

Supreme Court, and to require retirement of Federal judges at the age of 70 years; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BINGHAM (for himself, Mr. BOLAND, Mr. BROWN of California, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. DULSKI, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. GIBBONS, Mr. HALPERN, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. KOCH, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. REES, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. RYAN, Mr. SCHEUER, Mr. TUNNEY, and Mr. WHITEHURST):

H. Con. Res. 503. Concurrent resolution on the Middle East; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. McMILLAN:

H. Con. Res. 504. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that "freedom of choice" plans are the most equitable, legal, and feasible method of facilitating title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. POWELL:

H. Con. Res. 505. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress with respect to the participation of South Africa in the Davis Cup international tennis competition; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. DERWINSKI:

H. Res. 830. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives to create a standing committee to be known as the Committee on the Environment; to the Committee on Rules.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

By Mr. MANN:

H. Res. 831. Resolution to create a Select Committee on the Investigation of Pornographic Enterprises; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. POWELL:

H. Res. 832. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to the participation of South Africa in the Davis Cup international tennis competition; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ZWACH:

H. Res. 833. Resolution to express the sense of the House with respect to peace in the Middle East; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. GUBSER:

H.R. 15862. A bill for the relief of Santo Salvaggio, Anna Collura, and Patrizia C. Collura; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 15863. A bill for the relief of Sylvia Diaz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WINN:

H.R. 15864. A bill for the relief of Robert L. Stevenson; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PRICE of Illinois:

H.R. 15865. A bill for the relief of Marion Owen; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

294. By the SPEAKER: A memorial of the Legislature of the State of South Carolina, relative to overriding the presidential veto of the act making appropriations for health, education, and welfare; to the Committee on Appropriations.

295. Also, General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to increasing the amounts of minimum monthly payments under the Social Security Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

389. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Belle Pickering, New York, N.Y., and others, relative to certain movies regarded as pornographic in content; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

390. Also, petition of Daniel Edlord Leveque, Sheboygan, Wis., relative to redress of grievances; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### TOPICS: HOW THE ADMINISTRATION CAN CURB INFLATION

**HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, with rosy forecasts on the "success" of its alleged fight against the Nation's wild inflation flowing from administration spokesmen on a regular basis, I think it is about time we mounted a crusade to reply to the propaganda.

A certain member of the administration has demanded truth in reporting and presentation on Government activities. Let us give it to him and a concerned public.

Every Member of this body knows that there has been no abatement of inflation since the present administration took office. In fact, inflation has grown progressively worse. Prices of everything go up and up. Interest rates go up and up.

The Nation is headed for dire trouble if inflation is not at the very least braked. It appears to me that the administration has no effective anti-inflation program. It is floundering badly and I believe it is about time that the administration started listening to some experts not having membership in the closed corporation setup running the financial and economic affairs of our Nation.

One outside expert that should be listened to is the Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg. As we all know Mr. Goldberg has had vast experience in many phases of American life. Let the RECORD show that

during his career in Government, Mr. Goldberg served as Secretary of Labor, Supreme Court Justice, and Ambassador to the United Nations.

In a news column appearing in the New York Times on January 31, 1970, Mr. Goldberg offered some sound advice on how to combat inflation, and I call it to the attention of all by hereby placing the column in the RECORD:

TOPICS: HOW THE ADMINISTRATION CAN CURB INFLATION

(By Arthur J. Goldberg)

I am the last one to deny the utility of clichés to public officials. But a cliché cannot be substituted for a policy. I fear that this may be happening with respect to the Administration's inflation policy.

Its cliché is governmental nonintervention in labor-management affairs. The most applauded statement that can be made to a business or labor audience is: "Let the Government stay out of collective bargaining." But I know from experience that the Government cannot stay out if a dispute impairs our national health, safety or economy.

President Nixon recognized this in 1959, when as Vice President he intervened to help settle the 116-day steel strike. The still unsettled railroad controversy is an example affecting national health and safety. Secretary of Labor Shultz rightly put aside Administration predilections against intervening to help resolve this dispute.

More importantly, the Administration has still to deal realistically with the impact of the sum total of collective bargaining on our inflationary economy. Collective bargaining does not operate in a vacuum. To illustrate, collective bargaining is not responsible for the more than \$30 billion a year of Government expenditures in carrying on the tragic war in Vietnam.

Although collective bargaining may not be the prime cause of inflation, it contributes

to its acceleration. Workers cannot be expected to moderate wage demands at the expense of living standards while prices and profits remain unrestrained. Employers cannot absorb increasing costs arising from collective bargaining without protecting profit margins.

The Administration is concerned about this, but its remedy is fiscal and monetary restraint. This means higher interest rates, tighter credit, a diminution of the money supply, higher taxes, a reduction in governmental expenditures, a substantial budget surplus and higher levels of unemployment.

### PRICES, PROFITS, WAGES

I am not reassured by statistics showing that the gross national product is slowing. These figures are accompanied by reports of price increases in key commodities, wage increases and growing lay-offs in important industries. Only this week the Commerce Department reported that food prices went up 2 per cent in January.

The time has come—indeed it is long overdue—to supplement appropriate fiscal and monetary measures by dealing directly with the impact of prices, wages and profits on inflation.

A good beginning for the Administration would be to raise rather than lower its voice about inordinate price and wage increases. "Jawboning" is not always effective, but silence on the part of government is deemed acquiescence. "Guidelines" don't always work but at least remind industry and labor that they also must heed the public interest.

In all candor, however, I doubt that at this late stage "jawboning" and "guidelines" alone will do the job. The Administration will have to deal more directly with the wage, price and profit situation.

Robert Roosa, a perceptive economist and financier, has advocated a wage-price-profit freeze. It would be in the form of a Presidential appeal to maintain all prices, wages and dividends at present levels for a period of, say, six months.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

The difficulty with Mr. Roosa's suggestion is the inequity of a prospective freeze, applicable to some when others will have beaten the freeze by hiking prices or raising wages. The difficulty with all-out controls is the antipathy Americans have to direct controls—particularly in an undeclared war—an antipathy based upon past distaste for bureaucratic administration and black marketeering, the almost inevitable concomitant of controls even in times of a declared war. But greater than both of these difficulties is the consequence of "galloping" inflation.

## CITIZEN RESPONSE

I believe that the American people, whether they come from industry or labor, understand this; the citizen is ahead of his elected officials and is ready to support a responsible wage, price and profits policy to help control inflation.

But whether popularly supported or not, it is the first obligation of any Administration to protect the national health, safety and economy with all the means available to it and, if these are inadequate, to seek additional means from the Congress.

We have reached a crisis point which brooks no further delay and no appropriate measure—including wage, price and profit controls—can be excluded to bring inflation under control.

## THE PRECARIOUS BUDGET SITUATION—NEED FOR DRAMATIZATION

## HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, earlier today, in speaking to the House briefly about the precarious fiscal situation confronting the country, I discussed one key aspect of the budget submitted by the President last week, and secured permission to extend my remarks on the budget more fully and to include pertinent tabulations.

Mr. Speaker, all Members and all citizens, and this certainly includes the press, need to understand the precarious fiscal situation confronting the country.

We need to understand that had the fiscal 1971 budget now before Congress been submitted under the same budget guidelines that obtained under the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, and under the first 3 years of the Johnson administration, the new budget, submitted last week, would show a deficit for fiscal year 1971 of \$7.3 billion, not the \$1.3 billion surplus in the headlines.

That blunt statement of fact will seem strange and perhaps incredible to people who have read the big headlines and who have not studied and understood the fine print. I am not charging bad faith. I know of none.

I am charging that there is a lack of information as to the facts.

Let me follow my blunt statement of fact with a few other statements of fact:

First. We talk about a balanced budget, and it is balanced under the new unified budget system, which seems to mislead a lot of people. The Federal debt continues to go up. The administration estimates

that the gross Federal debt will increase by nearly \$8 billion in the next fiscal year. This means that the debt ceiling will have to be raised at this session of Congress. If there were a balance of outgo and income in the federally owned funds of the Government, the Federal debt would not, of course, go up.

Second. The fiscal 1971 budget requests new spending authority—"budget authority" is the technical term—in excess of fiscal year 1970 in the sum of \$9 billion. The gross increase is several billions higher than \$9 billion as I shall in a few moments show in some detail, but there are certain nonrecurring offsets.

Third. Under the unified budget which became effective for fiscal year 1969, and which includes 6 months under the previous administration, the so-called surplus is dwindling. The trend is in the wrong direction. Here it is:

Under the unified budget, the fiscal 1969 surplus was \$3.2 billion. It is estimated to sag to \$1.5 billion in the current fiscal year, and it is estimated to sag further in the forthcoming fiscal year to \$1.3 billion.

What concerns me and many others is that the so-called surplus for fiscal year 1970 will probably dwindle further, and the so-called surplus for 1971 will undoubtedly vanish, and we will be in the red under the new unified budget plan in 1971. Under the former budget plan which obtained in the previous administration, we would be in the red for the 3 fiscal years 1969, 1970, and 1971 in the total sum of \$19.9 billion. The actual figures by years are: 1969, \$5.5 billion; 1970, estimated, \$7.1 billion; 1971, estimated, \$7.3 billion.

The practical facts which I have recited are not understood generally, but they must be understood if we are to be able to take off the cloak of complacency in regard to fiscal matters. Under the facts there is no possible basis for comfort in regard to the budgetary situation.

It must be understood how the unified budget surplus is arrived at. As a result of the actions of Congress, increasing social security and other trust funds, trust funds have sharply increased during the past few years. Receipts of trust funds have exceeded expenditures of trust funds, thereby creating large surpluses. The estimated surplus for 1971 is \$8.6 billion. The estimated surplus for 1970 is \$8.6 billion. The surplus for 1969 was \$8.7 billion.

Trust funds are dedicated to specific programs, such as social security and highway construction. These revenues are not available for regular Federal programs. They can be borrowed, however, by the Government and used to pay the regular expenses of the Government, and this is what has been and is being done. The Government borrows these funds, paying appropriate interest, and uses them for the regular functions of the Government.

I am not opposing the practice of borrowing surplus trust funds and using them for the operation of the Government. These sums earn interest, of course,

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paid by the taxpayer. But the Congress and the citizen must not overlook the fact that these funds will have to be repaid and that a budget surplus based solely on trust fund borrowings is not a very comforting situation.

I am not making a partisan appeal. It was not this administration which first advocated the unified budget procedure. This was done by the previous administration. I am not even making a plea for the abandonment of the unified budget plan. I am just advocating that a way be found to display the full truth to the Congress and to the American people.

The unified budget plan was designed to promote understanding by use of a single, comprehensive measurement in lieu of the three or four separate sets of figures used previously. It tends to obscure the actual situation in relation to general Federal funds but it does provide a picture of total budgetary income and outgo for economic analysis and other purposes.

I would like to contribute to the awakening of the American people on this issue. Some way must be found to dramatize the seriousness of the situation confronting the country.

Moreover, I am not charging this administration with inventing unacceptable inflation. It began in the previous administration largely because of unbalanced budgets brought about principally by heavy war spending and insufficient Federal revenues. Yet within the last year inflation has not only continued unabated, it has accelerated. I will insert a set of figures illuminating this fact.

## THE NEED FOR LIVING WITHIN OUR MEANS

Mr. Speaker, the President has done his duty under the law in presenting his budget to Congress. The budget message may very well be the most important document presented to Congress this year.

In a sense the President has passed the ball to Congress and it is the duty of Congress in the coming months to carefully evaluate the President's budget and use its best judgment in taking action.

In my judgment, it must be agreed that the President has used considerable restraint in presenting his budget to Congress. I applaud the President for placing heavy stress on the need for a balance in Federal spending.

Last Friday, the President said in Chicago that total mobilization of the Nation's resources was necessary to fight pollution. He added: "Whatever the costs we are going to do the job." I find no fault with this. I applaud it.

Now, others are saying we must spend billions to reduce poverty to the minimum.

Others are saying that we have only scratched the surface in providing Federal aid to education, that we must spend more, more, more.

Others talk about housing and propose the expenditure of billions.

Others are saying that the cities will die without mass transit aid, advocating long-range programs that will cost uncounted billions.

I will not go on to mention, space, welfare, revenue sharing, and innumerable other opportunities for spending for good purposes.

My point is that everybody is talking about big spending but nobody is talking in a very loud voice about attractive new tax programs which will raise massive sums of additional revenue to pay for the spending program.

Unless some way can be found to rectify this situation, we are in my judgment headed toward fiscal and economic chaos.

If there is to be a hero in the 1970's, he may be the man who entices the people to vote upon themselves the taxes required to pay for all our programs to clean up the environment, stamp out disease, eliminate poverty, and educate everybody. Everybody can dramatize the need for spending. Why cannot somebody dramatize the need to collect the revenue?

Is it not true that if we finance these ambitious programs by deficit spending, the money will not buy much and our efforts will fail?

#### A TENUOUS BUDGET BALANCE

I share the President's concern that pressures for increased spending could unhorse the razor-thin unified budget surplus of \$1.3 billion which he has presented. In fact, I say—regretfully—that in my opinion the razor-thin unified budget surplus projected for fiscal 1971 will disappear.

I would have preferred to see a much larger surplus projection. The \$1.3 billion figure stands uncomfortably close to the edge of a zero balance. It is a fragile, precarious balance. It can disappear with a single miscalculation—and there are always miscalculations in budgets.

Original budget projections are often highly fragile. They rest on major assumptions and contingencies. They not infrequently fail to allow prudent margins of safety as hedges against miscalculations and failures. They are prospective only. They are not self-enacting. They never materialize exactly according to plan. They are, characteristically and understandably, optimistic in tone and outlook.

I would say that the current budget message is no exception in these regards.

Whether this budget reflects a strong budget position is a matter of opinion, open to debate.

The unified budget position in the current year has deteriorated considerably. The administration's original April 15 estimate for fiscal 1970 projected a unified surplus of \$5.8 billion. In its Summer Review of the Budget issued last September, the reestimated amount was \$5.9 billion. Today, it is again reestimated, down to \$1.5 billion. It is withering away.

Our national budget position is slipping. Today's unified budget surplus of \$1.3 billion for 1971 is down from the reestimated unified surplus of \$1.5 billion for the current fiscal year 1970, which itself is somewhat tentative especially because of the uncertainty involved

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

as to the final figures for the vetoed Labor-HEW appropriation bill.

The unified budget surplus for fiscal 1969 was \$3.2 billion. Thus both fiscal years 1970 and 1971 have slipped to less than half the 1969 figure.

It is thus crystal clear that there is no room whatever for complacency about our fiscal position. The current highly volatile inflationary situation under-

scores the necessity to follow a high order of restraint in approaching the fiscal bills of the session.

#### DETAILS OF TRUST FUND AND FEDERAL FUND TOTALS

Mr. Speaker, I include a table summarizing the budget totals with a division between the trust funds and Federal funds:

#### THE BUDGET SURPLUS AND DEFICIT SITUATION

[In billions of dollars]

	Trust funds	Federal funds	Total of the 2	Less: Intra-governmental transactions that wash out	Net totals
<b>Fiscal 1971:</b>					
Budget receipts (estimated).....	64.1	147.6	211.7	-9.6	202.1
Budget outlays (estimated).....	55.5	154.9	210.4	-9.6	200.8
Surplus (+) or deficit (-) (estimated).....	+8.6	-7.3	+1.3	.....	+1.3
<b>Fiscal 1970:</b>					
Budget receipts (estimated).....	58.1	149.6	207.7	-8.3	199.4
Budget outlays (estimated).....	49.5	156.7	206.2	-8.3	197.9
Surplus (+) or deficit (-) (estimated).....	+8.6	-7.1	+1.5	.....	+1.5
<b>Fiscal 1969:</b>					
Budget receipts (actual).....	52.0	143.3	195.3	-7.5	187.8
Budget outlays (actual).....	43.3	148.8	192.1	-7.5	184.6
Surplus (+) or deficit (-), actual.....	+8.7	-5.5	+3.2	.....	+3.2
Surplus (+) or deficit (-), all 3 years (estimated).....	+25.9	-19.9	+6.0	.....	+6.0

<sup>1</sup> These figures, besides being estimates, are subject to the further qualification that they are especially subject to change on account of delay of enactment of the Labor-HEW Appropriation bill (for 1970) into the second session of the 91st Congress.

Source of figures: Budget for 1971, p. 19 of Special Analyses.

The fact is that prior to 3 or 4 years ago, the trust fund surpluses were either small in relation to more recent years, or there were small deficits. Contributions are made to the trust funds for dedicated purposes. Necessary amounts are paid out of the trust funds for the purposes for which they were established, such as social security, highway construction, civil service retirement, and other authorized programs. The larger surpluses, as you will note from the table which I now insert, have occurred in the more recent years and are projected to continue for a few years.

#### Trust fund surpluses and deficits, fiscal years 1971-1960

[In billions of dollars]

	Surplus (+) or deficit (-)
<b>Fiscal year:</b>	
1971 (estimate, 1971 budget) .....	+8.6
1970 (estimate, 1971 budget) .....	+8.6
1969 .....	+8.7
1968 .....	+3.2
1967 .....	+6.2
1966 .....	+1.3
1965 .....	+2.2
1964 .....	+2.6
1963 .....	+1.8
1962 .....	-.2
1961 .....	+.8
1960 .....	-.5

Source: Computed from the budget for 1971.

With respect to the unified budget, on the debit side, so to speak, the plan masks the Federal funds budget position and gives rise to misunderstanding when surplus trust funds are borrowed

to defray the general costs of Government. On the credit side, the unified budget plan does this, and this is very pleasing and helpful to economists and many others in and out of the Government—it does show the totality of the flow of funds between the Federal Government and the public.

#### IS THE NEW BUDGET REALISTIC?

Mr. Speaker, a key question is whether the projected budget is realistic.

Does it square with the realities?

Does it project a "strong budget position" the President says is necessary in the present situation?

Is there any substantial margin as a hedge against miscalculation of estimates? As shown by the new budget, there were significant miscalculations in the 1970 budget estimates of the administration.

Are there propositions in the new budget that, based on recent experience, there is reason to doubt that a majority in Congress will adopt? Some contingent items involving additional revenues and reductions in spending in the new budget are resubmissions from last year's budget or earlier budgets.

While the overall budget projects a hairline margin of surplus on the unified basis, like all budgets it hinges on many contingencies and assumptions.

#### SELECTED BUDGET CONTINGENCIES AND ASSUMPTIONS

The new budget for fiscal 1971 assumes that the Treasury will acquire an additional \$1.2 billion in fiscal 1971 by speeding up the collection of taxes withheld

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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and excise taxes. That improves the short-run cash position but adds no additional revenue.

The new budget assumes adoption of a long list of proposed cutbacks, revisions, and terminations of programs and activities that are counted on in the new

budget to save \$2,132 million in spending and \$2,423 million in budget authority in fiscal 1971.

As the President's budget points out: If these actions were not taken, the much-needed budget surplus would disappear.

It is most unlikely that a majority of the Congress will adopt all of these proposals.

I include at this point a condensation of the more detailed list of these cutbacks, revisions, and terminations that appear in the budget:

## SELECTED LISTING OF 1971 BUDGET PROPOSALS TO TERMINATE, RESTRUCTURE, AND REFORM CURRENT PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES

[Fiscal years in millions]

Agency and program	1971 savings		1st full year savings		Agency and program	1971 savings		1st full year savings	
	Budget authority	Budget outlays	Budget authority	Budget outlays		Budget authority	Budget outlays	Budget authority	Budget outlays
1. Program terminations:									
Special milk program	\$84	\$64	\$84	\$84	Various changes in veterans services (p. 55, Budget for 1971)	\$146	\$159	\$195	\$208
Agriculture conservation practices payments	211	66	227	233	All other	31	75	66	185
Sale of Alaska Railroad	100	100			Total, program restructuring	1,401	1,396	961	1,093
Annual grants to land-grant colleges	12	12	12	12					
Hospital construction grants	65	2	65	65	3. Program reductions:				
All other	113	56	130	137	Rural water and waste disposal grants	22	3	22	12
Total, program terminations	585	300	518	531	NASA:				
2. Program restructuring:					Apollo/lunar exploration	215	277		
Sales of stockpile commodities	597	751			Launch vehicle and spacecraft production	160	125	500	500
School assistance in federally impacted areas—tie payments more closely to local fiscal needs	392	196	400	400	All other	40	31	40	35
Medicare—discourage overuse of long-term institutional care and encourage greater use of more efficient providers of health care	235	215	300	300	Total, program reductions	437	436	562	547
					4. Total, all three groups	2,423	2,132	2,041	2,171

Note.—Defense military items not listed, since any new reductions in 1971 are largely a continuation of actions initiated in fiscal 1970.

Source of figures: Budget for 1971, pp. 50-56.

Continuing with the listing, Mr. Speaker, the new budget assumes a 6-month delay in enactment of a general civilian and military pay raise—from July 1 to January 1, 1971. Earlier enactment would draw down the projected surplus; about \$1,000 million would be added to the budget if July 1 were the effective date.

It calls for \$674 million additional in 1971 from increased postal rates, which it assumes will be enacted by this coming April 1. Congress failed to act on the postage increase bill last year. And another \$500 million of increased postal revenues are counted on to come from various reforms and changes which apparently, at the moment, are not contingent on legislative action.

The budget resubmits various user charge proposals which failed of adoption last year, relating to aviation and highways; \$653 million is counted on in the figures.

Another 1-year extension of excise taxes on automobiles and telephone service is proposed, valued at \$560 million in fiscal 1971.

The new budget would make necessary another debt ceiling increase—in the order, I would assume—of about \$8 billion.

On a percentage basis, the projected growth in the gross national product for calendar 1970, which underpins the revenue estimates, appears to compare reasonably with the general outlook. It is projected 5.7 percent above calendar 1969, which was 7.7 percent above the calendar 1968 GNP.

The greater uncertainties about the projections appear to lie on the spending side, especially in view of the constant

pressures for more and more spending but not for more and more revenues to pay the bills.

Mr. Speaker, I include a listing summarizing in tabular form the major items referred to:

*Selected major contingencies surrounding the projected \$1.3 billion unified budget surplus for fiscal year 1971 (partial listing only)*<sup>1</sup>

[In millions of dollars]

Budget surplus projected by the President, February 2, 1970 (with all the attending assumptions and contingencies) — +1,331  
In the absence of Treasury steps administratively to speed up collection of withheld income taxes, and excise taxes (which add to fiscal 1971 receipts, but not to ultimate revenues) — —1,200

Then the projected figure would be +131  
If the various proposals for user charges, resubmitted this year, are not adopted (involving aviation and highways) — —653

Then the projected figure would be —522  
If the proposal to extend excise tax rates declining on January 1, 1971 for 1 year is not adopted (involving automobiles and telephones) — —560

Then the projected figure would be —1,082  
If the proposal to raise the taxable income base for several social insurance programs from \$7,800 to \$9,000 effective January 1, 1971 is not adopted — —205

Then the projected figure would be —1,287  
If the proposal to increase railroad retirement revenues is not adopted — —104

Then the projected figure would be —1,391  
Assuming failure of adoption of the various proposals to terminate, restructure, and reduce various civilian programs (as shown on pp. 50-56 of the Budget) — —2,132

Then the projected figure would be —3,523  
If the Congress should decide to put the civilian and military pay raise in effect next July 1, rather than January 1, 1971, as the budget proposes — —1,000

Then the projected figure would be —4,523  
If the postal rate increase proposal, resubmitted from last year, is not adopted (NOTE: This does not count other postal revenue increases of \$500 million which the budget assumes but which apparently—at this time—are not assumed to be contingent upon legislative action) — —674

Then the projected figure would be —5,197

<sup>1</sup> Partial listing only; and other considerations enter, including, of course, action or inactions on the spending side of the budget. Perhaps the single most important contingency, aside from the selected list above, that could affect the tentatively projected budget picture would be if the general performance of the economy, in calendar year 1970, were to vary significantly from the economic assumptions underpinning the budget. Principally, the assumption that the GNP (gross national product) for calendar 1970 will be about \$985,000,000,000—about \$53,000,000,000 over calendar 1969, an increase of 5.7 percent, which compares with an increase of 7.7 percent in 1969 over 1968.

Source: Budget for 1971 (one or two figures rounded).

THE INCREASE IN NEW BUDGET AUTHORITY  
The projected increase of \$2.9 billion in expenditures—budget outlays—re-

fects a considerable degree of austerity on the spending side—certainly it appears so when compared to the \$13 billion increase now estimated for the current fiscal year 1970 over what was actually spent in fiscal 1969.

But today's expenditures to a very considerable degree are the consequences of yesterday's appropriation decisions. And this year's appropriations lay the basis for next year's spending. New budget obligating authority is the barometer to the direction of the spending budget; the key indicator; the leading edge that precedes the actual expenditure.

The 1971 budget proposes a net increase of \$9 billion in new budget authority over the total now estimated for the current fiscal year 1970. And this is very much a net result, of course, reflecting the sharply changing priorities proposed in the budget, and reflecting something of the size of the probable path of rise in expenditures in the years ahead.

Here, in capsule form, is a breakout of the \$9 billion increase in new budget authority proposed in the budget for 1971 compared with the currently estimated total for 1970—which itself assumes enactment at this session of \$5,095 million in supplementals:

*New budget authority increase, 1971 over 1970*

*Millions*

*New obligational authority:*

(a) National defense (spending is projected to go down in the new budget in 1971 by \$5,849 million)	-\$2,954
(b) All other	+16,735

Net change, new obligating authority

+13,781

*Lending authority* (reflects deletion of a \$3 billion standby loan authority made available in fiscal 1970 to Federal Home Loan Bank Board, and deletion of a \$2 billion item made available in fiscal 1970 for mortgage purchase authority to the Govt. Nat'l Mortgage Association)

-4,802

Net increase, new budget authority, 1971 over 1970 (shown in 1971 budget)

+8,979

Mr. Speaker, much of this net increase—and I emphasize "net"—of \$8,979,000,000 involves items that will go on the books automatically under laws of earlier years—so-called permanent authority that does not require action at this session. This would include the trust funds, such as social security, highways, and civil service retirement. And it would include interest on the public debt and other permanent-type Federal fund appropriations.

But a great portion of the net increase proposed in new budget authority will be subject to action, either legislative or appropriation, or both, at this session.

I am inserting a capsule listing of many of the more significant increases and decreases proposed:

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

*Major increases and decreases in new budget authority proposed in the budget for fiscal 1971 (as compared to estimated 1970 amounts)*

[In rounded amounts]

*Millions*

*New obligational authority:*

National defense:

Defense, military (various, including importantly the effect of further cutbacks associated with Vietnam war)

-\$3,257

Military construction (and family housing)

+569

Military assistance (net)

+10

All other (many items, both up and down, and including offsetting receipts from public-

-276

Subtotal, national defense

-2,954

Other than national defense:

Interest on the public debt (permanent-type)

+200

Civil service retirement (permanent-type)

+407

Railroad retirement fund (permanent-type)

+151

Social security and related trust funds (permanent-type)

+153

Family assistance plan (new legislation)

+4,973

Revenue sharing (new legislation)

+600

Civilian and military pay increases, including pay adjustments related to postal reform (new legislation, but assumes delayed effective date of pay bill of 6 months)

+275

Food assistance programs

+1,225

Law enforcement assistance

+640

Supersonic aircraft (SST)

+212

Urban mass transportation (\$214 million already enacted for 1971. Proposed legislation, \$2,802 million *contract authority for first 5 years*)

+204

Ship construction (maritime)

+2,921

Airways and airport development (proposed legislation. There is an \$80 million offset by dropping the former grant-in-aid item)

+183

Construction grants, waste treatment works (new legislation, \$4 billion *contract authority for a 5-year period*, offset here in 1971 by deletion of \$800 million appropriation in 1970)

+235

Land and water conservation fund (partially new legislation)

+3,200

National Science Foundation (emphasis on environmental sciences)

+181

Special benefits for disabled coal miners

+73

Grants for public assistance

+140

Payments to trust funds for financing supplemental medical services

+861

Tennessee Valley Authority (Proposed legislation, *contract authority*)

+578

Veterans

-195

Space program

-202

Agricultural conservation practices program (advance authority)

-404

Inter-American Development Bank (non-recurring)

-195

Disaster relief (large increase was in 1970, Hurricane Camille)

-505

-105

Decennial census (non-recurring)

-\$105

Postage rates (\$674 million proposed legislation; plus \$500 million otherwise. Operates as offset to both outlays and budget authority)

-1,174

Multilateral assistance program (proposed legislation)

+540

Increase in allowance for general budget contingencies

+700

All other

+322

Subtotal, new obligational authority increase, other than national defense

+16,735

Net change, new obligating authority

+13,781

Lending authority:

Deletion of nonrecurring special authority provided in 1970 for Federal Home Loan Bank Board

-3,000

Deletion of nonrecurring authority provided in 1970 for Government National Mortgage Association

-2,000

Export-Import Bank

+561

All other (net of several items)

-363

Subtotal, net change in lending authority

-4,802

Net change, budget authority, 1971 over 1970, as shown in 1971 budget

+8,979

(Note.—Much requires current action by Congress; much does not.)

### NEW BUDGET AUTHORITY

The proposed net increase of \$9 billion is reflected in the new budget authority gross total of \$234,819,000,000 proposed or estimated for 1971:

*Millions*

Gross total proposed for 1971 \$234,819

Less amounts not requiring action this session (so-called permanentents)

-86,706

Amounts requiring action at this session

148,113

Divided as to:

New legislative proposals and contingencies

10,900

Specific budget requests

137,213

Amounts requiring action this session

148,113

<sup>1</sup> This involves less than \$93 billion of the \$200.8 billion projected expenditure budget, and it involves a substantial number of billions of so-called relatively uncontrollable items.

Recapitulating, the new budget involves a total of \$154,696,000,000 in new budget authority for consideration at this session, as follows:

*Millions*

Fiscal 1971 \$148,113

Fiscal 1970 supplementals 5,095

Fiscal 1972 (advance funding) 1,488

154,696

I include a summary indicating the approximate portions of the \$200.8 billion expenditure budget total that relates to new budget authority subject to action in the current session and the portions not requiring action:

THE BUDGET ACTED UPON ANNUALLY—THE BUDGET NOT ACTED UPON ANNUALLY  
[In millions of dollars]

	New budget authority, 1971		Budget outlays, 1971		New budget authority, 1971		Budget outlays, 1971	
	In 1971 budget requests	Compared to 1970	Projected for 1971	Compared to 1970	In 1971 budget requests	Compared to 1970	Projected for 1971	Compared to 1970
1. Proposed to be available through current actions by the Congress	148,113	+9,165	92,798	+2,536				
2. Portion estimated to become available without current actions by the Congress (so-called permanent authorizations under laws of earlier years, such as interest on the debt, social security and other trust funds, etc.)	86,706	+2,688	28,826	+1,100				
Subtotal	234,819	+11,853	121,624	+3,636				
3. Outlays from unexpended carryover balances of all kinds					95,935	+2,122		
Subtotal	234,819	+11,853	217,559	+5,758				
4. Deduct offsetting receipts (intrabudgetary transactions to avoid double counting, and "proprietary receipts from the public")					-16,788	+2,874	-16,788	+2,874
Totals in the 1971 budget	218,031	+8,979	200,771	+2,884				

Source: Budget for 1971, p. 541.

## PROPOSALS FOR NEW LEGISLATION

Mr. Speaker, common to every budget are proposals requiring new legislation. Realization of the total budget figures hinges on the enactment of these proposals; the related amounts are cranked

into the totals. Some are for increases; some have the effect of reducing the totals.

In the new budget there are propositions of legislation aggregating—for fiscal 1971—nearly \$10 billion in additional

new budget authority. However, because of the magnitude of proposals to offset or reduce spending, and the low, first-year expenditure impact, a much smaller budget outlay total is involved.

A tabulation follows:

## ITEMS PROPOSED FOR SEPARATE TRANSMITTAL UNDER PROPOSED LEGISLATION

[In thousands of dollars]

	Fiscal year 1970		Fiscal year 1971		Fiscal year 1970		Fiscal year 1971	
	Budget authority	Budget outlays						
Funds appropriated to President:								
Expansion of defense production				-67,616				
Asian development bank	25,000	6,000	35,000	10,000				
Provision for expanded multi-lateral assistance			540,000	40,000				
Office of Economic Opportunity:								
Economic opportunity program			-622,000	-689,300				
Total	25,000	6,000	-47,000	-706,916				
Agriculture:								
Consumer marketing service—consumer protective marketing and regulatory programs			-4,577	-4,547				
Removal of surplus agricultural commodities				-1,542				
Total			-4,577	-6,089				
HEW:								
Family planning services			12,000	4,000				
Family assistance			600,000	500,000				
Office of Education—Elementary and secondary education			425,000	212,500				
Social and Rehabilitation Service—Grants to States for public assistance (providing or financing medical services)			-235,000	-215,000				
Social Security Administration—Trust (nonrevolving) fund			204,000					
Total			1,006,000	501,500				
Interior:								
Bureau of Outdoor Recreation—Land and Water Conservation	7,100	7,100	188,900	62,260				
Federal Water Pollution Control Administration—Construction grants for waste treatment works				40,000				
Contract authority			4,000,000					
Total	7,100	7,100	4,188,900	102,260				
Justice: Legal Activities and General Administration—S. & E. Consumer Protection Division	539	487	1,262	1,256				
Labor:								
Manpower Admin.—Manpower Training Act			667,000	714,300				
Unemployment trust fund				8,000				
Total			667,000	722,300				
Post Office: Proposed legislation, rate increase	-156,000	-156,000	-1,174,000	-1,174,000				
State: International organizations and conferences—Special contribution to the U.N.			20,000					

Source of figures: Bureau of the Budget.

## FISCAL ENVIRONMENT IN YEARS IMMEDIATELY AHEAD

Mr. Speaker, a major new priority in the President's budget is our seriously deteriorated physical environment. Proposals to deal with the problem loom large in the \$13.7 billion increase requested in new obligational authority. The budget also contains an illuminating and instructive—though considerably bleakish—appraisal of our future fiscal environment. I applaud the President for making this study and including it in the budget. Although necessarily rough and arbitrary, it is a sobering projection of the probable Federal revenues and expenditures over the next 5 years, fiscals 1971-75.

It projects a GNP—gross national product—of \$1.4 trillion for 1975.

It assumes a declining rate of inflation during the next 2 years, followed by relative price stability thereafter.

It projects Federal revenues of \$266 billion in 1975.

It estimates Federal expenditures of \$244 billion in 1975, leaving a theoretical "Federal nest egg" of \$22 billion.

It assumes that the "new initiatives" proposed in the 1971 budget—with a 1971 price tag of \$3 billion in expenditures—will entail \$18 billion in 1975.

Quoting from the budget:

The major conclusion of the analysis is that projected claims leave only modest resources for future initiatives, including tax and debt reduction as well as new expenditure programs, through 1975."

More immediately than 1975—again quoting from the budget:

On the basis of present estimates, little, if any, margin is available in 1972 for new initiatives.

This bleakish outlook, though rough and approximate, clearly marks out the necessity of following a stringent course in Federal fiscal affairs, beginning with the present budget—which has no clear margin at all.

Without new taxes, the revenues are not going to be available. And letting the overall budget slip back into the red would of course tend to pull the rug from under the assumption that the rate of inflation would decline during the next couple of years.

## RISE IN COST OF LIVING—DECLINE IN BUYING POWER OF DOLLAR

Mr. Speaker, inflation, as measured by the official Government Consumer Price index, has risen dramatically and unacceptably in the last 2 or 3 years. From December of 1968 to December of 1969, it increased by 6.1 percent. In consequence, the buying power of the dollar in the year just closed fell by 6 percent.

The previous year, 1968, it increased by 4.7 percent. The year before that, by 3.1 percent. The year before that, by 3.3 percent. In the 6 years preceding, that is, from 1965 back through 1960, the rate of increase, from year to year, never exceeded 2 percent.

I include illuminating tables of figures:

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## RATE OF INFLATION AS MEASURED BY THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX

	Percentage increase	
	Across the year—from December to December	Average of the preceding year's average
<b>Calendar year:</b>		
1969 over 1968	+6.1	+5.4
1968 over 1967	+4.7	+4.2
1967 over 1966	+3.1	+2.8
1966 over 1965	+3.3	+2.9
1965 over 1964	+2.0	+1.7
1964 over 1963	+1.1	+1.3
1963 over 1962	+1.7	+1.2
1962 over 1961	+1.2	+1.2
1961 over 1960	+0.6	+1.1
1960 over 1959	+1.5	+1.6

Note: Average annual percentage rate, period of December 1959, to December 1969, is +2.5 percent.

## PURCHASING POWER OF THE DOLLAR

	1939=	1947=	1957=
	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000
<b>Years:</b>			
1939	\$1,000	\$1,684	\$2,066
1946	.712	1,199	1,471
1954	.517	.871	1,069
1955	.519	.873	1,071
1956	.511	.861	1,056
1957	.494	.832	1,021
1958	.481	.810	.994
1959	.477	.803	.985
1960	.469	.791	.971
1961	.465	.782	.960
1962	.459	.773	.949
1963	.454	.764	.937
1964	.448	.754	.925
1965	.441	.734	.910
1966	.428	.720	.884
1967	.416	.701	.860
1968	.400	.673	.825
1969	.379	.783	
<b>Selected months:</b>			
June 1946	.745	1,253	1,537
June 1950	.583	.982	1,205
December 1952	.521	.876	1,075
December 1960	.466	.784	.962
Dec. 1968	.391	.659	.808
1969:			
January	.390	(1)	.806
February	.389	(1)	.803
March	.386	(1)	.796
April	.383	(1)	.791
May	.382	(1)	.789
June	.380	(1)	.784
July	.378	(1)	.780
August	.376	(1)	.777
September	.375	(1)	.774
October	.373	(1)	.770
November	.371	(1)	.767
December	.369	(1)	.762

<sup>1</sup> Discontinued series.

## CONCLUSION

It is the responsibility of Congress to decide what funds shall be appropriated. No doubt there will be some further rearranging of priorities. But I believe we must make an all-out effort to proceed with restraint and caution and hold authorizations and appropriations as low as reasonably possible.

There will be many opportunities to practice fiscal prudence. The \$10.9 billion of new legislative proposals will be before the legislative committees and the House.

Some \$35 billion of the new appropriations for going programs are first subject to annual authorizations through a number of legislative committees.

The Committee on Appropriations will carefully screen all the items in the

budget over which it has jurisdiction, recommending reductions wherever reasonably possible. No doubt there may be some increases in certain programs.

We began our consideration of the budget on yesterday with an overall hearing with the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of the Budget, and the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. A number of subcommittees begin individual hearings next week. We are committed to undertake to have all the regular appropriation bills in and through the House by June 15. We plan to issue a schedule of the dates for the various bills.

## ANSWER TO CAMPUS REBELLION

## HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, knowledge in the 20th century is pyramiding by geometric progression: it is doubling about every 15 years.

As a higher proportion of our population gains levels of education once reserved for the scholar, value systems are certain to change. In the past 2 years, there have been more than 150 university and college uprisings in the United States. Some have been marked by extreme violence; guns and bombs have been used.

One of the solutions to this awful waste of academia is, I believe, a change of emphasis in the total environment of our higher educational system. Young men and women, deprived of even the basic fundamentals of learning, are thrown into a giant multiuniversity atmosphere, taught by recorders and guided by computers—and asked to compete with other students who arrived from advanced school systems. Small wonder that they feel alienated; and their disenchantment is only compounded when concessions on curriculums are made on their behalf.

How this educational dilemma can be met is detailed in an article entitled "Pea-Size Colleges Answer the Campus Rebellion," written by Miller A. F. Ritchie, president of Pacific University. In the February issue of the magazine *The Lion*, President Ritchie tells how small private colleges and public community colleges enroll about two-thirds of the 54 million undergraduates on U.S. campuses today. They are, I agree, a wholesome force in the educational system.

As I stated in a Founder's Day speech at West Virginia Wesleyan College last October, the many-faceted universities are very much in the forefront of attention today, both for the splendid educational job they are doing and by reason of the fact that, unfortunately; they also

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manifest much that is wrong with America today. I added:

Colleges in the smaller classification, such as West Virginia Wesleyan, have been spared the problems attendant with extreme bigness. It is small, private colleges that were the foundation of America's higher education system that today gives our nation the world's highest educational levels.

I might add, parenthetically, that West Virginia has, in its 21 State-supported colleges and universities, one of the highest number of educational institutions per capita in the Nation.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

PEA-SIZE COLLEGES ANSWER THE CAMPUS REBELLION

(By Miller A. F. Ritchie)

In the past two years there have been more than 150 university or college uprisings in the United States. Youth's war on authority has been ugly, frightening and bewildering, but worst of all it has engendered a dangerous myth that there is an implacable trend on all college campuses to a universal rule of disorder. The facts speak differently, for we've largely overlooked America's small colleges and universities.

What's happening on the pea-size campuses? Why is it that most small colleges don't make waves, even small ones? The students are the same, with about the same proportion of longhairs, hippies, yippies, pacifists and war apologists. And the professors and administrators are the same, too—earnest, dedicated educators who are trying to do a job.

No, you never hear much about the small, private colleges, but according to a report by Editorial Projects for Education, Inc., they educate one-third of the present crop of students. Add to this percentage, the enrollments in small public community colleges and you account for more than two-thirds of the 54-million undergraduates in the U.S. today.

It would be a gross error to say that small colleges have escaped the frustrating issues that student militants have made headlines out of on the larger campuses. That would be impossible, considering the magnitude and the rate of social change that is going on in American society. This ferment is as bewildering and disturbing to our young people as it is to us. Continuous, rapid change is now the inevitable and normal pattern of development in higher education.

By virtue of its size, the small college can be more quickly responsive to this permanent change. And this should say something for the future direction of higher education in the U.S.

This is not to say that an educational institution is obliged to adapt itself to every demand of its students.

In a university, which is a professional authority, one man's opinion is not necessarily as good as another's. A student's opinion is not necessarily as good as his professor's. And certainly this holds true of the student who is one of the militant minority, who insists that if there is to be any authority, it should be by the vote of him and his peers on the issue of the moment without regard for any truths history may have to tell or for any rules and regulations.

This kind of emotional naïveté reminds me of the story of the four children who found a kitten, but didn't know how to tell whether it was a male or female. Finally, one of the youngsters had an idea. "I know," he said, "We'll take a vote."

By definition, most of the problems that bug the student as he emerges from late adolescence are emotional not rational. He is placed in the college milieu only to discover that it is a structured learning situation stressing rational, not emotional or passionate solutions to problems. It cannot be a participating democracy where every student has the right to vote on what should be taught and who should teach it. Absolute, subjective democracy has never worked, and it is not even desirable if we are to believe in the distinctive role of the liberal arts college: To pass on the heritage. This implies consent to professional authority and the acknowledgement by the student that his opinion is not necessarily as good as those who represent this authority.

This does not mean that students shouldn't have a voice, a say in the running of a university, but it should be realistic. If anything, campus riots have taught us that those who refuse to make peaceful change possible are making violent change inevitable. The revolutionary mood of our universities exists on the smaller campuses, but at Pacific University and in hundreds of other small colleges like this one, discontent doesn't get a chance to fester. Grievances are anticipated before the radicals can blow them out of proportion.

If the small colleges have done a better job of heading off rebellion, it is because they have faced the stark facts of survival. The presidents know with terrible certainty what just one riot could do to even an old and revered institution.

Consider what happened to Columbia University when students rioted in April 1968. Much of the university was closed for the balance of the academic year—a loss of millions of dollars and a blow to its prestige from which it may never recover.

Such a prospect gives a small college president nightmares. The continued existence of private universities such as Pacific depends upon tuition and financial contributions from influential citizens who recognize their dollars are helping to turn out sensitive, rewarding graduates who in their turn help build the university's distinctive reputation through career success and alumni support.

Any kind of ugly confrontation that would shake public confidence would have repercussions that would be felt for years. The most likely tragic consequence to a small university of a cop-taunting, building-occupying riot is that eventually the doors might have to close for good.

But the majority of colleges have not been coerced into policy changes out of fear of what might happen if they don't. They realize that university authorities who submit to student intimidation are creating a precedent of appeasement and conciliation from which there is no retreat. Once a university gives in to unreasonable demands or demands unreasonably made, it has abandoned its authority, undermined the concept of academic freedom and substituted passion for reason as a means of settling disputes.

Thus, the small colleges have innovated because they saw the need for reform was immediate and valid; they have made exciting changes; they have involved students wholesomely in the university's decision-making processes and they have joined with students in building a climate of learning that encourages them to engage in honest debate on needed university reforms and social changes, rather than adopt the politics of violence.

If I were to have to describe the manner in which these things have come about in the small colleges in the past five years, I'd call it the quiet uproar.

The game of quiet uproar at Pacific University has involved the same student demands gleaned out of manifestos issued at dozens of big university rebellions; partici-

pation in matters of student discipline; better, more pupil-oriented teachers, a voice in faculty hiring; a black studies program; greater communication between students and faculty and administration.

Take for instance, the matter of a black studies program: One day last spring, a belligerent group of Negro students from a neighboring college contacted members of Pacific's Negro student group. The visiting contingent was still heady from the successful havoc it had wrought at the prestigious college by occupying the president's office following a demand for absolute student control of a black studies program. A 20-year-old Negro political science major at Pacific said the visiting black students had come over to "show us how to put the administration down and get it to install black studies. With that wedge, we could develop real black power on campus. At first they wouldn't believe us when we told them we already had a black studies program in the works. Then they told us we had sold out; then they went away."

Guidelines for the black studies program at Pacific are being drawn as socially inclusive of both races, black and white, not as a Harvard-type propaganda course where the Negro student can get instructions on how to make a Molotov cocktail.

We've had a heterogeneous student body for years—Negro, Oriental, East Indian, Cuban and native Hawaiians and we've planned it that way and integrated all students in the social life of the campus. So there is no feeling of alienation. Other colleges, which have only lately awakened to the need for this kind of social mixing have suddenly imported large groups of Negroes. But you cannot socially integrate a minority suddenly and dramatically. A resulting alienation is almost predictable.

For example, at Oregon's second largest university, Oregon State (13,000 students) 57 Negroes registered for Fall 1968. Only 17 remained after a walkout that involved a campus incident over a black football player's forbidden beard. The beard incident was only a precipitating factor. The main reason: social isolation. On the other hand Pacific, with 63 Negroes, has, like many other smaller colleges, successfully integrated large percentages of black students. Social acceptance has already been established.

More than 10 years ago, the Ford Foundation, the Fund for the Advancement for Higher Education, predicted the failure of some 500 small liberal arts colleges. One of the contributing causes: The perpetuation of archaic business methods and organizational structures. Pacific, no different than other colleges, hamstrung by an inbred system of little bureaucracies, centralization of influence, faculty power plays, outmoded business procedures, and no clear plan for future growth, decided to do something about it.

Three years ago, Stanford University college management consultant Lewis B. Mayhew was called in. His recommendations included:

Administrative reorganization.

Improving lines of communication between faculty and administration, students and faculty.

Now, with administrative responsibilities parceled out more effectively, I have been freed to implement major university policy matters and to pursue the vital job of developing new sources of funds for the college.

Our provost, Brock Dixon, keeps the university machinery running smoothly, so that every decision is not a crisis.

The most immediate and perhaps most far-reaching result is the improvement in total campus relationships. With an organization, and a plan for the future, we've found the time to solve some human problems.

Topping the list of these problems were

student gripes expressed this way by Mayhew in his report:

"Students generally feel that there should be greater communication with the faculty and administration. By this they don't want more paternalism—they feel they have too much of that already. But they would like to know channels of communication and would like to see some action as a result of their efforts. They also would like to see a more vibrant intellectual tone to the campus but don't quite understand how they might help to achieve it. They also feel that some faculty members are not really concerned with academic freedom for students. They report incidents where faculty penalize students for developing ideas of their own. As is true of students elsewhere, they also want greater control over their personal lives."

Part of Pacific's answer was the formation of the STACULATION committee; the title derived by combining the words, students, faculty and administration. Its purpose: a three-way meeting, often followed by a social hour, once a month where representatives of each group mingle, let their hair down, discuss and work out grievances, hone new ideas for improving inter-personal relationships and sharpen the spirit of community on campus.

Has it worked? Indeed it has! The Staculation Committee has kept small problems small before they become big. It has improved student-faculty-administrative understanding on campus. And out of the frank exchanges in Staculation Committee meetings has come a major change in the structure of the Board of Trustees, notably the establishment of a trustee committee on student affairs.

Now the students have a pipeline for their proposals directly to the Board of Trustees. From their sometimes "untrusting" viewpoint, this means that an issue vital to them can now be presented to the university's policy makers, without the risk that second-hand interpretation will dilute or scale down the seriousness to them of the problem.

Directly and indirectly, the Staculation Committee has increased student participation in the decision-making process on campus. Student representatives have participated on the search committee for a new dean of the College of Optometry and they now serve on most of the major university faculty committees; a student will participate on an advisory committee charged by the Board of Trustees to revise the by-laws of the university, and two students will be part of a new committee on developing long range goals for the university.

How closely does the profile of the Pacific University undergraduate compare with that of the student on the big campus and does the closeness and sanctuary of the small university actually contribute a more direct personal leveling and social shaping of a rebellious boy or girl?

According to M. H. McDowell, Pacific's psychology department chairman, "We have our share of deeply hostile kids, about the same percentage as the multiversity, but if you say 5 percent are potential troublemakers, this number is more manageable out of our university population of 1,200 than the same percentage of, say, 30,000 students.

"Actually, I think we get more dissidents on the small campus; these kids who are truly angry, disgusted with society, but still have high hopes for a better world, as opposed to the ones who withdraw from life or lash out blindly against what they consider the follies of the establishment.

"In a smaller community, they can discover better who they are and they can learn to live better with themselves and society by learning the responses to the actions of their

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

peers. The small school is too little for a student to be socially isolated."

McDowell recalled one youth who in a heated discussion with some classmates accused them of being square and surrendering to the establishment because they didn't "smoke grass" and wear their hair long.

"A few months later he was off pot and wore his hair short. Nobody, neither in the administration nor among his classmates, forced him to do so. He simply discovered that while most of the kids liked him, they thought he was being silly, not modern."

Perhaps the greatest challenge in the future for the small private colleges is to keep improving the climate of learning in order to accommodate the inevitable and continuing rapid change in American society.

Youth today is attacking the beliefs and assumptions the older generation built its life upon. It is not comforting and we don't like it to be told that we've rigged history, and so idealized our social devices of the past that we refuse to see many of them are outmoded for solving the agonizing problems of today.

The time is certainly gone when we any longer can insist to our young that the purpose of an education is acquiring a passport to a good job and a secure future. The kids won't buy it and you can't blame them. We reproach them with the worn accusation: "You've never had to work hard for a living." This is true, but irrelevant. We worked hard for precisely the reason that we could give them the time and leisure to quest and perfect solutions to the problems of human rights, politics, government and justice, problems we sensed and often recognized, but were too busy or preoccupied to pursue. Often I think we are a little envious of their freedom, perhaps resentful of them because we didn't have it in such large measure.

Americans have always had a tendency to equate bigness with success, but this does not necessarily mean quality in education. I think we must redefine what we mean by quality: I believe it is to create an environment for the full flowering of the human spirit, but the construction of this environment should be accomplished lawfully, not by uncivil coercion, by rebellions that tear a campus apart, by insults or childish withdrawal. It must be done by the intelligent young whom we have supplied with the vision and purpose.

The small colleges in America are better equipped to do this today. If they have so far accomplished anything, it is to prove that bigness can be a fault and by their examples we may eventually act to decentralize our huge universities into cluster colleges that can offer the advantages of the close personal community that exists on the pea-size campuses.

### LOS ANGELES AREA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ACCEPTS CHALLENGE OF AMERICA IN THE 1970'S TO FIND ANSWERS TO MAJOR URBAN PROBLEMS

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 9, 1970

MR. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I was delighted to read in the January 27 edition of Southern California Business, the official weekly publication of the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce, two very thoughtful and encouraging letters addressed to the membership of that organization by Mr. John V. Vaughn, the

chamber's 1969 president, and Mr. W. A. Simpson, Jr., the new incoming president for 1970.

In his 1969 president's letter to the members, Mr. Vaughn emphasized the urgent need for all elements of the urban community to work closely together to help solve the growing social and economic problems that confront us, particularly in our major metropolitan population centers. After outlining some of the leading areas of concern—air pollution, public transportation, water resources and quality, new means of revenue for government, continued industrial growth, new jobs, education, and the planning function—Mr. Vaughn declared:

A new dimension to all of these problems became dominant in 1969—a recognition by the private business sector that the social elements of our society are inseparable from the economic. The Chamber, therefore, wisely broadened its purposes and activities to provide greater emphasis on social objectives such as campus disorders, racial unrest, and jobs for the disadvantaged . . .

If feasible answers are to be found to today's many socio-economic needs and questions, it is essential that every thoughtful, concerned businessman recognize his obligation to his community and to himself.

Mr. Simpson, in his 1970 president's letter, followed a similar theme and noted that the chamber was constantly working "to keep abreast of current problems that now encompass not only economic and political problems, but our vast social problems that continue to multiply with an exploding economy." And he pledged:

We will continue to work with authorities and educators on the various social problems including jobs for the disadvantaged, recognizing that these social problems cannot be separated from business and industry.

Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to commend these leaders of the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce for their forthright and constructive approach to meeting the challenge of Urban America in the 1970's.

I believe that, with this kind of positive thinking, and an evident willingness to assume the responsibility and expend the effort required to get the job done, we will be able to overcome our current difficulties, and fulfill the bright promise of America for all our citizens.

Under unanimous consent, I include the full texts of these outstanding letters in the RECORD at this point:

#### THE 1969 PRESIDENT'S LETTER

Since 1888, the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce has been a strong, vital part of its community. A small, centralized-city community in the beginning, our city has now enlarged into a five county megalopolis.

Ever broadening our prospective over the years, our emphasis has changed markedly from selling sunshine and oranges to working toward solutions to urgent growth. The Chamber has constantly pursued a fundamental policy of creating a favorable climate for growth under a free enterprise system.

True to its heritage, Chamber volunteers and staff have worked diligently during the past year on the burning issues facing this area—air pollution, public transportation, water resources and quality, new means of revenue for government, continued indus-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

trial growth, new jobs, education and the planning function.

The hundreds of volunteers on committees can take justifiable pride in their accomplishments for slow but steady progress has been made on all fronts.

But a new dimension to all of these problems became dominant in 1969—a recognition by the private business sector that the social elements of our society are inseparable from the economic. The Chamber, therefore, wisely broadened its purposes and activities to provide greater emphasis on social objectives such as campus disorders, racial unrest, and jobs for the disadvantaged.

This new dimension has sharply increased the need for broader business support of the Chamber, and for the participation and cooperation of all stable elements of the community.

If feasible answers are to be found to today's many socio-economic needs and questions, it is essential that every thoughtful, concerned businessman recognize his obligation to his community and to himself. He can do his best by supporting, financially and personally, an organization that has proven itself capable of dealing with major issues.

A membership of 16,000 volunteers—over 3,000 member firms—3,000 active committee men—a staff of 80 professionals—a budget of \$1,226,000—are imposing figures. Combined with the leadership of a Board of 50 top business leaders, we can accomplish much, and already have.

When we relate our actions to the magnitude and complexity of the challenge of change in a widely diverse, five county area of over ten million souls, however, more, much more, is needed.

I wish to express my thanks to all who contributed to our noteworthy progress this past year. I urge all of us to renew our efforts. We must attract greater interest and support from among the thousands of other business firms and individuals who can and should support the continuing work of the Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce.

JOHN V. VAUGHN.

## THE 1970 PRESIDENT'S LETTER

The Los Angeles Area Chamber of Commerce, one of the strongest voices of free enterprise in the western United States, has for many years effectively used its offices in bettering the communities in which we live.

The records are filled with successful accomplishments for which this organization can be justifiably proud.

However, as the world moves at an ever faster pace, we find the problems of our area to be more complex and of greater urgency.

Because of this, your Chamber is constantly reorganizing to keep abreast of current problems that now encompass not only economic and political problems, but our vast social problems that continue to multiply with an exploding economy.

We recognize that the rapid rise of inflation in our economy is affecting all areas of business and government, and that we must make every effort to strongly represent the interests of our business community.

The growth of Southern California has been dynamic and our problems include many which your Chamber has extended every effort in effecting a solution.

Progress has been made, but the need for increased smog reduction, adequate public transportation, and a restructuring of State and local taxes are still with us. These important problems will receive priority consideration in the year 1970.

Involvement in developing adequate water resources, preparing for increased industrial growth and, in short, planning for the orderly over-all economic growth of our community,

will be undertaken by your Chamber and over 3,000 participating firms whose business men act as our Committee volunteers.

We will continue to work with authorities and educators on the various social problems including jobs for the disadvantaged, recognizing that these social problems cannot be separated from business and industry.

W. A. SIMPSON, Jr.

## PATROLMAN MICHAEL GRAY, BALTIMORE POLICE DEPARTMENT, NAMED OFFICER OF THE YEAR FOR 1969

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.  
OF MARYLAND

## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, in conjunction with its observation of Crime Prevention Week, the Exchange Club of Highlandtown, Baltimore, has named Patrolman Michael Gray of the Baltimore Police Department its Officer of the Year for 1969.

I ask unanimous consent that a report of Patrolman Gray's outstanding police work be printed in the Record together with a proclamation by Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro III designating the week of February 8-14, 1970, as "Crime Prevention Week."

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

## PATROLMAN MICHAEL GRAY

Patrolman Michael Gray was born on 24 October 1944 and has been a member of the Police Department since 8 November 1966.

He is currently assigned to the Operations Unit of the Southeastern District and is assigned to areas where crime statistics indicate additional patrol strength is needed. Between the months of June and November 1969 he was assigned to a special squad in plainclothes which was concerned specifically with Felony Offenders with emphasis on Narcotics violations.

Patrolman Gray attended a two week course held by the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs in Washington, D.C. and in addition, he participated in a one week conference held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania which was sponsored by the International Narcotic Enforcement Officers Association. Patrolman Gray received his Bachelor of Science degree from the Towson State College in 1966. He is an energetic, ambitious officer, who is willing to work many hours without compensation and is typical of the "new breed" becoming involved in Law Enforcement.

During the year 1969 Patrolman Gray participated in many outstanding cases the most noteworthy of which occurred on 18 October at a bar in the 700 block S. Broadway. His investigation revealed an argument ensued between a male and female patron of the bar. Patrolman Gray, who was working undercover on a narcotics investigation, rushed the two combatants and disarmed the woman who had a gun as well as the man who had a knife. Four shots were fired by the woman before the disarming and an innocent bystander was shot. The man was arrested and charged with possession of a deadly weapon. Further investigation revealed the gun taken from the woman was

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stolen in a \$19,000 burglary in Anne Arundel County.

In addition, Patrolman Gray assisted Baltimore County Police in clearing several burglaries in that jurisdiction as well as in Baltimore City and assisted in the investigation which resulted in the apprehension of two youths who had committed a burglary at the S. & N. Katz Jewelry Store located at 3520 Eastern Avenue. Merchandise valued at more than \$26,000 was recovered.

During the year 1969 Patrolman Gray participated in 307 arrests. Listed below is a compilation of those arrests:

Homicide	1
Attempted murder	1
Assault & robbery	11
Burglary	22
Narcotics violators	95
Misdemeanors	177

## PROCLAMATION BY MAYOR THOMAS J. D'ALESSANDRO III, DESIGNATING THE WEEK OF FEBRUARY 8-14, 1970, AS "CRIME PREVENTION WEEK" IN BALTIMORE

Crime is the concern, not solely of law enforcement agencies but of the community as well, and as a result, it is important that each citizen learn to do his part to prevent crime.

The National Exchange Club is sponsoring National Crime Prevention Week throughout the Nation during the week of February 8 to 14, 1970.

The Exchange Club of Highlandtown will observe "Crime Prevention Week" during the same period of time.

Since criminals do not slacken their activities at any hour of the day or night, it is the duty of all our citizens to help stamp out this growing menace.

Now, therefore, I, Thomas J. D'Alesandro III, Mayor of the City of Baltimore, do hereby proclaim the week of February 8-14, 1970, as "Crime Prevention Week" in Baltimore, and do urge all our citizens to cooperate in the observance and in the activities being held by the Exchange Club of Highlandtown.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the City of Baltimore to be affixed this second day of February, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and seventy.

THOS. J. D'ALESSANDRO III,

*Mayor.*

## IN ACCORD: CLEAN AIR A MATTER OF TIME NOT ONE OF PERSUADING INDUSTRY

## HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 9, 1970

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call the attention of the House to a very perceptive editorial concerning the problems of curbing pollution.

Quoting the vice president of one of the largest coal corporations in the Nation, Consolidation Coal Co., the editorial stresses the fact that tough anti-pollution legislation will be of no avail unless we have the technology to meet the causes of pollution and overcome them.

As Mr. Ewart points out, it will be little help to the country to pass antipollution legislation without developing a technology to accomplish the goals of this legislation. We must move simultaneously

to curb pollution where our present technology permits.

And we must mount a cooperative drive between government and industry to develop that technology where it does not exist.

It is my hope, and apparently the hope of industry leaders such as Mr. Ewart, that government and industry can combine their resources in a joint industry-by-industry effort to rid our country of pollution.

This is as it should be, for the responsibility for polluting and for cleaning up pollution does not rest with one corporation or industry any more than it rests with the Government.

I commend this editorial to every Member of the House:

[From the *Wheeling (W. Va.) Intelligencer*, Jan. 27, 1970]

IN ACCORD: CLEAN AIR A MATTER OF TIME NOT ONE OF PERSUADING INDUSTRY

During the course of a recent speech in Moundsville Donald L. Ewart, Vice-President, of Consolidation Coal Co., had this to say on the subject of pollution abatement:

"The need for the protection and preservation of our air and water resources cannot be questioned . . . We in the coal industry, together with our friends in the utility industry, must admit that we were slow to recognize and to correct some of these problems. We accept the criticism. The same criticism in varying degrees can also be leveled at all industry and—to take it one more step—at all the citizens of this country . . .

"I do not quarrel with the need for an aroused, well informed public demanding environmental protection, nor do I deny that strong, well enforced laws are necessary to achieve progress in pollution control. But all of the past omissions are not going to be remedied by the passage of technologically unattainable and scientifically questionable pollution laws. Nor will the problems of pollution be solved expeditiously by simply saying to industry 'clean up your mess.' Pollution will not be eliminated solely by counseling women's groups and student activists to demonstrate for new laws. In our current energy and fuel crisis many air pollution laws now on the books cannot be enforced because there are no alternatives to current practice . . .

"This is no time and there is no room for senseless finger pointing . . . If we are to solve this problem quickly without crippling our economy we must put the best scientific and technical brains to work on it—both in and out of government . . . The Federal Government must exercise leadership . . . It must commit vast sums of our tax money, far beyond current levels, to develop integrated systems which will maximize the use of our resources with the least environmental damage. Industry also must be prepared to expend more of its talents and its money in this national effort. When it does you and I must be prepared to spend more for the goods and services we receive. This, I believe, we are willing to do, but I think we have a right to demand a rational national policy."

Cleaning up the atmosphere—and the streams—is a matter of time and effort. Industry, obviously, and government, hopefully, are as aware of this as they are of the size of the task and the urgency of the need for improvement. In the meantime it will serve no useful purpose and could impose a great economic loss to insist on coal pollution emission standards, for example, unattainable at the present stage of technical development with the fuel available.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### MONTANA-WYOMING COAL RESOURCES FOR ELECTRIC GENERATION

#### HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, hundreds of persons crowded into a hearing room in Chicago a few weeks ago to urge that electric power for that polluted city be generated from low-sulphur coal in Montana and Wyoming. At last the public is beginning to demand the environmental protection which neither governments nor industries have provided.

Western coal will help provide that protection. Let me emphasize, however, certain things that need to be done to accomplish this:

First. We need tougher laws, and tough enforcement of existing laws, to keep environmental damage incident to coal production at a minimum.

Second. We need more industry and government financing of power production by magnetohydrodynamics—MHD—the energy technology which provides direct conversion of fuel into electric power with a minimum of pollution. Congress has poured more than \$2 billion into nuclear power development but has yet to fund an MHD pilot plant. The power industry, as the hearings before the Senate Interior Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials, and Fuels, headed by the distinguished Senator from Utah (Mr. Moss) disclosed, and as I pointed out in my remarks of January 28, has put next to nothing into MHD and other research and development related to emerging energy technologies.

Third. We need long-distance high voltage transmission lines, to bring the power from western coalfields to the load centers and to provide reliable loop service. All power systems must have access to a nationwide transmission network. It must be designed to serve the public rather than to exclude or overcharge small consumer-owned distributors of power.

The hearing record of S. 607, the utility consumers counsel bill, and the Federal Power Commission record in the Otter Tail Power case document the efforts of many utilities to monopolize transmission facilities, to refuse to deal with smaller systems and to make unreasonable demands upon them.

Mr. President, an important document relating to coal development and power transmission was released this week. It is entitled "Montana-Wyoming Coal Resources for Electric Generation" and was produced by Ken Holum & Associates. Mr. Holum is the former Assistant Secretary for Water and Power, under whose direction the Department of Interior prepared Study 190, an analysis of transmission line plans released April 18, 1968, to encourage all segments of the electric utility industry to proceed with cooperative planning.

Mr. President, the distinguished ma-

jority leader, Mr. MANSFIELD, and I today issued a short statement regarding this new study. It is time for action now on it and Study 190. In order that persons in government and industry may have convenient reference to this important new study, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD, along with Senator MANSFIELD's and my remarks.

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

COAL RESOURCES FOR ELECTRIC GENERATION  
(By Ken Holum & Associates, Consultants)  
To: The Western Inter-tie Task Force.  
From: Ken Holum and Associates.

GENTLEMEN. At your request we prepared and submitted to you on July 17th a proposal for a survey study designed to determine the probable cost of Montana-Wyoming Coal delivered to major electric generating stations together with estimates as to the cost of that electric energy delivered to load centers in the West over a high-voltage transmission network modeled after those systems suggested in Study 190 conducted by the Department of the Interior.

You expected this first phase effort to produce recommendations as to whether or not a long-range study should be conducted. If additional effort is proposed you asked that we make recommendations as to appropriate next steps in the study effort.

Work has proceeded under the July 17th outline to the point where it seems appropriate to submit a report and make recommendations for future action. Our "Findings, Recommendations, and Conclusions" are summarized immediately following this transmittal letter.

We have found that Montana and Wyoming have huge resources of stripable coal, and we have concluded that this coal is in all probability the nation's largest reserve of cheap energy. Although the supply is more limited, water is available for cooling purposes. We are convinced that a carefully planned transmission network can deliver electric energy produced at mine-mouth plants in Montana or Wyoming to major load centers in the west at prices that compare favorably with power produced at large nuclear stations located at or near to those load centers. Our conclusions are based on current prices and available technology. West-wide cooperation taking advantage of the economies inherent in mid-point generation and system diversities will almost certainly produce additional savings.

Traditionally the consumer-owned electric utilities have been the pace-setters for the industry. Development of the inter-regional relationships required to take advantage of the economies suggested by Study 190 and this investigation represents a new and exciting challenge to that leadership.

The document entitled "An Appraisal of Transmission Study 190," prepared in response to Interior's request for "a cooperative planning effort," indicates that a large segment of the power industry is still unwilling to initiate new concepts and pursue new relationships within the industry.

We recommend, therefore, that the consumer-owned utilities of the West proceed with the development of a comprehensive investigation and power cost study of Montana or Wyoming coal burned at or near mine-mouth with the electric energy delivered to load centers over a high-voltage transmission network interconnected with the Bonneville Power Administration system to the west and the Bureau of Reclamation system to the east. We suggest a generating station

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

with four 800 MW machines as a logical point-of-focus for the initial effort.

A variety of engineering studies and legal investigations will need to be conducted before the utilities in the region can consider final decisions and commitments. We have pinpointed some of those requirements in the recommendations section. You should anticipate that other similar needs may well emerge as the work progresses.

Our preliminary investigation leads us to conclude that proper utilization of Montana-Wyoming coal and high-voltage transmission technology may well save participating utilities 10's of millions of dollars. Achieving these results will obviously require hard negotiating and skilled planning and leadership.

Although outside of the scope of this report, we suggest that the sponsors of this study must develop an appropriate relationship among themselves that will provide general policy guidance and make provisions for day-to-day supervision of the detailed work.

Sincerely yours,

KEN HOLUM.

## FINDINGS

(1) *Coal Supply.* Both Montana and Wyoming have extremely large reserves of stripable coal. At least two companies, one in each state, own proven reserves in excess of two billion tons. Because the coal seams are thick (up 100 and 200 feet in some locations), large reserves are available in a small geographic area. Without any bargaining, we have been quoted coal prices of 6¢ and 11½¢ a million BTU's, delivered to power plants located in this area.

(2) *Water Supply.* Water is available for cooling purposes in both states. Price variations will be substantial. Preliminary discussion indicates a range of from \$9.00 per acre foot in Montana below Yellowtail Dam upwards to \$100.00 an acre foot in Wyoming, when you include amortizing of the facilities necessary to deliver water to the coal fields. Because of supply, cost, and environmental factors, once-through cooling may prove impractical. Some coal fields will support mine-mouth generation only if you condemn agricultural water rights or assume the necessary development of dry cooling tower technology.

(3) *Price and Supply Relationships.* On the basis of preliminary offers, without negotiations, the cheapest coal seems to be associated with the more expensive water and the more expensive coal with the cheapest water. Six cent coal and \$100.00 water and 11¢ coal and \$9.00 water will produce electric energy for costs that are not too far apart. Future price trends for each commodity may be controlling.

(4) *Study 190 and the July 1969 Appraisal.* A review of the July 1969 appraisal does not disturb the basic assumption that diversities and other benefits achieved as a result of interconnecting the system of the West will amortize all or a large share of the cost of building the transmission facilities. The manner in which the diversity benefits are realized can be of significant economic importance.

(5) *Montana-Wyoming Coal-Nuclear Plants.* Montana-Wyoming coal will produce fuel costs comparable to those of nuclear plants. The substantial difference in capital costs is available to finance transmission lines or to provide other benefits to owners.

(6) *Indian Tribes-Their Resources.* Both the Crow and Cheyenne reservations in southeastern Montana may have a good combination of coal and water.

(7) *State Law.* On the basis of the sketchy investigations of state law, there is general agreement that new laws may be required in either State before municipal-type financ-

ing can be available to finance power facilities in a satisfactory manner.

(8) *The First Development.* Although obviously a preliminary finding, a generating station composed of four 800 MW machines appears to bear a nice relationship to anticipated interregional power requirements and the development of an economic transmission system. To take advantage of seasonal diversities, "mid-point" generation and an extensive transmission system are required. To be meaningful to each region, comparatively large blocks of power (1000 MW or so) need to be delivered. Too large a development will produce excessive unit transmission costs. Delivering approximately 1200 MW east and 1200 MW west requires an installation of 3200 MW, allowing for losses, station service and reserve.

(9) *Investments and Power Costs.* Investments approximating ¼ billion dollars will be required to construct a 3200 MW plant and a 2000 mile, 500 KV transmission system. Since the capacity and output would be used by a number of systems, the required investment might be distributed among them, directly or indirectly.

It is anticipated, based upon preliminary analysis, that power could be delivered to major load centers on existing transmission systems at 4 to 4½ mills per kWh at 8000 hours use of delivered kW, based upon 8% fixed charge rates (municipal-type financing), anticipated coal and water costs and today's prices. The lower costs depend upon obtaining some seasonal diversity benefits between regions. These costs are comparable to delivered costs that may be optimistically expected from large nuclear plants under the same conditions.

## CONCLUSIONS

The supply and price situation with respect to both coal and water in both Montana and Wyoming leads us to conclude that those fuels burned in power generating stations located in or near mine-mouth may prove to be the cheapest source of future electric power supply for a portion of the requirements of many utilities in the West.

Coal prices are so attractive in relationship to other alternatives that it appears quite likely that utilities in the Pacific Northwest or utilities in the Missouri Basin area will find it profitable to locate major generating stations in the region even if they have to proceed unilaterally. The feasibility will be substantially enhanced, however, by a cooperative approach.

Substantial economies appear to be available to all parties if widespread interregional planning is carried forward and generating stations and transmission facilities constructed to realize the benefits inherent in system diversification and centrally located generation.

Although the document entitled "An Appraisal of Transmission Study 190" is not convincing from the point of view of establishing that a high-voltage transmission system interconnecting the West is uneconomical, the fact that it was prepared in response to Interior's request for "a cooperative planning effort" indicates that a large segment of the electric utility industry is not likely to initiate such an effort. Hopefully their attitudes are subject to change at a later date.

Recognizing that major refinements will undoubtedly occur during the study effort, a 3200 MW mine-mouth generating station located on or near major coal fields in either Wyoming or Montana, together with an extensive transmission system, appears to meet urgent requirements of all three regions and to hold special promise for the most complete utilization of existing resources and transmission facilities. Coal and water are available for a station of this size.

Investments in production plant are esti-

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mated at \$450,000,000. Transmission investments could exceed \$300,000,000. Approximately half of these investments relate to service in the Northwest and the other half to the Missouri River Basin area. If this potential is compared with nuclear plants on the West Coast or on the Missouri River, possible changes in interest rates will affect either alternative similarly, since they are both capital intensive with low variable costs.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Although a project of this magnitude may ultimately require the participation of many of the power systems of the regions involved, it is necessary that it be brought to a more definitive stage before such participation is considered. It is appropriate that the consumer-owned systems take the initiative in undertaking the next phase of development because of the inter-regional aspects involved.

2. Based upon more detailed engineering studies outlined below, negotiations should be undertaken with the view of obtaining proposals for coal, including consideration of appropriate contract provisions and multi-party arrangements. Coincidentally negotiations for cooling water should be initiated to determine the optimum combination for a given site.

3. A preliminary investigation should be made of ownership possibilities and possible contract arrangements between principals, with consideration of necessary state legislation relating to the ownership pattern as needed to obtain optimum financing terms and conditions.

4. Investigations, including discussions with appropriate power systems, should be made to determine standby availability at each proposed delivery point to reduce necessary transmission investment.

5. An analysis should be made of the diversity benefits between participating systems to be incorporated in the basic planning of the generation and transmission facilities. In addition consideration should be given to the potential benefits of diversities between other interconnected systems, utilizing the proposed transmission system and displacements possible with "mid-point" generation.

6. The possibility of utilizing the low-cost energy (less than 1 mill per kWh delivered) to be combined with future Federal hydro peaking power in both the Columbia and Missouri River basins should be studied, including the appropriate role of the Federal power marketing agencies.

7. A detailed transmission analysis, including necessary computer runs should be made to verify routings and to permit accurate estimates of investments. It may also be pertinent to consider a system with two power sources, planned in relation to transmission factors and water supplies.

8. A preliminary site analysis and cooling water study, including consideration of dry-type cooling towers, and other cooling plans, should be prepared.

9. On the basis of the above, a comprehensive power cost study should be prepared, in sufficient depth and detail to serve as a basis for decisions.

If negotiations for coal and water produce incremental costs comparable to those of nuclear stations and if the benefits achieved by interconnecting systems and mid-point generation prove ultimately adequate to amortize a substantial portion of the necessary transmission facilities, a portion of the difference in capital costs between nuclear and coal fired plants become savings to the participants. Careful planning and hard negotiating may well produce that result. On the basis of present cost differentials the savings in investment could in the long run approximate \$100,000,000.

## THE RESOURCES

Rocky Mountain—and more specifically the resources located in Montana and Wyoming—is receiving increasing attention as the nation's total energy consumption continues to increase at a rapid rate. Electric utilities, oil companies, and gas suppliers are each giving the area's coal fields increasing attention as they plan to develop additional supplies of electric energy, liquid petroleum or gas.

In each instance the economic utilization of the coal resource requires substantial quantities of water as an integral element in the energy conversion process. Dry type cooling towers may reduce the amount of water required to convert coal to electric energy, but the technology is not available on an economically competitive basis at the present time.

Accordingly, any investigation of the economic attractiveness of Montana and Wyoming coal for large-scale mine-mouth electric power generation must concern itself with both the supply and the price of coal and the availability and the costs associated with water for cooling purposes.

## COAL

The United States Geologic Survey estimates that in excess of 900 billion tons of coal remain in the ground in Montana and Wyoming. The two states account for over one-third of the total reserves available in the United States. See figures 1 and 2.

S. L. Groff, Chief of the Ground Water and Mineral Fuels Division of the Montana Bureau of Mines and Geology, reports that Montana coal production peaked in the early 1940's when the Northern Pacific Railroad was producing 2.5 million tons annually at Calstrip and dropped to slightly over 300,000 tons in 1958. He expects the State to have proven stripable reserves approaching 15 billion tons in 1970.

Without having made any special effort to identify ownership of coal-bearing lands in the two States, it is obvious that the Federal government, the State governments, the railroads, and the Crow and Cheyenne Indian Tribes are all major owners of such lands. Mineral rights are being acquired and have been acquired by major oil companies, coal companies, individual electric utilities, U.S. Steel and Reynolds Metals. Many entities including the Union Pacific Railroad, Reynolds Metals, and the Peabody Coal Company have active and aggressive programs of drilling and testing designed to prove the quantity and quality of their coal reserves.

Although attempting to secure definitive coal prices was not the purpose of this preliminary study, it has of course been necessary to secure some price information from coal suppliers to develop meaningful cost information with respect to electric energy. We have not attempted to bargain or negotiate. We have asked for prices that are attainable if and when price negotiations are actually conducted.

On that basis the Peabody Coal Company, with coal in both Montana and Wyoming and proven reserves exceeding 2 billion and approaching 3 billion tons, quotes coal delivered to a generating station (depending upon the location and size of the station) at from 11.5¢ to 14¢ per million BTU. Because water supplies are uncertain in Wyoming, they quote Wyoming coal f.o.b. at 11¢ to 13.5¢ per million. This information has been extracted from a September 18th letter from R. E. Miller, Senior Vice President for sales to Kenneth Holum.)

The Reynolds Metal Company has assembled a unique property at Lake DeSmet, Wyoming. They are just completing a drilling program on 40,000 acres of coal lands. Proven reserves on the 40,000 acres exceed 2 billion and may equal 3 billions tons. On September 19, 1969, the Wyoming Congress-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

sional delegation wrote the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy saying among other things, "The Reynolds power consultants estimate a fuel cost at the power plant of about 6¢ per million BTU." We would expect the Congressional delegation to have reliable information consistent with the situation as it existed at that time. This information is consistent with information acquired when we discussed this resource with Mr. Richard Reynolds, Chairman of the Board, and other company officials, in Richmond on August 1. More recent conversations indicate that cost escalation may result in higher fuel prices for this particular resource.

The Union Pacific Railroad is a major owner of coal reserves in Wyoming. The railroad owns every other section in a strip 40 miles wide across the State. Generally speaking, the alternate sections are owned by the United States and administered by the Bureau of Land Management.

Because of restrictions in the law the railroad company is unable to acquire the intervening sections to assemble a complete coal supply package. Nevertheless, they estimate that mine-mouth costs for coal in the Hanna area of Wyoming would fall in the 10¢ to 12¢ per million BTU range for production of 5 to 6 million tons per year. They would expect costs to drop if production were doubled—at least to the lower figures in the suggested range.

Although the precise figure will vary with the heat content of the coal and the efficiency of the turbine generator, a power installation in either Wyoming or Montana will consume approximately 5 million tons of coal annually for each 1000 MW of capacity.

## WATER

Unfortunately the two States (Montana and Wyoming) that contain one-third of the nation's coal reserves are less adequately supplied with the water that continues to be an essential element of all fuel conversion processes.

The Green River in western Wyoming and the Missouri and Yellowstone in eastern Montana are capable of supplying the water necessary for major power generating stations, although the Yellowstone would require some regulation that is not currently in existence. The Bureau of Reclamation's Yellowtail Dam on the Bighorn River can supply municipal and industrial water to both states from its reservoir that straddles the border between the two States. The State of Montana has under consideration plans to enlarge its dam and reservoir on the Tongue River, and the Bureau of Reclamation is completing plans for its proposed Morehead Dam on the Powder River. The Reynolds Metals Company has acquired water rights and developed storage at Lake DeSmet, which is expected to produce a safe yield of 50,000 acre feet annually for consumptive uses.

The Bureau of Reclamation is marketing municipal and industrial water from Yellowtail water in both States. A \$9.00 per acre foot rate has been established in Montana, below the power plant, and a \$11.00 rate has been established for Wyoming users to compensate for the lost power revenues. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall reserved 110,000 acre feet annually of Yellowtail water for the Crow and Cheyenne Indian Tribes in Montana.

Water is available for large power generating plants located on or near the coal fields in both Wyoming and Montana, but the availability of water and the costs involved in purchasing or developing a supply may well be as important a consideration in plant siting as the availability of coal and its costs.

As noted earlier, water is available below Yellowtail Dam at \$9.00 per acre foot. Companies owning or acquiring coal interests in the Yellowtail service area have generally

moved aggressively to acquire options on Yellowtail water.

The \$9.00 per acre foot Yellowtail water in Montana and the \$11.00 acre foot counterpart in Wyoming, plus the industrial water potentially available at Fontanelle and Boysen Dams in western Wyoming, is almost certainly the cheapest supply available. Existing large multi-purpose federal storage projects are certain to produce the cheapest water.

Reynolds Metals has tentatively priced Lake DeSmet water at \$100.00 per acre foot. It seems quite likely that water developed on the Tongue or diverted to the Platte River system from the Green River in western Wyoming will produce comparable costs when delivered to the coal fields. The Bureau of Reclamation's proposed Morehead Dam on the Powder River may produce more attractive costs.

## PRICE AND SUPPLY RELATIONS

On the basis of the information discussion conducted with potential coal suppliers, cheap coal appears to be associated with expensive water and cheap water with more expensive coal. The 6¢ per million BTU coal owned by Reynolds Metals is associated with projected \$100.00 per acre foot water. Peabody Coal Company, which quoted a minimum coal price of 11.5¢ per million BTU is able to associate that coal with \$9.00 per acre foot water that the company has under option.

Final decisions as to plant siting, from the point of view of costs, would appear to turn primarily on two factors: (1) the opportunities to improve either coal or water prices or both in future negotiations; and (2) the ability of engineers to develop techniques which will reduce the demand for cooling water without unreasonably increasing the initial capital investment.

## THE LAW

This preliminary investigation is based on public agency financing and tax exempt operations despite the fact that no research has been conducted into applicable law in either state. In fact, discussions with individuals who are knowledgeable on the law in the two states indicate that new legislation will almost certainly be required before a domestic corporation can qualify in either state.

States often find it necessary to modify existing law or modify old law to attract new commercial enterprises. Many states have enacted legislation that would meet the requirements of the program outlined in this report. Obviously those laws will provide useful precedents.

The potential availability of both coal and water on both the Crow and Cheyenne reservations in Montana introduces an additional opportunity that merits research and consideration. It may well be that more detailed study will identify opportunities for the sponsors of the plan and the Indian Tribes to work together for mutual advantage.

## STUDY 190 AND THE JULY 1969 APPRAISAL

Study 190, prepared by technical personnel from the Bureau of Reclamation, the Bonneville Power Administration, and the Southwest Power Administration, analyzes twelve transmission line schemes designed to interconnect and permit power exchanges between the electric systems of the West. The Study was released by the Department of the Interior, April 18, 1968, with the stated hope that "the document should encourage all segments of the electric utility industry to proceed with cooperative planning."

In July, 1969, a report entitled "An Appraisal of the Transmission Study 190" was released. Although the report is unsigned, the cover indicates that it is the joint prod-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

uct of the Western Systems Coordinating Council (WSCC), Mid-Continent Area Power Planners (MAPP), Mid-American Inter-pool Network (MAIN), and the East Central Area Reliability Agreement (ECAR).

With one significant exception there is little evidence that the participants in the appraisal report had any interest in achieving the potential economies and developing the inter-regional relationships suggested by Study 190. Instead of using the information in Study 190 as a basis for additional planning and the development of new relationships between utilities and regions, the sponsors of the appraisal report have limited their effort to subjecting the Study and its conclusions to new and much more stringent economic requirements.

After Study 190 had been released, but prior to the completion of the appraisal report, the executive branch of the national government modified federal resource policies so that the interest rate on projects such as envisioned in Study 190 became 4 1/8% instead of 3 1/4% as used in the original Study. The appraisal report appropriately uses the new higher interest rate in computing costs but fails to recognize that higher interest rates will also affect and increase the benefit side of the same calculations.

Those who advocate eliminating or sharply curtailing federal activity in the resources field have always urged the application of the opportunity cost of money doctrine and the inclusion of taxes foregone as an expense charged against federal projects. Although the argument continues, the federal policy makers in both the executive and legislative branch have traditionally and appropriately rejected both theories. Their application in the appraisal report suggests the authors' desire to prove the proposed program infeasible. In both instances, the authors have departed significantly from established and continuing national policy.

Applying the much more stringent financial criteria, i.e., the higher interest rate, taxes foregone and the opportunity cost of money doctrines—the appraisal report finds the benefit cost ratio for the scheme subjected to re-analysis to be .84 to 1 instead of 1.7 to 1 as projected in Study 190.

Taxes foregone and the opportune cost of money are not appropriate components of financial analysis of federal resource projects. However, in this specific instance the important fact is that even under the severe criteria employed by the authors of the July appraisal, the transmission system by itself creates economic benefits that are almost sufficient to repay the cost of the system.

As noted earlier, one short sentence in the entire document is devoted to the opportunity that could more appropriately have been the principal thrust of the group's effort. They say—

"The development of extra-high voltage transmission facilities in the vast area between the Pacific coastal systems and the highly populated Midwestern areas should be predicated on sound planning concepts of meeting the intervening area's needs for electric power and developing its energy resources before long inter-regional ties are built without sufficient underlying transmission lines."

