period of intense search and evaluation concerning American Indian education. It began with great hope for change with President Kennedy's proposed task force to examine the problems, and ended with a call for a national commitment to excellence. In the interim, while termination practices have halted, little has happened to change the Indians' basic position of powerlessness, and Indian affairs have continued to take a back seat in Department of the Interior programs.

It is too soon to judge the policies of the 1970s, but certain aspects are clear. The myths of the vanishing and silent Indians have been shattered. Active participation and organization by American Indians themselves are growing, whether in the National Congress of American Indian Tribes, meetings such as the National Indian Education Conference, or the proliferating groups of organized college students and "Red Power" advocates.

Despite the pessimistic past there are still time and great promise for America. The heterogeneity of the Indian populations matches that of the nation. If we can be responsive to the education needs of culturally different groups, many of whose members resist loss of identity in a common, bland "melting pot," if we can provide flexible programs with massive federal funding that allows people themselves to engage in the educational enterprise and to develop the programs best suited for their children, we will have gone a long way in tackling the needs of all American education.

The old chiefs are gone; the young men are to be found in school rather than in the woods, but the lesson is clear. It is not just the Indian who has to learn from us, there is much to be learned from him—the values inherent in group identity; respect for nature; the right of men to participate in the institutions that affect their lives; and that no policy or program, regardless of how well intended, will succeed without his approval.

[From Ramparts, February 1970]

THE RED MAN'S BURDEN

(By Peter Collier)

When fourteen Indian college students invaded Alcatraz on a cold, foggy morning in the first part of November—claiming ownership "by right of discovery," and citing an 1868 treaty allowing the Sioux possession of unused federal lands—they seemed in a light-hearted mood. After establishing their beachhead, they told the press that they had come there because Alcatraz already had all the necessary features of a reservation; dangerously uninhabitable buildings; no fresh water; inadequate sanitation; and the certainty of total unemployment. They said they were planning to make the five full-time caretakers wards of a Bureau of Caucasian Affairs, and offered to take this troublesome real estate off the white man's hands for \$24, payment to be made in glass beads. The newspapers played it up big, calling the Indians a "raiding party." When, after a 19-hour stay, the Indians were persuaded to leave the island, everyone agreed that it had been a good publicity stunt.

If the Indians had ever been joking about Alcatraz, however, it was with the bitter irony that fills colonial subjects' discourse with the mother-country. When they returned to the mainland, they didn't fall back into the cigar-store stolicism that is supposedly the red man's prime virtue. In fact, their first invasion ignited a series of meetings and strategy-sessions; two weeks later they returned to the rock, this time with a force of nearly 100

persons, a supply network, and the clear intention of staying. What had begun as a way of drawing attention to the position of the contemporary Indian, developed into a plan for doing something about it. And when the government, acting through the General Services Administration, gave them a deadline for leaving, the Indians replied with demands of their own: Alcatraz was theirs, they said, and it would take U.S. Marshals to remove them and their families; they planned to turn the island into a major cultural center and research facility; they would negotiate only the mechanics of deeding over the land, and that only with Interior Secretary Walter Hickel during a face to face meeting. The Secretary never showed up, but the government's deadlines were withdrawn.

"On this island, I saw not whether the people had personal property, for it seemed to me that whatever one had, they all took share of, especially of eatable things."—Christopher Columbus.

Alcatraz is Indian territory: The old warning to "Keep Off U.S. Property" now reads "Keep Off Indian Property;" security guards with red armbands stand near the docks to make sure it is obeyed. Women tend fires beneath huge iron cauldrons filled with food, while their kids play frisbee in what was once a convicts' exercise yard. Some of the men work on the prison's wiring system or try to get more cellblocks cleared out for the Indian people who are arriving daily from all over the country; others sit fishing on the wharf with hand-lines, watching quietly as the rip-tides churn in the Bay. During the day, rock music plays over portable radios and a series of soap operas flit across a TV; at night, the prison is filled with the soft sounds of ceremonial drums and eerie songs in Sioux, Kiowa and Navajo.

In the few weeks of its occupation, Alcatraz has become a mecca, a sort of red man's Selma. Indian people come, stay a few days, and then leave, taking with them a sense of wonderment that it has happened. Middle-aged "establishment" Indians are there. They mix with younger insurgents like Lehman Brightman (the militant Sioux who heads a red power organization called the United Native Americans), Mad-Bear Anderson (the Iroquois traditionalist from upstate New York who fought to get the United Nations to stop the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' flooding of precious Seneca Indian lands), Sid Mills (the young Yakima who demanded a discharge from the Army after returning from Viet-Nam so that he could fight his real war—against the state of Washington's denial of his people's fishing rights), and Al Bridges (one of the leaders of the first Washington fish-ins in 1964, who now faces a possible ten-year prison sentence for defying the state Fish and Game Commission). The composition of the ad hoc Indian Community changes constantly, but the purpose remains the same: to make Alcatraz a powerful symbol of liberation springing out of the long American imprisonment.

The people enjoy themselves, spending a lot of time sitting around the campfire talking and gossiping. But there is a sense of urgency beneath the apparent lassitude. Richard Oakes, a 27-year-old Mohawk who worked in high steel construction before coming West to go to college, is one of the elected spokesmen. Sitting at a desk in the old Warden's Office, he talks about the hope of beginning a new organization, the Confederacy of American Indian Nations, to weld Indian groups all over the country into one body capable of taking power away from the white bureaucracy. He acknowledges that the pan-Indian movements which have sprung up before have always been crushed. "But time is running out for us," he says. "We have everything at stake. And if we don't make it now, then we'll get trapped at the bottom of that white world out there,

and wind up as some kind of Jack Jones with a social security number and that's all. Not just on Alcatraz, but every place else, the Indian is in his last stand for cultural survival."

This sentiment is reflected in the slogans lettered on walls all over the prison, the red paint bleeding down onto the concrete. One of them declared: "Better Red than Dead."

"I also heard of numerous instances in which our men had cut out the private parts of females and wore them in their hats while riding in the ranks."—A U.S. Army lieutenant, testifying about the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864.

The Alcatraz occupation is still popularly regarded as the engaging fun and games of Indian college kids. In its news coverage of the U.S. Coast Guard's feeble attempt to blockade ships running supplies to the island, one local television station found amusement in showing their films to the musical accompaniment of U.S. cavalry bugle calls. It was not so amusing to the occupiers, however. The California Indians now on the Rock know that their people were decimated from a population of 100,000 in 1850 when the gold rush settlers arrived, to about 15,000 thirty years later, and that whole tribes, languages and cultures were erased from the face of the earth. There are South Dakota Indians there whose grandparents were alive in 1890 when several hundred Sioux, mostly women and children leaving the reservation to find food, were caught at Wounded Knee, killed, and buried in a common grave—the old daguerreotypes still showing heavily-mustachioed soldiers standing stiffly over the frozen bodies like hunters with their trophies. Cowboys and Indians is not a pleasant game for the Alcatraz Indians and some must wonder whether, in another 150 years, German children will be gaily playing Nazis and Jews.

But the past is not really at issue. What is at stake today, as Richard Oakes says, is cultural survival. Some of the occupiers have known Indian culture all their lives; some have been partially assimilated away from it and are now trying to return. All understand that it is in jeopardy, and they want some assurance that Indian-ness will be available to their children. It sounds like a fair request, but fairness has never ruled the destiny of the Indian in America. In fighting for survival, the Indians of Alcatraz are challenging the lies perpetuated by anthropologists and bureaucrats alike, who insist that the red man is two things: an incompetent "ward" addicted to the paternalism of government, and an anachronism whose past is imprisoned in white history and whose only future is as an invisible swimmer in the American mainstream. The people on Alcatraz have entered a struggle on a large scale that parallels the smaller, individual struggles for survival that many of them have known themselves; it is the will to exist as individuals that brought them together in determination to exist as a people.

"When Robert Kennedy came, that was the only day they ever showed any respect for the Indian, just on that one day, and after that, they couldn't care less."—A freshman student at Blackfoot, Idaho, High School.

One of the original 14 on Alcatraz was a pretty 22-year-old Shoshone-Bannock girl named La Nada Means. Her hair is long and reddish-black; her nose arches slightly and prominent cheekbones square out her face. Her walk is slightly pidgeon-toed, the result of a childhood disease for which she never received treatment. If you tell her that she looks very Indian, she will thank you, but with a searching look that suggests she has heard the same comment before, and not as a compliment.

"When I was little," she says, "I remember my family as being very poor. There were 12 of us kids, and we were always hungry. I remember sometimes getting to the point

where I'd eat anything I could get my hands on—leaves, small pieces of wood, anything. The other thing I remember is the meanness of the small towns around the reservation. Blackfoot, Pocatello—they all had signs in the store windows to keep Indians out. One of them I'll never forget; it said, 'No Indians or Dogs Allowed.' There were Indians stalls in the public bathrooms; Indians weren't served in a lot of the restaurants; and we just naturally all sat in the balcony of the theaters. You learn early what all that means. It becomes part of the way you look at yourself."

She grew up on the Fort Hall reservation in southern Idaho. The Jim Crow atmosphere of the surrounding small towns has lessened somewhat with the passage of time and the coming of the civil-rights bills, but it is still very much present in the attitude of white townfolk towards Indians. And while there are no longer the small outbreaks of famine that occurred on the reservation when La Nada was growing up in the 50's, Fort Hall is still one of the bleakest areas in the country, and the people there are among the poorest.

Like most Indian children of her generation (and like a great many today), La Nada Means was sent away to school. Her youth became a series of separations from home and family, each more traumatic than the one before. The first school she attended was St. Mary's School for Indian Girls in Springfield, South Dakota. "I took a lot of classes in subjects like 'Laundry'" she remembers, "where the classwork was washing the headmaster's clothes. All Indian people are supposed to be good with their hands, you know, and also hard workers, so we didn't do too much regular schoolwork at St. Mary's. They also had what they called a Summer Home Program where you're sent out during the summer break to live with a white family. It was supposed to teach you white etiquette and things like that, and make you forget your savage Indian ways. When I was 13, I was sent up to Minnesota where I became a sort of housekeeper for the summer. I don't remember too much about it, except that the wages I got, about \$5 a week, were sent back to St. Mary's and I never saw them. After being at that school a little while, I got all upset. They said I was 'too outspoken,' and expelled me. After I got back to Fort Hall, I had my first breakdown."

For awhile she attended public school in Blackfoot, the small town bordering the reservation. She was suspended because she objected to the racial slurs against Indians which were built into the curriculum. She was 15 when the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) sent her to its boarding school in Chillicothe, Oklahoma. On her first day there, the matrons ordered her to lower the hems on the two dresses she owned. She refused and was immediately classified as a troublemaker. "At Chillicothe, you're either a 'good girl' or a 'bad girl,'" she says. "They put me in the bad girls' dormitory right away with Indians mainly from the Northwest. The Oklahoma Indians were in the good girls' dorm, and the matrons constantly tried to keep us agitated by setting the tribes to fighting with each other. Everything was like the Army. There were bells, drills and set hours for everything. The food was called 'GI Chow.' There was a lot of brutality, but it was used mainly on the boys, who lived in another wing. Occasionally they'd let the boys and girls get together. You all stood in this big square; you could hold hands, but if the matrons saw you getting too close, they'd blow a whistle and then you'd have to march back to the dorm."

La Nada made the honor roll, but was expelled from Chillicothe after a two-month stay for being involved in a fight. "The matrons just had it in for me, I guess. They got about 100 other Indian girls against me

and a few other 'bad girls.' They put us in a small room and when the fight was ready to begin, they turned out the lights and walked out, locking the doors behind them. We had a "riot," and I got beat up. The next day, the head of the school called me into his office and said that I didn't fit in."

She was sent off with one dollar, a sack lunch, and a one-way bus ticket from Chillicothe back to Idaho. She lived with her family for a few months, helping her father collect data about conditions at Fort Hall, and then was sent by the BIA to another of its boarding schools, Stewart Institute, in Carson City, Nevada. Her reputation as a "difficult Indian" followed her, and she was again sent home after being at Stewart for less than a day. The BIA threatened to send her to "reform" school; then it forgot about her. "I stayed around the reservation for awhile," she says, "and when I got to be 17, I took GED [high school equivalent] exams. I only had about nine real years of schooling, but I scored pretty well and got into Idaho State College. I lasted there for a semester, and then quit. I didn't really know what to do. At Fort Hall, you either work in some kind of menial job with the BIA agency there, or you go off the reservation to find a job in one of the towns. If you choose the BIA, you know that they'll try to drill a subservient mentality into you; and in the towns, the discrimination is pretty bad."