Utilizing and developing the Rocky Mountains' energy resources while simultaneously realizing the economies inherent in the existing diversities is the purpose of this Study and the effort it proposes. Study 190 attempts to identify the full scope of existing and projected diversity benefits and proposed transmission systems that will realize these potential economies.

Utilizing the information developed by the Interior team, it becomes appropriate to analyze the economies of large generating plants located on or near to the coal fields

of Wyoming and Montana at mid-point on a transmission network and to consider the opportunities for staged development of the ultimate transmission system. No doubt staged development will require forgoing some of the ultimate diversity benefits until later in the construction cycle.

## THE PROPOSED PLAN

This preliminary plan analyzes the prospective merit of utilizing low-cost Montana-Wyoming coal in conjunction with a western inter-regional high-voltage transmission system to meet an appropriate portion of the West's growing requirements for electric energy.

The "Hydro-thermal accord" anticipates the single entity approach to the future power requirements of the Pacific Northwest. Current planning anticipates the installation of units in the 1000 MW range, most of which would be nuclear fueled. The plan discussed in this report suggests that Montana-Wyoming coal might be a reasonable and economic substitute for one of those units. Although additional units might well be located in the Rocky Mountain states at some future time, reliability of service and transmission line limitations favor a conservative approach.

The Salt River project has an opportunity under an existing arrangement with the Bureau of Reclamation to deliver 400 MW into the Bureau's Colorado system in exchange for 400 MW delivered to the project in Arizona from the Reclamation system. The Archer substation is considered to be an appropriate delivery point.

Basin Electric must complete plans for meeting the requirements of its members beyond the capability of the second 400 MW unit. Specific attention must be given to the requirements of Tri-State and Central Montana as well as the member systems served by Units 1 and 2. The plan contemplates deliveries to the former through the facilities at Archer and to the latter by deliveries at Grand Island and displacement through the 345 KV line in existence and under construction.

Five Colorado cities with consumer-owned electric systems may well find the proposed facilities the cheapest possible source for their growing power requirements. Delivery to Archer over the facilities proposed in this plan, together with additional use of the existing lower voltage network, makes their participation possible.

Municipal members of the Missouri Basin Systems Group will soon find it necessary to supplement their Bureau of Reclamation allocations. The plan contemplates meeting these requirements with bulk deliveries to Grand Island and displacement over existing facilities.

Grand Island is a major power center for the public systems in Nebraska with power moving towards Grand Island both from the Bureau of Reclamation hydro system to the north and the Cooper nuclear station under construction to the east. Delivery to Grand Island from the west facilitates major power deliveries into Nebraska.

The preliminary analysis indicates that Archer and Grand Island are major delivery points for power flows to the east. For deliveries into the Pacific Northwest, Anaconda and Hot Springs appear to be similarly advantageous.

As outlined above, including one of the proposed units in the Pacific Northwest, the deficiencies of the systems included in the study outline will approximate 3,000 MW by 1980 or earlier. By 1990 the same systems, including one additional 1,000 MW unit for the Pacific Northwest will have requirements of 8,000 MW. Although no attempt has been made to develop a plan for meeting the 1990 requirements, it is useful to recognize the magnitude of the future potential.

Except for the Pacific Northwest, for a

variety of reasons, this preliminary study is limited to the requirements of a selected group of consumer-owned utilities. Participation by the investor-owned utilities would substantially increase the potential demand and because of the economies of scale we would expect the potential savings to increase at a greater ratio.

The economic evaluation of the proposed plan assumes diversity benefits of 12% at the time of peak load. The Pacific Northwest and the Dakotas have winter peaks. Nebraska and Colorado loads are summer peaking. The Salt River project peaks occur during the summer months but the displacement involved may modify the significance of these summer peaks. The 12% diversity factor appears reasonable but it requires more detailed analysis.

Similarly, the analysis assumes capacity losses of 10%. Twenty percent of the gross generating capacity has been allocated to reserve and station service. The plan contemplates the development of reserve arrangements with a number of systems or pools such as the Missouri Basin Systems Group, the Nebraska systems (or MAPP), the Pacific Northwest Power Pool, and possibly WEST. On this basis 15% of the station's capacity has been allocated to maintaining reserves.

With these assumptions of load requirements at source totaling 3,170 MW. Recognizing that the extremely low fuel costs available in the region modify the need for the high efficiency turbine generators, we suggest that four 800 MW units would be an appropriate installation.

The analysis developed in this preliminary report assumes that a station with four 800 MW turbine generators can be built for a total cost of \$450,000,000 or \$140 per KW. These costs are predicated on reasonable site conditions, the use of cooling towers and staggered installation of our identical units to permit manufacturing economies.

Because of the apparent wide range of costs to be expected for both coal and water, a comparison has been made of the effect of the two extremes. This analysis demonstrates that fuel at 6¢ per million BTU combined with \$100 per acre foot water, is more economical than 11¢ coal and \$9.00 water by a narrow margin. Because of high water costs in many areas and the effect of these costs on the costs of power, a more detailed study of potential savings in water use is clearly indicated.

Because fuel costs will be less than a mill per KWH, the analysis assumes the plant will operate 7,500 hours per year for a plant factor of approximately 85%. Energy at less than one mill per KWH should prove to be extremely useful for supporting future peaking installations on either the Missouri or Columbia River hydro systems.

Anticipating non-profit, tax exempt financing and interest costs of 6%, a fixed charge rate of 8% was used in the calculations. If present trends continue and this proves to be too optimistic an assumption, the same factor would apply to alternative sources.

Facilities would almost certainly be designed to achieve the optimum overall costs rather than the highest level of fuel efficiency. With that in mind, 10,000 BTU per KWH seems the likely level of fuel efficiency.

On the basis of the assumptions outlined above, it is expected that the proposed plant will produce power for 2.5 mills per KWH on the plant bus-bars.

Transmission lines of 500 KV capacity are required to deliver the quantities of power contemplated over the distances involved in the study area. Such a line from the plant to Archer to Grand Island is the basic facility required to deliver power eastward. If it is possible to develop appropriate stand-by arrangements for power deliveries to Archer and Grand Island this facility may prove to be sufficient. However, that decision involves

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studies and negotiations beyond the scope of this study. For that reason the study includes funds to finance a second 500 KV line from the plant to Fort Thompson and a second 345 KV line from Fort Thompson to Grand Island.

A 500 KV line from the plant to Anaconda and Hot Springs is the basic facility required to deliver power to the Pacific Northwest. The recent arrangement for the delivery of a large block of power from Rock Springs, Wyoming, to southern Idaho and the Pacific Northwest by displacement requires considerable study before an additional alternative route to Hot Springs and Anaconda can be considered appropriate. Instead, the plan includes enough funds to finance 250 miles of 500 KV line beyond Anaconda and Hot Springs to provide the required support for these delivery points.

On this basis the total estimated cost for transmission, including substations and other equipment is estimated to be \$341,000. The total includes \$80,000,000 for reactors and capacitors. Obviously more study is required to firm up the latter figure. Utilizing the fixed charge rate of 8%, transmission costs per KWH are approximately 1.4 mills.

The basic costs of the proposed plan are \$25 per KW per year of non-simultaneous demand at the points of delivery and 0.9 mills per KWH at the same points of delivery—Archer, Grand Island, Anaconda, and Hot Springs. On the basis of 7,500 hours of delivered demand the average cost is 4.2 mills per KWH. At 8,000 hours (91% load factor), the cost is 4.0 mills.

Large nuclear fueled units, located close to loads, appear to be most likely alternatives to the plants proposed in this study. An analysis of the projected costs from such units is included for purposes of comparison.

The analysis anticipates that a 1,100 MW nuclear unit will cost \$200,000,000 or \$180 per KW—\$40 per KW more than the conventional unit. Although these plants can be located closer to load, reducing transmission costs, additional transmission would be required. The study includes \$1.30 per KW year for transmission purposes because this is the figure utilized in the Pacific Northwest.

Utilizing the 8% fixed charge rates as used for the conventional plants, the basic costs become \$22.50 per KW year and 1.36 mills per KWH delivered which at 7500 hours is 4.4 mills per KWH at 8,000 hours is 4.2 mills. Nuclear plants in the Pacific Northwest financed by investor-owned utilities at their capital cost rates will produce 6.4 mills power at 7500 hours of use and 6.1 mills at 8000 hours.

The quantities of capacity that should be considered from the Rocky Mountain states requires careful detailed study. For this reason the Montana-Wyoming coal source should be considered initially as enlarging the opportunities of existing planning in the separate regions, rather than modifying them in any basic way.

#### JOINT STATEMENT BY SENATORS MIKE MANSFIELD AND LEE METCALF ON HOLUM REPORT

Montana and Wyoming's vast resources of coal and its economic potential have again been pinpointed by a new private study released this week by Ken Holum and Associates, a consulting firm in Washington, D.C. The consultants state that "in all probability, Montana and Wyoming have the Nation's largest reserve of cheap energy . . . water is available for cooling purposes . . . a carefully planned transmission network can deliver electric energy produced at mine-mouth plants in Montana or Wyoming to major load centers in the West at prices that compare favorably with power produced at large nuclear stations located at or near to those load centers."

Montana-Wyoming coal resources for electric generation is based on current prices and

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

available technology and was prepared for the Western Inter-tie Task Force.

"Coal prices are so attractive in relationship to other alternatives that it appears quite likely that utilities in the Pacific Northwest or utilities in the Missouri River Basin area will find it profitable to locate major generating stations in the region even if they have to proceed unilaterally. The feasibility will be substantially enhanced, however, by a cooperative approach.

Substantial economies appear to be available to all parties if widespread inter-regional planning is carried forward and generating stations and transmission facilities constructed to realize the benefits inherent in system diversification and centrally located generation."

The Holum report estimates that there are in excess of nine hundred billion tons of coal remaining in the ground in Montana and Wyoming. The two states account for over one-third of the total reserves available in the United States. Water is available for large power generating plants located on or near the coal fields in both states, but the availability of water and of costs involved may well be as important a consideration as the availability of coal and its costs.

The development of these coal resources would be beneficial to both the Crow and the Northern Cheyenne reservations, where there is an abundance of coal and water. The former Assistant Secretary of the Interior recommends "that consumer owned utilities of the West proceed with the development of a comprehensive investigation and power cost study of Montana or Wyoming coal burned at or near mine-mouth with the electric energy delivered to load centers over a high-voltage transmission network interconnected with the Bonneville Power Administration system to the west and the Bureau of Reclamation system to the east."

We feel that a rapidly growing interest in Montana coal resources along with new research in uses of coal for thermo-generating plants (MHD), having a minimum of pollution, will be a major economic boost for eastern Montana.

#### BRAVE BOYS RISK LIVES

#### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 9, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Eddie Watkins and Dale Quillen, two fine young men from Maryland, recently risked their lives to rescue a drowning child. I wish to commend their courage by including the following article in the RECORD:

#### TWO BOYS RESCUE CHILD AT HAVRE DE GRACE MARINA

Two teenagers, with Boy Scout training, have been credited with saving an unidentified child from a watery grave.

The young men, Eddie Watkins and Dale Quillen, along with about a dozen other persons, were ice-fishing at the Tidewater Marina in Havre de Grace recently, when the ice gave away and a small child was plunged into the icy water. Eddie and Dale, who were about 15 feet away at the time, rushed to the floundering child's aid. Eddie laid down on his stomach and inched his way to the boy, at the same time Dale produced a ten-foot piece of rope from his pocket and threw one end to the pair. Together they worked the child out of the water and onto the ice. Then they put the youngster up on the bulkhead where his father was waiting.

Mrs. Helen Watkins, who accompanied the boys on the fishing trip said she noticed the child, which she thought was about nine or ten years old, walking on the ice near a piling shortly before he fell into the water. She went on to say, that the unidentified child apparently was with his father and a friend or brother. At the time the youngster fell into the ten-foot deep water, his brother or friend and father were sitting in a bluish-green pick up truck, about 40-feet away. Everyone, who was present, acknowledged that only the quick action taken by the boys saved the child's life. They also noted that the ice had many air pockets in it where the accident occurred and they were in great danger of falling through the opening. Both boys credit their Boy Scout training for knowing what to do in such situations. However, beside training it takes a brave person to lay his life on the line for someone else, particularly a total stranger.

Eddie Watkins is 17 years old and is a junior at Bel Air High School. He formerly was a member of Boy Scout Troop 999, in the Forest Hill community.

Dale Quillen is 16 years old and like Eddie is a junior at Bel Air High School. He is a member of Boy Scout Troop 952, which meets at the Hickory Elementary School. Dale has advanced to the rank of Star Scout in the scouting program, which is only two steps away from the coveted Eagle Scout rank. He is a member of the school's track team and participates in the cross-country event.

Both of the young men live in the Hickory area on Minnick Road with their parents.

#### HIGHWAY SAFETY EFFORTS PAYING OFF: DOWNTURN IN DEATH RATE IS FORECAST

#### HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the large number of deaths suffered on the highways of the United States has for years been a cause for extreme concern. With the death toll increasing yearly, there have been concerted efforts to halt and reverse the trend.

Both private and public bodies have been involved in this campaign to reverse the trend as more and more vehicles crowd our highways. In the Public Works Committee, which I have the responsibility to chair, we have worked diligently to assure that new highways are constructed in the safest manner possible. All legislation pertaining to highways is developed with safety receiving prime consideration, and I believe we have made significant strides in improving our roadways.

But the task is not yet completed. I have introduced legislation to begin a systematic, accelerated program of replacing bridges that carry highways across bodies of water, an undertaking that is vitally needed, considering the age and condition of many of our thousands of bridges. I also intend to sponsor measures aimed at the very serious problem of accidents at railroad crossings in which approximately 1,500 lives are lost every year.

While the need for improved highway safety is very real, Mr. President, I am

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nevertheless greatly encouraged by trends that are appearing.

I was particularly heartened by the information contained in an article in the February 2 issue of U.S. News & World Report. This well-documented article pointed out that the rate of highway accidents has started to decline and predicted that we might expect an actual decrease in the number of highway deaths in the next few years.

Because highway safety affects every citizen, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

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

## ARE CROWDED HIGHWAYS GETTING SAFER?

A significant drop in highway carnage may be in the offing. That's the feeling of traffic officials. Their optimism stems from a combination of things, including safer cars, better-trained young drivers. But many hazards will remain.

For the first time in the modern era of the automobile, traffic experts see a reasonable chance that the death toll on U.S. highways will enter a sustained downturn, even though the number of cars and trucks continue to rise.

In the past, temporary declines in deaths have come when car usage dropped for some reason. But fatalities rose again when traffic increased.

Deaths in traffic accidents hit an all-time high in 1969, of approximately 56,000, as the accompanying chart shows. A further rise is predicted for this year and next. But, by 1972 or 1973, a continuing downturn is a distinct prospect.

If a decline comes, the trend toward fewer traffic fatalities is expected to continue for some years. By 1980, an annual death toll of about 41,000 is indicated by projections of the National Highway Safety Bureau, a Federal Government agency.

The same projections indicate there will be 37 million more cars, trucks, buses, motorcycles and other vehicles on the road in 1980 than there were during 1969.

If the indicated reduction in deaths is to take place, it will be necessary for the death rate per 100 million vehicle-miles to be cut almost to half—from 5.4 in 1969 to 2.9 in 1980.

This can happen, traffic experts believe, if certain trends now at work continue through the 1970s.

These trends include constantly improving safety features on cars; a nationwide upgrading of highways and freeways; more driver education for young people; stepped-up law enforcement; campaigning by private and public agencies against hazards.

## ROADBLOCKS TO IMPROVE

Not all developments are favorable. Deaths caused by drunken drivers are rising, with no solution in sight. The new "muscle" cars are a worry.

The Insurance Institute for Highway Safety says some can speed up to 150 miles an hour. One insurance company reported that losses for the superpower cars are 56 per cent greater than for ordinary autos.

Yet the basic trend toward safer auto travel is apparent.

For years, safety campaigners have been gaining in the battle to reduce the rate of fatalities per mile of travel. If that rate were as high today as it was in 1934, for example, there would have been 163,000 automobile deaths last year, or three times the number that actually occurred.

The decade of the 1960s brought the first sign of a significant showdown in the number of fatalities. Between 1962 and 1966, there was an annual increase in traffic deaths averaging 6.8 per cent a year. Between 1966

and 1968, the average rise was 2.0 per cent. In 1969, the National Safety Council figures show that fatalities rose 1.4 per cent.

The turning point came in 1966, with passage of two federal laws—the Highway Safety Act and the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act.

Under the Highway Safety Act, the National Highway Safety Bureau drew up 16 highway-safety programs, through which States and localities get federal grants to help carry out recommended programs.

They promote such things as driver education for students, periodic motor-vehicle inspection, motorcycle safety, curbing alcoholic drivers, emergency medical services, and plans for highway construction that eliminate hazards along the roadsides.

## IMPROVED SAFEGUARDS

Under the Motor Vehicle Safety Act, the Bureau ordered manufacturers to incorporate 30 safety features into cars built after Jan. 1, 1968. These included safety belts, windshields that reduce head injuries, steering columns that absorb some of the blow in a crash. Safety requirements continually are being revised, and more are planned.

Manufacturers, on their own, have been engineering added safety features.

The auto builders also have been recalling cars in which safety defects have been found, as required by the new legislation. Through 1969, some 14 million vehicles have been called back to auto dealers for corrective work.

These measures have produced some striking results.

Safety belts saved 2,500 to 3,000 lives in 1968, the National Safety Council says. If all auto occupants had safety belts and used them, it estimates, from 8,000 to 10,000 lives would be saved in a year. At present, 75 per cent of occupants have them, but actual use of belts comes to only 30 per cent of all driving time.

Motor cycle deaths had been increasing at the rate of 35 per cent a year when new federal standards influenced more States to enact laws requiring that motorcyclists wear crash helmets and eye protection. Motorcycle deaths decreased 2 per cent in 1967 and 10 per cent in 1968, despite a large increase in the number of motorcycles.

## FURTHER IMPROVEMENT

Emphasis now is on "survivability," or saving the life of occupants after a crash occurs. Higher standards for automobile construction and highway safety have helped, and many more improvements are planned, both by the Government and the manufacturers.

Douglas W. Toms, director of the National Highway Safety Bureau, says a "second generation" of safer automobiles is coming. Improvements he envisages include such things as crashproof protection for passengers on the sides and tops of cars—heavy metal to protect against side collisions and roll-overs.

Mr. Toms is counting heavily on the air bags that now are being developed as a safeguard and may be installed in some 1971 cars. These are air pillows which inflate automatically in a crash. The rider is thrown into a big cushion instead of against solid metal.

One advantage of the air bag is that it requires no co-operation on the part of the occupant. Seat belts have to be buckled and often are ignored. Mr. Toms hopes the air bag will eliminate the need for seat belts. But some technical problems remain to be solved.

Dr. William Haddon, Jr., president of the Insurance Institute for Highway Safety, charges that fragile construction in some autos makes them easily crushed in a collision. He calls auto bumpers "largely cosmetic," and wants bumpers and the entire framework of the car made into "proper energy-absorbing structures."

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## GAINS AND LOSSES

Checking with traffic officials in a number of cities, "U.S. News & World Report" correspondents turned up these signs of gains and losses in the battle for traffic safety:

Chicago has reduced accidents by 29 per cent on one of its expressways by installing new guardrails and "break-away" signs mounted on poles that collapse when rammed by a car.

Chicago also has a three-year program to make seven expressways safer. Light standards have aluminum bases rather than concrete. Taller poles, set behind guardrails, will be used so that fewer are needed. Some will be 100 feet high.

Guardrails will be used to protect motorists who run into the bases of underpasses and other solid structures. The rails will be flexible and high, and will have many supports so as to keep cars from climbing over them or causing the rails to buckle between widely spaced braces.

## COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Los Angeles and Phoenix both had declines in traffic fatalities in 1969. Much of the credit is given to the remedial driver-education classes, which courts in California and Arizona can compel traffic-law violators to attend.

California officials also have found their stepped-up automobile inspections an effective accident preventive. Last year, 65 teams from the highway patrol checked about 4 million cars for proper functioning of lights, brakes, horns and turn signals.

In Milwaukee, Police Inspector Lloyd K. Lund believes one new danger is the super-powered cars. He said:

"You put a young, inexperienced driver in a 350-horsepower car and you can just imagine what he'll do. You see them zoom down the freeways, changing lanes, tires spinning."

Another trend being eyed warily is the higher legal speeds that are being adopted. Traffic officials in both New Orleans and Cleveland blame the higher speed limits permitted on highways for many traffic deaths.

National traffic experts agree that speed does not necessarily produce more accidents, but they believe it makes crashes less "survivable."

Actually, on a national basis, fewer fatalities occur on turnpikes, where the highest speeds are permissible, than on rural roads. The National Safety Council found that in 1968 the rate on turnpikes was 2.7 deaths per 100 million vehicle-miles of travel, compared with 7.5 on rural roads.

## THE ALCOHOLIC DRIVER

Still baffling to the safety experts is the problem of the alcoholic driver. Drinking is indicated as a factor in at least half of motor-vehicle accidents, says the Safety Council.

"An astonishing 44 per cent of drivers killed in accidents lost their lives because the other guy was drunk," Secretary of Transportation John A. Volpe recently told the National Safety Council. He said a major effort should be made to identify chronic alcoholics and prevent them from driving.

In accordance with the standards set up by the National Highway Safety Bureau, 32 States have enacted laws to make it legal to compel drivers to take blood, urine or breath tests when they are believed to be intoxicated. Britain reduced its auto deaths about 14 per cent after it put a compulsory breath-screening test into operation in 1967.

California finds an increase in the number of persons driving under the influence of drugs and narcotics.

"Many times we find drivers are under the influence of both drugs and alcohol," said one official in California. "People take all kinds of narcotics, often barbiturates, to get 'high.' Then they try to cover it up by drinking. This combination is especially dangerous."

Another drivers problem creating concern is the large number of collisions caused by motorists suffering from a chronic or acute emotional disorder.

"People who drive when they are emotionally upset aren't thinking about their driving," claims Leroy Mouser of the Houston police department.

Sergeant William Turner, of the Phoenix police department's traffic bureau, believes:

"If times were not so difficult, I expect that the accident rate would be even lower. If a driver doesn't think we should be in Vietnam, or read something in the paper which upsets him, he may be preoccupied. If he has an argument with his wife, he may be diverted from his driving for a fraction of a second. This may mean the difference between an accident and avoidance of one."

#### QUICK MEDICAL AID NEEDED

Although medical attention has improved, accident victims often die for lack of proper care after a crash, experts have found. One major program calls for States and localities to improve care of the injured—summoning help quickly and providing good medical attention. In some places, helicopters are being used.

The Highway Safety Bureau says doctors estimate that between 10,000 and 20,000 of those killed each year in auto accidents could be saved if they were handled properly in "the postcrash phase."

All of these problems and many others are being tackled by federal and local authorities and the auto industry.

The payoff will come soon, they believe, in a year-by-year lowering of the highway death toll.

A spokesman for the New York State Department of Motor Vehicles said:

"I think we are entering an encouraging period. There is much to be done. But a great deal has been accomplished to improve safety in the last few years, and much more is being done now that is significant."

#### ARKANSAS VETERANS HOSPITALS FACE FUNDING AND STAFFING PROBLEMS

#### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 9, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the survey of the Veterans' Administration hospital system which is being conducted by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs is continuing to reveal more and more serious problems which are primarily being caused by funding and staffing shortages. The staffs at many of our VA hospitals are being overworked and under these circumstances they cannot begin to deliver the quality of care which they have in the past. Vietnam veterans, in many areas, are experiencing long waits to have their teeth examined and fixed. Many hospitals are having to use maintenance and equipment funds to help pay for drugs, medical supplies, food, and other on-going day-to-day hospital operating costs. Many veterans who no longer need expensive hospital care and who could be placed in community nursing homes at VA expense cannot be transferred because of lack of funds.

Mr. Speaker, the present average national ratio of about 1.5 staff for each patient in general medical hospitals is

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wholly inadequate. It should be at least 2 staff for each patient and psychiatric hospitals should have at least a 1-for-1 ratio. The recent 1971 budget submission allows very little relief in this area and I am concerned that our Nation's ex-servicemen will not be receiving prompt and proper medical care which they are due.

The Veterans' Affairs Committee investigation of the hospitals in the State of Arkansas revealed funding deficiencies in fiscal year 1970 of almost \$1.3 million to operate about 1,900 beds serving approximately 213,000 Arkansas veterans. VA hospitals in Arkansas are located at Fayetteville and in Little Rock.

As of February 6, 1970, the Arkansas hospital directors had advised the Veterans' Affairs Committee that supplemental funds had been received in January 1970 to apply toward some of the reported deficiencies. About \$267,000 had been made available toward the almost \$1.3 million deficit reported to the committee earlier in the year.

The 230-bed general medical and surgical hospital in Fayetteville reported funding deficiencies of about \$116,000. Most of this, approximately \$100,000 is needed to cover salaries of 10 on-duty employees. Hospital director, Dr. J. B. Bounds, reported that he would have to reduce his employment level by 16 full-time positions on April 1, 1970, unless additional funding support was received. Other shortages included about \$3,800 for drugs and chemical supplies; \$3,700 for medical and dental supplies, and the balance for recurring maintenance and repairs supplies and materials to maintain the physical plant.

Dr. Bounds reported that he was deferring filling three nursing positions and two other positions, one clerical and one food service worker, in an effort to recoup salary funds and it would be necessary to divert approximately \$82,000 in equipment and nonrecurring maintenance and repair of facility funds to support on-duty personnel. Bounds said:

The most pressing need at this station are adequate, recurring funds and staff improvement to continue on-going medical programs and to meet the significant increase in the outpatient workload. This increased workload has caused a marked increase in the cost of drugs and beneficiary travel, and has placed increased demands on support services, such as laboratory, radiology, and medical administration.

Included in a long list of items of equipment that would have to be deferred were three cardiac arrest carts for treatment of patients with acute heart conditions, a circo-electric bed, replacement of an operating table, sterilizers, and some office equipment. Dr. Bounds reported that he would need 53 more people at an annual cost of about \$360,000 to achieve a minimal staffing ratio satisfactory for the operations of his hospital.

Dr. Bounds subsequently advised the committee that he had received a supplemental allotment of \$57,840 to apply against his reported deficiencies. He said that this additional amount would enable him to restore \$11,000 of the \$82,000 previously diverted equipment and maintenance funds leaving a deficiency of

\$71,000; \$16,000 would correct deficiencies reported for drugs, medical, and dental supplies and \$23,000 would negate the need for a reduction of personnel during the last quarter of the fiscal year. The remaining \$7,840 would be applied to the community nursing care program which would permit an average of 10 patients in the program rather than nine previously allowed.

Director Kenneth J. O'Brien of the Little Rock Hospital reported the largest fund deficiency in the State of Arkansas—almost \$1,175,000 for fiscal year 1970. Over \$600,000 of this amount was required to maintain fiscal year 1969 employment levels. To meet this funding deficiency for salaries O'Brien reported that he would divert approximately \$275,000 in initial equipment, replacement equipment, and maintenance and repair of facilities funding support as well as he would defer filling about 43 position vacancies including 22 nursing positions.

The Consolidated VA Hospital at Little Rock consists of a 471-bed general medical hospital with a statewide outpatient program located in Little Rock. The hospital is closely integrated with the University of Arkansas School of Medicine. The VA hospital complex also includes the large psychiatric hospital located in North Little Rock. The psychiatric hospital has 1,216 beds, plus a 100-bed VA nursing home. All administrative and 50 percent of the professional services of these two hospitals are consolidated with more or less flexibility of staff between the two hospitals.

O'Brien also reported a shortage of \$21,200 to support the community nursing home care program. He stated that an average daily community care load of 60 could be funded with the support provided by VA central office this fiscal year; however, if additional funds could be made available an average daily load of 70 patients could be maintained in community nursing homes. A shortage of about 10 much needed research support personnel was also disclosed in the committee investigation. In order to support on-going research activities about five more positions costing about \$35,000 are required over and above the current on-duty strength.

To bring the hospital to the staffing ratio of employees to patients advocated by me, Hospital Director O'Brien stated:

We need a funding ceiling for 110 more positions at a cost of about \$900,000 annually.

O'Brien stated he was also short in the specialized medical programs including 10 more positions for the surgical intensive care unit at an annual cost of approximately \$75,000. In the fee dental program, the first half year experiences indicated that he would need approximately \$90,000 to cover authorizations for dental care primarily for returning Vietnam veterans for the remainder of fiscal year 1970.

Director O'Brien subsequently reported to the Veterans Affairs Committee that he had received supplemental funding support in January 1970. Funds in the amount of \$209,299 were received to apply against his reported funding deficiencies. O'Brien said he would not be re-

quired to conduct a reduction in force but he said:

We have not been able to employ up to the level of 1,865 full-time permanent ceiling we are authorized this year due to insufficient funding.

He said that with the \$200,000 additional he received for salaries, an employment level of 1,830 could be maintained. It would still be necessary to use about \$200,000 of the previously diverted \$275,000 equipment and maintenance funds for salaries. This would leave a balance of \$75,000 for "needed equipment and maintenance and repair requirements," O'Brien stated.

The balance of the supplemental allotment, \$9,299, was restricted for use in the community nursing care and O'Brien said:

It appears that there will be adequate community nursing home funds. All other deficiencies as reported . . . continue to exist.

Mr. Speaker, the hospitals in Arkansas are trying to take care of the sick and disabled veterans who need care, but they cannot do this promptly and properly unless they get more funding and staffing assistance. Congress should keep this in mind when appropriation bills relating to the Veterans' Administration are considered in the future.

#### AID SPEAKS OUT ON EARMARKING OF FUNDS IN FOREIGN AID BILL

#### HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 9, 1970

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I thought it would be of interest to my colleagues to read some recent correspondence between the Agency for International Development and myself, on the issue of earmarking funds in the foreign aid appropriation bill. I would like to draw particular attention to the Agency letter of February 5, 1970, in which explicit disapproval of indiscriminate earmarking is stated. The correspondence follows:

DECEMBER 18, 1969.

Dr. JOHN A. HANNAH,  
Administrator, Agency for International Development, Washington, D.C.

DEAR DR. HANNAH: I have become concerned about the number of specific institutions and projects, both economic and military, for which the Congress has earmarked funds in this year's foreign aid appropriation bill. I would like to have a list of all these items, for easy future reference.

I look forward to hearing from you on this matter.

Sincerely,

LEE H. HAMILTON,  
Member of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT,  
Washington, D.C., January 15, 1970.

Hon. LEE H. HAMILTON,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON: In response to your letter of December 18, 1969, I am enclosing a list of funds earmarked for specific institutions and projects in the Foreign Assistance and Related Agencies Appropriation

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Act, 1970, reported out by the Conference Committee. Since the Conference Report was rejected by the Senate, these earmarkings have not as yet become law.

If we can be of any further assistance to you, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN A. HANNAH.

#### Funds earmarked in fiscal year 1970 appropriation bill

United Nations Children's Fund	\$13,000,000
American schools and hospitals abroad:	24,550,000
American University of Beirut, Lebanon	9,490,000
American Farm School, Thessaloniki, Greece	100,000
Robert College, Istanbul, Turkey	2,300,000
American University in Cairo, Egypt	200,000
Escuela Agricola, Panamericana, Honduras	200,000
Admiral Bristol Hospital, Istanbul, Turkey	75,000
Project Hope	500,000
Weizmann Institute, Israel	3,000,000
Merkaz Lechinuch Ichud, Israel	1,400,000
Amana Ulpenat B.A., Israel	600,000
Hadassah (expansion of medical facilities in Israel)	5,000,000
Hospital and Home for the Aged, Zichron-Yaakov, Israel	650,000
Beth Yaacov Avat Girl's School	1,200,000
Educational Center of Gallee	800,000
Hospital in Chemke, Nigeria	500,000
Program Support	35,000
American schools and hospitals abroad (foreign currencies):	
University of North Africa, Tangier, Morocco	3,000,000
Vocational School for the Underprivileged in Israel	1,000,000
Merkaz Lechinuch Ichud, Israel	500,000
Indus Basin Development Fund	7,530,000
Prototype desalting plant	20,000,000
U.N. Relief and Works Agency (Arab Refugees)	1,000,000
Military assistance for Korea	50,000,000
Military assistance for Republic of China	54,500,000

JANUARY 16, 1970.

Dr. JOHN A. HANNAH,  
Administrator, Agency for International Development, Department of State, Washington, D.C.

DEAR DR. HANNAH: Thank you for the list of earmarked funds in the FY 1970 Appropriation Bill.

I have become increasingly disturbed by the number of these earmarked items. The past year has witnessed an unusual proliferation of them, causing the aid bill to adopt characteristics of porkbarrel legislation. I would like to know that the position of the Administration is with regard to this matter.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

LEE H. HAMILTON,  
Member of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT,  
Washington, D.C.

Hon. LEE H. HAMILTON,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN HAMILTON: Thank you for your letter of January 16 expressing your

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concern over earmarking of funds in this year's foreign aid appropriation bill.

As a general rule, we do not favor earmarking or line item appropriation for a specific purpose or program in foreign assistance legislation. Earmarking tends to restrict the Executive Branch's flexibility to carry out what it believes to be the best possible foreign assistance program with the limited funds available and inhibits its abilities to respond to the constantly changing world environment. Moreover, earmarking, even for desirable purposes often tends to stimulate earmarking for other purposes, which may be less desirable. It may also force the President to give higher priority to programs of less consequence to the development process, thus making our total assistance effort less effective. We prefer, therefore, that Congressional interest in a particular foreign assistance purpose or activity normally be expressed by some means other than earmarking of funds. Needless to say, we also would not like foreign aid bills to become "porkbarrel" legislation.

On the other hand, this Administration does not have an inflexible position on all earmarking in foreign assistance legislation. To be sure, in some cases an earmarking may be for a purpose or activity which the Executive Branch opposes or believes should be left to its discretion. In other cases, however, it may merely reflect Congressional support for an activity which the Executive Branch also supports, or it may represent a Congressional initiative which the Executive Branch finds acceptable within the context of its own program. Thus, the Administration's position on particular earmarked items would depend on the facts of each case.

I appreciate the interest that you, as a consistent supporter of foreign aid, have taken in this matter. We share your concern and hope that the number of earmarked items in our legislation can be kept to a minimum.

Sincerely yours,

RUTHERFORD POATS,  
Acting Administrator.

#### A SEQUEL TO A SONG

#### HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 9, 1970

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, with apologies to and profound respect for country and western singer Roger Miller who once sang:

Got a letter just this morning  
It was postmarked Omaha  
It was typed and neatly written  
Offering me this better job  
Better job at higher wages  
Expenses and a car  
But I'm on T.V. here locally  
I can't quit I'm a star.

The following sequel has been brought to my attention and, therefore, I urgently bring it to the attention of to whom it may concern:

Got a letter just this morning  
From an inalechshul snob  
It was typed and neatly written  
Askin' me to quit my job  
Quit my job at playin' architect  
With restaurants as a ploy  
But we got T.B. here locally  
I can't give up my toy.

Mr. Speaker, I find it all very confusing, but perhaps someone will understand.

REMARKS OF MR. CARL L. KLEIN,  
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE  
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
FOR WATER QUALITY AND RE-  
SEARCH

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, last week I was privileged to hear the remarks of Mr. Carl L. Klein, Assistant Secretary of the Department of the Interior for Water Quality and Research, at the fifth annual Conference on Water Resources Research.

Secretary Klein is a capable administrator and has brought to the Department of the Interior an in-depth understanding of the tremendous water quality and resource management problems facing our Nation.

I certainly agree with Secretary Klein that top priority should be given to the preservation of our environment for this generation as well as those to follow. Consequently, I am very pleased to see the Congress realize its tremendous responsibility to act on legislation which will improve the quality of our lakes, streams, rivers, and oceans, and which will provide for the conservation and wise utilization of all our water resources.

It is clear that as population density increases, water management, and pollution problems will intensify and demands for water for municipal, industrial, recreational, and agricultural uses will increase.

In view of the environmental problems we are presently facing and will meet in the future, I am very pleased that we are fortunate to have such a qualified and dedicated leader as the Assistant Secretary for Water Quality and Research. Accordingly, I thought it appropriate to share with my colleagues Secretary Klein's comments. Therefore, I include his remarks at this point in the RECORD:

REMARKS BY CARL L. KLEIN, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR FOR WATER QUALITY AND RESEARCH, AT THE FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON WATER RESOURCES RESEARCH, WASHINGTON, D.C., FEBRUARY 3, 1970

You couldn't have picked a more appropriate time to hold this Fifth Annual Water Resources Research Conference. Never before has the Nation's attention been so directly fixed on problems relating to water resources.

President Nixon voiced the Nation's concern January 1, when he approved the Environmental Policy Act, which set up a Cabinet Committee on Environmental Quality. He made this his first official act of the new decade in order to focus attention on what he called a "now or never" campaign to reclaim the purity of our air, our water and our living environment.

Three weeks later he introduced a \$10 billion clean water program to build municipal waste treatment plants wherever they are needed to make our waters clean again. He said, "We no longer can afford to consider air and water common property, free to be abused by anyone without regard to the consequences. Instead, we should begin to treat them as scarce resources, which we are no more free to contaminate than we are free to throw garbage in our neighbor's yard."

The President said it was "time for those

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

who make massive demands on society to make some minimal demands on themselves," as he urged everyone to join the campaign to make America a cleaner place now and for the generations to come.

In directing his appeal for an environmental cleanup to the people, the President placed on you, as representatives of state water centers and agencies, a large measure of responsibility for making sure the public was supplied with adequate water quantity as well as quality.

As a former member of the Illinois General Assembly, I feel I have some understanding of the needs at the state level for water research and the efficient planning, development and management of local water resources that can assure such supplies. I also feel that top priority should be given to improving water resources management, particularly in metropolitan areas where increased water quantity and water quality requirements can have profound effects on water resources management and on enhancement of the environment.

The Office of Water Resources Research has prepared a plan for research in the urban environment to be reviewed by a panel of technical experts. This program, once approved, will provide increased cooperation and coordination among Federal agencies, and between the Federal sector and State and local governments as well as academic and other research organizations.

Thus, we have taken positive steps to improve our knowledge and understanding of urban water problems through research and to relate research findings meaningfully to decision-making and to technological improvements.

Many of today's water problems are really people problems. Man, it has been said, is Nature's only mistake. Let us look at what he has done.

The Mississippi is congested with 5 cubic miles of soil each year, a mammoth waste of farmland in a starving world. Lake Erie is on the verge of becoming septic; New York City suffers from water shortages while the Hudson flows foully past; salt water encroaches in the Delaware; floods alternate with drought, the fruits of two centuries of land mismanagement.

The Potomac River and its estuary flows through the heart of the Washington metropolitan area virtually unused. The summer weekend exodus to the ocean resorts, despite the frustrations and delay, symbolizes man's biological need to retain some contact with nature.

Yet man can use his rivers, lakes, shorelines, and waterways to enhance rather than detract from his enjoyment of urban life. Water, managed well, can make our cities more hospitable, more enjoyable, and contribute to our sense of well being.

A number of programs, such as those in Chicago and Cleveland, propose partitioning and restoring beaches to make them safe for use. Water-based recreation plans may include the locating of reservoirs close to central city areas for use by nearby residents, as we are planning at Kingman Lake in Washington.

Outstanding examples of how urban waterfronts can be restored to give visual access and lift the spirits of urban residents are the Corpus Christi bayfront and the Charles River in Boston.

But, you know and I know that because of the nature of water itself there are no instant solutions to our water problems. One of your colleagues, Robert L. Smith, stated the difficulty quite clearly when he wrote that the American public has become most conscious of water management problems—mainly because of the migratory nature of water and its capacity to fulfill and satisfy such a diverse pattern of wants.

Each of these wants is related to the social desires and economic needs of one or more

individuals, private corporations, or political units, he stated. "Now there are some who will quarrel with the contention that recognition of these two characteristics—migratory nature and diverse utility—is fundamental to understanding our water management problems. But the first is adequately documented in the laws of nature, and the second is continually observed in contemporary America."

"Each individual assigns a different relative value scale to the various water uses, but everyone desires it for one or more purposes. The significance of this situation can be simply stated. The world of water is inherently full of conflict—conflict between man and nature, conflict between political jurisdictions, conflict between users, and conflict between social value judgments which of themselves are biased by personal needs and wants."

If I were to carry a placard at the upcoming "environmental teach-ins," my placard would bear the slogan, "Water is Deep." I trust and hope that you, the leaders in the field of water resources research planning and management, will reassert that leadership in the coming decade and will insist that there must be presentation and representation by all interests; that there be reasoned intellectual discussion, and reconciliation of legitimate differences in points of view.

Give us an unpolluted intellectual environment and we can advance more rapidly toward the goal of an unpolluted physical environment.

One of our most difficult problems in planning our water needs in this country is that the pattern of population growth is far from uniform. Although the total U.S. population increased by 18 percent between 1950 and 1960, more than half the nation's counties actually lost inhabitants during those years.

The U.S. population has been migrating West and, to a lesser extent, South. In 1940, only 11 percent of the population lived in the Far West and Rocky Mountain states. By 1965, 16 percent did; by 1985 the Census Bureau expects about 19 percent will live there. Most of the increase of the 15 to 20 million inhabitants expected in the West will be added to a single state—California. As you know, California is already experiencing severe water problems.

Even more conspicuous, though, will be the continuing urbanization of the Nation's population. One hundred years ago, about a quarter of the U.S. population lived in cities and towns of more than 2,500 people. By 1900, 40 percent lived in localities of that size, and by the end of World War I, the percentage had passed 50 percent.

Today the percentage has climbed to more than 70 percent, or 140 million people. They live on less than 2 percent of the land—land that is covered by cities, towns, or suburbs. Of these urban dwellers, more than 40 percent live in the 28 metropolitan areas that contain more than 1 million inhabitants each. By the year 2000, these areas are expected to house 80 to 90 percent of all the people in this country.

The greatest urban growth has not been in the central core of the cities, however, but in the sprawling suburbs around them. Since 1960, the suburbs have grown seven times faster than the central cities, and since 1965, the number of people living in suburban communities has exceeded the number living in cities.

What this means is that in the immediate future urbanization will place ever greater demands on the Nation's water resources. It has been estimated that average annual total expenditures by local governments on urban water resources will be on the order of \$12 billion or more annually through 1980.

The preceding statistics serve to underline the magnitude of the problem faced by those who will be responsible for providing the

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

essential water related facilities to the growing urban complexes. That problem has been aggravated by the long time neglect of research on many aspects of urban water. The deliberate and systematic study of urban water problems is an immediate necessity if future crises resulting from inadequate management of water resources are to be averted.

Before turning to the subject of improving water management in the urban environment, I would like to define what we mean by management and identify the kinds of water management problems our cities face today.

The term, water management, eludes precise definition. One might say water management seeks "a rational basis for choice and a maximum of flexibility to cope with changes in the services demanded and in the priority that society accords them." This implies a continuing assessment of the hydrologic and social environments and the application of this knowledge in a setting conducive to flexibility in choice of alternatives for action.

In Layman's language, however, I think we could say management is the art of manipulating the water resources for the public good. Whatever definition we accept, metropolitan water resources management exists more as a concept than as implemented policy. This is so because metropolitan planning and management in general, despite the growth of planning commissions nationwide, have not received wide acceptance. A water management plan cannot be an entity in itself. It must be part of the overall metropolitan plan for development and management.

Effective coordinated water management at the metropolitan level has not been the general rule, possibly because by tradition, management has looked upon the urban water problem solely as one of water supply and distribution, waste water disposal and storm drainage. Seldom do municipal water supply and waste treatment agencies play any direct role in such water functions as flood control or recreation use, or water front development.

Moreover, realistic water resources planning is commonly thwarted because of non-engineering restraints of a legal, political, jurisdictional, or administrative origin. For most metropolitan areas, the prevailing pattern has been described as a patchwork of numerous, independent agencies providing water and sewage services to municipalities or groups of municipalities within the urban complex.

The result is bound to be a heightening of conflict. As population density increases, water management and pollution problems will intensify. Demand for water for municipal, industrial, recreational, and agricultural uses will increase. The uncontrolled expansion and growth of urban areas will then have serious consequences with regard to our wetlands, estuaries, flood plains, and watersheds.

The water resources research planner and manager will be expected to develop means to satisfy fairly the diverse needs of all who have legitimate claim to the water resource. The decision-maker will have to be provided the data, the methodology, and the formulae which will allow him to achieve an effective solution. Public involvement in the decision making process will increase and there will be those whose emotional involvement in the issues will shadow and cloud their reason.

Improvement in water management in the urban environment, however, can be expanded significantly by imaginative research. Indeed, research is part of management. Here are some examples of current or recently-completed OWRR-sponsored research to show you what I mean.

A study of urban water politics and decisionmaking in the Detroit metropolitan area suggests that political and institutional

factors are restricting the development of a regional system in an area keenly protective of local autonomy. These factors are more significant than economic or social considerations, or projected business, industrial and residential demands.

In the Las Vegas Valley of southern Nevada, one of the fastest growing urban areas of the United States, progress is being made on how best to organize an urban oriented population for optimum water management and distribution.

At Cornell University, mathematical planning models are being structured for defining alternative designs and policies for municipal and regional water resources systems. This includes supply, distribution, urban runoff collection, storage and treatment facilities.

The American Society of Civil Engineers is assisting OWRR in outlining and developing a national program of urban water resources research. A final report for the first project year comprises nearly 700 pages.

And research at George Washington University is underway to assess the past performance of water agencies in metropolitan Washington, D.C., with a view toward recommending improvements.

In summing up, I believe we would all agree that water management is a key element in efficient utilization of our water resources and that planning and management assume even greater importance in the framework of the urban complex.

Let us welcome the newcomers who will labor and sweat for a higher quality environment. Their views, insights, and perspectives are the ingredients which could produce totally new concepts in the water resources field.

I welcome heightened public awareness and involvement in environmental quality problems, but there is one small lingering uncertainty that troubles me. I do not want to see an issue as important as this one become a fad or a sophist symbol of protest for the sake of protest—or to see protest on the basis of half-truths, faulty intelligence, or misunderstanding of the issues involved.

Let us not be sidetracked from our goal of a higher quality of life by those who would contribute little to the attainment of those goals, but would rather polarize the issues and prevent public understanding of alternative choices.

We welcome the teach-in, and with it the stimuli of searching inquiry. But all of us have the responsibility to convey to the public the real issues involved.

EULOGY OF REPRESENTATIVE ROTENKOWSKI'S LATE FATHER HON. JOSEPH P. ROTENKOWSKI

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, "What greater ornament to a son," wrote Sophocles of old, "than a father's glory, or to a father than a son's honorable conduct?" These words come inevitably to mind in reflecting on the passing of a dear friend and my distinguished colleague's beloved father. In sharing his sense of loss, we also share his pride in all that his father embodied—the triumph of the Polish people through so many centuries of oppression and tyranny. The millions of Poles who have come to these shores—as early as the

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settlement of Jamestown in 1607—have contributed immeasurably to the upbuilding of American life in every area of endeavor. We are stronger as a Nation because of their presence.

In his sorrow at this time, my colleague will surely find consolation and inspiration in the awareness of his father's life and character. Folk wisdom through the ages has captured the meaning of those precious ties which bind father to son in every generation, "Like father, like son," we read—and again, "Patrius est filius," "he is his father's son." It is no small privilege to carry into public and private life those qualities and values which have been inextricably associated with the Polish people—their deep religious faith, their love of family and home, their inextinguishable courage, their fierce passion for liberty. As sons of all our common Father, may we look to our earthly fathers with gratitude and pride, trusting that in the conduct of our lives we, in turn, may honor them. I do not doubt that my colleague is strengthened today by the knowledge of his father's genuine pride in the honorable achievements of his son in service to America within this great deliberative body. To him and to all of his family, Mrs. Kluczynski and I extend our deepest sympathy in their loss.

KOSCIUSZKO—HERO OF TWO WORLDS

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting that all of us who love liberty and freedom so much should pause for a moment on this, the 224th anniversary of Kosciuszko's birth to remember this great Polish patriot. Kosciuszko was born on February 12, 1746, the same day that we honor the memory of a great American President, Abraham Lincoln.

Tadeusz Kosciuszko, with a name difficult for most Americans to pronounce, and born in the village of Mereczowszczyzna, even more unpronounceable, came to America on borrowed money. With no recommendations except his military engineering background and humble personality, he offered his services to fight for the American cause. On October 18, 1776, Kosciuszko was appointed colonel of engineers and served until the American cause was won.

Kosciuszko is best remembered for his engineering skill in erecting the fortifications at West Point and, after the war, recommending the present location for the establishment of the U.S. Military Academy. Military historians also named him "the Father of the American Artillery" for his publication of the first effective system for the organization of the American artillery.

On the site of West Point stands a commemorative statue of Tadeusz Kosciuszko and a tribute "to the hero of two worlds."

The garden that Kosciuszko started

while working on the fortifications at West Point during the Revolutionary War days has recently been reconstructed as a project of the Polish community.

Returning to his native Poland, Kosciuszko was commissioned a major general and with an army of peasants armed with scythes fought against the well-organized and equipped Russian forces during Poland's insurrection of 1794. Critically wounded, he was captured and imprisoned in Russia. Gaining his freedom after the death of Catherine the Great, he visited America and received a hero's welcome in Philadelphia.

Before his final departure from American soil, Kosciuszko left a document with his friend, Thomas Jefferson. It was his last will and testament, dated May 5, 1798, directing that his American property be used to purchase freedom for Negro slaves and to provide for their education.

Kosciuszko died in Switzerland on October 15, 1817. After Poland regained her freedom, his body was laid to rest among Poland's greats on Wawel Hill in Krakow. Outside the walls of the city a mound of earth was piled up as a memorial, earth taken from the battlefields where Kosciuszko had defended freedom. This earth was carried by handfuls, in baskets, and wheelbarrows by men, women, and children.

Not only to the Poles of Poland, but also to the millions of Poles and Americans of Polish descent and extraction, Kosciuszko is a source of pride, a hero, and a symbol; a source of pride because he was a democrat of the new world variety, a hero, because he forever made it possible for the growing generations of Polish-Americans to feel that they did not come empty-handed to the blessings of American freedom, that while that freedom was being won by those whose ancestors came in the *Mayflower*, there was a Kosciuszko helping them; a symbol of the link between their new country, the United States of America, and the country of their forefathers, Poland.

Kosciuszko's life was that of honorable achievement, and his name has lived through two centuries, is synonymous with freedom in two countries, and will continue for generations to come to inspire free men everywhere.

#### THE NCAA IS NOT A SECRET ORGANIZATION

#### HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. ANDREWS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in recent days there have been news reports and some discussion in this body about the National Collegiate Athletic Association's actions against Yale University for participation by its athletes in certain events of the Maccabiah games, held last summer in Israel.

Surely some disagreement with the decision within and without the NCAA is to be expected, and disagreements between the NCAA and the Amateur

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Athletic Union will find supporters and opponents of both organizations.

Such disagreement with the sanctions imposed by the NCAA hardly represents a sound basis for a congressional investigation. Before any such suggestion is seriously considered, I feel it appropriate that certain facts about this organization be given. This is not secret information, but then neither is the NCAA a secret organization.

First, the NCAA is a voluntary organization with 670 member institutions. All of these institutions have voting rights.

Second, all records of the organization are public, and these records are printed and distributed.

Finally, the college president of each member institution designates who has the right to vote for the college.

#### LEGISLATION ON TEACHING ETHICAL AND MORAL VALUES

#### HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, there is a great need in America today for broad instruction in the development of man's moral and ethical values. Such a program can be developed in the elementary and secondary schools of our Nation and the Federal Government can give stimulus to this through the grant procedure.

I have introduced legislation, H.R. 12339, to accomplish this. It has 35 co-sponsors and is pending in the House Committee on Education and Labor. The co-sponsors are:

Mr. ADAIR, Mr. BARING, Mr. BEVILL, Mr. BROCK, Mr. BUCHANAN, Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania, Mr. CARTER, Mr. CHAPPELL, Mr. CORBETT, Mr. DANIEL of Virginia, Mr. DENT, Mr. DUNCAN, Mr. FASCCELL, Mr. FISHER, Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania, Mr. FUQUA, Mr. GIBBONS, Mr. GRAY, Mrs. GREEN of Oregon, Mr. HALEY, Mr. ICHORD, Mr. KING, Mr. KUYKENDALL, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. LUKENS, Mr. MADDEN, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. RARICK, Mr. RIVERS, Mr. ROGERS of Florida, Mr. SIKES, Mr. UTT, Mr. WHITEHURST, and Mr. YATRON.

The teaching of ethics and instruction in moral values are a proper function of our schools, especially in view of recent Supreme Court rulings prohibiting prayer and Bible reading in public schools. Educational programs of this nature and textbooks for such have already been developed in some school systems in the Nation.

The curriculum and academic instruction in morals and ethics could take the form of assembly programs or individual classes. Lessons on courage, heroism, and good works developed from actual stories and biographies of great men and women could be the teaching avenue.

Programs on the growth of the freedom of worship—how it became part of our Constitution; on patriotism—how brave men fought to preserve our freedom; on good citizenship—why it is important to obey the law and on the objective history of religion which the Supreme Court has approved, could all be topics of classroom discussion."

brave men fought to preserve our freedom; on good citizenship—why it is important to obey the law and on the objective history of religion, which the Supreme Court has approved, could all be topics of classroom discussion.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover has said that we have as a society failed our youth by failing "to teach them the meaning of discipline, restraint, self-respect, and respect for law and order and the rights of others." The teaching of moral and ethical standards belongs in the home, church, and school.

The juvenile crime rate is growing at a much faster rate than the overall crime rate and this is an indication of failure to teach our children the difference between good and bad. The latest figures show that arrests of juveniles for serious crimes increased 78 percent in 1968 over 1960, while the population in the juvenile age group, 10 to 17, increased only 25 percent.

If we are to reverse the rising crime rate, costing the nation \$27 billion annually, then we must concentrate on the problem where it hurts the most: Our young people.

The legislation we have introduced will attack the problem at the root and through strong classroom teaching of moral and ethical values our young people will be better able to cope with the challenge of right and wrong.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD an editorial from the Orlando, Fla., Sentinel on this bill and a copy of the bill:

[From the Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel, Dec. 28, 1969]

#### TEACHING ETHICS, MORALS

One of the reasons for the rapid increase in juvenile crime may well be the lack of emphasis on moral and ethical values, in the opinion of Florida Congr. Charles E. Bennett.

He points to the 50 percent increase in juvenile crime in 1967 over 1960 and to the nation's \$27 billion annual crime bill as reasons to try to reverse the trend.

He proposes a federal program to stimulate the teaching of morals and ethics in elementary and secondary schools, commenting:

"The teaching of ethics and instruction in moral values are a proper function of our schools, especially in view of recent Supreme Court rulings prohibiting prayer and Bible readings in public schools.

"The curriculum and academic instruction in morals and ethics could take the form of assembly programs or individual classes. Lessons on courage, heroism and good works developed from actual stories and biographies of great men and women could be the teaching avenue.

"Programs on the growth of the freedom of worship—how it became part of our Constitution; on patriotism—how brave men fought to preserve our freedom; on good citizenship—why it is important to obey the law and on the objective history of religion which the Supreme Court has approved, could all be topics of classroom discussion."

Bennett received surprisingly good response from his colleagues to his idea. When he introduced his bill to accomplish his goals (H.R. 15336) he had 23 cosponsors.

Principles such as Bennett wants taught in the schools used to be emphasized in the classroom as well as in the home but we seem to have gotten away from all that. We have lost touch with the pioneers and what they had to overcome. We have lost touch

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

with those whose acts of valor made this a free country and has kept it that way.

We need to be retaught.

H.R. 12339

A bill to provide Federal grants to assist elementary and secondary schools to carry on programs to teach moral and ethical principles

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.* That title VIII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

**"GRANTS FOR TEACHING MORAL AND ETHICAL PRINCIPLES"**

"SEC. 807. (a) The Commissioner shall make grants to State educational agencies to assist them in establishing and carrying out programs under which students attending public elementary and secondary schools will be provided instruction in moral and ethical principles. The content and nature of such instruction shall conform to general standards prescribed by such State agencies.

"(b) For the purpose of carrying out this section, there is authorized to be appropriated \$5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1970, and each of the two succeeding fiscal years."

Sec. 2. Section 804 of such Act is amended by inserting after "this Act" the following: "(other than section 807)".

**THE NIGERIAN CRISIS**

**HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, it goes without saying that we are all concerned about the crisis in Nigeria. As witnesses to the tragic suffering from the now-ended civil war we can hope and pray that the toll of human lives will soon be brought to an end. In the spirit of helping end this tragic loss of life a number of Members from the House and Senate have today issued the following statement with specific recommendations for effectively bringing relief to that war-torn nation:

**STATEMENT ON THE NIGERIAN CRISIS,**  
FEBRUARY 10, 1970

We are appalled by the dimensions of the potential tragedy in the former Eastern Region of Nigeria. Initial reports from the territory liberated by the surrender are contradictory. United Nations Secretary General U Thant painted an optimistic picture, while the United Nations representative in Nigeria later gave a much more somber reading on the relief situation. Press dispatches give very disturbing accounts, while the Nigerian government remains optimistic.

We understand from the report of Dr. Western, who recently visited the enclave, that 10,500 tons of food are needed weekly. During the Senate Subcommittee on Refugee hearings, it was stated that only 140 tons of food had gotten in during the first week and one-half after the end of the war. From our knowledge of the relief problem in the past and from the testimony of Drs. Taylor and Western, it is clear that the need for relief is immediate and desperate.

President Nixon has made an unequivocal commitment to provide aid to insure that the needs of all Nigerians are met. Nonetheless, confusion surrounds the existing relief conditions and there are indications of widespread and desperate need for food. We there-

fore call upon the President to use the full power of his office to insure that food be gotten into the areas of need without delay.

To this end we call upon the President to:

(1) Continue the presence of expert observers in the area of need to update and present reliable information which is an indispensable basis for action.

(2) Present to the Nigerian Government all the information at our disposal respecting the present situation. We feel that the information gathered by experts would be useful to the Nigerian Government.

(3) Convey to the Nigerian Government our feeling that the food crisis can be eased immensely by utilizing individuals and agencies experienced in handling similar emergencies throughout the world.

(4) Convey to the Nigerian Government the President's informed opinion that the best way of meeting the crisis would be to open an airfield in the area of need immediately. Alternatively, supplies could be air dropped. Poor ground transportation makes an air lift essential.

(5) Emphasize to General Gowen that he has a unique opportunity for promoting life and for fostering Nigerian unity. The next few days will determine whether the Nigerian Government goes down in history as one of the great humanitarian governments of the world or whether that government will carry with it for generations the stigma of having lost thousands of its citizens through insufficient action. The possibility is there too for the government to show the people of this devastated area that they are welcome members of the Nigerian community.

We realize that the Nigerian Government has full sovereignty over its territory. But the imminent tragedy is a human one, and we must do all we can to insure that the human needs of all Nigerians are met.

Senators BIRCH BAYH, FRANK CHURCH, ALAN CRANSTON, PHILIP A. HART, HAROLD E. HUGHES, DANIEL K. INOUYE, GEORGE McGOVERN, WALTER F. MONDALE, JOSEPH M. MONTAÑA.

Representatives JOSEPH P. ADDABBO, GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., DANIEL E. BUTTON, SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, DON EDWARDS, LEONARD FARBSTEIN, JACOB H. GILBERT, JAMES J. HOWARD.

Representatives ROBERT L. LEGGETT, ABNER J. MIKVA, PATSY T. MINK, RICHARD L. OTTINGER, WILLIAM F. RYAN, JAMES H. SCHEUER, FRANK THOMPSON, JR., CHARLES H. WILSON, EDWARD I. KOCH.

**FOOD FOR THOUGHT**

**HON. JOHN M. ZWACH**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I pointed out last week that parity had dropped one point, that the American producer now gets 75 percent of what is considered a fair price for the fruits of his labor and investment.

But still we have rising food prices in our retail stores and the consumers in general are inclined to believe that the producer is being overpaid.

The editors of our Sixth Congressional District are doing a good job in exploding this fallacy.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert another well-written editorial about food costs into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. This one was written by Curtis B. Warnke of the Wood Lake News:

February 10, 1970

**FOOD FOR THOUGHT!**

We read an extremely interesting article the other day in the *Progressive Farmer* written by C. G. Scruggs. He pointed out a number of facts about American agriculture as compared to that of other countries. Did you know for example that in Russia half the population is required to produce enough food for the other half? That in Communist China, 75% of the population is required to produce the food which offers at best bare subsistence?

In the United States on the other hand, five million farm workers produce enough food and fiber for 195 million Americans and 60 million foreign consumers. In other words, one American farm worker produces enough to feed and clothe himself and almost 50 others. This achievement indeed ranks with the "Miracles" of all time. Unfortunately not enough of us are appreciative of this "Miracle", take it for granted, or make light of it. Actually we should be thankful our farm friends continue to produce such abundance for a relatively small return.

Writer Scruggs in the *Progressive Farmer* went on to point out, and we quote: "In 1900 every American family spent 40% of its disposable income on food. Today, the average family spends only 17% of its disposable income on food. In the past 20 years, average farm prices have gone down 9%. Hourly earnings of manufacturing workers have gone up 127%. Corporate dividends have gone up 251%.

In 1920, it took 4 hours and 29 minutes to buy a pound of steak, a pound of pork, a quart of milk, a dozen eggs, a dozen oranges and a 10-pound sack of potatoes.

Today, it requires only 1 hour and 30 minutes of work to purchase these same items—plus built-in maid service of frozen orange juice, frozen ready-to-cook potatoes, and other conveniences of packaging."

Certainly these facts and figures should give us all some "food for thought" in the days ahead. Contemplate what it would be like here if we needed 75% of our population to produce our food for example—what time would we have for leisure, luxury, etc? Very little, would be our guess—think about it!

**THE COST AND EFFICIENCY OF MEDICAL CARE IN THE UNITED STATES**

**HON. WILLIAM A. BARRETT**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the soaring, runaway cost of medical and health care in the United States today. We also have reason of late to question the efficiency of the methods and services providing that care. Recently, the very able director of the AFL-CIO department of legislation, Andrew J. Biemiller, made a speech before the Philadelphia Medical Society at the installation of its new president, Dr. Jonathan Rhoads, addressing his remarks to these vital matters. His comments were evidently thoughtful and critical, and merit consideration, for they were the subject of a news story and editorial in the Philadelphia Inquirer. These comments should be pondered by every Member of the Congress and I would like to include his speech in the RECORD:

## THE COST AND EFFICIENCY OF MEDICAL CARE IN THE UNITED STATES

(By Andrew J. Biemiller)

Ladies and Gentlemen: Let me start with two things I am sure we agree on. The President of the Philadelphia Medical Society is a fine gentleman and I say that from a long family acquaintanceship. I am sure you agree—after all you elected him.

Second, I am sure we agree that Americans deserve the very best in medical care and that making American health care Number One in the world can be our common goal.

Let me first of all cite my own credentials as a partisan in this cause.

I have been in the center of the fight for national health insurance and improvements in the quality and quantity of medical care for over 30 years. In 1937 I introduced in the Wisconsin Legislature a state health insurance bill which became the model for the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, introduced in Congress in the early 40's. When I came to Congress I joined as a sponsor of that bill and served on the House Committee which held extensive hearings on the measure in 1949. The bill died in Committee.

A section of that bill, which would have authorized extensive grants for the improvement and enlargement of medical schools, nursing schools and other schools graduating health personnel, was introduced jointly by Senator Robert A. Taft and myself. Sen. Taft passed the bill in the Senate. With the help of Senator Hugh Scott, then a Philadelphia Congressman, I got the bill out of committee only to see it die in the Rules Committee, then a burial ground for progressive legislation. Let me add—Senators Taft and Scott carried the banner of the Republican party. I was a Democratic Congressman from Wisconsin. So this was clearly bi-partisan. And, if that bill had passed, we would not have the serious shortages of medical personnel which persist today.

All of this legislation was fought bitterly and blindly by the American Medical Association. However, the AMA's influence in the Congress began to wane with the passage of the Disability Amendments to the Social Security law, which the AMA fought. With the passage of Medicare, which the AMA fought to the bitter end, its influence became less and less. We are now awaiting the role the AMA will play in the legislation needed so badly today. We do not believe the American people will brook further delay in the passage of national health insurance legislation and we hope the AMA will proceed from that premise and avoid its traditional role of absolute opposition to the new day that is here.

Now let me state the AFL-CIO's interest in health care. We are not doctors and do not pretend to be. President Meany expressed it this way just a few weeks ago:

"We are perfectly willing to leave the treatment of illness to members of the medical profession. That's their business. That's what they're trained to do—for long years and usually at considerable expense.

"While we think medical treatment is the doctor's business, the health of Americans is the nation's business. And, more specifically, the health of workers is a major concern of the trade union movement."

Our members have to pay to get well, to stay well and to keep from becoming ill, if at all possible.

Our interest is no more complicated than this.

Current discussion focuses on the health care delivery system, in general, and the mal-distribution of medical manpower and medical and health facilities, in particular. Along with these, there is obvious and quite valid concern over the cost of care.

Furthermore, we believe you doctors ought to have the opportunity to practice medicine to the fullest extent of your abilities and

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

dedication. We believe you ought to have maximum opportunity to make the quality of health care in this country the very best in the world. For we are concerned about quality, too. After all, it is our bodies, our health and our lives that you are dealing with.

We read about and marvel at Manhattan's Lenox Hill pediatric cardiology unit; Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center's neurological magnetic probe; Harvard's knifeless brain surgery with a proton gun; and Dr. DeBakey's brilliant heart transplants.

Yet, millions of Americans do not get adequate care or have access to the best care and facilities available. The best in technology and research is concentrated in a few large cities and university connected hospitals. In the hinterlands, many hospitals cannot provide specialized pediatric facilities at all. Others were built and equipped years ago, and have not been able to install expensive modern, sophisticated equipment.

Modern medical technology is also wastefully duplicated in some areas.

Down in Miami, the Veterans Administration hospital has a \$100,000 linear accelerator for radiation treatment of cancer. Not far away, Cedars of Lebanon Hospital is installing its own. Neither will be used at any where near capacity.

Out in Los Angeles, at what Time Magazine has called "hospital corners," four cobalt radiation units for cancer treatment are installed, where one or two could efficiently serve the hospitals of the area.

We also see a shortage of doctors and medical personnel. We see lots of city doctors but few country doctors. In New York City, each 100,000 residents is served by over 200 physicians.

While it is bad enough that Mississippi has only 69 doctors per 100,000 residents, in the ghetto and poverty areas of New York City, the ratio is only 10 to each 100,000 residents.

Uneven geographical distribution of doctors—and I use geographical not only as between states but as between silk stocking and slum areas—is just one sign of the doctor shortage. According to the National Advisory Commission on Health Manpower Report, during the 1955-65 decade, the number of physicians increased 22 percent—compared with a population increase of 17 percent. However, there was only a 12 percent increase in the number of new doctors who went into private practice as M.D.'s or osteopaths.

The Professional Health Services Act of 1963 and the Allied Health Professions Act of 1965 undoubtedly have begun to help close the gap. But the fact remains, at a time when the demand for medical care is growing rapidly, specialization is reducing the number of doctors available for general practice and direct patient care.

We feel the effects of maldistribution of doctors and the shortage in a number of ways. Curtailment of house calls, difficulty in obtaining appointments, long waits in crowded waiting rooms, rushed and harassed doctors, and nighttime or weekend trips to hospital emergency rooms for routine treatment and services by doctors we've never seen or known before, personalizes the problem for us in annoying, time consuming and expensive fashion.

Then we look at health care costs and, "Wow!"

Let's look at it statistically.

Per capita health expenditures rose 11 percent in fiscal 1969 over fiscal 1968.

Payments for hospital services increased 17 percent.

Payments for physicians' services went up 9 percent.

These are the figures for the latest year. The picture for last 10 years is much more graphic. The cost of living rose about 25 percent. Hospital daily service charges shot up

150 percent. Physicians fees climbed nearly 50 percent.

There are three points to be made about these increases. First, they can't be blamed entirely on Medicare and Medicaid.

In mid-1966, when these programs went into effect—and the AFL-CIO proudly played a leading and vital role in their enactment—the price of medical care was already climbing twice as fast as the Consumer Price Index. But medical care costs shot up even more after their enactment.

Second, we in labor resent and reject the argument that skyrocketing hospital costs can be blamed on wage increases for hospital employees and workers. We make no apologies for our efforts to bring low-wage hospital employees under the minimum wage law. Nor are we defensive about organizing hospital workers. It is our duty to increase their wages and better their working conditions whenever and wherever possible.

According to the American Hospital Association, the daily expense of Community hospitals went up by 59 percent from 1963 to 1968, while average annual salaries of employees in these hospitals rose 35 percent.

So increasing substandard wages to minimum wage levels or even a little higher, does not explain the tremendous increase in hospital rates.

The third point concerns physicians' fees.

We believe doctors deserve an income commensurate with their talents and their services. We don't object to this. How could we? In the labor movement, we try to obtain decent incomes for as many people as possible on much the same basis.

But as we see it, this does not excuse some, or even a few doctors, taking advantage of their unique position to arbitrarily charge excessive fees for their services.

Victor R. Fuchs, an outstanding health economist and vice-president of the National Bureau of Economic Research, sums up the price of health care this way: "Almost nowhere else in the economy do technologists have as much control over demand." He says control by the military of the defense budget in time of war is the only parallel.

Nowhere was the presence of unfettered fee increases and the absence of control over them more clearly evident than in the case of Medicaid, and this applies to Medicare and insurance companies and hospitals as well. Before Medicaid, doctors were either getting nothing at all or whatever the traffic would bear from the patients covered by the program. But some doctors and health practitioners seized upon Medicaid and Medicare as get-rich-quick schemes.

Of course I know you're not responsible. I know that most doctors have the best of motives. But in pro football, when a player gets charged with clipping, his team is penalized. And if the clip was intentional or unnecessary, he gets fined by his own team. So, while we are not against doctors making money, we think when they get caught clipping, the penalty ought to be more than 15 yards and loss of the down.

Inflationary medical and health care costs are also reflected in the nation's total expenditures for these services. In the last fiscal year they totaled \$60.3 billion—nearly 7 percent of the Gross National Product and an 11.9 percent increase over the previous year. This amounts to almost \$300 a year for every man, woman and child in America.

Month-after-month, the insured—three-fourths of the population—pay premiums, which usually increase each year, then find that only one-third to one-half of the total cost of their bills are covered by their private insurance plans. The rest is out-of-pocket. This is a critical point, for too often, financial considerations, not medical considerations, determine where and how medical services are delivered, and even by whom, and who will have access to them and who won't. Private insurance financing has too

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

often forced the practice of medicine on the basis of the fine print in his insurance policy, rather than his health needs.

America spends a greater percentage of its Gross National Product for health care than any other country in the world. Yet we're not even in the top ten when we compare the major indices of adequate health standards with the other countries of the world. The rankings may vary a notch or two, but according to one recent authoritative study—

Fifteen other countries have longer average life expectancies.

In 12 other countries 10-year old females have a longer life expectancy.

In 31 other countries 10-year old males have a longer life expectancy.

In 14 other nations the infant mortality rate is less than in the U.S.

For non-whites, the poor, and city ghetto residents, the life expectancy rate is 7 years less than the average white American rate; infant mortality rates are roughly comparable to Ecuador's; and maternal mortality rates are comparable to Costa Rica's.

We find those statistics intolerable.

In medical care, we believe the United States must be No. 1. We can't settle for an Avis rental car philosophy in this field.

But we aren't No. 1. In fact, the record shows we continue to drop in the ratings, despite the new advances in science and technology.

So we look at the high cost of health care; see the concentration of doctors in suburbia and middle class areas and the dearth in rural and poor areas; the uneven distribution and often redundant availability of modern hospital facilities and our low health care rank in the world and ask, "Why?"

We believe the answer is lack of organization. America has no rational system for the delivery and financing of medical and health care.

In a very thorough and extensive critical analysis of the American health care system, in this month's issues, *Fortune* magazine stated the problem this way:

"The financial distortions, the inequities, and the managerial redundancies in the system are of a kind that no competent executive could fail to see, or would be willing to tolerate for long.

"The conversions to modern methods, and the institution of some degree of efficiency that Americans have reached in other realms, would probably effect enough saving so that good care could be brought to every American—with very little increase in costs.

"Nobody except other physicians should tell physicians how to practice medicine. But the management of medical care has become too important to leave to doctors, who are, after all, not managers to begin with."

In the labor movement, we have been trying to cope with this non-system through collective bargaining and through a few pre-paid comprehensive group health practice programs.

In the case of collective bargaining and negotiated health and welfare plans, we have, in most instances, undertaken a Sisyphean task. Time after time, we have bargained to get health benefits over the high peaks of Health and hospital costs. Each time we have been confronted with yet another steep and ascending incline in fees and charges, which roll us half way down the hill again, by the time the contract is up for renewal.

It has meant that frequently our members have been paying just as much or even more out of their own pockets, after negotiated increases for health care funds, as they were paying before.

For nearly 20 years, we have been on this treadmill, unable to overcome ever-mounting health care costs. The money has not been purchasing comprehensive health services or making our members and their families better off. It has merely been going from us and our employers and pass-

ing through third party insurance carriers into the labyrinth of interlocking referrals, specialties, clinics, laboratories, pharmacies and hospitals, each of which depends on and feeds on the other for sustenance and maintenance.

Taken in totality, it is a confusing, inefficient, often inaccessible, and always expensive piece-rate, cost-plus, unevenly distributed system. And the users pay for it all, beginning at the point of entry and continuing all the way down the line.

Blue Cross Association President Walter J. McNeerney stated the problem succinctly, when he said medical care suffers from "a serious discombobulation of the principles of the free market with no invisible hand to move resources about efficiently."

So we've looked for better alternatives. And we've found them in some places. Here in Philadelphia, we have the AFL-CIO Hospital Association, which provides group practice for approximately 35,000 public employees and members of their families.

Through the John F. Kennedy Memorial Hospital, in-patient and out-patient services are provided for our members and the surrounding community. Its success has been judged by Resident and Staff Physicians Magazine. In an informal survey of patients in Philadelphia, JFK Memorial Hospital was judged the city's best of all hospitals, in the provision of care. It was the only non-university hospital, in ten cities surveyed, to win the distinction. The runner-up, incidentally, was the hospital of the University of Pennsylvania.

Perhaps the measuring-rod plan of them all is the well known Kaiser Foundation program. It deserves close attention. It is a two million member prepaid system operating its own network of hospitals and outpatient clinics in California, Oregon and Hawaii and more recently in Denver and Cleveland.

Access to and point of entry into the System is easy. It is organized into regions, each having a large clinic housing salaried physicians of all major specialties. In the same building the patient has access to his personal physician, specialists and the whole range of technical and laboratory services. If hospitalization is necessary, there are 19 Kaiser Foundation Hospitals available, many adjoining the outpatient clinic.

The Kaiser program covers preventive care and physical examinations, as well as the usual range of services.

In a typical plan of the Sacramento-San Francisco area, *Fortune* Magazine reports that a subscriber with two or more dependents pays \$35.40 a month. It covers all professional services in the doctor's office, all X-ray and laboratory services, and professional services in the hospital, including surgery and hospital care for up to 111 days per person in a calendar year. It also includes professional service in the home.

How can Kaiser successfully operate the program?

For one thing, subscribers monthly charges are set for the year and the entire program must operate on the revenue derived therefrom. If costs exceed revenue, the system must absorb them. This provides a built-in cost control factor.

However, any reduction in operating costs goes into a bonus fund shared by the doctors and the hospitals. Thus the incentive is to reduce costs and to avoid needless treatment and unnecessary hospitalization.

And Kaiser costs have been rising less than half as fast as for the nation as a whole.

Office hours are regular and turn is taken for after-hours and weekend duty.

Physicians are completely freed from administrative and business duties, thus relieved of managerial and businessman functions, so that they can do what they are trained to do—practice medicine.

The Kaiser Foundation plan stands in dis-

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tinct contrast to the manner in which most of U.S. medical and health care is now distributed.

I realize group practice plans aren't every man's answer or preference. There are variations on the theme. An outstanding one is the San Joaquin Foundation for Medical Care, in California, and emulated in 28 other counties. Unions participate in this plan too.

The Foundation is a corporation completely controlled by the County Medical Society. It sells medical services at predetermined fees and approves group policy insurance plans, assigned to subscribers on an income level basis.

Even this isn't a rigid arrangement. At least one union has directly negotiated with the Foundation for a comprehensive package of health services, fully prepaid, including preventive services.

While the business functions of the insurance program are outside the Foundation, it is responsible for policing claims. A committee of doctors reviews the claims and if it is dissatisfied with a participating doctor, he can be denied readmission into the plan. So here we have group responsibility for delivering services on a fixed budget; predetermined fees negotiated or set by the doctors within the Foundation and distributed on a fee-for-service basis; and a self-policing mechanism.

It works.

Last year, the San Joaquin Medical Foundation contracted with the State of California to provide medical services to Medicaid eligibles, and 12 months later returned \$200,000 to the State. Efficiency paid off there.

For many years the AFL-CIO has urged emulation of the Kaiser and San Joaquin plans and similar community-sponsored programs. We have always felt they would institute a badly needed competitive discipline upon the rest of the medical system, as well as deliver comprehensive health services to more people.

But the change has been too slow in coming.

The health care crisis is now. It has been with us for too many years, with too little attention being paid to it.

Let's face it—it is time for physicians to get away from being small businessmen. Over 300,000 active physicians can't act individually as independent businessmen. This is the Twentieth Century with integrated automatic analog digital computer planning systems. We who must use and need your services, are paying more and more for inefficiency and receiving deteriorating services.

We aren't happy. We won't be satisfied until you are Number One.

Along with streamlined organization of the delivery system complex, there has to be simultaneous development of a financing system which will enable all persons to enter the mainstream of health care on an equal basis and with assurance of first class care.

We believe the answer is National Health Insurance which provides that:

1. Every man, woman and child in the nation—rich or poor, working or unemployed, old or young, black or white—is eligible for the complete range of services.

2. Benefits are comprehensive, including preventive, outpatient, inpatient and rehabilitative care.

3. The program should be financed like Social Security, with payments by employees at about the presently scheduled Medicare rate, with the Federal government and employers splitting the remaining cost. The self-employed would pay as they do now under Social Security. The program would absorb Medicare and Medicaid. With these provisions, for the first time we would have equal rights to health care, regardless of income.

4. The national health insurance program should contract for all medical services on a prepayment basis. Eligible contractors would

include medical and dental societies, hospitals and multi-specialty groups. All should be paid on a per capita basis but how each contractor distributed the funds it received to its own constituents would be strictly an internal matter.

5. National health insurance should enhance, not contract, the freedoms of patients and doctors alike. Patients should have free choice of physicians and free choice of health delivery systems. Participation by physicians could be voluntary. If they did choose to participate there should be no interference whatsoever with their clinical practice of medicine. Solo practitioners could contract to provide services on the same per capita basis as medical societies or groups. However, if the program is properly organized, doctors who were members of medical societies or multi-specialty groups, would be free of all paper work and administrative and managerial functions. They would be free to devote all their attention to the prevention and treatment of illness. After all, that is what doctors have been trained to do. That is how, in the finest traditions of their profession, physicians can make their greatest contribution to the welfare of their fellowman.

6. A principal aim of the program should be improvement of the organization and delivery of health care. Therefore, financial assistance should be provided for planning, developing and initial staffing of comprehensive health delivery systems.

Some of course, will ask: Can we afford national health insurance?

To us, the answer is simple: We can't afford not to have it.

The time has come to make health care a matter of right as well as a privilege. The time has come to make American health care the best in the world.

We can change the system with benefit for all parties—doctors, patients and hospitals. And we'd like to see the medical profession join with us in the fight to help bring it about.

#### REASON—NOT "RULINGS"—CAN BRING RACIAL PEACE

#### HON. TOM S. GETTYS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. GETTYS. Mr. Speaker, I take the liberty of including for my colleagues' attention an excellent editorial by David Lawrence in the February 16 issue of *U.S. News & World Report*.

I commend this thought-provoking article to our careful consideration:

REASON—NOT "RULINGS"—CAN BRING RACIAL PEACE

(By David Lawrence)

Complex legal rulings and court orders that, in effect, necessitate the busing of students, on the one hand, while a variety of statutes, on the other hand, forbid busing of children to "overcome racial imbalance," have all contributed to a crisis in America's public schools which will never be solved by the methods now being used. Quality education will not be achieved by fixing rigid quotas of teachers or pupils for certain schools in particular areas so that parents have to send their children to distant schools and teachers are chosen not on the basis of competence but by race.

"Discrimination," which used to be applied mostly against Negroes, is being inflicted upon whites, too, and slowly a spirit of resentment is developing which could bring serious outbreaks of violence in America.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

This is happening not only in the South but also in the North.

The simple truth is that community life cannot be regulated by conflicting rules and regulations that are hastily imposed and ordered enforced before a community can adjust itself to change.

Congress declared in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that the law did not empower "any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of students from one school to another or one school district to another in order to achieve such racial balance."

The Supreme Court of the United States in its 1954 decision ordered schools which had been segregated by State law to be desegregated. But it did not require integration as a compulsory step in communities where neighborhood patterns had developed naturally.

There are approximately 23,000,000 Negroes in the United States out of a population of over 200,000,000. Every spiritual influence known to man demands that human beings be treated in a civilized manner irrespective of race or color or religion. America has prided itself on what has been achieved by the power of reason in settling disputes between rival groups.

Reconciliation of the races can be accomplished in schools. But in the last several years we have pushed the clock back, and the headlines in the newspapers tell us that we have unfortunately reverted to conditions of 100 years ago in arousing bitter feeling between the races. Extremists have appeared on all sides.

One of the principal difficulties is the vagueness with which the courts have handled the whole problem of integration. Since the first important decision was rendered in 1954 requiring desegregation, there has been no clear definition of what course the schools should take to attain this.

Today there are many segregated schools outside the South—more perhaps than in the South. The explanation given is that this segregation is due to natural causes, whereas in the South it is the result of State laws which in the past have required separate schools for whites and Negroes.

It is no answer to issue a court order and fix a date by which a certain quota of each race shall attend a public school. It is no answer to assign a proportionate number of teachers of each race to all schools in a district. Teachers themselves are today unhappy and dissatisfied. Some of the best teachers are resigning their jobs and seeking other forms of employment. They do not want to become involved in the controversies.

What is needed is not only time but patience. The school problem will not be solved in a few weeks or even a few months. The courts have been mistaken in fixing deadlines.

First of all, it is necessary to proclaim definitions of what is meant by "Integration." If segregated schools have arisen because of State laws in certain localities and neighborhood patterns have been formed, it will take some time to alter such situations. In the North these are described as "natural patterns." But the people in the South see little difference because both have become established facts. The worst thing that could happen would be to have one set of rules applying in some States and another system in other States.

The responsibility for settling these disputes rests with each community. Coercion will not solve anything. The voice of reason will accomplish far more.

There are many ways by which appeals can be made to the conscience of the liberty-loving people in all parts of the country who wish to see the race issue handled on a fair and humane basis. In every State of the Union commissions of whites and Negroes

can be formed who have the respect of their fellow citizens, and who can, after study of each problem, come up with solutions to bring a steady improvement in the development of desegregated schools in accordance with the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court.

The art of conciliation is still powerful in applying the voice of reason. It can prevent violence.

#### A RATIONAL PLAN FOR COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE

#### HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, February 9, I introduced a bill to establish a national health insurance program. This legislation, designed to restructure America's health care delivery system, is needed to meet what has come to be regarded as a crisis in health care. At this time I would like to include in the RECORD a capsule description of the prepayment pilot project of the San Joaquin Foundation for Medical Care, which I referred to yesterday in my speech:

SAN JOAQUIN FOUNDATION FOR MEDICAL CARE  
PREPAYMENT PILOT PROJECT

A one-year pilot program designed to improve quality medical care for the poor throughout California was initiated February 1, 1968 by the San Joaquin Medical Society's Foundation for Medical Care through a contract with the California State Office of Health Care Services.

This unique experiment, first in California and one of the first in the United States, means the state will be buying a prepaid medical insurance program for most of its welfare recipients. This gives the State a predictable ceiling on costs for a predictable period of time.

The program, as agreed to between the two bodies, provides complete care for the permanently and totally disabled, the blind and potentially self-supporting blind, and families with dependent children. All of the claims of our 32,000 recipients flow through the Foundation. Approximately 22,000 are covered under the prepayment proposal.

San Joaquin Medical Society's four counties—San Joaquin, Amador, Calaveras, and Tuolumne—will provide the area for the experiment. Physician members of the Foundation are accepting the challenge to provide mainstream care and are assuming the risk of underwriting the costs if the costs exceed funds allocated by the State under current Medi-Cal regulations.

In other words, San Joaquin's doctors are backing their contention that an efficient and effective prepaid medical insurance program can be made to work if administered properly on a local level.

If the plan works out successfully, it may be extended to other areas of the State. The United Foundations for Medical Care, which represent Foundations in 28 California counties, recently passed a resolution calling for a similar plan of action if the San Joaquin pilot program is a success.

Unique aspects of the pilot program include the prepayment of doctors' services, the recording of all services provided to a patient on one patient profile record and the recording of all services supplied by providers of medical care on provider profile records.

The services of the following providers are reviewed in the Foundation office, payment is authorized, adjusted or denied according to medical indications, and all information

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

is collected on the patient's profile card: physicians, drugs, optometry, podiatry, dental, hearing aids, lay laboratory, chiropractic, assistive devices, nursing home, hospital, hospital outpatient, physical therapy, prosthetic and orthotic appliances, transportation, and others (psychology, special duty nursing, etc.). Computerization of statistics, patient and provider profiles is being developed in order that the program can be as transferable as possible to other areas.

Most of the clerking functions connected with the program are carried out through a separate contract between the fiscal intermediaries in California; specifically Blue Cross North and South, California Blue Shield, the State Office of Health Care Services, and the San Joaquin Foundation.

The pilot program was conceived before Medi-Cal became established and while the State was providing medical care for the aged under Kerr-Mills legislation. California's A.B. 5 (Casey) stressed the possibility of prepayment programs two years ago and A.B. 1180 (Duffy) made possible the current pilot project.

San Joaquin's Foundation for Medical Care has been a pioneer in the field of prepaid medical services for a decade and a half. It was on this basis that the State requested San Joaquin's cooperation on the pilot project. Under terms of the agreement with the State, the Foundation provides physician services to public assistance recipients receiving cash grants and residing in one of the five counties.

The Foundation verifies eligibility based on eligibility determination made by the local welfare departments. Prior authorization is also the responsibility of the Foundation and the medical consultant is a Foundation physician in private practice.

Once public assistance recipients are certified by category each month, the State pays the Foundation on a monthly basis within the framework of Medi-Cal fiscal regulations.

If the services rendered to authorized public assistance recipients by the Foundation exceeds the amount allocated by the State, then the physicians of the Foundation absorb the extra costs.

DONALD C. HARRINGTON, M.D.,  
President, Foundation for Medical Care  
of San Joaquin County.

## YOUTH QUESTIONNAIRE

## HON. KEITH G. SEBELIUS

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I would like to include the tabulation of my recent youth questionnaire which was mailed to political science and government students in every college and junior college and many large high schools in the "Big First" District of Kansas.

My office received an overwhelming response from over 1,500 students and compared the answers with the 22,500 replies we received from our adult constituency for the same questionnaire.

It should be noted that we received a 75-percent return from our youth questionnaires, five times greater than the 15-percent return from our adult constituency.

A comparison of the two groups leads one to believe that these students are better informed than their elders, less

inclined to have strong political party allegiances and more independent. Our youth today want honest answers.

I think this questionnaire shows that our young people are probably much more responsible than we give them credit for. One thing is certain, most of our young people are taking an active and constructive interest in their government.

The tabulation and comparison of the two questionnaires are as follow:

YOUTH AND CONSTITUENT QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS  
[In percent]

Questions	Constituent	Youth
1. Do you favor an increase in social security benefits this session of Congress?		
Yes.....	53	49
No.....	40	47
Undecided.....	7	4
2. Should the Federal Government try to slow down the migration from the farm to the city through tax incentives and aid to private business to help create jobs in rural areas?		
Yes.....	70	66
No.....	20	30
Undecided.....	10	4
3. Vietnam—Do you favor—		
(a) Gradual withdrawal, no reciprocity from the enemy?.....	14	23
(b) Immediate and complete withdrawal?.....	23	14
(c) President Nixon's troop replacement program contingent upon mutual withdrawal and South Vietnamese readiness?.....	36	45
(d) Increased military effort to press for a military victory?.....	19	17
Undecided.....	8	1
4. The Safeguard Missile System, do you favor—		
(a) President's proposal to deploy the system around two ICBM sites?.....	34	49
(b) Authorization of funds for research and development only?.....	23	29
(c) No funding for this system?.....	27	16
Undecided.....	16	6
5. Foreign aid, do you favor—		
(a) Reducing the foreign aid programs?.....	85	56
(b) Continuation at the same level?.....	9	34
(c) Increasing the foreign aid program?.....	1	8
Undecided.....	5	2
6. Would you favor giving judges authority to detain criminals prior to trial depending on the danger to the community involved?		
Yes.....	83	67
No.....	8	30
Undecided.....	9	3
7. The draft, do you favor—		
(a) Extension of the present selective service system?.....	20	20
(b) A draft by lottery?.....	19	27
(c) A volunteer career military service?.....	50	50
Undecided.....	11	3
8. Do you favor legislation which would convert the Post Office Department into a Government-owned corporation to operate on a self-supporting basis?		
Yes.....	62	40
No.....	26	55
Undecided.....	12	5
9. Farm legislation, do you favor—		
(a) Continuation of the present program?.....	10	21
(b) Continuation of the present program but with voluntary but permanent land retirement?.....	10	12
(c) Government program for increased collective bargaining rights for the farmers?.....	15	34
(d) Gradual withdrawal of the Government from the farm picture to a market governed by supply and demand?.....	47	23
Undecided.....	18	10
10. Do you favor a bill which would limit daylight saving time to the three summer months?		
Yes.....	83	51
No.....	13	47
Undecided.....	4	2

February 10, 1970

## SAFEGUARD MISSILE SYSTEM

## HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, I expect that before too long the administration is going to request our approval for another costly expansion of the so-called Safeguard missile defense system.

Because of this likelihood I believe it important that we know the views of thinking people and community thought molders on the subject. Therefore, I include in the Record the following editorial of February 2, 1970, from a leading New Jersey newspaper, the Record of Hackensack:

## SAFEGUARDS ON SAFEGUARD

President Nixon is reported ready to seek expansion of the Safeguard missile defense system, which is deplorable. But he is also reported impressed by arguments of disarmament experts that such expansion is unwise, and he has ordered further study before any proposal is sent to Congress. And that is excellent.

It is not a matter of cost, although Mr. Nixon's emphasis on the cost of the vetoed health and education bill suggests he would not be averse to acting on that ground. The proposal is that \$900 million be spent on two Safeguard sites already approved and that \$600 million go to expansion. With the budget's paper surplus only \$1.3 billion in a total of \$200 billion, some further frugality would be welcome.

But the more important point is that expansion of the United States' missile defense system will prompt the Soviet Union and China to follow along; that will compel further United States action on the argument that is being advanced today, and so it will go.

Meanwhile both the Soviet Union and China are in deep trouble at home. Within China there is still turmoil as the Communist party tries to make Maoists of people who are desperate to make a living. In the Soviet Union there is in progress another of those tragicomic campaigns to increase workers' productivity by exhortation, spying, and abuse.

All three big nuclear powers, that is, have major domestic difficulties that could easily absorb the resources now being devoted to arms.

And as far as the United States is concerned, where would be the battlefield on which this country would fight China or the Soviet Union? President Nixon is doing excellent work in withdrawing overcommitments abroad. He wants a lower profile, as he puts it. In his State of the Union address he said:

"The nations in each part of the world should assume the primary responsibility for their own well-being; and they themselves should determine the terms of that well-being."

"We shall be faithful to our treaty commitments, but we shall reduce our involvement and our presence in other nations' affairs."

That passage comes near being opposite to a decision to expand a missile defense system that can only heighten tensions in advance of the resumption of Soviet-American disarmament talks April 16.

I am in agreement with the views expressed in the editorial. Why must we go on and on in an arms race when our

people have been led to believe by the administration that its quest is for worldwide peace? In my opinion the road to peace should not be lined with death-dealing weapons and other warlike instruments and machines.

#### ARKANSAS RIVER DEVELOPMENT CREATES NEW MARKETS

#### HON. JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, when Senators JOHN McCLELLAN and the late Bob Kerr more than a quarter of a century ago introduced the first bills to develop the Arkansas River for commercial navigation, they acted with vision, farsightedness, and faith which today are being more than justified. The hopes and dreams are turning into realities as the river is opened for navigation beyond Little Rock, upstream to Dardanelle-Russellville, and Fort Smith.

The first commercial shipment beyond Little Rock—31,000 bushels of corn to the AVI feed mill, via the Port of Dardanelle—traveled almost 1,000 miles by barge, from Peoria, on Illinois waterways, and the Mississippi and Arkansas Rivers. The poultry industry in Arkansas uses huge quantities of feed, hundreds of thousands of tons annually, and much grain must be brought in from other States for processing.

The river is becoming a stimulus for economic growth. Business and industry are taking notice.

The Journal of Commerce of January 30, 1970, contains two reports which spell out much more about the potential of Arkansas River navigation.

The articles which follow are: "River Project Spurs Mid-South Growth," and "River System Enlargement Aids Farmers." I heartily commend these reports to my colleagues.

#### RIVER PROJECT SPURS MID-SOUTH GROWTH

LITTLE ROCK.—Fort Smith, Little Rock and Pine Bluff and the lush overseas trade marts had for a long time been separated by thousands of seemingly unconquerable miles. But as the last echoes of the '60 died out, they found—for the first time—they had something in common.

Exactly on schedule on the final day of last year, the Corps of Engineers slipped a lone barge and tug into the giant Fort Smith locks linking a 1,400 mile previously-landlocked area by water with the outside world.

The massive construction rigs, now silent, had finally opened up a vast section of the mid-South to the Gulf, via the Arkansas River and the murky Mississippi, opening up an untapped potential—for interior farmers, manufacturers, and miners, as well as chemical and petro-chemical industries—that appears without limit.

#### DREAM COMES TRUE

The vast Arkansas River project, one of the largest and costliest ever undertaken by the Army Corps still has a few miles to go. It now pushes on to Tulsa, Oklahoma, where a late 1970 opening has been scheduled, pulling the plug from still another rich potential world trading area.

Completion of the river project was a dream come true for residents of the mid-

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

South and a vast trading area encompassing several nearby states. It meant that at long last they could get their products more competitively on the domestic and foreign markets by using the all-water route, and uniting, for the first time, all modes of transportation in the area into a gigantic all-purpose transportation network.

There were some who felt the Arkansas project was a waste of money; that it couldn't come even close to generating the kind of cargoes its backers forecast for it.

The river to Pine Bluff and Little Rock has been opened a little more than a year, and already its cargo accomplishments have astounded even its most ardent supporters.

By the close of 1969, the waterway had handled more than 2.5 million tons of freight, more than had been forecast for the first five years. What was even more significant was that many of the products moved in the overseas trade mainstream, including large quantities of steel and ore.

In short, the river had become a happy cargo hunting ground for even the hardened barge operators who had figured the first five years were going to be lean ones economically.

And what of the future for the Arkansas? The state's Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller feels it spells a great potential for the area. So does Arkansas Industrial director, Adrian Williamson, Jr., who sees the whole Arkansas business community backing the project and its future development with their own money if some of the planned bond projects fall.

Early this year, Little Rock, for the first time, will become an official U.S. customs entry port, which everyone predicts will mark the beginning of a profitable world trade center for this section of the mid-South.

#### MASSIVE TERMINAL

Already, massive terminal, dock installations, and plants have sprung up along the Arkansas from the bend of the river, at the Mississippi, where the winding waterway turns inland.

There is also considerable talk about soybean elevators springing up to help farmers move their stocks into the trade channels. New docks are being planned for moving raw materials in and finished products out.

State officials estimate that this year alone multi-million dollar projects for the river, including hydro-electric and atomic plants, will hit record proportions.

Col. Charles Steel, who heads the Army Corps of Engineers office here, sees great things for the Arkansas project.

Some indications of the area's trade potential can be gleaned from the value of its agricultural products alone.

The state estimates its annual agricultural productivity, based on last year's figures, at close to a billion dollars, with poultry leading the way (\$306 million); followed by soybeans (\$210 million); cotton (\$145 million); rice (\$121.822 million); and cattle and feeder calves (\$110.558 million).

#### SOYBEANS, RICE EXPORTS

They said that barge transportation is becoming increasingly important for the exports of soybeans and rice, two of the state's major farm commodities. And the possibilities of a significant increase in cattle feed lot production in Arkansas also indicates a demand for importing feed and fertilizer by barge.

One leading transportation executive pointed out that the container-protected movement of freight is bringing about changes in transportation concepts, and since the proposed multi-modal distribution center is close to the planned "landbridge" container concept, Little Rock becomes an ideal distribution point.

#### PIPELINES NOT OVERLOOKED

All of which means that while the traffic is expected to move in the direction of

the lower cost water routes, the railroads will play a major role in the over-all multimodal system.

Even the pipelines are not overlooked in the transportation picture. For example, the Houston-based Texas Eastern Pipeline, a common carrier line, passes through the port on its way to Pittsburgh. It is expected to become a major source of supply for the plastic industries.

As the guiding light on the project since its inception, Colonel Steel knows every bend in the vast project. He estimates that already over \$500 million worth of new plant investment in the state can be attributed to the river with its low cost transportation potential. Another \$30 million have been spent on port facilities, private docks and marinas.

The Federal agency he represents also is planning to spend additional money on river maintenance and some construction is still to be completed.

#### VAST POTENTIAL

Said Colonel Steel: "The vast potential of the Arkansas River project is still to come."

Meanwhile, plans are also underway to set up a major transportation complex at Little Rock which will serve as the focal point for shipments moving into the mid-South from abroad and for those for domestic river movement or for shipment in the area.

Some of the nation's largest forwarding companies are interested in the potential of the transportation center and have placed on it their stamp of approval. There are also plans for setting up a vast warehousing and container complex to go with the transportation hub.

#### BIG TIME TRANSPORTATION

"We are going to tie together all of our transportation to take advantage of the river project," said Industrial Director Williamson.

"We feel that, geographically, we have everything going for us, and that we have the potential for becoming one of the nation's biggest distributing and warehousing centers. We plan to use our assets to accomplish this," he said.

The blast of the river tugs, the booming clarions seeking out a hole in the murky fog blanketing the river, and the clash of steel being discharged on local docks, are new sounds for this historic old city. But they are welcome ones.

Instead of being annoying, they serve as daily reminders that Little Rock, Pine Bluff and Fort Smith are now in big time transportation and a whole new era in the world of trade is here.

#### RIVER SYSTEM ENLARGEMENT AIDS FARMERS

HELENA, ARK.—Mid-America farmers by year's end were jingling more money in their pockets than they've had for years. Crop returns climbed and the prospects for a bigger slice if the export market loomed large for most of them.

The extension of the Mississippi River system into the Arkansas opened up new trade vistas for them. For the first time, grain farmers found themselves in competition with their counterparts in other sections of the South. They were able to trade at home and abroad on an equal basis.

Even before the first tug and tow moved into the river, traditional land freight rates began to drop. When water transportation moved inland to Pine Bluff and Little Rock, Arkansas soybean farmers were getting a 6 cents per bushel premium on their crop. This year the hike could go even higher, making this the most highly paid of the soybean areas.

Many feel the rate drop still has not hit bottom. Some predict a rate war that could prove to be a bonanza for the interior shippers, because nobody figures the land transport companies are going to surrender their traditional cargoes without a fight.

## LUNCHEON WITH LIZ CARPENTER

## HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. PICKLE. Mr Speaker, the most refreshing woman journalist to hit the Washington scene in many years is the inimitable Liz Carpenter. She has great charm and wit and has made a deep impression on Washington and the United States.

Recently Gwen Dobson, women's editor of the Evening Star, wrote an article about Liz Carpenter, her work, and book "Ruffles and Flourishes." This article is extremely well written and captures the warmth and good heart of this lovable person and her personal glimpse into the Johnson years. The book is bound to be a best seller.

I, therefore, want my colleagues to share this informative and colorful article about the most genuinely popular news personality in America today. The article is as follows:

[From the Evening Star, Jan. 23, 1970]

## LUNCHEON WITH LIZ CARPENTER

(By Gwen Dobson)

The street where she lives is a quiet street, a cul de sac really, lined with sedate city houses.

And surprisingly, her house at the end of this street is fairly quiet.

Her maid, superb cook and experienced packer, Ruth Jackson Baker, answers the door . . . and close on her heels is the "world's greatest barker" . . . Liz Carpenter.

We settle down in comfortable chairs flanking the fireplace. And yet you never quite feel Liz is settled.

## BUSY, BUSY

The secretary is upstairs pounding out correspondence, notes and invitations . . . Mr. Peacock is up the block in a neighbor's heated garage painting the "Lizmobile", the fitted camper that will trundle through Texas trumpeting her book . . . and Ruth is cooking in the kitchen and mentally making notes of what to pack for her boss, who is flying to New York that evening.

Ruth brings champagne (Liz's favorite drink . . . on the rocks) and pate on crackers. The pate is a gift from Liz's former White House sidekick, Simone Poulain.

Liz has already tried to let us "off the hook" . . . because she fears another warmed-over Liz Carpenter piece. "What is there left to say?"

She was a newspaperwoman . . . a wife, a mother of two children, president of the Women's National Press Club, press secretary to the First Lady of the land, aide to the President and now . . . author.

Probably everyone in America knows these things. They even know of her keen wit, her gift for imagery and her laudatory lectern work.

Up close, Liz really is bigger than life.

She lives big . . . she thinks big . . . her world is big, and yet she's not too big to do the little things. She fits everything and everyone into her life. She isn't the kind of woman to drop people in her wake, rather she carries them with her.

She is a busy woman. And a happy woman. Her personal definition of happiness is "being used up."

And that's exactly what she was during her five years in the White House. Long days and late nights of work . . . big parties and little parties, and Liz and Les Carpenter didn't neglect any of them. Often in Washington, it

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

isn't who gives the party, but who accepts the invitation that "makes" the hostess or the event.

## OPTIMISM

Aside from "being used up" or even "used", Liz sees her other attributes as zest and optimism. She adds "most of my skies are blue not gray."

But how did she get that way?

Well, to start with, she's Scotch-Irish, a popular and dependable American combination.

Her home life was settled but not sedentary. She was the middle of five children. Her father built highways throughout the state . . . and her mother ran their lives.

It sounds like a good life.

The family of Mary Elizabeth Sutherland lived in a lovely old plantation-house in Salado, Tex., built by her great, great grandfather.

It was a farm and a ranch . . . "mostly sheep and goats, because the soil there is not good. But there were rolling hills and cool streams."

"It was a wonderful house . . . the kind you think of at Christmas. A place where you kept butter in the spring. It had slave quarters, which I now call equal opportunity rooms."

Her ancestors had come there from Tennessee, leaving "GTT signs on their houses . . . you know, gone to Texas."

It's probably a tossup when it comes to the pride of being an American or a Texan, but next to God, family and the Johnsons, it's fairly clear Liz loves Texas.

She speaks proudly of the "strangers' bedroom" in her family home, "in Texas, people felt that everyone was entitled to a bed, food and drink. I can't remember my mother ever turning anyone away, even during the depression."

## NO DEAF EARS

"I can't stand the thought of an anonymous world where a cry for help would go unanswered." And Liz brought that feeling with her to Washington. Her friends claim their calls for help never have fallen on deaf ears.

Luncheon with Liz is sort of like luncheon at the White House . . . once removed.

Her place mats are lovely linen; her crystal and silver gleaming and the food superb. Salad, filets of beef, spinach souffle, rice and final sherbet with champagne.

Some things you just never get over!

Luncheon, of course, is punctured by several phone calls . . . a newspaperwoman friend and the publisher, twice.

Liz never misses a beat. Just as she operated in the White House. What most people find distracting and disconcerting, doesn't faze her. She dusts these things off and comes right back to the subject.

Austin, Tex, probably fostered Liz' consuming interest in the vital and intriguing world of politics. Her family moved to a townhouse in Austin when the oldest child was ready for "the university." For the grand sum of \$25 a year, a youngster could "matriculate," and so the entire family picked up and moved.

College-age cousins came too. "There was no lock on our door. My mother's attitude was another cot-another cousin. Fortunately, our house was very flexible."

Liz says "my mother wasn't the world's greatest housekeeper." Earlier on she had referred to her own housekeeping, "I hope you won't say I'm a bad housekeeper." Then the subject abruptly switched to "managed" news.

Actually, Liz' house is not a decorated house . . . it's comfortable, convenient, efficient and filled with things that have meaning rather than things that have been selected to fit the decor.

Her "living" Christmas tree overpowers the family room, but "the ground's been too frozen to plant it."

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## LOTS OF TALK

Then we switch back to Austin. "Being the state capital and a university town, there was always lots of political talk."

Machinations and speculations along political lines still fascinate Liz Carpenter.

After her own "university" days, Liz went into the newspaper business . . . the career that equipped her well for the later high points.

But it was an early piece of advice from a managing editor that really set the pace for Liz "Remember, no story is too big for you to handle, and no story is too small." She believes that still. She gave as much zest to "drafting a speech" for the Johnsons as she did for "licking the stamp for envelopes."

"It's like eating liver. You might not like it, but you're better for it."

Like the former President, an avowed admirer of women as doers, Liz thinks nothing beats a working mother.

"Any woman who can balance a home and family against a job is a more total woman. You can change a diaper and dictate a story on deadline at the same time. You're willing to do everything."

Liz also thinks professional women work harder than men, "just to justify being a woman and having the job."

"But it all builds character, and somehow you manage."

Of her taxing role at the White House, Liz says, "only a dullard would have found it too taxing. It had laughter and some tears, but the one sustaining thing was that Lyndon Johnson thought I was better than I was. Because he thought I could, I did it."

The other sustainer during those days and since, is her husband, Les Carpenter.

## ENDURED DEMANDS

He endured the demands while Liz was press secretary, when life simply couldn't be normal or regulated.

Then that all ended . . . and along came the book. Liz warned Les she "would be difficult to live with" and his only reply was "what's new about that?"

And so . . . he proofread her copy; rubbed her shoulders; took her on little trips during her "dry" spells when words wouldn't work; and left her alone when they flowed.

Finally, the chapter, the last word, the last period and the book was completed. Then came the terrible wait.

"A time when you ask yourself is it any good. What will my friends think of it? Will they be disappointed? What will people say?"

The critical period of creativity.

But the book is out . . . off the presses and on the road . . . a road tour really, as the Johnson's chief barker does the medicine show routine on her own behalf.

Coast-to-coast Liz will "do all I can for my book and Doubleday."

And all Liz does amounts to a great deal.

## MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

## HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 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 1,100 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

## NEEDED: A MECHANISM AGAINST AGGRESSION

## HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, in the interest of avoiding future wars, declared or undeclared, it behooves the smaller nations of the world to get with the Western bloc within the United Nations to fashion a workable method of dealing with aggression—whatever the source.

The cost of Vietnam is proof that the United States cannot—nor should it—undertake unilateral defensive action, the main objective of which is to protect Southeast Asia from Communist slavery. Such a role is properly that of a world organization, not a single nation.

The United Nations should have been empowered and ready to act in this type of situation and it should now be reconstructed to have this deterrent capability should the ugly face of aggression appear again elsewhere in this world.

If the United Nations cannot be made to work effectively in the cause of preserving world peace, let us take the leadership in fashioning a new international organization that can do this, even if it means bypassing the Soviet bloc to make it workable.

Time is running out as will be seen from a reading of the following warning on isolationism written by the distinguished columnist David Lawrence in yesterday's Washington Star:

## WARNING SOUNDED ON ISOLATION

(By David Lawrence)

Is America getting ready to abandon the world to the brutishness of dictatorships and the inhumanity of despotic governments?

These were some of the challenging questions underlying former President Johnson's candid talk to the American people over CBS television last Friday night.

He told of his struggles to find a way to bring the North Vietnamese to the peace table and of his halt of the bombing of North Vietnam in a desperate attempt to impress the enemy with his sincerity of purpose.

He said Congress had given him in 1964, through the almost unanimously approved Gulf of Tonkin resolution, the power and authority to take "whatever action may be necessary to protect our forces and to prevent aggression," but he declared he didn't use that power until 1965. He then added:

"I tried to get them (the North Vietnamese) not to infiltrate. But they were determined to do one thing, and that's take over this little country. And if they take that one over, they were determined to take over others, in my judgment, just as Hitler was."

"We have an alliance—we've got 40 of them. And the American people had better stop, look and listen on this. They have supported, they have approved through their representatives more than 40 alliances which represent the word of honor of the United States. Now we either ought to get out of those alliances, tear them up and say we won't keep our word—or we ought to carry it out."

What Lyndon Johnson is putting his finger on is a mood of new isolation which is growing up in the United States that can, as in the past, cause trouble and lead to serious consequences in the world.

A committee of the Democratic Party, for

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

instance, is this very week advocating complete withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and suggesting that it be done in 18 months. The committee, which is headed by former Ambassador Averell Harriman, says in part:

"Our national interests require that the war in Vietnam be brought to a close at the earliest possible moment. The loss of life, the diversion of resources from critical domestic needs and the disunity of our country must be ended . . .

"U.S. withdrawal should not be dependent upon the progress of the Paris peace talks, the level of violence or the progress of so-called Vietnamization. It should depend wholly and exclusively upon the interests and policy of the United States."

Once the smaller nations begin to feel that the United States cannot be relied upon to uphold the rights of self-determination, a wave of fear will sweep the world. The major Communist countries will see opportunities to reach out not only in Asia but in Europe and Latin America to wield their power of subversion and aggression. Johnson, during the course of his TV talk last week, also made this observation:

"We have said from the very beginning that all of us believed that Hitler's aggression almost destroyed the world. And we believe that Communist aggression will destroy it if somebody doesn't stand up to it."

Unfortunately, the United Nations has been a failure. There are provisions in its charter which allow for international action when any nation engages in acts of aggression. The Vietnam war would never have required 550,000 American troops at any time if the U.N. had done its job. A distribution of manpower among 10 or 20 nations, with perhaps an American as military commander and a staff composed of officers from various countries, could have proved an efficient counterforce against North Vietnam's aggression.

Why hasn't this happened? Perhaps because the Soviet Union has a veto power in the Security Council. But collective action to thwart aggression can also be taken under Article 51 of the U.N. Charter.

It is time that the small nations of the world—all of which have votes in the Assembly—begin to realize that a mechanism against aggression is necessary to their survival.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

## HON. B. F. SISK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, the McClatchy newspapers of California have an outstanding record of support for the development of our natural resources and for programs to preserve a healthy environment.

In California of late, there seems to have been some tendency to forget the importance of resource development of our State. The Fresno Bee and other McClatchy papers recently editorialized on that subject and I insert that editorial in the RECORD:

[From the Fresno (Calif.) Bee, Jan. 24, 1970]

## CALIFORNIA CANNOT AFFORD TO ABANDON REASONABLE DEVELOPMENT OF RESOURCES

Water is such a precious commodity in California battles for it have been fought with guns and countless lawsuits. Hardly a session of the state legislature goes by without skirmishes involving water. Political ca-

reers have been built or broken in the process.

In the new-found zeal for protecting the state's environment this bit of history should be remembered: The development of the state's water resources has done more to improve the environment than to damage it.

Two of the most significant accomplishments in this regard are the federal government's Central Valleys Project and the state's water project.

Each represents a massive commitment of the taxpayers and water users toward improving upon nature in such a way as to benefit all citizens. They are multipurpose projects which not only provide water for growing food and supplying homes and industries, but also minimize the great, damaging floods create outdoor recreation opportunities where there were none before, improve fish life and generate electricity—the use of which is growing by leaps and bounds as the people seek a better life.

Talk of halting or abandoning such investments ignores these facts and borders on irresponsibility.

Before the federal government's Shasta and Folsom Dams were built, for instance, the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta was periodically endangered by the intrusion of salt water from the ocean. Before the state's Oroville Dam was in operation, the Feather River was a muddy stream most of the year and a destructive river the rest of the time.

Where once there was a dry expanse of the western San Joaquin Valley there now is the joint federal-state San Luis Project providing water supply and recreational and fishing resources which did not exist before.

Noting the upsurging militancy of water project opponents, William R. Gianelli, state director of water resources, recently had this sound advice:

"Our real responsibility is to take the intelligent road toward a balanced environment which will permit both the development of our resources and the protection of our environment."

This reasonable course should guide the debate over future development and use of all the state's natural resources.

## THE USE OF PESTICIDES AND INSECTICIDES

## HON. FLETCHER THOMPSON

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. THOMPSON of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, there is a great concern among Americans about the use of pesticides and insecticides. Some States have taken broad action in the field and have banned the use of certain types of pesticides entirely.

We must always be alert and aware to what the uncontrolled use of pesticides does to our environment. However, Mr. Speaker, we should never become stampeded into the promiscuous prohibition of all pesticides.

There are those who are now advocating that we return to the balance of nature's principle and forgo the use of chemical pesticides and insecticides. One of the best articles I have seen which puts reason into this discussion appeared in the Atlanta Journal, Sunday, February 8. This is by one of the most noted and most renowned horticulturists in the entire Nation, Mr. Charles Hudson. I insert the article in its entirety

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

at this point in the RECORD and compliment Mr. Hudson for a public service in preparing the article:

BALANCE THEORY HIT: LET NATURE SUBDUCE PESTS? SPRAYING, DUSTING NEEDED

(By Charles Hudson)

The month of February begins to give us a little more incentive to get out in the garden and do some needed planting, pruning and other timely chores. It is a month, too, when dormant spraying will have to be done before plants begin to leaf out. This brings up a serious and much misunderstood situation concerning the use of pesticides.

Every facet of public information has been filled with all kinds of predictions of the severe threat to human and animal life if we continue to use pesticides. Much of the material already publicized is exaggerated and without positive proof of research, but let's look at the possible situation if we do stop using pesticides on our garden plants and leave it all up to nature to handle things for us. It is the old theory of "balance of nature" that is claimed to keep our plants free of bugs, worms and diseases. But there is no balance of nature in our big urban areas as it might have been 100 years ago.

Let's look at some situations that might develop if we do stop spraying and dusting our crops and let nature take care of the pests.

First of all, our fruit trees would be completely ruined by all types of worms, wood borers and foliage and stem diseases. There would certainly be no assurance, even remotely, that our wild birds would control the insect population. We wish they could, but bird populations in urban areas are far too small to effect such a natural control. The result? Our fruit trees in a single year would become worthless, and they would die in a few more years if we left it all up to nature.

What about roses? Would nature keep our plants free of aphids, leaf hoppers, thrips, red spiders and budworms? Would nature include a remarkable cure for blackspot and mildew diseases, and in addition such troubles as stem canker, rose cane borers and other such troubles? We would have to give up rose growing in a matter of a year or two if it was all left up to nature to handle the pest control situation.

Vegetable gardening is so important in these times of extremely high food prices. If we leave it up to nature to take care of the many pests that infest our crops we would again come up with worthless crops ruined by bean beetles, corn borers, corn earworms, cucumber beetles, squash vine borers, cabbage worms, aphids and a dozen other such common insects. As much as we would like to leave it all up to nature to control these pests, let's face it; man has unbalanced nature in heavily populated urban areas to the extent that we have to use other means to make our crops productive.

Going on down the line of plants we grow in our home garden plots we would have a bleak outlook if it was left entirely up to nature to prevent pest damage to all of our ornamentals and food crops.

Some of the outstanding criticism of pesticides and herbicides is the fact that these are chemicals. I wonder if such critics realize that much of the human body is composed of chemicals, that fertilizers, organic or inorganic, are mostly chemical in nature, and that our soils and soil conditioners are mostly chemical. Soils and plants are great chemical factories converting basic elements to forms that can be utilized by plants.

Unless someone comes up with an earth-shaking new discovery of a completely non-poisonous, nonpolluting type of pest control very soon, we will be using pesticides for a long time yet to come. They are talking about producing biological changes in insects by radiation and other treatments, but

most of these are still in experimental stages and are far from being perfected to the point where everyone could use them in their gardens.

Much of the so-called pollution by garden chemicals is practically nil where home gardening is concerned. It is wide area usage and distribution by airplane dusting or spraying, and with the use of power equipment in large orchards and fields where it could possibly pollute the air and soil with overdoses of chemicals. But commercial operators are working hard to confine spray and dust applications to narrowly defined areas where crops are growing. And they are using materials with shorter residual life.

In our home gardens, many of us could be guilty of carelessness in using overdoses and in making guess measurements of pesticides. We could be guilty of spraying or dusting on windy days when pesticides are carried far beyond the small intended areas considered for treatment. Or we could just get in the habit of careless spraying without thought of household animals and birds in the garden.

Manufacturers of sprayers and dusters have perfected their apparatus to the point where materials can be confined to fairly close or small areas. Herbicides should be distributed to lawn areas by holding the spray nozzle close to the ground to concentrate weed killers on plants to be treated, not to infect all other plants nearby. Dusts should be applied on calm days so wind will not carry them to neighboring yards, lakes or streams.

As has often been told, serious troubles, and death from pesticides are far fewer than deaths caused by overdoses of aspirin and other household drugs. It's all a matter of how we use them and how to keep them safe from hands of children.

## NO-MIXING RULE LEGISLATION

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I would like to include the following newsstory from the Journal of Commerce of Friday, January 30, 1970. The item concerns the no-mixing rule legislation now pending before the Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

The newsstory follows:

## BARGE INDUSTRY FORESEES ACTION ON NO-MIXING RULE LEGISLATION

Barge industry executives expect that the "no-mixing" rule legislation will be unblocked and passed by the Congress in 1970, finally legalizing a major improvement in barge productivity which began to be effective 15 years ago.

Some final minor compromises may be necessary, but the legislation is expected to survive with mixing of regulated and non-regulated commodities approved for a single towload of barges and authorization given to require the publication of rates on all dry-bulk commodities shipped by barge, industry sources said.

"This is an idea whose time has come," J. W. Hershey, of Houston, chairman of American Commercial Lines and a principal barge line spokesman said last week. "There is no controversy over eliminating the 'no-mixing' rule. The only argument that remains is over the provision for publication of rates. When the Congress balances the public's right to know the rates that are charged against the potential for discrimina-

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tion by shippers involved in secret rates. I believe they will come out for the public's right to know what the rates are."

## TECHNOLOGICAL BREAKTHROUGH

The problem arose out of three technological break-throughs in barge transportation. Improvements in reduction gearing enabled the barge lines to buy faster running, lighter and more powerful diesel engines.

At the same time, according to L. P. Struble, executive vice president of Dravo Corporation of Pittsburgh, a pioneer designer of shallow draft equipment, the barge lines began taking full advantage of the kort nozzle, a metal shroud around the propeller which concentrated the water against the propeller blades and added some 25 per cent to the effective push or thrust of the towboat wheel underway.

A third break-through occurred, Mr. Struble said, in the steering control of a barge tow. "By strategically locating rudders forward and aft of the nozzles, the naval architects developed a towboat which had absolute steering control, forward and backward.

## ECONOMIC IMPACT

The economic impact was to triple the productivity of the towboat and enable the barge industry to maintain the same approximate level of rates they were charging in the 1920's. Indeed, as Mr. Hershey testified, average barge rates actually declined about 10 per cent between 1960 and 1969.

The barge industry hired the Stanford University Graduate School of Business to make a study of the economic impact of separating the regulated and unregulated traffic and breaking up 40,000 ton tows. The conclusion of Dr. Karl Ruppenthal of Stanford was that barge lines' total costs per ton mile would have to go up 47 per cent and that therefore would be a significant change in the rates charged by the certificated barge lines.

Asked at the hearings before the House Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics to translate these predictions of cost increases into possible rate increases, Mr. Hershey testified that shippers could expect a 10 to 15 per cent rate increase if the legislation fails.

Since nothing could be more in the public interest and particularly the consumer's interest than continuation of low freight rates, the barge industry's proposal for an amendment of the bulk exempt section of the Interstate Commerce Act, section 303(b), is highly popular. The bill went through the Senate Commerce Committee unanimously in 1967, but stuck fast in the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee for reasons having nothing to do with its merit.

## NOT ENOUGH VOTES

Congressmen told the Water Transport Association, sponsors of the bill, that there were not enough votes to get the bill out unless there could be some sort of accommodation of the railroad opposition.

The railroad industry had long sought either the complete regulation of the barge lines or the deregulation of railroads on bulk commodities. After years of struggle, they had failed to achieve either objective and testified that as a result they were under an unfair handicap in competing for dry-bulk traffic of the barge lines. They particularly objected to the fact that the barge rates were secret.

One leading railroad marketing specialist said that if he had a year's run of the rates actually charged by barge he would be able to design rate proposals to compete for the traffic. Without that knowledge, he was hopeless. Thus, the actual regulation of barge rates was not an essential to increased competition; knowledge of the charges made, however, was crucial.

Under the leadership of Representative

Samuel N. Friedel, chairman of the House Transportation and Aeronautics subcommittee, the committee put together the two main issues, the need to cure the "no mixing" problem and the need to equalize to some degree, the competition between railroads and water carriers.

The railroads didn't get everything they wanted out of the compromise. Neither did the barge lines. They had originally sought a broadening of the bulk exemption. This had been opposed as too radical by both the ICC and the truckers.

But the consumer certainly came out ahead. As a published statement by the Water Transport Association pointed out, the compromise had six basic public benefits:

"1. Continued low river rates derived from low unit costs resulting from large tows.

"2. More equitable rail-water competition and therefore additional stimulus to improved efficiencies and lower rates by both rail and water.

"3. More intelligence on what is going on in the barge transport market place. The more intelligence there is, the more effectively competition works.

"4. Less discrimination in transportation rates. Discrimination inevitably results from secret rates.

"5. A report by the ICC, based on facts never before available, which can serve as a foundation for future policy-making by the Congress after the two-year trial period provided for in the bill.

"6. Satisfaction of the public's right to know transport rates."

#### DOT ENTERS BATTLE

Some big shippers working through American Waterways Operators were opposed to the publication of rates and fears were expressed that small operators would find publication burdensome.

The Department of Transportation entered the battle with the announcement that the mixing rule bill seemed likely to go through and they intended to use it as a vehicle for amending the rule of rate-making to give more freedom in rate-making to the railroads, although the railroads said they had no interest in joining the two issues together.

The Department, however, said late last year that it intended to offer a bill to give the railroads more rate-making freedom. Dr. Paul Cherington, Assistant Secretary for Policy and International Affairs said, "If these two bills are considered as a package, we have an exercise in good old-fashioned log-rolling."

In actual fact the barge industry thinks the compromise will be much more modest in nature. The first estimate by AWO that 1,700 barge operators would be affected has been scaled back to 600.

This total is disputed by the Water Transport Association which believes the actual number affected would be less than 200, and probably less than 100.

By amendment, the harbor and terminal operators have been exempted and by ICC rule-making the number of carriers required to publish rates could be much further restricted so that short haul carriers could be virtually eliminated.

Another important suggestion has been made that would cut down the burden of filing rates for the small operator.

The idea is that the carriers required to file rates with the ICC could be authorized to join together in an agency tariff so that there could be one tariff agreed to by everybody.

All carriers would, of course, retain the right of independent action if they desired.

But an agency tariff would eliminate the necessity of having each small barge line publish his own tariff.

Also likely is the re-instatement of the provision in the original mixing rule bill which eliminates the requirement that the exemption applies only to commodities in bulk carried "in accordance with the custom of the trade in the handling and transportation of such commodities as of June 1, 1939."

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### ONLY EXCEPTION

The so-called "magic" date has been a dead letter for some time. Tests before the Commission have resulted in a policy that in effect states that dry bulk is dry bulk, regardless of whether it was carried in barges before the "magic" date or not.

The only exception is sugar in bulk which would be deregulated by elimination of the date. Again deregulation of sugar would intensify competition for the sugar traffic. Rates would be published, but no economic regulation would be possible and the traffic would not be restricted to the regulated barge lines.

The Department of Transportation succeeded in holding up the legislation before the Rules Committee last year. The vote was a narrow seven to six. If the DOT can be persuaded to separate out the very large issue of amendment to the rule of rate-making, bound to be highly controversial with the railroads, shippers, truckers, and water carriers, the main objection will remain those who want secret rates.

### CASE FOR SECRET RATES

The case for secret rates is not believed to be a strong one. It does permit large shippers to negotiate advantageous rates on a spot basis. But, as other shippers point out, one shipper's advantage is another shipper's disadvantage. Shippers generally would be better off without discrimination in rates, they say. For example, very low back haul rates can often be negotiated. The barge operator is glad to get any rate that will help him return the barge to the origin point. But this means, barge operators point out, that one shipper is subsidizing the other. If there is two-way traffic, the first shipper has a right to share in the economies of the two-way operation.

After the Rules Committee votes out the bill, amendments can be made on the floor and the bill then goes to the Senate, where it is well and favorably known.

The barge operators believe their 15-year struggle is near the end. If, by some mischance, the legislation fails, there is sentiment in the barge industry for letting the axe fall and raising the rates. "How simple our life would be," the argument runs, "if we raised the rates 15 per cent and let the shippers do all the work of getting them down again by passing the bill."

## BOY SCOUTS' 60TH ANNIVERSARY

### HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID

OF ILLINOIS

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the week of February 7 through 13, 1970, marks the 60th anniversary of the Boy Scouts of America and it is with great admiration that I take this opportunity to again express my genuine interest in and affection of this outstanding organization.

I know that each of my colleagues shares my pride in the fine job that scouting does for the youth of America. Over 36 million boys have been proud members of Scout units and have earned their steps up the ladder of achievement within the organization since it was founded in our Nation's Capital on February 8, 1910. Today the national membership stands at over 6 million. In Cub packs, scouting groups, and Explorer posts, Scouts of all ages, under the capable guidance of their leaders, work toward character development, physical fitness, and outstanding leadership.

In my opinion, there is no organization more sympathetic or relevant to the needs of our youth and this in itself makes membership a deeply personal experience for every boy. This I know personally because both of my sons were Scouts at one time. They are, of course, grown now, but I still recall the meetings I attended as a parent—and attended proudly.

I recall that one of our colleagues who had been a district attorney for 12 years before being elected to the House of Representatives once told me that in all his years in law enforcement, he could not recall a single instance in which a juvenile case involved a Boy Scout. And I am told that throughout the Nation as a whole the ratio of juvenile cases involving boys who have participated in scouting is only one out of every thousand. In this era of unrest and mounting problems in which we are witnessing the struggle of so many of our young people for a clear vision of their place in the future, scouting is indeed one of the best proven methods of developing individual character and qualities of leadership.

Our Boy Scouts are definitely among our greatest assets and at this time of their 60th anniversary I consider it a high honor to pay tribute to them and wish for each of them, continued success. Scouts today are mindful, as they were more than a half century ago, of the opening phrase of their oath: "On my honor I will do my best." No more can we ask of anyone.

## THE MISSING JOB CORPS CENTERS

### HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 9, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on January 20 in a speech in the House I pointed out the administration's failure in opening new Job Corps centers. Last year when the administration closed 59 Job Corps centers over the strenuous objections of 53 Members of Congress, who joined me in introducing House resolutions in opposition to this unwise action, Secretary of Labor Shultz told Congress that at least 10 of the 30 new centers, which the administration then promised, would be opened by September 1969. As I said on January 20, the administration is seriously remiss. Thus far, only two completely new centers—in Atlanta and Phoenix—have been opened. Two others—in New Jersey and Hawaii—are merely replacements for previous centers which were on the same sites.

In my speech of January 20 I also called upon the administration to utilize abandoned buildings for new centers. An article which appears in the New York Times of February 9, by John Herbers, reports the availability of such abandoned buildings, and I commend this article to my colleagues. I am also commanding to my colleagues an article by Eve Edstrom which appeared in the February 7 Washington Post, and which reports the delay in opening new Job Corps centers.

The articles referred to follow:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Feb. 7, 1970]

**ENROLLEE COSTS SOAR ON CENTERS FOR JOB CORPS**

(By Eve Edstrom)

The Nixon administration has fallen far behind its schedule for opening 30 new "mini" centers for Job Corps youth, and enrollee costs are far in excess of original estimates.

After ordering the shutdown of 59 Job Corps centers last year, Labor Secretary George P. Shultz told Congress that at least 10 of the new centers would be opened by last September.

But as of yesterday, only four were in operation and two of them, with the bulk of enrollees, are on the same New Jersey and Hawaii sites that housed Job Corps enrollees under the Johnson administration.

Nixon administration officials also estimated that costs of the new program for each enrollee would be in the neighborhood of \$5300 annually. But actual start-up costs, exclusive of capital outlays, appear to be double or triple that amount.

Cost figures were hard to come by at the Labor Department yesterday. But one source said \$749,960 already has been spent on operating a new center at Phoenix. That center has had only 50 enrollees since October so the cost averages almost \$15,000 an enrollee.

No actual expenditure figures for the other new center at Atlanta were available. But the operator of the center has a \$2,061,474 contract to run it during fiscal 1970. It opened only a few weeks ago with about 30 enrollees, and reportedly a staff of 86.

The eventual capacities of both the Phoenix and Atlanta centers will be 350.

Therefore, Assistant Labor Secretary for Manpower Arnold Weber said no meaningful cost calculations can be made until the centers are operating at full capacity. When that happens, he said he believed the estimated enrollee cost of \$5300 will be met.

**RECRUITING DIFFICULTY**

However, the Labor Department has been having difficulty recruiting enrollees for the program. For example, it has been difficult to interest white girls to go to the Atlanta facility which is in a Negro neighborhood.

Weber said it would be fair to state that the administration's "original ambitious schedule for opening the new centers has not been realized."

But he said this was a "conscious decision" based on the administration's desire to operate successful, high quality centers. He further noted numerous problems have arisen concerning the location of sites.

As Rep. William F. Ryan (D-N.Y.) has pointed out, there still is no center for New York City youth because Long Island residents have been objecting strenuously to such use of a site that the Job Corps plans to take over.

Therefore, although the administration said one of its purposes in establishing the new centers was to permit enrollees to be close to home, New York boys are being shipped to the old established centers in Kentucky and Indiana, which were not affected by last year's shutdown orders.

**FOR NEW JERSEY ONLY**

Many of the New York youth formerly were sent to Camp Kilmer in New Jersey, but Ryan said that center now has been restricted to handle only New Jersey young people.

The New Jersey site, which used to train about 1600 young people, now has about 170 boys enrolled, while the center in Hawaii has about 250 enrollees.

Ryan said it is shocking that the administration, in providing for only 500 young people at the new centers at the present time, "has failed to live up to its commitment" to operate substitute centers for those that were shut down.

He also said that many of the closings have been wasteful. He noted that an excel-

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lent center was closed in St. Louis and now the administration is shopping around to find a different suitable location. \* \* \*

[From the New York Times, Feb. 9, 1970]

**URBAN PARADOX: DWELLINGS ABANDONED DESPITE HOUSING SHORTAGE**

(By John Herbers)

WASHINGTON, February 8.—In the District of Columbia, three miles southeast of the Capitol, there is a cluster of two and three-story apartment buildings set on rolling hills and separated by tree-lined streets, lawns, sidewalks and play areas.

The buildings, erected in the nineteen-forties, are made of clean brick, and the design is not unattractive. Yet entire blocks of them are vacant, their windows and doors, covered with plywood. In the few that are occupied, people live only on the upper floors because the ground level is considered too vulnerable to burglars, who roam the neighborhood.

On a winter afternoon, the area seems to be a ghost town occupied by children at play. This scene of premature decay and abandonment provides visual evidence of a trend that is evident in large cities across the country:

While the nation is undergoing the most critical housing shortage since World War II, structurally sound dwellings in the inner cities are being abandoned in increasing numbers to vandalism and demolition.

In Detroit, where there are 3,000 empty buildings—1,300 of them abandoned by their owners—Jack Kelley, Deputy Commissioner of the Department of Buildings and Safety Engineering, said:

"People are looking all over for good homes and we have thousands of these empty ones around."

**CAUSES TERMED COMPLEX**

The causes are complex and are intertwined with all the other factors of urban distress, especially the troubles of poor minorities. A survey of 14 major cities showed that the abandonment of housing that could be rehabilitated at a reasonable cost is occurring almost exclusively in poor minority neighborhoods.

The acceleration of this process, however, seems to be caused chiefly by these developments:

The landlord, who has been accused for years of overcharging and underservicing low income families, now finds the slum unprofitable and is withdrawing as fast as possible. "The buildings become harder to rent, and the owners find it more economical simply to walk away," said Albert Nerviani, chief of the St. Louis housing code enforcement office. Tenant strikes and urban violence of recent years also have discouraged investors.

Economic conditions that are holding down construction of new housing—high costs and interest rates and scarcity of capital—are also hampering rehabilitation and simple repairs.

Whites, and to some extent blacks, when they have the means and opportunity, are migrating to the suburbs or outer areas of the city to escape blighted neighborhoods. For example, Negroes are moving from Anacostia, the southeastern section of Washington, into Prince Georges County, Md., leaving behind vacant units that would be snapped up if they were not in a distressed area.

Federal and local programs of rehabilitation, housing subsidies and demolition programs are barely making a dent in the abandonment process. In the Roxbury section of Boston, 2,700 apartments have been rehabilitated recently under Federal and local effort, but the number of abandoned or vacant buildings in the city has increased from 450 to 800 in the last two years.

In Philadelphia, where at last count there were 24,000 vacant residential structures, Ivan B. Bluckman, assistant housing director, said, "There are thousands of abandoned properties in Philadelphia that are not the responsibility of anyone."

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**TWO POLICY APPROACHES**

This raises the question of national policy. The previous Administration had planned on expanded urban renewal, Model Cities and other Federal programs to help to arrest inner city decay. The Nixon Administration, however, is taking a different approach. For example, the Democrats had projected Model Cities appropriations at about \$1-billion for the next fiscal year. Mr. Nixon's new budget calls for half of that, which is the current expenditure.

What the Nixon Administration is promising instead is action and programs that will help the minority poor to acquire more personal wealth and earning capability and opportunity to move into better neighborhoods, as whites have done.

Some local officials say this does not answer what will happen to the inner cities, and they fear that abandonment and blight will spread to stable neighborhoods if left unchecked. For example, fairly new apartments in the Anacostia section of Washington are vacant and boarded up because they are close to distressed areas.

According to the survey, the problem of abandonment is worst in the large cities of the industrial East and Middle West. In New York, officials estimate that 114,000 apartments have been lost since 1965 because of the abandonment of the buildings.

The trend is found also, however, in Southern and Western cities where there is a large minority population. In Houston, officials estimate there are 7,500 abandoned dwellings, and New Orleans recently closed part of a five-block area near the center of town because of decay.

In Chicago, where 1,400 buildings were demolished by court order last year, John Hight, chief of the city's building demolition, said that most of the cases fell into a pattern.

**THIEVES MOVE IN**

"The neighborhood deteriorates, crime increases," he said. "Tenants damage the buildings and may balk at paying their rents. The landlord is haled into housing court for violations. If he tries to comply, he finds it difficult to get a good contractor to go into the area. He just quits trying."

"Eventually, it gets so bad people move out. Thieves and vandals come in. Plumbing, heating and electrical services are stripped and sold for salvage. Eventually the thieves go through the floor and dig up the lead pipes and sell them."

"A building, which not long before could have been repaired, is wrecked beyond repair. And then it ends up under the ball at the court's direction."

One building in Chicago provides a case study of some of the conflict, sociology and economics involved. The building, at 5801-09 Calumet Avenue on the South Side, was erected in 1901 and contained 24 apartments.

To make more money by packing in more families, the owners converted it some years later to 95 units in violation of the building codes. The courts in 1962, after a complaint had been filed, ordered it deconverted to 24 units.

Last June, an inspection showed the building to be largely occupied but in a state of neglect and infested with rats and roaches. The authorities said that the building could have been put into shape without major work.

The owners, Cheers Enterprises, Inc., did not follow the orders of the court in correcting code violations, and on Oct. 24 city inspectors found the building vacant and stripped of plumbing and heating facilities. The case was moved to demolition court.

**PANTHERS OCCUPIED BUILDING**

Subsequently, members of the Black Panther party occupied the building, and it was there on Nov. 13 that the shooting occurred in which two policemen and a Panther were killed and several policemen and Panthers wounded.

On Dec. 1, the building was ordered demolished, and last week, after several delays caused by cold weather, the structure was gone.

One hopeful sign, housing officials say, is the tax reform enacted last year, which cuts the amount of depreciation an owner can claim during his first few years of ownership. The previous depreciation table encouraged a rapid turnover of buildings and thus their deterioration.

#### CITY OIL; COUNTRY WATER

#### HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, I call to the attention of the House an editorial that appeared in the January 22, 1970, issue of the Lelanau Enterprise Tribune. I am certain all of you will agree with the editor—saving the cities is important in saving the Nation, and small town and country people have as big a stake in keeping a healthy nation as anyone. The editorial follows:

#### CITY OIL; COUNTRY WATER

The easy-going antipathy between the dwellers of the city and those of the countryside is an element of our society that we probably couldn't live without, particularly in tourist areas like ours where each year the locals try to understand and imitate the resorters and the resorters try to mix with the locals, and each group finally gives up in September, deciding it's a matter of combining city oil and country water.

This good-natured opposition is the healthy variety, but there is an unhealthy type of urban-rural enmity that shows up now and then. One time it appeared in Michigan was last year when numerous conservation clubs and outstate communities charged that the state was renegeing in the way it divided up the parks and recreation bond money approved by voters the previous November.

Governor William Milliken and others wanted to give a sizable chunk to urban areas. Some people said he was only going where the most votes were and that it was merely a strategy to draw more votes out of the cities for the GOP. Milliken, though, probably lost one outstate vote for every one he picked up in the cities by deciding to rough-shod his way through the issue. He truly believed the cities needed recreation funds at least as much as other regions.

The governor's new plan largely won out, and now Milliken has followed through by calling a conference on urban leisure in Detroit next week in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Michigan Natural Resources Council.

"Leisure time can improve man's sense of well being, or free him to take out angers and frustrations on his surroundings," Milliken said in announcing the conference. "It is the sense of a man's importance to himself that gives him a grip on his life."

Not every Michigan city suffers from the specific ills that Milliken alludes to, but most of them, especially the big ones, are sick and getting sicker. Some non-city-dwellers smugly sit back and say, "tough luck, but we shouldn't have to worry about their problems," all the while forgetting that one of the most difficult things to achieve in the city but one of the most important for a feeling of "well being," as the governor put it, is a closeness with nature, free of pollution, blight and crime. Leisure, with its po-

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

tential for sloth and violence, also has the potential of reuniting men with nature.

Instead of being smug, we should be complimented by the city folks' finally coming around to valuing the good earth, as we always have done. Now that America has suddenly woke up to find itself primarily urban and industrial, a few leaders, like President Nixon and Governor Milliken, are trying to convince us that saving the cities is important in saving the nation, and that small town and country people have as big a stake in keeping a healthy nation as anyone.

#### OPERATION APPRECIATION

#### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 9, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the Kiwanis Club of Washington, D.C., recently presented a program at which James Merna, aide to the National Commandant of the Marine Corps League, described the work of Operation Appreciation. Operation Appreciation is a program which Mr. Merna began 3½ years ago to give aid and entertainment to returning Vietnam casualties. I should like to commend Mr. Merna and the Marine Corps League for their fine work in this area by including the introductory remarks and the text of Mr. Merna's speech in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

INTRODUCTION OF GUEST SPEAKER, JAMES E. MERNA, BY GEORGE T. STAFFORD

This past Veterans Day, November 11th, President Nixon announced the inauguration of a program of visits by outstanding Americans to Veterans Administration Hospitals throughout the United States. He called the program the VIP Program—the initials VIP standing for "Very Important Patients."

The program is to involve nearly 500 outstanding Americans volunteering their time to visit hospitalized veterans. The volunteers will include famous names from the fields of entertainment, professional football, baseball, basketball, etc.

Well, I don't know if President Nixon is aware of it or not, but such a type program has been functioning practically within a shadow's length of the White House for the past 3½ years—right here in the Washington area—at Bethesda Naval Hospital, to be exact. The name of this program is Operation Appreciation.

Our guest speaker tonight is the originator and Chairman of Operation Appreciation. Operation Appreciation has been fantastically successful and is believed to be the Nation's first substantial and continuing aid program for returning Vietnam casualties. The program has received much national attention, has been cited by the Freedom Foundation at Valley Forge, has been praised on the floors of Congress on many occasions, and most importantly, has served as a model and the impetus for adoption by numerous other organizations at hundreds of military and veterans hospitals across the country.

We have asked our guest speaker to tell us about Operation Appreciation. He will conclude his remarks with some personal observations about the Vietnam Veteran.

Before we begin the program, let me give you a little background about our guest speaker.

A native of New York, he spent 10 years of his youth in two Catholic orphanages in Rockland County, New York. He's a combat veteran of the Korean War, having served

three years in the Marine Corps from 1950-1953. He's a 1957 graduate of the University of Maryland. He's a co-founder and Past Commandant of the Prince Georges County Detachment, Marine Corps League. Last year he served as State Commandant of the Marine Corps League in Maryland. Having progressed from local and state level, he is now serving as Aide to the National Commandant of the Marine Corps League.

In 1968, in nationwide competition he was named the Marine of the Year at the National Convention of the Marine Corps League in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Last year he was named one of the Outstanding Young Men of America for 1969 by the National Jaycees and the Outstanding Americans Foundation.

In professional life, he is a Government Public Affairs Officer with the Naval Supply Systems Command in Washington.

Married to his college sweetheart and the father of four children, he makes his home in New Carrollton, Maryland.

It gives me great pleasure to officially welcome and present our guest speaker—a recognized outstanding veteran spokesman, Mr. Jim Merna.

#### THE VIETNAM VETERAN—AMERICA'S MOST UNDERRATED WAR HERO

(By James E. Merna)

Operation Appreciation is the name of a volunteer "home-front support program" which we originated in the Washington area some 3½ years ago, in May, 1966. As the name implies, we had but one purpose in mind—we simply wanted to show our appreciation to the American fighting man—to let him know that he had not been forgotten—that his great personal sacrifices in defense of freedom were appreciated by many of his fellow Americans.

We began the program at Bethesda Naval Hospital shortly after the return back to the States of some of the first American casualties from the Vietnam War. We intentionally selected Bethesda Naval Hospital as the place to start this program because this was where the wounded Marines in this area were being sent for recuperation, rest, and treatment. Being former Marines, a few of us from the Prince Georges County (Maryland) Detachment, Marine Corps League felt that this was a situation where we might be able to be of some immediate assistance to our fellow Marines.

Well, what is Operation Appreciation? What kind of a job has it done and what form of assistance has it rendered?

In a nutshell, Operation Appreciation has provided a diversity of enjoyment and entertainment for the wounded Marine Corps and Navy Vietnam veterans at Bethesda. We believe it to be the Nation's first substantial and continuing aid program for returning Vietnam casualties.

Operation Appreciation has treated the Vietnam veterans at Bethesda Naval Hospital to more than 70 outings and entertainment and recreational events since its inception. These have ranged from taking the patients to all of the major sports events, both professional and collegiate, such as baseball, basketball, football, boxing, soccer, wrestling, stock car races and tennis matches, to such diverse social events, for example, as stage play at the Washington National Theatre, concerts at Constitution Hall, pizza parties, firehouse parties, American Legion smokers, society lawn parties, Congressional receptions on Capitol Hill, embassy parties, and sports banquets.

Some of you may have noticed an article this week in the sports section of the Washington Post about the upcoming heavyweight championship fight next month at Madison Square Garden in New York between Joe Frazier and Jimmy Ellis. A New York Congressman, Representative Martin B. McNamee is trying to organize one of the most unusual boxing promotions in years—having

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the world's heavyweight title contenders, Frazier and Ellis, put on an exhibition match in the House of Representatives gymnasium before their championship bout. Congressman Jim Wright of Texas is even hopeful at this time of being allowed to spar a short round with either contender, should the proposed match in Washington come off.

I spoke to Congressman McKnealy about this on Wednesday over the phone. I told him I hoped the exhibition would take place and that if it did, I would like to bring a group of wounded Marines from the hospital as his guests to watch the match. Congressman McKnealy informed me he is confident that the proposed match may take place shortly and that he would be delighted to have the "Gyrenes," as he affectionately called them, as his guests.

When we take the patients on an outing, and we've had up to as many as 150 at one time, we usually try to make arrangements to take them behind the scenes, into the locker room after a baseball game, for example, to meet with Brooks Robinson of the Baltimore Orioles, or back stage after a performance at Washington's National Theatre for a visit with actress Myrna Loy or singer Miss Pearl Bailey.

Operation Appreciation is also concerned about the long and sometimes lonely hours at Bethesda and, to help brighten at least some of them, it arranges for variety shows and "cheer-up" visits by friends, the serviceman's Congressman, pretty girls, local talent, and prominent personalities.

On one occasion, thanks to a referral that I had received from sportswriter Bob Addie of the Washington Post, it was Joe Garagiola of baseball and radio and television fame that I contacted at his home in Scarsdale, New York with a request to come to Bethesda for a visit with the patients. Joe promptly adjusted his schedule and paid a generous visit. He was an instant success with his highly amusing banter of sports stories and film clips from national television shows on which he had appeared.

The Washington Redskins football team is one of the most popular groups we've ever brought to the hospital. Sonny Jurgensen, Sam Huff, and Bobby Mitchell received the biggest ovation of all the players. I will always remember this encounter of both groups, the young wounded Marines and the pro football players, each idolizing each other and each representative of teamwork at its finest. In my opinion, it was a meeting of "champions among champions."

Singer Judy Garland was another celebrity that I was fortunate to persuade to come to Bethesda. Accompanied by a piano on wheels, Miss Garland went from ward to ward bringing chants of music and cheer to the combat-weary Marines.

Another distinguished visitor whom we escorted to Bethesda was Mrs. William Henry Sullivan, Jr., the National President-General of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Seeing first-hand the results of Operation Appreciation, Mrs. Sullivan saw to it that the doors to Constitution Hall were opened wide for free admittance to concerts by hospitalized servicemen. She also saw to it that our program was adopted nationally by the hundreds of D.A.R. Chapters across the country.

We have also conducted gift drives for the patients on occasion and the response has always been most heart-warming, resulting in a deluge of gifts and small necessities, thanks to the generosity of many local and national business firms.

Operation Appreciation has many supporters. Our most active and interested booster by far is Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post, well known Washington socialite and philanthropist. Words are inadequate to express the high esteem which the Marine Corps, the Marine Corps League, the patients and staff at Bethesda Naval Hospital hold in their hearts for this gracious and compassionate lady. In her own unheralded way,

Mrs. Post has provided financial support making possible many of the activities of Operation Appreciation. She constantly inquires about the welfare and progress of "her boys" at Bethesda and has entertained hundreds of Vietnam Veterans at gala parties at Hillwood, her Washington estate, on a number of occasions.

This then, in quick fashion, is what Operation Appreciation is all about. It's simply a people-to-people way of saying "thank you" to some truly deserving and outstanding young Americans.

I have had the opportunity and the privilege to appear before community, civic, and other fine service-oriented groups such as Kiwanis here tonight to explain Operation Appreciation and to urge adoption of similar programs at the many military and veterans hospitals throughout this great land of ours. I believe we've attained many fine results. The program has been editorially endorsed by leading newspapers and has been adopted by other organizations. It has been cited at length in the Congressional Record a number of times which has helped immensely to spread the word nationally.

It is imperative that programs of this type be continued throughout the Nation because the war in Vietnam is far from over and many casualties continue to return home daily for recuperation and rehabilitation. To date, more than 265,000 Americans have been wounded in action in Vietnam. Many of these servicemen will be hospitalized for a long time to come.

For anyone who gets involved in a program of this type, he or she will find that the hours oftentimes are long but the rewards in terms of personal satisfaction and gratification are many.

With your indulgence, I would like to be permitted to say a few words about this remarkable young man of our times—the Vietnam Veteran. After coming into contact with, working with, and literally counselling hundred and hundreds of these fine young Americans, I believe I have formed some personal opinions and observations about these men from a unique and close personal vantage point. I would like to share some of these thoughts with you.

And while I'm referring primarily to the young Marine of today, the same thoughts can be equally expressed for our gallant soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Coast Guardsmen who are performing just as valiantly and courageously in the struggle against Communism.

In my opinion, the Vietnam Veteran is the most under-rated American war hero of all times—he's truly our unheralded young patriot. Never before in our almost 200 years of existence have we sent our brave defenders to battle lacking the home-front support that they do today.

This young fighting man goes to war quietly and efficiently. In Vietnam, he faces countless hardships and death. But, in the tradition so well established by his forefathers, he does his duty. And when he comes home, he can be sure there will be no national outburst of emotion or flag-waving in his behalf. To the contrary, he comes home as quietly as he left. Many of these modern American heroes return home often as strangers in their own land. They are not greeted as the heroes that they are—but as someone to be forgotten rather than revered—as someone who has been guilty of some wrongdoing.

Compare this attitude and treatment and lack of respect to our returning veterans of World War II! And even Korea! Then it was clearly a case of appreciation and pride—both for the serviceman and his uniform and all that he represented.

Today, in the words of the President of the United States himself, it's "Open Season on the Armed Forces." We see all about us a growing disenchantment with the military establishment and anything even remotely connected with defense preparedness.

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What effect does all of this have, particularly the wave of anti-war moratorium demonstrations on our fighting men, the young man of today who bears arms in United States uniform and whom I have heard described by General Lew Walt, the Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps as "the smartest, toughest, best led, and most highly motivated youngster who ever shouldered a rifle in the defense of this country."

Frankly, he doesn't pay too much attention to it. He doesn't have time. As the Navy's top Chaplain Rear Admiral James W. Kelly recently remarked upon his return from his annual Christmas visit to Vietnam, "The U.S. serviceman in Vietnam is less concerned about public opinion than the job at hand." He went on to say that dissent at home has been met with the attitude of "disgust" among U.S. fighting men. The effect on our troops morale has been insignificant, he added, but he feels the recent moratorium demonstrations may have inspired the enemy.

The Commandant of the Marine Corps, General Leonard F. Chapman, Jr. recently expressed some concern about this same problem and drew an appropriate analogy of the situation. He recalled attending the State Dinner last August for the Moon Astronauts—one of many tributes to the bravery and skill of these incredible men. As he watched and listened throughout the festive occasion, he couldn't help thinking about the bravery and skill of the young Marines in Vietnam. He noticed a serious and highly disturbing difference. Our astronauts were cheered on by all of the American people and were greeted enthusiastically when they returned. It's obvious, he thought to himself, that we can't say the same of the young veterans of Vietnam. Many Americans do not support him—too many outright reject him when he returns.

That same individual Marine, I have found, doesn't like being referred to as a tool of imperialistic aggression, especially when the accusation is made in an American accent. But he doesn't pay too much attention to it. He's too busy manning the outposts of freedom—or searching for mines set by North Vietnamese soldiers—mines that have killed and injured more Vietnamese civilians than they have American troops.

He's a remarkable young fellow doing a man-sized job in Vietnam—our man in uniform. And young indeed he is—the average age of the 80,000 Marines that General Walt commanded when he was Commanding General of the Third Marine Amphibious Force in Vietnam was 19. But he's got a pride in his heritage and maturity beyond his youthfulness. He's one of the finest American Ambassadors the world has ever seen.

I have mentioned the high dedication and sense of purpose of the modern Marine. He believes in what he is fighting for—he is convinced that our commitment is just. And he proves his commitment by his actions. Since the first Marines became eligible for rotation home from Vietnam in 1966, a total of nearly 40,000 Marines have voluntarily extended their tours for 6 months or more in that country. This is the equivalent of two full Marine Divisions. Of all Marines eligible to vote, 75% cast their ballots in the last national election—far greater than the 60% nationwide participation by eligible voters as recorders by the Gallup poll. This is what the young Marine—the young American—thinks of the American effort in Vietnam—this is how he sees his duty—this is a good example of how highly the individual Marine values his citizenship.

According to official Veterans Administration statistics, there are now approximately 3 million, 400 thousand Vietnam era veterans back in civilian life. Seven hundred thousand enrolled this past Fall in education and training under the Vietnam G.I. Bill—approximately 380,000 are attending the nation's colleges and universities.

And I'm sure that most of them are typical

of the determination of two of Prince Georges County's finest young citizens, Charles E. "Butch" Joeckel, Jr. of Colmar Manor (Maryland) and John Clements of Cheverly (Maryland). Both of these young men were seriously wounded in combat while serving with the Marine Corps in Vietnam. Butch lost both of his legs from an enemy land-mine while leading a patrol; John Clements was awarded three Purple Hearts for his heroic efforts out there. He'll probably need the continued use of his cane to help him walk, for the rest of his life. Both were retired on disability from the Corps due to their injuries—both are currently full-time students under the G.I. Bill. You ought to see them together strolling the campus of Prince Georges Community College, each helping the other on their way to classes. Witnessing their determination gives you a great feeling of pride.

"Butch" and John, I feel, are typical of the nearly half a million inspired young men who are returning home from Vietnam each year. They are the "mature Americans" of tomorrow. They're not going to shed the mantle of leadership—the qualities of character—the firm determination they have acquired—when they return. As General Walt has said, "They've been shot at for real, and they are not going to let anything keep them from taking a stand on issues involving the security of this country. They have the responsibility for America's position in the world on their shoulders now. And they'll all have the responsibilities of citizenship to fulfill in the years to come. And they'll do a good job."

Finally, let us never forget the valiant 40,300 American servicemen who have paid the supreme sacrifice in Vietnam. We must make sure that their sacrifices have not been in vain. More than 100 of those who lost their lives are from our own Prince Georges County—heroes like 20 year old Warrant Officer Tom King of New Carrollton, an Army helicopter pilot whose plane was shot down by enemy fire; Lance Corporal Stephen E. Belcher, an 18 year old Marine from Avondale who was killed by mortar fire while on a search-and-destroy mission and who was voted the outstanding athlete of the Hyattsville-Brentwood Boys Club; and Marine Captain James A. Graham of Forestville who won the Nation's highest award, the Medal of Honor for personal heroism above and beyond the call of duty.

Captain Graham, in the thick of battle and while personally accounting for 15 enemy killed, had been ordered by his battalion commander to withdraw to friendly lines. The Captain reacted by sending all of his men back except one man who could not be moved due to the seriousness of his wounds. He apologized to his Battalion Commander for not completely carrying out the order to withdraw, but said, "I just can't leave this young Marine, keep the fire coming though, Colonel, we are hurting them." About 20 minutes later, Captain Graham radioed: "This is my last transmission. I am being assaulted by at least 25 of them. It's been a pleasure soldiering with you." Those were his last words.

I was privileged to be in attendance on October 29, 1968 when the Medal of Honor was posthumously presented to the Captain's widow. I talked to Mrs. Graham after the ceremony and extended an offer of assistance from the Marine Corps League. With a sense of great pride and much confidence in the future, Mrs. Graham, a mother of two young children replied, "I don't have half as many problems as I have offers of assistance." She impressed me as a woman who is every bit as brave as her husband was.

Well, we're not going to let the memory of these courageous heroes to be soon forgotten. The Marine Corps League is pushing ahead with plans to build a Vietnam Memorial in their honor as a fitting tribute to

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all servicemen who gave their lives in Vietnam. The Memorial is to be built in Largo, Maryland, near the site of the new Prince Georges Community College on land already promised to be donated by the County Government. The Memorial has already been designed, free of charge, by a professional architect, Mr. Thomas Kerley of Cheverly. All that remains to be done is to raise the necessary funds to build it.

This is a task that cannot be accomplished by any one group alone. We are hopeful that by means of public subscription and contributions and through the assistance of interested business and civic and service organizations throughout the area, the Memorial may soon be a reality.

In conclusion, I think it is clear that we have seen vivid examples of our servicemen in Vietnam to continue the course to its end. We need determination like that here at home too. As grateful Americans, we need to continue to show our faith in these men—we must honor them—and we must give them their due recognition and a true showing of our appreciation.

## HISTORICAL PRESERVATION

### HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 9, 1970

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the 200th anniversary of this Nation's founding, more and more attention is being paid to our Nation's heritage—especially the buildings that have come down to us from the historic past.

Yet, paradoxically, this renewed interest in the past comes at a time when more and more of our physical heritage is being destroyed, to make way for highways, shopping centers, and factories.

Under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, we in Congress pledged a national commitment to preserve and restore the buildings that are a part of our heritage. We have appropriated relatively insignificant sums—less than \$1 million annually—to fulfill that pledge.

In hearings recently held before the Interior Committee, Dr. Richard W. Hale, Jr., acting chairman of the Massachusetts Historical Commission, testified as to the need for a substantial increase in such funds, if we are to save many historical buildings that are in danger of being destroyed. I commend his remarks, which follow, to the attention of my colleagues:

#### STATEMENT OF DR. RICHARD W. HALE, JR.

My name is Richard Hale. I am the Acting Chairman of the Massachusetts Historical Commission, and its executive under Secretary of the Commonwealth John F. X. Davoren, who is the Massachusetts State Historic Preservation Liaison Officer. A state's Liaison Officer, it should be explained, is the person in each state or territory to whom has been assigned the duty of conducting surveys under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and making submissions for his state to the National Register of Historic Places. Besides that, the newly formed organization of such Liaison Officers, the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Liaison Officers, has elected me its President. Therefore I can speak not only for Massachusetts but for those in the fifty-four other states and territories who operate the National Historic Preservation program at the state level.

There are two points which the members of the National Conference would like to have made at this hearing on H-14,896.

One is that there is a crying need for money for surveys and planning and that that money will be well spent. Last year the appropriation of \$669,000 for state use fell far short of what the states had to put up. This year, with the state survey program under full swing, more than that will be needed. Each state can tell how much of historic value has been uncovered by the survey program, and how that survey program is being integrated into over-all planning. Our Massachusetts money, for instance, went into finding out much more than had been previously known about Cape Cod, and, more than that, integrating our findings into the over-all planning for the environment being done by the Cape Cod Economic Planning and Development Commission. We want now to continue that relationship with the rest of the regional planning agencies in the state.

The second thing that they would like to have said is that there is a further need for grants for historic preservation of the properties whose value has been demonstrated by the surveys now under way. Seed money in the form of matching preservation funds can make all the difference in such cases. Your time should not be taken up with instances, sometimes of successes against unnecessary difficulty, at other times of failures because hope of help was lost. Every state, I am sure, can give such instances, where the possibility of matching funds would have provided the margin of success and the lack of such hope caused failure. But I would be remiss if I did not state the feeling of the National Conference of State Liaison Officers that the time has now come to plan to go beyond historic surveys to preservation grants.

It is for these two reasons—need of historic surveys to identify the historic heritage that is so important a part of the quality of our environment, and need of grant money to preserve what has been so identified, that leads the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Liaison Officers to hope that the authorization of funds will be larger than \$1 million and \$2 million but will be at least the \$10 million of the previous law, if not far more. The Liaison Officers of the states reported a figure of preservation needs to the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation which goes well beyond that figure.

I shall not trespass on your time by repeating what others have said already, but in conclusion, may I add for the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Liaison Officers that we are in favor of the other aspects of H-14,896, the expansion of the Advisory Council and the support of the Rome Center, and wish to be so recorded.

## CRIME IN THE STREETS AND COURT DELAY

### HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, a little more than 8 months ago this body showed its concern for the ever-increasing frequency of serious crime in the country by creating a Select Committee on Crime to study the many facets of this complex problem. I am pleased to have been one of the original sponsors of that legislation.

We appointed as chairman, the Representative from Florida, the Honorable CLAUDE PEPPER, and six Members whose

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viewpoints and districts are reflective of the people that this Congress serves.

During these past 8 months, the Select Committee on Crime has held hearings in Washington, D.C., Boston, Omaha, San Francisco, Columbia, S.C., and Miami. The committee is now in the process of drafting legislative recommendations based on its findings.

In addition, Chairman PEPPER has announced further hearings this year beginning with the Nation's Capital and surrounding suburban areas on February 25, 26, 27, and 28.

In San Francisco, the committee revealed alarming evidence on the growth in use and traffic in dangerous drugs and found loopholes in existing drug statutes in need of immediate attention.

The committee has also devoted considerable time to the less spectacular yet perhaps even more critical subjects of court delay and case backlog, and the disgrace of many of the Nation's adult and juvenile correctional systems which do little more than turn out more proficient criminals.

The committee's work has gained a considerable amount of attention in the news media. I would like at this point, Mr. Speaker, to insert into the RECORD a few of the editorials, columns and television and radio comments concerning the activities of the committee.

In conclusion, I include an excellent article written by the chairman on the subject of "Crime in the Streets and Court Delay" which appeared in the January 28 edition of the Georgetown Law Weekly:

[From the Miami Beach Sun, Jan. 19, 1970]

PEPPER SPARKS NARCOTIC PROBE

(By Miller Davis)

Miami soon may adopt New York's methods of nabbing Mafia hoods as they bring illegal heroin into this country, U.S. Rep. Claude Pepper said today.

Pepper said federal agents at New York's John F. Kennedy Airport are using some new techniques in blocking heroin and cocaine importation. Pepper's office said the congressman went today to visit JFK airport and learn how it's done.

"New York has taken some tough new steps in apprehending Cosa Nostra couriers," said a Pepper aide. "These should apply with equal success at the Miami air terminal."

The bulk of illegal narcotics are brought into Dade County through the airport, a Pepper-chaired congressional committee was told here last month:

One federal agent said an unholy alliance between the Italian Mafia and the Cuban "Mafia" has developed in which the Cuban hoodlums exchange quality cocaine for high-grade heroin.

Pepper said additional crime hearings probably will be held in Miami and other major U.S. cities this year.

"First we must go before the Congress and ask for the money," the Pepper spokesman said. "We have not been given any indication as to how much money we can expect at this point."

Pepper in 1969 laid groundwork for basic legislation the committee is preparing on narcotic control.

While the public appears fascinated by the doings of the fabulous underworld, this possibly was not what the 1968 political campaign was all about.

Sources on the crime committee say the connection lies in the underworld dissemination of illegal drugs which are believed to

be a major contributor to crime in the streets.

Another issue Pepper fought for was stricter bail rules. This bill has been bottled up in a Senate subcommittee by Sen. Sam J. Ervin Jr., a North Carolina Democrat. Ervin says he doubts if the law would be constitutional.

[From the Miami Review, Aug. 19, 1969]

PEPPER'S PRISON REFORM PLANS MERIT STUDY AND CONSIDERATION

(By Lee Ruwitch)

"A good many millions of dollars."

That's how Congressman Claude Pepper describes the cost of a proposed overhaul of the nation's prison system. Pepper says "it will be cheap if it works."

Despite these ambiguities, there is sound logic in the Congressman's proposed innovations including on the job training for prison inmates and the boarding of model prisoners in private homes.

Pepper is chairman of the Select House Committee on Crime, which will soon hold a public hearing in Miami, one of a number scheduled throughout the nation.

The statistics that constantly remind us of the high percentage of repeat offenders vividly point up the failure of our penal system. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has just revealed another startling increase in crime as well as a decline in the effectiveness of law enforcement agencies in apprehending offenders.

Pepper wants a National Institute for Corrections to spearhead new approaches in dealing with convicts.

Under his proposal federal funds would help local communities provide correctional facilities for minor offenders. We have witnessed the miserable failures of the Dade County jail which just "incarcerates" the accused in a highly detrimental atmosphere likely to create more hostility and bitterness that would undermine any future rehabilitation effort.

Prison reform may "cost a good many millions of dollars . . . but it will be cheap if it works."

[From the St. Petersburg Times Sept. 7, 1969]

WHY ISN'T CRIME FOUGHT AT THE ROOTS?

(By Representative CLAUDE PEPPER)

The Select Committee on Crime has completed the initial phase of its hearings on a national view of the crime problem.

Obviously, we did not need these hearings for the purpose of discovering that crime exists. We all know too well that the fear of crime pervades the nation and that political candidates are being elected on the law and order banner.

The real message from our hearings is that despite this omnipresent fear and the public outcry for law and order, we are doing relatively little to meet the crime problem. We have heard more than 40 witnesses during the course of these hearings. The cumulative testimony of these witnesses has established the inadequacy, at every level of government, of our present programs.

Indeed a real paradox exists. While we all clamor for the control of crime, most actions that must be taken are apparently among the lowest priorities for governmental action. During the past decade juvenile crime has had an alarming increase out of all proportion with the increase in overall crime. Arrests of juveniles for narcotics offenses has increased 800 per cent yet our federal expenditures for juvenile delinquency prevention and control have decreased. I suggest that a rather cruel hoax is being perpetrated on our citizens. They are being assured that things are being done that are not being done.

February 10, 1970

The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, the most significant federal legislation in the field of law enforcement and criminal justice, established a Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) to provide federal assistance to the states and local governments for their criminal justice systems. Last year \$29-million in action grants were awarded and increased funding is sought for this year.

With that increase, the total federal expenditure in all areas of law enforcement and criminal justice will be far less than 1 per cent of total federal general expenditures. Furthermore the bulk of the LEAA action money will go to law enforcement—police—continuing the neglect of the pressing needs in such areas as juvenile justice, narcotics addict rehabilitation, court backlog, and corrections.

Our nation has no national or sensible program for corrections and rehabilitation; there is no adequate national program for treating narcotic dependents on a medical basis; we have no meaningful or adequately funded program for dealing with the critical problem of youth crime; there is no federal program for attempting to alleviate the crisis that exists in our state courts, which are overloaded and confronted with hopeless backlogs; although we all recognize that organized crime is an interstate business with which most local law enforcement bodies are incapable of dealing, there is no satisfactory federal response for the elimination of this menace; at every stage our efforts in law enforcement and corrections are beset by fragmentation, with very little coordination between local, state and federal authorities.

The fear that is both valid and real is not the fear that crime exists but the fear that we will continue to do very little to meet the problem. If our committee can dispel the fantasy that our government is responding adequately, we will have fulfilled an important and vital function. Let me cite an example of this delusion. Recently, the Administration forwarded to Congress what was described as a "comprehensive" bill to control drug abuse and narcotic addiction. However, an analysis of the bill reveals that it is little more than a codification of existing statutes concerning law enforcement.

Every expert witness our committee has heard, both in open hearings and in executive session, has agreed that no realistic program to control this important problem could rationally omit provisions for rehabilitation, medical treatment, training and education. What is scarcely one-fourth of a satisfactory program to control drug addiction and abuse has been foisted on the American people as a "comprehensive" legislative package.

It is almost a cliche to say there are no simplistic solutions to the crime problem.

Testimony before our committee set the profits of organized crime from gambling alone, at \$7-billion annually. Our present federal effort against organized crime may rise to an unprecedented funding level of \$55-million.

The hearings and studies of our committee have disclosed to me that there are several deficiencies and gaps in our federal legislation dealing with crime. A major overhaul of these laws is desperately required. The areas of most pressing need are: juvenile delinquency, narcotic addict rehabilitation and educational programs about drugs, improvement of state and local criminal courts, vast upgrading of criminal justice personnel—police prison guards, probation officers and prosecutors, a major revamping of our juvenile courts, and greatly increased use of citizen volunteers in our court and correction efforts.

There is one item of legislation I consider of great urgency—where a federal effort is immediately needed. I have met with many correctional experts and the consensus among

them is apparent that our correctional institutions are largely a relic of another age. Our correction programs just do not correct—the institutions are in too many instances "hothouses of crime" and "secondary courses in criminal activity." These conclusions are most alarming when considered in relation to juvenile corrections.

**CRIME IN THE STREETS AND COURT DELAY**  
(By Congressman CLAUDE PEPPER)

From its inception, the Select Committee on Crime of the U.S. House of Representatives has devoted considerable attention to the congestion in our courts and its effect on the crime rate. Our hearings in Washington, Miami, and other cities have convinced us not only that serious congestion exists but that it has reached alarming proportions, especially in urban areas. Moreover, it is causing the crime rate to rise and respect for our criminal justice system to diminish. The conclusion is inescapable—unless we take prompt and substantial action to shore up the system, we will soon be engulfed by untried and illtried criminal cases.

**MORE PEOPLE ARRESTED**

In many cities, police forces which deservedly have been upgraded are arresting more people than ever before—more than the rest of the system, the courts and corrections, can handle. Justice that once deterred crime with its swiftness and sureness has become lumbering and uncertain, so that the principal problem today is not that the courts are "turning the criminals loose" because of recent Supreme Court decisions but that the cases of many of the accused are not even being reached on the docket. At best, we often see assembly-line justice dispensed by harried judges, prosecutors and clerks striving to cope with a mounting caseload. Thus, the criminal with a bail bondsman and a lawyer has gained months and sometimes years in which to rob and steal afresh; the insolvent defendant, who can afford neither bail nor private counsel, sits in jail until an overworked public defender or an appointed attorney can check out his defense and get him to trial; all the while, the innocent is left to despair of ever clearing his name, and the whole of society loses confidence in the efficacy of the judicial process.

Witness after witness before our Committee described the caseload problem in the courts in the gravest terms. "From one end of the Nation to the other," said Attorney General John N. Mitchell, "local, State and Federal criminal courts are becoming hopelessly overcrowded." The District Attorney of Los Angeles County, Evelle J. Younger, noted that "State courts throughout the country are rapidly approaching the point where the sheer volume of criminal cases threatens to inundate the administration of criminal justice." To Representative Bertram L. Podell of New York, the prevalence of clogged dockets represent "a national disgrace."

Justice so long delayed benefits no one except the criminal himself. As was pointed out by Dean A. Kenneth Pye of the Duke University School of Law, Police Chief Jerry V. Wilson of the District of Columbia and others, the last thing in the world the criminal wants is prompt and speedy trial. He is delighted to have prosecution witnesses go to the courthouse time after time, only to find a case postponed again, or a witness who has moved away or become sick or died. Even if the criminal is unlucky enough to have his case called up in court, he and his lawyer can always resort to plea bargaining—a device that too many judges and prosecutors, because of overwork, readily embrace. It is not surprising therefore, as Chief Wilson noted, that many auto thieves, burglars, muggers and purse snatchers are allowed to plead guilty to such reduced charges as petty lar-

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

ceny and simple assault—"a great number of fairly serious criminals get off with little or no punishment." The effect on the police was aptly described by Representative James H. Scheuer of New York: "There is nothing more discouraging to a police professional than to have risked his life in bringing in a suspect, particularly in the case of a violent crime, and then learn that we have to force the defendant to plead guilty to a lesser offense than what the police officer charged him with because society has not provided the judges, the juries, the prosecutors, the court clerks, the secretaries and the detention facilities to try people, particularly young people."

**WHAT IS EFFECT?**

What is the effect of all this on the crime rate? In the District of Columbia, where it often takes year to 18 months to bring a felony case to trial, there is documentation. A study by the U.S. Attorney's office, cited by Chief Wilson, found a rearrest rate of 60 to 70 per cent among persons charged with robbery and released on bail.