La Nada again spent time working with her father, a former tribal chairman. They sent out letters to congressmen and senators describing conditions on the reservations, and tried to get the Bureau of Indian Affairs office to respond. As a result, her father was harassed by local law enforcement officials. La Nada drifted for a time and then asked the BIA for "relocation" off the reservation. Many of the Fort Hall Indians have taken this route and 80 percent of them return to the reservation, because, as La Nada says, "things in the slums where you wind up are even worse than on the reservation, and you don't have your people to support you."

The BIA gave her a one-way ticket to San Francisco, one of eight major relocation centers in the country. When she first arrived, she sat in the local BIA office from 8 to 5 for a few days, waiting for them to help her find a job. They didn't, and she found a series of temporary clerk jobs by herself. As soon as she found work, the BIA cut off her \$140 a month relocation payment. She wound up spending a lot of time in the "Indian bars" which are found in San Francisco and every other relocation town. She worked as a housekeeper in the private home for Indian girls where the BIA had first sent her, and as a barmaid in a beer parlor. She was "drunk most of the time," and she became pregnant. She was 17 years old.

"After I had the baby," she says, "my mother came out from the reservation and got him. She said they'd take care of him back home until I got on my feet. I really didn't know what to do. The only programs the BIA has are vocational training for menial jobs, and I didn't especially want to be a beautician. Actually, I wanted to try college again, but when I told this to a BIA counselor, he said they didn't have any money for that and told me I was being 'irrational and unrealistic.'

"All types of problems develop when you're on relocation. The Indian who has come to the city is like a man without a country. Whose jurisdiction are you under, the BIA's or the state's? You go to a county hospital when you're sick and they say, 'Aren't you taken care of by the Indian Affairs people?' It's very confusing. You hang around with other Indians, but they are as bad off as you are. Anyway, I started sinking lower and lower. I married this Sioux and lived with his family awhile. I got pregnant again. But things didn't work out in the marriage, and

I left. After I had the baby, I ended up in the San Francisco General psychiatric ward for a few weeks. I was at the bottom, really at the bottom. Indian people get to this point all the time, especially when they're relocated into the big city and are living in the slums. At that point, you've got two choices: either kill yourself and get it all over with—a lot of Indians do this—or try to go all the way up, and this is almost impossible."

As she looks at it now, La Nada feels she was "lucky." She tried to get admitted to the local colleges, but was refused because of her school record. Finally, because the University of California "needed a token Indian in its Economic Opportunity Program for minority students," she was admitted in the fall of 1968. She did well in her classes and became increasingly active, helping to found the United Native Americans organization and working to get more Indian students admitted into the EOP program. "After my first year there," she says, "everything was going all right. I liked school and everything, and I felt I was doing some good. But I felt myself getting swallowed up by something that was bigger than me. The thing was that I didn't want to stop being an Indian, and there were all these pressures, very hidden ones, that were trying to make me white." At the summer break she went back to the reservation and spent some time with her family. The next quarter she became involved in the Third World Liberation Front strike at Berkeley, fighting for a school of Ethnic Studies, including a Native American program. She was suspended by the University.

La Nada's experiences, far from being extreme cases, are like those of most young Indians. If she is unique at all, it is because she learned the value of fighting back.

"We need fewer and fewer 'experts' on Indians. What we need is a cultural leave-us-alone agreement, in spirit and in fact."—Vine Deloria, Jr.

Each generation of Americans rediscovers for itself what is fashionably called the "plight" of the Indian. The American Indian today has a life expectancy of approximately 44 years, more than 25 years below the national average. He has the highest infant mortality rate in the country (among the more than 50,000 Alaskan natives, one of every four babies dies before reaching his first birthday). He suffers from epidemics of diseases which were supposed to have disappeared from America long ago.

A recent Department of Public Health report states that among California Indians, "water from contaminated sources is used in 38 to 42 per cent of the homes, and water must be hauled under unsanitary conditions by 40 to 50 per cent of all Indian families." Conditions are similar in other states. A high proportion of reservation housing throughout the country is officially classified as "substandard," an antiseptic term which fails to conjure up a tiny, two-room log cabin holding a family of 13 at Fort Hall; a crumbling Navajo hogan surrounded by broken plumbing fixtures hauled in to serve as woodbins; or a gutted automobile body in which a Pine Ridge Sioux family huddles against the South Dakota winter.

On most reservations, a 50 percent unemployment rate is not considered high. Income per family among Indian people is just over \$1500 per year—the lowest of any group in the country. But this, like the other figures, is deceptive. It does not suggest, for instance, the quality of the daily life of families on the Navajo reservation who live on \$600 per year (exchanging sheep's wool and hand-woven rugs with white traders for beans and flour), who never have real money and who are perpetually sinking a little further into credit debt.

To most Americans, the conditions under which the Indian is forced to live are a pe-

renial revelation. On one level, the symptoms are always being tinkered with halfheartedly and the causes ignored; on another level, the whole thrust of the Government's Indian policy appears calculated to perpetuate the Indians' "plight." This is why La Nada Means and the other Indians have joined what Janet McCloud, a leader of the Washington fishing protests, calls "the last, continuing Indian War." The enemies are legion, and they press in from every side: the studiously ignorant politicians, the continuously negligent Department of the Interior, and the white business interests who are allowed to prey upon the reservations' manpower and resources. But as the Indian has struggled to free himself from the suffocating embrace of white history, no enemy has held the death grip more tightly than has his supposed guardian, in effect his "keeper": the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Bureau came into being in 1834 as a division of the War Department. Fifteen years later it was shifted to the Department of the Interior, the transition symbolizing the fact that the Indian was beginning to be seen not as a member of a sovereign, independent nation, but as a "ward," his land and life requiring constant management. This is the view that has informed the BIA for over a century. With its 16,000 employees and its outposts all over the country, the Bureau has become what Cherokee anthropologist Robert Thomas calls "the most complete colonial system in the world."

It is also a classic bureaucratic miasma. A recent book on Indian Affairs, *Our Brother's Keeper*, notes that on the large Pine Ridge reservation, "\$8040 a year is spent per family to help the Oglala Sioux Indians out of poverty. Yet median income among these Indians is \$1910 per family. At last count there was nearly one bureaucrat for each and every family on the reservation."

The paternalism of the BIA, endless and debilitating, is calculated to keep the Indian in a state of perpetual juvenilization, without rights, dependent upon the meager and capricious beneficence of power. The Bureau's power over its "wards," whom it defines and treats as children, seems limitless. The BIA takes care of the Indian's money, doling it out to him when it considers his requests worthy; it determines the use of the Indian's land; it is in charge of the development of his natural resources; it relocates him from the reservation to the big city ghetto; it educates his children. It relinquishes its hold over him only reluctantly, even deciding whether or not his will is valid after he dies.

This bureaucratic paternalism hems the Indian in with an incomprehensible maze of procedures and regulations, never allowing him to know quite where he stands or what he can demand and how. Over 5000 laws, statutes and court decisions apply to the Indians alone. As one Indian student says, "Our people have to go to law school just to live a daily life."

The BIA is the Indian's point of contact with the white world, the concrete expression of this society's attitude towards him. The BIA manifests both stupidity and malice; but it is purely neither. It is guided by something more elusive, a whole world view regarding the Indian and what is good for him. Thus the BIA's overseership of human devastation begins by teaching bright-eyed youngsters the first formative lessons in what it is to be an Indian.

"It is unnecessary to mention the power which schools would have over the rising generation of Indians. Next to teaching them to work, the most important thing is to teach them the English language. Into their own language there is woven so much mythology and sorcery that a new one is needed in order to aid them in advancing beyond their baneful superstitions."—John Wesley Powell.

The Darwinian educational system which

La Nada Means endured is not a thing of the past. Last spring, for instance, the BIA's own Educational Division studied Chillico and came to the following conclusions: "There is evidence of criminal malpractice, not to mention physical and mental perversion, by certain staff members." The report went on to outline the disastrous conditions at the school, noting among other things that "youngsters reported they were handcuffed for as long as 18 hours in the dormitory . . . or chained to a basement pillar or from a suspended pipe. One team member . . . verified a youngster's hurt arms, the deformed hands of another boy, and an obviously broken rib of another. . . ."

The BIA responded to this report by suppressing it and transferring the investigators who submitted it. The principal of Chillico was fired, but more as punishment for letting such things be discovered than for the conditions themselves. The same story is repeated at other BIA boarding schools. At the Intermountain Indian School in Utah, Indian children suspected of drinking have their heads ducked into filthy toilets by school disciplinarians. At Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, students of high school age are fed on a budget of 76 cents a day.

But there is a far more damaging and subtle kind of violence at work in the school as well. It is, in the jargon of educational psychology, the initiation of a "failure-orientation," and it derives from the fact that the children and their culture are held in such obviously low regard. Twenty-five per cent of all BIA teachers admit that they would rather be teaching whites; up to 70 per cent leave the BIA schools after one year. If a teacher has any knowledge at all of his student's needs and backgrounds, he gets it from a two-week non-compulsory course offered at the beginning of the year. One teacher, a former Peace Corps volunteer who returned to teach at the Navajo reservation, told the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education that the principal of her BIA school habitually made statements such as "All Navajos are brain-damaged," and "Navajo culture belongs in a museum."

The results of the Indian's education, whether it be supervised by the BIA or by the public school system, indicates how greatly the system fails him. Twenty per cent of all Indian men have less than five years of schooling. According to a recent report to the Carnegie Foundation, there is a 60 per cent drop-out rate among Indian children as a whole, and those who do manage to stay in school fall further behind the longer they attend. A study of the Stewart Institute in Carson City, Nevada, for instance, shows that Indian sixth graders, score 5.2 on the California Achievement Test. Six years later, at graduation, their achievement level is 8.4.

In a strange sense, the Indian student's education does prepare him for what lies ahead. What it teaches him is that he is powerless and inferior, and that he was destined to be so when he was born an Indian. Having spent his youth being managed and manhandled, the Indian is accustomed to the notion that his business must be taken care of for him. He is thus ideally equipped to stand by and watch the BIA collect mortgages on his future.

"We should test our thinking against the thinking of the wisest Indians and their friends, [but] this does not mean that we are going to let, as someone put it, Indian people themselves decide what the policy should be."—Stewart Udall.

The Indians of California have more than their share of troubles—in part because they never received an adequate land base by government treaty. They are scattered up and down the state on reservations which are rarely larger than 10,000 acres and on rancherias as small as one acre. It takes a special determination to find these Indians, for most

of them live in backwoods shacks, hidden from view as well as from water and electricity.

They have to struggle for every bit of federal service they get; disservice, however, comes easy. In 1969 the only irrigation money the BIA spent in all of Southern California, where water is an especially precious commodity to the Indians, was not for an Indian at all, but for a white farmer who had bought an Indian's land on the Pala reservation. The BIA spent \$2500—of money appropriated by Congress for the Indians—to run a 900-foot pipeline to this white man's land. The Indians at Pala have been asking for irrigation lines for years, but less than one-half of their lands have them.

At the Resighini rancheria, a 228-acre reservation in Northern California, the Simpson Timber Company had been paying the Indians 25 cents per 1000 feet for the lumber it transported across their land. The total paid to the Indians in 1964 was \$4725, and the right of way was increasing in value every year. Then the BIA, acting without warning, sold the right of way outright to Simpson Timber Company for \$2500, or something less than one-half its yearly value.

The tiny Agua Caliente band of Indians sits on top of some of the most valuable land in the country: over 600 acres in the heart of Palm Springs. In the late '50's, the BIA, reacting to pressure from developers, obligingly transferred its jurisdiction over the Agua Caliente to a judge of the State Superior Court in the Palm Springs area who appointed "conservators" and "guardians" to make sure that the Indians would not be swindled as development took place. Ten years later, in 1967, a Riverside Press Enterprise reporter wrote a devastating series of articles showing the incredible fees collected for "protecting" the Agua Calientes. One conservator collected a fee of \$9000 from his Indian's \$9170 bank account; an Indian minor wound up with \$3000 out of a \$23,000 income, his guardian taking the rest. The "abdication of responsibility" with which the BIA was charged is surely a mild description of what happened to the Agua Calientes, who are supposedly the "richest Indians in the world" living on what is regarded as "an ermine-lined reservation."