Another study was made by the police department of 156 persons indicted for robbery (holdup) in fiscal year 1967. Within the following year, about 36 per cent had been re-indicted for additional felony offenses—the majority of which were holdups—that were committed while the defendant was out on bond on the original holdup charge. Some were arrested, and subsequently released on bail, as many as five times. Chief Wilson rejected the notion that recent controversial Supreme Court decisions such as *Miranda* were the "real causes" of the law enforcement problem in the District of Columbia, saying: "My own view is that the real problem is that we are just not getting our criminals to trial and are not getting them effectively processed through the courts on the basis of the cases that we are able to make."

Much the same can be said of Miami, where the Committee conducted its most searching examination to date of an overburdened court system. The five judges of the Dade County Criminal Court dispose of about 12,000 cases a year, or about 2,500 cases each, about 60 per cent are felonies, the rest misdemeanors. Chief Judge Jack M. Turner estimated that most cases of those who can afford bail are tried within 12 to 18 months; "run-of-the-mill" jail cases get to trial within three to six months, he said, although other witnesses told of defendants who had spent as much as 18 months to two years in jail awaiting trial. For all classes of defendants, Judge Turner thought a fair interval—fair to both prosecution and defense—between arrest and trial would be three to four months. State's Attorney Richard E. Gerstein felt it was "essential for the efficient administration of justice" to guarantee every defendant a trial within 90 days after arrest.

Far from achieving these goals, the court is experiencing growing caseloads and backlogs with no let-up in sight. The backlog of pending cases (that is, ready for trial) jumped from 3,303 in August, 1968, to 6,978 in August, 1969—a 111 per cent increase. At the already frenzied pace at which the five judges now work, the August, 1969, backlog would require seven months to dispose of, even if no new cases were filed. But there can be no such prospect: the volume of new cases filed by the State's Attorney in the Criminal Court increased by 63 per cent—from 5,473 to 8,298—during the first eight months of 1969 compared with the same period in 1968.

**COULD EASILY BE MUCH WORSE**

As bad as this situation is, it could easily be much worse. All but a handful of the felony cases now coming before the court are disposed of by the judge after waiver of jury trial. One judge told a Committee investigator that if four or five attorneys with large defense practices demanded time-

consuming jury trials for all their clients, chaos would ensue. The prevailing opinion is that defense attorneys readily waive jury trial in the belief that the saving in time will influence the judge to impose a softer sentence if conviction results.

Like Criminal Courts in all of Florida's metropolitan areas, the one in Dade County operates under several statutory and other handicaps. A judge may be added only with every 250,000 increase in county population (whereas a judge may be added in the Circuit Court, which largely handles civil cases, with each 50,000 increase in population). In addition, only Florida and Vermont permit discovery depositions from witnesses in criminal cases—a rule that substantially increases the workload for both State's Attorney and Public Defender offices in Dade County. Efforts to obtain more personnel are rebuffed by a Metropolitan government whose funding powers are severely limited by the State Constitution.

**QUALITY JUSTICE SUFFERS**

Under such handicaps and pressures as the Committee found in Miami, the quality of justice admittedly suffers. State's Attorney Gerstein, a past president of the National District Attorneys Association, cited the multitude of serious felony cases that are tried in big-city courts throughout the land with little or no preparation by the prosecutors. "They are tried 'from the hip,' so to speak," he said. "The prosecutor picks up the file. He calls out the names of the witnesses and he attempts, by rote, by prior experience in these areas, to try the case. That is no way for serious crime to be tried in America." Although the workload in his office has increased by 320 per cent in the past five years, there has been only a 13 per cent increase in staff, he said—and the starting pay of his assistants is less than that for a Dade County patrolman.

**MAJOR REFORM NEEDED**

Philip Hubbard told us of his constant dilemma during five years in the Public Defender's office, where each of 10 part-time assistants assigned to the Criminal Court handle 330 to 340 felony cases a year (compared with a nationally recommended maximum of 150 cases per full-time defender). There are no investigators. He was able to handle such a vast caseload, Mr. Hubbard said, by placing a higher value on his clients' rights to a fair trial rather than on their right to a speedy trial. "It was a terrible choice to have to make," he said, "but I moved time and again for continuances in my cases until I was prepared to try them. Frequently, this meant five-to-six-month delays in the trial of a jailed defendant. Some of these people were undoubtedly innocent, but they had to wait their turn in line until I could fully check out their defenses." Even so, Mr. Hubbard estimated that because of the heavy caseloads in the Public Defender's office, five to 10 per cent of the insolvent defendants it counsels were being convicted of offenses they did not commit. His conclusion was that "it is the poor, not the wealthy, who suffer from these inexcusable inequities and delays in our criminal justice system. A Nation dedicated to equal justice under the law should not tolerate such injustice. Major reforms are in order."

Indeed they are. For Dade County, it was uniformly agreed, the overriding requirement is for manpower—more judges, more prosecutors, more public defenders. Judge Turner held out hope that Florida voters this year will approve a proposed constitutional amendment which would make the less burdened judges of the Circuit Court in metropolitan areas available to try the overflow of criminal cases. Mr. Gerstein and Mr. Hubbard implored Congress to appropriate funds directly to large cities to hire more prosecutors and public defenders. No such

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

funds have yet come to Dade County from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

## MORE ADMINISTRATORS

For multi-judge systems everywhere, I concur with retired Associate Justice Tom Clark of the Supreme Court, now Director of the Federal Judicial Center, that professional court administrators be appointed—and fully empowered—to free judges to spend more time on the bench. We need more schools to train such administrators; at present, only American University here in Washington and the University of Southern California offer degree courses in judicial administration. There should be more statewide judicial conferences (only a few States have them now) where successful techniques of judges and court administrators can be exchanged. Systems should be set up for constant review of all components of the criminal justice system to ascertain whether they are working or not working. Finally, a much greater proportion of funds should be expended through LEAA to strengthen those components of the system above the police department level; as many witnesses before us pointed out, it does little good to strengthen police forces—indeed, it may do more harm than good—without strengthening those other parts of the system, principally courts and corrections, which must deal with all those the police arrest.

In the coming year, the Committee will pursue its study of what is commonly known as court delay. But this much we now know: only through massive infusions of manpower and money, willingly supplied by an understanding public, can criminal justice in this country continue to be administered as a deterrent to crime and in accord with our traditions of fair treatment for all, rich or poor.

"KNOW THE TRUTH, AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE"

## HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, I rise to congratulate and compliment the distinguished Senator from the Yankee State of Connecticut, Senator RIBICOFF, for his frank and forthright statements during yesterday's debate in the other body on the most pressing domestic problem facing the American people—S. 1461, and the following.

The threat of unlawful Federal intervention and control of our educational systems is, in many of our districts, a crisis of destructive proportions today. It is certain to cause grave controversy elsewhere and become a national crisis by this September.

The Senator from Connecticut has hit the nail on the head with his analysis of the school crisis. He correctly recognizes that it is not an educational problem but rather the educational aspect of the far more serious problem of race relations.

We of the South—of both races—have long understood each other and have repeatedly proven that we can live together in the same society with a minimum of friction and a maximum of individual freedom if left alone to solve our own problems. It is certainly no accident that George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington, the greatest

contributors to humanity of their race, and a credit to any civilization, were products of the South. For over 15 years, we of the South have been trying to tell our fellow Americans what Senator RIBICOFF has now announced—that national solutions to local problems are impossible.

As an intelligent people, we must realize that when engines do not run, bridges fall, and designs fail, we do not continue from the same blueprint. We must remain viable and look for solutions to our problems which are acceptable to the majority, yet carefully preserving the basic rights of the minority. We must have the honesty to recognize and deal with facts as they are—not as we wish them to be.

As a matter of economics, the cost of unsuccessfully implemented race mixing by force has proven astronomical, not only as a matter of financial drain on the taxpayers but also in the field of human relations. Efforts to force individual liberties and grant compensatory freedoms to a few have but resulted in amassing more and more concentrations of power in a central government with the result that the experiment now threatens the individual liberties of all under a near-police state.

Lawlessness has been encouraged in the name of law; deceit masquerades as truth, while truth, unwelcome is ostracized. Our land is a troubled land.

Whether it be planned or accidental, we are on a course which will destroy this Nation—the last remaining bulwark of human freedom.

To avoid the destruction of our country, we must first identify the deviation in our course and then correct it. The able Senator from Connecticut has recognized that we are off course. While I do not agree with his proposed solution, I commend his sounding of the alarm.

Because I recognize that the statements made so frankly by Senator RIBICOFF are not in the interests of sectional politics or in deference to any race or minority group, but only in the higher interest of the very survival of our United States, I laud the Senator for his courage and devotion to our country and our people.

I urge every Member of the House to study carefully yesterday's historic colloquy in the other body. The 91st Congress bears the responsibility to generations unborn, for the solution of this problem this year.

## ONE-WEAPON ECONOMICS

## HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, add another voice to the growing chorus of those who recognize that the economic policies of the administration are taking the Nation along an increasingly dangerous road. An editorial in today's New York Times notes nearly all the pitfalls: continued reliance on virtually one anti-

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inflationary weapon, monetary policy; confidence in the balanced-budget approach to economic stability, based on a budget—for fiscal 1971—that is most precariously balanced; a refusal to come to grips with soaring prices and wages.

The editorial's final paragraph restates what I have been saying for months:

A sole reliance on monetary policy is unnecessarily risky. Although the hour is late, the President must start the task of regaining greater economic flexibility and a great arsenal of policy weapons. He must also map out and press for the structural reforms that will make stable growth an achievable objective, not a mere forecast or a pious hope.

I commend the entire editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

## ONE-WEAPON ECONOMICS

Though the unemployment figures are somewhat unreliable on a month-to-month basis, it now seems clear that President Nixon's prescribed "slowing palms" are starting to affect the labor market. The seasonably adjusted unemployment rate climbed from 3.4 per cent in November and December to 3.9 per cent in January and will probably go higher.

In his first official encounter with the House Banking and Currency Committee since assuming the chairmanship of the Federal Reserve Board, Dr. Arthur F. Burns predicted a moderate rise in unemployment this year—to 4.2 or 4.3 per cent, "or maybe a little higher." A full percentage point added to the unemployment rate means joblessness for about 800,000 more people.

At Dr. Burns's swearing-in ceremony, President Nixon pointedly insisted that the time is near for "lower interest rates and more money."

It is understandable that the President and his economic advisers should be jawboning Dr. Burns and the Fed about easing monetary policy; this is essential to its hopes for curbing inflation gradually with only a modest rise in unemployment and an early economic recovery.

According to the Nixon Administration's scenario, the economy is not to grow at all in the first half of 1970 but is then to begin a moderate upswing in the second half of the year. Even in 1971, however, the economy is expected to stay well below its full-employment potential. Not until 1972, by the Administration's current forecasts, will the economy enter a new phase of strong inflationless growth, with real output rising by a vigorous 4.3 per cent a year and unemployment hold to a pleasant 3.8 per cent rate.

The real question is whether the White House has retained the policy instruments it needs to bring about the economic pattern, level of employment and rate of price increase that it desires. In fact, the Administration has virtually stripped itself of the policy instrument needed to achieve both price stability and low unemployment.

On fiscal policy, it has produced a precariously balanced budget and at the same time committed itself to a balanced-budget philosophy. Even if there is not a more serious recession and revenue shortfall than the budget assumes, there may actually be a significant deficit next year of \$5 billion or more. This could result from a refusal of Congress to go along with a six-month delay in pay increases for Federal civilian and military personnel, a postal rate increase and massive sales of Government-owned mortgages, stockpiled materials and other assets.

The Administration has ruled out tax increases as instrument of economic policy. No tax increase under any circumstances has apparently become basic Republican ideology for the time being, no matter what the con-

sequences for inflation or for meeting urgent public needs may be. The Administration blames Congress for this but does nothing to oppose or re-educate Congress on the fiscal facts of life.

The Administration has also ruled out anything resembling a policy on prices, wages and productivity at a time when huge wage increases are in prospect, as unions boost their wage demands to keep pace with spiraling living costs. The Administration cannot end the structural faults in the American economy that have produced so heavy a trade-off between inflation and unemployment simply by describing a growth path that returns gradually to full employment.

The only policy tool left to achieve the desired growth path is monetary policy. And that tool still belongs to Dr. Burns and the Federal Reserve.

But the Administration must now face up to the question of what it would do if its comfortable forecast of a gentle slump and early economic recovery proves false and if changes in the money supply fail to produce the stabilization and growth results on which the White House is counting.

A sole reliance on monetary policy is unnecessarily risky. Although the hour is late, the President must start the task of regaining greater economic flexibility and a great arsenal of policy weapons. He must also map out and press for the structural reforms that will make stable growth an achievable objective, not a mere forecast or plous hope.

#### BIRTH CONTROL

### HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, recently there has been a great deal of discussion over the need to control our expanding population. Earlier this session of Congress I had the pleasure of cosponsoring legislation which would set up a study commission on population control. Recently, Dr. Warren A. Rasmussen of the Georgia State Health Department submitted to me some statistics concerning the need for birth control in order to prevent unwanted pregnancies. For example, he pointed out that there were 1,561 born to mothers of ages 11 through 15 and 119 of these mothers were having their second or third child. I believe that these dramatic statistics show that there is a significant need to control the population problems.

For the information of my colleagues, I am hereby inserting Dr. Rasmussen's letter into the RECORD and the material which accompanied it:

DECATUR, GA.,  
November 18, 1969.

Congressman BEN BLACKBURN,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BLACKBURN: I enjoyed reading your November 1969 newsletter about President Nixon's policy regarding Viet Nam, tax reform, and electoral reform. In my opinion, you have omitted one of the more important aspects of President Nixon's efforts toward facing "our national goals in a more realistic framework". I refer to President Nixon's speech in July regarding population problems and the need for providing family planning services to needy women in this country.

The Georgia Department of Public Health

### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

conservatively estimates that there are presently 201,162 low income women of preproductive age in Georgia who are at risk of pregnancy and not sterile, pregnant, or seeking or desiring pregnancy. These women cannot afford contraceptive service from private physicians. Alas, many have no access to any medical care. Of 87,322 babies born in 1968 of Georgia mothers, 1,561 were born to mothers ages 11, 12, 13, 14, or 15; and 119 of these girls were having their second or third child. Three out of five are unmarried. An additional 6,436 babies were born to girls age 16 and 17. 1,264 were born to mothers over age 40 of whom 60% already had five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, or more children. One baby in nine had no father listed on the birth certificate. Many of these babies resulted from "unwanted pregnancies".

It is my belief that an "unwanted pregnancy" may be considered a venereal disease which is transmitted by a human vector. This disease needs to be more precisely identified epidemiologically and more effectively controlled.

In 1965, the Georgia Health Department initiated the use of intrauterine devices and oral contraceptives as birth control measures in local health clinics. The stated goal of the program was that "every baby should be a wanted baby".

Only 11% of the needy women in Georgia are currently receiving active contraceptive care. Although this is one of the better family planning programs in the United States, its expansion is curtailed by budgetary and personnel limitations. President Nixon's important policy statement in July favored the provision of family planning services to all needy women in this country. I have heard nothing about the implementation of this stated objective into financially supported programs.

To summarize the situation in Georgia,

if one sums up all babies born to girls age 17 or under, all babies born to women age 40 and over, illegitimate babies born to mothers between ages 18 and 39 and all other babies born to mothers who already have five children or more, one learns that 22,934 (26%) of all babies born in 1968 had a high risk suggesting that they may have resulted from unwanted pregnancies. This does not include illegal abortions about which we have no certain knowledge. Nor does it include the few legal abortions which have been received by a privileged few. Nor again, does it include many other women who married to obtain a father's name for the birth certificate.

Please give my compliments to President Nixon for his verbal interest in family planning, the lack of which causes untold suffering; please give him your strongest support in backing his words with appropriate monetary funding. "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" is more truly said of birth control than probably any other health issue today.

Sincerely yours,

ROGER W. ROCHAT, M.D.

P.S. Enclosed is an October memorandum from the Georgia State Health Department which substantiates most of my statistics.

#### MEMORANDUM

OCTOBER 29, 1969.

To: All District Directors of Public Health, All District Directors of Public Health Nursing, All Regional Consultant Nurses, All Local Health Departments, Regional Offices.  
From: Warren A. Rasmussen, M.D., Director, Office of Local Health; Albert K. Schoenbucher, M.D., Director, Maternal Health Service.  
Subject: Maternal Health Service Information Memo—October 1969.

#### GEORGIA'S TOP 10 IN FAMILY PLANNING SERVICE

Rank	County	October 1969		September 1969		August 1969	
		Percent served	County	Percent served	County	Percent served	County
1.	Clay	52.6	Clay	52.6	Clay	60.4	
2.	Webster	35.7	Webster	34.7	Metro Atlanta	34.4	
3.	Metro Atlanta	32.1	Metro Atlanta	31.0	Webster	31.0	
4.	Jasper	30.0	Butts	28.2	Wilkinson	29.5	
5.	Wilkinson	29.3	Ben Hill	27.5	Butts	28.8	
6.	Ben Hill	27.8	Wilkinson	27.2	Ben Hill	25.9	
7.	Screvan	25.7	Peach	23.3	Glascock	23.4	
8.	Warren	25.7	Glascock	22.7	Peach	22.1	
9.	Butts	24.6	Warren	22.6	Crawford	21.3	
10.	Crawford	23.4	Harris	20.8	Warren	20.5	

#### FROM LAST PLACE TO PENNANT CONTENDER IN FOUR MONTHS

Sounds like a sports headline? Well, they're in there pitching in Terrell County!

In July it was announced that Terrell County had started its family planning clinic on July 7, 1969. In the past four months (14 clinic sessions) 177 new patients have been admitted to family planning services—almost 21.5% of the estimated eligible women. This phenomenal rise is due to Dr. Charles Ward's request to see 15 new patients during each clinic session. He devotes each Monday afternoon to providing contraceptive services to the needy women in Terrell County.

But even the physician's willingness is not enough. The efforts of Terrell County's Office of Economic Opportunity and Department of Family and Children Services are to be commended. They have had to struggle to meet Dr. Ward's requested number of clinic patients. They soon discovered that casefinding and referral were not enough. Patients need other help. Now FACS and OEO caseworkers arrange and provide transportation and other help so that the women can attend clinics at their appointed time. They also assist Miss

Juanita Foster and Mrs. Roslie Stone in the clinic sessions.

A unique innovation was added in October. OEO aides use surplus commodity foods to provide lunch for patients. The patients are taught how to use available commodity foods to prepare nutritious as well as palatable meals. It has been said that nutrition has a place in family planning—Terrell County is proving it.

This outstanding accomplishment is an excellent demonstration of what can be done when the health department, FACS, and OEO cooperate fully with the physician to provide needed services.

#### CONGRATULATIONS

To the Big Indian Creek Club in Madison for winning FIRST prize (worth \$60) in community exhibits at the Morgan County Agricultural Fair with an exhibit titled: "Family Planning Multiple Alternatives."

#### METRO ATLANTA REDEFINES ACTIVITY STATUS

Until August 1969, family planning patients in Metro Atlanta (Fulton, DeKalb, and Rockdale Counties) were considered "active" until they were more than two months tardy for

their appointments. These patients will now be defined as delinquent as soon as they miss their appointment. This will cause a decrease in the number of reported "active" patients.

#### NURSES MAY DO PAP SMEARS

"It is recognized that physician services are not available in all health department clinics; and, therefore, some provisions must be made for obtaining the Pap smear at times other than during a pelvic examination by a physician. With approval of the local board of health and the Office of Local Health, nurses and/or technicians may be taught by local physicians to obtain a Pap smear. Consultation and instructions for teaching will be provided by the Maternal Health Service. This nursing assistance in no way relieves the physician of the responsibility for the patient."

Nurses have been performing Pap smears and IUD string checks in several counties during the past three to four years. These techniques can be easily taught by the clinician and provide the nurse with the capability of performing them during non-clinic hours when the physician may not be present. The physician's time can then be used for initiating new patient services and handling problems and complications associated with contraception. This would especially help counties which, like Webster, have family planning appointments booked through March 1970—most of these are for follow-up patients.

#### FAMILY PLANNING QUESTIONNAIRE

On September 18, 1969, a questionnaire was mailed to 375 active health department clinicians. About 50% have already been returned. The preliminary results are very interesting:

153 (87%) provide family planning in their private practice. Both the IUD and oral contraceptives are used by 124 (81%) of the physicians who provide family planning in their private practice.

Although the Lippes Loop was preferred by most physicians, both the loop and the Saf-T-Coil were used by a large number of physicians in public health clinics. Eighty (46%) preferred a single combined oral contraceptive; 82 (46%) chose two or more combined preparations. Ninety-two (52%) preferred a single sequential preparation; 40 (23%) chose two or more preparations; 16 (9%) expressed dislike for sequential preparations.

A "28-day" pill was preferred to the "21-day" pill for clinic patients by the majority of the physicians.

Foam and condoms were used by most physicians; appropriate comments were made about their relative ineffectiveness.

The IUD received considerable praise from the physicians:

"Only thing any good in clinic patients is an IUD."

"In our clinic there is very little real need for anything but the loop."

"I am 100% for the IUDs and have put in about 400 since 1965 (this includes public health and private)."

"I like the loop also."

Several complained about the "short strings"; another tersely stated "loops and coils unreliable in my practice".

#### CALORIES FROM NON FOOD ITEMS

Did you ever wonder if that "Argo" starch craved by some pregnant women added calories? Well, it does. As a matter of fact a box of starch is 86% carbohydrates and yields 1590 calories!

This is the amount of calories expended during 4-5 hours of active exercise, since we need approximately 2.7 calories per pound of body weight per hour for active activities.

\* From Maternal Health Service Policy Statement revised September 1969.

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Now if you really want to get an idea of how many calories this represents, just visualize a bag of potato chips, a piece of apple pie, a bag of peanuts, milk shake, and a candy bar—all of these add up to that box of starch!

Would you like an inservice program on nutrition? I would be happy to plan a visit to your county.

#### UNWANTED BIRTHS IN GEORGIA: 1968

"Every baby should be a wanted baby." So we believe. Who knows the extent of unwanted births in Georgia? The number of girls who quit school because of pregnancy? The unmarried mothers who cannot adequately support themselves and care for their children? The older mothers who already have a houseful . . . and suddenly . . . one more? And many of these are already poor people. "The rich get richer and the poor get babies."

An increased health risk to mother or baby is associated with mothers age 17 or less and 40 or more. Increased health problems are also seen with multiple teenage pregnancies, frequent pregnancies, and having more than five babies (at any age).

Did you know that in calendar year 1968 in Georgia . . .

There were 1,561 births to girls age 15 or under, 90 more than in 1967. (69% of these births were to non-white mothers.)

119 of the 1,561 babies born to mothers age 15 or under were the second or third baby born to that mother.

56% of the children born to mothers age 15 or less had no fathers listed on the birth certificate.

An additional 6,436 girls age 16 and 17 gave birth to babies in 1968. Of these tragically young mothers, 31 were delivering their fourth, fifth, or sixth child . . . at age 16 or 17.

1,264 babies were born to mothers age 40 or over; 761 (60%) were sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, or higher in the family.

One out of nine babies born had no father named on the birth certificate.

How many babies were born to your county's children?

How many unwanted babies will be born in your county in 1969? in 1970?

Family planning, birth control, can be effective . . .

What are you doing to prevent unwanted births??

The following pamphlets are now freely available from Central Supply, Georgia State Health Department. Please order as many as you can effectively use:

#### "Why Family Planning?"

"If You Have Chosen the Loop for Spacing Your Children . . ."

#### NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS BY MOTHER'S AGE AND COUNTY, 1968<sup>1</sup>

	Mother's age				
	Total, 11-15	12	13	14	15
Total	1,559	12	103	346	1,097
Appling	7	1	1	6	
Atkinson	4	1	1	2	
Bacon	2			2	
Baker	1				
Baldwin	12			12	
Banks	3			3	
Barrow	3			3	
Bartow	9		1	8	
Ben Hill	4		1	1	
Berrien	4		1		
Bibb	46	4	8	34	
Bleckley	5			5	
Brantley	2		1		
Brooks	4		1	1	2
Bryan	1		1		
Bulloch <sup>2</sup>	10	1	2	6	
Burke	17	1	2	5	9
Butts	4	1		3	
Calhoun	4		1	1	2
Camden	1			1	
Candler	2		1		1
Carroll	16			5	11
Catoosa	5			1	4
Charlton	2			1	1
Chatham	82		6	19	57
Chattahoochee	5				5
Chattooga	6			3	3
Cherokee	15		2	3	10
Clarke	2				2
Clay	12		1	2	9
Clayton	8		2	2	4
Clinch	36	1	3	6	26
Cobb	11		2	3	6
Colquitt	21		3	6	12
Columbia	10				10
Cook	6			1	5
Coweta	9			4	5
Crawford	4			1	3
Crisp	13			3	10
Dade	1			1	
Dawson					
Decatur	12	2	3	3	7
De Kalb	100	2	7	15	75
Dodge	3				3
Dooly	6				6
Dougherty	34		2	9	23
Douglas	9		1	1	7
Early	12		2	2	8
Echols	4				4
Effingham	1			1	
Elbert	9			2	7
Emanuel	8			3	5
Evans	3			1	2
Fannin	1				1
Fayette	4		1		3
Floyd	12			4	8
Forsyth	5				5
Franklin	4			2	2
Fulton	276		20	67	189
Gilmer	1				1
Glascock	1				1
Glynn	10		1	1	8
Gordon	1				1
Grady	7		1	2	4
Greene	6		1	2	3
Gwinnett	24		4	3	17
Habersham	2				2
Hall	13			2	11
Hancock	11			3	8
Haralson	4			1	3
Harris	6			1	5
Hart	1				1
Heard	1				1
Henry	9	1		3	5
Houston	14			3	11
Irwin	5				5
Jackson	5			1	4
Jasper	6		1		5
Jeff Davis	7		1	1	5
Jenkins	4				4
Johnson	3			1	2
Jones	1				1
Lamar	4		1	2	1
Lanier	1				1
Laurens	12		1	1	10
Lee	4			1	3
Liberty	8		1	2	5
Lincoln	4			2	2
Long	1				1
Lowndes	19			6	13
Lumpkin	3	1			2
Macon	7				7
Madison	2		1	1	
Marion					
McDuffle	14				9
McIntosh	5		2	1	2
Meriwether	7		1	1	5
Miller	3			1	2
Mitchell	11			3	8
Monroe	3				3
Montgomery	3			2	1
Morgan	4			1	3
Murray	1				1
Muscogee	38			11	27
Newton	10			2	8
Oconee	2			1	1
Ogelthorpe	4			3	1
Paulding	4				4
Peach	11	1		3	7
Pickens	2				2
Pierce	3		1	1	1
Pike	1		1		
Polk	6				6
Pulaski	3				3
Putnam	6			2	4
Quitman	2				2
Rabun	1				
Randolph	7		1	1	5
Richmond	59	1	2	13	43
Rockdale	4		1	1	4
Schley	2				2
Scoville	3		1	1	1
Seminole	4				4
Spalding	22		2	5	15

<sup>1</sup> From Maternal Health Service Policy Statement revised September 1969.

<sup>2</sup> Bulloch<sup>2</sup> includes data for Bulloch and Catoosa.

NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS BY MOTHER'S AGE AND COUNTY 1968<sup>1</sup>—Continued

	Mother's age				
	Total, 11-15	12	13	14	15
Stephens	2		1	1	
Stewart	2				2
Sumter	14	1	4	9	
Talbot	2		1	1	
Taliaferro					
Tattnall	5	1		4	
Taylor	2		1	1	
Telfair	8	2		6	
Terrell	6		3	3	
Thomas	11	1		10	
Tift	9	1	3	5	
Toombs	9		2	7	
Towns	1			1	
Treutlen	3	1	1	1	
Troup	9	1	4	4	
Turner	1			1	
Twigg	4		1		3
Union					
Upson	9		3	6	

<sup>1</sup> Biostatistics Service, Georgia Department of Public Health (excludes military establishments in Georgia which reported 1 13-year-old and 1 15-year-old mother in 1968).

<sup>2</sup> Bulloch County had 1 11-year-old mother in 1968.

AN ANALYSIS OF LIVE BIRTHS IN GEORGIA, 1968, BY AGE, RACE, MARITAL STATUS,<sup>1</sup> AND PARITY<sup>2</sup>

Characteristics of mother	White births	Percent of total white births	Nonwhite births	Percent of total non-white births	Total births	Percent of total births
Age less than 15; 56 percent unmarried; 8 percent with previous child.	479 (27 percent unmarried).	0.8	1,082 (69 percent unmarried).	3.8	1,561	1.8
Age 16 to 17; 21 percent had previous children.	3,079 (12 percent unmarried).	5.3	3,357 (50 percent unmarried).	11.7	6,436	7.4
Age 40 and over; 50 percent had more than 5 previous live births.	698 (41 percent: more than 5).	1.2	566 (84 percent more than 5).	2.0	1,264	1.4
Unmarried mothers age 18 to 39; 35 percent had 2 or more previous live births.	1,582 (17 percent: 2 or more).	2.7	5,406 (40 percent: 2 or more).	18.8	6,988	8.0
Married mothers age 18 to 39 with more than 5 previous live births.	2,820	4.8	3,866	13.5	6,686	7.7
<b>Subtotal<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>8,658</b>	<b>14.8</b>	<b>14,277</b>	<b>49.7</b>	<b>22,935</b>	<b>26.3</b>
Married mothers age 18 to 39 with 5 or fewer previous live births.	49,958	85.2	14,429	50.3	64,387	73.7
<b>Total births</b>	<b>58,616</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>28,706</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>87,322</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<sup>1</sup> Marital status is defined by presence or absence of name of father on birth certificate.

<sup>2</sup> Data obtained from Biostatistics Service, Georgia State Board of Health.

<sup>3</sup> The subtotal may represent live births which may be unplanned, unwanted and medically or socially disadvantaged.

## WHILE WE LOOK THE OTHER WAY

## HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, even though the House has passed a proposed constitutional amendment establishing direct popular vote for the President, the subject is of such a tremendous importance that commentary and debate very properly continues.

Therefore, I was especially interested in the very profound commentary on the subject in the Thursday, February 5, Worth-Palos (Ill.) Reporter, in a column by Mr. Zay Smith, Jr., a journalist who is recognized for his very high degree of political sagacity.

Incidentally, columnist Smith is a most able and dedicated liberal who very consistently maintains the honesty of his convictions. I believe that has commentary is, therefore, especially pertinent.

I include the article, as follows:

WHILE WE LOOK THE OTHER WAY  
(By Zay Smith, Jr.)

In the 1950's, Senator John Kennedy led the forces opposing the abolition of the electoral college. In a typically eloquent speech, he paraphrased Lord Melbourne and based his argument on this aphorism:

"When it is not necessary to change, it is necessary not to change."

These words are unassailable. To preach against them is to preach revolution just for the hell of it, as some foolish men have recently done. It is simply against common sense to destroy an institution that is working well, and it is also a waste of precious effort as there are so many institutions that are not.

So Senator Kennedy and his forces won. The outcome, actually, was never in doubt. The electoral college had many friends in the 1950's.

But we have been scared twice since then, and we have seen what damage the electoral college can and might do, given another squeaker, especially a three-party squeaker. And, with a decade of new experiences to our credit, we are moving to change the way that Presidents of the United States are elected.

A Constitutional amendment has already been swept through the House of Repre-

sentatives. It awaits Senate action. If it goes into force, the character of our national elections will be changed radically. And it is sad that there is not sitting in the Senate, at this moment, a Senator Kennedy to paraphrase a Lord Melbourne, for the proposed amendment would change much that it is necessary not to change.

Peaceably, through due process, we are threatened with evolution just for the hell of it, and from this evolution might come a worse chaos than the one we are presently trying to forestall.

In the words of Theodore H. White, who has been watching the making of Presidents for decades:

"Last September, in a triumph of noble purpose over common sense, the House passed and has sent to the Senate a proposal to abolish the Federal System.

"It is not called that, of course. Put forth as an amendment to the Constitution, the new scheme offers a supposedly better way of electing Presidents. Advanced with the delusive rhetoric of *vox populi, vox dei*, it not only wipes out the obsolete Electoral College but abolishes the sovereign states as voting units. In the name of the People, it proposes that a giant plebiscite pour all 70,000,000 American voters into a single pool whose winner, whether by 5,000 or 5,000,000, is hailed as National Chief."

White foresees election night nightmares if the amendment passes, and several of his arguments are here condensed:

1. John Kennedy won the Presidency in 1960 with a margin of less than one-fifth of one percent of votes cast nationally. There were cases of undeniable vote fraud in at least three states. But no one challenged his victory because "the national decision had been made by electoral votes of honest-count states—sealed off from contamination by fraud elsewhere—and because scandal could as well be charged to Republicans as to Democrats." The partitioning inherent in our present system had, then, nullified the vote frauds in 1960.

However, had the votes been dumped into one large pool, the pressure to cheat and to call for recounts would inevitably grow, and with this pressure would grow the chances for chaos. "Any vote stolen anywhere in the Union (would) pressure politicians thousands of miles away to balance or protest it." With the proposed system, according to White's best guess, both the 1960 and 1968 elections would have ended, not in an orderly transition, but in an electoral brawl.

2. Today's system forces "candidates to plan campaigns on many levels, choosing groups and regions to which they must appeal, importantly educating themselves on local issues in the states which they seek to carry. But if states are abolished as voting units, TV becomes absolutely dominant . . . Issues will be shaped in national TV studios, and the heaviest swat will go to the candidate who raises the most money to buy the best time and most 'creative' TV talent."

There is enough of this already, as anyone who has read *The Selling of the President*, 1968, by Joe McGinnis, knows. Take away the partitions, the local issues and the clout they carry, and all restraints against this sort of practice are taken away with them.

3. In the same sense, "if states are abolished as voting units, the chief political leverage of Negroes is also abolished."

"Black votes count today because blacks vote chiefly in big-city states where they make the margin of difference. No candidate seeking New York's 43 electoral votes, Pennsylvania's 29, Illinois' 26 can avoid courting the black vote that may swing those states."

Thus the grievances of the blacks (as well as those by countless other minority groups

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that often hold whites as members) could be easily ignored by the ambitious candidates, in the hallowed name of The People.

These and other points that White makes should make us pause a bit before stapling our new Amendment to our most important listing of laws. In our eagerness to attack the Electoral College, which should be attacked and which should be abolished so great is the potential for mischief it carries, we are also attacking the entire system of state by state voting. How often we hear about the baby and the bath water. How often we forget to keep a firm grip on the baby.

The most dangerous aspect is this: we are presently spending most of our attention on those issues (such as environment and the arms race) which threaten to settle us if we do not settle them. So great are the pressures of these issues that we are presently being distracted from this Constitutional amendment. Constitutional law does not help sell magazines as mushroom clouds do. An amendment such as this, a comparative bore as issues go, might not arouse the passions necessary for a full national debate. And if this happens, it may very well slip through in the same way that most unfortunate laws slip through: while the electorate is looking the other way.

**AN APPEAL TO THE ADVERTISING INDUSTRY TO JOIN IN ACHIEVING "CONSUMERISM" GOALS**

**HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 10, 1970*

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the advertising industry is one of the most important economic factors in our society; it makes the market for most of the things consumers buy, thus helping to provide jobs for millions of Americans at ever-higher standards of living. When enlisted in a public service crusade of any kind, it can appeal to us very effectively and successfully and stimulate public interest in the accomplishment of worthwhile goals. While it continues to sell cigarettes, for instance, its skills are also used with great effect in persuading millions of people to give up smoking, or in persuading youth not to start. It is a potent force in every aspect of daily life.

Traditionally, however, the advertising industry and the consumer interest have often been on opposite sides of many issues. Thus, I was happy to accept a sincere invitation from leaders of the American Association of Advertising Agencies last month to meet with the AAAA's Committee on Government and Public Relations to discuss consumerism—why it has grown into such a tremendous political force resulting in the introduction of scores of proconsumer bills in Congress and the legislatures, and why this legislation has become so important.

**CINDERELLA AFTER THE BALL**

In an introductory statement prior to an extended question-and-answer period on the status of consumer legislation and the outlook for passage of some of the bills, I urged the leaders of the advertising industry to put human safety—the safety of the members of their own fami-

lies—at the very top of their concern in viewing some of the urgent consumer bills now pending "even when they step on some corporate toes of client firms."

I added:

I am not asking the advertising industry to commit suicide—just to help us all, including all of you as individuals and family men—to avoid involuntary suicide—to protect our families from industrial warfare against our health.

No industry sets out deliberately to kill or maim its customers. I know that. Often it is the competitive drive within an industry which forces firms to market products they themselves have doubts about, but cannot take the time to perfect because then somebody else will soak up the market.

As a woman, I love to read the cosmetic ads, for instance, I, too, dream of their implied miracles. But I want the assurance that when I buy a cream or lipstick or bath oil or other product to change me overnight into Cinderella at the ball, midnight won't find me scratching a rash or going to the hospital for liver or kidney disease.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I submit herewith the introductory remarks which I made to the AAAA leaders as follows:

**REMARKS BY CONGRESSWOMAN LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, DEMOCRAT OF MISSOURI, CHAIRMAN OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY, AT MEETING WITH COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC RELATIONS, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF ADVERTISING AGENCIES, WILLIAMSBURG ROOM, WATERGATE HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., MONDAY MORNING, JANUARY 26, 1970.**

I am somewhat surprised and delighted—and I know you gentlemen are at least surprised—by the tremendous surge in public interest in the whole broad field of consumerism; for, while the issues themselves are not new by any means, the attention they are now receiving is amazing. Time Magazine recently devoted its cover story to this subject—centering around Ralph Nader, but including a broad roundup of most of the consumer issues; the daily press more and more is assigning reporters full time to consumer news; the television networks are doing the same thing; and this session this morning, in which I am most happy to participate, is a good illustration of the seriousness with which the business community is viewing the revolt of the consumer.

When I came to Congress 17 years ago, intent on making consumer issues my main interest as a legislator, there were so few members of Congress primarily interested in this area of legislation that, as I have said on several occasions, we could have held a caucus in one of the Capitol elevators. A telephone booth would have been a little too small.

Jim Delaney of New York had recently completed an investigation into the chemicals then being used in extravagant disregard for safety, without pretesting, in foods and cosmetics, but any legislation on the issue was still 5 years away; Doc Miller of Nebraska was expressing his concern as a medical man over the unrestricted use of pesticides in agriculture; Hubert Humphrey, as a pharmacist, was upset over the degree of supervision over non-prescription drugs including cough medicines containing narcotics; Estes Kefauver was working on organized crime issues at that time and hadn't begun his probe into drug prices and drug patents which eventually led him fatefully into the field of drug safety; there was some concern over smoke and smog in our cities, but air pollution wasn't considered a great national issue at the time, and so on. The total budget of the Food and Drug Admin-

istration was about \$5 million compared to today's 15-fold increase to \$73 million.

**NOT "PROTEST" BUT RECOGNITION OF PROBLEMS**

In 1953, when I took my seat in the House, a Food and Drug inspector was not free to enter a factory to see how products under the agency's supervision were being made, unless the management *voluntarily* admitted him, or he made an appointment in advance—and you can imagine how different conditions would be in the plant when the inspection appointment date arrived compared to what they might have been before.

Anyone could market anything he wanted to in the food line without pre-clearance of dangerous ingredients, and it would be up to the government to detect unsafe food additives and then, if it could *prove* they were unsafe, remove the product from the market. *That is still the law on cosmetics.*

With this audience, I am sure I do not have to go into the history of the changes in the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act since 1953, or into the history of other changes in the laws dealing with consumer products, because I believe that most of the advertising firms represented here have been very close indeed to those changes—and not always in the position of helping to bring them about.

A lot of people tend to associate the consumer movement with the general movement of protest in this country—over civil rights, minority aspirations, the revolt of youth, and so on. I don't see much connection. I think it is more a reflection of increasing affluence, increasing levels of education, and the participation of more and more of our middle class in the so-called good life. They are in a position now to buy more things—more complex and sophisticated and expensive gadgets and appliances and playthings and luxuries, and they are *fed up* with the slipshod workmanship and the fast-dealing and the poor service and the hazards they encounter in the acquisition of things they purchase in the pursuit of happiness.

**REVOLT OF MIDDLE CLASS**

In the fight over the Truth in Lending law, I found very little interest or concern on the part of the lower income families for the credit abuses of which they were traditional victims—it was the upper middle class which did most of the protesting about credit charges and practices. A study by the Federal Reserve Board last June, before the Consumer Credit Protection Act went into effect, showed that the people most likely to be aware of the extremely high interest rates being charged for credit were the college-educated, upper income families; most of the others seemed to think that they were buying used cars at 6% or so instead of 24% or 32% or 100% or whatever they were paying, and most of those frankly didn't care what they were paying as long as it was only so-much-a-month. But when department stores went to the 1 1/2% a month credit charge on revolving credit, and we publicized that at the annual rate, you should have read the mail I received from indignant well-to-do families aghast at discovering they were paying 18% for credit.

The consumer movement is growing and making itself visible and articulate—and also effective—because more and more families are able to buy the mechanical gadgets which threaten their lives or safety, or which cost large amounts of money and therefore are expected to be well-made and worth the expense. And you can't soft-soap them anymore into being happy with their evidences of wealth and well-being, for these are people who work hard and take pride in what they do for a living and they resent being suckered by the sloppy workmanship or the fast-dealing of those they deal with or buy from.

## CHANGE IN ATTITUDE OF PRESS

And, as we live longer and are able to buy medical care, we increasingly resent, and fight against, environmental factors which shorten our lives or cause disease, and against products and their promotion which entice us into premature illness and death. It was only after Veterans Administration physicians discovered a close relationship between cigaret smoking and cancer and heart disease that the newspapers would ever print anything adverse to the tobacco industry, even though all of us grew up being told by our teachers that cigarettes were "coffin nails." But I think that VA study on cigarettes and their statistical relationship to killing diseases marked a turning point in the consumer movement—in public awareness of environmental and other hazards, and it also marked the start of press attention, in anything other than the most perfunctory and protective manner, to products sold in this country and widely advertised in the media.

Now consumerism is one of the hottest and most glamorous of political issues in the Congress. Most of the Members of both bodies have introduced one or more bills dealing with specific aspects of consumer complaints. Some of them are very important and very necessary bills; others are not so important, and some border on the absurd.

But regardless of the kind of consumer complaint a bill deals with—and there are as many complaints about individual products or practices as there are consumers—the mere introduction of the bill gets the Member some press attention and some flattering approval from some of his constituents. *Passing* the bills is another matter entirely. That takes not only a vast amount of hard legislative work, but some good and timely breaks in the news—for instance, any disaster brings with it some legislative reaction, and we tend to legislate largely in response to crisis and disaster.

## NO THREAT TO LEGITIMATE BUSINESS

Thanks to clients of many of the firms in this industry, a cosmetics safety measure of mine has been bottled up in Committee since 1954. I am not that patient, but I know that events will eventually pass that bill for me. The cosmetics industry has its fingers crossed on that—a perpetual posture for that industry, which is living under the knowledge that only the restraint or good luck of individual cosmetic merchandisers has avoided some catastrophe to thousands of women, or men and women, which would almost automatically result in passage of reasonable legislation the industry itself knows we need, but doesn't want.

The advertising industry is not in any way threatened by the consumer movement. You may be inconvenienced by it, as you were in getting out new commercials overnight for the diet soft drinks after cyclamates were banned for this purpose—and you proved your resourcefulness and professionalism in adjusting to that tremendous task. So you can do miracles.

Other government actions to protect the consumer may inconvenience you from time to time in your work, but you people are consumers, too—and it's *your* safety, as much as anyone else's, which is often at stake. And the credibility of your advertising is enhanced when you know, and the public knows, that *what* you advertise and help sell is *worth buying*.

I think the business economy of this country will be strengthened, not weakened, by the passage of needed, and intelligently drawn, consumer legislation. I do not believe in passing laws just for show—empty laws to meet a public demand by providing a title and no substance. Frankly, the Truth in Packaging law, which many of you fought so hard, is nothing more than that. The Truth in Lending law, and other provisions of the Consumer Credit Protection Act, are

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

different—they have substance and teeth. And they will help you do a better job of marketing American industry's products.

## SAFETY ISSUES PARAMOUNT

We are now faced with many bills to regulate credit, not just disclose its costs; to regulate credit life insurance rates; to regulate the quality and performance of products; to do many of the things which might assure more bargaining power to the consumer in negotiating a purchase or making a loan. There is strong public support for those bills, just as there is—I might say—for the idea of price and wage controls. These are pocketbook issues.

More important to me—although I am not against protecting the pocketbook by any means—are the proposed measures to protect human life from mounting daily hazards, and I sincerely and deeply hope your great industry will place itself behind these objectives, even when they step on some corporate toes of client firms. I am not asking the advertising industry to commit suicide—just to help us all, including all of you as individuals and family men—to avoid involuntary suicide—to protect our families from industrial warfare against our health.

No industry sets out *deliberately* to kill or maim its customers. I know that. Often it is the competitive drive within an industry which forces firms to market products they themselves have doubts about, but can't take the time to perfect because then somebody else will soak up the market. I could give you a catalogue of such products, but I think you know what many of them are.

As a woman, I love to read the cosmetic ads, for instance. I too dream of their implied miracles. But I want the assurance that when I buy a cream or lipstick or bath oil or other product to change me overnight into Cinderella at the ball, midnight won't find me scratching a rash or going to the hospital for liver or kidney disease.

## THE CASE FOR PRETRIAL DETENTION

**HON. RICHARD H. POFF**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, on January 30, 1970, Deputy Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst addressed the American Trial Lawyers Association assembled in its midwinter meeting in Freeport, Grand Bahama Island. It was a speech of unusual excellence concerning an issue of unusual urgency. In a most scholarly fashion, he made the case for limited pretrial detention of repeat offenders and narcotics addicts accused of crimes of violence and explained in depth the safeguards the administration's draft legislation would erect to preserve the constitutional rights of the accused. I quote Mr. Kleindienst's speech in full:

THE CASE FOR PRETRIAL DETENTION  
(By Deputy Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst)

Time and events have produced a crisis of disorder in American society.

In the great cities of the nation, crime and its consequences press in on Americans, creating apprehension and fear, and seriously diminishing the enjoyment of life. As we examine the situation, nearly every form of criminal activity is on the rise, while the system we have developed for containing this lawlessness is breaking down.

"An accumulation of public neglect," as one observer puts it, has rendered the institutions of criminal justice almost incapable of meeting the present emergency. Nowhere is this more painfully obvious than in the nation's capital.

Crime's social turbulence is infinitely complex. A long view of things sees crime as the product of social forces, economic conditions, cultural patterns, and ebbing morals as much if not more than of human depravity. Recent studies have helped us to delineate with some precision the causes of crime. Among these certainly are:

The alienation, bitterness, and frustration of poverty, aggravated by racial tensions, in an urban setting;

The boredom and stresses of great affluence as it coexists uneasily with conditions of poverty;

The steady dissolution of family life;

The rootlessness, confusion, and disorientation which result from urbanization and unparalleled mobility;

The fashionable permissiveness which condones misconduct; and

The growing disrespect for the sources of authority which help to regulate human behavior.

To these broad, sometimes intangible, and grimly persistent factors which contribute remorselessly to crime in society, we must add the present inadequacy of the criminal justice system. Fragmented in its operations and split in its perspective, the criminal justice system is failing to achieve its traditional objectives.

It is failing to deter criminals.

It is failing to restrain criminals.

It is failing to rehabilitate criminals.

And the failure of the system to achieve these objectives is generating an unfortunate but understandable spirit of retribution among an angry, fearful, and dissatisfied people.

The long range solution to our problems with crime lies in a comprehensive effort to treat and remove the causes of crime—an effort involving the whole of government, in every department at every level. Such an effort will require a massive commitment of our energy and resources. It will require time. And we must remember that as long as the effort continues, it will compete with other national priorities of urgency and importance. Thus, the causes of crime, which we all agree must receive our most imaginative, dedicated, and intensive exertions, are not going to be eliminated within the life of this administration or the length of this decade. Despite our best efforts and the expenditure of billions, these causes may still exist when the nation passes into a new century.

This unpleasant assessment should not surprise anyone. It does not imply in the least that needed social reforms can be put off or ignored. On the contrary, the President has called for action in this session of Congress on fundamental welfare reforms, expanded efforts to combat hunger, and birth control assistance. The administration will continue to press forward with programs like the Philadelphia Plan to rid the land of discrimination in employment. These steps are crucial. But any realistic assessment of the situation must recognize the need for short range plans to treat the symptoms of crime—the rape, robbery, and violence in the streets—not tomorrow but now.

We believe the alleviation of crime may be achieved, with relative speed and lasting effect, by reforming and improving the administration of criminal justice. This will take some modification in substantive law. It will take some revision of criminal procedure. But mostly it will require ample funding for police, prosecutors, public defenders, bail agencies, courts, correctional facilities, treatment centers, and the other institutions of the criminal justice system. To make this

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system work in the present crisis, we cannot give it less than generous support. We will pay for petty economies in blood and suffering.

The short range plans to improve criminal justice, in every jurisdiction where the federal government holds sway, are inescapably the burden of the Department of Justice. In the District of Columbia—where total offenses last year jumped 27 per cent; where reported armed robberies climbed from 4,640 in 1968 to 7,071 in 1969, up 44 per cent; and where a homicide occurred every 30 hours—we find the ultimate test for a law and order administration which expects to be taken seriously. At the same time, however, the District of Columbia presents a challenging opportunity for experimentation and reform.

The Department of Justice has the responsibility of trying to improve criminal justice in ways that will assure new quality throughout the system and push the crime rate decidedly downward. If deterrence, rehabilitation, and restraint are desirable objectives, we must adjust the system so that these objectives will be achieved.

The crime rate will be reduced, at least to some extent, if we have police forces with the manpower and wherewithal to be present in the streets to deter and solve crime. As things stand now, the police solution rate for reported robberies in Washington is less than 20 per cent. That feeble percentage will not deter crime. An expanded police force, well trained, well equipped, and sensitive to the issues of the day, can improve that statistic. The risk of apprehension which attends every crime must be increased.

The crime rate will be reduced when the offenders who are apprehended are processed without delay. When nine to twelve months elapse between arrest and trial because of choked and crowded courts, swift, sure justice is an idle pipedream. Crime will not be deterred by protracted proceedings; it will not be deterred by backlog and delays. The court reorganization proposed by the administration for Washington is prompted in large part by the necessity of removing these scandals from the system to speed the disposition of a criminal case.

The crime rate will also be reduced when sentencing practices once again reflect the objective of deterrence as well as the objective of rehabilitation. When a potential offender believes he will "get off easy" if he is caught, he will not be deterred from committing a crime.

CBS television recently carried a documentary program on crime in the District of Columbia. Reporter Mike Wallace, who traveled with a police patrol for several hours one evening, interviewed a man on his way to choir practice who, moments before, had been assaulted and robbed by a gang of boys. The Americans at home who saw the cameras focus on the man's face, with blood streaming from his mouth, could only have reacted with fear—and outrage.

Although grim retribution should not be the aim of the panel sanction, our judicial procedure and sentencing practice must impart to an offender the outrage of society with acts of violence. There can be no compromise on our intolerance of violent crime. The wanton violence of the streets has no place in a civilized society. The criminal justice system must make that clear.

This determination to restore deterrence to the system must be matched by an equal determination to effect rehabilitation in correctional institutions across America. President Nixon has said that "No realistic program to substantially reduce crime can ignore the appalling deficiencies of our prisons and rehabilitative efforts."

At least 40 per cent of all offenders released from custody eventually return to prison. The percentage of released offenders who commit new crimes is probably much higher. Recognizing this, the President has

directed the Attorney General to formulate a ten year program for a complete modernization of the physical plants and correctional programs in the federal prison system, with the goal of developing model facilities and programs which state and local systems can follow.

Among other things, the President specifically asked the Attorney General:

To give priority in the federal corrections program to the special problems presented by juvenile offenders, women offenders, and the mentally disturbed, with emphasis on the use of alternatives to traditional institutionalization;

To expand training programs for correctional personnel; and

To devise new vocational, educational, and employment opportunities for persons on probation, in prison, and on parole.

The stakes involved in effective rehabilitation become quite clear when we realize that 19 out of every 20 men who enter prison one day will return to society. To reduce crime, we must see that these men leave custody with education, with training, and with positive attitudes toward their role as citizens. If they do not leave with the capacity to make an attractive place for themselves in the world about them, we can only expect them to return to crime. Developing correctional programs that will restore wayward men is one of the most challenging and difficult problems we face today.

As we seek to improve deterrence and rehabilitation, we must not lose sight of the ultimate objective. That objective and the first purpose of the criminal law is to protect the public from crime and violence.

Governments are organized among men to afford some measure of protection to the individual citizen. They exist to provide a setting in which people can flourish and move about freely without fear. When lawlessness is rampant, the liberty and security of the citizen are in peril. When crime and the fear of crime terrorize our people, the primary purpose of government fails.

This is the situation in Washington today. Merchants and citizens are buying arms for protection because they know that last year more people were robbed and raped and slain in the District of Columbia than ever before. They know that Washington residents are the most beleaguered and endangered citizens in the United States.

One thinks of Leon Epstein, the clothier, who was gunned down last February in a four dollar robbery.

One thinks of Herman Clifford, an assistant principal, who was murdered in a holdup at Cardozo High School.

One thinks also of the many thousands of people in Washington who reported being victimized in an armed robbery. Too often these people felt a knife at their throats or were told point blank, as they looked down the barrel of a gun: "Give me your money, or I'll kill you."

Crimes of this nature have an obvious impact. Middle class blacks have long since joined the exodus from Washington. They know first hand that crime hits hardest in the black community. They know that in three fifths of the forcible rapes, the victim is a Negro. Representative William L. Clay, a young congressman from St. Louis, was speaking for blacks all across this country, when he said:

"We no longer take strolls at night, shop at night, and we are afraid to use the city parks. We are victims of fear, we are victims of crime. And, by and large we have not been the ones to raise our voices in protest. . . . I am amazed by the notion held by many white people that the ghettos are safe if your skin is black."

Columnist William Raspberry observes that in Washington poor blacks not only have their handbags snatched and their apartments looted, but they also suffer indirectly when whites are robbed. Said Raspberry:

"There won't be any more robberies of High's (Dairy) stores at 14th Street and Colorado Avenue, N.W., or at 103 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., 800 Upshur Street, N.W., or 407 Rhode Island Avenue, N.E. Those stores have been closed down, beginning in November. The High's (store) at 3847 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., which was robbed again this week, after being hit twice the week before, will be closed before the month is out.

"That means that mothers in those neighborhoods will have to go a little farther for the baby's milk—a major problem when there's no car in the family. . . . It means too, that many of the people who worked in those stores will be job hunting."

Some people are the innocent victims of crime; other people are the innocent victims of fear. For example, last December a retired park policeman heard noises in the night. He got up to investigate and spotted two dark figures on the porch of his home. It was three o'clock in the morning. The week before someone had tried to break into the man's house. So he returned to his bedroom, took his pistol, and fired two shots onto the porch. His daughter died of a gunshot wound in the head—a victim of fear.

Several days ago a man and woman walked out of a dairy store in northwest Washington. Two boys, one 15 and one 18, left after them and walked behind them down the street. Suddenly the man turned around, demanded to know whether the boys planned to rob him, and then fired a shot. The 18-year-old boy died moments later—a victim of fear.

More than a year ago, the Washington Daily News published an editorial in which it said:

"No one can deny that we have reached a real crisis in the breakdown of law enforcement here, or that the very real and justified fears of both the business and residential communities demand that something extraordinary be done to protect both life and property."

Since that editorial appeared, crime in the District of Columbia has climbed 27 per cent.

It is against this background of crime and fear that we should examine the President's program on crime. Tonight, I would like to discuss one part of this comprehensive program—our legislative proposal for pretrial detention.

On January 31st of last year, President Nixon asked Congress to amend the Bail Reform Act of 1966 to authorize the limited pretrial detention of dangerous defendants. The President observed that "Increasing numbers of crimes are being committed by persons already indicted for earlier crimes, but free on pretrial release. Many (defendants) are being arrested two, three, even seven times for new offenses while awaiting trials." Thus, the President proposed that the Bail Reform Act be amended so that dangerous hard core recidivists could be held in temporary pretrial custody when they are charged with a serious crime and when their pretrial release would present a clear danger to the community.

Although crime prevention through restraint is an old and perceptible theme in our law, the measure we suggested has been bitterly criticized. Long before our bill was even drafted, it was pronounced unconstitutional by a host of critics. During the past year, the President and the Department of Justice have repeatedly been charged with racial bias and a "beat 'em up, lock 'em up hysteria" about crime. One defense attorney went so far as to contend that pretrial detention is "the opening gun in a movement to discard the fundamental protections of trial by jury, the right to cross examination and the other rights which have distinguished our system of justice from that of totalitarian countries."

We in the Department of Justice believe that pretrial detention is essential to any serious effort to reduce crime in the District of Columbia. We accept the burden of persuading the public that our position is sound. We also ask that men of good will examine our proposal with an open mind.

The legislation we have authored raises fundamental questions of policy and power. These questions were carefully considered before we decided to take our stand. The Department of Justice is not in the habit of supporting legislation we believe to be unwise or unconstitutional, and pretrial detention is no exception.

The pretrial detention we propose is designed to accomplish two objectives. First, it is an effort to reduce violent crime, a significant percentage of which may be attributed to persons released prior to trial. Although pretrial detention would be authorized in all federal courts, it would have its largest impact in the District of Columbia, where the problems of crime are by far the most serious.

Our second objective is to eliminate from the bail system the hypocrisy of locking up defendants, without fixed standards, through the device of requiring a high money bond. This second objective, of removing the shameful practice of detaining defendants arbitrarily by setting a bond which they cannot meet, is too often overlooked when considering this question. Let me discuss these objectives in turn.

1. Pretrial detention of selected defendants, in categories of offenses characterized by violence, is made necessary by the indisputable fact that many defendants are committing additional crimes during the period of their pretrial release. Precise statistics on the number of these crimes are not available because, until recently, no attempt was made to tabulate the incidence of crime on bail. Also, accurate statistics are simply not possible when many crimes go unreported and most crimes remain unsolved.

Nonetheless, the statistics we have are quite revealing. During the period between July, 1966, and June, 1967, 35 per cent of the defendants indicted for robbery and released prior to trial in the District of Columbia were reindicted for subsequent felonies. In 1968, when 557 persons were indicted for robbery, nearly 70 per cent of those released prior to trial were rearrested and charged with a subsequent offense.

Who are the people who commit these crimes? Some are desperate narcotics addicts with an irresistible need to support their habits. Some are incorrigibles, with long records of anti-social violence. Some have families whom they seek to "bankroll." Some commit crimes to pay a bondsman or an attorney. And some are out for a "last filing." Common sense tells us that while speeding up the trial process—which is the heart and soul of our court reorganization—will probably reduce the volume of offenses, none of the defendants here described will be particularly motivated to obey the law during the period of pretrial release. In the 50 to 60 days between arrest and trial—which is probably the minimum for serious offenses—the addict's habit will not disappear; the lifelong incorrigible will not be reformed; and the last filing phenomenon will still be present. Instead of spacing their crimes over a long period of time, many of these defendants can be expected to accelerate their misconduct, becoming more reckless and more dangerous because their time for planning action has been reduced.

To protect the public, we would retain in custody the most dangerous of these defendants, but only after a full-scale adversary hearing in which the court determines, in written findings, that no condition or combination of conditions of release will reasonably assure the safety of the community.

The government's burden at such a hearing is twofold: to show by a "substantial probability" that the defendant in fact committed the violent crime with which he is charged, and to convince the court that the defendant presently constitutes a danger to the community. If this burden is not met, the defendant will not be detained.

Under the standards thus established, there is no alternative to the detention we propose except a release which threatens the public safety. There is no alternative to the detention we propose except a rejection of the purpose of the criminal law.

2. Our second objective is based upon the fact that for centuries, courts have been detaining persons charged with crime by the simple expedient of setting high bond. This sham frequently served the purpose of protecting the community from dangerous defendants, but it also imprisoned people who posed no threat. When the issue of dangerousness silently appeared, there were not set standards or due process safeguards to protect the defendant under suspicion; and since there was no visible determination of dangerousness, there was little or nothing for a court to review.

This hypocritical procedure, which most often victimized the indigent defendant, was the evil to which the Bail Reform Act was directed. In place of money bail, the Act substituted personal bond and personal recognizance; financial conditions were to be imposed only when necessary to assure the defendant's presence at trial. In striving to eliminate money as a barrier to release, the 1966 legislation was a great leap forward, which more than justified its label of reform. At the same time, however, by totally eliminating dangerousness as a criterion to be considered in setting conditions for pretrial release, the Bail Reform Act ignored the rationale behind 700 years of legal practice. Today, federal judges are faced with an agonizing decision when a dangerous defendant stands before them. They must either disregard the compelling mandate of the new law by setting bail beyond the defendant's means, or they must shut their eyes to community danger. One course perpetuates hypocrisy; the other course is reckless and irrational.

There is a reason why the Bail Reform Act has not been copied in the states. There is a reason why the money bail system will continue to hang on. There is a reason why even today almost 40 per cent of some categories of defendants in the nation's capital do not obtain their pretrial freedom. The reason is that protecting the community from danger is an imperative felt necessity of our law. By failing to meet this necessity head-on, the defenders of the Bail Reform Act are perpetuating a system of money bail which inevitably discriminates against the poor. They are blocking needed appropriations and authority to expand the D.C. Bail Agency so that many additional defendants can be released on conditions prior to trial. And they are seriously jeopardizing the safety of the community, which is powerless in some cases to prevent the release of a dangerous offender.

Ironically, the Bail Reform Act is responsible for the detention of hundreds of defendants who might be released under new procedures. This Administration is prepared to move vigorously to free these defendants, under some reasonable conditions, if they do not pose a threat to the community. But no movement in this direction is possible until the law comes to grips with the dangerous defendant.

These issues are of critical importance when we relate them to vital trends in the law. For example, ten years from now, court decisions based on equal protection of the law may give the indigent defendant the means to force his release before trial if

money is the barrier between jail and freedom. Such a development could not be welcomed by a society besieged with crime unless that society were empowered to protect itself against the truly dangerous defendant. That means of protection is pretrial detention.

We are convinced that the constitutional objections to this legislation are not well founded and cannot stand up to careful examination. The three objections most frequently cited are the Eighth Amendment, Due Process, and the Presumption of Innocence. Let me discuss these one at a time:

The Eighth Amendment provides that "Excessive bail shall not be required . . ." Opponents of our legislation assert that by these words the Eighth Amendment establishes a right to bail. They say that to refuse bail in certain cases would clearly be "excessive" and that the "right" to bail would thus be denied. Our response to this contention is set forth by the Supreme Court in the case of *Carlson v. Landon*. Speaking through Justice Stanley Reed, the Court declared:

The bail clause was lifted with slight changes from the English Bill of Rights Act. In England that clause has never been thought to accord a right to bail in all cases, but merely to provide that bail shall not be excessive in those cases where it is proper to grant bail. When this clause was carried over into our Bill of Rights, nothing was said that indicated any different concept. The Eighth Amendment has not prevented Congress from defining the classes of cases in which bail shall be allowed in this country. Thus in criminal cases bail is not compulsory where the punishment may be death. Indeed, the very language of the Amendment fails to say all arrests must be bailable.

As Justice Reed indicated, the Eighth Amendment finds its source in the English Bill of Rights. The pertinent provision there was specifically designed to limit the discretion of courts. It would be very curious indeed if the Founding Fathers chose virtually identical language to limit the *legislative* discretion of Congress, without recording their new intention. After all, contemporary constitutions in Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Vermont—all of which were studied before drafting the Bill of Rights—set out quite explicitly an absolute right to bail in non-capital cases. These constitutions, as well as the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the Judiciary Act of 1789, show that early lawmakers were capable of establishing a right to bail in clear, unmistakable language when such was their purpose. As a writer in the University of Chicago Law Review observed, "The drafters of the Eighth Amendment chose oblique language indeed if they intended to create an absolute guarantee of bail. It is more likely that the Amendment presupposed the familiar English common-law rules as to the availability of bail."

In any event, all the early American bail provisions, including the Judiciary Act of 1789, *excepted* capital offenses from a right to bail. This is significant to us, for at the time these measures were drafted, most serious offenses, such as robbery, rape, and arson, were capital offenses and thus not bailable as a matter of right. The only change which has occurred over the years is the gradual elimination of capital punishment—a development which is largely unrelated and irrelevant to custody pending trial. It passes belief to suppose that the federal government is powerless to detain a dangerous rapist in Washington, D.C., unless Congress passes a new law punishing rape with death.

If the Eighth Amendment really established a "right" to bail, it is difficult to see how Congress could create exceptions to that right simply by penalizing offenses with death. Nowhere does the Eighth Amendment authorize exceptions for capital offenses. Yet no one seriously contends that

the Judiciary Act of 1789 became unconstitutional in 1791 when the Eighth Amendment was adopted. Nowhere does the Eighth Amendment authorize the denial of bail when witnesses are threatened or evidence may be destroyed, or when a defendant is charged with an offense during his parole, or when extradition proceedings are pending—yet these exceptions are frequently approved.

If the Eighth Amendment established a right to bail, one wonders how the prestigious American Law Institute, as far back as 1927, could have included a provision for pretrial detention in its model Code of Criminal Procedure. One wonders too how the American Bar Association today can advocate the revocation of bail when a defendant commits a crime during his pretrial release.

These legislative, judicial, and scholarly exceptions to bail are consistent with the interpretation of the Eighth Amendment in *Carlson v. Landon*. They would be hard to explain in any other way.

Opponents of pretrial detention claim that if Congress can determine which offenses are bailable and which offenses are not, then it could abolish the right to bail and the Eighth Amendment would become meaningless. But that is not the case. Although no one has ever dreamed of abolishing the right to bail altogether, the Due Process clause in the Fifth Amendment would certainly bar a total abolition, for such an extreme move could not be rationally defended for all offenses. And even if bailable offenses were wholly abolished by Congress, judicial history demonstrates that courts would have the *inherent power* to bail defendants. They have done so throughout this country, even when expressly forbidden by statute.

Today, 49 state constitutions have an excessive bail clause similar to the clause in the Eighth Amendment; 37 of these constitutions also have a provision creating an absolute right to bail in non-capital cases. If the 37 constitutions with both clauses really have two clauses which mean the same thing, we may be witness to the most shocking example of constitutional redundancy in the whole history of government.

Fortunately, however, the state courts which have interpreted an excessive bail clause have never interpreted such a clause to create an absolute right to bail—even in non-capital cases. Thus, New York did not lose its power to detain a dangerous murder suspect when it abolished capital punishment. Yet, if the Eighth Amendment, which applies to the states, is interpreted to forbid pretrial detention in non-capital cases, common murderers would be bailable in New York, and we would be forced to declare the bail provisions in four states—Florida, Rhode Island, Michigan, and Maine—unconstitutional, because they permit the denial of bail in certain non-capital cases.

These points, which are amply supported by authority, substantiate our position on the Eighth Amendment. And this position is crucial. For if it is conceded that Congress can create categories of offenses which are not automatically bailable, then the Due Process objection begins to fail. After all, the Due Process clause has not barred other instances of custody before trial. For example, given proper procedures, juveniles may be detained; sexual psychopaths and the mentally disturbed may be detained; aliens, parolees, and accused persons who have fled across state lines may be detained. People may be detained in official custody if the *interests of society so require*.

What remains is a concern for the fairness and reasonableness of the procedures by which this detention is lawfully consummated.

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Under the legislation we propose, the government must proceed against a defendant in a hearing of record. It must bear the burden of producing evidence, and it must demonstrate by a "substantial probability"—which is more than by probable cause—that the defendant has committed a serious crime.

At this hearing the defendant is entitled to counsel. He may present witnesses on his behalf and cross-examine witnesses presented by the government. Through this procedure he may discover the case against him. And he will not be retained in custody unless the court is convinced—and says so in writing—that *no condition or combination of conditions of release will reasonably assure the safety of the community*—a determination which may be appealed.

If the defendant should be detained, he may not be held for more than 60 days. During his confinement, he is to be set apart from convicted offenders to the maximum feasible extent. He may have unlimited access to counsel. He may be released for short periods in custody to secure witnesses and procure evidence. Every effort will be made by the prosecution and by the courts to schedule and hold a speedy trial.

If government may detain an accused murderer prior to trial on a simple showing of probable cause, then Due Process does not forbid it to detain other defendants—for limited periods, through reasonable procedures, for important public ends. We believe our legislation meets these requirements.

Having examined the Eighth Amendment and Due Process considerations, we come at last to the Presumption of Innocence.

The presumption of innocence is a time-honored canon of American law. Most frequently, it is cited as a rule of evidence which allocates the burden of proof at trial and requires the prosecution to satisfy a jury beyond a reasonable doubt that the accused has committed the crime charged. The presumption of innocence serves the additional useful purpose of warning the jury to disregard the developments before trial—such as the defendant's arrest, his indictment, and his possible detention—and to consider the defendant innocent until his guilt is fully established. A rule which governs procedure at trial does not preclude detention before trial. If it did, we would be forced to grant murderers pretrial release, for we do not deny them the presumption of innocence.

The presumption of innocence may also be defined as a rule which requires the government to produce evidence from the first moment when a case begins. Thus, the presumption of innocence may apply to arrest, but it does not preclude arrest if the government has reasonable grounds. It may apply at the preliminary examination, but a defendant may be held if the government shows probable cause. Nothing in this presumption of innocence bars a defendant's detention prior to trial if the government produces evidence which strongly suggests guilt. This is one purpose of our pretrial hearing.

Finally, the presumption of innocence may be regarded as a way of looking at a criminal defendant until the final moment a verdict is rendered. This approach would treat a defendant as innocent even though the evidence of his guilt is great. Viewed as a social policy, the presumption of innocence underlies the general desirability of granting defendants pretrial release. It shows our respect for the individual citizen and assures that the innocent will not be detained.

But this wise social policy is not incontrovertible. Occasions do arise when it must give way. As Britain determined long ago, society's interest in the public safety transcends other interests when danger is clear.

Balancing the interests of the individual and the public is a dilemma inherent in a free society. The questions are difficult for

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conscientious men. Today, as we reconcile the tensions between order and liberty, crime and fear weigh heavily in the balance. For they threaten important liberties as well as our lives. The time has come to face our responsibilities, to afford protection to all of our people. We can no longer neglect the security of our citizens. We must reassert *their* liberty to live without fear. Pretrial detention is not the whole answer; but it is part of the answer in this time of crisis.

Thank you very much.

## HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

### HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

MR. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, those of us who have come to appreciate the serious threat of pollution to our homes and country have attempted to focus public attention on these problems. We see now that the task of cleaning up our lakes and rivers, of ridding our air of noxious fumes, and of stopping the further destruction of scenic beauty, is one that cannot be accomplished overnight. It will take billions of dollars. It will take imagination. It will take determination. But, above all, it will take a commitment on the part of every American to the restoration of our natural resources. A commitment that must carry through year after year.

For these reasons, I was particularly pleased to receive recently a poem written by a young American from my congressional district. Miss Barbara Seubert, age 11, has described movingly the destruction that man can wreak on his environment. She asks questions which we have not answered. Her awareness of them should help in the search for an answer.

Following is her poem:

#### MAN

(By Barbara Seubert)

Burning to ashes were the trees  
The fire leaped high with the help of a  
breeze.

The frightened animals ran and ran  
Why is beauty destroyed by man?

A dead deer lies on the ground.  
A harmless bug wiggles around.  
The fish are caught, but then just tossed on  
land.  
Why is beauty destroyed by man?

Some try to help things like forests and air,  
But some people just don't even care.  
Some people don't care whether there's  
beauty or goo!  
Could one of those people possibly be you?

In the city or a country town,  
Litter is lying all around.  
A candy wrapper, an old tin can,  
Why is beauty destroyed by man?

In a pleasant little city,  
Where once things were sweet and pretty,  
Are now covered with air pollution worse  
than the land.  
Why must beauty be destroyed by man?

On the beach you think it's great,  
It is not, you've come too late.  
Now the fish lie dead in the sand,  
Why must beauty be destroyed by man?

Why must beauty be destroyed by man?

## CAMPAIGNS AGAINST BORROWING

## Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, a great deal has been said and written about the significance of a "tight money" policy in fighting inflation. Our banking institutions have become increasingly concerned with inflationary pressures on the economy, and some of our larger banks have launched campaigns urging restraint in consumer credit practices.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the following article from the American Banker which describes these anti-inflation activities:

## CAMPAIGNS AGAINST BORROWING

One of the most common criticisms levied against banks these days by some of the more thoughtful laymen is that they keep pushing consumer credit at a time when all policy efforts are being made in the direction of restraint.

It has been an awkward ambivalence.

Bankers can explain the whole situation away, at least to their own satisfaction, by pointing out that consumer credit is only a relatively small part of their total operation, and needs constant nurturing in lean times as well as fat ones, and that there is nothing really inconsistent about maintaining a firm presence in the consumer areas where they have already established a position, particularly when to do so requires only a moderate commitment of the bank's resources, and to fail to do so would entail the risk of losing ground already won.

The trouble with this logic has been that in terms of public impact, the big ads urging consumers to borrow have got much more attention than any explanations of why they are not inconsistent with broad policy objectives. They have created thereby a climate of doubt among the financially unsophisticated as to just how seriously to take the banks when they preach restraint.

A number of banks around the country have been facing up to this problem, and have pushed advertising campaigns urging the public to save, rather than borrow. But they have been in the small minority.

One of that minority, and certainly among the very largest institutions within it, is the \$7.6 billion deposit Chemical Bank, New York, which last November started a series of ads in the newspapers and on TV designed specifically to discourage its customers from contributing to inflation. These ads assured the customer that there was still money for him to borrow if he had a compelling reason, but they warned that unnecessary borrowing was reckless, and urged him not to unless he had to.

So it is encouraging that this month two other giant New York banks join in what may now be in the process of becoming somewhat less of a minority activity among banks.

The \$18.7 billion Chase Manhattan started a campaign earlier this month under the title: The Inflation Fighters. It emphasizes the contribution which the individual can make to bringing inflation under control, by saving.

The \$17.3 billion deposit First National City Bank inaugurated its campaign with a slightly different emphasis, by urging the customer to help fight inflation by not borrowing: "Think twice the next time you're thinking about a personal loan." The bank acknowledged that some personal loans would always be necessary, and affirmed its continuing interest in doing this basic banking business: "There are times you should

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

borrow and times you shouldn't. If now is a time you shouldn't borrow, we hope you won't. If it's a time you should borrow, come see us."

Chase says it plans to keep on running its campaign "until the inflation situation is better." City has firm plans for one more newspaper ad this month, and then will assess customer reaction before deciding what to do next.

It is important that these leading institutions have made these statements, directed specifically towards the individual consumer who has been disconcerted by the thrust of earlier banking efforts to encourage borrowing. It would be unrealistic, however, to expect that they would change consumer borrowing habits overnight, or that they would bring instant assurance to those individuals who have been worried about banking's ambivalence in this area.

But it would be a mistake, too, to minimize the potential value of these efforts, both in the market area where they are being carried out, and as examples which other banks, in other parts of the country, might find useful. The more banks that join in, the more convincing each will be, and the greater the total effect upon the public.

## BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA—STILL RELEVANT

## HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, February 8, 1970, marked the 60th anniversary of the Boy Scouts of America, an organization whose efforts and achievements in behalf of the youth of this country would fill many pages of this RECORD.

For more than half a century, words like "honor," "duty," and "be prepared" have been synonymous with Boy Scouting. Especially today when the values and virtues emphasized by Scouting may be obscured in some factions of our society, the Boy Scouts of America continue to perform an urgently needed service in molding eager boys into mature young men with purposeful futures.

The program of the Boy Scouts continues to be relevant because it has changed with the times. Although outdoor activities are still a major precept in the Scouting philosophy, the Boy Scouts of America have turned more and more in recent years to the city, to the ghetto, and to the youngsters who most need their guidance, friendship, and idealism.

A young constituent and friend of mine who recently attended college here in Washington spent a great portion of his leisure hours as a scoutmaster in one of the poorest and most troubled areas of the city. Through him I noted personally the change in the attitudes of the youngsters once they were exposed to Scouting. The change was both obvious and remarkable, and it proved to me that there is and always will be a place and a need for the Boy Scouts in our society.

Mr. Speaker, I want to congratulate the Boy Scouts of America on their 60th anniversary and wish them many more successful years. In the success of the Scouting program lies the success of many young men and ultimately the hope of America.

## ONE ANSWER TO DRUG PROBLEMS

## HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, we in Congress—as well as interested citizens all across the country—are concerned over the use of drugs by our young people. In the city of Provo in my home State of Utah there is a program which is doing something more than merely talking about the problem. The youth center at the Utah State Hospital in Provo is attempting to inform the public of the problem through a series of youth panels set up throughout the State.

These panels have been most effective at civic clubs, PTA groups, high school classes, university forums, and other types of public meetings.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to express my personal thanks to Glen R. Brown, assistant director and principal at the Provo Youth Center, and would like my colleagues to read about this unusual approach to the drug problem. Perhaps such frank, open discussions could be of benefit to citizens in every State.

The material follows:

DRUG PANELS, YOUTH CENTER, UTAH STATE HOSPITAL

The widespread abuse of drugs in Utah has caused a furor among citizens. At the present time they are demanding information and programs to combat the problem. In response to public concern, Utah has seen legislation enacted and the appointment of a Governor's Advisory Committee on Drug Abuse. Professionals have attempted to respond, as is evidenced by the numerous conferences on Drug Abuse held in the past two years.

A great deal of apprehension is felt by those who are called on to "help" youngsters who abuse drugs. The apprehension is primarily motivated by a lack of knowledge concerning how they can best be "helped." A review of current literature indicates widespread concern but general confusion over treatment methods by both legal and professional agencies.

Current literature maintains that the control of drugs can best be accomplished through public education. Numerous articles have been published in popular magazines and many experts have lectured to teenage and citizen groups. Information has been disseminated without investigation into the legal, social, and psychological implications of drug abuse.

Experience indicates that young people have gotten the "word" from "experts" and now desire a dialogue with ex-addicts in their peer community.

## METHODOLOGY

The Utah State Hospital has sponsored adult patient panels for many years with considerable success. It was therefore quite natural that among other adult program features panels became a part of Youth Center tradition.

Through the last few years there has been increasing demand for youth panels and the public reception and patient response has been enthusiastic. In the beginning months the panel theme was usually general with discussion around Youth Center program and youth problems. We soon were beset, however, with many youth admitted with drug problems. Parents and community leaders were concerned with the unfamiliar situation and we were asked to provide in-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

formation regarding this problem. We again turned to the panel as the best medium for providing public information regarding drugs. It also has proven to be very therapeutic for the patient with a drug problem as he tends to become more prosocial as he describes the problem and why it happens.

We were at first concerned, wondering whether the exposure to the public would only offer an opportunity to recite their lingo and reinforce their attraction to the drug culture. We discovered that this could be avoided while still allowing honest responses from the patients by the way the staff moderator would guide the panel and screen the questions. For instance, an audience question asking "what is a trip like" or "what does it feel like to be on drugs" serves no purpose but to stimulate patient and even some of the audience to the glamour and excitement of drugs. The moderator simply asks the panel not to respond to inappropriate questions.

We have approached a drug panel request in various ways always with an eye to the audience and the youth involved. Usually we ask four or five youth, on a volunteer basis, to participate. On occasion, however, we have taken other combinations and have had panels all the way from one to six patients. We have also invited a member of the audience to sit in on the panel which adds to the audience involvement and interest.

Recently we asked two youth who had been discharged from the Hospital to join some inpatients on a drug panel. The results were excellent as we heard the patient in treatment and the youth who had successfully rehabilitated express themselves.

We strive for informality and honest, candid, unrehearsed comments from our panels. Always audience participation with questions and comments interchanged with the panel is encouraged. Staff members who take out panels do so voluntarily and without any compensation in terms of time or money. The value of the panel itself serves as the reward.

There are very few rigid rules to which panel moderators must subscribe. Guidelines and suggestions have been written down as products of our experience, however, there is much emphasis on flexibility and imagination in making these panel presentations interesting and informative to the public and rewarding and therapeutic to the patient.

## COMMUNITY REACTIONS

The community's reaction to our panel program is well reflected by the increasing number of requests received each month. In September of 1968, the average number of presentations had reached thirty per month. (It should be noted that there were over sixty panels per month requested during the Spring but due to the fact that most panels were being taken out on the moderator's personal time there was insufficient time available to fill all requests). It is felt that this steady increase was due to the fact that those hearing the presentations were favorably impressed and, therefore, passed on their positive feelings to other individuals and organizations and thus increased the community's interest and demand for such panels.

The community's reaction to our panel program has also been reflected by a panel evaluation form which has been given to each of our panel audiences during 1969. A representative of the organization hosting the panel was asked to obtain the group's feelings (positive or negative) in regards to the panel, reflect the feelings on the evaluation form, and mail the form back to the Youth Center as soon as possible. A few direct quotes from these forms give one an indication of the types of responses received.

"Your program was awarded the Utah Jaycee Outstanding Program of the Year Award"

"The panel presented at our school has helped our counselors a great deal in their understanding of the youth enrolled in our school program"

"Your panel presentation seemed to have a tremendous effect upon students in my class and I am sure that your presentation was the beginning of a turning point in many of their lives"

Up to this point all comments on returned forms have been quite similar to the above mentioned. Negative comments have been limited to such items as:

"Not enough time for questions"

"Students not having name tags"

The total panel presentation has never received unfavorable criticism.

The enthusiasm and genuine interest radiated by the audience during and directly following presentations is another factor worth mentioning. Panel participants are generally flooded with questions and at times concluding the presentation has been an almost impossible task for the moderator, at the conclusion of a presentation the process often begins again, the panel participants are almost smothered by members of the audience who either want questions answered or want to express their appreciation. Several audience members have been so favorably impressed by presentations they have immediately offered their services as a volunteer to our program. Financial contributions to the Youth Center have also originated in a like manner.

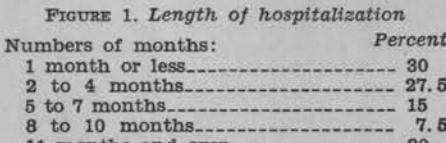
In general it is felt by all involved that the panel program is meeting a very obvious need within the community. The community members reached by this program have seemed almost "hungry" for this type of a presentation.

## PANEL QUESTIONNAIRE

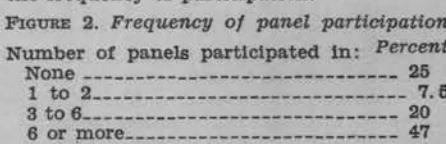
In early June, 1969, a panel questionnaire was administered to 40 of 62 youth who were in residence at the Hospital. The questionnaire was administered only to those youth attending school for that particular school day. The identity of the individual respondents was kept anonymous.

Seventy-two and one-half percent of the youth were fifteen years and above with the remainder being 13 or 14 years old. No panel participants were under 12 years of age, although in the past we have had young children participate successfully on selected panels.

The length of time in the Hospital is shown in Figure 1.



Thirty of the forty respondents or 75% of the sample indicated they had been on a panel presentation. Figure 2 represents the frequency of participation.



The majority of the youth (see Figure 3) indicated they enjoyed being on panels, and the same percentage related, in an open-ended question, their opinion of advantages to themselves and the public. There were 26 write-in responses indicating the panels helped them personally in a therapeutic sense. In addition, there was 19 write-in responses indicating the benefits of panels to the public or the Youth Program in general.

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FIGURE 3. Attitude regarding participation on panels

Enjoyment of panel participation: Percent

Yes	72.5
No	12.5
No response	15

The following quotation from a 16 year old youth is fairly indicative of a response as to the advantages of panels:

"Panels help me to express my feelings to other people. They help the Youth Program because they let the public know about the Youth Program. They help the general public to be informed about the problems the youth of today have."

There were eight responses or 20% of the sample who indicated some disadvantages of panel participation. Three indicated the public got too personal or didn't understand, and others stated they interfered with school or Youth Program activities. Two respondents indicated extreme nervousness or embarrassment while participating.

The general enthusiasm of the youth, we as a staff have subjectively noted, is verified by the response to the question, "Would you like to participate in future panels?" Eighty-five percent answered in the affirmative, ten percent stated they did not wish to participate in the future, and five percent did not respond to the question.

In summary, the results of the questionnaire administered to 40 youth indicate a sizeable majority enjoy participating in panels and feel that it is very beneficial to the public and hospital in general but very specifically to them personally in self-growth and ego-enhancement.

## LOS ANGELES TIMES WARNS OF THREAT TO BASIC RIGHTS IN "NO-KNOCK" PROVISION IN SENATE DRUG-CONTROL BILL

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an outstanding editorial from the February 2 issue of the Los Angeles Times, entitled, "No-Knock" and Basic Rights."

This editorial sounds a strong warning of the potential danger to our basic American constitutional rights posed by the Senate-passed provision in the omnibus drug control bill, S. 3246, which allows for unannounced entry into private homes by narcotics agents.

After discussing this important subject in some detail, the Times expresses the hope that the House of Representatives, in considering the controversial "no-knock" provision, will "act with greater wisdom than the Senate and reject it."

Since this is a question with vital public policy implications for all our citizens, I believe the Times' thoughtful editorial can be of substantial assistance in assuring the kind of thorough and balanced House consideration the subject deserves.

The editorial follows:

## "NO-KNOCK," AND BASIC RIGHTS

*Issue: What is wrong with the Senate-passed provision allowing unannounced entry into private homes by narcotics agents?*

In their understandable concern to give law enforcement authorities new weapons

to fight the growing crime problem in the nation, the Administration and Congress may unwittingly be moving to erode certain rights which are fundamental to the preservation of a free society.