The Indian Claims Commission was set up in the 1940's to compensate tribes for the lands stolen during the period of white conquest. In the California claims award of 1964, the Indians were given 47 cents an acre, based on the land's fair market value in 1851. The total sum, \$29 million, less "offsets" for the BIA's services over the years, still has not been distributed. When it is, the per capita payout will come to about \$600, and the poorest Indians in the state, will have to go off welfare to spend it. The BIA opposed an amendment to the Claims Award which would have exempted this money in determining welfare eligibility. The BIA testified that such an amendment constituted preferential treatment, and that it had been struggling for years to get equal treatment for the Indian. The amendment failed, and California's Indians will have to pay for a few months bread and rent with the money they are getting in return for the land that was taken from them.

Cases such as these exist in every state where Indian people live. If the Indian is the Vanishing American, it is the BIA's magic which makes him so. California Indians are fortunate only in one respect: they have an OEO-funded legal rights organization, the California Indian Legal Services, which attempts to minimize the depredations. Most Indians have no one to protect them from the agency which is supposed to be their advocate.

"Once we were happy in our own country and we were seldom hungry, for then the two-leggeds and the four-leggeds lived together like relatives, and there was plenty

for them and for us. But the Wasichus [white men] came, and they have made little islands for us . . . and always these islands are becoming smaller, for around them surges the gnawing floods of the Wasichu; and it is dirty with lies and greed. . . ."—Black Elk, an Oglala Holy Man.

At the entrance to the Fort Hall reservation, where La Nada Means grew up, there is a plaque which commemorates the appearance in 1834 of the first white traders and indicates that the Hudson Bay Company later acquired the Fort and made it into an important stopover on the Oregon Trail. But other aspects of the history of Fort Hall are left unmentioned. It is not noted, for instance, that by the time a formal treaty was signed with the Bannock and Northern Shoshone in 1868, the whites who settled this part of Southern Idaho were paying between \$25 and \$100 for a good Indian scalp.

Today, the approximately 2800 Shoshone-Bannocks live on the 520,000-acre reservation, all that remains of 1.8 million acres of their land which the treaty originally set aside for their ancestors to keep. The largest single reduction came in 1900, when the government took over 416,000 acres, paying the Indians a little more than \$1 an acre for the land. As late as the beginning World War II, the government took over another 3000 acres to make an airfield. It paid the Indians \$10 an acre; after the war, it deeded the land to the city of Pocatello for \$1 an acre, for use as a municipal airport. Each acre is now worth \$500.

But the big problem on the Fort Hall reservation today is not the loss of large sections of land; rather it is the slow and steady attrition of Indian holdings and their absolute powerlessness to do anything about it. In 1887, the Dawes Allotment Act was passed as a major piece of "progressive" Indian legislation, providing for the break-up of community held reservation land so that each individual Indian would receive his plot of irrigable farming land and some grazing land. The federal government would still hold the land in trust, so it could be sold only with BIA approval, the assumption being that an individual holding would give the Indian incentive to be a farmer and thus ease him into American agricultural patterns. Fort Hall shows that the law had quite different effects.

Today, some of these original allotments are owned by anywhere from two to 40 heirs. Because of the complexity of kinship relationships, some Indian people own fractional interests in several of these "heirship lands" but have no ground that is all their own. These lands are one of the symbols of the ambiguity and inertia that rule at Fort Hall. As Edward Boyer, a former chairman of the tribal council, says "Some of the people, they might want to exchange interests in the land or buy some of the other heirs out so they can have a piece of ground to build a house on and do some farming. Also, a lot of us would like the tribe to buy these lands up and then assign them to the young people who don't have any place of their own. But the BIA has this policy of leasing out these lands to the white farmers. A lot of the time the owners don't even know about it."

The BIA at Fort Hall doesn't like the idea of any Indian lands laying idle. And the land is rich, some of the best potato-growing land there is. Its value and its yield are increasing every year. Driving through the reservation, you can't avoid being struck by the green symmetry of the long cultivated rows and by the efficiency of the army of men and machinery working them. The only trouble is that the men are white, and the profits from Fort Hall's rich land all flow out of the Indian community. The BIA is like any technocracy: it is more interested in "efficient" use than in proper use. The most "efficient" way for Fort Hall's lands to be used is by white industrialist-farmers with capital. Thus the pattern has been established: white

lessees using Indian land, irrigating with Indian water, and then harvesting with bracero workers.

All leases must be approved by the BIA Superintendent's office; they may be and are given without the consent of the Indians who own the land. The BIA has also allowed white lessees to seek "consents" from the Indians, which in effect provide for blank leases, the specific terms to be filled in later on. The BIA authorizes extremely long leases of the land. This leads to what a recent field study of Fort Hall, conducted by the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, calls "small fortunes" for white developers: "One non-Indian in 1964 leased a large tract of Indian land for 13 years at \$.30-.50/acre/year. While the lease did stipulate that once the lessee installed sprinkler irrigation the annual rent would rise to \$1.50-\$2.00/acre, Indians in 1968 could have demanded \$20-\$30 for such land. Meanwhile, the independent University Agriculture Extension Service estimates that such potato operations bring the non-Indian lessees an annual net profit of \$200 per acre." In addition, these leases are usually given by the BIA on a non-competitive, non-bidding basis to assure "the good will of the surrounding community." Fort Hall has rich and loamy land, but Indian people now work less than 17 per cent of it themselves and the figure is declining.

The power of white farmer-developers and businessmen within the local Bureau of Indian Affairs office is a sore point with most people at Fort Hall. They have rich lands, but theirs is one of the poorest reservations. They are told that much revenue comes both to the tribe and to individuals as a result of the BIA farm and mine leasing program, yet they know that if all the revenues were divided up the yield would be about \$300 per capita a year. But for some of them, men like Joseph "Frank" Thorpe, Jr., the question of farming and mining leases is academic. Thorpe was a successful cattleman until BIA policies cut down the herds; now he is in the business of letting other people's cattle graze on his land.

Livestock are something of a fixation with Thorpe. He comes from a people who were proud horsemen, and he owns an Apaloosa mare and a couple of other horses. As he drives over the reservation, he often stops to look at others' cattle. In the basement of his home are several scrapbooks filled with documents tracing the destruction of the cattle business at Fort Hall. There is a yellowing clipping from the Salt Lake City Tribune of November 4, 1950, which says: "Fort Hall Indians have been more successful in cattle raising than any other activity. There is the oldest Indian Cattleman's Association in the country. Association members raise more than 10,000 head of purebred herefords, and plan gradually to increase the herd. . . ." That was how it was 20 years ago. Thorpe, just back from war-time duty with the Marines, worked his herd and provided jobs for many of his kinsmen; the future was promising. Yet by 1958, there were only 3000 head of Indian owned cattle left, and today there are only ten families still involved in full-time cattle operation.

"Around the early '50s," Thorpe says, "the BIA decided that the Indians who'd been using tribal grazing lands without paying a grazing fee were going to be charged. The BIA also made us cattle people set up a sinking fund to pay grazing fees in advance. The bills just got higher and higher, and pretty soon we found we had to start selling off our seed stock to pay them."

Less than 30 per cent of all Fort Hall Indians are permanently employed today. Men like Frank Thorpe once had a going business that harked back to the old times and also provided jobs on the reservation. The BIA had decided that the best use for Fort Hall land was farming; it removed the Indians' cattle from trust status, which meant they could be sold, and began the ac-

celerated program of leasing Indian lands to whites that is still in effect today.

Thorpe spends a good deal of time driving his dust-covered station wagon along the reservation's unpaved roads. A former tribal chairman, he spends much time checking up on the BIA and trying to function as a sort of ombudsman. He drives slowly down the dirt highways where magpies pick at the remains of rabbits slaughtered by cars. He points out where white farmers have begun to crop-dust their leased fields from airplanes. "The game, rabbits and pheasants and all, is disappearing," he says. "Our Indian people here rely on them for food, but the animals are dying out because of the sprays. And sometimes our kids get real sick. These sprays, they drift over and get in the swimming holes. The kids get real bad coughs and sometimes rashes all over their bodies."

Near the BIA agency office on the reservation sits a squat, weathered concrete building. "That's the old blouse factory," he says. "The BIA cooked up this deal where some outfit from Salt Lake City came in here to start a garment plant. The tribe put up the money for the factory, about \$30,000, and in return the Salt Lake people were going to hire Indians and train them to sew. It lasted for about a year, and now we've still got the building. The last few years, they've used it to store the government surplus food that a lot of Indians get."

The old blouse factory is one symbol of the despair that has seized Fort Hall. Thorpe points out another one nearby. It is known as a "holding center," and it is a place for Fort Hall Indians who are suspected of being suicidal. The reservation has one of the highest suicide rates in the nation. Last year there were 35 attempts, mostly among the 18-25 age group. Many of them occurred in the nearby Blackfoot City Jail.

Blackfoot town authorities, embarrassed by the number of Indian suicides which have occurred in their jail, now use the holding facility at Fort Hall. It is headed by John Bopp, a former Navy man who is the public health officer on the reservation. "I guess kids here just feel that their future is cut off," he says. "A lot of them are dropouts and rejects from schools. They look around and see their elders pretty downtrodden. They get angry, but the only thing they can do is take it out on themselves. From reading some of their suicide notes, I'd say that they see it as an honorable way out of a bad situation."

"The young people," says Thorpe, "they're our only hope. They've got to clean things up here. But a lot of our young guys, they've just given up." The human resources at Fort Hall, like the land, seem to be slipping away. The best interpretation that could be placed on the BIA's role in it all is to use the words of a teacher at nearby Idaho State College who says that they are "guardians of the poorhouse."

There are other reservations that seem to be in better shape. One is the mammoth Navajo reservation, whose 25,000 square miles reach into portions of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah and Colorado. On the one hand, it too is a place of despair: many of the 120,000 Navajos live in shocking poverty, doing a little subsistence farming and sheep-raising, suffering severe discrimination when they go outside the reservation for a job, and being preyed upon by the white traders and the exotic diseases which infest the reservation. But it is also a place of hope: Navajo-land is rich in resources—coal, oil, uranium, and other minerals—and the tribe gets about \$30 million a year from rents and royalties. While this would come to less than \$1000 a year if distributed to each family, the Navajos have tried, and to some extent succeeded, in using it as seed money to begin a small but growing series of tribal industries—a sawmill, a

handcrafts center, a tourist motel—which provide valuable jobs and income organized around the tribal community.

Private enterprise has also come onto the reservation, epitomized by the large Fairchild Industries plant. There has been much discussion of giving tax incentives to get industry to locate on reservations all over the country, but in general little has come of it. Of an estimated 10,000 jobs opened up by industries on Indian lands, more than half of them have been filled by whites. On the Navajo reservation, however, the tribe has seen to it that practically all the employees hired are Indian, and it seems like a good beginning. Everything there, in fact, appears to be on the upswing; the Navajos seem to be the one tribe that is beginning to solve its problems. This, however, is an oversimplification.

As far as private enterprise is concerned, the plants are mainly defense-oriented: they use federal money for job training and then work on a cost-plus basis. In effect, the government is underwriting private profit, when the same money could have gone into setting up community businesses. The Navajos do get about 1000 jobs, but they are generally low-paying and are given to women, thus destroying the ecology of the Indian family.

Roughly the same thing applies to the rapid development of their natural resources. The way in which these resources are exploited—be it strip-mining or otherwise—depends on the desires of the businesses exploiting them, not on what the Navajos want or need. One result is that the Navajos have no way of planning the development of resources for their own future needs as a community. Navajos get royalties, but private concerns off the reservation get the profits (as well as the depletion allowances, though it is Navajo resources which are being depleted). Indian people have often brought up the possibility of joint economic development of their reservation with the help of private firms. This is always rejected by the BIA, which has an age-old bias against "socialistic" tribal enterprise as well as a very contemporary regard for big business.

The Navajos are seemingly doing well, but their environment is in the hands of others who are interested only in revenue, and not in the Indians' future. The Navajos are thankful, however, for short-term gains, which most tribes don't have; and they have no choice but to leave tomorrow up to the BIA. As anthropologist, David Aberle has pointed out, "Let us suppose that we cut a cross-section through the reservation territory . . . and make a rapid-motion picture of the flow of population, money and resources . . . We would see oil, helium, coal, uranium, and vanadium draining off into the surrounding economy; we would see rents and royalties flowing into the tribal treasury but, of course, major profits accruing to the corporations exploiting the reservation. We would see the slow development of roads, water for stock and drinking, government facilities, and so forth, and a flow of welfare funds coming in, to go out again via the trader. The net flow of many physical resources would be outward; the flow of profits would be outward; and the only major increases to be seen would be population, with a minor increment in physical facilities and consumer goods. This is the picture of a colony."

The BIA is an easy organization to whip. Its abuses are flagrant, and the Indians it is charged with protecting are in great jeopardy. But if places like the Navajo reservation resemble a colony, the BIA is no more than a corps of colonial officers whose role is not to make policy but rather to carry it out. It is impossible not to feel that the Bureau itself has, over the years, taken on the most outstanding feature of the Indians

it administers: their utter lack of power. It could make life on the reservation less complicated and cruel and establish some provisions for the Indians' cultural future, but it could never solve the larger issues that lie behind federal Indian policy. The BIA is only a unit within the Department of Interior, and not a very important one at that—certainly nothing like the powerful Bureaus of Land Management and Reclamation. It is the Department of Interior itself which is involved in the big power moves in Indian affairs. As trustees both for the Indians' private trust lands and for public trust lands, it is involved in an irremediable conflict of interest which it solves by taking from the red man's vanishing domains.

"It can be said without overstatement that when the Indians were put on these reservations they were not considered to be located in the most desirable area of the Nation. It is impossible to believe that when Congress created the great Colorado River Indian reservation . . . they were unaware that most of the lands were of the desert kind—hot, scorching sands—and that water from the river would be essential to the life of the Indian people. . . ."—California vs. Arizona.

The Navajo Reservation is mainly arid, and alkaline deposits gather at the foot of the small hills like snowdrifts. Here, as on other reservations, water is a precious asset, and groundwater is minimal. And when the tribal council recently almost gave away the Navajo's rights to the Colorado River, it didn't do so willingly or with forethought; it was conned.

The population of the Colorado River Basin has exploded during this century, and there has been much feuding among the various states over water. The 1922 Colorado River Compact apportioned the Colorado River water between the Upper Basin states (Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, New Mexico and Arizona) and those of the Lower Basin (California, Nevada, and again, Arizona). After the Supreme Court water decision of 1963, Arizona conceived an ingenious plan to use the water it had been allotted: the annual 50,000 acre-feet of Upper Basin it had been awarded would be used for power to pump its Lower Basin water (2.8 million acre-feet per year) into the gigantic Central Arizona Project, thus irrigating much of the state and providing for its industrial development. The only thing standing in the way of this plan was the Navajos.

Water rights are one of the few Indian prerogatives laid out in clear judicial terms. They are considered an intrinsic part of the reservation the Indians occupy, and the so-called Winters Doctrine, most recently validated in *California vs. Arizona*, specifies that Indians have priority in the use of waters adjacent to, surrounding, or underneath their land, and that upstream and downstream non-Indian users can have only that which is left over after Indian needs are fulfilled. These rights are guaranteed, and not subject to some "use it or lose it" free for all.

The Navajos have never yet asserted a claim to the Colorado River because their underdevelopment has not required it. But if and when they do, most water lawyers feel that their award could be very large, especially since a much smaller group of Indian tribes on the lower Colorado was awarded one million annual acre-feet in 1963 in *California vs. Arizona*. The Navajos could, in fact, probably get enough of the Colorado to turn their reservation into an oasis. For this reason, and because their potential rights could destroy Arizona's plan for using the water it had been awarded (not to mention the whole basis for the apportionment of water among the Upper and Lower basin states), the Navajo tribal council was persuaded, in December 1968, to waive virtually all rights

to the River "for the lifetime of the [pumping] plant, or for the next 50 years, whichever occurs first." In return for passing this resolution, the council received some minor considerations, including a \$125,000 grant for its new Navajo Community College. The deal was presented casually as an administrative courtesy with adequate compensation, and the tribe was not aware of what lay behind it.

Actually, the Navajos were caught in the middle of some high level maneuvers. Wayne Aspinall, congressman from Colorado and chairman of the House Subcommittee on Interior and Insular Affairs, had made it clear to the Department of Interior that he would kill legislation funding the Central Arizona Project unless this waiver of the Navajos' Upper Basin Claim—which could affect his own state—was obtained. By the same token, then Secretary of the Interior Stuart Udall was committed to the Central Arizona Project which, among other things, would benefit his own home state. Thus it was he who had the resolution drafted and sent to the tribal council via the local BIA superintendent's office.

All of this would probably have gone unchallenged, perhaps to be discovered several years later, if it hadn't been for the OEO-funded legal rights organization on the reservation. This group, the DNA (the acronym derived from the Navajo phrase meaning "economic revitalization of the people"), has been a constant irritation to those who are accustomed to raiding Navajo resources, and it has earned both a large grassroots following and the enmity of the BIA-influenced tribal hierarchy. The DNA found out about the politics behind the waiver last Spring, documented its implication for the Navajos' future, and by early summer was able to persuade the tribal council to rescind its resolution.

The Fort Mojaves of California are currently involved in another fight related to the Colorado River. They have learned, over the last few months, the truth of the maxim widely quoted in California parapolitics: "Water is the name of the game." The Fort Mojaves woke up one morning to find that the State of California, working in concert with the Interior Department's Bureau of Land Management, had swindled them out of 1500 acres of invaluable river frontage.

The state had had its eyes on this acreage for many years. It first tried to grab it in 1910, using provisions of the Swamp and Overflow Act of 1850 (which allows swamp-land created by a river to be placed under state jurisdiction). This initial attempt failed, as did others over the years. Then, early in 1967, the state, supported by the Bureau of Land Management, finally succeeded in obtaining the land, again citing the Swamp and Overflow Act because its regular powers of eminent domain did not apply to tribal land. The Mojaves didn't even know that hearings on the matter were taking place; they found out that their land had been confiscated only several months afterward, and then it was by accident.

The acreage claimed by California is clearly too high to have ever been a swamp. Moreover, in 1850 when the Swamp and Overflow Act applied, the wild Colorado River's course ran nowhere near the 1500 supposedly swampy acres, having been "channelized" into its present regular course only in the early 1940's. Independent hydrologists' studies have proven conclusively that the contested area was never part of the river bed.

The state is driven to assert fraudulent claims to land in this apparently low-value desert area, just as Interior is bound to back them up, because of their fear that the Mojaves will develop the area. Private developers are eager to come in: they feel that the Colorado River area will become invaluable, especially as Southern California's population spills outward in search of recreation space. Indian water rights are the prime

water rights and developers know that even if there is a water shortage, the Indians will get their allotment first because of the Winters Doctrine, spelled out in *California vs. Arizona*.

The state of California and the Bureau of Land Management, reacting to pressure from the powerful Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, do not want this development to take place, even though it is a key to the Indians' future survival. They fear a water shortage and they are fighting it in the easiest way—by confiscating the prior water rights attached to Indian land out of the Indians' hands.

"The Earth is our Mother, and we cannot sell our Mother."—Iroquois saying.

Behind the machinations of the BIA and the grander larcenies of the Department of Interior stands the Indians' final enemy, that vague sense of doom called federal policy. It has always been sinister, and no less so today than in the days when Indian tribes were nearly annihilated by the white man's gifts of blankets saturated in smallpox. The current mode of attack began in the 1950's, with by far the most ominous title in the lexicon of Indian affairs: termination. Its objectives were stated innocuously in a 1953 act of Congress: "It is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible to make the Indians within the United States subject to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all of the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship. . . ." Cultural assassination always come cloaked in such altruisms, and the crucial phrase, "to end their status as wards of the United States," was neatly circumscribed by florid rhetoric. But that phrase was the heart of the resolution, and its impact was disastrous.

Over the last two decades, the Indian has learned that he must fear most those who want to eliminate the Bureau of Indian Affairs and who make pompous statements about it being time "for this country to get out of the Indian business." A hundred and fifty years ago, perhaps, attaining such equilibrium with the red man would have been laudable; but America got into the Indian business for good when it stole a continent and put its inhabitants in land-locked jails. While the Indian knows that the BIA works against him most of the time, he also realizes its symbolic value as the embodiment of promises made in the treaties which secure his land and culture. Indian people and lands have been, and continue to be, terribly damaged by their relationship to the federal government. But their federal trust status guarantees their Indian-ness. And if it is terminated, they know there will be nothing left to mismanage.

The reservations which were actually terminated as a result of this sudden shift in federal policy in the '50s provide ample warning. The Minominees of Wisconsin, for instance, whose termination began in 1954 and was completed in 1961, had a stable pattern of life which was destroyed. They owned a thriving tribally-run sawmill. They had a hospital and other community services; they had a fairly large tribal bank account. Then came termination, which made the Minominees citizens of Wisconsin and nothing more. The hospital had to close down because it didn't meet state standards; the tribal bank account was doled out to the tribesmen in per capita payments, which were quickly dissipated. The sawmill became a corporation and floundered because of mismanagement, thereby no longer providing the Minominees with jobs. The Indians were supposed to become just like everyone else in Wisconsin, but today they still stand apart as among the poorest people in the state. Much of their land, which was not taxable when held in trust, has been sold at forced auctions to make up defaulted state property taxes.

Another classic case of termination is that

of the Klamaths of Oregon. As part of the proceedings in 1954, their richly-forested reservation was sold off and the receipts distributed equally among enrolled members of the tribe. The payout came to over \$40,000 per person, and even before it was made the predators began to descend, offering high-interest loans and a treasure house of consumer goods. A few years after termination was accomplished, many of the Klamaths were destitute and on welfare; they had no land left, no money and no future. As one member of the tribe said, "My grandchildren won't have anything, not even the right to call themselves Indian."

Because of the disasters it caused, termination is now "voluntary," although the Congressional resolution which authorized it has yet to be rescinded. Temporarily, at least, it has taken a backseat to the New Frontierish strategies like luring private enterprise onto the reservation and allocating meager OEO funds. However, today there are still tribes in the process of termination—several small ones in California and the Colvilles of Washington—and no attempt is made to stop the misinformation given Indians about the benefits that will result from such an option. Nor will termination ever disappear for good until Indians hold in their own hands the life and death powers over their communities which others now wield. Every time an Indian is "successfully" relocated in a city far from his people, it is a kind of termination, as it is when a plot of ground or the rights to water slip out of his hands. It is not necessary for Indian people to have Secretary of Interior Hickel tell them that they should "cut the cord" that binds them to their reservation, to know that termination exists as the final solution to the Indian problem.

"He is dispossessed in life, and unforgiving. He doesn't believe in us and our civilization and so he is our mystic enemy, for we push him off the face of the earth."—D. H. Lawrence.

Strangled in bureaucracy, swindled out of lands, forcibly alienated from his own culture, the Indian continues to be victimized by the white man's symbolism: he has been both loved and hated to death. On the one hand, the white looked out at him from his own constricted universe of acquisition and grasping egocentrism and saw a Noble Savage, an innocent at peace with his world. Here was a relic of a better time, to be protected and preserved. But on the other hand the white saw an uncivilized creature possessing, but not exploiting, great riches; the vision was conjured up of the Murdering Redskin whose bestiality provided the justification for wiping him out and taking his land. The Indian's "plight" has always inspired recurrent orgies of remorse, but never has it forced us to digest the implications of a nation and culture conceived in genocide. We act as if the blood-debt of the past cannot be canceled until the Indian has no future; the gullier he has made us, the more frantic have been the attempts to make him disappear.

Yet, having paid out almost everything he has, the Indian has survived the long exercise in white schizophrenia. And there are some, like Hopi mystic Thomas Banyaka, who give out prophecies that the red man will still be here long after whites have been destroyed in a holocaust of their own making.