Preventive detention of certain suspects, who could be held without bail for up to 60 days in the belief that they might if released commit crimes, is one example. The latest move is contained in a bill passed by Senate last week which could permit federal investigators in narcotics cases to break into homes without warning or identification.

The "no-knock" provision was part of an omnibus drug-control bill which contains many good features. The intent of the no-knock statute is to strengthen the evidence-gathering powers of law enforcement officers. But inescapably, the provision represents a threat to the privacy and security of all citizens.

The statute allows an officer, after obtaining a warrant from a judge, to enter a home or other building without notice (e.g., by kicking down a door) if the judge issuing the warrant can be convinced that illicit narcotics are on the site and "will be" destroyed or disposed of if advance notice of entry were given.

Under present law narcotics agents seeking entry must first identify themselves. This has sometimes resulted in suspects destroying evidence before permitting agents to enter. The sudden, unannounced entry which the new statute would permit is supposed to get around this.

But the statute is confusing.

It is not clear if it is permissive or mandatory, that is, whether a judge must issue a no-knock warrant after being told by agents illegal narcotics are at a certain site. Moreover it demands prescience which no man, judge or otherwise, possesses. How is anyone to know whether evidence "will be" destroyed?

Beyond this, the potential for abuse and error in implementing the new authority is vast.

To take but one example, what if federal agents make a mistake and kick down the door of the wrong house? And what if the inhabitants of that house, properly terrified by this invasion, try to flee, or respond by taking up one of the millions of guns in private hands to shoot at the intruders? What then?

The possibilities of practical error and tragedy resulting from this new statute could be multiplied. The overriding issue in any case is plain. The no-knock provision smacks too much of the authority given the Soviet secret police or the Gestapo. It is destructive of our basic rights, and the House should act with greater wisdom than the Senate and reject it.

#### A TRIBUTE TO CRISPUS ATTUCKS

#### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, the words and deeds of relatively few men have directed the course of history throughout the ages. One of those rare individuals was an American patriot—Crispus Attucks—first to give his life in the cause of the American Revolution.

He is martyred not only for the sacrifice of life, but as a great symbol of resistance to tyranny, which renders him immortal.

As a black man, he had escaped the chains of slavery which had bound him

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as an individual. His later deeds further illustrated a burning hatred of oppression, a selfless devotion to freedom for all men, from all tyrants.

His courage, his leadership on that fateful day in Boston in the struggle to be free, make him a symbol of hope for all men and an honored American patriot.

#### HORTON PRAISES SODUS MIGRANT PROJECT FOR DEVELOPING SELF-IMAGE OF CHILDREN AND UTILIZING RESOURCES

#### HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, migrant children are constantly pulled away from education with the turn of the crops. The Sodus migrant project at Sodus Central School in Wayne County, N.Y., has gone a long way to develop the potential of these migrant children and to encourage the continuation of their education.

Migrant children attend Sodus Central School from September through November. During these months, college students from New York State University College at Oswego help with the migrant children and attempt to supply some of the special and individualized attention that a teacher with a regular class might not be able to offer.

The migrant children are not taught in separate classes. They join the regular class and become a cohesive part of the unit.

The teachers feel that the college students bring to the class a new enthusiasm, new ideas, and the extra help that is so desperately needed. As one teacher said:

We learn so much more about these children with these (Oswego) students helping. They listen to them, get them talking, bring them out in a way we never could in so short a time with so many.

Another said:

The migrant child desperately needs help. He needs the special and individual attention that only an extra teacher or aid can give him.

One teacher said the contribution made by the college student to the migrant child was "development of self-image through discussions and projects, and the sense that someone cares."

The success of this project calls attention to the fact that all efforts must be made to encourage such programs. It utilizes so many possible resources to improve education for the disadvantaged.

I would like to share with my colleagues the evaluations of the Sodus migrant project as made by the teachers and college students, as follows:

#### SODUS TEACHER RESPONSES

1. *Question:* If asked would you be *willing* to have the assistance of an Oswego college student during the Fall of 1970? Yes—No. Why or why not?

All the teachers except one said they would be willing to have an Oswego student next fall. The general feeling was that the stu-

dents in this program helped provide individual attention and more of a one-to-one relationship with the migrant children than the classroom teacher could ever provide. A few of these same teachers enjoyed working with the students as they had some fresh, new ideas. The one negative comment said that it was a disadvantage to the migrant child who needs the security of one teacher and not the confusion created by extra helpers.

"The student had time to work individually with the children—which I would never have."

"I can use their help and their fresh young ideas. I enjoy working with these young people."

"I enjoy working with the college level student, and the exchanging of ideals is worthwhile, fun, and interesting."

"They are eager and the personal touch that they are able to give is of great value."

"It has been so worthwhile to have individual help for these children who are short term students for our school system."

"Migrant children need much individual help and attention. Large classes prohibit teachers doing just this..."

"I feel these children receive more of the individual help they need through the Oswego students."

"They were of great assistance to the classroom teacher. The Oswego student gave the individual migrant much needed attention, allowing the classroom teacher to move forward at a normal speed with her regular class."

"The Oswego students are able to work with the migrants on an individual basis giving them the attention and feeling of personal achievement they so badly need."

"Migrants need one-to-one contact! Our classrooms are too large for us to help them adequately."

"The migrant children need more attention than is possible to give them in a class of 35."

"The migrant children need a feeling of belonging and recognition of one teacher for security. The school is trying to help them, by having special help which is upsetting and confusing enough for them."

"The migrant child desperately needs help. He needs the special and individual attention that only an extra teacher or aid can give him."

"We learn so much more about these children with these helping. They listen to them, get them talking, bring them out in a way we never could in so short a time with so many."

"I feel we need all the help we can get in order to reach the needs of the migrant child."

"The migrant students get more out of the sessions with the Oswego student than out of whole class activities."

"Their concern for these children is great and I am glad to be able to give them the opportunity to develop background experience for their teaching."

2. *Question:* Were you provided enough assistance by your school system? Yes—No. Explain if necessary.

There were only two negative responses to this question. Some of the teachers said they were informed early about the project and were pleased with the school system's concern for the teacher during this time. Only a few felt that the orientation program for the teachers was weak and could be improved. In addition, most teachers suggested that the Oswego student should have special rooms to work in but realize that under the circumstances this is impossible.

"I was informed they would be coming and that I could have their help long in advance of their arrival."

"Just knowing that our school system encourages this program is proof enough that they are trying to help us at this particular

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time. Our principal issued a "sign up" bulletin. Also, a survey was made of the weaknesses of the program in its early stages—these have been strengthened."

"... except that we lack space for these students to work! The School really cannot help this!"

"I feel the cooperation was extremely good this year. They are behind the program and take care of problems before they arise."

"We were not given time to discuss what the special migrant teachers were doing in order to tell the Oswego students what to do."

3. **Question:** Was the orientation program information sufficient? Yes—No

All the teachers said their orientation information was sufficient but only a few elaborated on this question. There were two constructive criticisms mentioned. One suggested that the teachers join the Oswego students in the formal orientation program while aides take care of the children for the morning. The other idea was that perhaps the teacher and the Oswego student could get together and meet during the orientation.

4. **Question:** What significant contributions to the migrant children were made by the college student(s) with whom you worked most closely?

"Individual attention . . . special help in writing, reading, math."

"Children were given the individual attention they enjoy and need. They were helped with specific problems."

"Development of self-image through discussions and projects . . . The child developed self-confidence that someone cares."

" . . . any child benefits from having someone close to them to encourage and express appreciation for their effort."

"A fine experience for one child in particular. She had an experience with a tape recorder, individual chance for personal conversations, creative hand work, etc."

"Gave them emotional security . . . worked with individuals or very small groups teaching basic skills and concepts . . . read stories, rhymes, and sang songs to children . . ."

"Individualized and personalized student/adult relationship"

"Individual attention . . . chance to work creatively . . ."

"Gave the migrant child a chance to be himself, not fearing failure and criticism from his fellow classmates . . . and she aroused enthusiasm and interest in the children which is sometimes difficult to do."

"I feel one of the major contributions made was providing individual attention."

"Made plans for individual as well as group learning . . . took leadership in planning a going away party for migrants . . . helped migrants make a booklet of themselves to give to the whole class . . . provided ideas and materials for masks and partial costumes for Halloween parade . . ."

"All four of them found at least one student with which they achieved great rapport and these students developed much self-interest and self-respect which helped them advance several levels in reading and math."

"She instilled a feeling of trust for the "white" man . . ."

"She brought the shy child more closely into the group with his ability to contribute in a small group situation."

"They created an enthusiasm in these children and an eagerness to talk, cut, paste, sing or whatever the activity was."

"The children got attention that I could not have possibly given. The lessons the Oswego students gave were geared more to individual needs."

"The student's age and fact that she was not a teacher seemed to be an aid to getting individual information. The children seemed to feel free to say more to her. Small group learning situations helped the migrants to get more needed positive attention."

5. **Question:** What suggestions would you make for improving the program?

"The students would gain more satisfaction themselves and give more aid to the children and to the participating teacher if they came on successive days."

"Have the student arrive early enough in the morning to get materials ready for the day."

"Perhaps next year, if we have part-time teachers, they could take over our regular class and we could work with the Oswego student and the migrant child. We would then have a better idea of what is happening."

"To make this a practice teaching experience so the students could work with these children each day or at least part of the day."

"Part-time certified teachers have not had planning time with regular teachers and with Oswego teachers. How about a full-day pay for part-time teachers once near the beginning of the program so that the Oswego teachers and part-time teachers can plan strategy, schedules, etc. with regular teachers."

" . . . except for possibly preparing the Oswego student by informing him more realistically for the type of child he or she will be working with."

" . . . the program was handled very well and I would certainly be willing to do it again in the same way."

"More time set aside by part-time teacher for discussion and planning with Oswego 'teacher.'"

"I don't feel that for any reason more than one student should be assigned or be permitted to work with the same teacher."

"More manipulative materials and those relating to the black children should be provided."

"I feel more teachers should be 'educated' to this program so they will want to become involved. Right now there are several teachers with migrant students that never have taken advantage of this and do not seem to want to."

"The Sodus teacher needs more orientation in this program . . ."

"Emphasize the use of professional behavior."

## OSWEGO STUDENT RESPONSES

1. **Question:** If you were asked, would you sign up again for the Sodus Migrant Project section of Education 200? Yes—No Why or why not?

Every student agreed that they would sign up again for the Sodus Migrant Project. Many of these students were eager to apply and explore new ideas that they learned in their education courses to an actual classroom. The satisfaction they received, the confidence that they obtained, and the chance to prepare themselves for student teaching were all part of this very "real yet unmeasurable experience" for them.

"It . . . offered many rewards and satisfactions which outweighed the bad."

"I enjoyed it and found it very rewarding. I also feel that just being in the classroom and working with children has been a good preparation for student teaching. I also learned a lot in children's attitudes and how to cope with them."

"It was the most valuable experience I've ever had. I enjoyed it completely and it gave me such a good feeling to know I was needed. I don't think I'll ever be quite the same because of it."

" . . . because it's the best thing that has ever happened to me. I learned more about kids and myself than ever before."

" . . . because I feel it has been the most worthwhile experience of my college career. I feel as though I have gained far more from this experience than I have been able to give out."

" . . . has so much to offer to the student."

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Besides being able to help these migrants in all areas, social and academic, the student is able to see his own potential . . . 'I found myself' . . . built up much confidence in me and also has prepared me for student teaching."

" . . . an invaluable experience for me. It gave me a chance to apply methods and theories to practice before I went student teaching. I could discuss problems with other students and for the first time I felt really involved. Instead of reading about migrants—I got the experience first hand."

"This was the most rewarding experience in terms of what I learned, and what I was able to do, that I have ever had in my professional courses. It has certainly helped me decide whether teaching is really for me."

"It has been an extremely valuable learning experience for me, and the self improvement of the children and their change in attitude seem to indicate it has been a worthwhile experience for them too."

" . . . it was the best and longest experience that I have had with teaching in any of my college courses!"

" . . . proved to be as valuable to me as I hoped I made it for my children. It was a good opportunity for me to try out a lot of ideas I had formulated myself."

" . . . I found my purpose in life . . . I found the motivation to teach . . ."

"I felt it very worthwhile and one of the most educational experiences I have had. It has prepared me for student teaching more so than coming right out of methods. It also has given me a great deal of confidence."

"Every migrant child is different. No one can say they learned everything there is to know from one experience."

"The experience was invaluable."

"I feel that the practical experience I have gained in this project has been worth more than most of my other education courses combined."

"I feel it has been the most rewarding real experience in my college career. What I learned could never have appeared in any book. It was the best opportunity one could ever have to be actually working with these children, instead of reading or hearing about someone else doing it."

"It is a very practical and real experience . . . you are given responsibility . . . it gives you great satisfaction helping these children."

" . . . one of the most valuable courses that I've experienced."

"this has been one of the most educating experiences I have ever taken part in. The value of this for anyone concerned with the problems of education is unmeasurable."

"The course has been an extremely worthwhile experience for me. I have learned a lot about teaching and children and this is the type of information one can only gain through experience."

" . . . great preparation for student teaching."

2. **Question:** Were you provided enough assistance by the college? Yes—No. Explain if necessary.

All of the students felt they were provided with enough assistance by the college. The majority of students that did comment on this question said that Dr. Nash was concerned, understanding, willing to help, and always available. The information that was given to these students in the spring was beneficial and helped answer their questions. They also mentioned that the librarians in the curriculum library were very helpful to them. Only one person commented on the fact that this project was not publicized enough on campus.

3. **Question:** Was the orientation program and information sufficient? Yes—No

Almost 75% of the students in their evaluations said the orientation program at the Sodus Schools and information were

sufficient, and the remaining said it was not. Many felt that it was a good introduction to the school, the project, and the personnel. The trips with Mrs. Herring were enjoyable but a few students wished they saw more homes. Those who wrote "no" felt the orientation program was biased, too idealistic, and the panel of migrants were not typical of the migrant children and parents in Sodus.

"Yes, but I felt that the people who spoke were not typical of the greater number of migrants (especially the parents that spoke). But I can understand Mrs. McDowell's problem in finding people to speak."

"Yes, the program was very informative. The first-hand experience of the speakers was very interesting, and as Mrs. McDowell said, expressed the good side of the migrant's situation. It might have been helpful, too, to have the other point of view."

"No, I was really disappointed with the orientation program. The parents of the migrant children were far from typical, from what I have learned from my own migrant students. The orientation program led me to believe that the migrants are much better off than they actually are."

"No, I felt the orientation program gave us a false impression of these people and their homes. When visiting the camps, I saw the real truth..."

"No, it was very misleading and untrue. The migrants presented in the orientation program were not typical in economic status and attitudes."

"I thought the orientation program was of very little value, besides introducing personnel and making us feel welcome. I learned things later on that completely changed my conception of the migrant worker from the partly false one that was presented."

"Yes, it was sufficient, but no more than that. It gave a starting point."

"I thought that the orientation was an excellent introduction to the program in that it let us in on some of the student's backgrounds and family life."

"Yes, as far as any orientation goes it is impossible to see what it was actually like until you are active in it."

"No, I think the view we received of the migrants was very one-sided and idealistic—which we learned quite abruptly when we got into our class."

"Yes, the orientation program gave me a good introduction to the life of a migrant. However, as I stated in my log, I felt the people who spoke were not giving us a truly representative picture in all cases."

"No, it was not realistic I'm afraid..."

"Yes, it was adequate in explaining the life of the migrant."

"Yes, in a general sense it was excellent but I had to experience everything with the children and see the camps with Mrs. Herring to gain a greater understanding of the people and the project. I really enjoyed the migrant people present at the orientation program. You could tell that they wanted us to understand their way of life and some of the problems they face. While I worked with the children, I learned in addition to what the orientation program gave me."

"Yes, I thought the orientation program was sufficient. The family presented was idealistically successful but what other type could really be used as an example? Dr. Nash's orientation was as explanatory as possible."

4. *Question:* What significant contributions to the migrant children do you feel you made?

"... individual attention... give them confidence to face what was ahead of them in life—to think that they could do things without failing all the time."

"... a feeling of self worth... love and attention... special help in number work and language arts... trying to make school enjoyable for them by making lessons interesting."

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"friend... helper... someone to talk to... doing things they've never done before—carving pumpkins, collages... help them enjoy many stories..."

"I loved them and gave them a chance to see themselves when they needed it."

"Friendship, understanding, and love."

"Friendship, confidence... I stressed... respect for others and showing courtesy when it is due."

"I tried to get them to want to speak out and express themselves... I taught one child to successfully write his name, by himself for the first time."

"Individual attention!... help in remedial reading... some special activities they don't get at home or in school."

"What I hope I did accomplish was to help create in these children a desire to learn, and a realization that learning can be fun..."

"By using different medias than would be practical in a classroom I think I was able to provide meaningful learning experiences. This seemed to favorably change their attitude towards school. Because the tasks were geared to their needs they were able to be successful and experience the feeling of achievement which led to an improvement in their self image."

"I am not sure that I made any academic progress with my children, but I was a friend and confidant to my kindergarteners when they needed one, and I think that maybe that was more important than having them write their name and numbers!"

"I feel that I helped them become more independent children. My main objective was to make them interested in school and learning so that they could function in the classroom situation. This included cutting experiences, practicing numerals, writing names, and singing. I feel that I accomplished this to some degree with every child."

"Build up their self-images... help them in their readiness... and I gave them love..."

"Self-confidence and trust."

"Purely abstract... I feel the children trusted me..."

"They had a chance to respond to someone."

"I tried to communicate with these children as an interested individual on a one to one basis."

"Hopefully, a change in the attitudes of the children I worked with re: school, teachers and white people. I attempted this through sincere methods of interest in each child and affection for each."

"I hope I gave them the individual attention they needed."

"Confidence... I'd like to think that I was able to help them do some of the things that they at first thought were incapable of doing such as role playing and pantomiming, writing their own endings to open ended stories, getting up in front of the class to talk to their classmates."

"Hopefully, I contributed to developing their self-image."

"I feel that my interest in the individual child was most significant..."

5. *Question:* What suggestions would you make for improving the program?

"I feel that more space is needed in the school, but I realize that this is difficult, under the circumstances."

"Maybe set aside a room where we could work together with the half-day teachers and the migrant children because the cafeteria is so distracting."

"Longer periods of time with just migrants."

"... it would be much easier to carry through lessons if you didn't have to plan around a three or five day interval between times going to Sodus."

"Rooms to work with the migrants... if possible, the migrants' folders concerning tests and grades..."

"... that we be provided with more space to work, portable blackboards, and such equipment."

"There should be an effort to unite the people of Sodus with the migrants in the area of education..."

"It would be nice if there was some way that provisions could be made for better working rooms. It would also be more beneficial if arrangements could be made so it would be 5 days a week..."

"The most practical improvement that I can think of would be to arrange facilities so that the college students each have a place to work with their students away from the classroom."

"Could we go 5 mornings a week and have the other ed. electives in the afternoon so that they could correlate more closely with what we were trying to accomplish in Sodus?"

"I think that the program should be for three days a week in Sodus instead of two. I think that there should be more communication between the half-day teachers who work with the migrants and with us Oswego students."

"Have a bigger 'publicity' program in the spring."

"I think more consecutive days should be spent in Sodus."

"... more or closer coordination with the Sodus teachers and Oswego student."

"For those involved in the Intermediate building as I was, improve and expand the orientation program to include a list of resource material available, not only that which the individual teacher can supply..."

"The Sodus teacher should fully understand the purpose of the project. Only teachers with migrant children should sign up... On the college side, students should be screened carefully..."

"Need more rooms... need more communication between the Sodus teachers and the Oswego student."

"I would have liked more than one opportunity to visit the camps and talk with the people. I would have liked to meet the parents of my migrant students."

"I think the teachers were confused as to what we were there for or what our status was as far as helping teacher, student teacher or observers."

## THE 18TH ANNUAL PRESIDENTIAL PRAYER BREAKFAST

**HON. ALBERT H. QUIE**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, the 18th annual Presidential Prayer Breakfast was held on Thursday, February 5, at the Washington Hilton Hotel. The President, members of the Cabinet, members of the judiciary, members of the diplomatic corps, Governors of the various States, and members of the executive and legislative branches of Government attended the breakfast.

Presidents of national and international labor unions, leaders in industry and business, chancellors and presidents from colleges and universities, and citizens from other phases of American life were present.

The Armed Forces Radio and Television Service broadcast the Prayer Breakfast live to millions of men and women in uniform around the globe.

We have found this event to be very meaningful, not only to those who gather

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at the breakfast, but also to millions of citizens across this Nation.

Mr. Speaker, 2,600 persons at the breakfast were given an hour of inspiration, devotion, and truth.

I include the program and proceedings of the Presidential Prayer Breakfast in the RECORD at this point:

## PRESIDENTIAL PRAYER BREAKFAST

FEBRUARY 5, 1970

## PROGRAM

Music: "Faith of Our Fathers," by John Brown University Choral Group.

Presiding: Honorable Albert H. Quie, United States House of Representatives.

Invocation: Honorable Morris Udall, United States House of Representatives.

## BREAKFAST

Introduction of head table and statement: Honorable Albert H. Quie.

Greeting from House Breakfast Group: Honorable Burt Talcott, United States House of Representatives.

Greeting from Senate Breakfast Group: Honorable Herman Talmadge, United States Senate.

Old Testament and remarks: Honorable James E. Allen, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Education and United States Commissioner of Education.

Prayer for National Leaders: Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, Chief of Naval Operations.

New Testament and remarks: Honorable Melvin R. Laird, Secretary of Defense.

Closing Prayer: Honorable James B. Allen, United States Senate.

Closing Song: "America."

## PROCEEDINGS OF 18TH ANNUAL PRESIDENTIAL PRAYER BREAKFAST

## INVOCATION

(Read by Representative MORRIS K. UDALL, Arizona)

Mr. UDALL. O Lord, we assemble this morning in this capital city as men and women designated by our fellow citizens to bear the burdens and enjoy the privileges of leading our fellow men in these troubled, dangerous and revolutionary times. For, these are truly times when, as Thy servant, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, said, "Mankind holds in its mortal hands the power to eliminate all forms of human poverty or to eliminate all forms of human life."

Grant us, O Lord, the wisdom and courage to serve Thee and Thy people, to recognize the humility and vision to provide the essential function of leadership, which is to lead.

As this nation enters a new decade and nears its second century under liberty, help us find that elusive road to peace with other nations and the way to make our peace with nature on this oasis we call "earth."

We bow our heads and ask these blessings in Thy name, and in the name of Thy Son, Jesus Christ. Amen.

(Presiding: The Honorable Albert H. Quie, Minnesota.)

Mr. QUIE. This morning we meet for the eighteenth consecutive Prayer Breakfast, and we're honored in having with us this morning the President of the United States and Mrs. Nixon as our guests as we gather in fellowship with Christ. Your interest in attending this Breakfast is appreciated by the members of the Senate and the House Prayer groups.

Along with us today, then, we welcome our colleagues in the House and the Senate, the members of the President's Cabinet, the Judiciary, members of the diplomatic corps, Governors of the several States, and other men and women of the Executive and Legislative Branches of the Government, military officers, officers of labor unions, heads of the news media, business leaders, educators,

astronauts, athletes, religious leaders, and citizens throughout America and the world.

The 1970 Presidential Prayer Breakfast is also being broadcast live to the members of the armed services throughout the world by the American Forces Radio and Television Service. In addition, field chaplains of more than 750 military installations are holding identical prayer breakfasts and listening to prerecorded statements by President Nixon and Secretary Laird.

When I think of what we represent sitting down here together, I am reminded of the view of earth which some here this morning have seen—the view from space. We are from throughout the nation. We are from throughout the world. We are of all ages, races and backgrounds, and we join in the bond of Christlove. What we experience here in a private way can be communicated across America and around the globe through the lives which we live. For we must find ways of coming closer to our Lord and Master and of finding His guidance. It is our hope that out of this meeting today will come a specific *esprit de corps* which will move our nation forward spiritually, and, if this happens, perhaps we would recognize His presence by a real desire to pray together about our problems. We might also recognize His presence by an increasing freedom and lack of embarrassment when we talk about the person of God, Jesus Christ, and a spiritual awakening.

Now, I'd like to introduce to you some of the people who are at the head tables. I'll introduce—and I would ask you to hold your applause—all those who will not take part in the program. So, I'll begin with the head table behind me, and first with—

Governor Linwood Holton and Mrs. Holton. Governor Lester Maddox and Mrs. Maddox.

Secretary John Volpe and Mrs. Volpe. Secretary Maurice Stans and Mrs. Stans. Postmaster General Winston Blount and Mrs. Blount.

Secretary Walter Hickel and Mrs. Hickel. Secretary George Shultz and Mrs. Shultz. Mrs. George Romney, the wife of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Governor Russell Peterson.

Governor Claude Kirk. And over to my left on this head table, I'll start off with—

Attorney General John Mitchell and Mrs. Mitchell.

Mr. J. G. Green, Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources of Canada and Mrs. Green.

Dr. Orlando Montenegro, President of the Congress of Nicaragua.

Secretary David M. Kennedy.

Dr. Seville Sacassa, Dean of the Diplomatic Corps.

Mrs. Allen, the wife of Senator James B. Allen.

Again, let me introduce Congressman Morris Udall.

Mrs. Allen, the wife of Commissioner of Education James E. Allen, Jr.

Senator Frank Carlson.

Over on the right side:

Senator Everett Jordan and Mrs. Jordan. Minister of Public Works of Spain, Fredrico Silva and Mrs. Silva.

Secretary of State William Rogers and Mrs. Rogers.

William Tolbert, Vice President of Liberia. Mrs. Talcott, wife of Congressman Burt Talcott.

Mrs. Laird, the wife of the Secretary of Defense.

Mrs. Quie. Mrs. Spiro T. Agnew.

Mrs. Nixon.

In the House of Representatives each Thursday morning, a group of Congressmen meet together in a prayer breakfast, and bringing us greetings from the House Breakfast Group is Congressman Burt Talcott of California.

February 10, 1970

Mr. TALCOTT. Good morning, Mr. President, my colleagues in Government, and friends.

Some of us arrived this morning from the sad journey to California, where we helped to memorialize the life of a friend and colleague, Glenn Lipscomb, and to share our loss with his family and friends. But this is a new day, and I know that Glenn would want it to be a joyous one, so it's with personal humility and great representative pride that I bring warm greetings from the House Prayer Group.

Some Americans would probably consider a hotel room in Washington on a Thursday morning with no clergymen on the platform and with a quorum of the House and Senate present to be the least likely situation for a meeting at which prayer is the principal attraction. But for those I have a message, that I invite you to convey to your associates in your communities: Among your elected representatives, there is a growing conviction that universal understanding, domestic tranquillity and peace can be greatly advanced by a fellowship based upon a belief in God and sustained by prayer. And also, the most venerable of all of the traditions of the House of Representatives is that every daily session—from the first session in Philadelphia until today—has been opened with prayer.

Mr. President, we are especially grateful to you for your contribution by personal example to the spiritual renaissance so needed by our society today. Your presence here, your innovation of holding Sunday religious services in the East Room, your prayer breakfast in the White House, gave tremendous impetus to the concept of men meeting together on a spiritual basis.

The meetings of our House Prayer Group are informal with minimal organization. There are no dues or membership lists. Only members and elected members of foreign parliaments attend our meetings. All the discussions are off the record. This precedent enhances the candor of our discussions and the intimacy of our fellowship.

Capitol Hill is one of the most avidly political and keenly partisan places on earth. But our group is strictly nonpolitical and nonpartisan. Upstairs on the House floor we are fiercely adversary—disputation is the vogue. But downstairs at breakfast we are friends. The mode is to listen, exchange ideas and to discuss points of view. Our group does not profess any particular theology, there is little religiosity, and no liturgical trappings. We are ecumenical and we were long before ecumenism became popular. Men of all religious persuasions attend our Thursday meetings. Ours is a simple fellowship of communication, of conciliation and concern. Each of us is different—from widely different districts, with quite different backgrounds, training and religious experiences. But, like mankind everywhere, it is essential that we retain a bond of friendship in spite of our extraordinary differences.

We open and close each meeting with prayer. Some say grace, some ask a blessing, some give an invocation or a benediction, and sometimes we pray silently, each in his own way. But prayer is central to our meetings. It gives us a feeling of renewal, a spirit of unity with God, and a sense of oneness that is somehow above partisanship and politics, and somehow, almost mysteriously, inclusive of all of our denominational, ethnic and national differences.

We legislators deal with the future. The laws we enact are all prospective. So, in our search for solutions, we are naturally attracted to the hope and the optimism and the love of Christ. We are living in a developing world, where people are continually changing, and nothing is finished. But we find certitude in Christ, the eternal contemporary. We believe that a network of private

prayer meetings, whether at breakfast or lunch or even without food, whether in the Capitol, the church, an office or your home, whether you tackle hard political issues or difficult social concerns or nagging personal problems, is compatible with the teachings of Christ and the Kingdom of God.

If members of the Congress, with all of our diversity and adversariness, can meet weekly in spiritual fellowship, certainly every other vocational group could do better.

So with our very special greetings this morning the House Prayer Breakfast Group earnestly invites you to join and support the prayer group movement where you live or work. You will be promoting a growing, worldwide fellowship, which we are convinced is the best hope for mutual understanding among men; tranquillity within communities, and peace with freedom among nations.

Mr. QUIE. Each Wednesday morning the Senate Prayer Breakfast Group meets, and to bring greetings from that group I give you the distinguished Senator from Georgia, the Honorable Herman Talmadge.

Senator TALMADGE. Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, Mrs. Agnew, distinguished guests:

I am honored, indeed, to bring greetings to this distinguished gathering from the Prayer Group of the United States Senate. As our distinguished chairman told you, we meet each Wednesday morning while the Congress is in session. It is an intimate and deeply personal meeting. A selected member of our group brings a spiritual message. There are also responses and discussion, then, by involving all of the members present.

I've been a regular participant in the Senate Prayer Breakfast Group for the 13 years that I have been a member of the Senate. I like to think of it as a meeting of the minds and of the souls of Senators in recognition of the high power that guides all of us in our service to our State and nation, and in search of divine inspiration. This is what the Prayer Breakfast Group means to me. By coming together each week as we do, respect is paid to the eternal truth as enunciated by the Psalmist in "blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord."

We are a great and strong nation. We have the best government in the world. We have more freedom and more prosperity than any other people. For these and all of our blessings we are thankful. But after all has been said and done, those of us in the Senate and throughout all of our Government, from the President on down, are but mortals in the eyes of God. All of us must know that God reigns over all. Wise old Benjamin Franklin said it best in urging that the Constitutional Convention be opened with the prayer: "God governs in the affairs of men, and if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid?" We dedicate ourselves to this principle, and in so doing we renew the religious faith that has been so vital and meaningful to generations of Americans before us.

It is equally important and necessary for all of us now. These are difficult and extremely troubled times for Americans and for people throughout the world. The best in all of us is put to the test almost daily. In recent years, it has often seemed to me that our nation has gone from one crisis to another, either at home or abroad. The faith of all Americans in freedom, in what is right, in what is good, and in their God, is tested time and again. This is why men must take time from their duties to meet, to pray, and, most especially, to seek divine guidance.

Next week the nation will observe the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, who presided over this country during a most critical period. Lincoln spoke of liberty and courage and the spirit of America on many occasions. In making these blessings more secure,

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he acknowledged the power and the influence of the Almighty. I think it is appropriate for us today to think on these words of Lincoln:

"What constitutes the bulwark of our liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements or bristling seacoast, or army and navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. Our reliance is on the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands everywhere."

Our faith is our strength. We are grateful for opportunities like our weekly breakfast meeting in the Senate, and for this special occasion each year when we can join together to dedicate ourselves to the ideal that ours is truly a nation under God.

Mr. QUIE. To read from the Old Testament and bring some comments, I present to you the Assistant Secretary of HEW, U.S. Commissioner of Education, the Honorable James E. Allen, Jr.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, Mrs. Agnew, distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen:

May I direct your attention to passages from the Book of Proverbs.

"Get wisdom, get insight, do not forsake her and she will keep you. Love her, and she will guard you. The beginning of wisdom is this: Get wisdom, and whatever you get, get insight. Happy is the man who finds wisdom; the man who gets understanding. For the gain from it is better than to gain from silver, and its profit better than gold. She is more precious than jewels, and nothing you desire can compare with her. Long life is in her right hand; in her left hand are riches and honor. Her ways are ways of pleasantness and all her paths are peace. She is the tree of life to those who lay hold of her; those who hold her fast are called happy."

A compelling human instinct and desire—necessity—is to pass to the young the wisdom and understanding of age and experience. This is the motivating force of all education; whether in its simplest or its most sophisticated form. To transmit knowledge is comparatively easy, but the nurturing of understanding is more elusive, for here we deal not only with the mind but with the heart and the spirit as well.

It is very clear that the problems of our country, our world cannot be solved by knowledge alone, but will yield only to the combination of increased knowledge and a shared concern for the human condition that understanding can produce. Thus, we seek in our schools, our colleges, our universities to give our young the moral and spiritual values that are the true greatness of our heritage. When we fail to gain their allegiance to these values it is because we rely too much on word rather than deed, on precept rather than practice. It is this disparity that too often exists between what we, the older generation, say and what we do. That is, I believe, at the root of much of the disillusionment and the unrest of youth today. They recognize our hypocrisy, and their trust in our understanding, our faithfulness to our inheritance of democratic ideals and principles is undermined.

In the Book of Jeremiah, the question is asked:

"How shall I give thee a pleasant land, a godly heritage?"

Certainly this is the goal of our labors, the hope of our struggling—to give our coming generations a godly heritage. Let us strive to do this by providing education that will transmit our heritage, our traditions, our values in ways that will produce both wisdom and understanding.

Let us also resolve not to be guilty of the hypocrisy that can destroy the faith of our young, but to demonstrate our understand-

ing, not only through reaffirmation of faith in our Creator and dedication to democratic principles, but also in the practice, both in our personal and public lives, that honors the principles and ideals we hope will constitute the godly heritage we can continue to pass on to coming generations.

Mr. QUIE. To bring a prayer for national leaders, we now call on Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, Chief of Naval Operations.

Admiral MOORER. Bow our heads, please.

Eternal Father, by whose spirit men are inspired, and in whose service they put forth their most noble efforts, we ask Your presence with the leaders of our country, our President, the leaders in our Government and our military services; indeed, all Americans who are charged with authority and accountability throughout our land. We pray that You will give them Your blessing and Your guidance, as they earnestly strive to make wise decisions and develop enduring policies. We pray that those who are entrusted with such awesome responsibilities will be endowed with solid faith and sound judgment, and as they lead the people of America we pray that they will in turn be led by You, so that our great nation will be an example and an inspiration to all peoples of the world, and that our nation will perform in accordance with Thy will. Amen.

Mr. QUIE. To bring us a message from the New Testament and make comments on it, it is my privilege to introduce to you a close friend, a former colleague in the House, and now Secretary of Defense, Melvin Laird.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. President, Mrs. Nixon, Mrs. Agnew, ladies and gentlemen:

Reading from the New Testament, John 15; 4 and 5:

"Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me."

"I am the vine, ye are the branches. He that abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing."

Twenty centuries have passed since the words which I have read from the New Testament were spoken by Him that called Himself the Prince of Peace. Within that span of history man has achieved truly remarkable things. He has made our deserts bloom, he has made the oceans and the airways our highways. He has harnessed the forces of nature, he has made tremendous attacks against his traditional enemies—hunger, disease and poverty. And in our day he has even stepped on the surface of the moon. These and countless other accomplishments are sources of justifiable pride; pride to all men in all parts of our world. The knowledge expansion of the last half century, the awesome implications of nuclear power, the dizzying speed of technological progress—all these are eloquent witness to the potential of disquietude. And he asks why. He looks at the totality of man. His forward progress, indeed, seems limitless. His total mastery of the forces of nature appears to be inevitable. And yet, despite this phenomenal progress in the material sense, 20th Century man feels in the depths of his being a disturbing sense about him and he sees man's inhumanity to man. He sees wars and rumors of wars. He sees violence erupt where order should exist, and he somehow feels that the quality of human life is deteriorating. And he asks why.

"Without me, ye can do nothing. Except the Lord build a house, they labor in vain who build it."

When man forgets his ultimate dependence upon his Creator, he violates his nature. And violated nature can produce neither a good life nor a good society.

When man perceives himself in the place of God and relegates God, as some have done, to the tomb, then man is in serious danger indeed.

It was Abraham Lincoln, in 1861, who said in words that were simple, eloquent and direct, and I quote:

"It is the duty of nations, of men, to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God. We have grown in numbers, in wealth, and in power as no other nation has grown, but we have forgotten God. We have forgotten the gracious hand that preserved us in peace and multiplied and enriched and strengthened us. We have vainly imagined that all these blessings were produced by some superior virtue and wisdom of our own."

So said Abraham Lincoln in 1861.

It has been said that the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord. Not the abject fear of the slave for his master, but the wholesome respect of the child for his father. It is only in the complete acknowledgment of our dependency on the Divine mercy that we as individuals or as a nation can look forward to true progress toward the good society.

We who are here are acting in the spirit of President Lincoln's admonition. We who represent a score or more of different creeds and practice many different modes of worship are one in our purpose here this morning: we are here to admit our reliance upon God, and to implore from Him those gifts that will enable us to go about His work here on earth. We cling firmly to the principle that state and church should be separate. We do not believe, however, that God and man or that God and State should be split asunder. We do not believe, to borrow Lincoln's words, that men or nations should forget God. "Without me, ye can do nothing."

When there is so much to be done, we cannot ignore the Divine power that alone will enable us to remove the scars that afflict our nation and our world.

And, so, humbly we ask our Heavenly Father for guidance and for blessing. Above all, we ask Him to lead us along the way to peace; to peace and love among all of his children.

Mr. QUIE. Ladies and gentlemen, it is a great privilege and a high honor to present to you the President of the United States.

The PRESIDENT. Congressman Quie, all of the distinguished guests here at the head tables, in the audience and listening on radio and also on television:

When I was preparing the State of the Union message, I did something that I usually do in preparing an important speech. I read for several days the background of all such messages that had been delivered by Presidents from the beginning of this country, and I found many interesting things—the fact, for example, that from the time of Thomas Jefferson until Woodrow Wilson none were delivered in person. They were all sent in writing. The fact that they varied a great deal in length—Woodrow Wilson's was the shortest when he resumed the practice of delivering them orally in 1913. He spoke only for 12 minutes. And the longer ones ran as long as 30,000 or 40,000 or 50,000 words. That, of course, would be on occasions when they did not have to be delivered in person. Even those delivered in person usually averaged an hour, an hour and a half, depending upon the circumstances and depending upon the time.

The content of the messages varied, too. The messages really present a history of the country, how its problems changed, and also how some of the problems remained the same through the whole 190 years' history of this country. But while lengths were different and styles were different and the men were different and the contents of the messages were different, there was one theme that ran through them all. The author of the

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book on state of the union messages—and somebody did write a book about state of the union messages—the author pointed out that almost without exception, each President at some point in his message called upon Divine Guidance for himself, but, more important, for this nation.

Now, let us be quite candid. All of our presidents were not the same in their religious faith. I mean by that they did not belong to the same churches, and, for some, religious faith was deeper, a different experience than for others.

But yet every one, whether he was a churchgoer, or, as in Lincoln's case, not a churchgoer, every one recognized in the awesome position of power of the Presidency the necessity for Divine Guidance, and also the fact that this nation is a nation under God, and that this nation some way from the beginning has had a spiritual strength far more important than the enormous economic potential that we have now developed, or the military strength that we now possess.

So consequently this morning I am very honored and very privileged to be here and to have the opportunity with you to listen to members of the Senate, members of the House, the Commissioner of Education, the Secretary of Defense speak very deeply, very sincerely with regard to their own religious faith and also with regard to this nation's fundamental unifying strength: The fact that regardless of our backgrounds, regardless of what religions we may have, that this is a nation which from the beginning has had a spiritual value which all of us in positions of leadership in varying degrees have recognized and on which we have relied.

This nation has had many problems. Reference has been made to perhaps the most difficult experience of all—the war between the States, brother against brother. But perhaps never in our history has the nation had a greater challenge and greater problems than when we were the most powerful and the richest nation in the world, something we had no reason to dream we could become, when we were 13 States and 3,000,000 people and poor economically and very weak militarily. And so here we stand in the last third of the 20th Century, rich and powerful and with the faith not only of the people who live in this country—200 million—in our hands, but with the faith of hundreds of millions all over the world who cherish freedom, who want peace, depending upon what we do. So it's well to be reminded of what this thread that runs through our history—that men will work hard, they will lead as well as they can, they will be as wise as they can, but that we recognize our own inability to do it alone, that we need the spiritual strength which unites us and the spiritual strength which gives us an extra power, perhaps that needed vision that we need, to look beyond the material problems that seem to be so overwhelming and see the promise of a better life for us and all the peoples in the world in the year ahead. And what a really wonderful time to be alive for that reason—with all that we have and with all that we can become, and what we can mean, not only to ourselves, but to the whole world.

Reference has been made to the White House church services, to which many of you have been invited and many of you have attended. There were a number of memorable statements on those occasions. I think one that particularly is appropriate to refer to this morning was Cardinal Cook's quotation from St. Augustine, when he told all of the assembled people from government on that occasion, in the words of St. Augustine: "Work as if everything depended on you and pray as if everything depended on God." And that is the message I would leave here this morning. We must work as if every-

thing depended on us; we must pray as if everything depended upon God, recognizing that America is a nation under God. We do have a destiny; not a destiny to conquer the world or to exploit the world, but a destiny to give something more to the world simply than an example which other nations in the past have been able to give—a great military strength and great economic worth—to give to other nations of the world an example of spiritual leadership and idealism which no material strength or military power can provide.

Mr. QUIE. Thank you, Mr. President. I know I speak for all who are gathered here, our hearts and our spirits unite with you.

There are two parts left of our program—the closing prayer and the closing song. So what I would ask you to do is to remain standing for the closing song and then to remain in your places while the President and Mrs. Nixon retire from the room. Now I'd like to call on the distinguished Senator from Alabama, the honorable James B. Allen, to lead us in our closing prayer.

Senator ALLEN. Our Heavenly Father, we know that Thou art God, and we look to Thee as our Lord, and as the Creator and Ruler of the universe. We are thankful for this occasion, for the evidence it gives of our trust in Thee, our dependence on Thee, and our need of Thee every hour. We thank Thee that we are and we pray that we shall ever be one nation under Thee, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. Bless, we pray Thee, the President of the United States and his efforts for the common good as he leads the nation in this day of challenge and opportunity, of peril and hope, of war and the yearning for peace. Grant, we beseech Thee, that America will always be free, that it will always be the land of opportunity for all. Grant that among Thy children everywhere throughout the world war will give way to peace, hunger to plenty, illness to good health, unrest to tranquillity, dependence to self-reliance, hatred to brotherly love, agnosticism to faith in Thee. We pray that our fellowship, our meditation and our communion with Thee this morning will inspire us to a closer walk with Thee today and in the future. Forgive us of our sins. Bless us and all peoples everywhere. We pray in Jesus' name, Amen.

(Closing song: "America.")

## STEVIE WONDER

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I have been asked by a number of constituents to bring to the attention of this House the fact that Mr. Stevie Wonder will be honored with an award known as the Fight for Sight Show Business Inspiration Award for 1969. I am told that he is receiving this award because while blind from birth, he dramatically overcame this severe impairment and became a talented musician and entertainer. The award, I am told, is being presented to him as an inspiration to other young people similarly physically impaired to pursue active, productive lives. The award will be presented to him by Mr. Earl Wilson, a noted columnist who is an active leader in the Fight for Sight.

## CHICAGO'S PROPOSED LAKE AIRPORT

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of controversy has recently surrounded the possible siting in Lake Michigan of the Chicago metropolitan area's third major airport. Some excellent remarks on the financing and environmental problems posed by a lake airport were made by Mr. Douglas Schroeder in his article, "The Lake Airport—A Disaster in the Making," which appeared in the March 1969 edition of *Inland Architect*.

I believe Mr. Schroeder's remarks will be of current interest to House Members who are not only concerned about the cost of airport development but also about the impact of such development on our environment.

After some lengthy introductory remarks on the background of the lake airport proposal, Mr. Schroeder begins his discussion of the costs involved by referring to the cost comparisons which appeared in a study on the lake airport done by the open lands project, a Chicago conservation group. Mr. Schroeder's remarks follow:

## THE LAKE AIRPORT—A DISASTER IN THE MAKING

(By Douglas Schroeder)

The Open Lands Project, a conservation group, published an exhaustive study in September, 1968, entitled, "Will a Lake Airport Best Serve the Chicago Area?" It makes total cost comparisons based on data assembled for the city by the Real Estate Research Corp. and Harza Engineering Co. The figures compare the projected costs of building the airport on the lake bottom and building it on a land site favored by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) east of the village of Frankfort, near the junction of Interstate 80 and Interstate 57:

## General cost projections

## Lake airport:

Site	\$413,000,000
Improvements	400,000,000
Principal costs	813,000,000
Annual debt service ( $\times 40$ )	52,945,000
 Total costs	 2,117,800,000

## Land airport:

Site	211,800,000
Improvements	400,000,000
Principal costs	611,800,000
Annual debt service ( $\times 40$ )	39,767,000
 Total costs	 1,590,680,000

Land sites other than the one preferred by the FAA also could be developed for less than half the cost of the lake site, according to reports given the city by its consultants.

It should be remembered that the costs of large public works consistently are understated. The proposed lake bottom airport is an example of this technique used to make a plan sound economically plausible.

For example, the plans proposed by Harza Engineering Company call for a single four-lane access roadway from shore by causeway, bridge or tunnel, with provision for two additional lanes in the future. O'Hare Airport—which accommodates much less traffic than that expected for the lake bottom airport—is served by an eight-lane highway. During

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rush hours, even a minor accident has been known to cause O'Hare traffic to back up for miles.

Three other perimeter entrances serve air cargo, employee and service traffic at O'Hare. A fifth entrance is planned from Irving Park Road when that street is rerouted. And a rapid transit line also has been projected for an expanded O'Hare in order to take even more pressure off roadways to the field.

In short, 18 or more traffic lanes and a rapid transit line will be needed to serve an expanded O'Hare Field and its projected 40,000,000 passengers a year. Is it reasonable to assume that four lanes will accommodate the 50,000,000 passengers projected for the first year of operation for the lake airport?

A more realistic cost estimate for the lake facility would include this inevitable public investment for roads and transit. This added cost could equal the cost of the polder itself.

Some have argued that the lake airport could be connected easily to the central business district by a subway tunnel. If such a connection were built from Monroe Street to the airport five miles in the lake, by either tunneling through rock or trenching the lake bottom, the cost would be about \$100,000,000, or \$20,000,000 per mile.

Other costs that have not been included in the published estimates would be for such necessities as sewer, water, gas and communication lines to the airport.

But the costs don't stop there. What about the expense of controlling air, water and noise pollution caused by the giant lake bottom airport? And what about the sadly diminished value of the lakefront as a glorious place of relaxation, refreshment and enjoyment for all the people?

Noise abatement is a factor that prompted Chicago officials to consider moving an airport farther offshore into deeper water. But even after this change was made in plans, diagrams of noise zones along takeoff and landing paths show that Uptown and Rogers Park communities on the North Side and the Kenwood-Oakland and South Shore on the South Side would fall into zones requiring residential soundproofing. Much of the recreational shore to the north and south would be blighted by constant airplane noise.

Moving an airport further offshore would make transportation and utility connections even more expensive. Building the polder in deeper water would add more to the construction costs. The practical limit of polder construction in the lake is probably 15 miles offshore from Chicago at the present time. Moving an airport to this outer limit would not much minimize the conflict in aircraft traffic patterns and would make prospects for additional poldering to even greater distances that much more attractive.

Air pollution, too, would be a problem. Lake Michigan has been a giant reservoir of clean air for Chicago. A lake airport would become a source of contamination from heavy airplane exhaust fumes. The main contaminant from jets is carbon exhausted in the form of black smoke. Though carbon emissions from jets is not known to be harmful to health, it is highly visible and certainly esthetically objectionable.

Carbon smoke could reduce visibility and constitute a safety hazard as it settles into the depressed airport polder and is trapped. The carbon particles also will settle in the lake and add to existing water pollution.

Officials contend that the lake airport would not add to water pollution. They point out that sewage will be pumped to the mainland, not into the lake. However, the Harza Engineering firm has proposed that a reservoir be created within the polder to collect seepage through the dike and rain runoff. This water would be pumped into the lake in great quantities.

It certainly is probable that large amounts of oil, kerosene, carbon and exotic chemical

compounds will be in this water as it is pumped into the lake. Inasmuch as such great efforts are being made to stop the eutrophication (aging) of Lake Michigan, it is unlikely that Chicago would be permitted for long to get away with pumping this untreated water into the lake.

And would a lake bottom airport be safe? And could it be operated without too many weather shutdowns? If an airport cannot be operated fully because its air space conflicts with that of other airports, then it is not going to be an efficiently run facility.

The FAA stated in a letter to the city early in 1968 that poor weather conditions and/or heavy traffic could affect O'Hare and the lake airport simultaneously. This interaction is not as likely between O'Hare and an airport built on the land site south of the city.

Weather records of Lake Michigan conditions, taken at Dunne Crib, 2½ miles off 68th St., show higher winds, more moisture and more fog and haze than is experienced on land.

Beyond all these drawbacks, the least bearable expense of a lake bottom airport is the potential loss of more of the lake itself through additional poldering. Experience at O'Hare Field shows that a major airport generates tremendous commercial and industrial expansion. There would be irresistible pressures on the city for creation of more land in the lake, once the precedent were set by the airport polder.

What is to stop other municipalities and other states from trying to expand their shorelines into the lake if Chicago does it?

Certainly, when all objections are considered, a site south or southwest of Chicago seems to be the best answer to the problem of increased air traffic. The area is not yet densely populated and is ready for more development.

The problem is not just Chicago's. And it should not be solved strictly on terms laid down by Chicago. It should be viewed within a wider framework.

For example, Chicago, Cook County and the State of Illinois could set up a special authority to construct the third airport. The costs and revenues could be shared by each of the governing bodies.

The airport should be viewed as a nucleus of a planned and zoned district, perhaps 10 or more miles in diameter. A mass transit line to the core city should be included in construction plans to insure cheap and quick transportation for both passengers and workers at the airport.

To answer our question—is it necessary to ruin our city and deprive us of our lakefront so that passengers might save 20 minutes of travel time?

The answer, emphatically, is no.

## LESTER W. THOMPSON TELLS STORY OF WARD 5C2'S ALCOHOLISM TREATMENT PROGRAM AT PALO ALTO VA HOSPITAL

## HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 27, 1970

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I recently received a very impressive paper by Mr. Lester W. Thompson in which he tells the story of the founding of ward 502's alcoholism treatment program at the Palo Alto VA hospital, and gives an account of the life of patients in the program. Mr. Thompson was himself a patient in ward 5C2, and therefore can speak first-hand of the great initiative shown by Head Nurse Lois R. Learned

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in getting the program started, of the effectiveness of a treatment program run by a dedicated staff, and of the need for more such programs.

It is unfortunate that misapplied budget cuts and personnel ceilings have prevented the Veterans' Administration from moving rapidly in activating specialized alcoholism treatment units in the many VA hospitals that have requested them. I hope that Mr. Thompson's story of local initiative and of patients who seek and respond to professional help will serve to jog loose funds long overdue to meet a great national health problem. I commend his moving account of life in ward 5C2 to my colleagues:

HISTORY OF WARD 5C2, VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL, PALO ALTO, CALIF.

(By Lester W. Thompson)

I. ALCOHOLISM AS A PROBLEM OF NATIONAL CONCERN

Ward 5C2 of the Veterans Administration Hospital, Palo Alto, California, is primarily an alcoholic rehabilitation ward. To date, its history is rather brief, but hopefully, the attainment of the goals envisioned by the doctor in charge of the ward and his staff is promising. However, before going into detail about the history of the ward and its program, it is thought that a brief resume of alcoholism as a serious national problem is in order.

In March of 1969, H.R. 8532, a bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code in order to provide additional beds and special units in Veterans Administration Hospitals for the care and treatment of veterans afflicted with alcoholism and for other purposes was introduced into the House of Representatives by Mr. Reuss, a Representative from Wisconsin, and fourteen co-sponsors. Much of the statistical data following is taken from the speech made by Mr. Reuss before the House of Representatives introducing this bill.

Alcoholism ranks along with Heart Disease, Cancer and Mental Illness, as a national health problem. It is estimated by Mr. Reuss that 5,000,000 Americans suffer from this disease, with 200,000 new cases developing each year, although other estimates have indicated this figure to be as high as 6,000,000 to 8,000,000 Americans. 11,000 deaths a year are directly attributable to this illness, but this could be a minimal figure as it is recognized among the medical profession that excessive use of alcohol has been in many instances a contributing factor when the cause of death was listed as heart disease or some other illness. Alcoholism is also a major factor in approximately fifty percent of fatal auto accidents, many involving chronic alcoholics. In addition, the cost to industry in job absenteeism and industrial accidents is staggering, ranging from two to four billion dollars per year. In a recent speech, Senator Murphy of the State of California, made the statement that in his opinion, the cost to industry in California, alone, was a billion dollars per year.

Despite the fact that there are inconsistencies in the statistics and complete and accurate statistical data are difficult, if not impossible, to obtain, the figures stated above indicate that alcoholism is a serious menace to society and growing increasingly more so. However, statistics alone cannot tell the story. It is estimated that each alcoholic affects four family members, thus using Representative Reuss' minimum statistics of five million people afflicted with this illness. Alcohol reaches into the lives of at least twenty million Americans, bringing the anguish of financial insecurity and family disruption.

Alcoholism has long been thought of as a moral problem involving some weakness of

character, and despite the voluntary work of such organizations as Alcoholics Anonymous, the chronic drunk has been treated more often than not as a person irretrievably lost to society, who must lead a precarious existence the rest of his life. However, in recent years, alcoholism is increasingly being recognized for what it is—a complex disease, not fully understood, but which, nevertheless, can, in some cases, be effectively treated. Industry has become aware of the fact that the alcoholic is not necessarily the typical, so-called, skid row bum, but that approximately thirty-five percent of the people suffering from an alcoholic problem are in their own ranks of white collar workers, even reaching into the top echelons of management. Another forty-five percent are blue collar workers. Industry has also become increasingly aware that in many instances it is better, from an economic standpoint, to rehabilitate the alcoholic, thus continuing to capitalize on his knowledge and experience, than to train a new employee for the job.

There is also an increasing tendency among the courts to treat the alcoholic for what he is—a sick person, rather than a criminal, and the problem is receiving increased attention from the medical profession, health agencies, voluntary organizations, research institutions, and is of growing concern to health insurance companies. Nevertheless, due to the past neglect of the problem, there is a woeful shortage of specialized facilities and trained personnel to treat alcoholics. Many doctors are unwilling to accept an alcoholic as a patient even for a disease other than alcoholism if they are aware the potential patient has a drinking problem. Hospitals are hesitant to accept alcoholics as patients under the same circumstances except in the case of an emergency. Many state and county health institutions who are supposedly equipped to deal with the problem and will accept the patient, assist him through the withdrawal stages which are results of an intensive bout with the bottle, and then leave him to shift for himself for the remainder of his stay in the institution. The patient may occasionally receive a visit from a psychiatrist, whose principal question is "Why do you drink?" If the poor patient knew the answer to this question, he might well be able to do something about the problem on his own. Private institutions are expensive and their cost is beyond the reach of most alcoholics even though he may have enjoyed a substantial salary for the majority of his working years. In addition, the treatment for the alcoholic in the private sanitorium is often not based on scientific fact and has very little, if any, therapeutic value.

II. ALCOHOLISM IN RELATION TO THE VETERAN

In 1966, Veterans Administration Regulations were amended to specify that requests for hospitalization for alcoholism be processed the same as any other disease susceptible to cure or decided improvement. Of the five million American alcoholics estimated by Representative Reuss, 1,700,000 of them are known to be veterans. In addition, alcoholism is a known factor in approximately twenty percent of the psychiatric cases involved in Veterans Administration Hospitals. Of 105,000 veterans in all Veterans Administration Hospitals on one certain day, sixteen percent were known to have a drinking problem. To counteract this specific problem of alcoholic veterans, there are twenty-five Veterans Administration Hospitals with a total of 900 beds authorized for the treatment and rehabilitation of alcoholics and many of the wards set aside for this purpose are operating without the necessary funds and an inadequate staff. This is out of a total of 125,000 beds authorized by the Administrator of the Veterans Administration.

The bill proposed by Representative Reuss

would have authorized the establishment of 4,000 beds for the treatment and rehabilitation of alcoholics, 1,000 to be set up each year from 1970 through 1973. This bill was not enacted despite the fact that pilot programs in various Veterans Administration Hospitals involving sixty to ninety days intensive inpatient treatment supplemented by an adequate and sustained program of outpatient care have shown rehabilitation to be possible in an encouraging forty percent of the cases treated.

III. HISTORY OF WARD 5C2

Prior to 1969, Ward 5C2 was a psychiatric ward, headed by Dr. Leo Traub, with Lois R. Learned as the head nurse. The ward contained a number of patients with alcoholic problems who caused considerable trouble to the staff. During the Christmas and New Years' holidays of 1967, Mrs. Learned aroused the patients' interest in decorating the ward in an attractive and cheerful manner. Surprisingly, the incidence of intoxication and disorderly conduct was much lower on ward 5C2 than on the other psychiatric wards in the hospital and inquiry among the patients as to the reason for their reasonably good behavior revealed that the patients were appreciative of Mrs. Learned's efforts on their behalf and felt that they could not let her down.

Mrs. Learned informed her supervisor that she was interested in a head nurse position in an alcoholic rehabilitation ward, and on October 8, 1968, arrangements were made for her to attend the alcoholic programs set up in the Veterans Administration Hospitals in Houston, Texas, and Topeka, Kansas. On November 12, 1968, she visited the hospital at Houston and the following week she went to the hospital at Topeka for the purpose of observation and study of the operation of alcoholic rehabilitation wards. Upon her return, she began a definite formulation of a program for a similar ward at the Palo Alto Hospital.

On February 17, 1969, Ward 5C2 started an alcoholic program with Mrs. Learned as the head nurse. Alcoholic patients are difficult to treat, and many of the employees of the hospital were unwilling to serve on such a ward, but a volunteer staff was finally assembled. The original group of patients had primarily psychiatric problems so that from this group only three volunteered for the alcoholic rehabilitation program. Those patients whose problems were mainly psychiatric were gradually transferred to other wards or discharged from the hospital and replaced by patients with a professed desire to undertake a program which would assist them in their alcoholic problems. As far as is known, there was never any formal announcement to the effect that an alcoholic rehabilitation program was in effect in the Palo Alto Veterans Hospital, but the word was spread and shortly after the program was initiated there was and has been a waiting list.

IV. STAFF OF WARD 5C2

The ward is presently in charge of Dr. E. D. Radcliffe, M.D. and Psychiatrist. The doctor received his medical education in Europe and came to the United States in 1962. In 1963, he served as an intern and from 1964 to 1967 he took psychiatric training and then served in private practice and as a teacher. In 1967 he joined the Veterans Administration, and in February 1969, about a week after ward 5C2 was opened, accepted the position as the doctor in charge of this ward.

Previous comments have indicated the important role Mrs. Lois R. Learned, the present head nurse of the ward, had in its establishment. She joined the staff of the Veterans Administration in 1951 after serving two stints in the Nursing Corps of the United States Army, one from 1943 to 1946 as a nurse in a field hospital in the Philippine Islands, and the other from 1947 to 1949. In the interim between her latter discharge

from the Regular Army and her affiliation with the Veterans Administration in 1951, she took time out to have a baby daughter, and she also served in public health nursing.

A patient, upon first being admitted to the ward, may gain the impression that instead of being an Army Nurse, or as the old cliche often stated "an Angel of Mercy", she may have been the first sergeant in an Infantry Company of the 101st Paratroop Division, but they soon learn that despite the fact that she is a stern taskmaster and adheres to the rules, the welfare of the patients and pride in the ward are her primary concerns.

Another important role in the function of ward 5C2 is played by Dr. C. A. Brackbill, the Staff Psychologist. Dr. Brackbill taught at the University of Colorado for three years and then took graduate work in Psychology at the University of California at Los Angeles, where he obtained his Ph. D. in 1951. In 1952, he joined the staff of the Veterans Administration, serving in various posts until he became associated with the staff of ward 5C2 in February 1969. The writer is not qualified to comment upon his competence as a Psychologist, but it can be said with impunity that he is a terrible volley ball player, ranking just slightly higher than nursing assistants Holley and Thomas, in that regard.

In recounting the work of the staff, one must certainly remember the contributions of Miss Maryellis Ramsey, the Social Worker. Miss Ramsey is a registered nurse, having taken her training at St. Mark's Hospital in Salt Lake City, Utah. She took further training at Westminster College in Salt Lake City, obtaining her B.S. degree in nursing there. Further graduate work led to a Master of Social Work degree.

Although Mrs. Dorothy King is rather coy about her contribution to the operation of the ward, stating that she is only a typist, she actually is an excellent secretary and provides extremely valuable assistance to the patients in obtaining funds due to them from the various state and federal agencies. In addition, she is well known for the chocolate cakes she provides for the ward picnics, which are held on the average of once a month, weather permitting.

Ward routine requires starting the day at 6:00 a.m., but if it was not for the strident voice of Mrs. Pernella Farmer, a night nursing attendant and one of the original members of the staff, all of the patients would probably sleep-in until around ten in the morning. All of the patients of ward 5C2 will probably remember to his dying day those immortal words of Mrs. Farmer's, "Alright, gentlemen, six o'clock, six o'clock, time to get up, time to get up." If for any reason this call is ignored by any patients, Mrs. Willie Rattler, the other night nursing assistant and also an original member of the staff, can shortly set them straight that it actually is time to get up. In summary, it might be said in regards to the morning call that Mrs. Farmer provides the vocal power, but Mrs. Rattler just plain provides the power.

The nursing assistants on the day shift are Hazel Dabney, Anna Thomas, Doris Holley and James Black. Once again, the writer does not feel qualified to comment upon their ability as nursing assistants but does feel that he can make an accurate statement concerning their prowess as volley ball players. Anna Thomas and Doris Holley are handicapped to a degree by a lack of height and one senses some lack of muscular coordination in playing the game. In addition, Mrs. Holley has the tendency to close her eyes and cover her head with her arms if she thinks the ball is coming any place near her. Mrs. Dabney could be an excellent volley ball player except for the fact she has a tendency to catch the ball and throw it instead of batting the ball as it should be done. Naturally, this results in a fault for the team

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that she is on. However, she is enthusiastic and her love of participation encourages others.

Mr. Black is a new addition to the ward, and a welcome one. He is a powerful man and the very sight of him is usually enough to bring order out of chaos in the rare event any patient gets some wrong ideas in regard to adherence to the rules of the ward. Perhaps, too much stress is placed upon volley ball as a recreational activity, but since the soft ball season has ended, volley ball has become the chief recreational activity in which there can be group participation. Mr. Black has certainly become a welcome addition to the volley ball team, practically assuring a win for the team on which he plays.

The swing shift nurse is Nell Sounders, but as she is also assigned to another ward on which the patients perhaps need more attention than those on 502, one sees little of her except for periodic check-ups and medication time. She is ably assisted by Mrs. Lillian Nelson, nursing attendant, who, if time permits, can hold her own with any of the patients in a variety of card games. This has resulted in some humiliation among the patients, because as everyone knows, every ex-military man feels that he graduated from the branch in which he served Magna Cum Laude in every card game ever devised.

An hour's session of psychodrama is engaged in once a week by the patients. This therapy is conducted by Mrs. Sarah M. Drew, Chief of Educational Therapy of the hospital and Mrs. Mary Thompson, Therapist. Mrs. Drew has a B.A. degree from Mississippi Women's College and took some graduate work at Tulane University in New Orleans, Louisiana. She taught English in high school for approximately fifteen years before joining the Veterans Administration in 1951. In 1958 she was promoted to her present position as Chief Educational Therapist.

Mrs. Mary Thompson has a Special Secondary Teaching Credential in Business Administration and is now working on a Master's Degree at San Jose State College. She joined the Veterans Administration Hospital Staff in 1966 at her present position.

### V. PROGRAM OF THE WARD

Admission to the ward is strictly voluntary, but the patient must sign an agreement to stay for ninety days. Withdrawal before that time without Dr. Radcliffe's permission is withdrawal against medical advice, except in some rare cases where the patient has practically completed the program and has a job awaiting him. Violation of the rules of the ward such as showing up at the end of a week-end pass in an intoxicated state is usually cause for dismissal at Dr. Radcliffe's discretion. However, a second such violation is practically automatically grounds for dismissal from the ward. In addition, a person is allowed to take advantage of this program only one time.

Upon admission to the ward, the patient is given an admission questionnaire to fill out and a booklet containing the rules and regulations of the ward. He is then given a basic intelligence test and a test for personality traits, which are evaluated by Dr. Brackbill and his evaluation is inserted in the patient's chart.

The ward has a bed capacity for twenty-eight patients and the staff has worked out a program whereby seven to eight new patients start the program within a relatively short time, such as a week, thus creating a cycle of approximately that number of new patients being admitted each month.

Emphasis is not only placed on the alcoholic rehabilitation aspects of the program, but the patient is also given a complete physical check-up and any necessary treatment is prescribed. This includes dental and eye care.

After breakfast, the ward is cleaned by the patients. Then, on Mondays and Thursdays,

the first session of the day, between 9:00 a.m. and 10:00 a.m., group therapy sessions are held. The new patients are assigned to Mrs. Learned's group for the first thirty days, which consists primarily of instructional classes. One is faced with facts, the Alcoholic Game and Alcoholic Thinking. One of the major points stressed in these instructional classes is what Mrs. Learned has termed a "BUD"—building up a desire for a drink. It is emphasized that if frustration or other feelings should tempt the patient to take a drink, and if he can recognize it, stop and think about it, and seeks help, sobriety can be maintained. Each patient is instructed on how to recognize his own individual "BUD". This ties in to a degree with the Alcoholics Anonymous precept that it is the first drink that gets you into trouble. To supplement this program, two beds have been set aside as "BUD" beds, whereby a graduate of the program who finds himself in such a position is allowed to re-enter the ward for a day or two prior to taking that first drink, but absolutely not after.

After the thirty-day session in Mrs. Learned's group, the patient is then assigned to either Miss Ramsey's therapy group or Dr. Brackbill's group. These groups are usually smaller than Mrs. Learned's, and here individual problems of the patients are discussed. Upon first being exposed to these smaller groups, the patient is generally somewhat reticent to air his personal problems in front of other individuals, but this reticence is usually soon overcome. The emphasis is upon trying to help the patient recognize his problems, and then attempt to find a reasonable solution. Being questioned by five or six other individuals may, at times, result in confusion in a patient's mind, but as a rule, the therapy seems to work and for those that are sincere in their efforts to face their problems, this program appears to be of considerable assistance.

Wednesday morning from 9:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m., Psychodrama sessions are held under the supervision of Mrs. Drew and Mrs. Thompson. Here, various situations which may have caused the patient trouble in the past or that he may have to cope with upon reentering the social and economic life of the community are reenacted by the patients. Once again the directors of the program are faced with the shyness of the patients in appearing before the entire group, but this is soon overcome and although no one has yet discovered who will be a threat to the careers of Sir Laurence Olivier or Richard Burton, the program has been of assistance. One of the more successful scenes enacted recently portrayed the prospective job applicant and his method of handling the fact that he was an alcoholic, and has successfully completed the program in the Veterans Administration Hospital. Incidentally, he got the job, but that was probably because the interviewer was in the same position as the one being interviewed and could have been a bit more sympathetic toward the applicant's problem.

Tuesday morning from 9:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m. is an important hour of every week. That is the time when Dr. Radcliffe gives his lectures on alcohol. The lectures are factual and there is no moralizing. Never once has he admonished the group not to drink. It is his belief that this is the individual's own choice. His lectures are devoted to the characteristics of alcohol, its effects on the human body, and the cost to society. A series of slides of the various organs of the human body showing the disastrous results alcohol has had on these organs provides extreme emphasis on the more important points the Doctor wishes to put across. Such as factual approach instead of sermonizing is a much more effective approach.

Friday mornings from 9:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m. are devoted to group therapy sessions without the presence of staff members, and surprisingly, some rather serious discussion

results instead of just what might be termed a general "bull session."

The period from 10:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. each day is devoted to general athletics. There is a well-equipped gymnasium available, and also a swimming pool. Patients may avail themselves of any of the equipment including rowing machines, parallel bars, weights, pulleys, and other equipment. In addition there is a small nine hole three par golf course. Softball is the principal group participation sport in the summer time, and once again it might be said that there have been no Brooks Robinsons, Ron Santos or Willie Mays discovered and the games are not closely scouted by the major league representatives. However, it is rather amazing to see how this physical activity improves the agility, coordination and general physical fitness of the patients. It will be noted that in discussing the general members of the staff there were considerable references made to their prowess in volleyball. After the close of the softball season, which incidentally ended this year with the team from ward 5C2 being beat in the playoff of the championship by a score of thirteen to twelve, volleyball became the principal group sport and the members of the staff often participate with the patients in this activity. This season has been a particularly successful one in which a group of bumbling uncoordinated old men finally fielded a fairly proficient volleyball team. The climax of the season to date was the sound dubbing given by the team from ward 5C2, to a challenging ward in two games. To date there have been no other challenges.

Mondays through Thursdays from 1:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. is devoted to either educational therapy or industrial therapy. For the patients that choose the educational therapy there is a wide variety of courses offered, ranging from grade-school level to the college level. First, the patient is given a series of tests to determine his relative standing in the educational set-up and then a series of courses are arranged for him to further his education and assist him in regaining a respectable economic status in society.

The industrial therapy offered gives the patient a number of choices. There is a fairly well equipped woodshop, machine shop, and hobby shop. They are all operated by patients under staff supervision. The woodshop and the machine shop not only give the patient the opportunity to engage in the construction of something he desires, but he also works on a number of projects that will be of use to the hospital staff. Those engaged in these activities, in addition to accomplishing something worthwhile, are either maintaining or furthering their skills in the use of the machinery involved in these operations.

Other patients are assigned to various non-paying jobs in the hospital such as working in the X-ray department. There are also patients assigned to jobs around the hospital which pay a minimal wage, such as clearing tables in the canteen or working in the bowling alley. The principal job taken by the patients are offered by Dann Industries which pays the beginner \$1.00 per hour. This allows the patient with little or no money the opportunity to at least earn his coffee and cigarette funds, besides keeping him busy in the afternoon.

After 4:00 p.m., the patient is free for the day, although Dann Industries sometimes work at nights and the ambitious one can take advantage of that opportunity if he so desires. However, most of this evening free time is occupied by patients in watching television, playing cards or visiting with members of his family. At times, this is the most boring time of the day. Many of the patients have no family to visit them, and after ninety days, cards and television can become quite monotonous, so quite a number of the occupants of the ward take advantage

of the 9:30 p.m. lights out to go to bed, keeping in mind that daily morning chant, "Gentlemen, it's six o'clock, it's six o'clock, time to get up, time to get up!"

Although the program outlined above is generally followed, it has some flexibility, which allows various elements of the program to be replaced at times by films dealing with alcoholism and the social problems the alcoholic might face. One film, as a rule, is shown once a month. This is "The Alcoholic Cat". It shows that a cat which by nature abhors alcohol can become alcoholic through being subjected to a series of frustrations. It recognizes that a man is a much more complex personality than a cat, but the most meaningful part of the film is the latter part that reflects a man's ability to sustain his economic and social position through the increasing use of alcohol, but eventually reaches the point that this can no longer be done. He then abruptly drops to the position where his economic and social life is destroyed. Although he has reached this point, there may be some hope for recovery but such recovery is difficult and requires an extended period of time. Patients are primed for this film in Mrs. Learned's class on the learning and unlearning process.

The ward has an elected slate of officers, consisting of a President or Chairman, a Vice Chairman, and a Secretary-treasurer, and a Master-at-arms. The titles are self-explanatory except that it might be noted that the Master-at-arms is in charge of the daily clean-up of the ward. There is also a Recreation Chairman, whose principal function to date has been attempting, in conjunction with the other wards, to arrange some beneficial and constructive program for the patients, who for various reasons are unable to take advantage of the week-end pass privileges.

Meetings of the patients are held at 8:30 a.m. every Tuesday and Thursday. The Tuesday morning meetings are attended by the staff, which allows for a close liaison between staff members and patients. The Thursday morning meeting is for patients only. The various business of the ward is discussed and the appropriate action taken based on a majority of the votes of the patients. In addition, a 75¢ per week collection is taken which provides for coffee available to the patients from 6:00 a.m. to 8:00 a.m. and from 4:00 p.m. to bedtime.

Before closing this portion of the brief history of the ward, another important recreational activity should be mentioned. These are the ward picnics which are generally held on a monthly basis. These picnics are organized by a committee of patients who are ably assisted by the female staff members in the preparation of the food. They are generally held at one of the numerous parks in the area. Recreational equipment is drawn from the gymnasium, and a full schedule of athletic activities are provided for patients and staff with the exception of those who are physically unable to participate. No comment can be made about the earlier picnics, but it was universally acclaimed that the last two held were unqualified successes. Plans for a Christmas get-together for all patients who have completed the program is underway.

#### VI. SUCCESS OF THE PROGRAM

Because of the short length of time the program has been in effect, there is little statistical data that can be provided indicating either the failure or, most importantly, the success of the program. Since its inception, there have been a number of patients who have gone AMA, that is, failed to complete the full ninety days. There have also been a few patients who have been dismissed from the program for the violation of rules, principally showing back to the ward from a weekend pass in an intoxicated state. It is also known that a number of patients who successfully completed the pro-

gram failed to remain sober after their dismissal. However, as previously stated, this information is not based on any statistical research program, but only on hearsay and personal knowledge of the patients. To offset these discouraging aspects, there is tangible evidence that in a number of cases, the successful completion of the program has resulted in a changed life for the better. The staff has received a number of letters and postcards from graduates of the program in which they indicate they are living a life of sobriety and have regained a respectable place in the economic and social world. In addition, a considerable number of patients who have completed the program visit the ward on occasion, and they appear to have attained the same goals. These letters, postcards and visits have an encouraging effect on the present inhabitants of the ward, showing that with sufficient willpower, a man's ways can be changed and that there is also hope for him.

As previously stated, there is little provision for outpatient care, except for the "BUD" beds. However, Dr. Radcliffe has stated that he believes in an adequate outpatient program, but such a program will have to be initiated a step at a time and its future is indefinite. He does hope that in the near future he can initiate a follow-up program consisting of a questionnaire being sent to each patient six months after he has completed the program. This would provide some slight measure of its failure or success. Dr. Radcliffe also states that he is well aware that despite the screening process, there are patients who are not sincere in their efforts to regain sobriety and that these patients may check into the ward for any number of ulterior reasons. However, he is not especially perturbed by this. He believes that, although the patient may not be sincere when he checks in, after exposure to the program, he may come to recognize the beneficial results of the attainment of a sober and respectable life in the community.

In summation, it might be said that to date the program is in the experimental stage, and whether it is a success or a failure cannot be statistically proven at this time. However, in view of the comment expressed in the first two major divisions of this paper, particularly those concerning the menace of alcohol to society as a whole and especially to the veterans, it would appear that it is imperative that something be done to cope with this problem. The program on ward 5C2 would seem to be a logical approach to at least a partial solution to the problem of alcoholism, and its success at this time may be judged by the attitude of the participants in the program. It must be remembered that these men, for the most part, are the hard-core alcoholics, those who have imbibed excessive quantities of liquor over a period of years, and that now these men have a feeling that there is hope and that they can be free themselves from a physiological and psychological addiction that has either almost ruined their lives or will do so eventually.

History is a continuing process and it can only be hoped that the history of ward 5C2 to be written in the future will show an increasing success in the rehabilitation of alcoholics.

#### DEMOCRATIC POLICY COUNCIL—I: NATIONAL PRIORITIES FOR THE 1970'S

#### HON. DONALD M. FRASER OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, as we move into the decade of the 1970's it is be-

coming increasingly important for the Government to establish a set of national priorities in order that the many pressing problems facing us be handled in an orderly, constructive manner. I introduce into the RECORD a statement by the Democratic Policy Council, which Monday arrived at some conclusions as to how we might meet many of those urgent matters facing us today. Hubert Humphrey and Senator FRED HARRIS are cochairmen of the Democratic Policy Council, and I am a member.

## AMERICA IN THE 1970'S

(By the Democratic Policy Council, February 9, 1970)

We, the members of the Democratic Policy Council, set forth in this first statement of policy our principal beliefs and hopes about the paths this nation should follow in the decade of the 1970's.

We believe the American people are capable of facing America's problems for what they are. We believe they are willing to initiate and sustain tangible efforts to meet these problems. We do not believe they will long be content with a national administration lacking any deep inner convictions about ourselves and our world... a national administration highly skilled in public relations and television packaging, but demonstrably unwilling to come to grips with the necessities of the 1970's.

Our people are threatened by the prospect of an inflationary economy headed simultaneously toward recession. Rising prices are a cruel tax on the poor, the retired, on every owner of insurance policies, every contributor to a retirement system.

The strength of our economy, as our resources of human life and spirit, is drained by a war which has been prolonged unnecessarily.

Our humanity is assaulted by inadequate schools, by the crushing costs of available health care, by racial injustice and unequal opportunity, by a crisis in housing and transportation, by the foul air and water which pollute our environment, and by a rising rate of crime.

Our initial doubt about the Republican Administration's capacity to tackle these problems was changed to certainty when, in the same week, President Nixon vetoed as inflationary legislation providing an extra \$1.2 billion for education and health and then announced a new multi-billion-dollar spiral in the nuclear arms race.

We believe the American people deserve better from their national leaders.

In the months ahead the Democratic Policy Council and its committees will speak to these problems... specifically and in detail. Some of what we say here today is general—for in certain areas we have yet to find solutions equal to the problems which confront us. Some of what we say is tentative—for in examining these problems we expect to learn much. But this document does express our deepest convictions about the purposes and goals which should characterize our national life in this decade of challenge and promise.

We offer these ideas and positions to the American people. And we challenge the Republican Administration to respond.

It is widely recognized that in this decade we must devote our greatest energies to securing the decisive shift of resources—human and natural—from pursuits which cripple or destroy man's capacity for life, liberty and happiness to those which enhance these qualities. Too often, however, such recognition is not accompanied by the realization that this task will require difficult and courageous political judgments.

Just to fulfill the nation's *existing* commitments to its citizens may require placing additional burdens on the American

people. It may require further redistribution of our wealth and redirection of our human energies. It will require the elimination of obsolete Federal programs and subsidies that have long since lost their original purpose. It may require restructuring of our instruments of government. As a beginning it is essential to commit the billions now spent on Viet Nam to help solve our pressing domestic problems.

## CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP

It is the Congress to which the American people must increasingly look for leadership in determining our national priorities and committing the resources—human and financial—to meet our urgent domestic needs. An initial step in any such determination is the creation of a Joint Congressional Committee on National Priorities.

These are but a few examples of the commitments which Congress already has made the law of the land:

The Housing Act of 1949 declared that the "general welfare and security of the nation require... a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family..."

In the 1968 Housing and Urban Development Act, the Congress recognized that for twenty years the promise had not been kept, noted the failure as "a matter of grave national concern" and rededicated itself to "the elimination of all substandard housing in a decade."

In the 1966 Model Cities legislation, Congress declared that "improving the quality of urban life is the most critical problem facing the United States..."

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 declared it "the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity."

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 made it the policy of the United States "to provide financial assistance... to local educational agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low-income families to expand and improve their educational program..."

## COMMITMENTS IGNORED

To date these commitments remain unfulfilled and either ignored or underfunded by the Republican Administration.

Simply to ignore these acts of Congress and the national goals established by these acts is not acceptable; we must move decisively to accomplish them. But we must look simultaneously at other pressing needs:

*Crime.* The Republican Administration has talked a great deal about stopping crime. But the crime rate has continued to rise; indeed, crime increased by 11 percent nationwide in 1969. In the face of these facts, however, the Republicans have asked for only \$480 million to implement the Safe Streets Act of 1968 in comparison to the \$1 billion that was forecast for 1971 by the previous Democratic Administration. Effective use should be made of all of the resources that can be made available through this legislation.

## LACK SYSTEM

Today in the United States we have no system for the enforcement of our criminal laws. We have instead only a faltering, inefficient process—police, courts, corrections—consisting of an amalgamation of fragmented and often hostile agencies. There are serious deficiencies in every part of this process, and as a whole it is not preserving order and keeping our people safe from the threat of crime.

Each year there are more than nine million serious crimes committed in the United States. Only half of these are even reported

to the police. The police arrest a suspect in only one-eighth of the crimes committed and in only one-sixteenth is there a conviction obtained. The law enforcement process, as it presently operates, is not doing the job on crime that must be done, and it will never do the job unless we face up to the need for basic improvements in levels of funding and in management techniques.

We must swiftly and substantially increase the resources devoted to law enforcement and the administration of justice.

Federal, state and local authorities must work together to create central offices of criminal justice at the metropolitan level to make all parts of the law enforcement process—police, courts, corrections—function together as a fair, effective system.

## NEED MAJOR EFFORTS

Beyond this, however, we need major efforts in several areas almost totally overlooked by the Republicans: strict gun control legislation, prevention of juvenile delinquency and rehabilitation of young offenders before they become hardened criminals; rehabilitation of drug addicts; the reform of our court system to eliminate delays in the administration of justice and the reform of our correctional institutions to include greater stress on community-based rehabilitation.

Seventy percent of all crimes are committed by repeat offenders. In other words, to achieve real results in the war-on-crime, it is essential to provide the facilities and expert personal care to help stop persons convicted of one crime from committing another.

*Education.* Improving education and making it freely available to all our people is the surest way to break the cycles of poverty, crime, welfare, and blighted opportunity that prevents us from fulfilling our national destiny. Yet we have only begun to make the major commitment of resources, time and talent needed to secure this urgent priority. Existing programs, including the landmark Elementary and Secondary Education and Higher Education Acts, remain underfunded; there is almost no support from the federal government for research into new educational techniques; and we need to make greater efforts in areas of pre-school education, child development, facilities and methods for teaching disadvantaged children and further education for adult Americans. Education must never be starved of funds or sacrificed for less essential needs. It must receive our continuing attention, commitment, and support.

*Cities.* The urban crisis was a prominent feature of the political landscape of the 1960's, but the Republican Administration already seems bent upon having us forget it in the 1970's. Despite the importance of national action to save our environment, this effort cannot become an excuse or rationale for diverting our attention and vital resources from the increasingly serious plight of American cities. The Eisenhower Commission has called for vast new expenditures on domestic needs, underscoring the earlier conclusions of the Kerner and Douglas Commissions about the urgency and dimension of the task of reconstructing urban life.

Above all, however, the effort to rescue our metropolitan areas requires a political decision, supported by all the American people. This, in turn, will require committed and articulate political leadership which calls upon our nation to make the sacrifices now that are essential if we are to insure the survival and development of urban America.

*Medical Care.* Sharply rising medical costs and the lack of adequate health care for millions of Americans demand far better use of existing medical facilities, and their expansion to meet the growing needs of the 1970's. We must explore ways for all Americans to be insured against grave financial loss through illness and to have full access

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

to preventive care facilities. The time has come to look particularly at ways for the federal government to help establish and support national programs of health insurance, in the private market where possible but through public action where necessary. The time has also come to correct immediately the outrageous abuses of Medicare and Medicaid as revealed by the Senate Finance Committee staff yesterday.

**Welfare.** Last year, the Republican Administration proposed a family assistance program that would begin reform of the present welfare system and provide a federal minimum payment of \$1600 for a family of four whose income was under \$1000. Although the Republican program contains some good elements, we should explore other proposals that would remedy shortcomings in the Administration's bill.

## INCOME MAINTENANCE

We need, for example, to implement the broader proposals of the Heineman Commission on Income Maintenance appointed by President Johnson and to increase the minimum payments to a figure that makes it possible for a family of four to survive in today's economy; achieved in stages this would bring each family's income to the federally-defined poverty line of \$3600 a year. And we should look for ways to relieve the already overburdened budgets of states and localities.

Other needs claim our attention and action:

Workable mass transportation systems to eliminate the daily worsening traffic congestion of the highways in our metropolitan centers;

A total commitment by the federal government to eliminate hunger and malnutrition in this richest of nations; and

A program for rural America which concentrates on development of rural communities and their human and material resources; which helps to relieve the already overcrowded urban centers; which more fairly compensates efficient producers of agricultural commodities while reducing gross overpayments to a handful of absentee, off-the-land farm "manufacturers."

## RESOURCE NEED

Where will we find the resources to meet these commitments and solve these problems?

First, we must insure that no favored interest group evades its obligation to contribute to the public sector. We must continue the fight to close tax loopholes which benefit a few politically powerful groups to the detriment of our society as a whole. Progress was made in 1969 by the Democratic Congress, but more must be done.

Second, we must make a serious and determined effort to reduce our military budget to the lowest level consistent with realistic national security objectives. We welcome the cuts announced on the Pentagon budget for fiscal 1971, even though the Administration's refusal to release figures on expenditures related to the Vietnam war makes it difficult to assess the nature and extent of the military reductions which have been proposed. But we are distressed to learn of the Administration's decision to return initial responsibility for military budgeting to the Armed Services instead of leaving it in civilian hands; allocation of Defense dollars should not be determined through logrolling by competing services, but by people aware of and responsible for competing domestic needs of our society.