LITTLE PROGRESS ABATING SMOG

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, just 10 months ago the public was startled when the Justice Department—

after a series of closed-door negotiations—offered to settle the antitrust action brought against automobile manufacturers for their alleged conspiracy to retard development of smog controls.

That settlement finally went through, but the case served notice of the ever-deepening air pollution crisis this country already is in.

As public demand for a clean and healthy environment mounted, so did the rhetoric from suddenly enlightened politicians and industrialists.

The President's state of the Union address heavily concentrated on environmental issues. Earth Day came and national support hit a peak.

Now, strangely, the furor has subsided—but the problem is still extremely dangerous. January and February promises of solid action have proved hollow words.

For California, the smog danger begins worsening this time of the year. I wonder how many additional deaths and illnesses will occur this year because—once again—profits are equated with pollution?

The following three letters from Californians in the northern, peninsula, and southern region of our State express a sampling of the outrage and dismay held by residents of my home State.

I sympathize with these citizens, but sympathy is no palliative. Action is needed today, strong action by local, State, and Federal government. Technology exists right now to conquer smog. Enough stringent legislation and proposed amendments to existing laws have been introduced in the Congress. All we lack is positive, forward action.

The letters follow:

SAN JOSE, CALIF.

The Editor,
San Francisco Chronicle,
San Francisco, Calif.

DEAR SIR: This letter is addressed particularly to anyone who may still believe that automobile firms will take it upon themselves to eliminate smog.

Until February 19 of this year I was an employe of the General Motors exhaust emission lab in Fremont. This lab tests 16 cars per day for their performance against California emission standards. Cars are randomly selected for testing just before shipment. Following are some observations and experiences of mine during my stay in this lab:

1. Cars brought into the lab for testing could often not be tested because of serious defects, although they were "ready for shipment." No brakes, defective transmission, cracked spark plugs are examples which were not uncommon;

2. Tests were often not counted because the smog prevention equipment was not hooked up or not working, thus causing the test car to "flunk";

3. The public relations value of the lab seems to be greater than the actual scientific value—before visitors came to the lab it was shut down for special cleaning; cars were then not run until the visit so the lab would not "get dirty." When newsmen were to come to film the lab's work, it was filled with cars which had already been checked to assure they would pass the test and not embarrass G.M. When G.M. President Edward Cole was to come extraordinary precautions were taken to have the lab appear well-cared for. A look-out was placed so we could start working just as he approached. Mr. Cole came to the

factory but did not design to visit our facility or the factory itself, stayed in the front office;

4. My specific instructions were to say "as little as possible" to any visitor, particularly State of California Pollution Control employes, especially in regard to the frequent breakdown of equipment and the poor performance of the cars;

5. In talking to inspection foremen in the plant regarding repetitious defects, I was told that they do not have "near enough men" to inspect the cars "as they should be." They cannot, of course, petition for more help to cost-conscious managers;

6. It is widely known among salary employes in the factory and office that anti-smog equipment is efficient only as long as the engine is completely tuned up, that some cars reach customers without ever being properly tuned up (our lab gave each car a complete tune-up prior to the test), that it is impossible to maintain an engine to specifications without huge expenses at the dealer.

Independently of my work in the lab, I have been interested in the recent environmental activities, and being a student at San Jose State, especially the one—"Survival Faire"—held on that campus in February. Many other G.M. employes were interested in the week-long activities and asked me about them. On February 19 an acquaintance at G.M. told me he had seen our supervisor, Mr. Ernie Johnson, enraged over an anti-automobile part of the "Faire" and had told Mr. Johnson in passing that I was "in on that." The next day I was sent to the personnel office, told that I was being laid-off, and sent immediately home. Since then I have been in contact with several friends still at G.M., who tell me that it is no secret why I was fired—for anti-pollution activities considered "harmful" to G.M.'s image. In using me as an example, supervision has also cited my conversations with hourly employes, during which I "advocated rapid transit." Following my dismissal, another employee was called into the office and warned about his interest in the "Survival Faire" and his association with me.

General Motors is concerned about the public reaction against the pollution caused by its factories and products, but instead of making an energetic fight to eliminate pollution, they seem much more interested in avoiding criticism. During my time in the Fremont Plant, I was made to watch movies produced by G.M. which "proved" how much smog was being eliminated by their new devices, and how the problem was "practically solved." The movie was followed by a lecture absolving G.M. of any blame. I was also made to read leaflets criticizing Ralph Nadar's work.

Yours truly,

JOHN HOWARD.

MANHATTAN BEACH, CALIF.

The Los Angeles Times,
Los Angeles, Calif.

DEAR SRS: One month ago my wife was stopped by an officer of the Los Angeles County and cited for emitting excessive engine exhaust. Pursuant to that citation my wife had to make a personal court appearance, with the attendant inconvenience of missing a day's work. It is costing us about \$100 to remedy that problem. Candidly, I felt a nudge of resistance when forced by judicial decree to comply with the law of our state. However, I am an engineer, actively engaged in air pollution research at the public expense and it would be a miscarriage of social fiduciary responsibility to do anything but comply with the will of our citizens. Here comes the rub. Today, an exceptionally windy day in L.A., finds Standard Oil of California at El Segundo, that spirited capital servant and founder of P-310, emitting dense black smoke into the Los Angeles Basin and indirectly, I assure you, into our

lungs. Perhaps they were taking advantage of the wind to do during the day what they normally do only at night.

I took pictures of their efflux and my best engineering judgment leads me to estimate that Standard Oil was emitting 200 to 400 times the mass flow of pollutants of my auto. Where was the policeman on Monday, April 24? He could have issued one citation and efficiently taken care of literally hundreds of costly highway arrests. Why is Standard Oil privileged to do in mass what an individual citizen may not do in miniature? Does the fact that Mr. James Dally, PR man for Standard Oil, is a member of the Scientific Committee of the APCD help to explain this obvious absurdity?

When our political and industrial institutions are geared to produce results of the aforementioned type I suggest to you and your readers that change must be effected. If the silent majority boggles at the discontent of youth, let them look and think of examples such as these.

Very truly yours,

W. S. HART.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BROWN: About a week ago I was very pleased to receive your Questionnaire concerning "Environmental Pollution" and immediately prepared a detailed reply including comments and information concerning my views on auto smog control. I was ready to send it to you but then read last night's paper and as a result threw it away—Why?—because to my great satisfaction I read that you had a technical background in Physics and Civil Engineering and my original reply was intended for a non-technical person. I hope that at long last I may have reached a man with a rare combination of talents—an engineer in the political arena. This may be somewhat like a "bull in a china shop" but at least I'll be able to "communicate with you"!!

I am writing to advise you that I have a solution to the smog problem (automotive portion) just like a hundred other "nuts" probably have already informed you. There is, in my case I hope, one significant difference; namely—that I feel I'm qualified by training and experience (23 years intensive effort in the highly specialized auto smog control field) to at least express an opinion on the subject.

I have a number of patents in the auto smog control field and have demonstrated the technical and practical feasibility of at least one device which is actually being used on production automobiles. The device I refer to is the brand new evaporation control device used for the first time on 1970 Ford and General Motors cars. This device is covered by my Patent No. 3,191,587.

I have an advanced "Closed Cycle Concept" to control the smog forming potential (photochemical) of the auto exhaust to essential zero (estimate 99.9% control). It is relatively expensive but can be "paid for" by "trade-off" of "luxury items" for smog control devices—(e.g. I don't need the \$400 air conditioner on my car, whitewall tires, etc., etc. Trade this off by taxation, say a 25% tax on luxury items—use this money for smog control devices).

The proposed "Closed Cycle Concept" involves a device and a "system". Pertinent features may be described as follows:

1. It is not a "revolutionary" new device operating on some "magic", "mysterious" new principles. (It operates on principles well known to all air pollution engineers, any of whom would concede that the device will "work"—the objection would be simply that "it costs too much").

2. The "Integrated System" approach is the "heart" of the proposal. It provides the means to pay for the relatively "high cost" of the system at no net increase in cost to the average "reasonable man" who is more

concerned with environmental pollution than he is with supporting the Madison Avenue "horsepower, styling and luxury-gadget" race. (via the "trade-off principle, i.e. trade off needless luxury items for smog control)

3. Current tax laws should be utilized to the fullest extent which favor air pollution control devices by "fast tax writeoff", subsidy, grants, etc. New laws should be passed to add a cent or two to the gasoline tax, a 25% luxury tax on needless auto accessories (exclude safety, air pollution devices, standard non-luxury equipment, and give a "bonus" for small-small cars) Initial cost of an air pollution control device for cars should be "tax deductible" for the car owner.

4. It allows those industries (auto, oil) which are primarily responsible for the auto smog problem to participate in a meaningful way (not only dollars but directly in "service") along with the man on the street in a really effective solution to the auto "smog" problem.

5. In addition to controlling the auto exhaust smog problem the system would also control service station emissions (sizeable but not now controlled—23 tons per day in Bay Area District) and auto evaporation loss by a new no-extra-cost system.

6. The device and system are immediately applicable to both new and old cars alike. (This is immensely important to a meaningful system which can become effective in "our life-time")

7. Works on out-of-tune cars as well as on tuned-up cars—(extremely important—most cars on the road are "out-of-tune" and furthermore current exhaust devices as well as catalytic mufflers and flame afterburners are extremely sensitive to tune-up condition)

8. Buy device only once—depreciate it off over 10 years or more. Change it from car to car if you so desire.

9. Device can be readily taken off when cars leave control areas permanently. Also very easy to install and could be required on all cars (rent the device) coming into the area of a control district for say over two weeks.

In addition to the above, I have completed your Questionnaire which is attached. I might say that in all my 23 years (started building auto smog control devices in 1947) you are the only person who has ever asked me for my opinion.

I appreciate the opportunity to express my opinion and if you have further interest you can be assured of my fullest cooperation.

FRED V. HALL,

Registered Professional Engineer.

H.R. 11550

HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, a bill now pending before the Congress, H.R. 11550, has recently received the considered evaluation of the California Interagency Council on Family Planning. Their comments on this legislation are submitted for the consideration of the House:

STATEMENT OF THE CALIFORNIA INTERAGENCY COUNCIL ON FAMILY PLANNING IN FAVOR OF H.R. 11550

Since one of the primary objectives of the Council is "to promote the establishment, expansion and improvement of comprehensive family planning programs so that services and information will be readily available to all Californians who desire such assistance,"

we support H.R. 11550 because we believe that it will help California agencies and organizations to make considerable progress toward attaining this goal.

We are particularly pleased with the provisions of the bill which authorize direct grants to the states on the basis of population, and those which provide for statewide coordination, planning and evaluation. The additional money allocated is certainly a great improvement over the current funding levels, although we believe that larger amounts will be needed to do the job effectively.

The manner in which family planning and population are tied together throughout the bill is a matter of concern to us, however. We recognize the need to control the rate of growth of the total population, develop a national policy, and engage in population research, but we believe such efforts should not be confused with family planning.

As an Interagency Council, working with a wide variety of groups throughout California, we have become increasingly aware of the apprehensions of the disadvantaged in regard to population control, and their rejection of family planning when it is linked to population limitation. We have also noted that family planning is not only accepted by the poor, it is frequently welcomed, when it is provided as part of good health care with the goal of achieving healthy families and healthier children. We urge therefore, that minor amendments be made in the bill to keep these two concepts distinct and separate.

The Council strongly supports the provision in H.R. 11550 which authorizes the Secretary to make direct grants, and we believe that these grants should not be subject to veto by state or local officials. In California, however, where there is a great deal of interest in and support of family planning, the expert advice of state and local family planning groups should be utilized. We feel, therefore, that it would be a valuable addition to the bill if provision was made for review and comment by state and local agencies (in those states where such agencies exist).

We strongly urge you to use your influence to expedite hearings on the bill, since the long delay is preventing many excellent family planning projects in California from being established or expanded, and the need is great.

Thank you for the opportunity to express our support of H.R. 11550.

Sincerely,

STEPHEN A. CORAY, M.D.,
Mrs. ALBERT W. GATOV,
Co-Chairmen.

CONGRESS ACTS TO ASSURE BEST MEDICAL CARE FOR AMERICA'S WOUNDED AND DISABLED VETERANS

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, every Member of the 91st Congress has a right to be proud of the decisive action taken by the House and Senate this year to assure the very best medical care for America's wounded and disabled service veterans.

The House, by adding \$97 million to the Veterans' Administration hospital and medical budget—beyond the administration's original request—and the Sen-

ate, by increasing this figure by \$100 million—for an overall congressionally sponsored VA appropriations increase of nearly \$200 million—have moved with commendable speed to halt the deterioration in the quality of medical care provided our veteran population, as well as to overcome the nationwide staffing and funding deficiencies in the VA's 166 hospitals and 202 outpatient clinics—caused by a series of shortsighted budget cuts over the past several years.

As a member of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee, I believe we have a time-honored national commitment to recognize the tremendous personal sacrifices made by our veterans who helped protect and preserve the freedoms we all enjoy.

An essential part of that commitment is to maintain a top-flight medical program, absolutely necessary to guarantee the finest possible care for those who have served their country in uniform, and especially those who have suffered wounds or service-connected disabilities.

So, by acting decisively to meet a situation at some VA hospitals that can only be described as approaching the dimensions of a national disgrace, the Congress has also acted responsibly to reverse the trend toward overcrowded, unsanitary, and undermanned conditions resulting from many veterans' hospitals being caught in an impossible budgetary squeeze between ever higher medical and drug costs and rising workloads, without receiving proportionally increased funding and staffing allocations.

In the face of the inflation-aggravated financial crisis threatening even further cutbacks in vital medical programs for the country's ex-servicemen and women, it would have been nothing short of tragic, therefore, if this, the richest Nation on earth, were to have allowed a fine VA medical program to deteriorate into a second-rate system of health care for those who have already given so much to their country.

The intent of Congress in rectifying this situation was well expressed in today's Washington Evening Star editorial, "Debt of Honor," which declared: "Whatever is needed to make VA medical care the best there is, the American people ought to provide it."

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point the full text of the Star's editorial, as well as an excellent article written by James McCartney, entitled "Senators Hear Testimony on Poor VA Medical Care," which also appeared in the Washington Star:

DEBT OF HONOR

It would seem to be an elementary rule of decency that men wounded in our nation's wars should be cared for by the people for whom they fought. Yet a combination of budget-scrimping, ignorance and bureaucratic failure—all of it amounting to neglect—has resulted unconsciously in an increase of suffering for some victims of the hostilities in Vietnam.

The evidence of this neglect cannot be discounted. Testimony before a subcommittee headed by Senator Cranston of California included authoritative accounts of filthy conditions, inadequate staffing, obsolete and uncomfortable buildings, broken equipment

and lack of space in many Veterans Administration hospitals. Assurances from the VA that all is well have a hollow sound besides the tales of disillusioned veterans who thought their country would do what it could to compensate for their sacrifice.

Making the VA mess all the more inexplicable is the fact that, in other respects, our soldiers are treated better than ever. Their equipment is the best in the world, and they enjoy more amenities in the battle zones than their counterparts in past wars. They have a better chance of surviving serious wounds because of efficient evacuation methods and quickly surgical attention. There have been few complaints about the military hospitals, where most of the wounded recuperate for further duty.

But the level of attention to the needs of the wounded man drops off sharply at the point where it is determined he cannot return to duty and must be discharged and sent to a VA hospital for long-term care. In such a case the patient may be permanently disabled, having paid a price as great as death itself for the privilege of serving his country.

It is particularly fitting in the wake of the star-studded Fourth of July festivities—at which we were exhorted to realize how great a nation we are—to consider whether we seem so great to a paralyzed veteran waiting to be tended in an understaffed hospital.

There is plenty of blame to spread—among this administration, Congress and their predecessors—for the failure to provide the best possible care for the most seriously wounded of the returning veterans. It is more important, though, to rectify the situation immediately.

The administration has asked for a \$122 million increase in the VA medical budget, and Cranston would add another \$174 million. These amounts may not be enough. But whatever is needed to make VA medical care the best there is, the American people ought to provide it.

SENATORS HEAR TESTIMONY ON POOR VA MEDICAL CARE

(By James McCartney)

Tens of thousands of U.S. soldiers injured in Vietnam are getting second-rate medical care—or worse—in the nation's Veterans Administration hospitals.

Their plight across the country has been documented in many days of testimony recently before a Senate subcommittee on Veterans Affairs.

Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., who conducted the hearings, called the situation a "dangerously enlarging crisis."

The showdown is yet to come in the Senate on whether money will be voted to do much about it. It is expected early this month.

Highlights of the situation as outlined in testimony:

Many hospitals are filthy. Rats have been reported on patients' beds. Sanitary facilities are often inadequate. Patients can't be kept clean.

A doctor at Wadsworth Hospital in Los Angeles said: "The facilities available for preventing the spread of infection can best be described as medieval . . ."

"We have had patients with fevers 102 and up with pain relieved only by injections, who have literally dragged themselves home rather than tolerate conditions."

Staffing is inadequate in practically every VA hospital in the country. Patients have died as result and often are left in pain, without care.

VA hospitals have 1.5 staff members per patient. Practically all other hospitals in the country average about 2.5 staff members per patient.

At the VA hospital here, a group of medical

students reported "an almost complete inadequacy" of nurses. Testimony showed the same problem at other hospitals across the country.

One VA doctor said X-ray facilities in his hospital are "obsolete, in the worst sense of the word. Broken down in a very, very true sense. The equipment has to be constantly repaired."

Air conditioning—which is common even in war zones throughout Vietnam—is absent in many veterans' hospitals. Forty-three of the 166 VA hospitals, many in the hottest parts of the country, are not air conditioned. And the VA has not requested funds to do it.

Millions of dollars worth of equipment is lying idle for lack of funds to hire staff in hospitals from coast to coast.

Only half the beds are occupied in the new 1,020-bed hospital in Miami.

An intensive care unit valued at \$500,000 is completely idle in Nashville, Tenn. So is a \$200,000 cardiac unit.

Two new intensive-care units are under construction in Jackson, Miss., but no funds have been appropriated to hire personnel to man them.

The VA denies there is any trouble. Though he has acknowledged the hospitals are understaffed, Donald E. Johnson, administrator of veterans affairs, said:

"I believe we are giving to the service-connected veterans and to all veterans excellent medical care, top-quality care, and in particular to the Vietnam-era veterans."

SYSTEM IN CRISIS

But witness after witness, many of them doctors, at the hearings painted a picture of a vast hospital system in crisis—unable to meet the needs of a flood of incoming Vietnam wounded.

One of them, Dr. Stanley J. Dudrick, chief of surgery at the University of Pennsylvania division of the VA hospital in Philadelphia, said in his position, "I am charged with the responsibility for providing the best possible medical and surgical care to all patients . . ."

"To state that I have fulfilled my charge, or could conceivably fulfill my charge under present conditions, would constitute an act of perjury."

Dudrick itemized his reasons for failure: Inadequate beds and inadequately sized hospital for the population served.

Insufficient and, in many instances, antiquated equipment and supplies.

Insufficient personnel at the administrative, professional, nursing paramedical and ancillary (auxiliary) levels.

Grossly inadequate support in specific crucial areas such as radiology, pathology, clinical laboratory, psychiatry, physical medicine and rehabilitation, social service, and the out-patient department.

Inadequate space and resources for performance of research vital to maintaining continued high quality of medical care.

Inadequate facilities for teaching at all levels.

Inadequate sharing of major facilities and services.

LACK OF FUNDS

Inadequate funds to support the demands for services now, much less those imposed by the increasing numbers of Vietnam veterans.

In addition, he said, salary scales for staff physicians are "absolutely noncompetitive."

At the Miami VA hospital, Douglas J. Stewart, a second-year resident in medicine at the University of Miami School of Medicine said:

"I have often stood at a patient's bedside watching him vomit large amounts of blood and attempting to keep him alive while waiting for transfusable blood unnecessarily delayed in processing due to lack of clerical help, transporters and laboratory personnel."

"There is often only one nurse responsible for 40 acutely ill patients. If an emergency situation develops, the other 39 patients may go unseen for an hour or more."

"To have two emergency situations develop in a ward at the same time, a not infrequent occurrence, can only be described as utter, tragic chaos."

A case history illustrating the kinds of problems some veterans have had was furnished by former Army Capt. Max Cleland, 27, of Atlanta, a triple amputee.

He lost both legs and his right arm in an accidental grenade explosion near Khe Sanh in April 1968.

He said the medical treatment and evacuation system in Vietnam itself is so good it probably saved his life—and probably has saved the lives of thousands of others.

But once he got back home, he said, it took a full year for him to be fitted for artificial legs—and it could have been done much more quickly.

"There is no doubt in my mind that my rehabilitation time could have been cut in half."

He said he encountered one administrative foulup after another. At one point he went without pay for two months. It was a year before he was able to get a wheelchair of his own. In seeking to select a hospital, he found "a dire lack of information."

Much of the pressure on VA hospitals has resulted because of the differences between medical efforts in the Vietnam war and those of the past.

In past wars the armed services built hospitals abroad to handle the wounded. But modern evacuation systems and modern transportation have made it possible to return wounded men to the United States rapidly—in a matter of days or weeks.

In addition, more men are suffering more serious injuries—and surviving—in the Vietnam war. The evacuation system helps them survive, but new hospital facilities have not been created in the United States to help them recover in maximum comfort.

The Nixon administration budget proposed for the fiscal year that started Wednesday includes a record request for VA medical care—\$1.7 billion, an increase of \$122 million over last year.

Cranston has proposed adding another \$174 million, but there is strong pressure to hold the budget down because the government seeks to curb inflation.

That pressure began during the Johnson administration, as the war was increasing in intensity, and at the height of the war—in 1968—Congress imposed an arbitrary personnel ceiling on the VA hospital system that made it impossible to add hospital personnel—just as Vietnam casualties began to pour in.

For this year, the administration estimates its proposed increase for the year would add about 5,000 hospital staff members.

Pushing for his proposed increase—which he said would add 10,000 personnel—Cranston said, "It seems to me that the administration is trying to balance the budget at the expense of the veterans. The war they're fighting is itself a principal cause of inflation . . ."

OBSERVATIONS ON STOCK MARKET

HON. FRED SCHWENGL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. SCHWENGL. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Allan Whitefield of Des Moines, Iowa, has

recently had the occasion to make some observations on the current problems of the stock market. Mr. Whitefield is a well-respected lawyer and financial leader not only in Des Moines but throughout the Nation. His observations will be of interest to many Members:

TODAY'S STOCK MARKET—WHITHER GOEST THOU?

Today's hot gossip item is the stock market—what is the market doing? The question is timely because the answers reflect (a) inflation and deflation trends, (b) involvement in wars and de facto wars, (c) politics and political careers, (d) possible solvency or bankruptcy for companies and individuals, (e) consumer spending, (f) domestic harmony, and a host of other matters.

This is an over-simplified analysis of how we have arrived at our present priority question.

Over a fifty year period, by various direct and indirect moves, our nation has moved to average the risks of our system of free enterprise. Basically it is a system based upon two simple premises: (a) constructive work by individuals must be rewarded adequately and in proportion to the results achieved, and (b) the system must be fair—i.e., in every day life apply the golden rule.

Our system, being administered and applied by human beings (who themselves are diverse in abilities and opportunities), of necessity is imperfect.

The price rise of stocks to dizzy heights, followed by recent major declines, illustrates an area where our system has not yet developed methods for reasonable averaging of the risks of capital investments.

In many areas of our economy, methods of averaging the risks are well established. Risks of longevity of life, health, fire and accident are averaged through insurance. Risks of loss on savings deposits in banks and buildings and loan associations; risks of unemployment; risks of credit extended for home ownership; risks of credit extended through foreign trade; risks of inadequate savings to permit retirement with dignity and increasingly standards of living are averaged through various funds and guarantees.

These moves have monetized (i.e., made liquidity of investments and some capital resources) a partial reality. This has strengthened public confidence and protected partially losses to the public.