We know, for example, that the number of major new weapons systems initiated in the past year has been unusually large; when added to weapons programs previously under way, the cost-to-completion of 131 major systems has risen to over \$140 billion, even if no further cost overruns occur.

We must understand the small initial down payments on major weapons systems can have

enormous impact on future budgets, depriving the American people of urgently needed funds for schools, hospitals, clean air and water, and more livable cities and rural areas.

## TRUTH IN BUDGETING

The Policy Council's Truth-in-Budgeting Task Force will soon release a more detailed report on the Republican Administration's budget for fiscal 1971.

Third, we must pursue responsible fiscal and monetary policies to insure real growth in our economy so that under existing tax rates, there will be substantial additional revenues for our public needs. Inflation must not continue to rob the poor, the retired, the small businessman, those on fixed incomes and so grievously inhibit our ability to meet our national needs.

Finally, we must face the difficult question and be prepared, if necessary, for the possibility that along with tax reform and Pentagon budget reductions we will have to make selective increases in tax rates so that those able to contribute most readily to the public weal will do so in true proportion to their ability.

This nation has the greatest per capita income of any nation in the world, but our citizens contribute less per capita than those in most industrialized, Western nations.

In sum, a decisive shift of resources will not be achieved with rhetoric or short-term budgetary gimmickry. It will take bold and imaginative commitments of resources and talents, worthy of a great and dedicated people. We have faith that given proper leadership, America will take these essential steps in the decade ahead.

## SELECT COMMITTEE ON CRIME

## HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, hearings held by the Select Committee on Crime of this House, chaired by the Honorable CLAUDE PEPPER, of Florida, have been the subject of a good many editorials in cities throughout this country.

These editorials were written following hearings by the committee into such important subjects of concern as dangerous drug abuse, organized crime, and crimes of personal violence—more commonly referred to as street crime.

Of particular interest is the editorial in the Houston Chronicle summarizing the testimony of Houston attorney Leon Jaworski, who was instrumental in the writing of crime control and prevention recommendations that appeared in the 1967 report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

Chairman PEPPER is to be commended for the outstanding job he has been doing with this new committee. They have been holding hearings across the country and more are scheduled. Wherever hearings have been held, strong new information has been developed and I am pleased to report that Chairman PEPPER has mustered a completely bipartisan approach to solving this Nation's difficulties in these areas of crime.

Regardless of whether we agree with all the findings of the committee or whether there is division within the Congress on the best approaches, we

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can all agree that the committee has mirrored the integrity, the motives and the deep concern of the chairman.

I cosponsored the legislation creating this committee and I am proud of their work. Accordingly, I include the following in the RECORD:

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, Aug. 6, 1969]

## STATE ROLE IN LAW AND ORDER

In spite of a lot of talk and demands for law and order, state and community leaders have done little to launch an effective fight against crime.

Leon Jaworski, Houston attorney and member of the President's Crime Commission, believes that interaction between communities and the criminal justice system is the key to establishing law and order in the nation.

"In my view, what has been lacking so far is the leadership on both state and local levels that is required to generate this reaction," Jaworski told a special House committee on crime.

The Houston attorney, chairman of the American Bar Assn.'s special committee on crime prevention and control, believes that state and local bar groups could greatly aid in implementing recommendations of the President's commission. Citizens action programs, citizens education programs, development of new attitudes among young people, citizen-police community relations projects and citizens cooperation with criminal justice agencies are some of the recommendations proposed by the President's committee.

Carrying out such recommendations require state and local leadership. Jaworski thinks that the organized bar groups could assume leadership and provide coordinated action.

We agree with Attorney Jaworski's proposed method of action.

We add a reminder that law and order and the overall problem of criminal activities are the business of every citizen and the final responsibility rests with the general public.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, Aug. 6, 1969]

## OVER KILL IN THE DRUG BILL

An expert who testified before the House Crime Committee yesterday unloaded some alarming data on the widespread use of drugs among young people in the United States.

Dr. Richard H. Blum of Stanford University said use of marijuana by college students runs as high as 40 percent in metropolitan areas. Even more alarming, the statistics for high school students in the big cities are just about the same.

No doubt it was this growing incidence of drug experimentation among youngsters which led the Nixon Administration to propose a two-year prison sentence for possession or use of marijuana on a first offense. That's too harsh.

While everyone can agree on tough penalties for pushers, it is no help to brand first-time pot smokers as felons and send them away for two years. Dr. Roger O. Egeber, Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, opposes such an approach and points out this kind of enforcement would require "building stockades" to pen up the number of people involved.

Most experts believe the right tack is increased research and education to discourage drug abuse. This was the line taken by Dr. Blum, who suggested an educational program that would reach school boards and administrators, parents, teachers and doctors.

There is certainly cause for concern that so many young people are turning on with pot. But putting youngsters behind bars is

not an enlightened way to deal with the problem.

[From the Denver (Colo.) Post, Sept. 11, 1969]

#### A NEW LOOK AT DRUG LAWS

Estimates of how many Americans—mostly young—have tried marijuana range in the millions, yet there is little agreement on what if anything should be done about it. Rep. Claude Pepper, D-Fla., has made a timely suggestion to the Public Health Service. He's calling for a report on marijuana along the lines of the 1964 study on smoking and health.

Pepper observes that many scientific questions must be answered before the nationwide legal and moral controversy can be resolved. For example, should marijuana be classed with dangerous drugs like LSD and addictive narcotics like heroin? Do users easily move on to such narcotics? Are there permanent physical and mental effects? What about a user driving a car?

Many experts believe current penalties for the use and possession of marijuana are too strict and unrealistic. Among them are Dr. Roger Egeberg, assistant secretary of health, education, and welfare; James Goddard, former food and drug administrator, and the American Medical Association.

The main focus of drug laws seems to be the pusher rather than the curious teenager. But this can produce such bewildering results as the Colorado marijuana law, which the state Supreme Court upheld this week in a 5-0 decision.

The law classifies marijuana as a narcotic and makes possession a felony, while use is only a misdemeanor. We aren't sure how a person could use pot without possessing it. Possession of the far more potent LSD, on the other hand, is a misdemeanor.

President Nixon deplores "this rising sickness" and has proposed new federal laws to Congress. A recent Life Magazine editorial welcomes new legislation while criticizing the Nixon bill's premise. This is that marijuana is classified with LSD and "hard" narcotics, with the same tough—and unenforceable—penalties: 2 to 10 years in jail for use, a minimum of five for distributing.

Life states that less than one per cent of those arrested on "soft" drug charges are convicted, suggesting that the courts find the laws unfair. Juvenile drug arrests have gone up more than 800 per cent since penalties were stiffened in 1956, indicating that they're also ineffective as deterrents.

One loophole in the White House bill praised by the magazine is that judges may release first-time drug offenders on probation, sparing them the lifetime stigma of a felony conviction. But even more flexibility would be achieved by making possession of marijuana a misdemeanor and adding penalties for driving a car under its influence.

The Life editorial assumes that marijuana is "infinitely less harmful" than other drugs, with "no proven physiological ill effects." The key word here is "proven." That implied question mark gives extra urgency to Representative Pepper's request.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Defender, Aug. 6, 1969]

#### RISING BLACK MAFIA

There is much fear among law enforcement experts in Washington that youthful Negro crime may be on the road to assuming the dimension and organization of a black Mafia. Such a development is regarded by them as a rebellion against the white racketeers who exploit heartlessly Negro slums.

Testifying before the House Select Committee on Crime, Ralph G. Salerno, retired New York City detective supervisor and a leading expert on the Mafia, said that "More recently, black militants have indicated that if the economics of vice are to continue they

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

will seek community control of the activities. There is growing evidence in the major cities of America of the beginning of a black Mafia."

The former detective sergeant, a veteran of 21 years on the New York police force, said that the public concern over crime in the streets has obscured the fact that up to 50 percent of street crimes are committed by narcotics addicts supplied through tightly organized mob sources. This ominous assessment poses a new dilemma to black leadership.

[From the Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel, Jan. 5, 1970]

#### MILLIONS LIVING IN FEAR

Asking for an additional \$2 billion from federal and local governments to fight crime, U.S. Rep. Claude Pepper of Miami said the other day, "Millions of Americans now live in fear for the physical security of themselves and their homes."

"They regard crime, particularly violent crime, in the streets or in armed robberies or burglaries, as the main domestic crisis."

He goes on to say that not since the Civil War or the frontier days have millions of Americans locked up their homes at night with some degree of uncertainty as to how safe they are against the rising tide of lawlessness.

That is certainly true for millions of Americans. But we are continually surprised by the attitude of millions of other Americans who, despite the fears of some and the warnings which are constantly being repeated in the press and by our political leaders, do not lock up their homes at all.

They go to bed every night leaving the front door unlocked or a rear window open—an invitation to any criminal who happens along.

We are constantly being told how important it is for us to lock our cars, not only the switch, but also the doors, so as to help keep some teen-age boy from going wrong.

How much more important it is to make our homes burglar proof, especially at night.

#### DEMOCRATIC POLICY COUNCIL—II: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DURING THE 1970'S

#### HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the Vietnam tragedy has hopefully caused a new trend in U.S. international affairs, not only in regard to Southeast Asia, but throughout the world. I introduce into the Record a statement by the Democratic Policy Council, which has gone on record supporting a complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam within the next 18 months, and also proposed measures we might adopt in dealing with other nations across the globe during this decade. Averill Harriman is chairman of the council's international affairs committee.

#### DEMOCRATIC POLICY COUNCIL—II: INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DURING THE 1970'S

Despite the Administration's claims of progress, Vietnam remains our most urgent overseas problem and our most divisive and bitter domestic one. Our national interests require that the war in Vietnam be brought to a close at the earliest practical moment. The loss of life, the diversion of resources

from critical domestic needs, and the disunity of our country must be ended.

The withdrawal of some U.S. troops is a desirable first step and we support this decision. But future U.S. decisions, affecting American lives and resources, should not be dependent upon either North Vietnamese or South Vietnamese actions. Our schedule of withdrawal should not be dependent upon the progress of the Paris peace talks, the level of violence, or the progress of so-called Vietnamization. It should depend primarily upon the interests and policy of the United States. That interest and that policy require a firm and unequivocal commitment to the American people that all U.S. forces will be withdrawn from Vietnam in accordance with a definite schedule. We see no reason why this withdrawal should not be completed within eighteen months. Such a withdrawal can be accelerated by efforts to create the conditions necessary for a peaceful political settlement.

The resolution of the Vietnam tragedy cannot be found in military measures alone—whether those of the United States or, through Vietnamization, those of South Vietnam. It can be found in political arrangements which broaden the South Vietnamese government to the point where it is truly representative of the people. Our continued unconditional support of the Thieu government as now constituted is not only unjustifiable but delusional. The U.S. should be interested in putting an end to violence in Vietnam, not prolonging it. And so long as the present government of Vietnam believes that it can count on U.S. military support for an indefinite period, we believe it will not take or permit others to take the domestic political measures in South Vietnam which are essential to peace.

#### NEGOTIATIONS

There are, as well, unanswered questions regarding negotiations. It is puzzling that President Nixon stated in his November 3rd address that Ho Chi Minh's letter to him "flatly rejects" his approach. We had been faced with a North Vietnamese demand that settlement "must be . . . in accordance with the NLF program." But Ho Chi Minh's letter stated, "The ten point program . . . is a logical and reasonable basis for settlement . . .". Furthermore, his letter ended by stating, "With good will on both sides we might arrive at common efforts in view of finding a correct solution to the Vietnam problem." Was this a rejection, or, in fact, an invitation for further negotiation?

By failing to appoint a successor to Ambassador Lodge, the Administration has created the widespread impression that it has downgraded the Paris talks and "written off" negotiations. We believe that the President should immediately appoint a high level negotiator to head the Paris delegation and thus put pressure on the North Vietnamese to negotiate in good faith. Among the subjects that should be pressed are steps to reduce the level of combat and violence, leading to a ceasefire.

#### COMPROMISE SETTLEMENT

President Thieu has denounced and taken action against Vietnamese political leaders who have urged a negotiated compromise settlement. Yet there is evidence that a majority of the South Vietnamese desire such a settlement. Even in the 1967 elections, over sixty percent of the people voted for civilian candidates who ran on some type of peace platform. We believe the United States should now insist on the inclusion in the Saigon government of men who represent wider public opinion desiring a peaceful solution and who are prepared to negotiate such a settlement.

Furthermore, the United Nations should be used to the fullest extent practicable to speed a resolution of the struggle in Vietnam.

The Administration's failure to develop vi-

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able U.S. policies in other areas of the world is deeply disturbing.

Almost the only "new" policy of this Administration has been the so-called Guam or Nixon Doctrine. At first this appeared to mean that we would keep existing commitments in Asia but not expand them and that coping with subversion must be the responsibility basically of the nation threatened. Yet the policy has now become an accordion, contracted at home, expanded when the President or Vice President travel. President Nixon volunteered in Bangkok to stand with Thailand against threats "from abroad and from within," and Vice President Agnew spoke in Singapore of a "definite relationship" where there has been no commitment in the past. In addition, the President implied but did not define an American nuclear umbrella over Asia. Finally, the President's State of the Union message seemed to apply the doctrine to the whole world, and without distinction. This may or may not be "policy," but it represents neither clarity nor a willingness to level with the American people.

## WELCOME DISCUSSIONS

We welcome the resumption of American-Chinese discussions in Warsaw and the initiatives toward relaxation of barriers to commerce and travel between the United States and China. We urge that consideration be given to further steps which will bring China into wider contact with the community of nations and encourage the end of her isolation.

We support the growing economic and social role being played in Asia by Japan. We should encourage the trend toward regional cooperation among Asian nations.

The objective of U.S. policy in the Middle East is lasting peace between the Arab nations and Israel—a peace that will assure independence and security to Israel and all other nations in the area. Today we are further away from that goal than we were 14 months ago.

As a matter of primary importance, the United States should undertake efforts to bring about face-to-face negotiations between the parties in the Arab-Israeli conflict, including efforts under the auspices of the United Nations. We should also press for restoration of complete compliance with the cease-fire. It is regrettable that the quiet statesmanship of the past has given way at times to public declarations by Administration spokesmen.

## ARMS RACE CONTINUES

In the meantime, the Middle East arms race continues at an accelerated rate, spurred by increased shipments of arms to Arabs from the Soviet Union and the recent French sale of advanced aircraft to Libya. The United States should make every effort to reduce the flow of arms into the area and press for Middle East arms limitation arrangements.

However, pending such an arrangement, the United States must remain prepared to correct or prevent an arms imbalance which might either threaten Israel's existence or contribute to a resumption of major hostilities.

We believe the United States should welcome and support the new German government's initiatives for improving relations with the nations of Eastern Europe and with the Soviet Union. Furthermore, we believe that the proposed European Security Conference between the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries presents opportunities to reduce tensions in Europe now, and we are concerned by indications that the Administration considers that the conference should be postponed for at least a year. Rather than dragging our feet, we should assure our NATO allies that the United States is fully prepared to join in such a conference. Among the immediate issues should be the lessening of tensions in Europe and the mutual reduc-

tion of force levels. A Warsaw Pact-NATO agreement on balanced reductions in forces is the soundest way to reduce the number of American troops stationed in Europe.

Pending such an agreement, we call upon the Administration to obtain from our German and other allies in NATO an arrangement to take over some of the budgetary costs now carried by the American taxpayer.

In Latin America, this Administration has replaced the Alliance for Progress with a vacuum.

Governor Rockefeller's study trip of our already overstudied Hemisphere was completed months ago; the Latins presented their own joint proposals on U.S. policy to the President last year. Yet there has been no adequate Administration response. No policy on trade; no policy on aid—except to reduce it; no policy on inter-American reorganization; no policy on social and economic reform. Nothing to reflect a commitment to Latin America's drive for a better future.

However, there have been ample assurances that the political status quo will be respected; the Governor's embrace of Duvalier, and his advocacy of increased military aid, are only some notorious examples. Military governments and the erosion of individual liberty in Latin America seemingly are not matters of much concern to the Administration today.

This is not a policy to stir the hopes—and strengthen the commitment—of the democratic leadership in Latin America.

## REDEDICATE OURSELVES

We must rededicate ourselves to the UN in order to insure that its role for peace—in mediation, conciliation, and in providing observers and peacekeeping forces—will be effective in those parts of the world in which the UN alone can act.

We should also look to the UN as an important forum for the control of the arms race, helping to bring more countries into the growing consensus against the use of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, through instruments such as the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and for the control of the population explosion which threatens the human environment of the rich nations and the very existence of the poor. Furthermore, its affiliated agencies can serve an expanding role in cooperative action for human progress and should have our enthusiastic support.

While economic progress is no guarantee of peace, we believe that economic development of the emerging nations can make an essential contribution to a peaceful world. The United States, together with the other industrialized nations, has a responsibility to increase and make more efficient its participation in development, particularly through multilateral organizations and through a liberalized trade policy.

The Committee on International Affairs is preparing detailed, policy papers which will examine and make recommendations in each of these critical areas.

## CAN WE SURVIVE?

## HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, "Can We Survive?" That is the question which the noted environmentalist, Barry Commoner, poses in a very illuminating and disturbing article in the December issue of the *Washington Monthly*. Man, writes Professor Commoner, must begin to plan

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for his own survival soon. His own life, moreover, relies heavily on his links with the natural surroundings he too often took for granted and abused so blindly.

Fortunately, our country seems to have become aware of the gravity of the environmental problems facing it. It is now the responsibility of us in Congress to construct legislation which will deal with these problems effectively.

For the benefit of my colleagues I am inserting Professor Commoner's article:

## CAN WE SURVIVE?

(By Barry Commoner)

No one can escape the enormous fact that California has changed. What was once desert has become the most productive land in the world. The once-lonely mountain tops are crisscrossed with humming power lines. Powerful industries, from old ones like steel to the most modern aerospace and electronic operations, have been built. California has become one of the most fruitful, one of the richest places on the surface of the earth. This is all change, and it is good.

But there are other changes in California. Its vigorous growth has been achieved by many men and women who came to give their children a healthy place to live. Now, however, when school children in Los Angeles run out to the playing fields, they are confronted by the warning: "Do not exercise strenuously or breathe too deeply during heavy smog conditions." For the sunshine that once bathed the land in golden light has been blotted out by deadly smog. In a number of California towns the water supplies now contain levels of nitrate above the limit recommended by the U.S. Public Health Service; given to infants, nitrate can cause a fatal disorder, methemoglobinemia, and pediatricians have recommended the use of bottled water for infant formulas. The natural resources of California, once a magnet that attracted thousands who sought a good life, now harbor threats to health. Beaches that once sparkled in the sun are polluted with oil and foul-smelling deposits. Rivers that once teemed with fish run sluggishly to the sea. The once famous crabs in San Francisco Bay are dying. Redwoods are toppling from the banks of eroding streams. All this, too, is change, and it is bad.

Thus, much of the good that has been produced in California, through the intelligence and hard work of its people, has been won at a terrible cost. That cost is the possible destruction of the very capital which has been invested to create the wealth of the state—its environment.

The environment makes up a huge, enormously complex living machine—an ecosystem—and every human activity depends on the integrity and proper functioning of that machine. Without the ecosystem's green plants, there would be no oxygen for smelters and furnaces, let alone to support human and animal life. Without the action of plants and animals in aquatic systems, there would be no pure water to supply agriculture, industry, and the cities. Without the biological processes that have gone on in the soil for thousands of years, there would be neither food crops, oil, nor coal. This machine is our biological capital, the basic apparatus on which our total productivity depends. If it is destroyed, agriculture and industry will come to naught; yet the greatest threats to the environmental system are due to agricultural and industrial activities. If the ecosystem is destroyed, man will go down with it; yet it is man who is destroying it. For in the eager search for the benefits of modern science and technology, we have become enticed into a nearly fatal illusion: that we have at last escaped from the dependence of man on the rest of nature. The truth is tragically different. We have become not less de-

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pendent on the balance of nature, but more dependent on it. Modern technology has so stressed the web of processes in the living environment at its most vulnerable points that there is little leeway left in the system. We are approaching the point of no return; our survival is at stake.

These are grim, alarming conclusions; but they are forced on us, I am convinced, by the evidence. Let us look at some of that evidence.

A good place to begin is the farm—on which so much of California's prosperity is based. The wealth created by agriculture is derived from the soil. In it we grow crops which convert inorganic materials—nitrogen, phosphorus, carbon, oxygen, and the other elements required by life—into organic materials—proteins, carbohydrates, fats, and vitamins—which comprise our food.

The soil, the plants that grow in it, the livestock raised on the land, and we ourselves are parts of a huge web of natural processes—endless, self-perpetuating cycles. Consider, for example, the behavior of nitrogen, an element of enormous nutritional importance, forming as it does the basis of proteins and other vital life substances. Most of the earth's available nitrogen is in the air, as nitrogen gas. This can enter the soil through nitrogen fixation, a process carried out by various bacteria, some of them living free in the soil and others associated with the roots of legumes such as clover. In nature, nitrogen also enters the soil from the wastes produced by animals. In both cases the nitrogen becomes incorporated into a complex organic material in the soil—humus. The humus slowly releases nitrogen through the action of soil microorganisms which finally convert it into nitrate. In turn, the nitrate is taken up by the roots of plants and is made into protein and other vital parts of the crop. In a natural situation the plant becomes food for animals, their wastes are returned to the soil, and the cycle is complete.

This cycle is an example of the biological capital that sustains us. How has this capital been used in California?

The huge success of agriculture in California is a matter of record; it forms the largest single element in the state's economy. To achieve this wealth a vast area in the center of the state has been transformed from a bare desert into the richest agricultural land in the nation. How has this been done? How has this transformation affected the continued usefulness of the soil system, especially the nitrogen cycle?

When the first farmers came to the San Joaquin Valley, they found fertile soil and sunshine; only water was needed to make the valley bloom. This was obtained first from local streams and later, increasingly, from wells which tapped the huge store of water that lay beneath the entire Central Valley. As the bountiful crops were taken, the soil, originally rich in nitrogen, became impoverished. To sustain crop productivity, inorganic nitrogen fertilizers were added to the soil. But with the loss of natural soil nitrogen, humus was depleted; as a result the soil became less porous, and less oxygen reached the roots, which were then less efficient in taking up the needed nutrients from the soil. The answer: more nitrogen fertilizer, for even if a smaller proportion is taken up by the crop, this can be overcome by using more fertilizer to begin with. California now uses more nitrogen fertilizer than any other state—an average of about 450 pounds per acre in 1959.

One of the rules of environmental biology is: "Everything has to go somewhere," and we may ask: Where did the extra nitrate added to the soil, but not taken up by the crops, go? The answer is clear: The unused nitrate was carried down into the soil, accumulating at greater and greater depths as the water table fell due to the continual pumping of irrigation water.

With the water table falling, agriculture in the Central Valley was headed for disaster; recognizing this fact, the state constructed the Friant-Kern Canal, which began to supply the valley with above-ground irrigation water beginning in 1951. Irrigation water must always be supplied to soil in amounts greater than that which is lost by evaporation; otherwise salts accumulate in the soil and the plants are killed. So, following the opening of the new canal, the valley water table began to rise toward its original level—carrying with it the long-accumulated nitrates in the soil.

Now there is another simple rule of environmental biology that is appropriate here: "Everything is connected to everything else." The valley towns soon learned this truth, as their drinking water supplies—which were taken from wells that tapped the rising level of underground water—began to show increasing concentrations of nitrate. In the 1950's, the Bureau of Sanitary Engineering of the California Department of Public Health began to analyze the nitrate content of city water supplies in the area. They had good reason for this action, for in July, 1950, an article in the *Journal of the American Water Works Association* had described 139 cases of infant methemoglobinemia in the United States identified since 1947; 14 cases were fatal; all were attributed to farm well water contaminated with more than 45 ppm of nitrate.

At first, only a few scattered instances of high nitrate levels were found in valley water supplies. However, a study of 800 wells in southern California counties in 1960 showed that 88 of them exceeded the 45 ppm limit; 188 wells had reached half that level. In that year, the U.S. Public Health Service recommended that a nitrate level of 45 ppm should not be exceeded, warning:

"Cases of infantile nitrate poisoning have been reported to arise from concentrations ranging from 66 to 1100 ppm. . . . Nitrate poisoning appears to be confined to infants during their first few months of life; adults drinking the same water are not affected, but breast-fed infants of mothers drinking such water may be poisoned. Cows drinking water containing nitrate may produce milk sufficiently high in nitrate to result in infant poisoning."

In Delano, a 1952 analysis showed only traces of nitrate in the city water supply; in 1966, analyses of three town wells obtained by the Delano Junior Chamber of Commerce showed nitrate levels of 70-78 ppm. In 1968, a study by the Water Resources Board, made in reply to a request by State Senator Walter W. Stiern, showed:

"Nitrate concentrations in groundwater underlying the vicinity of Delano are currently in excess of the limit . . . recommended by the U.S. Public Health Service . . . similar geologic and hydrologic conditions occur in other areas of the San Joaquin Valley and the state generally."

So agricultural wealth of the Central Valley has been gained, but at a cost that does not appear in the farmers' balance sheets—the general pollution of the state's huge underground water reserves with nitrate. Fortunately, there appear to be no reports of widespread acute infant methemoglobinemia in the area as yet. However, the effects of chronic exposure to nitrates are poorly understood. We do know that in animals nitrate may interfere with thyroid metabolism, reduce the availability of vitamin A, and cause abortions. Moreover, there is evidence that even small reductions in the oxygen available to a developing human fetus—which might occur when the mother is exposed to subcritical levels of nitrate—result in permanent damage to the brain. In sum, the success of agriculture in the Central Valley has been won at a cost which risks the health of the people.

Nor does the nitrogen problem end there.

Much of the nitrogen fertilizer applied to the soil of the Central Valley finds its way into the San Joaquin River, which drains the irrigated fields. As a result, the river carries a huge load of nitrate into the San Francisco Bay-Delta area. Here the added nitrate intrudes on another environmental cycle—the self-purifying biological processes of natural waters—bringing in its wake a new round of environmental destruction. The excess nitrate—along with excess phosphate from agricultural drainage and municipal wastes—stimulates the growth of algae in the waters of Bay, causing the massive green scums that have become so common in the area. Such heavy overgrowths of algae soon die off, releasing organic matter which overwhelms the biological purification processes that normally remove it. As a result, the natural balance is destroyed; the water loses its oxygen; fish die; the water becomes foul with putrefying material. In the cooler waters of the Department of Interior report on the San Joaquin Master Drain, "Problems resulting from nutrient enrichment and associated periodic dissolved oxygen depression are numerous in the Bay-Delta area."

So the agricultural practices of the great Central Valley have overwhelmed the natural nitrogen cycle of the soil with massive amounts of fertilizer; once this cycle was broken, the rivers were contaminated with nitrate. Reaching the Bay-Delta area, the excess nitrate has destroyed the natural balance of the self-purifying processes in these waters, with the foul results that are only too well known to those who live in that once-sparkling natural area.

This much is known fact. But once the natural cycles of the Bay-Delta waters are disrupted, other biological disasters may soon follow. At the present time, in a number of regions of the Bay-Delta waters, the bacterial count exceeds the limit recommended by the California Department of Public Health for water contact sports. This may be due to the entry of too much untreated sewage. But experience with the waters of New York harbor suggests another, more ominous, possibility which connects this problem, too, to the drainage of nutrients from agricultural areas, as well as from treated sewage. In New York harbor, in the period 1948-1968, there has been a 10-20-fold increase in the bacterial count despite a marked improvement in the sewage treatment facilities that drain into the bay. Here too there has been an increase in nitrate and phosphate nutrients, in this case largely from treated sewage effluent. The possibility exists that bacteria, entering the water from sewage or the soil, are now able to grow in the enriched waters of the bay. If this should prove to be the case, changes in water quality such as those which have occurred in the Bay-Delta area may lead to new, quite unexpected, health hazards. The soil contains many microorganisms which cause disease in human beings when they are first allowed to grow in a nutrient medium. There is a danger, then, that as the Bay-Delta waters become laden with organic matter released by dying algae (resulting from overgrowths stimulated by agricultural and municipal wastes), disease-producing microorganisms may find conditions suitable for growth, resulting in outbreaks of hitherto unknown types of water-borne disease.

Nor does the nitrogen story quite end here. We now know that a good deal of the excess nitrogen added to the soil by intensive fertilization practices may be released to the air in the form of ammonia or nitrogen oxides. In the air, these materials are gradually converted to nitrate and carried back to the ground by rain. In 1957, a national study of the nitrate content of rainfall showed excessively high levels in three heavily fertilized regions: the Corn Belt, Texas, and the Central Valley of California. There is increasing evidence that nitrate dissolved in rain can

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carry enough nutrient into even remote mountain lakes to cause algal overgrowths and so pollute waters still largely free of the effects of human wastes. Recent pollution problems in Lake Tahoe may originate in this way.

I cite these details in order to make clear a profound and inescapable fact of life: that the environment is a vast system of interlocking connections—among the soil, the water, the air, plants, animals, and ourselves—which forms an endless, dynamically interacting web. This network is the product of millions of years of evolution; each of its connections has been tested against the trial of time to achieve a balance which is stable and long-lasting. But the balance, the fine fabric of physical, chemical, and biological interconnections in the environment, is a delicate one; it hangs together only as a whole. Tear into it in one place—such as the soil of the Central Valley—and the fabric begins to unravel, spreading chaos from the soil to the rivers, to the Bay, to remote mountain lakes, to the mother and her infant child. The great Central Valley has become rich with the fruits of the land, but at a cost which has already been felt across the breadth of the state and which is yet to be fully paid.

Nor do we yet know how the destructive process can be halted, or if indeed it can be. In Lake Erie, where the natural balance of the water system has already been largely overwhelmed by excessive nutrients, no one has yet been able to devise a scheme to restore its original condition. The Bay-Delta waters may suffer the same fate. The recently released Kaiser Engineers' report on the San Francisco Bay-Delta Water Quality Control Program predicts that the drainage of agricultural nutrients (nitrogen and phosphorus) from the San Joaquin will continue unabated for at least the next 50 years if present agricultural practices persist. The report proposes a system which, to control only the deleterious effects of the drainage in the Bay-Delta area, will cost about \$5 billion in that period. And even at that cost the plan will only transfer the problem to the ocean—where the waste nutrients are to be discharged—which can only bring disaster to this last remaining natural resource, on which so many of our future hopes must rest.

The root of the problem remains in the soil, for if the disrupted balance is not restored there, its destructive effects will only spread into further reaches of the environment. Tragically, each year of continued over-fertilization of the soil may make recovery increasingly difficult. For example, we know that inorganic nitrogen nutrients stop the nitrogen-fixing activity of microorganisms and may eventually kill them off or at least encourage them to mutate into non-fixing forms. If the natural fertility of the soil is ever to be restored, we may have to rely heavily on these microbial agents; but this becomes less and less possible as we continue to use massive amounts of fertilizer. In effect, like a drug addict, we may become "hooked" on continued heavy nitrogen fertilization and so become inescapably locked into a self-destructive course.

This same tragic tale of environmental disaster can be told of another prominent feature of California agriculture—pesticides. One important aspect of the biological capital on which agricultural productivity depends is the network of ecological relationships that relate insect pests to the plants on which they feed, and to the other insects that, in turn, prey on the pests. These natural relations serve to keep pest populations in check. Pests which require a particular plant as food are kept in check by their inability to spread onto other plants; the other insects which parasitize and prey upon them exert important biological control over the pest population.

What has happened in attempts to control

cotton pests—where the great bulk of synthetic insecticide is used in the United States—shows how we have destroyed these natural relations and have allowed the natural pest-regulating machinery to break down. The massive use of the new insecticides has controlled some of the pests that once attacked cotton. But now the cotton plants are being attacked instead by new insects that were never previously known as pests of cotton. Moreover, the new pests are becoming increasingly resistant to insecticide, through the natural biological process of selection, in the course of inheritance, of resistant types. In Texas cotton fields, for example, in 1963 it took 50 times as much DDT to control insect pests as it did in 1961. The tobacco budworm, which now attacks cotton, has been found to be nearly immune to methylparathion, the most powerful of the widely used modern insecticides.

California, too, has begun to experience environmental disaster from the intensive use of insecticides. Consider only a single recent example. In 1965 the rich cotton fields of the Imperial Valley were invaded by the Pink Bollworm from Arizona. The Department of Agriculture began an "eradication" program based on a fixed schedule of repeated, heavy, insecticide sprays. The Pink Bollworm was controlled (but by no means "eradicated"); however, the cotton plants were then attacked by other insects which had previously caused no appreciable damage—the beet army worm and the cotton leaf perforator. The insecticide had killed off insects that were natural enemies of the army worms and perforators, which had in the meantime become resistant to the sprays. Catastrophic losses resulted. The problem is now so serious that Imperial Valley farmers have proposed the elimination of cotton plantings for a year in order to kill off the new pests, which cannot survive a year without food.

California is beginning to experience the kind of insecticide-induced disaster already common in Latin American experience. In the Cafete Valley of Peru, for example, DDT was used for the first time in 1949 to control cotton pests. Yields increased—temporarily. For soon the number of insects attacking the cotton grew from 7 to 13 and several of them had become resistant to the insecticides. By 1965, the cotton yields had dropped to half their previous value, and despite 15-25 insecticide applications, pest control was impossible. Productivity was restored only when massive insecticide application was halted and biological control was reestablished by importing insects to attack the pests.

These instances are, again, a warning that present agricultural practices may be destroying the biological capital which is essential to agricultural productivity—in this case, the natural population of insects that attack insect pests and keep them under the control of a natural balance. Again, if the ecologically blind practice of massive insecticide treatment is allowed to continue, there is a danger of permanently losing the natural protective insects—and agriculture may become "hooked" on insecticides.

And here too we see disaster spreading through the environmental network. In 1969, the Food and Drug Administration seized two shipments of canned jack mackerel, an ocean fish originating from Terminal Island, Los Angeles, because of excessive residues of DDT and related insecticides. Insecticides draining off agricultural lands into the Bay-Delta area have caused levels of DDT which exceed the amount allowed by the FDA to appear in the bodies of striped bass and sturgeon. It is possible that the recent decline in San Francisco Bay crabs may be due to the same cause. Spreading through the food chain, DDT has begun to cause disastrous declines in the population of birds of prey, and there is some evidence that gulls are being affected as well. The latter would extend the web of disaster even further, for

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the gulls are vital in controlling waste in shoreline waters.

Now let me follow the track of environmental disaster from the farm to the cities of California. Again, nitrogen is a valuable guide, this time, surprisingly enough, to the smog problem. This problem originates with the production of nitrogen oxides by gasoline engines. Released to the air, these oxides, upon absorption of sunlight, react with waste hydrocarbon fuel to produce the noxious constituents of smog. This problem is the direct outcome of the technological improvement of gasoline engines: the development of the modern high-compression engine. Such engines operate at higher temperatures than older ones; at these elevated temperatures the oxygen and nitrogen of the air taken into the engine tend to combine rapidly, with the resultant production of nitrogen oxides. Once released into the air, nitrogen oxides are activated by sunlight. They then react with waste hydrocarbon fuel, forming eventually the notorious PAN—the toxic agent of the smog made famous by Los Angeles.

The present smog-control technique—reduction of waste fuel emission—by diminishing the interaction of nitrogen oxides with hydrocarbon wastes, enhances the level of airborne nitrogen oxides, which are themselves toxic substances. In the air, nitrogen oxides are readily converted to nitrates, which are then brought down by rain and snow to the land and surface waters. There they add to the growing burden of nitrogen fertilizer, which, as I have already indicated, is an important aspect of water pollution. What is surprising is the amount of nitrogen oxides that are generated by automotive traffic: more than one-third of the nitrogen contained in the fertilizer currently employed on U.S. farms. One calculation shows that farms in New Jersey receive about 25 pounds of nitrogen fertilizer per year (a significant amount in agricultural practice) from the trucks and cars that travel the New Jersey highways. Another recent study shows that in the heavily populated eastern section of the country, the nitrate content of local rainfall is proportional to the local rate of gasoline consumption.

Thus, the emergence of a new technology—the modern gasoline engine—is itself responsible for most of the smog problem and for an appreciable part of the pollution of surface waters with nitrate. And no one needs to be reminded that smog is a serious hazard to health. Again we see the endless web of environmental processes at work. Get the engines too hot—for the sake of generating the power needed to drive a huge car at destructive speeds—and you set off a chain of events that keeps kids off the playground, sends older people to a premature death, and, in passing, adds to the already excessive burden of water pollutants.

This is some of the tragic destruction that lies hidden in the great panorama of the changing California environment—costs to the people of the state that do not appear as entries in the balance sheets of industry and agriculture. These are some of the great debts which must be paid if the state's environment is to be saved from ultimate destruction. The debts are so embedded in every feature of the state's economy that it is almost impossible to calculate them. Their scale, at least, can be secured from the figure produced for the water quality-control system which will transfer the pollution problem of the Bay-Delta area to the ocean: \$5 billion over 50 years, and continuing at \$100 million a year.

At what cost can the smog that envelops Los Angeles be cleared up—as it surely must if the city is to survive? Start with the price of rolling back air pollution that risks the health and well-being of the citizens of the Bay area, the Peninsula, and San Diego. And do not neglect the damage already done by

smog to the pine forests in the area of Lake Arrowhead. Nitrogen oxides have just been detected in Yosemite Park; what will it cost if the state's magnificent forests begin to die, unleashing enormous flood problems? How shall we reckon the cost of the huge redwoods on the North Coast, which need for their secure footing the soil built up around their roots during annual floods, when these floods are stopped by the new dams and the trees begin to topple? How shall we determine the cost of the urban spread which has covered the richest soil in the state? What will it cost to restore this soil to agriculture when the state is forced to limit intensive, pollution-generating fertilization, and new lands have to be used to sustain food production? What is the price of those massive walls of concrete, those freeways, which slice across the land, disrupting drainage patterns and upsetting the delicate balance of forces that keeps the land from sliding into ravines? Against the value of the new real-estate developments on landfills in San Francisco Bay, calculate the cost of the resulting changes in tidal movements, which have decreased the dilution of the polluting nutrients by fresh water from the sea and have worsened the algal overgrowths. Or balance against the value of the offshore oil the cost of a constant risk of beach and ocean pollution until the offending wells are pumped dry. Finally, figure, if possible, what it will cost to restore the natural fertility of the soil in central California, to keep the nitrogen in the soil, where it belongs, and to develop a new, more mixed form of agriculture that will make it possible to get rid of most insecticides and make better use of the natural biological controls.

If the magnitude of the state's environmental problems is staggering, perhaps there is some consolation in the fact that California is not alone. Most of Lake Erie has been lost to pollution. In Illinois, every major river has been overburdened with fertilizer drainage and has lost its powers of self-purification. Automobile smog hangs like a pall over even Denver and Phoenix. Every major city is experiencing worsening air pollution. The entire nation is in the grip of the environmental crisis.

What is to be done? What can be done? Although we are, I believe, on a path which can only lead to self-destruction, I am also convinced that we have not yet passed the point of no return. We have time—perhaps a generation—in which to save the environment from the final effects of the violence we have already done to it, and to save ourselves from our own suicidal folly. But this is a very short time to achieve the massive environmental repair that is needed. We will need to start, now, on a new path. And the first action is to recognize how badly we have gone wrong in the use of the environment and to mobilize every available resource for the huge task of saving it.

Yet all the marvelous knowledge in our universities and laboratories seems now to stand helpless, while the air becomes fouler every day, beaches covered with oil, and precious water and soil more heavily laden with pollutants.

But there is another crisis—one that has struck the nation's entire scientific community. This crisis, like the environmental one, is also man-made and disastrously short-sighted; it is the drastic curtailment of the funds for research and education.

What a tragedy! At the very moment that the nation has begun to sense the urgency of the environmental crisis, when the first steps in the large and urgent task must be taken in the laboratories and classrooms of our universities, the tools are denied the men who would use them.

The huge undertakings listed here cannot even be begun unless we drastically reorganize our priorities. We cannot continue to

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

devote the talent of our engineers and the competence of our workers to the production of overpowered, pollution-generating cars that do violence on the road and in the ecosystem. We cannot burden our productive resources with a monstrous device like the SST—which, if used in the U.S., will bring the violence of airport noise to 60 million Americans. We cannot continue to waste manpower and resources on weapons that become obsolete before they are produced—and which, if ever used, will destroy this planet as a place for human life. In a crisis of survival, business as usual is suicide.

The environmental crisis has brought us to a great turning point in this nation's history. We have become a nation that wields the greatest power in the history of man: power in the form of food, industrial plants, vehicles, and the weapons of war. We have also become a nation beset by violence: on the battlefield, on the highways, in personal encounters, and, more fundamentally, in the destruction of the natural, harmonious fabric of the environmental system which supports us. It is this fundamental violence to the world in which we live which divides us, as we compete among ourselves for the earth's goods, unaware that each of us, in our own way is thereby contributing to the destruction of the whole that supports us all.

The time has come to forge a great alliance in this nation: All of us now know that if we are to survive, the environment must be maintained as a balanced, harmonious whole. We must all work together to preserve it. If we fail, we shall abandon the place where we must live—the thin skin of air, water, soil, and living things on the planet Earth—to destruction. The obligation which our technological society forces upon all of us, young and old, black and white, right and left, scientist and citizen alike, is to discover how humanity can survive the new power which science has given it. Every major advance in the technological competence of man has enforced new obligations on human society. The present age of technology is no exception to this rule of history. We already know the enormous benefits it can bestow, and we have begun to perceive its rightful threats. The crisis generated by this knowledge is upon us.

We are enormously fortunate that our young people—the first generation to carry strontium 90 in their bones and DDT in their fat—have become particularly sensitive to this ominous paradox of the modern world. For it is they who face the frightful task of seeking humane knowledge in a world which has, with cunning perversity, transformed the power that knowledge generates into an instrument of catastrophe.

The environmental crisis is a grim challenge. It also is a great opportunity. From it we may yet learn that the proper use of science is not to conquer nature, but to live in it. We may yet learn that to save ourselves we must save the world that is our habitat. We may yet discover how to devote the wisdom of science and the power of technology to the welfare, the survival of man.

### LINCOLN'S THOUGHTS ON YOUTH

#### HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, we must never lose sight of the capabilities and the potential creativity of our youth. The problems which today's parents face in raising their children are not a recent phenomenon. I believe that

our youth of today are prepared and capable to cure many of the problems created by past and present generations.

Abraham Lincoln, whose 171st birthday we will celebrate Thursday, had a way of conveying ideas that are worthy of repetition and which pertain to present generations. Thoughts spoken by Lincoln over a century ago have particular relevance today in bridging our modern generation gap and in helping to remind us that our children are the hope for the future:

A child is a person who is going to carry on what you have started. He is going to sit where you are sitting, and when you are gone, attend to those things which you think are important. You may adopt all the policies you please, but how they will be carried out depends on him. He will assume control of your cities, states, and nations. He is going to move in and take over your churches, schools, universities, and corporations. All your books are going to be judged, praised, or condemned by him. The fate of humanity is in his hands.

### THE ONE MIDEAST ANSWER REMAINS—NEGOTIATION

#### HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, the conflict in the Middle East is of extreme importance to all of us. Many Members of the U.S. Congress have been watching rapidly moving events in that part of the world with great interest and much activity. Among those who have been particularly sensitive to the problems involved is Representative DANTE FASCELL of Florida. Throughout, he has been for the principle of direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab States without any preconditions to such negotiations.

Congressman FASCELL is currently serving his eighth term in the House, and has been a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee for 14 years. On the committee he served as chairman of the International Organizations and Movements Subcommittee for 8 years, and is now serving as chairman of the Inter-American Affairs Subcommittee. He is also a member of the State Department Organization and Foreign Operations Subcommittee, the Subcommittee for Review of Foreign Aid Programs, and the International Organizations and Movements Subcommittee. In addition, Congressman FASCELL was appointed by President Nixon and served as a member of the U.S. delegation to the 24th United Nations General Assembly in 1969.

I congratulate Congressman FASCELL for his position. His constituents obviously have a fine public servant. Further evidence of support of his position appeared as an editorial in the Miami Herald on Tuesday, January 27, 1970, which editorial follows:

#### THE ONE MIDEAST ANSWER REMAINS: NEGOTIATION

"The United States," President Nixon told a group of Jewish leaders, "stands by its friends. Israel is one of its friends."

Spelled out, these words of reassurance mean more arms for Israel, if needed, and

insistence on a negotiated agreement between Israel and the Arab states.

There's nothing new in this, for it has been said before in less emphatic words. The difference is the attitude. Mr. Nixon realizes that the policy enunciated last month (and since in part revised) by Secretary of State William P. Rogers did some violence to an old friendship.

The Secretary of State, it will be remembered, proposed a Middle East settlement that seemed heavily dependent on the big powers (two of whom are unfriendly of the Israelis) and appeared to avoid direct confrontation between Israel and its hostile neighbors.

This would have meant restoration of the pre-1967 borders, requiring Israel's withdrawal from "occupied" territories.

It provided also (or seemed to) for a "civic" role for Jordan in Jerusalem, a city now open for the first time in 22 years to all comers.

Further, it went back to the 1948 war and the most nagging of all problems—that of the Arab refugees. The Rogers formula provided for their repatriation or compensation, and only after all of this were Israel and its neighbors to be brought together.

The Rogers policy statement was an alarming digression from the only viable quest for peace in the Middle East. We hope and believe Mr. Nixon has countered it satisfactorily.

More arms, of course, is not the answer. With the delivery of 50 Phantom jets and its ratio of 1 to 4 Arab fighters, Israel probably has enough arms, at least the way Israel is able to use them.

Nor is the answer in aerial and commando forays into Egypt which, however tactically successful, are still war, not peace. The current one-sided Battle of Egypt keeps Nasser off balance but it also keeps the watching world on edge.

There is only one answer; there has never been any other answer since 1948; there will never be another answer: that is direct, face-to-face unconditional negotiation which recognizes the right of all parties to exist.

As a resolution by Rep. Dante Fascell sets forth, "There can be no imposed settlement upon the parties to this dispute. Peace can only be achieved by working out their difference together across the conference table."

Easier said, of course, than done. But we are delighted to hear Mr. Nixon saying it, too.

#### PRISONER OF PEACE—HONOR OVER ALL

#### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in the third volume of his war memoirs, Sir Winston Churchill has this to say about one of the most dramatic events of the times:

Rudolph Hess was a good looking, youngish man to whom Hitler took a fancy, and who became an intimate member of the personal staff . . . he knew and was capable of understanding Hitler's inner mind . . . his hatred of Soviet Russia, his lust to destroy Bolshevism, his admiration for Britain and earnest wish to be friends with the British Empire, his contempt for most other countries . . .

In the same work, Churchill went on to say that Hess "came to us of his own free will, and though without authority, had something of the quality of an envoy."

Later, in volume III of the Second

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

World War, he wrote of the treatment of Hess:

Reflecting upon the whole of this story, I am glad not to be responsible for the way in which Hess has been and is being treated.

During the last few days, many of us here on the Hill have had the opportunity to meet and talk with a polite and unassuming young man—Wolf Ruediger Hess, the only child of Rudolph and Ilse Hess. He has come to this land, known throughout the world for its humanity, in the simple interest of freedom for his father, the sole occupant of Spandau. His mission is humanitarian and only humanitarian.

A statement prepared in 1967, circulated throughout the world, and signed by more than 100,000 people from all over the world, speaks for itself. I include it in my remarks at this point:

#### STATEMENT

On October 1, 1967, a year of extreme loneliness will draw to a close for Rudolf Hess, erstwhile Reichsminister, who continues to be incarcerated in the four-power prison of Berlin-Spandau. He is in this 74th year, his 27th year of imprisonment.

In 1946 the Nuremberg Court Expressly exonerated Rudolf Hess of the charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity brought against him. The only count on which he was found guilty was based on the historical and political accusation that he had aided and abetted the preparations for and the implementation of a war of aggression.

The undersigned are not however concerned with the legal aspects of the case of Hess. It is on humanitarian grounds that we wish to express their very strong view that the punishment inflicted upon Hess has by now far exceeded any justifiable limits.

We believe that the maintenance of a political prison by four major powers for the single purpose of watching the slow death of an aged man is not in keeping with the spirit of this age which is striving towards true humanity.

Within the framework of world political affairs to which the governments concerned must daily devote their attention, the case of Hess may appear to be insignificant—yet this flagrant defiance of the precepts of humanity may set a tragic precedent if no steps are taken to bring it to an end, and this is our recommendation.

Since that time this aged and infirm man has been placed in the British military hospital. His son only asks that his father be permitted to join his aged wife in a modest home for his few remaining days—to die in the bosom of his family. How can anyone, in the name of humanity, deny such a simple, universal, human prayer?

#### PROBLEMS OF THE ENVIRONMENT

#### HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, the President of the United States is today revealing his plans for the acceleration of the national effort against pollution. The problem has many facets and those of us who have been working with the problem for years already know only too well that hasty, high-sounding legislation or Executive pronouncements will not solve it. It is complicated by many factors of nature and economics, none

of which can be entirely ignored and all of which must be to some extent accommodated. Past efforts have moved rather slowly and part of the reason for the pace was the lack of scientific knowledge. Wrong solutions can complicate rather than assist.

In the matter of air pollution with which I have been more closely identified we have now had 2 years experience with the first really comprehensive plan for determining what substances in the air cause undue damage, for deciding upon the quality of air to be achieved and for the eventual abatement at the local and even factory level. Not everything has worked as well or as rapidly as we had hoped but it has involved the organizations and people directly affected. It has helped point up the need for more action.

The President in outlining his recommendations for changes and additions to the law and Government policy has wisely built upon this experience, setting forth bold but also logical and realistic steps to hasten the day when our environment can become what we wish it to be and we must strive for. The plan would hasten the enforcement of standards for motor vehicle emissions to the ultimate possible with present technology. It would then push both Government action and private efforts to produce a new means for motor vehicle propulsion which would minimize or eliminate pollutants from that source. In the matter of industrial and other stationary sources of air pollution it now appears that air quality should be as uniform as possible over the country and standards should be determined on a national basis. Abatement plans and execution should, as the 1967 act provided, remain at State and regional levels.

Solid waste which threatens to engulf us before many more years go by is a problem of the greatest magnitude and one which has no answers at present. This, despite an act of Congress encouraging new systems and helping with experimentation in the disposal of solid waste. The recommendations contained in the message get to the heart of the matter. More disposable containers and recycling of containers must come about. Research at this time is the only answer and that is provided for. Junk cars present a sizable but different problem and will be approached more directly.

I commend the President on a sensible, realistic approach which does not make idle recommendations incapable of accomplishment but tries to set forth those things that can improve our environment as quickly as possible. Great progress should be possible under such leadership and I trust that the Congress and the American people will support and carry out the programs outlined.

#### FEBRUARY NEWSLETTER

#### HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, this week we are sending our February newsletter to

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approximately 27,000 people residing in the Eighth District of Virginia who have furnished their names and addresses and requested a copy. The newsletter, which is set forth in full below, contains the results of a recent opinion poll of all homes in the district on issues confronting the country.

Members may be interested in learning the views of my constituents on a variety of matters including inflation, crime, pollution, and disorder in our schools. I hope they will take the time to look at the statistical results of the poll.

The newsletter follows:

YOUR CONGRESSMAN BILL SCOTT REPORTS  
FEBRUARY 1970.

CONGRESSIONAL ETHICS

All members of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct joined in a bill to amend the rules of the House of Representatives to provide that any honorarium of \$300 or more from a single source and any unsecured debt obtained by a Member in the amount of \$10,000 or more be reported to that Committee. These two requirements would become effective at the beginning of next year and supplement last year's attempt to eliminate any fraud or conflict of interest by Members of the Congress. The Committee also issued an advisory opinion stating that Members of Congress should attempt to assist all constituents in their relationship with the Executive Branch of the government but should not request favoritism or threaten reprisal if requests are not granted. Of course, federal criminal statutes bar a Congressman from receiving compensation for intervening on behalf of a constituent with a federal agency.

ACTIVITIES IN BRIEF

The vetoed Labor-HEW-OEO Appropriation Bill is again being considered in Committee and will come before the House for action about February 18. It is expected that most, but not all, of impacted aid funds will be retained.

A measure to transfer jurisdiction over the District of Columbia correctional institutions at Lorton from the District of Columbia Government to the U.S. Bureau of Prisons has been favorably recommended by a Subcommittee of the House.

Our Subcommittee on Retirement, Insurance and Health Benefits has scheduled hearings to begin March 18 on federal employees' health benefit programs. Among the matters which will be considered is the ratio of sharing of the costs of health benefits between the Government and the employee. I hope that the program can be amended so that the cost of benefits can be shared between the Government and employees on a 50-50 basis.

The Speaker removed from the House Calendar a measure scheduled to be considered last Thursday to increase the timber yield from commercial forest land of national forests.

In a recent letter to the Governor, I urged that the full weight of his office be given to the completion of Interstate 66 from the Beltway into Washington. In my opinion, there is no excuse for a further delay in constructing this vital interstate link.

The President's budget includes \$600,000 for pre-construction planning funds for the Salem Church Dam.

A new measure to curb pornography has been approved by a House Subcommittee and will be acted upon at the next meeting of our Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

A recent bill I introduced would exempt the first \$250 of interest on money deposited in thrift institutions to encourage further savings. It is felt that the additional funds deposited could be loaned for home building and help relieve both the tight money market and high interest rates.

Legislation has been introduced by Members of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to protect pensioners and dependent parents of servicemen killed in action against any reduction in their combined benefits from Social Security and Veterans pensions.

The Defense Communication Agency will lease space at Newton Square in Reston until two new buildings containing approximately 97,500 square feet of space are constructed on 11 acres of land. The new buildings in Reston are expected to be ready for occupancy by the first of next year.

PRESIDENT'S BUDGET

The budget submitted to Congress by the President indicates receipts in the next fiscal year or \$202.1 billion and expenditures of \$200.8 billion, with a surplus of \$1.3 billion. This compares with an anticipated surplus this year of \$1.5 billion and a surplus for 1969 of \$3.2 billion. During the sixties there was a deficit in government spending totaling \$57 billion and the cost-of-living increased by 25% which apparently contributed substantially to the present high interest rate, tight money and inflationary pressures. I certainly hope we will be able to obtain the services which need to be provided by the government without increasing the budget estimates or again having deficit spending.

Poll results: You may be interested in the following tabulation of answers received to date from our opinion poll. Somewhat over 33,000 questionnaires were returned and the results in percentages are set forth below:

	Yes	No	No opinion		Yes	No	No opinion
1. If the cost of living continues to rise, would you favor—				7. To reduce crime, would you favor—			
(a) General cutback of Government programs?	75	24	1	(a) Denying bail to persons previously convicted of a felony or presently on bail who are again arrested for a felony?	91	8	1
(b) Freezing all Government annuities such as social security and veterans' payments at the present level?	22	75	3	(b) Making a felony all crimes involving a gun and the use or threat of force?	90	8	2
(c) Federal wage and price controls?	60	35	5	8. Do you favor U.S. recognition of Red China?	48	47	5
2. Do you favor—				9. To deal with air and water pollution, do you favor—			
(a) Providing food stamps at low cost to needy families?	78	19	3	(a) Federal laws governing industrial pollution?	85	12	
(b) Federally guaranteed minimum income?	21	74	5	(b) Permitting States to exercise control?	51	46	
(c) Requiring all able bodied adults to be available for work before receiving welfare aid?	92	7	1	(c) Federal funds and State control?	39	55	
3. Do you favor social security—				(d) Tax credit to private industry?	50	42	
(a) Payments tied to cost of living?	83	15	2	10. Some Members of Congress feel the President should consult with the Congress and receive its approval prior to any future commitment of troops to combat abroad. Do you agree with this position?			
(b) Deduction increases to obtain higher payments?	30	59	1	11. Do you believe the Federal Government should share a fixed percentage of tax funds with the States?			
(c) Amendment to allow higher earned income by annuitant?	76	17	7	If answer is "yes" should it be—			
4. If the draft is continued, do you believe the present law is adequate?	59	31	10	(a) Based on population?	60	32	8
5. Do you believe the space program financing should be—				(b) Based on percentage of funds collected in a State?	62	31	7
(a) Continued at the present level?	51	45	4	(c) Based on formula whereby higher percentage be given to poor States?	49	46	5
(b) Increased?	14	85	1	12. Do you believe Federal assistance should be denied colleges which—			
(c) Decreased?	65	33	2	(a) Fail to have a plan to deal with campus disorders?	73	24	3
6. Do you favor reducing the penalty for 1st offense use and possession of marijuanna?	48	49	3	(b) Terminate ROTC programs?	48	44	8
				(c) Refuse to do important Government research?	48	42	10

There seems to be substantial agreement in the need to stem the crime rate, reduce pollution and quiet campus disorders. Most people favor providing food stamps at low cost to needy families, tying Social Security payments to the cost of living and allowing those receiving Social Security to earn more. I was somewhat surprised at the nearly even division of opinion on the possibility of reducing the penalty for first offense use and possession of marijuanna and whether Red China should be recognized.

Let me thank you for supplementing your answers with opinions on other issues confronting the country and for the constructive suggestions regarding future questionnaires. One constituent suggested that my

personal views be stated in each instance but I am fearful that this would make the poll less objective and, of course, my views are frequently interwoven into the monthly newsletters forwarded to you.

OTHER SUGGESTIONS BY CONSTITUENTS

That there be a 70-year age limitation for members of Congress and that the seniority system be revised to provide for the election of the Chairman of each Committee; that there be an amendment to the Constitution to give the respective states exclusive jurisdiction over public schools; that retired military men be employed as policemen and also to enforce discipline in the public schools; that it be illegal for one person to sell a mailing list to another.

A TRIBUTE TO THE BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, in large part the future of America depends on the proper development of its youth. It is they who eventually take over the reins of leadership in all walks of life and carve our destiny as well as chart the course for future generations.

Since their founding on February 8, 1910, the Boy Scouts of America have played a vital part in promoting the proper development of our youth in league with parents, churches, and schools throughout our country. For their contribution they deserve the cheers of a grateful Nation.

This week we honor Boy Scouts throughout the country and their slogan for the occasion is indicative of the impressive stability of this fine group of Americans—"Sixty Years of Scouting." What we are really honoring is 60 years of dedicated service to American ideals and spirit and the glorious pride that comes with promoting the essence of America.

Boy Scout leadership has concerned itself with the development, in young men, of the attributes of self-reliance, initiative, physical strength, endurance, courage, and patriotism. The Boy Scouts of America work closely with the community sponsoring them, and help American boys from eight through adolescence learn to fend for themselves against the elements. This development of skills engenders within them a spirit of self-reliance so necessary for satisfactory achievement in future years.

Mr. Speaker, the building of the man of tomorrow is one of the biggest tasks confronting America today. The fulfillment of our national destiny has been vastly aided by the efforts of the Boy Scouts who can pride themselves in the knowledge that their time, their efforts, and their energies have been decidedly well invested.

Approximately 6 million scouts and leaders have subscribed to the high ideals of the Scout oath and the Scout law since the founding of the organization in 1910. This is evidence enough that the Boy Scouts have more than earnestly attempted to meet their responsibilities, their aims, and their objectives.

For their efforts and for their dedication to the principles of democracy, once again, "Congratulations, Boy Scouts of America, for 60 years of outstanding service to America and Americans."

#### MESKILL NEWSLETTER

#### HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, this week I intend to send out my newsletter reporting on congressional activities during the first session of the 91st Congress. For the benefit of my colleagues, I would like to insert the text of my year-end report in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The text follows:

CONGRESSMAN MESKILL REPORTS TO YOU

FEBRUARY 1970.

DEAR FRIEND: In December we completed the sixth longest legislative session in the history of the United States Congress. While the session was notable for the slimmest legislative output in 36 years, Congress did take major initiatives in several important areas. This was time-consuming.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Reform has been the theme of the new Administration. As a result, issues like tax reform, draft reform, reform of the electoral system, postal reform, and welfare reform dominated Congressional activity during the session.

The emphasis on reform will continue this year. A number of legislative proposals which will have far-reaching effects on the future of America are awaiting action.

Vietnam and inflation remain in the forefront.

As we move into the decade of the 70s, we must give special attention to the protection of our environment.

This, the second session of the 91st Congress, promises to be a busy one.

Sincerely,

TOM MESKILL.

#### SEVEN BILLS PASSED

I was highly gratified by the passage of seven important legislative measures which I introduced in the House of Representatives during this session. The measures are:

1. A Bill Providing for the Direct Election of the President (passed by the House);
2. A Bill to Grant Congressional Consent to the Connecticut-New York Railroad Passenger Transportation Compact (passed by the House and Senate and signed by the President);
3. A Bill to Reform the Census and Insure its Confidentiality (passed by the House);
4. A Bill Relating to Civil Service Retirement (passed by the House and Senate and signed by the President);
5. A Bill to Raise Salaries of Post Office and Civil Service Employees (passed by the House);
6. A Bill to Amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to Extend Its Provisions Nationwide (passed by the House);
7. A Resolution Calling for Peace With Justice in Vietnam (identical to resolution which passed the House).

February 10, 1970

#### TAX REFORM

Tax reform was a big issue in the past session of Congress. A fair and equitable tax law was the aim. While the bill finally enacted into law does not please everybody, it is a step in the right direction. It is a beginning.

As the first to introduce a bill to raise the personal income tax exemption from \$600 to \$1200, I was pleased to see a modified version of this measure included in the tax bill signed by the President. The compromise to raise the personal exemption to \$750, while inadequate, is an improvement.

"Operation Snowball," an effort by Connecticut women to secure passage of my bill, H.R. 50, brought the personal exemption issue home to many Congressmen and Senators.

I pledge to drive for additional increases in the personal exemption until it reaches a realistic level.

#### POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE

As a new member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, I enthusiastically tackled the postal reform issue.

In short order, it became clear to me that the Post Office was engaged in a "race with catastrophe." Outmoded facilities and archaic management practices have produced unsatisfactory working conditions. The delivery of the Nation's mail has suffered as a result.

Convinced that only total reform will save the postal system from collapse, I have pressed for meaningful postal reform.

#### SOCIAL SECURITY

The cruel grip of inflation made passage of an increase in social security benefits imperative. Congress reacted to the urgent needs of America's senior citizens living on fixed incomes by passing a 15-percent across-the-board increase in social security benefits.

Here is what the 15-percent increase means to you:

Average monthly earnings	Worker <sup>1</sup>		Man and wife <sup>1,2</sup>		Widow, widower, or parent, age 62	
	Present law	Bill	Present law	Bill	Present law	Bill
Minimum <sup>3</sup> .....	\$55.00	\$64.00	\$82.50	\$96.00	\$55.00	\$84.00
\$150.....	88.40	101.70	132.60	152.60	73.00	83.90
\$250.....	115.00	132.30	172.50	198.50	94.90	109.20
\$350.....	140.40	161.50	210.60	242.30	115.90	133.30
\$450.....	165.00	189.80	247.50	284.70	136.20	156.60
\$550.....	189.90	218.40	284.90	327.60	156.70	180.20
\$650.....	218.00	250.70	323.00	376.10	179.90	206.09

<sup>1</sup> For a worker who is disabled or who is age 65 or older at the time of retirement and a wife age 65 or older at the time when she comes on the rolls.

<sup>2</sup> Survivor benefit amounts for a widow and 1 child or for 2 parents would be the same as the benefits for a man and wife, except that the total benefits would always equal 150 percent of the worker's primary insurance amount; it would not be limited to \$323 as it is under the present law.

<sup>3</sup> Average monthly earnings of \$74 or less under the present law, and of \$76 or less under the bill.

<sup>4</sup> \$105 limit on wife's benefit is removed.

The benefit increase was the only amendment to the Social Security Act considered by Congress during the First Session. I had hoped to see Congress undertake major revision of the Act last year, but time ran out.

I do expect further revisions this year, however. I pledge to continue to fight for passage of provisions to tie future benefit increases to the cost-of-living index and to scrap the limitation on the amount of earnings an individual can receive and still remain eligible for benefits.

#### VOTING RECORD

I voted for: Tax Reform Bill; Census Reform (Meskill Bill); Anti-ballistic Missile Defense; Peace Corps Appropriations; Housing Bill; Draft Reform; Increased Funding for Water Pollution Control; Electoral College Reform (Meskill Bill); 15-Percent Increase in Social Security Benefits; Elementary and Secondary Education Act; National Voting Rights Act (Meskill Bill); Post Office and Civil Service Pay Increases (Meskill Bill); Drug Abuse Education Act; To Establish

the Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish Speaking People; Connecticut-New York Railroad Passenger Transportation Compact (Meskill Bill); Clean Air Act; Child Nutrition Act; Vietnam Resolution (Meskill Resolution); Civil Service Retirement Bill (Meskill Bill).

I voted against Farm Subsidy Program; Supersonic Transport; Surtax; Foreign Aid; Use of Tax Dollars to Build the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts; Trade With Communist Nations.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED

The following is a list of some of the many bills which I introduced during the First Session of the 91st Congress. The bills cover a broad range of issues dealing with problems facing America today.

H.R. 50—A Bill To Double the Income Tax Exemption.

H.R. 5543—A Bill To Remove the Social Security Earnings Limitation.

H.R. 7014—A Bill To Provide Tax Credits for Water and Air Pollution Facilities.

H.R. 12473—A Bill To Include Teachers Under Medicare.

H.R. 10800—A Bill To Abolish the Oil Import Quota System Over a 10-Year Period.

H.R. 11031—A Bill To Prevent the Use of Mails To Send Obscene Materials To Minors.

H.R. 13311—A Bill To Continue the Golden Eagle Passport Program To Our National Parks and Recreation Areas.

H.R. 13325—A Bill To Establish a Lifetime Fee for Senior Citizens for Admission To Certain Outdoor Recreation Areas.

H.R. 12806—A Bill To Amend the Bail Reform Act.

H.R. 13198—A Bill To Establish an Urban Mass Transportation Trust Fund.

H.J. Res. 455—A Resolution To Allow Voluntary Prayers in Public Schools.

Address all correspondence to: The Honorable Thomas J. Meskill, 1017 Longworth Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515. Phone: (202) 235-4476, or to: The Honorable Thomas J. Meskill, Room 406, City Hall, New Britain, Connecticut 06051, Phone: 229-0773.

A special service: I am privileged to be able to offer a fine 16 mm color movie with sound track of the launch of Apollo 11 for showing to civil groups and organizations in the Sixth District. Please contact my District Office if you wish this dramatic film for use by your organization.

#### THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE U.S. JAYCEES

#### HON. GARRY BROWN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, this year marks the 50th anniversary of the founding of the U.S. Jaycees—a youth-oriented organization which has been the training ground for tens of thousands of our Nation's leaders during the past half century.

As former chairman of the board and instrumental in founding the Jaycee chapter in my hometown of Schoolcraft, I am proud to say that I am personally familiar with some of the ideals, goals, and purposes of this outstanding organization. Scattered throughout my congressional district are many public officials and civic leaders who received their introduction to public service through Jaycee activities. This carries through to the Halls of Congress where many former Jaycees now serve as Representatives and Senators.

The junior chamber of commerce has become, in a remarkably short period of time, a major policy voice in American society. Providing, on the one hand service to thousands of individual American cities and towns, and proposing, in national convention, recommendations to the people and the Government alike, the Jaycees have captured the attention and respect of all America.

Local problems of every kind receive the attention of the Jaycees, from litter-strewn sidewalks to lack of adequate police or educational facilities. Juvenile delinquency is a prime target of several Jaycee programs, including some that are national in scope. In the matter of overall civic improvement, programs have been launched by virtually every Jaycee chapter in the country, each according to professional planning requirements.

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Today, there are 6,000 Jaycee chapters in the United States, with 309,614 members. In addition, the Jaycee idea has been carried throughout the world, with 2,546 chapters and 89,499 members in more than 80 nations.

The Jaycee creed, written by William Brownfield in 1946, summarizes the faith and confidence of the Jaycees in God, in humanity, and in America:

We believe that faith in God gives meaning and purpose to human life;

That the brotherhood of man transcends the sovereignty of nations;

That economic justice can best be won by free men through free enterprise;

That government should be of laws rather than of men;

That earth's great treasure lies in human personality;

And that service to humanity is the best work of life.

Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I salute the Jaycees for the service they perform, touching on so many vital areas of our American life. I hope the Jaycee spirit will continue to prevail so that individual initiative will continue to flourish in this country and inure to the benefit of those traditions essential to all of us.

#### LITHUANIA

#### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the month of February marks the 719th anniversary of the formation of the Lithuanian State. To commemorate this momentous occasion, I would like to include in the RECORD, for the benefit of my colleagues and the American people, a letter from the Lithuanian-American Community of America. I would also like to include a copy of House Concurrent Resolution 416, which passed this body in 1965 and the other body in 1966, urging the President to take certain action in this regard:

#### A SEVEN-CENTURY QUEST FOR FREEDOM (BRAVE LITHUANIA)

During the month of February, Lithuanian-Americans will be commemorating the 719th anniversary of the formation of the Lithuanian State when Mindaugas the Great unified all Lithuanian principalities into one kingdom in 1251 and the 52nd anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Lithuania which took place on February 16, 1918. But this celebration of Lithuania's Independence Day will not be similar to American celebration of the Fourth of July. It will contain no note of joy, no jubilant tone of achievement and victory. On the contrary, the observance will be somber, sorrowful, underlined with the grim accent of defeat and tragedy. For Lithuania has lost its independence, and today survives only as a captive nation behind the Iron Curtain.

The Communist regime did not come to power in Lithuania and other Baltic States by legal or democratic processes. The Soviet Union took over Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia by force of arms in June of 1940.

The Lithuanians are a proud people who have lived peacefully on the shores of the Baltic from time immemorial. Their lan-

guage is the oldest in Europe today. They were united into a State more than 700 years ago, and by the 15th century their nation extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea and almost to the gates of Moscow. Their fortunes gradually declined and the nation was completely taken over by Russia in 1795.

The intensive and determined struggle for freedom and independence from Czaristic Russia was climaxed on February 16, 1918, by the Declaration of the Lithuanian National Council, proclaiming the restoration of the Independence to Lithuania.

The *February Sixteenth Declaration* was unanimously approved by the freely elected Constituent Assembly in 1920. Thus, following the will of the Lithuanian people, the re-establishment of an Independent State of Lithuania, with its capitol in the city of Vilnius was accomplished. A diplomatic recognition by many free countries followed. On September 22, 1921, Lithuania was received as a *bona fide* member of the League of Nations, thereby Lithuania became a member of the international community of sovereign nations. A full diplomatic recognition by the United States of America on July 28, 1922, was followed soon, also with *de jure* recognition, by other world powers—Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan.

Soviet Russia recognized *de jure* the Independence of Lithuania in 1920, and on July 12th of the same year signed a peace treaty with Lithuania which stated that:

"The Soviet Union recognizes the sovereignty and independence of the Lithuanian State with all the juridical rights associated with such a declaration, and forever renounces, in good faith, all Russian sovereign rights, which it previously had in regards to Lithuanian Nation and its territory."

The re-establishment of an Independent State of Lithuania and her return to the self-governing community of nations is the most significant historical event of the Twentieth Century for the Lithuanian Nation, whose political maturity, economic achievements and cultural creativity were manifested during the period of restored independence (1918-1940).

During the Second World War, the Republic of Lithuania became a victim of Soviet Russia's and Nazi Germany's conspiracy and aggression, and as a result of secret agreements between those two powers of August 23rd and September 28th, 1939, became invaded and occupied by Soviet Russian armed forces on June 15, 1940.

Since the days of Soviet Russian occupation, however, the Lithuanian people have waged an intensive fight for freedom. During the period between 1944 and 1952 alone, some 30,000 freedom fighters lost their lives in an organized resistance movement against the invaders. Hundreds of thousands of others were imprisoned or driven to Siberia. Though that resistance movement was weakened and finally subdued due to a failure to get any material aid from the West, nevertheless, the Lithuanian people are continuing their passive resistance against Soviet Russian genocidal aggression to this very day.

The United States of America, mindful of its own struggle for freedom and independence, has remained sensitive to the aspirations of other people for self-determination. For this reason, Americans of Lithuanian descent are grateful to the Government of the United States for denouncing the Soviet Russian aggression in Lithuania and for refusal to recognize the alien subjugation of Lithuania since 1940. The United States continues recognizing the sovereignty of Lithuania. The Lithuanian Legation at Washington, D.C., Consulates General in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and a Consulate in Boston are recognized and are functioning.

Recently the United States Congress passed H. Con. Res. 416 that calls for freedom for the Baltic States. All freedom-loving Amer-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

icans should urge the President of the United States to implement this legislation by bringing up the question of the liberation of the Baltic States in the United Nations and urging the Soviets to withdraw from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

Thus, on the occasion of the 719th anniversary of the formation of the Lithuanian state, and the 52nd anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Lithuania, the Lithuanian-American Community of the USA, Inc., representing all Lithuanian-Americans throughout the nation, most fervently appeals to the representatives of the Federal, State and local governments, religious leaders, labor unions, civil, political and professional organizations, academic and cultural institutions, news media and to the people of good will, to support the aspirations of the Lithuanian people for self-determination and to national independence in their own country.

The free world can never rest in peace, knowing that in Lithuania under Soviet rule, religious persecution is prevalent and basic human freedoms and rights are denied to the Lithuanian people.

LITHUANIAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, INC.  
CHICAGO, ILL., February 1970.

## H. CON. RES. 416

Whereas the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination, and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation; and

Whereas all peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, cultural, and religious development; and

Whereas the Baltic peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have been forcibly deprived of these rights by the Government of the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the Government of the Soviet Union, through a program of deportations and resettlement of peoples, continues in its effort to change the ethnic character of the populations of the Baltic States; and

Whereas it has been the firm and consistent policy of the Government of the United States to support the aspirations of Baltic peoples for self-determination and national independence; and

Whereas there exist many historical, cultural, and family ties between the peoples of the Baltic States and the American people; Be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),* That the House of Representatives of the United States urge the President of the United States—

(a) to direct the attention of world opinion at the United Nations and at other appropriate international forums and by such means as he deems appropriate, to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and

(b) to bring the force of world opinion to bear on behalf of the restoration of these rights to the Baltic peoples.

## TRADE EMBARGO AGAINST RHODESIA

HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN  
OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, many speeches have been made before this body concerning the trade embargo

which has been placed against the Republic of Rhodesia. As you know, this embargo has forced the United States to purchase chromium ore which is vital to our defense effort from the Soviet Union instead of Rhodesia. Recently, Mr. L. G. Bliss, chairman of the board and president of the Foote Mineral Co., presented testimony before the Subcommittee on Africa of the House Foreign Affairs Committee regarding our need for chromium ore. For the information of my colleagues, I am hereby inserting Mr. Bliss' testimony into the RECORD:

## STATEMENT OF L. G. BLISS

Mr. Chairman and Honorable Members: I am L. G. Bliss, Chairman of the Board, President and Chief Executive Officer of Foote Mineral Company, a Pennsylvania corporation. Since 1932 Foote Mineral Company has been the sole owner of Rhodesian Vanadium Corporation, a Delaware corporation, which owns and operates chromium ore deposits and mines in the Great Dyke region near Salisbury, Rhodesia. Prior to the establishment of economic sanctions against the Rhodesian government, these deposits constituted one of Foote Mineral Company's principal sources of chromium ore for the production in the United States of ferrochromium and other chromium-containing alloys. These alloys are essential to the production of stainless steel, tool steels, and other high performance metals and alloys.

The distribution of the mineral riches in the earth's crust having been decided many millenia before political boundaries were established, it has been customary through the ages to share the world's resources through trade between nations. This interchange of the materials vital to civilization is conducted between nations of widely divergent political and philosophic views, and is rarely interrupted except in the face of hostilities—in which case the supply of strategic materials becomes a matter of utmost importance to a nation's defense.

The principal sources of high grade metallurgical chrome ores carrying a ratio of chrome to iron of 3 to 1 or better are located in Rhodesia, the Soviet Union, Turkey, Iran, Yugoslavia, Albania and the Republic of South Africa. It is believed that the reserves in the Soviet Union are extensive, but reliable quantitative information is not available. Excluding Russia for the moment, it is significant that, of the chromium ore reserves of some 440 million tons estimated for the rest of the world, approximately 300 million tons are located in Rhodesia.

Companies engaged in the production of chromium alloys recognize the importance of differentiating among various types of chrome ores. They recognize that to speak only in terms of the total chromium contained in the ore is exceedingly misleading. Ores charged into a furnace must be carefully selected not only for chromium content, but also for the chromium-iron ratio, the magnesium oxide-to-aluminum oxide ratio, the physical size of the ore particles, and the level of undesirable impurities.

For example, Foote Mineral Company processes a low carbon grade of ferrochrome by a two-stage process. In the first stage a chrome silicide is produced. It requires a one to four inch lumpy ore with a chrome-iron ratio in excess of three parts of chrome to one of iron. To insure furnace efficiencies, the ratio of the magnesium oxide content to the aluminum oxide content must be controlled at about 1.5 to 1.

In the second stage the chrome silicide so produced is mixed with, among other raw materials, a high ratio chrome-to-iron ore, but of a substantially finer particle size. Obviously, the assay of the resultant product is at least in part dependent upon the quality

of the ore used. Deviation from proper ore mixes in either of the two stages of the process materially affects the economics as well as the quality of the resultant product. Hence, a high chromium content alone does not qualify an ore for metallurgical use. Most certainly, chrome units available around the world cannot be added together as if they were one and the same thing in the determination of balance between supply and demand.

These comments, in part, explain why Foote Mineral Company, in operating its Rhodesian mines over the past 37 years, not only consumed the total output of its own mines but also purchased chrome ore of differing characteristics from other areas of the world, principally Turkey. However, since 1968 Russian ore has also been used in increasing quantities. It also explains in part why other companies have maintained chrome operations in Rhodesia and have relied heavily upon the lumpy pod-type high grade chrome ore which is abundant in that country.

Usually mining techniques differ, depending on the manner in which the ore occurs. The deposits being worked by the Rhodesian Vanadium Corporation are of a layered type, dipping at an acute angle. This type of occurrence results in the development of a complex system of shafts, stopes and drifts to mine the ore which occurs in layers from four to six inches in thickness. Thus, it can be appreciated that over a period of 37 years the honeycomb of tunnels extends for many thousands of feet under the surface. If such a complex is left unattended, it would flood and the serpentine walls of the tunnels would collapse. If this were permitted to occur, it is judged economically unfeasible to reach the previously developed ore.

We estimate that Rhodesian Vanadium Corporation has at its disposal over a hundred years of ore reserves, assuming a mining rate of 100,000 tons a year. It is difficult to place a dollar value on such a reserve. It is impossible to estimate the cost of locating another reserve of equal proportions elsewhere in the earth's crust—if indeed one exists outside of either Rhodesia or the Soviet Union.

Prior to the sanctions the Rhodesian Vanadium Corporation employed about 1,100 workers. I have no reason to believe the payroll differs today. The employees are housed, fed, hospitalized and schooled. Recreation facilities are also provided. Rhodesian Vanadium Corporation has consistently exceeded the lawful minimum requirements in these matters. We operate a thousand-acre farm which provides an abundance of vegetables and fruits basic to the diet of our work force and their families totalling 4,000 people. This complex operation has produced between 50 and 100 thousand tons of high grade chrome ore per year in the years 1960 through 1966.

Thus, at the time sanctions were imposed we were faced with a serious problem not envisioned when we began operations in 1932. To close the mines would have been tantamount to an irrevocable loss of one hundred years of high grade chrome ore reserves. A shutdown would have resulted in the dispersal of 4,000 workers and their families—to find other sources of employment, food, schooling and hospital accommodations. Consequently, after discussing the problem with the State and Treasury Departments, we continued to operate the mines at the rate of 40,000 tons of chrome ore per year considered to be minimal in the maintenance of the properties. This was done by Foote Mineral Company at a cost of \$74,000 per month. The ore produced was stockpiled above ground.

At the time this action was taken there were many, including the member countries in the United Nations as well as individuals within our own Government, who considered that the sanctions would serve their in-

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tended purpose and that they could subsequently and quickly be removed.

Clearly, Foote Mineral Company's economic muscle was inadequate to continue maintenance operations for an indefinite period of time. By the end of 1967, and prior to the imposition of so-called "hard" sanctions, we made it known to our Government as well as to Rhodesian officials that the one million dollars advanced for the protection of our assets and for the preventing of dispersal of our operating force was all we could afford. This sum covered the production of 57,000 tons of high grade metallurgical ore. The implications of this decision were quite clear. If the mines were abandoned at the end of the support period, 4,000 workers and their families would be dispersed with destinies unknown, and a valuable chromium source would be lost not only to the Company but to our nation.

This eventually was forestalled when, on January 2, 1968, Rhodesian Vanadium Corporation was mandated and the management of Rhodesian Vanadium Corporation was instructed by the Rhodesian government to continue the operations at the minimal level of 40,000 tons per year. This mandate continues in force, although there is no guarantee as to the future.

With regard to the economic impact on our Company, it must be appreciated that we had invested substantial sums of money prior to the imposition of sanctions for the purpose of exposing the ore to be mined in the future. This is a necessary requisite to the development of any mine. Three categories of ore totalling 232,765 tons were developed by December 16, 1966. These are defined as follows: 77,035 tons completely developed and available for retreat stopping; 65,505 tons developed but not completely available for retreat stopping; and 90,225 tons available for advance stopping.

Needless to say, the cost of the developed ore referred to above had been paid for well in advance of December 16, 1966. It equates to four to five years of total production at a minimal rate of 40,000 tons per year.

In the belief that the United States Government would not choose to discriminately penalize a U.S.-based company in the implementation of the Rhodesian sanctions, Foote Mineral Company submitted a special license request to the Foreign Assets Control Division of our Treasury Department on September 27, 1967 for permission to import 40,000 tons of metallurgical grade chrome ore, mined and paid for. Paradoxically, the Rhodesian regime did not then, nor do we believe it now would, prevent shipment of this parcel to the United States. The special license request was denied. A second request for 57,000 tons mined and paid for was submitted on August 28, 1968. This request was also denied.

In the meantime, an offer was received to purchase our Rhodesian assets, including the ore above ground. Obviously under existing circumstances, the price offered was well below what is considered to be a reasonable market value. We requested comments from various departments of our Government on the advisability and legalities of selling the properties. No formal response has been received albeit several unofficial observations were offered.

As previously stated, Foote Mineral Company has traditionally relied on non-captive mines for a portion of its ore requirement. In 1965 we paid approximately \$26 per long dry ton for a Russian run of the mine ore, F. O. B., Burnside, Louisiana, U. S. A. Due to the magnesium content of the Russian ore, we required other ores in the mix fed to the furnaces. Each year since 1965 the price of non-captive ores has increased. I understand we will be obliged to pay in excess of \$56 per long dry ton in 1970. This is over twice the prices paid pre-sanctions. This penalty in

chrome ore prices adds to the cost of producing low carbon ferrochrome approximately 4.5 cents per pound of contained chrome, or 16.3% of the current selling price. Such a dramatic increase in cost contributes to our inflationary spiral rather than being a result of inflation. In making these comments I note that manganese ore, an equally strategic raw material not available in the United States, has decreased in price during the same period of time.

Apart from the cost of non-captive ore, I urge consideration of the impending shortfall of ore which will likely occur in 1971 and beyond if Rhodesian ore is effectively blocked from the marketplace. In support of this statement I point out that there is a strong possibility that Russian ore allocated to the U.S. marketplace in 1970 may fall short of the demand. I further note that our stockpile reserves are not inexhaustible.

I believe some comments on the total chrome problem relating to sanctions are germane to your deliberations.

Based on an estimated consumption of 850,000 short tons of high grade chrome ore in 1969, there will be no shortfall. Of the amount required, the Soviet Union and Turkey will provide an estimated 629,000 tons; the contribution from Government stockpiles is expected to be 175,000 tons. Inventories and imports of South African ore will more than satisfy the modest deficit.

However, it is our understanding that all economically usable chrome ore in the excess stockpile has already been committed to the U.S. consuming industry. Beginning in 1971, a shortfall of available ore can be anticipated. Depending on the levels of producer stockpiles and specific purchasing arrangements, all producers of chromium alloys may not be equally affected by the shortfall, but the net effect to the steel industry will be a reduction in the availability of domestically produced ferrochrome products.

We have another concern in attempting to assess the magnitude of the shortfall. As the U.S. Government and the U.S.-based companies rigorously adhere to the intent of the United Nations sanctions and the resultant regulations, it is well known that many other countries party to the same agreements are not so disposed. The fact is that movements of Rhodesian ore to many of our competing friendly nations are increasing. How much and at what rate Rhodesian chrome ore will continue to find its way into world markets at substantially lower prices than those paid for by American industry for ore of a different origin, is difficult to predict. Whether the magnitude of these sales will be adequate to offset the anticipated shortfall by increasing the availability of Russian ore remains to be seen. Yet, regardless of the outcome it is clear that high priced ores will continue to be the only ones available to U.S.-based furnaces.

In our efforts to set an example in international morality we must be mindful of the practical considerations. It is well documented that countries such as Malawi, Botswana and Zambia, as well as others surrounding Southern Rhodesia, are quite realistic, as are those nations buying Rhodesian chrome ore. They point out the need to protect their own economies as justification for their trading behavior. Thus it is that, as we assess alternatives available to us, we must be mindful of the long range pragmatic aspect of any course we steer. To recount a few:

1. No amount of expenditure of U.S. dollars can cause redistribution of the world's high grade chromium deposits.

2. A shortfall of high grade chrome can only further contribute to the spiral of inflation.

3. A prolonged shortfall of chrome guarantees a major disturbance in the raw materials essential to our mobilization base. Above-

ground stockpiles are exhaustible much sooner than known reserves of chrome ore in Rhodesia. Maintenance of our stockpiles, or replenishment of depleted stockpiles, through sources presently available to the United States, seems increasingly remote.