In the stock markets, in theory we have monetized the prices of stocks by accepting as fact the market values of stocks as quoted daily (particularly those stocks listed on the public exchanges and in the market pages of the newspapers). In truth, most people believe that on demand owners of stocks can sell their stock for cash at the quoted prices. Financial statements, estimates on wealth, spending decisions, extensions of credit are made upon this belief. Mutual funds, as investment funds committed to investments in stocks and securities, are represented to be liquid 100% for cash on demand. The belief is only partly true—the ability to sell stocks for cash at quoted prices is real only if the offering for sale of stocks is in limited amounts and the existence of would-be buyers of stocks at approximately the quoted prices. The stock market has no adequate secondary reserve or liquidity factor which will protect owners of stocks from unreasonable downside price savings.

The overkill of certain types of government regulations, presented to the public as necessary to protect stock investors against losses, in operation is (a) destroying the smaller institutions engaged in making markets for stocks, (b) concentrating ownership and distribution of stocks into too few or-

ganizations, and (c) causing a greater concentration of business in larger units.

Unless and until liquidity is available for stocks (at least in minimum amounts and at a reasonable margin under soundly established averages) pressure may be expected to continue on prices and public confidence will be eroded.

Investments in stocks by an increasing number of people must be continued.

Among methods which should be explored are insured investment guaranty contracts for mutual funds, preferably by private enterprise; adjustments by regulatory authorities to simplify maintenance of markets for stocks; establishment of standards of liquidity and market fluctuations.

SALES TAXES ARE NOT THE SOLUTION

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the pressing financial problems being faced by cities throughout the country require new and creative methods of financing.

Making Federal funds more available must be a major solution. Congress has under consideration Federal revenue sharing, block grants, and increased Federal shares for matching fund programs.

All of these are much more equitable and have the possibility for growth necessary to a lasting solution.

The following is an excellent editorial from the Minneapolis Spokesman pointing out the unfairness and inadequacies of municipal sales taxes:

THE SALES TAX AS A NON SOLUTION OF CITY PROBLEMS

The League of Municipalities has come out for more sales taxes. This shocking espousal of a bankrupt idea, an outrageously immoral and impractical tax, is an astonishing revelation of the quality of thinking which is now going into problems of municipal administration. In its baldest terms—in the municipal context—it is a proposal to extract a larger proportion of the money needed to run local government from those least able to pay that cost, in order to relieve the better-heeled property owners. It is another raid on those who devote the larger part of their incomes to providing necessities for their families, for the benefit of the better fixed. It is similar in kind if not in degree to the outrageous massive shift of personal property tax liability from business to the wage earners.

We hear that the municipalities need more money, and this might be true. The taxpayers would be more impressed about this need if some concern were visible about possible economies. What about the economies that might be made, for example, by consolidating the half a hundred or so ridiculously uneconomical little municipalities that have proliferated around the Twin Cities—primarily for the benefit some people suspect, of real estate speculators.

It is most disquieting to observe such signs of utter sterility of thinking, such complete absence of any evidence of a workable philosophy of local government among our municipal representatives, especially at a time when our society as a whole is moving dy-

namically forward. How did this backwash of dull and mindless reaction develop?

We think the electorate would do well to give attention to this problem, because we cannot afford municipal leaders who respond to municipal needs with such non-solutions as this. If they have not the courage or the wit to face realities and relate themselves and their problems to the times, then it is high time that the electorate begin looking for people who can and will.

We think the sales tax is a non-solution on two counts. One, it will not solve the municipalities' fiscal problems; and two, it is not available as a solution, since it would depend on legislative action. And the legislators are, after all, realists, even if the municipal fathers are not.

NARCOTIC ADDICTION

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the fight against the horrors of narcotic addiction is showing evidence of gaining momentum. Drug education and narcotic control programs are taking root in many communities where the need is great, and where the rate of addiction has been rising sharply. The battle against narcotic addiction must be fought on every level of government, and it must enlist the active support of our citizenry.

Essex County's United Community Service has just initiated a drug abuse program and it is heartening to note the quick response to the need for funds to launch this community service.

I am happy to bring to the attention of my colleagues a recent editorial which appeared in the Montclair Times and the Verona-Cedar Grove Times:

QUICK AND EFFECTIVE MOBILIZATION AGAINST DRUGS

The twin facts that the United Community Service drug abuse program is in operation and that more than 67 per cent of the required \$150,000 has been raised in a very short time leads to some heartening conclusions.

In the first place, these facts demonstrate that when the cause is worthwhile the people living in this area will respond with contributions.

They also show that a good cause will merit quick and effective mobilization of resources of individuals. This includes both those people living in the immediate area and specialists brought into the vicinity for specific purposes.

At the same time, this is a time when with the goals practically in sight, there is an even greater need to press on as quickly as possible to make all 3 phases operational and to raise the additional funds necessary.

Already in operation is a Help-Line (228-0800), which can be called 24 hours a day 7 days a week. Plans are nearing fruition for establishment of a Youth Center in Montclair. Staff has been hired for prevention and treatment services.

Montclair residents have shown in the immediate past their recognition of the importance of this work.

The information that the \$150,000 for yearly future operational expenses will come from United Fund campaigns should spur additional contributions now.

A VIEW OF JAPAN

HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, in his column printed in the Hearst Newspapers on June 28, the distinguished editor and journalist, William Randolph Hearst, Jr., offered various personal observations made during his trip to Japan. His remarks cover international understanding and features of Expo '70, and in closing he especially notes the friendship of Japan's Premier Sato toward the United States. I commend his interesting, informative, and enlightening article to the Congress and to the American people:

THE STRONGEST TIE

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

TOKYO.—After quite a few years of globe trotting, I am convinced that speaking or even understanding a common language is the strongest tie that binds peoples of different nationalities, yes, even races.

In a tie for second, I would put an active sense of humor and the ability and even eagerness to convey one's thoughts or wishes in what is descriptively known as sign language.

What brings these perhaps trite thoughts to mind today is our presence this past week in Japan.

(My son Will, who was 21 last week, joined Joe Kingsbury Smith, Bob Considine and me here Tuesday, having flown from Malaga, Spain, via Paris and Moscow to enlist in our Task Force, and am I pleased and proud to have him.)

Now all of us know enough French—Italian—German—or Spanish to eat, shop, drive in the country and find the men's room from one corner of Europe to the other.

But what to say and more importantly what they are saying in Japanese, Chinese or Vietnamese is, to coin an Oriental cliché, "another cup of tea."

Throughout Europe, the languages are derived from the same root words as our own. Namely, Greek, Latin, Germanic and Anglo-Saxon. Besides we have the same alphabet.

But over here, absolutely nothing. Rien—niente—nada—nicht is familiar or offers a clue in sound or script.

As a consequence it is sign language or nothing—more often nothing. It calls for a bit of imagination and skill in portraying a thought pictorially, which the other guy must understand. Too often you find yourself repeating over and over with increasing impatience and mounting irritation, a charade which obviously is not getting through to your audience.

This language barrier, though insurmountable in the streets of Tokyo, is minimized at Expo '70, the great international Oriental fair in Osaka.

Fairs represent more than mere fun and frolic. They express the will, determination and pride (often false) of the exhibiting nation, and they are more revealing in many cases than an exclusive interview with the prime minister of the country involved, or a six-week visit.

Only about half a million Americans will make it to Expo '70, the way being long and costly. They will probably agree with what I now say: This is the best display America ever presented before the eyes of fair-going multitudes—at least, it's the best in my somewhat considerable experience.

We could have built the biggest pavilion on the Expo grounds and loaded it to the rafters with everything in our arsenal

of technological, scientific and artistic products (the Russians have done just that, predictably).

Instead, we show a bit of this, a bit of that: Frederic Remington's magnificently vital "Cavalry Charge on the Southern Plains," and a hunk of the moon; John Trumbull's virile "Washington Before the Battle of Trenton," and a snazzy yellow Stutz Bearcat; Apollo 8's scarred command module, and Babe Ruth's bat, Indian and Eskimo folk art; helium neon laser beams and great photographic murals—both still and moving.

But we must be saying something that has appeal to the people, in our modest way. Ten million of them have browsed through our unique inflated-ceilinged building—some of them after waiting in an inching along queue for two and a half hours. They've literally worn out the pavilion's rugs already.

However, our prize exhibit is the staff that runs our show, headed by Howard Chernoff, ex-San Diego newsman and acquaintance from London in WW II. Chernoff has ambassadorial rank during the run of Expo, but he hardly fits the pattern of the bow-and-scraps school of diplomacy.

He has been known to "tell off" an occasional foreign official who abused our hospitality. But I saw him impulsively pick up a beautiful little Japanese child and pose for parental pictures with it on his lap, while he sat in John Glenn's capsule seat.

As for Chernoff's staff, all of whom speak Japanese, they are the kind of American kids you want your sons and daughters to grow up to be.

The Russians, as earlier noted, are showing everything but the kitchen sink, and perhaps the only reason it isn't in their cluttered pavilion is that they haven't invented it yet.

One thing you absolutely can't miss in the U.S.S.R.'s show is Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. This is the centennial of his birth. He's all over their lot, in heroic size statues, 1917 newsreels, paintings, whatnot—as compared to our lone portrait of the Father of Our Country.

Moscow artisans turned out so many images of Lenin that they spill over into the pavilions of neighboring Iron Curtain countries, including, alas, the always beautiful Czechoslovakian exhibition. Lenin sticks out like a sore thumb in what the Czechs hoped would be (as it has been in previous fairs), the "sleeper" of the whole show.

My personal "sleeper" is the tiny Irish pavilion. It features Irish hamburgers, Guinness, Irish coffee, and red hair.

Oh yes, one item more. We're leading the other 76 nations in pickpocketing. More than 500 such heists have been committed on our reservation. Confirming an old saying—"Ply your trade where the money is."

On returning to Tokyo Friday night, we learned that our request for an interview with Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato was set for Saturday morning. In my book, he is an ideal world leader in this day and age. Patriotism and his nation's interest come first, as they should, but he feels a strong bond of friendship for the United States.

To top it off, he is philosophically attuned to the times of today and the facts of life. War to him is not the answer for the settlement of international problems. In fact, he seems to exclude even the possibility of there ever being a nuclear holocaust.

Purely and simply, he feels that, as everyone knows, it would lead to total destruction and possibly the annihilation of mankind and civilization as we know it today. However, he recognizes, as he said, that there may someday be "crazy people around," and we should take whatever measures we can to protect ourselves.

Before you conclude that there is an element of contradiction, if not fence-straddling, in the prime minister's line of rea-

soning, let me assure you he is a pragmatic realist.

Furthermore, he recognizes what America has been trying to do in Vietnam and Cambodia. In fact, he showed a much greater understanding of the President's move into Cambodia than many of our senators and congressmen. He said he felt there has been a lot of inaccurate reporting about the American move into Cambodia, especially by the Japanese press.

It was not, in his opinion, President Nixon who escalated the war in Cambodia, but the Communists, who went in there first and built up their forces.

Since Japan's constitution forbids the country from participating in any wars except in defense of its own territory, Japan's contribution to resisting the spread of Communism in Free Asia has been to extend economic aid to the under-developed nations.

Sato seemed to subscribe to my suggestion that Japan might increase its contribution of yen instead of men and help promote an Asiatic Marshall Plan to strengthen the stability of the non-Communist nations in this part of the world.

As long as he remains prime minister, we won't have to worry about Japan as an ally and reliable friend.

IS IT ALWAYS RIGHT TO BE RIGHT?

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Warren H. Schmidt, a behavioral scientist and assistant dean of the Graduate School of Business Administration at the University of California at Los Angeles, has written a very eloquent, moving and thought-provoking statement on one of America's most urgent problems.

In these days of division and dissent, of polarization and partisanship, I believe Dean Schmidt's message, a parable of poetic simplicity, is well worth considering, and I would like to include it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

IS IT ALWAYS RIGHT TO BE RIGHT? SOME REFLECTIONS ON TENSIONS AND HOPES

(By Warren H. Schmidt)

There once was a land where men were always right. They knew it . . . and they were proud of it.

It was a land where a man was proud to say, "I am right" and "You are wrong." For these were words of conviction, of strength and of courage.

No one was ever heard to say, "I may be wrong" or "You may be right," for these were words of weakness, uncertainty and cowardice.

When differences arose among the people of this land they sought not to re-examine and explore; but only to justify and persuade.

When differences arose between the old and the young, the older would say,

"We have worked hard to build this great and prosperous land. We have produced cars and highways that permit us to move quickly from place to place. We have built planes that surpass the speed of sound. We have produced computers which solve complex problems in milliseconds. We have even touched the moon. We expect those who inherit this good land to appreciate what we have accomplished and to build on the heritage we have given to them."

These older people were right, of course . . . and they knew it and were proud of it.

But the younger people of that land would respond:

"We see around us a land that has been befouled and exploited. People starve where food is plentiful. Laws and practices prevent some from having an equal chance to develop and to influence. Noble and moral words are matched by selfish and sordid deeds. Leaders urge us to fight wars to preserve peace—and the fighting does not end. The whole scene is phony and polluted and inhuman and out of control. We want no part of this money-mad Establishment."

These younger people were right, of course . . . and they knew it and were proud of it.

And the gap between the generations grew wider.

When differences arose between men of different races, those from the majority race would say:

"We are working steadily to build a land of justice and equality for all our citizens. We have made considerable progress—but social progress does not come swiftly. Those whom we seek to help and lift can only hurt their own cause when they push and intrude and pressure us. Let them show some patience—and let them use more fully the opportunities we have already supplied. Then we will feel like doing even more for them."

These people of the majority were right, of course . . . and they knew it and they were proud of it.

But those from the minority group would reply:

"We have been pushed around too long and we are angry. We have been confined to a ghetto. Our children's education has been stunted in second-rate schools.

"We have seen jobs go to less qualified while our people are rejected or shunted into menial tasks. We see a thousand subtle signs that brand us and our children as second-class citizens in this land. We will tolerate lofty promises and meagre deeds no longer."

These people from the minority were right, of course . . . and they knew it and were proud of it.

And the gap between the races grew wider. And so it went in this land . . .

Group after group defined the right. And took their stand. And upheld their position against those who opposed them. It happened between those who taught in the school and those who provided the funds. It happened between those who gave priority to a strong defense and those who gave priority to better cities. It happened between those who pleaded for peace at almost any price and those who argued for national honor at almost any cost.

Everyone was right, of course . . . and they knew it and were proud of it.

And the gaps between groups grew wider. Until the day came when the rigidity of rightness caused all activity to come to a halt.

Each group stood in its solitary rightness. Glaring with proud eyes at those too blind to see their truth. Determined to maintain their position at all costs (for this is the responsibility of being right).

But the quality of life in the land declined. And grew more grim. And the people became more angry. And violence increased.

People had more things, but their sense of well-being and personal fulfillment diminished.

Some measured the costs in tasks undone and energy wasted. Others in loneliness and fear. Most felt powerless and without hope.

But through the tense days of confusion and gaps of all kinds. Some maintained their vision of a time when men would again

value their differences . . . As a source of richness. As a stimulant to learning. As a base for creativity.

Then . . . One day a strange new sound was heard in the land. Someone said, "I may be wrong . . . You may be right." The people were shocked that anyone could be so weak and so confused. But the voice persisted. And when the people looked, they saw that it came from one who was known for his strength and wisdom.

And some people began to listen in a different way. It now seemed safe to listen to opposing—and even "wrong"—views.

As they listened, they discovered common beliefs they had not known before. They even began to see signs of humanity and noble purpose in those who they once only knew as adversaries.

Here and there men expressed their common desires in deeds—and bright examples of joint action were seen in the land.

With each new effort, men's faith in one another grew . . . and their faith in the future . . . and in their ability to shape their own destiny.

They stated these beliefs in a Declaration of Interdependence which read in part . . . "All men are created equal—but each develops in a unique way. All men are endowed with certain inalienable rights—but each must assume certain inevitable responsibilities. For the happiness and fulfillment of all depends on the commitment of each to accept and support equality and uniqueness, rights and responsibilities."

In this land men had learned how two rights could make a costly wrong. That it may take less courage to point a finger than to extend a hand and less wisdom to defend a narrow right than to search for truth.

Most important of all, the people of this land had learned that the quest for truth is never over; that the challenge is always the same . . .

To stop fighting long enough to listen. To learn from those who differ. To try new approaches. To seek and test new relationships. And to keep at a task that never ends.

WORTHINGTON GLOBE LAYS IT ON THE LINE

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 7, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, the Worthington Daily Globe of Worthington, Minn., edited by Ray Crippen, recently sought to underscore the fundamental importance of individual responsibility and local community responsibility in the fight against pollution. It is a recognition that some have found more comfortable to overlook. So I am pleased to call this commentary to the attention of my colleagues as a fine example of the community responsibility that can be encouraged by a responsible press:

OUR LOCAL POLLUTION RESPONSIBILITIES

Earth Day, April 22, was a sober success in Worthington. College and high school students walked to the courthouse as a climax of a day of talk, study and education on pollution problems. All levels of education here were involved, from first grade through second year college, in the nationwide educational effort on pollution problems.

The discovery of pollution as an issue has been popular with politicians of all political

persuasions. Every elected official in the country hates pollution as intensely as he hates inflation and unemployment, and a good many have a patented solution to all the ills of the environment.

But there comes a time when the tumult and the shouting dies, a time when words become hollow, a time when the rhetoric is translated into either action of lethargy, a time either to fish or cut bait.

That time is right now. And the place to begin is not Pittsburgh or Los Angeles, but Worthington—right here in River City. A concerted local effort is needed, an effort that demands cooperation (and some sacrifices) from individual citizens, farmers, businessmen, industry, and city, township, and county government.

Perhaps the local problem of pollution that demands our first attention in Worthington is Lake Okabena. Okabena, a lake that should properly be a prairie jewel, is rapidly being spoiled for recreation. Comes the summer months and accumulations of algae and bacteria rapidly turn the lake into a pond unfit for swimming. Beaches are closed and deserted. Only a small wind, a zephyr, rolls its water.

The offenders are many, and cleaning the lake will require the cooperation of all. Part of the problem arises from effluent from septic tanks from homes and trailer courts in the area draining into the lake. Part of the problem is from feed lots and farm tiles draining into water courses feeding Lake Okabena. Part of the problem is top soil washed into water courses after every rain that silts the lake.

The accumulation of silt results in turbid water when the wind blows, and the accumulation of bacteria results in coliform counts that close the lake to swimming by mid-summer. But the problem could be solved with effort and through good will. One thing that will be required is unselfishness on the part of offenders, the realization that a person's right to live in a particular spot does not include the right to pollute his environment. Local government, too, must be ready to extend necessary water and sewer services.

But the silt in the lake represents only a minor portion of the top soil washed and blown from the land. Nobles County's Soil Conservation District has been operating for 20 years, and there is still much work to be done.

Despite the many programs designed to save the few inches of top soil that make the land productive, every rain washes new gullies and every wind fills the air with grit. Good soil conservation practices not only preserve the farmer's means of livelihood, but they prevent further pollution. And once again it is largely a matter of the individual practicing good citizenship.

Pollution is to a great extent an individual affair. A recent television program pointed out that the average individual accounted for about four pounds of solid waste each day, waste that must be disposed of and is a major source of pollution. Here again pollution control rests with the individual. The housewife shopping can do much to control pollution by buying soft drinks in returnable rather than disposable bottles, purchasing detergents that break down quickly after use, and similar practices. Once again, pollution control is a matter of good citizenship.

Worthington and Nobles County and all the southwest Minnesota-northwest Iowa area have not yet lost the battle. Our job of cleaning up our environment is still relatively simple compared to the problems faced by metropolitan areas across the nation.

Right here in Worthington and the surrounding countryside practicing good citizenship and taking care to observe the rights of one's neighbors to live in an unpolluted environment could rather quickly result in

nearly pollution free surroundings. What is needed to achieve that desirable end is to acknowledge that the results are worthwhile and then to move determinedly in that direction.

It may mean, for example, that a farmer will have to move a feedlot away from a waterway in deference to his neighbors down the stream. It may mean that a septic tank or sewer tile draining into a farm tile and then into a stream will have to be changed. It may mean that the stewardship of the land calls for placing some present cropland in grassland. It may mean that the

housewife shopping will have to read detergent labels more carefully and refuse to buy products that generate problems in hard waste disposal. It may mean that the grocer will have to refuse to stock detergents that do not break down after use and rid his shelves of packages that create disposal problems. It may mean that local units of government will have to take steps that will cause some inconvenience and expense to the citizens. Our city's sewage lagoons do not have to smell; proper management of the lagoons can solve the problem.

The course is quite clear. We can get down

to business and do something about the problems of pollution plaguing us, or after this first burst of enthusiasm lapse again into lethargy.

If we do fail to act, the consequences are clear. Unsightly clutters of rubbish and burning dumps will offend the eye and pinch the nose. The lake will become a green morass fit only for carp and bullheads.

We make no such prediction that Worthington will be a moonscape unfit for habitation. But the place will be a lot less attractive than it is now, and that is reason enough to get busy.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Wednesday, July 8, 1970

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit.—Matthew 7: 17.

We open our minds unto Thee, our Father, and pray that Thy spirit may come anew into our hearts, giving us power for the living of these days. Remove from within us any bitterness that blights our lives, any resentment that ruins our dispositions, and any worry that wearies us and wears us out.

Help us to think cleanly and clearly, to speak forcefully and faithfully, to work heartily and hopefully, and to live trustfully and truly. In this spirit may we learn to do what is best for our country and good for our world.

In the spirit of Christ we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Leonard, one of his secretaries.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H.J. Res. 1284. Joint resolution authorizing the President's Commission on Campus Unrest to compel the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of evidence, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, bills of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 5365. An act to provide for the conveyance of certain public lands held under color of title to Mrs. Jessie L. Gaines of Mobile, Ala.; and

H.R. 17548. An act making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, offices, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendments to

the bill (H.R. 17548) entitled "An act making appropriations for sundry independent executive bureaus, boards, commissions, corporations, agencies, offices, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. PASTORE, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. ELLENDER, Mr. HOLLAND, Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. ALLOTT, Mrs. SMITH of Maine, Mr. HRUSKA, and Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the bill (H.R. 16595) entitled "An act to authorize appropriations for activities of the National Science Foundation, and for other purposes," disagreed to by the House; agrees to the conference asked by the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. PELL, Mr. EAGLETON, Mr. PROUTY, and Mr. DOMINICK to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 3838. An act to prevent the unauthorized manufacture and use of the character "Johnny Horizon", and for other purposes.

SUPPLEMENTAL VIEWS ON SOUTHEAST ASIA INVESTIGATION

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I have two unanimous-consent requests to make. One is that my supplemental views on the investigation in Southeast Asia by the select committee be included in that report as a supplemental report; and, second, that my supplemental views be included in the RECORD as of today so that the readers may have those views available to them.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

DEPRAVED TREATMENT OF PRISONERS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

(Mr. TUNNEY asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. TUNNEY. Mr. Speaker, the revela-

tions in the last couple of days that have been brought out to the Nation by my colleagues, the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. ANDERSON), and the gentleman from California (Mr. HAWKINS), regarding Con Son Prison and the depraved treatment of POW's and political prisoners shows very clearly that it is not just the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong who treat in such a fashion people of their own race and of their own nation with whom they are at war. It is also the Saigon Government which participates in cruel and inhuman handling of their prisoners.

The fact that U.S. dollars are supporting such an effort and the fact that American advisers are over there advising the Vietnamese makes it clear how far you can have a bureaucracy become completely insensate to the problems of man's inhumanity to man.

I am afraid that this is another example of what this Asian war has done to our spirit as a nation. I want to make it very clear that I do not think it is the fault of the Nixon administration any more than I think it is the fault of the Johnson administration. But I think the fault lies in the endeavor—this military endeavor—which can lead a moral nation like the United States—a generous nation like the United States and allow its visions of charitable sacrifice to produce monsters.

This, it seems to me, necessitates a Presidential commission to go over and take a look at what is going on in Con Son, and other political prisons in South Vietnam so that when we speak about inhuman treatment of American prisoners of war, we may speak with the knowledge that we are doing everything we can to keep the Vietnamese—be they South Vietnamese or North Vietnamese—to keep prisoners from being treated inhumanly in our prisons or in prisons sponsored by our client government in Saigon.

THE PLIGHT OF THE VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITALS

(Mr. WOLFF asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I recently attended a tour of the Kingsbridge VA Hospital. This tour was part of the investigation which was undertaken by the