I cannot believe there was ever any intent in our support of the United Nations position on Rhodesia that we jeopardize our national security. Nor do I believe that inequities were foreseen in the administration of that policy which would place upon any American company or segment of American industry a disproportionate share of the cost. In short, I believe we intended to treat ourselves as equitably as we intend to treat the rest of the world.

As we examine our future policy toward Rhodesia, it is to be hoped that we do not pit idealism against pragmatism, but rather temper one with the other. With calm deliberation I believe we can formulate a judicious policy which could well avert an incipient crisis.

TABLE 1.—ESTIMATED FREE WORLD RESERVES AND POTENTIAL RESOURCES OF METALLURGICAL CHROME

	[Thousands long tons]
Republic of South Africa	100,000
South Rhodesia	300,000
Turkey	9,000
United States	400
Philippines	1,500
Finland	0
Canada	0
India	1,200
Malgache Republic	2,000
Cuba	150
Yugoslavia	1,500
Iran	1,000
Greece	375
New Caledonia	600
Japan	250
Sierra Leone	150
Brazil	150
Pakistan	100
Cyprus	100
Other	600
Free world total	419,075

SOURCE: "Mineral Facts and Problems"—1965 edition, Bureau of Mines, bulletin 630.

TABLE 2.—FORECAST GROWTH, METALLURGICAL CHROME ORE AND CHROMIUM CONSUMPTION IN THE UNITED STATES

[Thousands of tons]

	Chrome ore after allowance for scrap		Chromium content after allowance for scrap			
	1968	1973	Percent change	1968	1973	
Stainless steel	525	659	+26	163	205	
Alloy steel	215	157	+26	39	49	
Tool steels <sup>1</sup> (all types)	16	19	+19	5	6	
High temperature and nonferrous alloys	61	87	+43	19	27	
Foundries (metallurgical)	61	84	+38	19	26	
Miscellaneous metallurgical applications <sup>2</sup>	6	10	+67	2	3	
Total	3794	4016	+28	247	316	

<sup>1</sup> Based on production of 96,000 tons of tool steel with an average Cr content of 6 percent.

<sup>2</sup> Includes cutting and wear-resistant materials, welding and hard facing rods and use in other steels.

<sup>3</sup> Total chrome ore requirement is actually lower because of importation of 41,000 tons of Cr in HC and LCFCr in 1968. This is equivalent to 128,000 tons of chromite. No reduction in chromite requirements is made in 1973 forecast because of difficulty of predicting import level.

Note: The projection includes allowance for losses during use of the ferroalloys in metallurgical processing; also includes an additional 10-percent loss for processing chromite into ferroalloys. Average assay of ore for metallurgical uses is 50 percent Cr<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>.

Source: National Research Council and Foote Mineral Co.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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TABLE 3.—CHROMITE IMPORTS FOR CONSUMPTION—46 PERCENT OR MORE Cr<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>  
[In thousand short tons]

	1969, 8 months	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960
Rhodesia	0	0	101	144	244	249	144	234	218	307
Russia	238	335	299	281	242	275	192	36	20	7
Percent	(67)	(69)	(55)	(42)	(36)	(42)	(49)	(6)	(4)	(1)
Turkey	33	59	44	33	42	38	40	171	150	123
South Africa	72	92	95	184	115	64	18	101	54	80
Other	12	0	0	27	33	25	0	35	10	24
Total	355	486	539	669	676	651	394	577	452	541
U.S. consumption of metallurgical chromite	804	866	828	907	832	632	590	662	665	

Note: The yearly differences between above chromite imports and consumption has been made up by imports of ferrochromium alloys, GSA stockpile releases, small amounts of high quality chemical grade chromite and quantities from producer inventories.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Mines Minerals Yearbooks.

## THE NIXON BUDGET MAKES SENSE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the responsibility inherent in President Nixon's budget is clearly in the public interest. I believe it would be detrimental to our Nation's interest for Congress to deliberately plunge the Federal budget into deficit status. Therefore, I submit for the RECORD a very timely editorial commentary in the Wednesday, February 4, Chicago Today, in which this publication emphasizes the commonsense of the Nixon budget.

The editorial follows:

[From the Chicago Today, Feb. 4, 1970]

## THE NIXON BUDGET MAKES SENSE

Like many others, we'd have liked to see more of the new budget devoted to human resources. That category is given more than military needs only on paper, since it includes veterans' benefits and programs—the cost of which was incurred by the military. Still, we can't agree with those who believe President Nixon has surrendered to the Pentagon. His budget is as advertised. Mr. Nixon himself, far from claiming miracles, admitted at the outset that it was only a beginning—a start toward "reordering our national priorities."

In its simplest breakdown, the 200.8-billion-dollar budget allows 41 cents of each dollar for human needs thru welfare, anti-crime, anti-pollution, and other programs; 36 cents for national defense; 10 cents for physical resources; 7 cents for interest; 5 cents for all other programs [foreign aid, for example]; and 1 cent for debt reduction.

That is a reasonable apportionment, considering military commitments that can't be shrugged off. Yet the budget has met instant criticism, ranging from the view that the President is spending too much money to the belief that he should be spending more.

There is some merit in the charge that the administration is covering up Viet Nam costs, which were not broken down. But we can buy the explanation that Nixon needs flexibility in shaping Viet Nam policy. At any rate, it can't be any worse to hide the figures than to fabricate them, which at times has seemed to be a full-time profession in the defense department.

By approving the programs he has asked for, Congress can see to it that the surplus is maintained. Or Congress can tinker with allocations on its own, for good or bad. In either case, the result cannot be attributed to Nixon.

In our view, the important fact about this budget is that it doesn't contemplate spending money that doesn't exist. That practice has been tried before, and it has only served as prologue to the present inflationary mess. Mr. Nixon's more tightfisted method seems to us a promising antidote.

## DO AWAY WITH INTERIOR PLUMBING

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to point out that Will Muller of the Detroit News of February 5, 1970, has a far superior remedy for locating drugs in a person's household than the "no-knock" of the Senate. Mr. Muller suggests that we do away with interior plumbing. As anyone can see his argument is both logical and reasonable. I recommend it for your reading, and include it herewith:

PLUMBING SEEN AS LAW ENFORCEMENT KEY  
(By Will Muller)

From all the current debate in Washington, it's easy to see that the real law enforcement problem in this country is plumbing.

The U.S. senators and the U.S. representatives are now split into contending factions known as the "Knocks" and the "No-Knocks."

The "no-knocks" want a new kind of search warrant law. Under it, officers could kick in the door of an establishment without knocking, dart through the wreckage and guard the bathroom and the sink.

The vision of a policeman kicking down a householder's door and rushing into his bathroom without learning if the coast is clear is shocking to the "Knocks." They want the search warrant rules kept as they are.

It seems the present procedure for exercising a search warrant is a matter of etiquette these days. The officer knocks on the door. If it opens, he asks if the head of the household is in and disposed to receive company.

Next, the householder steps out on the porch to talk to the officer. They exchange generalities about the prospects for more snow and whether Lenore Romney really wants to be a U.S. senator.

After that, the officer produces his warrant. The householder goes back in his quarters to find his reading glasses. While all this protocol is being followed, others inside the house are flushing the evidence—pot, hashish, heroin and LSD—into the plumbing and washing it away.

If this is so, time has gentled police officers since the days when they were harrying boot-leggers under the Volstead act.

In those days, officers even were careless as to the address shown on a warrant. If it wasn't the first place where they kicked in the door, they just worked their way down the street.

Even in those times, however, plumbing was a handicap to law enforcement. There was, for instance, the occasion when the vice squad raided a blind tiger not far from where this is being written.

At the appointed hour, the sheriff blew a whistle. A policeman who would have dwarfed Alex Karras charged the door. Behind it at the exact second, the proprietor's wife, shaped like a sack of russet potatoes and several times as heavy, was desperately trying to empty the evidence in the sink.

The force of the patrolman's charge struck her rear quarters and catapulted her into the sink. There she sat, some 200 pounds of disheveled profanity, spitting defiance until the last of the moonshine gurgled away.

Gone is the harder era when a raiding agent was asked on the witness stand how he gained entrance to a place selling forbidden spirits.

"We used the Big Key," he replied.

"The Big Key?" queried the judge. "What's that?"

"An ax," answered the officer.

The moral of all this is that the U.S. attorney general's office has known since the days of Mabel Walker Willebrandt that running water in the house is only protection for the evilly inclined. The bathtub, once the status symbol of prosperity, truly it a bolt hole for organized crime.

A recent president adjured his people to think of what they could do to improve the country. Today, the record of the Washington debate shows, the answer is simple.

Abandon interior plumbing.

## NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, this week, February 8 through 14, is Negro History Week—an occasion which has been observed in Los Angeles for a number of years. In view of this observance, I would like to pay homage to these Americans whose participation in our Nation's development began in 1619.

The history of the black man in the United States, although often neglected in our history books, is one of great accomplishments that have improved life in America. Due to the publicity and public adulation received by sports heroes and celebrities, the accomplishments of black athletes, musicians, and singers have often overshadowed the accomplishments of black scientists, inventors, educators, businessmen, and religious leaders.

However, throughout the history of the United States, the black American has made his mark and helped determine the outcome of events. Thus, any history of America must include the Negro.

During the American Revolution, some 5,000 Negroes served in the Continental Army and Navy. The first American to die in the cause of freedom was Crispus

Attucks, a black man shot by the British at the "Boston Massacre" in 1770.

A black pioneer, Jean Baptiste Point DuSable, founded the settlement of Chicago. Another black pioneer, Matthew Henson, was with Adm. Robert E. Peary when he discovered the North Pole in 1909.

Nearly a quarter of a million black soldiers and sailors served in the Union forces during the Civil War. Twenty of these men were recognized for valor and received the Nation's highest medal for heroism—the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Incidentally, just 6 months ago, I had the honor of participating in the ceremonies paying tribute to the late Pfc. James Anderson, Jr., of Compton—the first black marine to receive the Congressional Medal of Honor.

In the Old West, there were more than 5,000 black cowboys. A black man, Bill Pickett, invented the art of "bulldogging." James P. Beckworth was a black frontiersman who excelled in trapping and hunting.

The first black physician in America was James Derham, who established a prosperous medical practice in Philadelphia. The first doctor to perform open heart surgery was black—Dr. Daniel Hale Williams. Dr. Charles Drew, a black surgeon, invented the blood bank and became the world's greatest authority on blood plasma.

The achievements of Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver are well known to students, but how many Americans have read the works of Alexandre Dumas, the author of "The Count of Monte Cristo," and realized that he was of African descent, as was Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Alexander Jushkin. Black Americans such as Paul Laurence Dunbar and Charles Waddell Chestnutt have left their mark in the literary annals of America.

Leaders in the movement for civil rights have admired such leaders as Frederick Douglass, and of course, the outstanding leader, the late Martin Luther King, Jr.

Black men have prospered in the field of business. C. C. Spaulding developed an insurance company that had assets worth \$33 million when he died. S. B. Fuller set up a firm in Chicago that manufactures toiletries and cosmetics and distributes them by door-to-door sales people. The Fuller Products Co., is one of the largest black-owned businesses in America.

The residents of Los Angeles know the fine architecture of Paul Williams, who designed the Beverly Wilshire Hotel, a Saks Fifth Avenue store, office buildings, and mansions. He ranks high among architects of the world.

The list of accomplishments by black men and women in the sports and entertainment field is endless. The record shows that the black men and women have been in the forefront. Whatever our history has been; whatever our future brings; the black man has made outstanding contributions and made this country and this world a better place to live.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### VICTIMS OF CRIMES ARE AIDED BY HAWAII'S MODERN COMPENSATION LAW

#### HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the alarming increase in the number of serious crimes committed in the United States clearly points to the need for strengthening our local law enforcement agencies to provide for more effective crime prevention and detection.

Concerned as we are with a total attack on crime, a problem of equal magnitude which must be considered is that of the plight of victims of violent crimes who suffer physical injuries or devastating economic loss.

My colleagues will be interested to know that Hawaii is at the forefront among the States in showing society's concern for the innocent victims of crime by providing compensation for their losses through legislation.

In 1967 the Hawaii Legislature passed an act which provided for "compensation to victims of crime and indemnifying citizens in connection with crime prevention."

Hawaii's Criminal Injuries Compensation Commission recently submitted a report to the Governor and to the current Hawaii Legislature summarizing its first full year of work. In that report, it was revealed that 47 awards totaling \$111,945 had been decided by the commission under this law designed to give financial aid to persons suffering from the consequences of criminal acts.

Wilfred S. Pang, executive secretary of the commission, in a recent interview with Honolulu Star-Bulletin writer Helen Altonn, commented that:

The biggest problem is that people are just not coming forward—primarily because of ignorance, not knowing that we have this legislation.

In order that the Members of Congress and others may be better informed about Hawaii's modern and farsighted approach to society's No. 1 issue, I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article from the Thursday, January 22, 1970, Honolulu Star-Bulletin, entitled, "Victims of Crimes Reminded of Compensation Law".

#### VICTIMS OF CRIMES REMINDED OF COMPENSATION LAW

(By Helen Altonn)

On New Year's Eve, 1968, Warren Lee Gales and his wife, Monique, were shot to death by his ex-wife in a car on Mikahala Way, leaving Mrs. Gales' mother virtually penniless.

Because she was dependent upon her son-in-law, Hawaii's Criminal Injuries Compensation Commission has awarded Mrs. Berta Fiebig, now in Germany, \$10,000.

The 61-year-old woman will receive a lump sum of \$1,000 and the balance in \$150 monthly installments.

This is one of 47 awards totaling \$111,945 decided by the commission last year under the 1967 State law designed to give financial help to persons suffering from criminal acts.

Claimants need not be residents, but the crime must occur in the Islands and applications must be filed within 18 months of the date of the crime.

Seven recipients of 1969 awards were visitors here at the time of the crimes.

They include two men and two women from Alberta, Canada, who were injured fleeing from a carload of hoodlums at Kaena Point in July 1967.

The four awards, including compensation for medical expenses, pain, suffering, nervous and mental shock, totaled \$60, \$145, \$268 and \$120.

The commission has submitted a report to the Governor and the Legislature summarizing its first full year of work (only three awards totaling \$1,000 were made in 1968.)

The Legislature also must appropriate money to pay the awards—so far only on paper.

Commenting on the report in an interview, Wilfred S. Pang, executive secretary of the commission, said:

"The biggest problem is that people are just not coming forward—primarily because of ignorance, not knowing that we have this legislation."

He said only a small percentage of victims of what appear to be eligible crimes under the compensation law are filing applications.

The commission had 13 applications during its six months of operation in 1968 and 84 last year. It decided 50 of last year's applications—denying three—leaving 42 pending, plus 11 that came in this month.

The commission is meeting every week to keep up with the workload, Pang said. "We are bending over backward to help the victims."

Six of the awards made last year were for the maximum compensation permitted under the law—\$10,000.

Pang said, however, "This doesn't mean we will end up being out-of-pocket that much."

In many cases, such as Mrs. Fiebig's, awards were made on the basis of periodic payments with a stipulation that the unpaid balance will revert to the State if the applicant dies.

"We're trying to prevent people from squandering the money and going on welfare," Pang explained.

He noted, incidentally, that Mrs. Fiebig might have been entitled to another \$10,000 in compensation as a result of her daughter's death if her daughter had been employed and contributing to her support.

Since she was dependent upon her son-in-law, rather than her daughter, her second claim was denied.

Assault and battery offenses comprised about 65 per cent of all applications. Homicides (murder and manslaughter) were the second major source of claims—about 18 per cent.

Other crimes involved were rape, assault with intent to rape, carnal abuse of a female under 12, unlawful use of explosives and miscellaneous (generally involving the use of an automobile.)

Only eight applications were from the Neighbor Islands. To save costs, the applicants were brought to Honolulu for hearings rather than the four-man commission going to them, Pang said.

The awards averaged about \$2,382, with the most money allotted to cover medical expenses and financial loss to dependents of dead victims.

Pang pointed out that the law provides for recovery of the payment from the offender and the Attorney General's Office was alerted to cases where this might be possible.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

To date, however, no action has been taken to collect any money from offenders.

Among those receiving the highest compensation under the law, besides Mrs. Fiebig, were Mrs. Ernest Joy Sr., and her son Ernest.

Mrs. Joy's husband was killed and she and her son were injured in a shooting in their Date Street apartment last February.

John D. Bento, former Little League leader and a Wahiawa "man of the year," was charged with the first-degree murder of Joy and the attempted first-degree murder of Mrs. Joy and the Joys' son.

Mrs. Joy was awarded \$10,000 by the Compensation Commission, of which \$5,225 will be paid in a lump sum to cover medical, funeral and burial expenses.

The balance will be paid at the rate of \$200 a month with no requirement that any of it revert to the State in the event of her death.

Mrs. Joy also was awarded \$1,184 for medical expenses and \$900 for pain and suffering from her injuries and her son will receive \$411.

The other \$10,000 awards were made to:

The 50-year-old wife of a man who was shot to death. She will receive a \$4,000 lump sum and the rest at the rate of \$100 per month.

A 50-year-old woman who suffered severe head injuries when she was robbed and assaulted by an unknown assailant while walking to work early one morning.

Her medical expenses totaled \$8,561 and loss of earnings amounted to \$2,160—so even the \$10,000 isn't enough to compensate, Pang pointed out.

She will receive \$5,000 in a lump sum and the rest in \$100 monthly installments.

The mother of a 45-year-old man who was killed in his apartment by an unknown assailant. Now living in England, she will receive \$271 in a lump sum and the balance at the rate of \$100 a month.

## OVERDENSE TIMBER ISSUE

## HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the February 7-9, 1970, weekend issue of the Christian Science Monitor carried a fine editorial on the so-called National Forest Conservation and Management Act of 1969, H.R. 12025.

So that my colleagues will have an opportunity to be aware of the Monitor's view on this legislation, I insert the text of the editorial at this point in the RECORD:

## OVERDENSE TIMBER ISSUE

Vote on the timber bill was postponed by the House of Representatives this week. The postponement indicated that the National Forest Conservation and Management Act of 1969, as the bill is called, had suffered a sharp setback in support. Once thought sure of passage, its chances appear to have dimmed.

On balance, we feel the bill should be defeated when it is finally brought to the floor. The commercial timber interests and building groups favor the bill. It would increase timber cutting on 97 million acres of national forest land already set aside for commercial production. A main part of the cut-more-sooner group's rationale is that the United States is going to need vastly more lumber for housing. Also, increased yields could help keep the price of lumber down.

This help-the-nation's-housing-shortage

argument—even given the need to build 26 million new units by 1978—is not convincing. In the first place, prices for lumber products have fallen to nearly half what they were a year ago, with no increased cutting permission, indicating that supply is not the only factor in lumber costs. But more basically, is it wise to trade forests for housing?

The conservationists who lobbied against the bill raised some significant questions. The bill appears to favor the use of national forest lands for logging, at the expense of recreational, watershed protection, fish and wildlife protection, and other noncommercial uses. Also, the bill might let the loggers get out of the "sustained yield" edict written into the national forest management act of 1960.

However, we believe the main reason for holding off passage of the bill now on the brink of House action is that such matters as how America's remaining forest lands are to be used should not be decided, as in the past, by lobby muscle and public relations campaigns alone. Frankly, the claims of neither the commercial nor the conservation interests are absolutely clear.

What the nation needs is a new audit of its forestland and timber resources. It needs the advice of timber-yield and woodlands management experts not so clearly in the camp of the cut and don't-cut antagonists.

The history of the timber-use controversy has grown overdone with allegations and mistrust. Perhaps under the President's new Council of Environmental Advisers or another independent commission, a balanced and prudent program for forest use could be put forth.

## WRC-TV SPEAKS OUT IN A STRONG, CLEAR VOICE

## HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, if there is one single message that has reached each member of this body's Select Committee on Crime in its hearings and studies of the past 8 months, it is this: without citizen awareness and community action very little can be achieved from even the most carefully planned efforts to reduce and curtail the escalating crime rate in this country.

In Washington, the complex and multifaceted problem of crime and the unending search for reasonable solutions is as evident and troublesome as in any other major city in the land. But there are hopeful signs.

Just recently, it was my pleasure to note the adoption of an editorial opinion commentary by Washington's WRC-TV, channel 4.

The editorial voice of WRC is Bryson Rash. His comments on the news in behalf of the station are informative and perceptive.

I was particularly impressed by the editorial comment of last week in which WRC endorsed legislation to improve the swiftness and certainty of justice in our courts.

Speaking in behalf of the station, Mr. Rash said:

There is no sense in stuffing one end of a pipeline—called jail, prison or reformatory—with convicted criminals and treat them in such a manner that they come out

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of the other end of the pipeline still criminals and too often back in the pipeline.

We support also, as a most important part of the entire law enforcement system, the upgrading of the correctional institutions of the District—in terms of money, additional personnel and program approval.

I could not agree more. There is no more single important matter in the entire criminal justice system than the subject of reform of our correctional institutions and rehabilitation methods. Half of those released from prison are rearrested.

If we can cut down on the alarming rate of recidivism, we will have made a valuable contribution in the saving of lives and property.

WRC-TV is making a valuable contribution by speaking out in a strong, clear voice on these issues.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD the first three of what hopefully will be a continuous series of WRC-TV editorials:

## CRIME IN WASHINGTON

This is Volume One, Number One, in a series of editorials which will serve to express the opinion of WRC-TV on the triumphs and problems that affect all of us in the Washington community.

We believe—that the great and wonderful things that happen in this community should be singled out for praise and public acclaim.

We believe—that this community is beset with all of the difficult problems that affect every large urban area in the nation. WRC-TV will examine them with candor and urge that they be solved.

We believe—that we should be constructive. There is no place in Washington for another voice to do nothing but "view with alarm."

We believe—that WRC-TV should use its voice to advocate a course of action and to prod the community and its leaders toward a desirable goal. You may or may not agree with a position we may take.

We believe—that with the right of WRC-TV to present its editorial opinion, goes the responsibility to provide spokesmen for significant opposing viewpoints a reasonable opportunity for reply.

We believe—that the offering of editorials is separate and distinct from the news function of WRC-TV.

We believe—that our voice should be raised only when it is necessary and useful to speak out on a subject that is worth your time and thought.

And so we begin—with your help and cooperation, we will work to bring about a better and more viable Washington community.

The President calls it tragic—Members of Congress term it a disgrace—the Mayor cites it as the city's biggest problem.

Too many people get a sort of vicarious thrill tossing off the ominous phrase—"Washington is the crime capital of the nation."

There is too much rhetoric and not enough action by people.

To commit a crime is to commit an anti-social act. It is also an anti-social act to fail to provide a proper education for the young, to deny anyone equal opportunity of employment, to discriminate against any citizen because of race, color, or creed.

The differences between the two forms of anti-social action is one of degree of violence.

Crime is the problem of the entire Washington community. It cannot be avoided by fleeing to the suburbs, for crime will reach you there. Or it will destroy the city where you work and earn your money.

What can you do about it? The first thing is to rid yourself of the notion that you can build a chain link fence around the District and issue passes to come into the city or leave it.

You can involve yourself as an individual or group in seeing to it that the basic causes of crime are modified now and eliminated as rapidly as possible.

You can pay your fair share of taxes—as part of the entire Washington community.

It will be cheaper to meet the issue now than pay the cost of the fortress city and the care and feeding of public charges.

We'll go into other aspects of the problem in other editorials.

(This editorial was broadcast at various times during the day on February 4, 1970 and February 5, 1970.)

Most authorities agree that the surest way to contain the crime problem is swift and certain justice.

In the District, that is not available now.

There is no need to go into the sorry statistics of the backlog of cases or the delay in bringing to trial those accused of a crime.

The Senate has passed and the House is almost certain to approve, the administration's proposal to reorganize the court system in the District.

The measure would transfer from the Federal District court to a new D.C. Superior court, jurisdiction over all local criminal cases and major civil actions.

It provides also for folding in the Juvenile court and sets up more efficient methods for handling judicial business, including a number of new judges to end the present backlog and insure speedy justice.

WRC-TV supports this legislation.

We support also, as a most important part of the entire law enforcement system, the upgrading of the correctional institutions of the District—in terms of money, additional personnel and program approval.

There is no sense in stuffing one end of a pipeline—called jail, prison, or reformatory—with convicted criminals and treat them in such a manner that they come out of the other end of the pipeline still criminals and too often back in the pipeline.

The cycle must be broken. The know how is present—all it takes is money and will.

It is the kind of investment where you pay now and save later.

More on crime at another time.

(This editorial was broadcast at various times on February 5 and 6, 1970.)

#### NIXON SHOWS STATUE AS A TRUE STATESMAN

#### HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, Webster's dictionary defines a statesman as "one who exercises political leadership wisely and without narrow partisanship in the general interest." It is a significant tribute to his leadership that numerous editorials have used the word "statesman" to describe President Nixon.

I recommend to the attention of my colleagues an editorial from the Cleveland Plain Dealer entitled "Nixon Shows Statute as a True Statesman":

#### NIXON SHOWS STATUE AS A TRUE STATESMAN

(By John P. Leacacos)

WASHINGTON.—President Richard Nixon did a superb job in his first State of the Union speech. He began to show stature as

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

a true statesman, viz, a leader who can combine the arts of politics to encompass the objectives of a nation.

The President's White House intimates in the several days preceding the address, which has been months in gestation, dropped the word that the speech was one of the great challenges that Nixon faced in his career, and that the President so regarded it himself. And it is only fair to add that the hints of the contents of the speech as given to me personally at least two weeks ago were actually borne out by the actual delivery, which, of course speaks well for the candor of the informants.

This reporter by pure chance had a further enlightening contact with the creation-in-process of the speech several days previously when I was sitting in the office of Henry A. Kissinger, the President's assistant for national security affairs.

Kissinger had read various drafts of the speech and he was perusing the latest version of the moment. He marked those pages he liked with a check mark, those he did not care for particularly with an x, and left unmarked those he was neutral about. Kissinger and I then resumed our conversation.

Some minutes later the phone rang and I was asked to step out of the room; the President was on the phone. Naturally I know nothing of what was talked about, but I do know the main topic at the White House for many days was THE SPEECH and I would guess that the President was asking Kissinger about points that the latter had made.

The impression I would like to stress in general is the President's sensitivity to responsible comment and his open-mindedness about revising his own views in the significant nuances that count. In that sense, the speech was a total administration effort, but above all, it was a reflection of everybody to the guidelines laid down by the President's own directions and instincts.

In the liberal rhetoric and conservative anchors of the Nixon proposals could also be seen the fine Irish hand of "Pat" Moynihan, the lone Democrat in the highest echelons of the presidential circles. This does not mean that Democrat Moynihan sold the President a bill of goods, but that the President's vision and needs made use of Moynihan.

All these is prefatory to a series of points the President made which were in the nature of the fine print, but highly illuminating nevertheless. Let us recall several phrases between the declarative sentences. For instance: "harnessing the vast energies . . . new beginnings and explorations . . . unfinished business . . . challenge of perfecting . . . the world as it is (as basis for policies) . . . how to use that growth . . . the effectiveness of government . . . reform of the institutions of U.S. government . . . redirect growth . . . national growth policy (as a national plan)."

In brief, the President in his report to the Congress exemplified the two aspects of a President's function that often are overlooked in the purely partisan political analysis. One was the visions he disclosed in his capacity as the leader of all the people, irrespective of party. The other—and the phrases quoted above are directly pertinent—have to do with managing and administering the affairs of the American society in the most efficacious manner so that desired objectives can be achieved in reality.

It is perhaps in this aspect of tidying up the messes of the past where 400 urban programs went off in almost as many directions; where billions were frittered away with no overall goal of coordinating vast and contradictory approaches; where no concepts of how to do the job were developed, that President Nixon might leave his permanent mark, among others.

Problems have been left to molder for close to 100 years. Programs have been left in abeyance like a pier in the midst of no-

where. Self-interests have never been evaluated and arranged. Priorities and systems have never been organized.

As a noted published remarked the other day, "If Nixon can bring modern management to the art of government as Alfred Sloan did for the General Motors, the greatest exemplar of modern capitalism, he will build the base and machinery with which we can truly create a new nation for the next centuries."

#### A ROMAN GENERAL'S OPINION OF "MILITARY CRITICS"

#### HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, in voicing his concern over words and actions of elected officials, a constituent of mine made the suggestion that Congress might benefit from a reading of Lucius Aemilius Paulus' address to the Roman assembly.

I read the statement, and I agree with Capt. Donald P. Couch, Fort Benning, Ga., who wrote to me:

I am deeply concerned, as are many others, over the manner in which governmental figures in the House of Representatives and the Senate are criticizing and destroying our determination and incentive to defend our country and freedom as well as our methods of combating communist aggression in the world today. . . . I believe that it would be appropriate to read . . . a copy of Lucius Aemilius Paulus' address to the Members of Congress as food for thought. The ideals contained in the address not only pertain to military critics, but apply to everyone who would criticize or condemn our leaders' actions and the laws of this great country without being in a position to know all the truth and facts.

I agree wholeheartedly with Captain Couch, and thus follows the statement of the Roman Consul, Lucius Aemilius, some 2,000 years ago:

#### A ROMAN GENERAL'S OPINION OF "MILITARY CRITICS"

2137 YEARS AGO.

Lucius Aemilius Paulus, a Roman Consul, who had been selected to conduct the war with the Macedonians, B.C. 168, went out from the Senate-house into the assembly of the people and addressed them as follows:

"In every circle, and, truly, at every table, there are people who lead armies into Macedonia; who know where the camp ought to be placed; what posts ought to be occupied by troops; when and through what pass that territory should be entered; where magazines should be formed; how provisions should be conveyed by land and sea; and when it is proper to engage the enemy, when to lie quiet.

And they not only determine what is best to be done, but if any thing is done in any other manner than what they have pointed out, they arraign the consul as, if he were on trial before them.

These are great impediments to those who have the management of affairs; for everyone cannot encounter injurious reports with the same constancy and firmness of mind as Fabius did, who chose to let his own ability be questioned through the folly of the people, rather than to mismanage the public business with a high reputation.

I am not one of those who think that commanders ought at no time to receive advice; on the contrary, I should deem that

man more proud than wise, who regulated every proceeding by the standard of his own single judgment.

What then is my opinion?

That commanders should be counselled, chiefly, by persons of known talent; by those who have made the art of war their particular study, and whose knowledge is derived from experience; from those who are present at the scene of action, who see the country, who see the enemy; who see the advantages that occasions offer, and who, like people embarked in the same ship, are sharers of the danger.

If, therefore, any one thinks himself qualified to give advice respecting the war which I am to conduct, which may prove advantageous to the public, let him not refuse his assistance to the state, but let him come with me into Macedonia.

He shall be furnished with a ship, a horse, a tent; even his travelling charges shall be defrayed.

But if he thinks this too much trouble and prefers the repose of a city life to the toils of war, let him not, on land, assume the office of a pilot.

The city, in itself, furnishes abundance of topics for conversation; let it confine its passion for talking within its own precincts, and rest assured that we shall pay no attention to any councils but such as shall be framed within our camp."

Livy, (\*Titus Livius) History of Rome, Vol. 7, Book XLIV, Chapter 22. Translation by George Baker, A.M.

JUDGE GIULIANO—ESSEX COUNTY CIVIC LEADER

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, last week Newark lost one of its most devoted and long-time public servants. And I lost a friend.

Judge Anthony Giuliano's service to his community spanned a period of some 50 years. During his many years in public life he befriended all who knew him. He was a very religious man who lived the tenet of the Good Samaritan.

Even though we faced one another in my first successful congressional campaign, Judge Giuliano remained one of the kindest, most thoughtful, and most generous men that I have ever had the privilege to know.

Judge Giuliano served in World War I and entered the practice of law in 1920. His legislative career began in 1927 when he represented Essex County in the State assembly. He then served as assistant U.S. attorney from 1933 until 1937. In 1952, he became a city magistrate, then served as Essex County clerk, and by the early 1960's was elected to the Newark City Council. In 1968, he was chosen to become a municipal judge.

Msgr. Joseph Dooling of St. Francis Xavier Church, in eulogizing Judge Giuliano, stated that he was "a servant of the people—who never put money above his service to his fellow man. I am glad he was my friend. This church

\* Titus Livius (Livy) born 59 B.C., died A.D. 17.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

in its beauty and grandeur stands as a memorial to his personal effort." Such sentiments as Monsignor Dooling's are typical of the many eloquent comments spoken on behalf of our departed friend.

I certainly extend my deepest sympathy and compassion to the family and hope that the burden of their loss will be eased by the knowledge of the love and esteem in which he was held by his friends and neighbors.

### SCIENCE FOR PEACE

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, one of the extraordinary aspects of our society is the American genius for scientific discovery. We were thrilled by the moon shots, marveled at the feat of seeing men walk on the moon, and are continually stunned by the miraculous results of our technology.

But what has this scientific enterprise contributed toward making our planet a viable, peaceful environment? I am afraid the answer is, precious little. For no one has seen fit to give priority to scientifically researching the causes and prevention of war, and those human impulses compelling mankind toward human conflict.

In this respect, I would like to call my colleagues' attention to excerpts from an excellent address by the secretary of the Peace Act Advisory Council, John A. Mathews, which provides some thought-provoking ideas about enlisting the resources of behavioral and scientific research in pursuit of world stability where nations could live in peace:

PEACE, TOO, NEEDS SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH  
(An address by John A. Mathews, secretary of the Peace Act Advisory Council, to the annual meeting of the Lisle Fellowship at Washington, D.C., January 31, 1970)

Scientific research was the key to development of atomic energy—for war and peace. It was the key to all the modern weapons of war, to electronic computers, and their use in war and peace. Most recently, scientific research made it possible for men to visit the moon and return. With this astonishing record, wouldn't you think we would try to use it for the prevention of war?

Strangely, no President of the United States has yet budgeted for any significant amount of scientific research for the prevention of war. No Secretary of State has yet requested any significant amount of funds for such research by his Department. No Congress has yet authorized or appropriated any significant amount of funds for research on the peaceful resolution of international conflict.

No member of the President's Science Advisory Committee, no Director of the National Science Foundation, no President of the National Academy of Science, and no President of the Association for the Advancement of Science has yet recommended to the President, to the Secretary of State, or to the Congress that any significant amount of funds be appropriated for research on the prevention of war.

I make these assertions without proof that

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all of them are true, but with a devout wish that someone can contradict them.

Now, of course, some Government money has been used for this purpose, so the allegation hinges on whether or not the amount has been significant. In fiscal year 1969 which ended last June 30, our Federal Government obligated over \$17 billion for scientific research and development. Even excluding the amount for development, the remainder—almost \$6 billion—was obligated for what the National Science Foundation defines as scientific research.

How did our Government spend this money? From statistics gathered by the Government, I have deduced that more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  was for the means and methods of warfare. More than  $\frac{1}{4}$  was for the exploration of space. And more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  was combatting disease, developing atomic energy, and improving agriculture.

Less than 7% of the developing atomic energy, and improving agriculture.

Less than 7% of the Government's research money was devoted to studying the behavior of human beings. . . .

But before we look further to discover what has been spent for research on the prevention of war, let us note that this \$2.6 million is less than a half of a tenth of one percent of the entire amount spent by the Federal Government for scientific research. . . .

Any feeling that behavioral research is not worth its cost, should be easily dispelled by an examination of the Defense Department's budget for such research. In fiscal 1969, it spent many millions of dollars—in sharp contrast to the \$125,000 which the Department of State allocated for this purpose in that year.

For anyone interested enough to investigate for himself, there are some political studies which have employed scientific techniques, and which have obtained independently verifiable results. To cite one, I mention a project sponsored by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency about five years ago. Prof. Karl Deutsch of M.I.T. and a group of his associates, surveyed the attitude of French and German elites toward arms control and disarmament with view to determining the future policy of these nations. The evidence examined included extensive interviews, a survey of proposals for arms control in Europe, mass opinion data, analysis of the content of newspapers and periodicals, and data about the actual behavior of European states and populations in regard to international transactions. One of their conclusions was that the French electorate would strongly support President DeGaulle's opposition to United States' domination of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Within a year of this determination, France withdrew its troops from NATO's military establishment and required all NATO troops in France to come under control of the French military establishment or else leave the country.

The techniques employed by Professor Deutsch and his associates could be applied to other knotty problems. For example:

Some highly-respected economists believe that currency exchange rates should not be fixed by government but should be allowed to fluctuate as prices do in a free market. Scientific research involving simulation, gaming, and attitude survey could be used to explore the desirability of doing this.

Many highly-respected economists believe that everyone would benefit from completely free trade. The problem is how to attain it. Some of these further believe that a nation would benefit through removal of its own barriers to trade even though other nations do not reciprocate. Scientific research could be applied to this problem.

There is evidence that in spite of foreign aid, poor nations are becoming poorer while

rich nations are becoming richer. Scientific research should be applied to this problem—first to verify that it exists and then to solve it.

Exploitation of ocean resources is growing at a rapid rate. Millions of dollars have been appropriated for this in the United States which has also recently created a council to coordinate this kind of activity in U.S. agencies. Malta—one of the newer nations—has proposed that control of ocean resources be vested in the United Nations but Congressional hearings revealed considerable opposition to this in the United States. A report of the new council clearly recognizes the political problem but allocates a minuscule portion of its resources to the solution. Political research is required.

The European Economic Community was created for the express purpose of leading to eventual European union. Elite attitude surveys conducted in France and Germany during the past several years indicate that progress toward union has stopped. Further progress of the European Economic Community is heavily dependent upon its relations with other international organizations such as the European Free Trade Area, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Western European Union, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Since the United States is a member of two of these organizations, and since its policy is to favor a union of Europe, there is no reason why it could not support research to seek a solution. . . .

Research on modification of the weather has been going on for some time. If it succeeds on a substantial scale, political research will be required to avoid its becoming yet another weapon of warfare. . . .

The development of new ways and means—new political structure—which could prevent international conflicts, will require massive scientific political research. Surely the results sought is worthy of an effort at least as massive as our exploration of space. The latter—which included over \$19 billion just to put a man on the moon—is based on the general welfare clause of our Constitution. While there is substantial doubt that the space program has in fact benefitted the people generally, surely there can be no doubt that an equally massive program of peace research—research for the prevention of war—could clearly benefit not only the people of the United States but those of the whole world.

A step in this direction was begun about a year ago when Representative Halpern and Senator Hartke introduced the Peace Act Bills. These identical bills call for a Secretary of Peace in the Cabinet and for transfer of existing agencies to his administration. The Peace Corps, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Agency for International Development, the International Agricultural Development Service, and those functions of the Department of State which relate to the specialized agencies of the U.N. would be transferred to a new department—the Department of Peace.

The Bills would also create a Joint Congressional Committee on Peace and International Cooperation, and thus restore to the Congress some of the powers which have been gradually lost to the President. The Bills would also create an International Peace Institute to train young people for professional peace careers as we have for generations trained military leaders in the service academies.

Research on the peaceful resolution of international conflict—now so sadly neglected by the Government and private institutions—will be a principal responsibility of the Department of Peace. Such research will be sponsored and fostered by the Department in

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the same manner as war research by the Defense Department. Furthermore, the cooperation of other nations in this will be sought.

If this seems novel, you will be amazed to learn that the idea of a Department of Peace was first put forth by a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Dr. Benjamin Rush. It was later published by a distinguished black mathematician and astronomer, Benjamin Banneker. The current Peace Act Bills are the latest and most comprehensive of many legislative attempts to create such an office over the past 35 years.

The creation of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in 1961 reflects the wide appeal of the idea as well as the difficulty in implementing it. ACDA had the support of former President Eisenhower and President Kennedy, of former and current Government agency heads and a roster of illustrious statesmen, scientists, military experts and legislators. Everyone agreed on the inadequacy of the existing government structure for waging peace, but the agency which they created was focused mainly on the diplomacy of international arms control. Its most far reaching purpose which is to study the scientific, economic, political, and other factors relating to the prevention of war has been largely neglected.

Recognizing the slender chance of passage of the Peace Act Bills without the kind of support accorded the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, Representatives Halpern and Reuss and Senators Hartke and Hatfield suggested that interested organizations create a council to develop public support for the legislation.

Last May, about 26 private associations including most of the national churches, and organizations devoted to international affairs and intercultural exchange, created the Peace Act Advisory Council. Since then it has grown to 36 members led by Lisle's Founder, Dr. DeWitt C. Baldwin. The Council hopes to inform the public about the potential benefits of vesting individual and corporate interest in research, training, and other ways and means for resolving international conflict without war—and to stimulate a widespread demand for action.

Human intelligence, highly organized and lavishly subsidized, has brought Americans to their present condition of despair. The same intelligence must be employed in the service of hope. The Council is asking the American people to commit to peace what they have always committed to war—their most and their best.

### HORTON COSPONSORS FAMILY PLANNING LEGISLATION RECOMMENDED BY TASK FORCE ON EARTH RESOURCES AND POPULATION

#### HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 10, 1970*

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, February 4, with other members of the Republican Task Force on Earth Resources and Population, I introduced legislation that would amend the Public Health Service Act.

The task force has studied the population growth problem for the past year, and through our research and the testimony of experts who have appeared at our hearings, we have been convinced of the monumental and devastating ef-

fects of our current rate of population growth.

Environmental protection, and the alleviation of pollution demand immediate attention. However, we must treat the cause of environmental problems, rather than the symptoms.

The population growth problem interrelates to the crises of pollution, poverty, and overcrowding. In the light of this impending disaster, and the knowledge of the many unwanted pregnancies, the need for better family planning services is acutely obvious.

This bill which I have introduced, would amend the Public Health Act. It would provide for special project grants for the provision of family planning services, and contraceptive research. This would entail the training of professionals and paraprofessionals in family planning services, projects for operational and demonstrational research, and projects to provide services through both public and nonprofit agencies, institutions, and organizations.

In December, the task force published a report on family planning—"Federal Government Family Planning Programs: Domestic and International"—that was a result of our research into this problem. The bill which I have introduced is a result of recommendations that were made in this report. One of the key points of concern was in the area of contraceptive research, and due to the latest controversy that has arisen over the safety of the pill, we can see that the need for more research is mandatory if we are to provide effective and safe family planning measures for everyone.

This bill would provide for two amendments to the Public Health Service Act. First, it would provide for the Secretary, acting through the Center for Population Research, to make grants to public or nonprofit private agencies, institutions, and organizations, and to enter into contracts with public or private agencies, institutions and organizations, for projects for research into contraceptives. This bill would authorize \$30 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, \$60 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, \$90 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, and \$100 million each for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1974, and June 30, 1975.

Second, the bill would provide for increased appropriations for family planning grants and contracts administered by the Center for Family Planning Services within HEW in the amounts of \$35 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1971, \$70 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1972, \$100 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, \$130 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and \$150 million for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975.

Mr. Speaker, I feel that the necessity of this legislation is obvious. Rhetoric is fine, but it is now time to take action. I urge my colleagues to consider the urgency of our population growth problem, and then to fully support this measure.

## STATEMENT ON IRAQI JEWS

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, on January 27, 1969, 14 Iraqis, nine of them Jews, were publicly hanged in Baghdad and Basra, Iraq. These executions climaxed obviously false charges, mass arrests, tortures, and secret trials by a new regime seeking to strengthen its popular support by engaging in acts of suppression against minorities and providing a "Roman circus" for its blood-thirsty supporters.

The press reported that radio and television, shrill loudspeakers, and martial music exhorted the people to come to Liberation Square to view the hanging bodies identified in death with signs designating which were the Jews. A mob of 500,000 shouted and danced festively, viewing the swinging bodies.

World leaders denounced this barbaric display. Pope Paul VI said that since nine of the victims were "of Jewish extraction, it has generated the suspicions that motives of racism were involved." U.N. Secretary General U Thant and U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers condemned the spectacle of mass public execution as abhorrent and repugnant to the conscience of the world.

Standing in the shadow of these gallows is the terrified remnant of Iraqi Jewry striving for rescue and resettlement. From a 150,000 flourishing community in 1950—of which 98 percent fled, leaving all possessions behind after the 1948 Israeli war of independence—a mere 2,500 persons, mostly women, children, and elderly are left. These 2,500 Jews are required to carry yellow identity cards; are virtually deprived of a livelihood, with business and professional license canceled and ineligible for employment; and are limited in pursuing studies at colleges and universities; they are stripped of all civil rights and liberties, including the barring to them of all telephones. They are under constant surveillance with their assets frozen and are barred from leaving Iraq.

A year has gone by since the public hanging of these Iraqi Jews, and we can best memorialize their deaths by speaking out and condemning the oppressions practiced against minorities everywhere: Political, racial, and religious. Every generation sees new examples of man's inhumanity to man. Today we witness that practiced against the Ibos of Nigeria, the Catholics of Northern Ireland, those Greeks opposed to totalitarian government by the junta colonels, and the Jews still remaining in Arab countries and many of those living in the Soviet Union, to cite only a small part of this awful litany.

We who sit in relative safety and security here in the United States have an obligation to speak out on every occasion against oppression. That obligation applies to those in the highest of places as well as the individual citizen. Unfor-

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tunately, our Government is failing in that responsibility.

Let us keep before us the word of God in Genesis 4: 10 when in speaking to Cain after the murder of Abel he said:

What hast thou done? The voice of your brother's blood cries unto Me from the ground.

The voices of our brothers, black and white, Jew and Christian, subject to oppression are calling to each of us and must be heard—and responded to.

## CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM J. GREEN AFFIRMS SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, speaking in Philadelphia Sunday before a joint meeting of the Northeast Synagogue Council and the Philadelphia Zionist Council, Congressman BILL GREEN spoke for many of us who are concerned about the situation in the Mideast, and the present tenuous policy of the United States.

I am delighted to include the very apt remarks of my able colleague, the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania, at his point in the RECORD. His speech reinforces the pledge that 228 of us made in signing the bipartisan resolution in support of peace in the Middle East on January 29.

Congressman GREEN's remarks follow:  
TOWARD A STABLE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST  
(By Hon. WILLIAM J. GREEN)

Ladies and Gentlemen, last April, on the occasion of Israel's 21st birthday, a resolution was circulated in the Congress. That resolution was signed by 66 out of 100 Senators and 280 out of 435 House Members—far more than a majority in both Chambers.

I am going to read a few key sections of that resolution because I believe it contains the essentials of a correct policy for this country.

"On the occasion of Israel's 21st birthday," it states, "we offer our congratulations to the people of Israel on their progress and it details some of the progress: the absorption of more than 1,250,000 refugees and immigrants; the reclamation of the land; the development of their economy; the cultivation of arts and sciences; the revival of culture and civilization; the preservation and strengthening of democratic institutions; their constructive cooperation in the international community."

"We believe," and this, I think is the crux of the problem, "that the issues which divide Israel and the Arab States, can be resolved in the spirit and service of peace, if the leaders of the Arab States would agree to meet with Israelis in face to face negotiations."

"There is no effective substitute for the procedure. The resolution continued.

"The parties to the conflict must be parties to the settlement."

"We oppose any attempt by outside powers to impose halfway measures not conducive to a permanent peace."

"To ensure direct negotiations and to secure a contractual peace settlement, freely and sincerely signed by the parties themselves, the United States should oppose all pressures upon Israel to withdraw prema-

turely and unconditionally from any of the territories which Israel now administers."

Finally, the resolution states that "the United States should make it clear to all governments in the Near East that we do not condone a state of war, that we persist in the search for a negotiated peace as a major goal of American policy."

I readily signed that resolution.

It was co-sponsored by the Senate Republican Leader, Hugh Scott.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives, John McCormack, signed it.

So did the Republican Leader of the House, Gerald Ford.

The Senate Democratic Whip, Edward Kennedy, endorsed it.

And to demonstrate its broad base of support, it was even signed by Barry Goldwater.

Such overwhelming support should not be surprising.

For more than twenty one years, this nation—and the State of Israel—have been bound together by something greater than power, something bigger than self interest and something more vital than the whims of diplomacy. For twenty one years, we have been united as friends and as brothers . . . as partners in the democratic experiment . . . and as two peoples who suffered the outrages of war and decided, together, that we would never permit such outrage again.

Governments should be extremely careful when they choose to tamper with such deep and lasting relationships.

When you take away all the smoke of diplomacy, this one essential fact remains: this nation—and the State of Israel—are friends and allies of the deepest kind. And I firmly believe that all decisions must be made with that understanding in mind.

But put aside the friendship for a moment. Forget the strong ties which bind us together. Let us, for a minute, be hard and practical like the diplomats and statesmen. Let us consider only our own selfish interest.

The answer remains the same. As Senator Ribicoff said, just a few days ago, and I quote him directly: "Sentiment, guilt feelings and history and domestic politics aside, in the cold light of international politics, Israel today is America's most valuable asset in the Middle East."

"It is clear," he said, "that the Russians hope to become the dominant Mediterranean power and also to penetrate Africa. The dam preventing Soviet pressures from being exerted in these directions has been Israel. But it should be obvious that only a well armed Israel within secure borders and with a strong economy, can withstand the Soviet pressures."

I do not wish to make this a partisan speech.

I did not come here simply to attack the President or his Administration.

I believe the President sincerely desires a peaceful settlement.

But I also believe he is on the wrong course.

Hopefully, by conducting this dialogue all over the country, we can convince him to remain firm beside his friend and ally.

Having stated what I believe to be the cornerstone of our relationship, let me briefly point out what I think is happening to American policy and why I am concerned about it.

First, how did this happen. What is the cause of the great concern both here in America and throughout the world.

Toward the end of last year, it became obvious that our government was discussing proposals for a settlement of the Middle East problem with the Soviet Union, without prior consultation with Israel.

The very fact that we did so has moved us dangerously away from the principle of direct negotiations between the Arabs and Israelis and toward a settlement imposed on the parties by the big powers.

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This simply will not work.

It is nothing more than a return to the mistakes of 1956. At that time, the four major powers imposed another settlement which only led to deeper trouble. We asked Israel to withdraw from the territory she occupied in return for Arab guarantees. She withdrew—but the guarantees weren't worth the paper they were written on.

Second, we have, in these discussions, suggested major concessions from Israel—similar to those of 1956—while asking once again for nothing more than guarantees from the Arabs. For example, we are suggesting the almost total withdrawal of Israel from territory captured during the six day war.

In return, the Arabs must graciously agree to recognize Israel.

We also suggest the joint administration of the City of Jerusalem by Israel and Jordan. The same arrangement would take place in the Gaza Strip. In addition, Israel will be asked to give up all territory on the Sinai peninsula, despite the fact that the peninsula represents Israel's outlet to the Suez Canal. In return, the Arabs are asked for no guarantee of shipping rights for Israel.

The real issue is that our government—by suggesting the areas of settlement—has undercut the Israeli bargaining position.

It has led the Arabs to believe that they need not even recognize Israel's existence in order to get a favorable settlement. And yet, as Mrs. Meir has said: "If they won't sit down with us, how will they live with us."

Does anyone seriously believe that such concessions gain us friends in the Arab world? What have the Arabs done lately to make us believe that our "even handedness" meets with their favor?

And even more fundamental, does anyone really believe that such concessions have made the Soviet Union more flexible? It is interesting that, two months after the proposals were made, Mr. Malik, the Soviet Ambassador to the United Nations, just the other day, said flatly that the American proposals did not include any worthwhile concessions and could not serve as a basis for a four power position.

We have, in short, managed to antagonize a trusted ally while satisfying no one.

Even more dangerous, however, is the vacillation of our own government over the past few weeks.

Ever since the first news reports of our new position, there has been a bewildering fluctuation in official statements.

Finally, last week, on January 25th, the President reassured Israel that the United States was prepared to supply military equipment to support Israel. He also stated, to the Conference of Jewish Leaders in Washington, that peace in the Middle East was attainable only through negotiations between the parties concerned.

One day later, on January 26th, the Premier of Israel responded warmly to the President's reassurances and expressed her gratification at what appeared to be a solidifying of American policy.

However, the next day, January 27th, the picture changed again.

American diplomats spent the day at the United Nations, assuring Arab leaders that the President's comments did not in any way invalidate the American proposals advanced in December.

Even more surprising, American diplomats also went out of their way—to assure the Arabs that no decision had yet been made by the Administration on the Israeli requests for further military and economic assistance.

I am sure those assurances were greeted warmly by the Arabs. They must have been even more pleasing to the Soviet Union . . . not to mention the French.

This vagueness of policy led one Arab diplomat to make an observation that all of us,

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oddly enough, can agree with. "How do we know here we stand," he said, "if there are such hidden shifts?"

He is not the only one with problems. He should talk to the Israelis. Or better yet, to Members of Congress.

At any rate, that was on January 27th.

Two days later, on January 29th, the President held his press conference.

"Let me put one thing in context," he said. "We are neither pro Arab or pro Israel. We are pro peace."

To that statement, I have only one reply: Mr. President, I, too, am pro peace. But I do not believe that being pro peace is incompatible with friendship for Israel.

On the contrary, I believe deeply that this "even handed" policy—this attempt, vague as it is, to be all things to all men—creates a vacuum in the Middle East. It tempts others—already belligerent—to take chances which could result in an all out war. It tells the Russians and the Arabs that there is a new, unstable factor in the Middle East. And that instability is the result of the present vacillation of the American government.

This is the stuff which whets the appetites of opportunistic and unpredictable governments.

And no government is more unpredictable than an Arab government.

None is more opportunistic than the Soviet Union.

And evidently there are few in the world more unpredictable and opportunistic than the French.

And that is why the President cannot simply say he is pro peace and impartial, at one and the same time.

By moving away from Israel, we have not encouraged others to get into the middle with us. We have only whetted their appetites for the small country which now stands alone.

I believe the Congress understands this situation.

During the course of all this shifting, a majority of the House of Representatives, last week, reiterated the position taken last April by the overwhelming majority of both the Senate and the House. Once again, the Republican Leader of the House joined a bi-partisan coalition in urging support for direct negotiations between the parties involved.

Do you realize what that means? That means that most of the people's Representatives in Washington do not agree with the shifting position of our government.

Tonight, I call upon the President to heed the voice of the majority in Congress.

Ever since we became involved in Vietnam, we have had a great national debate about the limits of Executive power. In a democratic society, the critics say, the Executive should not have the absolute right to formulate and shift policy without the appropriate checks and balances by the Representatives of the people.

Here we have a resolution which reaffirms traditional American policy in regard to Israel, supported by a majority in Congress—an "unsilent" majority, I might add. And I suggest that the President heed the wishes of Congress because those wishes reflect the desires of the American people.

In speaking of Congressional support, it was interesting to me that the President, in his State of the Union Message, congratulated the Congress for its support of his policy in Vietnam. He said his policy was successful largely because Congress was behind it.

I suggest that his policy in the Middle East would also be successful if it was the policy backed by a majority in Congress.

I suppose it is one thing to wrap your arms around the government in Saigon. But I didn't know it was that difficult to say a few kind words about the State of Israel.

By moving away from Israel, we have satisfied no one.

By offering concessions on the part of Is-

rael, we have met with none from the other side.

By vacillating from one day to the next, we have fostered confusion and prompted the present adventures in the Middle East, not only of Russia but of France and China as well.

This so-called policy must change . . . reverse . . . return—call it what you will, but there will be no stability in the Middle East unless America stands by Israel in its desire to be recognized as a nation and in its demand to settle its own problems face to face with its adversaries.

This is a strong position, a firm position and a clear one. But it is not therefore belligerent.

The unfortunate part of this story is that Israel has not been inflexible. She has not clung to a rigid position. Indeed, she believes that much is negotiable.

All she is saying is that she is waiting for someone to negotiate with. And she knows from experience that peace and stability cannot be imposed from the outside by others.

Last week, NBC's First Tuesday did a television special on the life of Israeli jet pilots. At the end, one young pilot spoke—with simplicity—about what it means to live in Israel today.

"There is no other possibility than to live here," he said. "If you understand this, you will have courage. It is a hard way to live but you've got to do your best. There is no other place for you and your children."

I want to see this country share the courage, the determination and the feeling expressed by that pilot.

Let us stand by Israel. Let us say that we won't surrender an inch until the Arabs come to the bargaining table. Let us tell them that we know their designs for what they are and that we are not going to let the Russians, the French or the Chinese overrun the Middle East in the name of Arab nationalism.

Let us make a few demands for our friends, instead of making so many of our friends. Let us tell them that we want shipping rights, guaranteed borders, the end of an arms race which eats up 25 percent of Israel's resources every year. And let us finally tell them that these are not only Israel's demands. They are America's.

That, I suspect, is the better road to peace and stability in the Middle East.

Thank you.

## NATIONAL CEMETERY FOR MASSACHUSETTS

**HON. SILVIO O. CONTE**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, in the last session of Congress, I introduced two bills concerning our national cemeteries. The first, H.R. 5809, would establish a national cemetery at Westfield, Mass. The second, H.R. 5810, would establish a National Cemeteries System within the Veterans' Administration with jurisdiction over nearly all such facilities.

At present, the national cemeteries closest to New England are located in Elmira, N.Y., and Farmingdale, N.Y. I have been trying since 1965 to have a national cemetery established in New England in order to lift the burden of traveling unreasonably long distances from those throughout New England involved in visits to graves of loved ones and former friends buried in these cemeteries.

The proposal for a National Cemeteries System grew out of the fact that there is an increasing scarcity of gravesites in national cemeteries throughout the Nation.

On February 4, 1970, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts adopted resolutions memorializing this Congress to enact legislation establishing a national cemetery in the Commonwealth. Because of the importance of this matter, I include the resolutions in the RECORD at this time:

**RESOLUTIONS MEMORIALIZING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO ENACT LEGISLATION ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL CEMETERY IN THE COMMONWEALTH**

Whereas, It is the right of every veteran to be accorded the honor of a burial in a national place of honor; and

Whereas, Out of the ninety-eight national cemeteries in the United States, there is none in the New England area; and

Whereas, The saturation point of these cemeteries is rapidly being reached and the need for new land is pressing; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts respectfully urges the Congress of the United States to enact such legislation as may be necessary to establish a national cemetery in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and be it further

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

Senate, adopted, January 20, 1970.

NORMAN L. PIDGEON,

*Clerk.*

House of Representatives, adopted in concurrence, January 22, 1970.

WALLACE C. MILLS,

*Clerk.*

Attest:

JOHN F. X. DAVOREN,  
*Secretary of the Commonwealth.*

**DEMOCRATIC POLICY COUNCIL—IV: ARMS CONTROL AND DEFENSE POLICY DURING THE 1970'S**

**HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the nuclear arms race is a most dangerous and costly phase of U.S. policy. It takes needed dollars that might be better used in meeting problems on the domestic front, interferes with meaningful negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union and is a serious threat to the world because of the potential destructiveness it fosters. I introduce into the RECORD Democratic Policy Council suggestions on how we might curtail our expanded arsenal of nuclear weapons, and what such a move might mean in terms of providing for a safer world:

**DEMOCRATIC POLICY COUNCIL—IV: ARMS CONTROL AND DEFENSE POLICY DURING THE 1970'S**

We welcome the negotiations with the Soviet Union looking toward the limitation of offensive and defensive strategic nuclear weapons. This is a critical time. Both the United States and the Soviet Union are continuing to move forward in the arms race—moving into reaction to one another and in

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

a direction which can only leave both nations less secure than they are today and with fewer resources to devote to domestic needs.

We are convinced that the national interest of both countries demands a stop in the "mad momentum" of the strategic armament race. A policy designed to bring about reciprocal restraint will create the most favorable conditions for bilateral agreement on arms limitations, without endangering our security through unilateral disarmament or indefinite unilateral postponement of strategic weapons programs. Some have argued that negotiations will succeed only if we achieve a position of increased strength. But this argument would distort the promise of disarmament talks into a rationale for continued escalation. It would be a tragic error to jeopardize the prospects for reducing the terrible risks and heavy costs of the arms race by precipitate decisions to proceed with new nuclear weapons not urgently needed for our national security.

Specifically, we question the need and the wisdom of going ahead now with a new manned strategic bomber and expanded plans for antiballistic missile defenses. In an abrupt change from last year's justification of the Safeguard system as necessary to protect our land based missiles and hence our second strike capability, the Administration now proposes an enlarged system which purportedly would protect our cities from a Communist Chinese nuclear threat which may exist a decade or more in the future.

**OPPOSE ABM**

Past experience surely demonstrates the futility of resting present security decisions primarily on speculation about the future. The risks of accelerated ABM deployment far outweigh the highly conjectural value of an anti-ballistic missile system using today's technology against the threats we may or may not face in the 1980's. We oppose further ABM deployment.

Expansion of the Safeguard system from missile defense to area defense will cast doubt on our intentions and seriously prejudice the prospects for the SALT talks. The underlying assumption of protracted Chinese hostility and irrationality can also preclude real progress in improving relationships between China and the United States. The nuclear striking force on which we rely to deter a major Soviet attack surely will deter the relatively insignificant nuclear strength attainable by China or any other power in the foreseeable future.

**RECIPROCAL RESTRAINT**

Moreover, steps should be taken now to bring about reciprocal restraint in testing and deploying new nuclear missiles with improved warheads, such as MIRV. Only by such steps can we keep open the option of negotiating an effective and verifiable agreement on nuclear arms control. This should be made the first order of business when the SALT talks reconvene in Vienna in April. In taking the initiative to stop atmospheric nuclear testing, President Kennedy advanced the cause of peace and our own security. The Soviets responded affirmatively to U.S. initiative and the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was agreed upon shortly thereafter. The United States should further seize the initiative and take another step toward a safer world by deferring MIRV testing and further deployment of offensive and defensive missile systems while calling on the Soviet Union for similar restraint.

We are concerned by the Administration's failure to relate the defense budget for fiscal year 1971 to probable threats to U.S. national security in the 1970's. No rhetoric about meeting our treaty commitments and promoting partnerships, while reducing our involvement and our overseas military presence, can substitute for detailed analysis of where and how our security may be threat-

ened and what level and mix of military power is needed to deter or deal with those threats.

The Arms Control and Defense Policy Committee will shortly release a more detailed report on these and other matters, together with recommendations for further reforms of the selective service system.

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**THE NCAA—THE QUEST FOR POWER**

**HON. ROBERT N. GAIMO**

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. GAIMO. Mr. Speaker, my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MICHEL) and I have discussed at some length the case of Jack Langer, a varsity basketball player at Yale University, who was declared ineligible for NCAA competition because he participated in the basketball tournament at the Maccabiah games in Israel last summer. Because it defied the NCAA ban and allowed Langer to play on its varsity team this year, Yale was placed on probation by the NCAA for a period of 2 years.

We would be remiss, however, if we did not stress the fact that several other college basketball players who were invited to the Maccabiah games were forced to decline the invitation because of NCAA threats. Perhaps the most tragic case was that of a Polish-born, Israeli-bred athlete from the University of Cincinnati who was not allowed to play in a prestigious tournament in the land in which he was raised.

Another example of this injustice is brought to light through correspondence between President Gaylord P. Harnwell of the University of Pennsylvania and Mr. Walter Byers, executive director of the NCAA. I wish to insert these letters in the RECORD, and I urge our colleagues to study them carefully.

In the letter from President Harnwell to the NCAA, for instance, please note that two basketball players were not authorized to participate in the Maccabiah games even though a track man, a fencer, and a soccer player were eligible to do so.

In the letter from Mr. Byers to President Harnwell, two points are worth examining. The first is the fact that all requests for permission to participate in foreign competition were denied "because of the inability to secure an acceptable administrative organization to handle this country's international basketball competition." This statement would seem plausible were it not for a previous statement which said:

In the interim, BFUSA (Basketball Federation of the USA) recommended that foreign competition involving its members (the NCAA is a member of BFUSA) cease because the Federation was unable to arrange and sanction such competition. . . . Consequently, the NCAA Council has not given approval for out-of-season competition since 1967, with the exception of the Olympic Games.

Once all the excess verbiage is cleared away, it becomes obvious that the NCAA has not approved foreign competition be-

cause BFUSA—read NCAA—does not have the power to arrange and sanction such competition. Therefore, the “inability to secure an acceptable administrative organization to handle this country's international basketball competition” really means the inability of the NCAA, through the BFUSA, to become that administrative organization.

In short, here is another tragic example of the power struggle between the NCAA and its rival, the Amateur Athletic Union. Mr. Byers admits this when he says:

We believe this policy will persuade the AAU to participate in the IBB as FIBA intended or prompt FIBA to take further steps to correct the situation.

How long must the athletes and colleges of this country suffer because of this senseless dispute, Mr. Speaker? How long will these organizations, in their blind quest for power, continue to forget that the primary purpose of intercollegiate athletics is the betterment of the individual athlete and his school? How long can this dispute continue before it destroys the entire system of amateur athletics in the United States?

The following letters are a sad commentary on the use of power by the NCAA:

JUNE 20, 1969.

MR. WALTER BYERS,  
Executive Secretary, National Collegiate Athletic Association, Kansas City, Mo.

DEAR MR. BYERS: We are greatly disturbed to learn through press accounts that, due to an NCAA ruling, two of our undergraduate basketball players will not be authorized to participate in the Maccabean Games. This appears to us to be inconsistent for one of our track athletes has been asked to represent our country, and in all probability we will also be represented by a fencer and a soccer player.

This is to request formally, on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania, that necessary steps be taken to permit the youthful basketball players to participate in the Maccabean Games in Israel. Not to do so would penalize them unjustly.

Very sincerely yours,

GAYLORD P. HARNWELL.

THE NATIONAL COLLEGIATE ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION,  
Kansas City, Mo., July 11, 1969.

DR. GAYLORD P. HARNWELL,  
President, University of Pennsylvania,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR PRESIDENT HARNWELL: Please forgive me for the delay in responding to your June 20 letter. It had been our hope that meetings scheduled June 24-25 would develop a solution to the problem which concerns you. Unfortunately, this did not occur and, for this reason, I am writing you this rather lengthy response to your request.

NCAA Constitution 3-10-(c) is specific regarding participation in organized out-of-season basketball competition. If an individual violates this provision he jeopardizes his future eligibility in the sport of basketball.

There are other NCAA regulations which affect participation in other sports. Constitution 3-10-(d), for example, is concerned with soccer. It is true that the Association's regulations are not the same for each sport. Athletes who participate in football and basketball are subject to greater restrictions than those who choose to compete in tennis and fencing. There are greater pressures in football and basketball and, as a consequence, more regulations.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

The NCAA is a member of the Basketball Federation of the USA (BFUSA). Other members of BFUSA include the National High School Federation, National Junior College Athletic Association, National Association of Basketball Coaches, Collegiate Commissioners Association, American Basketball Association and others. More than 90 percent of organized basketball in the USA is represented by BFUSA.

The International Amateur Basketball Federation (FIBA) provided BFUSA with an opportunity to arrange competition for its own members commencing in 1963. During the ensuing three years there were more international exchanges between the USA and other countries than ever before in the history of the sport. Unfortunately the agreement between FIBA and BFUSA expired in January, 1967. In May of 1967, at FIBA's Central Bureau meeting, the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), this country's current FIBA member, informed the international body that it represented more than 70 percent of basketball in the United States, an obvious falsehood. FIBA informed the AAU that it (the AAU) had until October, 1968, to unify all amateur basketball interests in the USA and improve its own basketball program or FIBA itself would investigate the situation in the United States.

In the interim BFUSA recommended that foreign competition involving its members cease because the Federation was unable to arrange and sanction such competition. The NCAA Council adopted a policy in support of BFUSA in October, 1967. This was later reaffirmed by the Association's membership at the 1968 NCAA Convention. Consequently, the NCAA Council has not given approval for out-of-season competition since 1967, with the exception of the Olympic Games.

In January, 1969, FIBA sent a five-man panel to the USA in an attempt to resolve the differences between the AAU and BFUSA. As a result an International Basketball Board was established which provides for equal representation from both sides and a chairman appointed by FIBA. The Board, designed to handle all international competition for the United States except Olympic and comparable competition, conducted its first meeting in Chicago on June 8. There appeared to be general agreement in many areas. The AAU implored BFUSA to meet again as soon as possible so that a final agreement could be attained to enable the Board to function immediately. BFUSA's delegates readily agreed and expended considerable time and effort in preparation for the next meeting, scheduled for June 25. We were hopeful that the issue would be resolved and that this letter could be more encouraging. Consequently, it was extremely frustrating when the AAU's representatives failed to attend a meeting of the Board's constitutional subcommittee on June 24. The following day the chairman was forced to postpone the IBB meeting indefinitely when only five of the AAU's ten representatives appeared. All ten of BFUSA's delegates were in attendance.

A number of organizations and NCAA member institutions have requested permission for foreign competition this summer, including the U.S. Collegiate Sports Council of which the NCAA is probably the most active member. All such requests have been denied by the Council because of the inability to secure an acceptable administrative organization to handle this country's international basketball competition.

We believe this policy will persuade the AAU to participate in the IBB as FIBA intended or prompt FIBA to take further steps to correct the situation. This country has suffered through the years because of lack of adequate and knowledgeable representation at the international level. Our basketball authorities are convinced that positive correction must be obtained now for the

future welfare of the sport and its participants.

The NCAA Council has given serious deliberation to this matter and does not believe that there should be a change in NCAA policy at this time. We regret it is not possible to honor your request in the current circumstance.

Cordially yours,

WALTER BYERS.

## SILVER COINS DISAPPEAR

### HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

MR. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I have spoken time and time again, both on and off the floor of this distinguished body, about the need to permanently end the use of silver in coinage and get the Government out of the silver business.

My point on taking silver out of U.S. coinage is simple—we just do not have enough of this precious metal left to waste on coins that do not circulate.

In this regard, a most interesting article appeared in the latest U.S. News & World Report, February 16, 1970. It substantiates the fact that silver coins disappear, and it shows how the coin hoarders are reaping a fortune with Government silver.

I would like to include this article in the RECORD now because of its relevance to the continuing debate over silver.

The article follows:

### WHATEVER HAPPENED TO SILVER COINS AND CERTIFICATES?

There are billions of silver coins in the U.S. and some 221 million dollars in silver certificates—yet you rarely see any of them.

Where are they? Most have been stashed away by dealers, collectors and ordinary folk who regard them as souvenirs of a bygone era that are likely to increase in value.

What these speculators know: Gradually, the U.S. Treasury is getting out of the silver business. The curtain will be rung down on silver money in this country in a very short while—perhaps a matter of months.

Today the Treasury is minting only one type of silver coin—the Kennedy half dollar, which is only 40 per cent silver. Most of these quickly disappear from circulation.

In all, the Government has produced about 400 million Kennedy halves that were 90 per cent silver and about 800 million of the 40 per cent variety.

On June 24, 1968, the Treasury stopped paying out silver in exchange for silver certificates. These bills continue to be legal tender, but if they find their way into the Federal Reserve Banks they are retired from circulation.

The Government does continue to sell about 1.5 million ounces of silver at a weekly auction. The price received has run around \$1.80 to \$1.90 an ounce in recent weeks.

These sales, the Treasury says, will exhaust its supply of silver in readily salable form around the end of October. That does not include 165 million ounces safely locked up in the nation's defense stockpile.

The weekly sales could end even sooner. A Senate-passed bill would require the Treasury to use up its remaining supply of silver to issue a new Eisenhower silver dollar.

The House passed a silver bill more to the Treasury's liking—one that would end all silver coinage. One point on which the two

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

houses are in agreement: The Treasury would auction off to the highest bidders some 3 million rare silver dollars in federal vaults.

On the whole, people who are hoarding silver coins can feel rather comfortable about their investment. Coin dealers are offering \$2.50 and up for silver dollars. Very rare "cartwheels"—depending on date, place of coinage, type of coin and condition—command hundreds of dollars each.

Silver dimes and quarters often bring 80 per cent or more above their face value. With silver selling at about \$1.90 an ounce, the metal alone in the 90 percent coins minted before 1966 is worth more than the face value.

DEMOCRATIC POLICY COUNCIL—  
V: DEMOCRACY AND GOVERN-  
MENT DURING THE 1970'S

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the American people demand and deserve more responsive and responsible government at the Federal, State, and local levels. As we move into the decade of the 1970's, this need will become even more apparent. I introduce into the RECORD a statement by the Democratic Policy Council, which Monday suggested a number of measures which would insure not only a more democratic government, but one which could better meet the needs of our citizens as well.

The material follows:

Americans, living in a democratic society, have never wholly failed to ask: How can government at all levels serve all the people with greater justice and effectiveness?

In the decade of the 1970's, however, the American people will ask this question with greater urgency than at any other time in our history and they will expect answers.

They properly will expect just and effective government in the wealthiest, most powerful nation of the world. Such a nation, Americans will say, must have governments—federal, state and local—which can secure equality of opportunity for all citizens, move decisively against the tremendous human problems besetting our society, particularly in its urban areas, and preserve our national inheritance of liberty and individual initiative.

To secure these goals of just and effective government will demand more than rhetoric and reassurance. We need national leadership ready to give moral force and practical support to the law of the land, the law that says all children, black and white, rich and poor, are to learn and live together. We need national leadership ready to walk in dark urban ghettos and forgotten rural sprawls, ready to search them out, eliminate them and build in their place communities of dignity and opportunity.

RECONCILE DIFFERENCES

Having been warned two years ago by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal," we need national leadership that does not polarize opposites but that reconciles differences, one that helps heal the wounds of generations of oppression and inequality.

We are told to judge the Republican Administration on the basis of deeds. But it is the record of Republican deeds which concerns us:

The Administration's failure to support the extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which had secured the most essential political right for more than 700,000 previously disenfranchised blacks, despite considerable support for extending the law.

The nomination to the Supreme Court of two jurists, who, at best, have demonstrated no understanding of the nation's commitment to full racial justice;

The Administration's efforts to delay the process of school desegregation which had been promised an earlier generation of school children by the Supreme Court in 1954;

The Administration's opposition to legislation strengthening the enforcement powers of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

These acts by the Republican Administration have served to polarize the people of this country on the basis of race, and have understandably diminished the confidence of black citizens in the commitment of government to the achievement of equality for all citizens.

We believe that the Haynsworth and Carswell nominations to the Supreme Court should not have been made; and we urge the Senate to reject Judge Carswell as it did Judge Haynsworth.

We believe further, that this administration must state unequivocally where it stands on the question of the elimination of dual systems of education based on race.

REESTABLISH TRUST

The Committee on Democracy and Government is charged with developing the specific plans that, when implemented, will re-establish a relationship of trust and common purpose between the American people and government at all levels. In the 1970's this will require reforms of access, structure, and governmental effectiveness.

We report periodically on these matters to the American people.

At this juncture, however, several specific directions have already become clear and demand comment now.

In a democracy, access to government can be no greater than access to the political process itself. For this reason, the 1970's must be a time of far-reaching reform of the American political system, including, among others:

The elimination of the vestiges of voting discrimination on the basis of race, a goal which can best be served at this time by reenacting and enforcing the Voting Rights Act of 1965;

The amendment of the Constitution of the United States to lower the voting age for all state and federal elections to eighteen;

The amendment of the Constitution to permit the direct election of the President and the Vice President of the United States;

The establishment of a Universal Voter Enrollment Plan to register all qualified voters through a government canvass of every election jurisdiction, as called for by the Democratic Party's Freedom-to-Vote Task Force under the chairmanship of former Attorney General Ramsey Clark;

The creation of a National Election holiday to permit everyone the opportunity to vote and a National Election Commission to keep an accurate and comprehensive current record of all election rules and results, a duty which no agency, public or private, now performs;

Procedures for permitting all citizens, regardless of where they happen to be on election day, to vote through a simplified process for casting and verifying ballots;

Some system of public support to alleviate the growing financial burdens of running for political office—whether by tax credits, public subsidies, donations of time or services, including television time—thus allowing poor and middle-income citizens, as well as the rich, to represent their country in public office.

February 10, 1970

The benefits of full participation and access to the political process can be thwarted nevertheless by an outmoded governmental structure incapable of dealing with the complex demands of contemporary society and the economy.

POWERFUL INCENTIVES

For this reason the federal government must offer the states and localities powerful incentives to redesign the fragmented, unresponsive, underfinanced structure of local government itself in an evolutionary process toward governmental units that encompass metropolitan areas capable of dealing with metropolitan-wide problems. At the same time we must also give attention to developing a lower tier of neighborhood political units, "little city halls," to which appropriate municipal offices and services would be decentralized, and through which elected representatives of the neighborhood would exercise authority over the provision of neighborhood services.

Increased effectiveness of government will require numerous reforms in the 1970's. There are few things more destructive of effective government action than the overlapping and confusion of administration of domestic programs. The executive branch urgently requires the decision-making and command mechanism that would be provided by a National Domestic Policy Council. Such an instrumentality would serve not only to increase effectiveness within the federal bureaucracy but also to carry forward the equally vital task of developing more efficient delivery systems of federally-supported services.

To assist in making these decisions, the executive should have the information and guidance flowing from a system of social indicators—measures of factors such as reduction of racism, and educational and health deficiencies—prepared and evaluated by a Council of Social Advisors, analogous to the annual Economic Report prepared by the Council of Economic Advisors.

THE INVOLVEMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN OUR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, each of us are asked many times in the course of visits with young people in our districts, "What can I do? How can I help? How can I be a part of the democratic process?"

In response to this growing concern for involvement by young people, one of my colleagues from Indiana, LEE H. HAMILTON, has spoken to many school groups in the Ninth Congressional District of Indiana on the impact of young people on our society.

I believe the remarks of my colleague, LEE HAMILTON, responding to the questions asked by young people should be considered by each of us. Congressman HAMILTON's thoughts are refreshing in a world and times when we hear far too little of hope and far too much of cynicism.

The speech referred to follows:

ADDRESS BY MR. HAMILTON

One of the biggest changes that has come over the American Scene in recent years is the degree of involvement by young people in the political life of the nation.

Young people have had a profound impact. One Congressman told me that young people caused a President to resign, and a nation to change its Vietnam policy.

His judgment may be open to question but certainly the young were the first, and surely the first in any number, to show disenchantment with Vietnam.

During the moratorium in Washington I stood on the West front of the Capitol and watched perhaps 100,000-150,000 people pass by. The dominant impression that struck me was how young the people were who participated. A person over thirty stood out in that crowd as unusual.

In 1968, young men and women marched into New Hampshire and Indiana with McCarthy. I will not forget the courage and determination of a young college coed whom I met on the street corner in Lawrenceburg, Indiana. Without money, without knowing a single person in the county, without even a car, she had come to Dearborn County to organize it for McCarthy.

In the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's, and in the emerging battle to preserve and enhance the quality of the environment, the young are prominent.

They have been the pacesetters in public opinion polls and they have experienced the satisfaction of seeing public opinion swing toward their view. In a real sense the young have led, and the leaders have followed.

Young people have always been interested in politics. Anyone who has run for office can tell you that youthful volunteers passing out literature and pretty girls in red, white and blue, singing the candidate's jingle and dancing at rallies, are a lot of help. But today their participation goes far beyond that.

Many are anxious to help, and can be easily recruited to politics. They are intelligent, financially independent, highly mobile, energetically involved and they have a passionate concern for the issues. They are adding a new dimension to American political life.

Their participation is most refreshing and I welcome them to the fray.

#### 1. Impatience

One characteristic about their participation in American political life is that they are impatient. They see that changes have to be made and problems met. They want to try new answers and approaches. They are innovators, reformers. They know what needs to be done and see no reason why it cannot be done now. They will brook no excuse for inaction. They have no patience for the cliches and platitudes politicians so frequently use. Their impatience, sadly, but inevitably, means frustration.

And, of course, therein lies one of the risks of the involvement of young people in politics. If they don't see sufficient progress, if the changes are not sufficiently visible, then they sometimes become disenchanted and alienated from the system. They may become frustrated because they believe that the system cannot possibly work. The budding politician becomes, then, a rebel, a cynic, or apathetic.

We see much evidence of this. Student rebels seize an administration building. Some turn to drugs. Some turn to crime. The President's Crime Commission reports that 15 and 16-year-olds have the highest arrest rate in the nation and that young people commit a disproportionate share of crimes. Some flee to Canada or Sweden to avoid the draft. Some stage a sit-in at the Pentagon. Some become hippies.

Some turn to socialism or anarchy—or in one case, I know, to monarchy—as the best system.

Sometimes the establishment, those in authority, lose patience, too, and begin a crackdown. So they respond by cracking skulls, or spraying tear gas from helicopters,

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

or calling in the Marines. And this, of course, confirms the worst fears of the young about the establishment and the system, and further alienates them.

#### 2. Critical of establishment

Another characteristic of the involvement of young people in the political life of the nation is that they are sharply critical of the establishment, the leadership and of things as they are. I suppose this is traditional with young people, but it is especially accentuated today. It is good that they are critical.

After all, they live in an unpleasant time—a time when any thinking person is unsettled, frustrated, concerned, and asking probing questions about his country.

Young people have a right to be critical. They can no longer be as carefree as they once were. Too many harsh realities encircle them.

The pressure of foreign affairs intrudes early into their lives, and because of that pressure, young men from Indiana are drafted and some are called upon to fight, and some to die, in a country they could not identify by name only a few years ago.

They are forced to fight wars whose objectives, origins and tactics they neither understand or accept.

They live in a world when a strategic exchange can cause 240 million fatalities in the Soviet Union and in the United States within 20 minutes.

They see unrest and violence bubbling and seething beneath the surface calm in every continent. They know that the gap between the rich and the poor nations of this world is filled with the possibility of explosive violence.

They observe that the older generation's promises and rhetoric often outstrip its performance, and that despite that rhetoric, poverty, injustice and prejudice abide and abound.

They hear many white people say that we have done too much for the Negro, but they know the Negro is three times as likely as the white to die in childbirth and infancy, three times as likely to live in poverty, twice as likely to be unemployed and only half of his housing meets health and safety standards, and his income is forty percent lower and his life expectancy five years less.

The young people hear us speak of the equality of opportunity in this land, but they see too many boys and girls growing up stunted, inarticulate and angry.

They hear us speak of the natural heritage of this land, but they see all around them the headlong destruction and fouling of the natural environment.

They hear us proclaim the importance of each personality, but they see too many infants and mothers die from the failure to develop an adequate health system, too many citizens die on the highways from roads and automobiles that are not yet safe, and too few people who have lawyers to fight injustice.

They hear us extoll the virtues of a democratic society, and yet they feel shut out from the decision-making process in America. We tell them that we can use them to fight our wars but not to vote for our officials and they know that half of the men who have died in Vietnam were not able to vote in this country.

It is not hard to understand, then, why young people are critical of the establishment.

#### 3. Pragmatic

We often speak of the young people as being energetic and idealistic—and they are that—but another characteristic of the young that has especially impressed me is their pragmatism. They want to know what will work, what will help solve the problems on the nation's agenda. They are not so much interested in whether it is a Demo-

cratic Party solution or a Republican Party solution—A liberal or a conservative solution. They want to know if it works.

#### THE CHALLENGE

They challenge those of us who accept the system. And it is incumbent upon us to explain to them why we feel the system can meet the urgent needs of this nation, why we think it is a moral and a just system which will respond to these needs humanely.

They are asking whether or not our form of government can work. It is the same question that Lincoln asked: "Can this nation so conceived, long endure."

It is the same question that John F. Kennedy asked: "We shall have to test anew whether a nation organized and governed such as ours can endure—the outcome is by no means certain."

The challenge is formidable because it is so basic. It is hard because we are called upon to justify things we have always taken for granted, as sacred, and not open to question. Naturally, then, those of us who are older are unsettled. Some of us even frightened by it, and all of us deeply disturbed.

It makes all the difference how we respond to this challenge. It is an honest challenge and must be honestly met. Many young people are losing their confidence in the way the system operates. They don't believe the political process is working today. If we cannot explain why an intelligent, critical, enlightened young man or woman should believe in the democratic system, and we fail to meet the challenge to their satisfaction, then in the long run the system itself is in jeopardy.

Some would respond to the question: "Will the system work?" by saying, "No, the system will not work." They are the ones who have already turned to violence and anarchy.

Others will respond by saying, "Yes, of course, it will work—it always has." These people will be amazed that the question could ever be raised and will tend to think of the young people as hippies, malcontents, revolutionaries (and some few, of course, are) and, more than likely, simply walk away from the question.

May I suggest that the better answer to the question is, "Maybe it will work." It will work:

If we recognize what it has accomplished  
And what it has not accomplished

If we see the necessity of changing, evolving our institutions to meet new situations, and to make the system work better than it does today.

Our response to the challenge of the young people when they ask, "will the system work?" should include several elements.

#### 1. Impressive record

One, is to point out that the system has established an impressive record. We have the finest educational system in the world.

We may not have eliminated poverty, but we have built a nation of incredible wealth, shared by an impressive number of citizens. And we are closer to eliminating poverty than any nation ever has been.

We may not have eliminated prejudice, but few countries in the world defend the rights of the minority with the political and legal resources that this country does.

And we have peacefully absorbed more than 40 million immigrants from many lands and cultures, and given them freedom.

Read, if you will the names of the members of the 91st Congress: Addabbo, Conti, Derwinski, Galifianakis, O'Konski, Zablocki.

We may have our faults, but we are at least grappling with the right questions—questions of national purpose and poverty, how to organize a peace, and the relationship of America to the rest of the world, and no one of us is satisfied with the answers.

We may have serious deficiencies in our health system, as a nation, but, we are healthier than ever before and we are work-

ing very hard to extend and improve the quality of health care to all citizens.

We may make mistakes of judgment and mind, but very few of motive and heart. The fundamental motives, ideas, instincts of most American people are right and generous.

There may be many individuals who feel shut out with inadequate opportunity, but we have created a climate of accomplishment for most Americans, releasing their intelligence and vitalities for productive ends.

We may have reason not to trust every political leader, but by and large our political leadership performs well against incredibly difficult problems, and political leaders have never really lost sight of the moral considerations that motivate this nation.

The electoral process may not function perfectly, but in 1968, 69 million Americans went to the polls and without violence elected a new President, the most powerful political office in the world.

We may have not brought peace to this world, but no nation has been more generous with its resources to attack instability abroad, and more vigorous in its pursuit of peace.

We should also point out that the American system does respond to the clearly expressed demands of the people. If enough Americans feel strongly about an issue for a long enough period, and are willing to stand up, debate, fight for, suffer frustration, then the system often responds.

It took us 3/4 of a century in this country to abolish slavery. Even after it was abolished, sadly enough, the Negro struggle for full legal and political rights—to say nothing of social and economic equality—has continued for over an entire century. But slavery was abolished.

The labor unions won their right to collective bargaining similarly after long decades of fight and frustration and even bloodshed.

Vietnam policy did change, maybe not exactly as the protestors would like, but it is clear that this nation has done an about face on Vietnam in recent months and that would not have occurred had it not been for the demands of people.

The system can even sometimes respond with startling speed. A comprehensive tax reform bill, the first one in fifty-six years, was passed by the House of Representatives in just a few weeks and in one year it was signed into law because the American people demanded more equity in their tax code.

Given the sheer size of America with such incredible diversity of geography, cultures, people, we have brought about unprecedented social and economic revolution.

So, the American record contains impressive achievements and any fair reading of that record would show that it has had substantial, even if partial, success dealing with the incredibly complex problems which crop up in a country as big and diverse as America.

I am well aware that the mere recitation of accomplishments and of good intentions, will not be enough to persuade most young people that the system will work.

So this element is only part of the answer, not the entire answer, but a necessary element in the whole.

## 2. *Much needs correction*

Another element in the answer is to freely acknowledge that there is much wrong that needs to be corrected.

We must candidly acknowledge that we are far from enthusiastic about the performance of American institutions, including the Congress, the courts, the schools, cities, counties, the political parties.

The brutal fact is that we still live in a world filled to the brim with injustice, careless rhetoric, prejudice, unfulfilled hopes.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

poverty, war, pestilence, crime, apathy and all the evils of man.

Several of our institutions—parts of the system—need correction.

(a) The Congress needs reform. For example, under the present seniority system the majority member with the longest continuous service becomes the powerful chairman of a Congressional committee. The chairman can absolutely block any piece of legislation that comes to his committee and a member cannot do a thing about it.

The Speaker of the House holds enormous power over the shaping of legislation. The present Speaker is 78 years of age. Fifteen committee chairmen, nine in the House and six in the Senate, are over 70.

Two committee chairmen are over 80 and a third will soon be.

(b) The political party needs reform. Only three percent of the Democratic and Republican precinct committeemen—the basic party officials—in the State of Indiana are under thirty years of age.

I am distressed that in Indiana not more than ten percent of the population engages actively in politics and probably less than half of that percentage becomes involved in political campaigns. We simply must do better if the democratic process is to remain viable and responsive.

(c) The National political party conventions need reform. I was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1968. The proceedings of the convention were chaotic. The most conscientious delegate could not understand what was going on. The platform speaker could not be heard. Motions were not available to him in writing. The party platform itself at a most crucial point could not be amended from the floor.

These, and many other instances, are clear indications of the failure on the part of our system to respond to the people.

I know the shortcomings of the system.

I know that the system is slow to respond, that it takes tremendous effort to generate change, that legislative victories come small and come seldom.

I feel a sense of deep personal anguish when I see a failure of the system. Over the Christmas holidays I read about twelve-year-old Walter, a young Negro boy in New York City, who died as a dope addict because the system, the community, the family, the Church, the political party, the police, the courts, the Congress had failed to respond to the needs of this young man.

We must, then, in our response to the young say, honestly and with candor, there is plenty of room for improvement in the system and open our eyes to the necessity of change.

The democratic system is not an achieved state or a resting place. It is a building, a making, a process, a living tissue. Our job is to get on with the job of solving our problems and improving our institution.

### 3. *Specific improvements*

And that brings me to another element in our response. We must specifically and forcefully advocate changes to improve the system. Not all of us will agree with every suggested change. There is no reason we should. But each of us, acknowledging the defects in the system, must be open to proposals to make the system work better.

Let me indicate where I would make some changes to make the system work better.

(a) The democratic process must be expanded by reforming the Electoral College. The time has come in this country to elect its President by direct popular vote and to abolish the fiction of the Electoral College. We can no longer take the chance that the man with more popular votes loses the election. We cannot permit the massive disenfranchisement of the minority votes in every state or the possibility that an elector would take into his own hands the responsibility of swaying the election.

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(b) The suffrage ought to be extended. The suffrage ought to be extended to young men and women 18 and over. We call upon them to fight, to carry out the policies of this nation. They ought to be permitted to participate in the selection of the leaders who made the policies. We need their enthusiasm and idealism in the political system.

Long state residency requirements for voting for President and Vice President should be removed.

(c) We ought to extend the primaries in Indiana to the nomination of governor, other state officers, and United States Senator. The convention system allows the average citizen less voice in the selection of his political leadership.

(d) We ought to seek new ways of financing campaigns.

Will Rogers remarked, "It takes a lot of money, even to get beat with." The cost of political campaigning has sky-rocketed. Because of these costs, good men refrain from running. Large individual contributions create uneasiness about the electoral process. The candidate is diverted from his main function by the necessity of raising substantial amounts of money. We have to seek ways and means to provide some form of support; through appropriations, tax credits, matching incentive plans.

(e) Legislative lobbying practices have to be strictly regulated. Lobbying is based on the constitutionally guaranteed right of the people to petition their representatives. The present law is based on the premise of regulation through disclosure, not curtailment. That premise is sound, but there is simply too many loopholes for effective and fair regulation.

(f) We must do everything we can to increase the equity of our institutions and to open them to the influence of people, especially young people.

The reform of the draft was a step in the right direction.

We must provide young people—many of whom are searching for a commitment, a cause—with the opportunity to serve. Only about one-third of the draft eligible young men are called. We must make available public service opportunities to young men and women. The possibilities are many:

Teaching and reading assistants;

Tutors and counselors in elementary and secondary schools;

Hospital aides;

Personnel for neighborhood centers;

Assistants to law enforcement officials;

Aides to social service agencies.

(g) Our political parties must become open institutions. We must assure that:

They do not discriminate;

That large delegate fees are abolished;

That the rules of the party are available to all people;

That adequate notices of all meetings are published;

That proxy abuses are curbed;

That the opportunity to express preference for delegates is freely available;

That the unit rule is abolished.

Above all, we want to assure that any person can become a party member easily.

We have to crash out of our party structure which has not substantially changed in 100 years time. It will be an agonizing, arduous effort to reform and open its processes, but it has to be done.

(h) The Congress of the United States needs help. It must be restructured and made more efficient, improving its ability to handle a \$200 billion budget, spinning off its non-policy business, improving its public image. Congress is no longer a co-equal branch. The President not only is Chief Executive; he is also chief legislator. The great challenge is to make the Congress capable of exercising its responsibilities as the legislative branch of the government.

## 4. Other alternatives to the system

A final element of our response to those who challenge the system is to ask another question: Do you really have any other choice but to make the system work? Violence or anarchy or totalitarianism are not for us. You cannot have the pleasure of overthrowing one system without the burden of putting something in its place. That burden falls heavily upon those who criticize.

So we ask those who challenge the system: What do you plan to put in its place?

## CONCLUSION

We all know that the system, the Democratic decision-making process in America is in for some rugged testing.

The number and complexity of the challenges before us are appalling. They cut deeper into our lives. They require more talent, more money, more time to resolve. They stubbornly resist solution.

The young people want to know:

Can the democratic system survive?

If it can be tough enough to solve our problems without being cruel?

If it can be alert, without being authoritarian?

If it can act with resolution, but with imagination?

If it can be efficient and still take time to consult and build a consensus.

In short, can the democratic system survive and prevail over the challenges that confront it?

It is not written in the stars that the democratic process will always remain pre-eminent among the nations.

But, challenges to the democratic process are not new. The history of this nation can be written as a grand conflict between those who believed in the ability of the system and the democratic process to meet challenge and change and those who did not.

From John Adams who said, "There never was a democracy that did not commit suicide," to Thomas Jefferson who said, "Cherish the spirit of the people."

From Alexander Hamilton, who feared power lodged in the majority, to Andrew Jackson, who feared it lodged anywhere else.

From Fisher Ames, who spoke of the tyranny of the many, to Lincoln who professed a mystical faith in the common man and the government of the whole people.

We must take our place in this historic debate, expressing our faith that America can meet its challenges if we recognize our strengths and correct our weaknesses and dedicate ourselves "to the great task remaining before us that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom."

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

I am placing this testimony in the RECORD so that my colleagues may know of my strong feelings on this legislation: CONGRESSMAN HALPERN'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCE AND FINANCE

Mr. Chairman, I thank you and the Committee for affording me the opportunity to offer my evaluation of the proposals before this Committee. I am a cosponsor of Congressman Eckhardt's original class action bill, which presently exists in the form of H.R. 14585. I firmly believe that this is the best approach to enable the consumer to obtain effective legal redress of any approach offered, including the Administration supported bill, H.R. 14931.

Let me say, first, that I feel that the class action bill is the most important measure before Congress in terms of practical aid to the consumer. Many of the bills currently put forward attack the consumer abuses piecemeal, but the class suit approach goes to the very heart of the problem—giving the consumer the tools to make his complaint heard in a courtroom and thereby receive hard financial compensation for the injury he has suffered.

Much consumer legislation provides specific regulation to prevent particular commercial frauds or safety hazards, or sets up new bureaucracies to police the enormous area of consumer involvement. But no law as yet proposes to give the consumer the ability to protect himself and recover for his own damages.

## INADEQUACY OF EXISTING STATE AND FEDERAL LAW

Before I explain the benefits of the class suit approach more thoroughly, I want to discuss a point of confusion. The proponents of the federal class action approach often talk of adopting state substantive law. Critics have asked what this means if the bills sponsored are talking of rejecting inadequate state processes.

The important distinction to make is the difference between laws which enable one to get into court, and laws which form the basis for recovering and proving one's case. The first type of law is procedural—and this is where the states fall short. The second type of law is substantive, and this is where the class action approach would hold state laws as adequate and adopt them for use in federal courts. The state substantive law on deceit and fraud is an adequate basis for recovery, but the state procedural statutes on consumer class action provide a poor means to enable consumers to get into court.

This leads to another point of confusion. If we have state class action laws, some ask, why must we have a federal class action law? The answer is simple. The state laws are inadequate—they cannot do the job.

Most states permit "joinder" of parties in given cases, but the courts have usually never allowed so numerous a group to be joined as consumer suits require, on the basis that all the plaintiffs' right to relief must arise out of the "same transaction", and a common question of law. What this often means is that the injured parties must have been injured by the same misrepresentation at the same time in exactly the same way. Frequently, consumers cannot prove, even if their injuries were caused by the same merchant and a particular form of practice, that there was a complete similarity as to all aspects of their injuries.

The same problem results with state statutes actually permitting class suits. The courts commonly require a complete similarity and coincidental timing of injuries, resulting in a "common interest". Also, state courts have held the uniting of large numbers of plaintiffs unacceptable because all are thereby bound by one remedy, precluding their ability to seek various diverse remedies on their own. In truth, few would

seek any remedy at all if they were unable to combine in the class suit.

For example Ohio gas consumers seeking to sue for overcharges were thrown out of court because the court said that the consumers' injuries were too diverse—they purchased gas at different periods, paid different rates, and bought under different franchises and contracts. As a result, they had no "community of interest" and could not be represented in a single suit for all their injuries. *Davies v. Columbia, Gas and Electric*, 151 Ohio Street, 417; 86 N.E. (2d) 603 (1949).

A more disturbing result recently occurred in my own city of New York, in which a consumer class action against a finance company which notoriously violated the New York Retail Installment Sales Act by using microscopic print on its credit contracts was dismissed because the class was not "united in interest" and maintenance of the class action would deprive members of the class of "other remedies they might prefer to pursue". *Hall v. Coburn*, 160 N.Y. J. No. 28, Pg. 2 (Supreme Court Bronx County).

There is no likelihood these people will have any remedy now.

The state class action laws then cannot get the consumer into state court, and we must have this Federal Consumer Class Action law to give him a federal forum.

However, it must be noted that the federal courts do have a class action rule which allows this type of suit at present. (*Federal Rule of Procedure 23*). But it has not served the consumer well. First, Federal courts will only entertain suits brought upon a "federal question" or "diversity of citizenship" jurisdictional basis. At present, no Federal substantive law exists in this area to provide a "Federal question". Similarly, diversity jurisdiction requires complete diversity of citizens from different states and clearly most consumer abuses occur locally so that parties will not be from different states.

In addition, the Supreme Court has held that claims of the individuals in the class action cannot be aggregated towards the \$10,000 minimum, which is a prime prerequisite of Federal jurisdiction. *Snyder v. Harris* 89 Supreme Court 1053 (1969).

So once again, the need exists for new legislation to allow consumers to have their day in court by a clear mandate which waives the \$10,000 jurisdictional amount, which H.R. 14585 does, and states clear Federal policy that "acts in defraud of consumers" are in violation of Federal law and therefore constitute a basis for "Federal question" jurisdiction.

## CONSUMER BENEFITS

How does this all actually benefit the consumer?

It has very great benefits. No existing legislation has been translated into meaningful relief for the consumer as yet. One who is defrauded in the marketplace finds the Federal Trade Commission concerned with larger "patterns" of fraud, local agencies too overworked to assist, and the courts too expensive in view of the usually modest amount of his claim. Worst of all the merchant knows how impotent the consumer is—and he takes an intransigent stance with no attempt to compromise the issue in the first place.

The class action bill makes the enforcement of small claims feasible for the first time, both legally and economically. Consumers will be able to pool their claims in one suit and get effective legal representation in the federal district courts.

While these problems affect all consumers, the greatest beneficiaries may well be those in the middle-income brackets, for they are unable to secure the services of legal assistance programs and cannot afford the top legal services available to the wealthy.

There are many examples of consumer abuses where class action litigation would

## CONSUMERS NEED CLASS ACTION

## HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, with so much political hay being made on consumer issues these days, I do not want my colleagues to overlook proposed legislation that will be of substantial direct benefit to the buying public. Congressman ECKHARDT's class action bill is the genuine article. It is a serious, carefully thought-out approach to giving consumers immediate relief in the courts. I believe it is the most important consumer proposal before Congress today.

On February 4, I testified in support of this measure, which I have cosponsored, before the House Commerce Committee.

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offer effective new means of relief, such as where elderly citizens have been persuaded to contract for extensive dancing lessons only to find the instructions misrepresented or where semiliterate individuals have been pressured to purchase sets of books for self education and such books are entirely beyond their reading levels.

And the greatest beauty of this bill is that it would cost the inflation-pressed federal budget not a cent, and no cumbersome administrative bureaucracy need be developed to administer it.

This is the very reason the Administration's bill fails to be useful. It requires the Attorney General's office to successfully establish the wrongful claim before the consumer can begin his own suit. In effect, it makes consumers "second class citizens" before the courts.

Moreover, the Administration bill is far too narrow. It allows legal action only for a specified list of 11 "wrongs". H.R. 14585 makes the basis of legal action an "act in defraud of consumers" as defined by the Federal Trade Commission, which thereby encompasses well over 800 abuses uncovered by the FTC in its years of experience.

It is clear, then, which approach will be the best for the consumer. I urge the Committee to report the H.R. 14585 favorably. Many millions of consumers will continue to be blocked from effective relief without this, and it is certainly the best proposal yet to provide a full and effective recourse to the consuming public.

**DEMOCRATIC POLICY COUNCIL—VI:  
THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT DURING THE 1970'S**

**HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 10, 1970*

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Americans deserve a healthy, clean environment. Such is not the case, however, as our water and air resources are becoming more polluted day by day, and the slogan "Keep America Beautiful" will soon be nearly beyond our grasp. I introduce into the RECORD a statement by the Democratic Policy Council, which Monday proposed a series of measures which are necessary if our environment is not to be spoiled beyond repair. Senator WALTER MONDALE is chairman of the council's human environment committee.

**STATEMENT BY POLICY COUNCIL**

In our quest for the good life we have put enormous pressures on our natural resources, disrupted delicate biological balances, fouled our cities and the countryside, and endangered our lives and the planet. Our challenge is to restore a balance between man and his environment and to make life more meaningful and attractive in the largest cities and in the smallest towns.

Consider these facts:

Almost every American lake, stream or river is now blighted by pollution.

As a nation, we discard yearly more than 195 million tons of solid waste, and industrial smokestacks spew over 175 thousand tons of noxious fumes into the air.

The exhaust pipes of 85 million cars create more than 60 percent of the air pollution that blankets major cities.

Thoughtful and respected scientists have warned that unless the tempo of ravaging our national environment is checked, life itself may hang in delicate balance by the year 2000.

This problem touches everyone—the poor,

the middle class, the wealthy. Not only is it an urban phenomenon but the forces of blight threaten life in rural America as well.

**BULLDOZED AMERICA**

Now, our goal for all citizens must be a safe and sane environment for man—the right to clean air, to clear waters, to open spaces and to a beautiful America—not a bulldozed America.

We have made a small and modest beginning. The apathy of the 1950's turned to awareness and action in the 1960's. Through Democratic leadership, a nation's commitment was embodied in such landmark legislation as:

The Clean Air Act of 1963;  
The Clean Air and Solid Waste Disposal Acts of 1965;  
The Clean Rivers Act of 1966;  
The Water Resources Planning Act of 1966;  
The Air Quality Act of 1967; and  
The National Environmental Policy Act of 1969.

We welcome the President's expressed concern with the problems of the environment. Now we must hope that this concern will be translated into a serious and sustained commitment to attack these problems.

The time has passed for rhetorical pronouncements or admonitions. Nor is this the time to call for a "do it yourself" environmental clean-up program. The central and irreducible fact is that the federal government must assume major responsibility and assert national leadership in this effort.

**SUPERFICIAL REFORMS**

We must demand more than slight-of-hand financing and the mere reshuffling of governmental bureaus and agencies. Indeed, we must be acutely aware of the danger of superficial reforms that divert the growing public support for far-reaching and effective action.

There must be no misunderstandings—a serious and sustained effort to achieve, and then to maintain, a quality environment for Americans is an undertaking of major proportions. It will require significant readjustments in our national priorities. It will entail the examination and possibly the rejection of certain national beliefs and practices. It will involve greater citizen participation. But, most importantly, it will demand new governmental tools at all levels and the enormous commitment of public resources.

President Nixon devoted much of his State of the Union message to the environmental crisis. He committed his Administration to this battle, but regrettably his budget does not square with the promise to propose "the most comprehensive and costly program in this field in America's history." In fact, his budget represents for many programs a retreat from the goals already set by Congress and for others no more than a commitment to achieve existing levels. And deeds, not words, will be the ultimate measure of this Administration's commitment.

**POLLUTION TOLL**

Pollution takes its greatest toll among those who live in the urban environment. Americans who live in the central cities should not be asked to put up with uncollected garbage, crippling poisons in the air, rivers which are fire hazards, contaminated water supplies, or relentless urban noise. These Americans who have been forgotten in the past must not be forgotten now in this battle to reclaim our environment.

We suggest a program of action—action that is urgently required.

An appropriations request for the full \$1.25 billion authorized for expenditure in fiscal 1971 for grants for water pollution control.

A program for continued and greatly expanded assistance to municipalities for the

construction of waste treatment facilities after 1971.

Stricter and more rapid enforcement of both air and water pollution control standards, and greater public participation through the commencement of class actions against violators of the standards.

A requirement that all existing factories will have the best available anti-pollution equipment and technology installed and applied as quickly as possible.

A requirement that places the burden of proof on proposed industries, before they are built, that they will not add to air or water pollution.

Accelerated research to develop exhaust-free motor vehicles.

Development of state-wide air pollution control programs so that no polluters can evade or escape control and compliance schedules, with stand-by authority in the Federal government to act if the states do not.

The development of rational systems of user charges that place the burden of the cost of cleaning up public waterways upon those who are the source of the pollution.

Greatly increased Federal outlays for research and development in all areas of environmental control.

Adequate funding for acquisition of lands for park and open space needs but in a manner designed to avoid speculation and excessive land payments.

Strong Federal strip mine control and land reclamation laws.

A new program for noise pollution abatement and control.

The complete elimination of harmful environmental contaminants and pesticides.

A national policy and plan for growth, population distribution and land use.

Development of a major Federal environmental educational program.

Development of new methods to cope with the problems of solid waste disposal.

Strong regulations promptly implemented against pollution by Federal installations.

**PROTECT CONSUMER**

The decade of the 1970's will be equally decisive in our efforts to protect the American consumer. Under the leadership of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, the Democratic Party has:

The National Motor Vehicle and Traffic Safety Act of 1966;

The Child Protection Act of 1966;

The Wholesome Meat Act of 1967;

The Wholesome Poultry Products Act of 1968;

The Truth-in-Lending Act of 1968.

Experience has shown that much of the consumer legislation of the 1960's needs strengthening. Beyond this, however, the 1970's must be a time of expanding the consumer's right to choose and his right to be heard. And, as in the case of environmental policy, we must be particularly alert in the 1970's to the dangers of consumer proposals which offer only paper rights and fake reform—a highly sophisticated brand of mislabeling and deceptive packaging.

In this spirit of vigilant action, we advocate this program:

A consumer protection agency, one vested with independence, power and authority, to consolidate the scattered consumer research and investigative activities of the federal government and mechanisms outside the government to help the consumer achieve satisfaction in the market place, such as the Consumer Action Plan recently announced by the Democratic National Committee;

A freedom of consumer information law that would authorize the release of consumer product information collected by federal agencies, particularly the information related to product performance;

A federal class action law to permit consumer lawyers to bring class actions in the

federal courts without having to await prior action by the Attorney General or the Federal Trade Commission;

A consumer products guaranty bill that would require the maker of any guarantee to repair or replace malfunctioning parts within a reasonable time and without charge;

A fish inspection law that would provide full-time federal inspectors in fish processing plants, essentially the same system now used in the meat and poultry inspection program;

Comprehensive automobile insurance reform; and

Comprehensive product safety legislation.

These are the essential next steps in consumer protection as we enter the 1970's. Further recommendations will be made. Senator Walter Mondale is chairman of the committee. Congressman Donald M. Fraser is a member of the council.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

porters, denied knowledge of such lists, but acknowledged that tensions exist between some white and black girls.

There were no black students or parents at the hearing, which was on a bill aimed at toughening the penalties for offenses committed in and around school property.

The three legislators, all white Democrats, making the request are Dels. Francis J. Santangelo, Bernard W. Donovan and Gilbert R. Giordano.

The trio voiced agreement with the bulk of the testimony to the effect that there has been a breakdown in discipline in the schools and that teachers and administrators are afraid to take action against unruly students for fear of physical harm.

The three legislators addressed their letter to Sippel, rather than to State's Attorney Arthur A. Marshall Jr., who directs grand jury activities. Marshall said that he felt the grand jury would welcome testimony on school disorders but that a full-scale probe could be conducted only by police or some other investigative unit.

Santangelo said that, although DuVal and Bladensburg present the most serious problems, he hoped that the grand jury would investigate all county schools that have experienced racial tensions. Racial incidents have also occurred at Suitland and Parkdale high schools in the county this school year.

In testimony today, Beverly Henn, a DuVal cheerleader, told the subcommittee that she was "on the list" that she said black girls had drawn up.

"It's real trouble trying to get an education when you have people threatening you all day long," she testified. She said she hadn't been beaten up.

Miss Henn and other students from her high school and Bladensburg testified that the main trouble occurs in the school corridors.

There, the claimed pushing, name calling, threats and confrontations occur constantly. No weapons have been used, but some girls claimed they knew of black girls who were carrying razor blades.

Midge Cruz, a student at Bladensburg, said she was speaking for both white and black students at her school "who are fed up with what's been going on." She termed school officials "spineless and two faced" and claimed they let black students "run up and down the halls screaming."

Miss Cruz said that of the approximately 500 black students at Bladensburg there are "about 40 to 60 that are agitators and about 100 more that are their followers."

After hearing from the 14 witnesses, the Subcommittee halted proceedings although many other students and their parents wanted to testify. Throughout, Giordano asked witnesses if they would be willing to testify before a grand jury. Most said they would. When he first mentioned the idea of a probe, the audience responded with wild applause.

In their letter, the three legislators contended that "inaction of school officials and authorities" in dealing with racial problems "was well documented at the hearing."

DuVal experienced its racial disorder Jan. 12 when black and white youths clashed. There were 22 arrests, and 19 were charged as juveniles. Bladensburg experienced its disorders last September and October. About 60 students were arrested over several days, and police remained in and around the school for weeks.

A teacher at Bladensburg, who wished to be anonymous, told a reporter today she thinks the situation at the school has improved since the troubles last fall. She said she "had never heard" of a "10 most wanted" list but acknowledged that among sophomore girls "there have been some personal vendettas" that had been mainly verbal but had resulted in "isolated instances of physical confrontations."

She said that there was a "standoff" of about two dozen black and white girls yesterday at the school, but it broke up without trouble. She said that the number of "agitators" was about "four or five on both sides."

David L. Dean, the Bladensburg principal, said, "I think since October we've been getting along pretty well."

"I'm sorry to hear they (the parents) went over there (Annapolis) rather than talking to us because we like to hear about these things," Dean said.

He added that he had never heard of the "10 most wanted" list.

Daniel Chase, DuVal principal, also said he had not heard of the list. He said police have not been needed at his school since the Jan. 12 incident. As a result of cooperation with the office of County School Superintendent William S. Schmidt, he said, a full-time administrative assistant was appointed last week to handle human relations problems at the school.

Schmidt said today, he has had no word on serious troubles at Bladensburg since last fall and nothing on DuVal since Jan. 12. He said generally he is informed immediately when there is a disturbance at any school. As for supporting school administrators who impose strict penalties on troublesome students, Schmidt said:

"I have had one request from Mr. Chase about expelling a student and I have supported him. The student has been expelled."

[From the New York Times, Jan. 12, 1970]  
SCHOOLS HIRE OWN GUARDS AS VIOLENCE RISES  
SHARPLY

(By Wayne King)

Crime and violence appear to have increased sharply in public schools in urban areas.

This trend is documented in interviews with school officials in 20 major cities, and in the preliminary results of a Senate subcommittee study to be released later this year.

The school officials also reported that some school systems were moving to meet the growing problem, in part, by bringing private guards and other non-teaching personnel into the schools to maintain order.

The Senate subcommittee study links what it calls a dramatic rise in school violence over the last few years with adverse socio-economic conditions, particularly in the inner cities. The study also says that the most dramatic rise in violence involves nonstudents who congregate in and around the schools. Examples of school violence abound:

In Washington last week, policemen were stationed at each of the city's 46 junior and senior high schools following several incidents on Jan. 5. On that day, a 15-year-old student was shot to death by a classmate; another, 14, was wounded in the leg when a derringer brought to school by a friend accidentally fired; a third was arrested for carrying a pistol, and a fourth reported being shot at on a school playground. The incidents occurred at four different junior high schools.

In Nashville, Tenn., two students involved last year in a dispute with the band director at East Nashville High attacked him with their fists, knocking out several teeth and breaking his nose.

In Detroit, a 25-year-old substitute science teacher suffered a punctured lung last year when he was stabbed by a gang of youths who burst into his classroom during one of a series of disruptions at an East Side high school. Later in the year, a 26-year-old elementary school teacher was wounded when a youth, not a student, asked for a match outside the school, then pulled a pistol and shot her when she said that she had none.

In the face of such incidents, coupled with student disruptions and evidence of racial polarization in some schools, a number of large urban school systems are relying on private guards, hall monitors and other non-teaching personnel to maintain order.

## EDUCATION THREATENED BY REIGN OF TERROR

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, in our country many people of "good will" are trying to make compulsory integration of our schools work.

To those who feel that with time, the problems of free peoples can be made to disappear, I recommend a reading of the frightening report from our nearby State of Maryland, discussing a reign of terror in the schools of that State, resulting directly from forceful intermeddling by Federal bureaucrats in the public schools of that State.

Tragically, even as reported by the New York Times, the terror is not limited to Maryland, but is found wherever the zealots have prevailed over local judgment.

Mr. Speaker, I include the news clippings, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Feb. 7, 1970]

### GRAND JURY SCHOOL PROBE IS REQUESTED (By Lawrence Meyer and John Hanrahan)

ANNAPOLIS, February 6.—Three Prince Georges County legislators called today for a grand jury investigation into what they termed a "reign of terror" by black students at Bladensburg and DuVal high schools, the scenes of racial conflicts earlier in the school year. School officials denied that there was any terrorism.

John Sippel, foreman of the county grand jury, said the request would be considered, but he gave no definite answer.

The request came after a hearing before a House of Delegates Judiciary Subcommittee at which 4 of 20 white girls present, along with 10 parents, testified that the Negro "agitators" daily are guilty of physical assaults, extortion attempts, threats and obscenities directed against whites at the two schools.

About a fifth of Bladensburg's 2,500 students are black; at DuVal about a quarter of the 1,800 students are black.

The girls and their parents charged that black girls at the two schools have drawn up the equivalent of "10 most wanted" lists in which they single out 10 white girls to beat up. School officials, including the principal of DuVal, who were contacted by re-

While the problem of violence in urban schools has been cited for several years by teachers' unions and others, no reliable system of reporting incidents on a nationwide basis has been developed.

However, the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, headed by Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut, is now compiling data from questionnaires sent to 153 school systems in all parts of the country.

The Dodd report, while it stresses that its figures do not reflect a definitive picture, concludes that "it is possible to say that homicide, forcible rape, robbery and other crimes on which statistics were developed have dramatically risen."

Statistics compiled so far, contained in a draft of a statement Senator Dodd plans to make in opening hearings on school violence in the early spring, show sharp increases in specific categories of crime and violence.

The statistics, based on responses from the 110 districts that replied to the questionnaire, showed that between 1964 and 1968 the number of homicides in the schools responding rose from 15 to 26, forcible rape from 51 to 81 and robbery from 396 to 1,508.

In other categories, the reports show that the number of aggravated assaults in the 110 districts increased from 475 to 680; burglary and larceny from 7,604 to 14,102; instances of vandalism from 186,184 to 250,544; weapons offenses from 419 to 1,089; narcotics violations from 73 to 854; drunkenness from 370 to 1,035; assaults on teachers by students from 1,601 to 4,267; other offenses from 4,796 to 8,824, and expulsions for incorrigibility from 4,884 to 8,190.

In another category, the report cited what it called "perhaps the most dramatic increase," a rise in crime by nonstudents from 142 instances in 1964 to 3,894 in 1968.

The report continues: "There is every indication that despite his triumphant bravado, the dropout is deeply affected by his failure in school. In almost every case of vandalism, destruction of school property and attacks on students, former students who were dropouts are involved."

#### COST OF VANDALISM

The report also notes that the nation's 36 largest cities reported that school vandalism, including arson, caused damage totaling more than \$6.5-million in 1968.

The report tentatively suggests that the causes of school violence are the same as those listed as cause of general violence by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. These are:

Low income, physical deterioration of housing and surroundings; dependency; racial and ethnic concentration; broken homes; working mothers; low levels of education and vocational skills; high unemployment; high proportion of single males; overcrowded and substandard housing; low rates of home ownership or single-family dwellings; mixed land use and high population density.

The report said that these conditions were particularly prevalent in the inner city.

At the same time the statement suggests that laxity on the part of school officials may be a cause:

"It is in the interest of the school system that whatever untoward violence occurs be hushed up," the report said. "It reflects on the school system itself. . . . The fact that these events are treated so gingerly is not lost on the student body, which feels considerable encouragement from this failure to report violent incidents."

While teachers in some cities reported a reluctance to discipline unruly youngsters, sometimes out of fear of making a bad situation worse, there were also indications that more schools were turning to nonteaching personnel for discipline.

After the incidents in Washington last week, for example, school officials held an

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emergency meeting and authorized the hiring of 80 "community aides," mostly young men, for duty in the schools. Uniformed city policemen, meanwhile, have been assigned to schools on a temporary basis, a step school officials had been trying to avoid as possibly inflammatory.

In New York, a \$500,000 pilot program that puts 170 unarmed security guards in 29 high schools and 19 junior highs has been in operation less than a year. The Board of Education is requesting \$2,656,901 to "provide additional security for pupils and teachers" and to make it unnecessary to call the city police to schools "except in rare instances."

#### PROGRAM CALLED SUCCESSFUL

Irving Anchor, assistant superintendent of schools, said that the guard program had been generally successful, although "some of the militants feel that these are pigs in the schools." About 60 per cent of the guards are Negro, 20 per cent Puerto Rican.

In Chicago, the public schools have recently increased the number of part-time security guards in the schools from 390 to 420. The guard program cost \$912,000 last year and Edward D. Brady, director of security, said that he hoped for more money in the new budget.

As part of security arrangements, he has a direct-dial police phone on his desk that enables him to reach all police district stations and major police officials quickly. Other schools reported similar direct ties to police precincts.

With the increase in school security personnel, Mr. Brady reported that he was handling organization of a new school security directors association to be formed in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., in April.

In Philadelphia, the school system spends about \$3-million a year to employ 532 non-teaching assistants, 48 fulltime security guards and varying numbers of "per diem security officers" hired as needed and numbering up to 170 at any one time.

The nonteaching assistants are not hired specifically to control violence, "but they come in pretty damn handy for unruliness," a school board spokesman said.

Public school officials in the last two years have also had to cope with student demonstrations and disruptions. Although disruptions in secondary schools have received far less public attention than incidents like those at Berkeley, San Francisco State and Columbia, the nation's public schools have been far from immune.

In a recent study titled "High School Student Unrest," published by the National School Public Relations Association, it was reported that 59 per cent of the high schools and 56 per cent of the junior highs had experienced some form of protest by January of last year. By May 25, according to Alan F. Westin, director of the Center of Research and Education in American Liberties at Columbia University, the number of protests had reached about 2,000.

#### WHAT ROLE FOR THE UNITED STATES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR RACIAL EQUALITY?

#### HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, if mankind is ever to live in peace, the poisons of racism must be eliminated. "Great Decisions, 1970," a recently published booklet by the Foreign Policy Association, contains an article on race and world

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politics entitled "What Role for the United States in the Struggle for Racial Equality?" For 8 weeks during February and March, adults and students will meet informally in locally sponsored groups to discuss this and other issues in "Great Decisions."

I urge every thoughtful American to read the following article for this subject is not an isolated domestic phenomenon but is increasingly being recognized because of its grave implications vis-a-vis our international policies.

The article follows:

WHAT ROLE FOR THE UNITED STATES IN THE STRUGGLE FOR RACIAL EQUALITY?  
(Starred words defined in glossary at end of article)

*It is in the U.S. that the racial problem is likely to be solved first. Likely to be solved, or finally and fatally to explode our planet.* (The Economist (London).)

Every thoughtful American recognizes that the internal health of American society depends, in crucial measure, on how we cope with our race \* problem. But the external effects may be no less critical. Many observers hold that not merely our global image but also the impact of our position as a global power is bound up with the fate of our non-white citizens at home.

The example of a racially separated and stratified America, they say, could corrode what moral and cultural influence we have abroad. It could estrange us from the world's nonwhite nations. It could exacerbate white-supremacy attitudes in other nations. At worst, it might even help ignite a disastrous world war across color lines.

The example of a genuinely open and egalitarian American society, on the other hand, would supply no instant panacea for the world's racial ills. But it could help alleviate them, within nations and among nations, and thereby serve the cardinal purpose of our foreign policy: peace with justice.

For racism infects our entire planet—even though some of its inhabitants manage to see only the mote in the other's eye.

Americans were long scolded for their color prejudices by their British cousins, who were complacently above that sort of thing until nearly a million colored immigrants flooded into Britain to compete with white workers for jobs and housing. Some Americans, in turn, have soothed their own consciences by pointing self-righteously at South Africa's white racists—or at Russian discrimination against African students. Meanwhile, amid cries of pious outrage at the white world's racial arrogance, several African countries are busy expelling thousands of their lifelong Asian residents. And so on.

For those of us who are not simply seeking to sugarcoat our own shortcomings, a study of international race problems poses some provocative questions:

What exactly is racism? Does it have many guises, or only the most obvious one of color prejudice? Where is it most, and least, prevalent—and dangerous? What aggravates it, and what allays it? What new perspectives on American race problems can we gain from a survey of race relations elsewhere? And what guidance for American action, at home and abroad, to combat man's inhumanity to man?

*Scientist versus sociologist*

In the definition acceptable to most scientists, "race" identifies a group of mankind sharing a distinctive set of hereditary physical traits.

The word is so emotionally charged and so often misused, however, that many anthropologists prefer more neutral labels such as "population unit" or "breeding group." But by any name, a race is rarely "pure" (from exclusive inbreeding). And few biological traits are peculiar to a single group.

"Color, tooth shape, nose shape, build, hair form, eye form, etc. do not come in neat racial packages clearly distinct from each other," points out anthropologist Robin Fox of Rutgers University.

For example, *Caucasoids*—one of the three classic anthropological divisions of mankind—display skin pigmentation ranging from pinkish white (north Europe) to tawny (Middle East) to coffee brown (India). Caucasoid hair, while frequently wavy brown, ranges from lank to curly from blond to black.

Within the *Mongoloid* division, the so-called double eye-fold is less common among American Indians than among Asians, and the skin-color spectrum spans yellowish white to deep bronze.

The *Negroid* division encompasses the tall, slender, aquiline-featured Nilotic peoples of East Africa and the squat, broad-nosed Negrito pygmies of the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal. Skin tone ranges from bluish black to yellowish brown.

Within the three big divisions are numerous racial subgroups: Eskimo, Polynesian, Bushman, Indo-Dravidian, Australoid, etc. But scientists stress that physical "race" has no applicability whatever to many groups which have at times been labeled as such: "Latin" is a civilization. "Aryan" is a family of languages. "Irish" is a nationality. Celts, Slavs, Jews, Zulus, Mongols or Arabs are descended from tribes with common geographic origins and cultural heritages.

At this point, exit the anthropologist and enter the sociologist. In practice, the latter tells us, "race" is subjective. Men persist in applying the notion, if not always the word, to a whole gamut of attributes—ethnic, cultural, regional, class, tribal, religious, linguistic—that distinguish one group from of men from another.

Why? Many of us apparently have a psychological need to feel we belong to an "in" group, whether clan or tribe or nation, and to identify others as "out" groups. The technical term for this emotion is *ethnocentrism*.<sup>6</sup> It can bolster our self-assurance with a sense of solidarity and security among our own kind. It can also magnify the ways in which outsiders (whether minority groups or majority groups) differ from us and can prejudice us to the point of feeling that we are superior, *they* are inferior.

In extreme form, ethnocentrism can help drive us to exploit an alien group as the scapegoat for our own shortcomings, as the excuse for our own guilty misconduct, as the target of our own fear and frustration and aggression. This, says the sociologist, is the essence of racism.

#### Racism without race

Analysts of racism point out how easily the emotion can flourish *without* the biological race factor being present. Group prejudices against fellow whites, blacks, browns, etc. can be as—or more—bitter than those across color lines.

One recent survey of French workingmen, for example, revealed that 33 percent objected to working beside a white Algerian or Portuguese, while only 9 percent objected to a Negro co-worker. The former tend to be poorly educated migrants who fill the lowest-level jobs at rock-bottom wages, whereas the Africans and West Indians in France are fewer in number, are better educated and fill a higher niche in the socioeconomic scale.

In the past, nationalist or ideological excess has often taken on a quasi-racial taint, as in the Nazi massacres of Jews, Slavs and Gypsies. Today, we need only look at the map for reminders of how much ethnic and cultural tension pervades the world—not only within the same anthropological races, but among citizens of the same countries.

We see old religious antagonisms recurring between Hindu and Muslim in India, between Protestant and Catholic in Northern Ireland, between Buddhist and Catholic in

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South Vietnam. The Jews of Israel may form a united front *vis-a-vis* their Muslim Arab neighbors; at home, they are visibly divided into "Westerners" from Europe and "Orientals" from North Africa and western Asia.

The Basques, a no less ancient people, cling proudly to their traditions and unique language. In their provinces of northern Spain they clamor fiercely for more regional autonomy, as do their Catalan neighbors. The Celtic minorities in Wales, Scotland and Brittany have similarly resisted cultural absorption by the English and French majorities; each region has a small but vociferous "nationalist" movement.

We hear frequent complaints of discrimination against French-speaking Canadians (a minority) and Flemish-speaking Belgians (a majority). A number of multiethnic nations—Canada, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and, not least, the Soviet Union—have sought harmony through a loose federal association of ethnic regions, with uneven results. Tiny, trilingual Switzerland probably offers the most successful example to date.

Elsewhere, as between Greek Cypriote and Turkish Cypriote, we see uneasy coexistence punctuated by bloody communal clashes. And, while memories of the murderous Congo struggles are still fresh, we watch Nigeria being devastated by tribal war.

#### The Glandular Element

Clearly, no color barrier is necessary to segregate one group of men from another and to poison their minds with resentment, suspicion, contempt or lethal rivalry. Yet there is near-unanimous agreement among scientists and other scholars that color—or other visible marks of genetic "race"—adds a special, sinister poison. To quote Professor Harold R. Isaacs of MIT, "Wherever the racial element is added to national, class, religious, ethnic and tribal lines of cleavage, it brings its own peculiar accretion of greater glandular involvement and emotional violence to all the other elements of conflict..."

How great is this glandular involvement? How much emotional violence is sparked by racial difference? The answers vary tremendously from country to country, depending on the historical patterns and current problems of each society.

#### COLOR AS A SIGN OF CLASS

Of Malaysia's 10 million citizens, slightly over half are Malays and more than a third are Chinese. The former have been indigenous to the Malay peninsula for some 2,000 years. Most of the latter are descended from the 19th-century immigrants who arrived during the British colonial period. Malays tend to live modestly as small farmers, fishermen, rural schoolteachers and civil servants. Chinese tend to cluster in cities and towns where they prosper as merchants, rice millers and businessmen. The Malays are Muslim, while the Chinese adhere to the Buddhist, Confucian and Taoist traditions of their ancestors—accounting in part for the low intermarriage rate.

Added to all their other differences is a racial one. Members of the Malay majority and the Chinese minority look conspicuously unlike. In Malay slang the Chinese are "slit-eyes." A common Chinese term for Malays is "prawn paste" (suggesting an unappetizing brown color) or the traditional epithet for all non-Chinese: *kwai* (devils).

Normally, the two communities are not given to calling each other rude names. Nor, although they coexist uncomfortably, have displays of open antagonism been frequent. But the bloody communal rioting that erupted last May was a shocking reminder of the depth of the Malay-Chinese rift. And it reopened painful questions about Malaysia's ability to survive as a political union of disparate peoples. (The communal problem is compounded by smaller Indian and Ceylonese minorities and by the primitive inhabitants of the country's two Borneo

states.) But observers agree that Malaysia offers a prime illustration of race as an aggravating factor—but by no means the only factor—in ethnic dissension.

This qualification is important, insist experts, if we are to see many of the world's "racial" situations in proper perspective.

#### (1) Split societies

Basically, *Malaysia* typifies a society split into distinct ethnic groups or classes, in which color—in the sense of physical appearance—is added to the many other symbols that define class status: language, religion, educational and cultural level, economic standing, profession, political philosophy, dress, social customs and so on.

Color may be a sharp or a mild irritant between groups; in *Malaysia* it is judged to be far less significant than economic friction. But color in a *class structure*—unlike the *caste*\* structures discussed in the next section—is never the sole determinant of status.

Sometimes color consciousness is no more than an aesthetic attitude, a traditional standard of what looks beautiful and what looks ugly. For centuries the Chinese and Japanese placed a high artistic premium on smooth white skin and straight black hair. They regarded alien features, including *Westerners'* rounder noses, rounder eyes and heavier beards, as coarse and grotesque.

Sometimes color accents a class division amounting to a vast gulf between civilizations, as with the brown-skinned Indonesians and the black Papuan natives under their administration in West Iran.

But color prejudice may be most "glandular" of all when a nation's ethnic factions are engaged in head-on competition for economic survival or political supremacy, or both.

*Sudan.* For eight years a sporadic but bloody civil war has been raging in the *Sudan*. A guerrilla insurgency among southern tribesmen, including a number of Christians, is fighting to liberate three provinces from political domination by northern, predominantly Muslim Arabs. The southern minority is black-skinned; the northern majority is lighter-skinned (although centuries of intermarriage have produced many dark-skinned *Sudanese* Arabs).

*East Africa.* South of the *Sudan* three black African nations—Kenya, Uganda and Zambia—are expelling thousands of Asian residents. Most of them are Indian merchants whose families have lived in East Africa for generations but who did not accept African citizenship when the countries gained independence from Britain.

The chief reason they are being forced to emigrate (by being denied government trading licenses) is their economic dominance: Kenya's Indians represent less than 2 percent of the population but control 80 percent of the commerce. But observers maintain that the race factor plays no small part in their eviction—as it does in Britain's reluctance to grant unlimited entry to the many who hold British passports.

*The Guyana pattern.* In three small Western Hemisphere countries the confrontation is between two non-indigenous populations. The ancestors of most citizens of Guyana and Trinidad-Tobago were imported by the British from either Africa (as slaves) or India (as indentured laborers); those of Surinam were brought by the Dutch from Africa and Java. Today economic and political rivalry is aggravated in each country by racial tension between those of African and those of Asian descent.

*Haiti.* Estrangement between a black class and a mulatto\* (mixed African-European) class is nowhere more evident than in *Haiti*. All whites were expelled or killed by the time that the Caribbean country won independence from France in 1804. The tiny mulatto class (roughly 5 percent), which had enjoyed special economic and educational privileges in the colonial period, promptly re-

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placed the French as the ruling elite. The mulattoes were toppled from political power in the 1950's. But they still assert the superiority of their French culture, polished French speech and traditional Catholicism, in contrast to the black majority's "folk" culture, Creole\* dialect and Catholicism mixed with voodoo.

(2) *Mixed societies*

Haiti's color-class barrier is breached by only a few blacks who marry and live among the lighter-skinned elite. The gulf between the two classes is exceptional among the mixed societies of the Western Hemisphere. Elsewhere we see less of a color barrier than a color scale.

*Latin America and the West Indies.* In all of Latin America only three nations—Argentina, Uruguay and Costa Rica—are overwhelmingly "European." Two others, Chile and Cuba, have majority white populations. Everywhere else "pure" whites are in the minority. In Bolivia, American Indians predominate; in Jamaica, Africans; in Mexico, *mestizos*\* (mixed American Indian-European); in the Dominican Republic, mulattoes.

The mixtures are repeated throughout the region. They vary according to how many Europeans settled in each place in colonial times and how extensively they employed and interbred with native Indians (largely in the Central and South American interior) or imported African slaves (largely on the eastern coast and in the West Indies).

To this multicolored melting pot, immigrants from various parts of Europe, Asia and the Middle East were later added.

Within such hybrid societies, say experts, "race" categories are meaningless. Distinctions between *ethnic* classes are blurred at best. Instead, most Latin American countries have preserved a rigid *socioeconomic* class structure from the colonial era. It is not how you look but how you live that decides your status:

"When an Indian can talk Spanish reasonably well, wears store-bought clothes and has *n* number of pesos, he ceases to be an Indian," explains a Mexican. Conversely, the fair-skinned *indio gringo* of northern Peru is considered no less Indian because of his light color, as long as he remains attached to his Indian community, language and customs.

Perhaps not surprisingly, however, the social scale *usually* corresponds to the skin-color scale. Lighter means higher (more affluent, cultivated, "European"). Darker means lower (poorer, less educated, "native").

But the scale can be manipulated. As proof of the relative absence of color prejudice in their countries, Latin Americans often cite their very Indian- or African-looking compatriots who have earned places of highest distinction in society—and are thereby considered "European." "A rich Negro is a white man, and a poor white man is a Negro" goes a Brazilian adage. Put another way, whether a man is classed as white or black or Indian, *mestizo* or mulatto, may depend less on his actual ancestry than on his house, job, income, speech and clothes—viewed through the subjective eye of the local census taker.

Yet some social snobbery along the color scale does persist. It has been observed even among people as fiercely proud of their "native" heritage as the Mexicans. "National unity demands that to be truly Mexican they must have some Indian blood," comments anthropologist Julian Pitt-Rivers, "but social aspirations require that they should not have too much."

*Hawaii.* Latin America's melting pot resulted from over 400 years of interbreeding. In Hawaii—the one outstanding U.S. showcase of multiracial harmony—the process took barely a century. By the time the U.S. annexed the islands in 1898 they were al-

ready peopled by a mixture of indigenous Polynesians with immigrant Americans, Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Puerto Ricans, Germans and others. Then, Filipinos and Koreans and more Americans and Europeans were added to what a United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) study calls "a bewildering array of hybrids."

By 1950 nearly a third of all children born in the islands were racially mixed and the rate has been increasing. Despite some social segregation, particularly among new immigrants, most observers would agree with UNESCO's conclusion that Hawaii "represents an unusually benign resolution of a complex racial situation."

*Portuguese Africa.* In other mixed societies the color scale may be more sharply stratified by political and other divisions. The Portuguese, in their three African territories, are fairly relaxed about race relations *per se*. But their tough colonial regime tends to reinforce the separate status of the white rulers and entrepreneurs, the mulatto middle class and the impoverished mass of black Africans—only a handful of whom have a chance to qualify as "civilized" or "assimilated" enough for the legal rights of Portuguese citizens.

*India.* In multihued India, the critical divisions are between the Hindu and Muslim communities, the dozen or so regional language groups, and the inflexible, hereditary social castes within the Hindu community. Even so, the original Sanskrit word for caste, *varna*, means color, and it may be no accident that members of the highest (Brahman) caste tend to be light-skinned and those of the lowest (Sudra) caste, very dark-skinned.

Yet color cuts across the caste lines of Hindu India—chiefly geographically, from lighter north to darker south. Never *by itself* does it stamp a man as a member of a caste: an irrevocable social status fixed by birth alone.

In most societies of the world, in fact, skin shade and other "racial" features play a limited role in the class structure. As seen from the above examples, to which others could be added, the role varies from negligible (Mexico, Hawaii) to a conspicuous element in class conflict (Guyana, Malaysia). But most experts agree that there are only two parts of the world—the U.S. and southern Africa—in which skin color is the sole mark of caste.

## COLOR AS A MARK OF CASTE

*We are all black, different shades of black, and not one of us means any more to a white cracker than any other one.*

Malcolm X, the late Black Muslim leader, was himself a mulatto whose light brown skin could be traced to his white maternal grandfather. But there is a recognized logic in his remark. In the U.S., any visible African ancestry tends to consign its bearer to a caste—the same caste, regardless of how African he looks, how well he lives, or whether he calls himself black, Negro, colored, Afro-American or simply American. (If his African ancestry is not clearly visible he may, of course, choose to "pass" as white, which thousands of mulattoes do each year. One sociologist has estimated that about one-fifth of all "Caucasian" Americans have some Negro background.)

The American color caste system, unlike South Africa's, is not illegal in most states but repugnant to most citizens. To the extent that it persists in economic and social practice, many analysts feel that today it is mainly the largest nonwhite minority—over 22 million Negroes, one-ninth of the population—who are still victimized by it.

Chinese and Japanese, who were once the targets of crudely racist immigration laws and attitudes, now move nearer the affluent mainstream of American society. The lot of the reservation Indian is by no means a happy one, but official concern with the wel-

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fare has soared while personal prejudice against his race has all but vanished, as he himself has, cynics are quick to point out. When a minority is out of sight and out of mind, prejudice is no problem. A number of observers regard the discrimination against the Puerto Rican and Mexican minorities as closer to the patterns of ethnic *class* prejudice, discussed above, than to the Negro caste's "second-class citizenship."

## AS OTHERS SEE US

While America's race problem is a critical issue of domestic policy, it has at least two notable international aspects. One is its impact on foreign opinion—and, by implication, on the effectiveness of U.S. foreign policy.

The cliché that bad news is big news holds true for the foreign press as much as for our own. American race riots get loud and lurid headlines abroad, while evidence of progress in solving our racial problems tends to be buried in the back pages. Thoughtful foreigners who look beyond these lopsided accounts see a more complicated ledger:

On the plus side, they take note of the massive body of U.S. civil rights legislation enacted in recent years; the unspectacular but steady opening of economic and educational opportunities for Negroes; the partial relaxation of barriers against immigrants from nonwhite countries; the full integration of the U.S. military forces (particularly noticeable overseas); the endorsement of the principle of equal human rights, at home and abroad, by every Administration in Washington.

On the minus side, the world observes the upheavals in America's urban ghettos; the confrontation of black militancy and white backlash; the shift from the goal of integration to one of separation (black power) adopted by some of the most articulate Negro leaders; the inconsistency in American denunciations of South Africa's white supremacists, while American business with them flourishes.

## How does the balance sheet add up?

Many of our friends abroad, particularly in Western Europe, more often than not sympathize with America's sincere—if sometimes clumsy and frustrated—efforts to redress three centuries of injustice. But our critics, including many politically "uncommitted" nonwhites in the "third world," often sneer at the seeming hypocrisy of the world's richest and mightiest nation which fails to practice the brotherhood it preaches.

## Negritude

"Black is Beautiful." The slogan and the exaltation of Negro identity and Negro culture implied by it also have an international dimension. Its origins go back to medieval Africa, to empires rich in gold and the arts of civilization which thrived on the Dark Continent as Europe was barely emerging from its Dark Ages.

One by one, the early West and Equatorial African kingdoms—Ghana, Mali, Yoruba, Ashanti, Baule—were overpowered by black neighbors or by Arab invaders from the north. But their cultural legacy was not lost. It is celebrated by most of Africa's present-day leaders, as well as by many descendants of the 10 to 15 million African slaves who were shipped to the plantations and mines of the Americas between the 16th and the 19th centuries.

The poet Aimé Césaire, a "black Frenchman" from Martinique, formalized the concept of *négritude* in his writings. This literary, philosophic and artistic glorification of "Negro-ness" has won a fairly sophisticated following among intellectuals. (It was, however, denounced as an outmoded and sentimental "anesthetic" by many left-wing delegates to a Pan-African Cultural Festival held in Algiers last summer.) But the more violent doctrine of "black power"—eloquently set forth by Césaire's countryman, the psychiatrist-revolutionary Frantz Fa-

non—has had far stronger political and social impact. The theme of proud, aggressive "blackness" has characterized all the Negro militant movements of this country, from Marcus Garvey's back-to-Africa association and the Ras Tafari cult of Jamaica to the Black Muslims and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The reason, according to sociologist C. Eric Lincoln, is that "nowhere but in America was . . . [slavery] accompanied by such devastation of personality . . . the pitless obliteration of the history and the culture of a people." The descendants of those slaves, he maintains, suffer from "a mass social neurosis." They feel lost between an African society from which their forebears were cruelly uprooted centuries ago and an American society which refuses to assimilate them.

Thus many of the more militant among them are attracted to negritude. By adopting "African" dress and customs, by stressing African studies in school, they seek to assert an identity of which they can be proud by strengthening their cultural links to a proud African past.

Some of the strongest champions of Negro rights have questioned whether the problems of Negro identity and self-respect can be solved by black ethnocentrism, which they consider only a step removed from black racism. Said the late Adlai Stevenson: "I make no defense of the sins of the white race. . . . But the antidote for white racism is not black racism."

One of the most provocative commentaries on the dilemma of the black American citizen comes from one who emigrated to Africa: "I came to Africa feeling like a brother, but there I was, I was not a brother, I was not Senegalese or Nigerian or Ghanaian, I was American, an American Negro from an Anglo-Saxon culture, or as much of it as filtered down to me, determining what I am, what I think, what I feel."

#### "Brits," "Nats," Bantu, colored

No comparable dilemma of identity afflicts the 18.7 million citizens of the Republic of South Africa, four-fifths of whom are non-white. By law as well as by rigid custom they are stratified into four racial castes:

(1) Whites, or "Europeans" (3.6 million). Virtually all enjoy—exclusively—the rights and opportunities typical of any wealthy industrial society with a parliamentary system; in fact, white South Africa is one of the four richest societies on earth, with a level of university attendance surpassed only by North America.

Within the elite white caste are two distinct communities: the majority (60 percent) Afrikaners, formerly called Boers, whose origins are a mixture of Dutch and French Huguenot and whose Afrikaans language resembles Flemish; and a large English-speaking minority of preponderantly British origin. Colloquially, the two groups are known as Brits and Nats—the latter short for the ruling Nationalist party which is dominated by Afrikaners.

(2) Asians (600,000), mostly Indians living in Natal province. While inhibited by many official restrictions on their residence and business activity, a number of Indians have managed to prosper.

(3) Coloreds (1.8 million). This mixed-blood caste (mulatto and Eurasian) is predominantly urban, living in and near Cape-town. It comprises a wide range of incomes and skills, from day laborers and domestics to university graduates qualified for—but barred from—white executive jobs. Some observers see the Coloreds as the most rootless and frustrated group in South Africa, so near and yet so far from the white society most would like to be part of. One symptom of their malaise is an exceptionally high rate of alcoholism. Their former voting rights have been swept away by the Nationalists and they are frequently forced to move away

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from their neighborhoods when these are reclassified "whites only."

(4) Africans, or Bantu, or "natives" (12.7 million, two-thirds of the entire population). Roughly one-third of the Bantu work in South Africa's urban industrial sector, with jobs in mining, manufacturing, construction and domestic service. They must live in segregated black townships, often split off from their families in rural areas, and are subjected to a huge, humiliating array of segregation laws: where they may and may not work, shop, eat, worship, attend school, use parks and other public facilities, and even appear in white neighborhoods.

Another third of the Africans are employed on white-owned farms. The remaining third live in Bantustans. These are the tribal reserves designated as autonomous "separate homelands" for blacks—the ultimate fulfillment of the Nationalists' policy of *apartheid* (separate development of the races).

Of the 275 Bantustans, many are only dots on the map. One, Transkei, which is as large as Denmark and has close to 1.5 million inhabitants, is sometimes held up as a showcase by the Nationalists. But the very limited self-government allowed to its Xhosa tribesmen and the even lower level of economic self-sufficiency rarely escape the notice of foreign visitors.

#### *The very strange society*

Few foreigners, in fact, are able to view with equanimity what the American author Allen Drury has labeled *A Very Strange Society*. To British commentator Norman Macrae, South Africa is "a bewildering, infuriating, evil, oppressive but not hopeless country" where man's inhumanity to man is "in many respects growing worse. Only the economics and the education are growing better; but they are the seed of hope."

Most bewildering to visitors are statistics such as these:

Economically and educationally, black South Africans are much worse off than their white compatriots, with less than one-eighth the whites' per capita income and half their adult literacy rate. Yet the urban Bantu are so much better off than other black Africans on the continent that, by conservative estimate, some 1 million of the latter have voluntarily come to work in South Africa's gold mines and factories. And perhaps half of them have entered the country illegally with every intention of staying if they can.

Between 1960 and 1967 the Bantu's average manufacturing wage rose by 57 percent, his cost of living by less than 20 percent. His consumption of tobacco and ownership of automobiles and other amenities has increased and his children's schooling has improved: about 80 percent of teenage Africans are now literate (on a par with adult Coloreds and Asians). But African educational facilities above the primary level remain shamefully inadequate, as do health and welfare services.

Moreover, Bantu labor is badly undertrained and underemployed for its potential value to the country's economy. The Nationalists are afraid that a "black industrial tide" will engulf the cities (exactly what is needed, say economists, to sustain the current boom). They are trying to stanch the urban inflow with a tough new Physical Planning Act which, together with the laws classifying jobs by race, is often as frustrating to white entrepreneurs as to nonwhite job-seekers. In practice, observes one reporter, "employers who are more interested in efficiency and profits than in the spirit of the law have found ways of getting around the letter of it."

#### *Openings to the north*

Not the least strange feature of this strange society is its relations with the independent black states of Africa. Prime Min-

ister John Vorster's new policy of seeking closer commercial and diplomatic ties with the rest of the continent might seem, on the face of it, highly implausible. With few exceptions, South Africa's northern neighbors have been vitriolic in their denunciations of Pretoria's racist policies. Several of them harbor secret training camps for "freedom fighters" who plan one day to "liberate" the southern Bantu from their white oppressors. (That day looks distant to many observers. The Pretoria government not only maintains a superbly trained and equipped military force, but has a network of police informers in most of the freedom camps to trap potential infiltrators. Within South Africa all African political organizations have been outlawed; their former leaders have been expelled or executed or are languishing in jail.)

Nevertheless, Vorster has cast his bait among the black republics—trade, possible economic and even military aid—and has felt a surprising number of nibbles. His country's exports to developing Africa rose 20 percent from 1967 to 1968. Malawi, Lesotho, Zambia, Botswana and Swaziland, all former British protectorates, are all cooperating with South Africa in various economic ventures. A few of their high-ranking visitors have recently been extended courtesies which are normally reserved for white dignitaries only. A number of French-speaking nations—Gabon, Chad, Upper Volta, the Malagasy Republic—have opened contacts looking toward formal diplomatic relations, while commercial links with the Congo and the Ivory Coast continue to expand. Kenya and Uganda censure South Africa loudly but, according to some reports, trade with it secretly; only Tanzania seems to remain implacably hostile.

Where can all this lead? To what Vorster hopes for: a peaceful association of friendly African nations, with white South Africa as the supplier of industrial and consumer goods to its less-developed black neighbors (including its own Bantustans)?

Or, as some fear, will there be an inevitable explosion of the South African powder keg—a cataclysmic eruption of black against white?

Or, as others suggest, will the Nationalists' newly flexible foreign policies, combined with continuing prosperity at home, help to bring about a slow, pragmatic evolution in South Africa toward a fairer society for all citizens?

#### *Polecat of the world*

Another debate turns on relations between the leading Western nations and South Africa. One Afrikaner editor has portrayed his country as "the polecat of the world" without a single ally or real friend anywhere. Yet its major trading partners—British, American, Western European, Japanese (who are expeditiously accorded the status of "Europeans" when they visit the country)—do a brisk and growing business with the racist society they deplore.

Should South Africa be frozen completely out of the community of civilized nations? According to one argument, only by cutting it off from its most valued commercial contacts abroad can we hope to coerce the Nationalists into mending their evil apartheid ways. (One partial boycott, however, apparently failed: In the four years following the bloody Sharpeville massacre of 1960, South Africa was hit by a severe slump in foreign investment and trade, but this had no perceptible effect on its racial policies.)

A contrary argument maintains that internal liberalization can best be encouraged by greater exposure of South Africa to the world's liberal societies. Writer Norman Macrae, among others, finds some hope in the (again strange) fact that it is probably "the only country in the world today where the big business community is visibly to the left of the government"—where "richer is left."

The tiny Progressive party, the only effective legal party advocating political rights for nonwhites, draws much of its support (for its lone representative in Parliament, Mrs. Helen Suzman) from the Jewish community of Johannesburg, probably the wealthiest constituency in the country. Today, Mr. Macrae points out, the "able, educated, progressive, pragmatic reformer," both Afrikans- and English-speaking, tends to eschew politics for a business career. And he believes that "it is economic forces . . . that are going to have the major influence, for the rest of this century, on the great majority of people living within . . . South Africa."

One of the most outspoken progressives in South Africa is Laurence Gandar, editor-in-chief of the influential *Rand Daily Mail*, who sees no simple way out of "a desperately difficult problem. It isn't just a gap of color; it's culture and economics and education, too. For us to integrate would be superhuman. . . . [but] the separation policy we have, such as it is, doesn't stand up to ten minutes' serious investigation. Our solution has to be either integration or genuine partition, like that of India and Pakistan, and South Africa isn't moving seriously in either direction."

#### *The Republic of Rhodesia*

Movement, or the lack of it, in South Africa's caste-conscious society will almost surely have repercussions on neighboring Rhodesia. Here, a quarter of a million settlers of British stock are bent on preserving their political monopoly amid 4.8 million Africans.

In November 1965 Prime Minister Ian Smith's government, provoked by British insistence on political rights for Africans, proclaimed a "unilateral declaration of independence" from Britain. Yet the country's political status remained problematical until last June. Then, the Smith regime won a resounding "yes" (from its white constituents) in a referendum providing for (a) a republic of Rhodesia, and (b) a constitution under which there is virtually no hope for Africans ever to attain political parity with whites (much less proportional representation) in Parliament.

Economically, the country has suffered from an embargo on exports to it (mainly oil) and imports from it (mainly tobacco), but has survived thanks to massive aid from South Africa and some help from the Portuguese in Mozambique.

Racially, Rhodesia is not quite another South Africa—yet. So far there is no elaborate panoply of apartheid laws, nor the practice of daily, degrading little human cruelties which accompany them. But many observers are convinced that the white Rhodesians will follow the same racist route as their next-door cousins in South Africa—unless something happens to provoke a profound change in the world's last, stubborn bastion of official white supremacy.

To some observers, the "white redoubt" of southern Africa is already an anachronism. They see it as the doomed relic of a bygone age, which has given way in our generation to what has been called "the revolution of color."

#### RACIAL CONFLICT: THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION

"The world's colored races," writes Morris B. Abram, former U.S. representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights, "have become increasingly aware of their numerical majority and increasingly bitter at their continued status of social, economic and political inferiority."

In this awareness, and its implications for world race relations, some analysts see a famous prophecy coming true. Nearly 70 years ago the Negro scholar W. E. B. DuBois predicted that the problem of the 20th century would be "the problem of the color line—the relation of the darker to the lighter

races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea."

#### *Haves versus have-nots*

Today's color line, according to these analysts, roughly divides the world's 3.5 billion people into

*One-third white haves:* the industrially advanced, affluent societies of the temperate, or northern, latitudes; and

*Two-thirds nonwhite have-nots:* the underdeveloped agricultural societies of the tropical, or southern, latitudes—plus the non-white minorities within the wealthy white nations.

It is easy to criticize this global portrait as a gross oversimplification. In effect, it aligns the populations of North America, Europe and the Soviet Union against those of Asia and Africa. It is racially ambiguous: the quarter of a billion Latin Americans are sometimes all added to the white world, sometimes vaguely prorated the half a billion Caucasoids of India are classified "non-white." It is geographically inaccurate: most of underdeveloped China, with nearly a quarter of the world's population, lies in the northern temperate zone.

Economically, moreover, the rich-white-versus-poor-colored picture is riddled with inconsistencies. The most impressive exception of all is Japan—the sole nonwhite member of the rich man's club and the world's third biggest industrial power. Some experts claim that certain nonwhite minorities (the Javanese in Holland, the Maori of New Zealand) are approaching economic parity with the white majorities; that others (the Eskimos of Canada, some Soviet Asians) remain unassimilated and thus comparatively "backward" by choice; that still others, such as Negroes in the U.S. and Britain, enjoy a standard of living so much higher than the African or Asian average as to make equations of their condition senseless. If we survey the world in terms of per capita gross national product (GNP), we see pockets of relative white poverty (Turkey) and non-white prosperity (Hong Kong).

Is race, then, irrelevant to the problems of economic and social inequality which beset the world today? Unfortunately No, say most experts. If the color of want and the color of wealth are not perfectly uniform, the former is still overwhelmingly nonwhite.

#### *The colonial pattern*

The two great heartlands of the have-nots, Asia and Africa, were for most of the past century subordinate to the white haves of Europe and the U.S., through outright imperial rule or (as in China) quasi-imperial economic exploitation. Nearly all of the 70-odd new nations carved out of Western empires since 1945 represent transfers of political power from whites to nonwhites. Yet the colonial pattern persists in the division of economic power among the races.

One striking illustration is the British Commonwealth of Nations, a multi-racial microcosm of the world. Of the 28 member nations, 22 are nonwhite. On a scale of per capita GNP used by economist Barbara Ward, not one of the 22 qualifies as a "rich" country (\$750 or more). Only seven have attained "middle-income" status (\$250-\$749). The remaining 15 are "poor" (\$100-249) or "very poor" (under \$100). But of the six white Commonwealth members, only the two smallest—Cyprus and Malta—are as badly off as the middle-income bracket.

How has the world's numerical majority reacted to its persistent sense of material inferiority?

#### *The Bandung bloc*

"This is the first intercontinental conference of colored peoples in this history of mankind," boasted former President Sukarno of Indonesia at Bandung in April 1955. He was playing host at a symposium of 29 non-white nations—more or less synonymous

with the Afro-Asian voting bloc which had already emerged in the UN.

The Bandung participants had plenty of issues among themselves to discuss and sometimes disagree on. But to the watching white nations, the conference seemed to speak with one voice—serving notice that the era of worldwide white supremacy had ended, that the world's long-subjugated colored majority was now a solid force to be reckoned with.

The "revolution of color" proclaimed at Bandung has raised some troubling questions. Are the white and nonwhite worlds drifting irrevocably apart? Are they alienated by an unbridgeable gulf in living standards, culture, temperament and racial prejudices implanted by the colonial past? Are they even, perhaps, on a collision course toward global race war?

#### *Race war?*

Pessimists view this nightmarish prospect as not so farfetched. Race antagonism by itself might not cause a collision, they admit—but it could well serve as a catalyst to the seething discontent among nonwhites over their economic and political inferiority. (Latin Americans have, so far, been excluded from most forecasts of eruption among the have-nots. They are considered to be more advanced economically than the African and Asian nations, as well as aligned politically and culturally with the white West.) What Sukarno anticipated as a confrontation of OLDEFO (old established forces, led by the two white giants, the U.S. and Russia) and NEFO (new emerging forces, led by the non-white giant, China) could, in the pessimistic view, become a deadly reality before the end of this century.

They point in evidence to the deepening hostility between Russians and Chinese. The former, having failed to cultivate much influence among the African and Asian nations, are turning more and more to the Europe they feel historically a part of. The latter, though having made less headway in the third world than they hoped, are still preaching militant revolution to its rural masses and may yet grow stable and strong enough—as they build up their nuclear arsenals—to win its allegiance.

Meanwhile, the African and Asian masses remain sunk in poverty as their numbers soar. Their leaders, as seen by pessimistic observers, are neurotically sensitive to Europeans and Americans—whose "white, Western, Christian" values they associate with imperialism and enslavement, whose cultural and political arrogance they despise, and whose economic subsidies they bitterly resent having to depend on.

#### *Abrasion without explosion?*

Other, less pessimistic observers hold a less alarmist view. They point out that 15 years have passed since Bandung without a cohesive union of the "new emerging forces." In fact, the rhetorical solidarity of the Afro-Asian bloc has been increasingly splintered by internal squabbles, including racial ones.

China is seen as having disqualified itself from any leadership role among nonwhites. Its chaotic domestic affairs, its ill-concealed great-power ambitions and its traditional quasi-racial contempt for all non-Chinese have disenchanted many Africans and Asians, even some who exchange ambassadors with it and accept aid from it.

Most of the African and Asian countries are far more preoccupied with thorny domestic and regional problems than with theoretical crusades across color lines. A number of them—Malaysia, the Philippines, many French-speaking African states—enjoy generally good relations (including military alliances) with their former colonial rulers. Others, such as India and Tanzania, pursue a policy of color-blind neutrality.

Does this mean that issues of race and color have diminished as a source of conflict

among men? Not at all, maintains Professor Isaac; they have "only shifted to new places on the crowded stage of current affairs." His forecast: "Neither homogenization nor the brotherhood of men being in near view, the minimum conclusion is that racial and color differences will continue to figure, more often abrasively than not, in the reshaping of political and social patterns and relationships that will go on during the remaining years of this century and beyond it into the next."

A third outlook on international race relations calls for qualified optimism. Its adherents admit that the short term may be stormy. Pressures may build up in southern Africa; new color-class divisions may be aggravated in other parts of Africa and Asia. But they see hope for the longer term.

#### Universalism?

To the Ghanaian diplomat Robert K. A. Gardiner, the world is now approaching a stage where the rapid social and intellectual assimilation of all its inhabitants will be possible. How? Through their growing economic interdependence and community of cultural interests, facilitated by the modern-day ease of global communications.

There is no question that the nonwhite nations are acutely sensitive to the habits of predominance and prejudice in the white world. But they have not yet rejected a dialogue with that world, nor the incorporation of some of its values in their own evolving institutions. The late Albert John Luthuli of South Africa, Zulu chief and Nobel Peace Prize winner, believed that his continent should aspire to building "a nonracial democracy that shall be a monumental brotherhood." And one of today's most respected African statesmen, President Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal, is convinced that "we are now all of us, of different features, color, languages, customs . . . on our way toward the world of tomorrow, the world of the civilization of the universal."

#### THE AMERICAN EXAMPLE—AT HOME AND ABROAD

Racial strife is an old and familiar problem to much of the world, and the indications are that it will continue as a source of friction among men in the years to come. But for the American people, the problem of race relations has in recent years become a matter of acute concern and, in some respects, of outright dread. The U.S. is the richest, most powerful nation in the world. It is the free world's leading force for democracy, individual expression and human rights. Yet the U.S. is torn by a racial crisis of its own that has caught the attention of men everywhere.

Will the manner in which we resolve this crisis make any difference in the racial conduct of the world at large? Will it affect the image and behavior of our own diplomacy abroad? Of what relevance is America's racial crisis to our international relation or to relations among nations of the world in general?

#### America: A hated nation?

There are some who would argue that our domestic problems are not the business of other peoples and that the way we handle the race issue at home will have little bearing on the future course of international events. If even today certain Black African governments can deal amicably with the apartheid regime of South Africa, of what importance can our domestic racial antagonisms really be in the great tide of international events?

On the other hand, however, it is apparent that a wide range of U.S. political opinion recognizes a connection of one sort or another. Take for example the view of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, President Nixon's assistant for urban affairs. He has stated that "what happens in America is being taken as a sign of what can, or must, happen in the world at large. The course of world events will be profoundly affected by the success or failure of the Negro American revolution in seeking the peaceful assimilation of the races in the U.S."

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Or take the following statement by Franklin H. Williams, director of the Urban Center at Columbia University: "If our country . . . is to alter its image as one of the most hated nations in the world by nonwhite peoples, nothing short of a major transformation in our racial posture and priorities domestically and internationally will suffice."

Such sentiments are being widely echoed. Linking U.S. policies at home to those of South Africa, for example, Norman Macrae doubts whether South Africa will ever "become a full and decent democracy . . . before America lights the torch by solving its main racial problems . . ."

#### Exploiter or victim?

Most Americans would agree that our "main racial problems" must be solved, not primarily because they affect our image abroad but because they affect the quality and tranquillity of our society at home. But Americans divide sharply over the type of solutions needed and, in fact, over the very nature of the problems themselves.

At one extreme are the black militants who charge that racism and its international handmaiden, imperialism, are part and parcel of the American way of life. In the words of Stokely Carmichael: "For a century, this nation has been like an octopus of exploitation, its tentacles stretching from Mississippi and Harlem to South America, the Middle East, southern Africa and Vietnam; the form of exploitation varies from area to area, but the essential result has been the same—a powerful few have been maintained and enriched at the expense of the poor and voiceless colored masses."

At another extreme are those who believe that America's black revolution is being promoted and financed by Communist elements bent on the destruction of American society. An article on "Black Power and Red Cuba" in the *National Review*, for example, makes the following charge: "Evidence has been accumulating over the past several years that some leaders of the U.S. civil rights movement are responding to directives coming out of Havana [Cuba], rather than to any real desire to raise the economic and social status of the American Negroes." The article links urban riots in the U.S. to the guerrilla warfare tactics espoused by Fidel Castro and charges that opposition to the Vietnam war among civil rights leaders is Communist-inspired.

#### Image and policy

Though poles apart, both these views share a common concern with the international implications of America's racial crisis. If, in fact, America is a "racist society," as Mr. Carmichael contends, (and, indeed, as the 1968 Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders concluded), then it stands to reason that racism not only tarnishes the American image abroad but infects U.S. foreign policies as well.

"Ralph Ellison [the American Negro novelist] has characterized the plight of the black man in America as that of the 'invisible man,'" Franklin Williams has observed. "He is simply ignored as a living, breathing, sentient person. This tendency to treat black people as if they weren't there also seems to apply to Africa, and to the problems of race in international affairs generally."

Williams notes that though black Americans constitute over one-ninth of our total population, they are woefully underrepresented in our foreign policy councils. "A new Administration has recently assumed leadership without a single black person in a key State Department post," he writes. "On the international scene, we have dropped from seven black ambassadors, including two in Europe, one in the Middle East, three in Africa and one at the United Nations, to a total of four; one in Malta and three in Africa. Though there has been a small increase in the number of nonwhites in the Foreign

Service at the junior level, the number of senior grade black officers is at a standstill, with less than a dozen based in Washington or abroad."

There are those who argue, however, that "black racism" is a poor substitute for "white racism," and that paying unwarranted attention to the problems of Africa or appointing black men as ambassadors solely because they are black amounts to racism in reverse. It is true that the U.S. gives less foreign aid to Africa than to other underdeveloped regions of the world, but is this because the U.S. is "racist" or because Europe bears the major burden of aid for the African continent while the U.S. bears the major burden for Asia and Latin America? It is also true that blacks are underrepresented in the State Department, but is this because of racial prejudice or because the number of blacks interested and able to do well in the competitive Foreign Service exams is low?

Moreover, if it is true that black militants in the U.S. are gaining support and encouragement from Maoist and Castroite forces abroad, is it not time for American society as a whole to call a halt to the "black revolution" in the interests of self-preservation?

Such a question raises the fearful specter of internal political suppression and all its consequences. At home such suppression could fundamentally alter the open character of American life and introduce those police-state trappings so common in the regimes of the Communists we profess to oppose. Abroad it could transform the image of America into a racist reality, consigning the U.S. to a position similar to South Africa's.

On the other hand, is it literally true that nothing short of violent revolution can purge racism and imperialism from American life, as some black militants (and white sympathizers) now claim? Or is there an alternative?

#### Spotlight on domestic policy

We have seen that racial problems are by no means confined to the U.S., and that many nations closely watch the U.S. for signs of a solution to their own difficulties. Could it be that the U.S. might profit from the policies practiced elsewhere, however? Is there perhaps a foreign model we might try to emulate?

In the *Malaysian model* of not-always-peaceful coexistence between two culturally and racially distinct groups, each group retains its own identity and respects the other's. Though black Americans do not have as distinct a cultural identity as the Chinese minority in Malaysia, they are beginning to work toward such an identity through "black studies" programs, etc. On the other hand, however, American society has never been a mosaic of disparate peoples; it resembles more nearly a melting pot.

The *South African model* of official separation of the races might satisfy both our black militant separatists and our white segregationists, but surveys reveal that an overwhelming majority of American blacks still favors the goal of racial integration. A vast majority of whites also appears to find apartheid morally and politically repugnant.

In the *Brazilian or Hawaiian model* of race mixtures, it is almost impossible to categorize citizens by race, and color consciousness is reduced to a mild form of social snobbery. However, a high percentage of racially mixed marriages is the starting point for the construction of this model. Since a homogenized society takes several generations, at least, to create, it is questionable, whether black demands for "equality now" can wait upon nature's taking its somewhat leisurely course. Moreover, marriage is a highly personal matter of individual choice.

#### From aspiration to reality

To an extent, of course, America's racial patterns have no parallel anywhere in the world, and to that extent a unique model of

our own design, based upon our own society's collective aspirations may be in order.

One unprecedented formula is "neutrality," a term coined by the Negro writer Robert Browne: "It means that the racial composition in a country is so varied, and the country's social and economic organization, its attitudes and its power relationships so structured, that the racial origins of its citizens are of no consequence." As seen by the rest of the world, such a country "carries no racial stigma and can be identified with no racial bloc. It is genuinely above race."

How can we rise above race? By transforming our institutions and our individual attitudes, says Mr. Browne. We must demolish all public barriers—legal, economic, educational—to a genuinely casteless society. And each of us must learn to eradicate all private notions of "race" from his mind.

Given our knowledge of human nature, is such a formula either desirable or possible? Could it be achieved within our existing institutional framework, or is the revolutionary change of that framework a precondition? Moreover, even if the U.S. should ascend to the heights of neutrality, what chance is there that other nations would follow suit?

#### *What policies abroad?*

In the meantime, however, are there any specific foreign policies we might adopt to mitigate the effects of racial tensions on international affairs?

Some critics of U.S. policy believe we could start by taking a tougher stand against the apartheid regime in South Africa. The U.S. has signed (although the Senate has not ratified) the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which condemns discrimination "of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." We have refrained, however, from supporting Afro-Asian resolutions in the UN which call for international punitive action against South Africa and Rhodesia. We have curtailed American trade with Rhodesia (never very large), embargoed American arms sales to South Africa and denounced Portugal's unrelenting stand against self-determination for its African colonies.

Some critics feel we should back our righteous words with tougher deeds. They suggest we use our trade with South Africa (currently over \$700 million a year) as a lever to prod it toward liberalization. By the same token they say, we should reconsider our military aid program to Portugal (our NATO ally), which indirectly subsidizes Portuguese efforts to crush rebel movements in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea.

Others, however, question the extent to which trade or the NATO alliance should be dragged into issues of race, particularly when the racial policies practiced by South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal are internal matters that do not apply to their international conduct and when our own racial policies at home are being criticized around the world. Just as we might resent Portuguese or South African interference in our domestic affairs, would not these countries be justified in resenting our interference in theirs?

Beyond our policies toward the white re-doubt of southern Africa, there is the issue of our attitudes and policies toward the non-white peoples of the third world generally. American diplomats may no longer speak patronizingly about "our little brown brothers" (once a popular term for Filipinos), but some critics still detect an occasional attitude of condescension toward the recipients of U.S. foreign aid, most of whom are non-white.

In terms of concrete policies, the U.S. might better demonstrate its concern for the fate of the third world by an increased program of foreign aid. At present we are allocating little more than three-quarters of 1 percent of our national income to foreign assistance efforts, although the grinding pov-

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erty and despair afflicting the low-income countries is a fact that stares us in the face. If our professed ideals of freedom and equality mean anything at all, are we not bound to a greater effort to free mankind from its current state of misery and want? And if we are serious about eliminating all traces of racism from our foreign affairs, is it not time for us to train and recruit more black Americans for service in our embassies abroad? One may argue that few are qualified, but is this the fault of our black citizens or of their limited educational opportunities in a white-dominated society?

#### *A matter of priorities*

Whatever our policies abroad, it seems clear that the U.S. would gain more confidence and respect among nations everywhere by improving the lot of minority groups here at home. For many black Americans, the issue is one of priorities. If we can spend \$30 billion a year to combat communism in South Vietnam, if we can spend over \$20 billion to send men to the moon, can we not afford a concerted attack on racial discrimination and inequality within our own society?

Which of our goals should take priority? Or can we serve them all, simultaneously? Is the struggle for racial equality indeed "the overriding issue of our time," as Morris Abram claims? If so, what steps should we take at home and abroad to resolve it? If not, can we afford to ignore it?

#### *OUR NATION IS MOVING TOWARD TWO SOCIETIES*

(The following are excerpts from the 1968 Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, headed by Gov. Otto Kerner of Illinois, unofficially known as the Kerner Report:)

This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal. . . . This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement apart can be reversed. Choice is still possible. Our principal task is to define that choice and to press for a national resolution.

What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it and white society condones it.

Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively in the past; it now threatens to do so again. White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II.

It is not surprising that some black power advocates are denouncing integration and claiming that, given the hypocrisy and racism that pervade white society, life in a black society is, in fact, morally superior. This argument is understandable, but there is a great deal of evidence that it is unrealistic.

Violence cannot build a better society. Disruption and disorder nourish repression, not justice. They strike at the freedom of every citizen. The community cannot—it will not—tolerate coercion and mob rule.

#### *GLOSSARY*

Bantu. A linguistic classification for the family of Negroid tribes of central and southern Africa; a member of this family.

caste. A system of rigid social stratification based on heredity.

Creole. (Fr.) A person of French or Spanish descent born in the American colonies. Also used for mixed-bloods and for a West Indian dialect comprising French, Spanish, English, Dutch and African words.

ethnic. Designates a group of mankind distinguished by cultural and/or physical, geographic, other traits.

ethnocentrism. The emotional attitude that one's own ethnic group is special or superior to others.

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mestizo. (Sp.) Literally, any racially mixed person; in common usage, a Latin American of combined European and American Indian ancestry.

mulatto. A person of mixed European and black African ancestry.

race. A major biological division of mankind, distinguished by hereditary physical features such as skin color, stature, face shape, hair color and texture, shape of nose and eyes, etc.

third world. A term coined by political analyst Mario Rossi for the developing countries which are ideologically aligned neither with the Communist East nor with the non-Communist West; commonly used as a synonym for the Afro-Asian bloc.

## ONE RESULT OF OUR HOUSING CHAOS: ABANDONED DWELLINGS

### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, the common assumption is that money for constructing new housing for low- and middle-income families is the major cause of our present housing crisis. I do not question its significance, or the drain on the housing market created by inflated interest rates on mortgage borrowing charged by banks.

But for too long we have ignored the critical loss of housing units destroyed by decay, neglect, and abandonment. Indeed, Dr. Frank S. Kristof has concluded in a study for the Institute of Public Administration that New York City is throwing away housing units at the rate of 33,000 annually.

Such alarming statistics raise some basic questions which our housing experts and urban renewal planners better examine, for in a tight-money situation with dozens of high-priority social needs demanding a share of the Federal dollar, I do not think we can afford to abandon scores of apartment units throughout the Nation.

A nationwide overview of this problem was published the other day in the New York Times. I call my colleagues attention to this critical article:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 9, 1970]

#### URBAN PARADOX: DWELLINGS ABANDONED DESPITE HOUSING SHORTAGE

(By John Herbers)

WASHINGTON, February 8.—In the District of Columbia, three miles southeast of the Capitol, there is a cluster of two and three-story apartment buildings set on rolling hills and separated by tree-lined streets, lawns, sidewalks and play areas.

The buildings, erected in the nineteen-forties, are made of clean brick, and the design is not unattractive. Yet entire blocks of them are vacant, their windows and doors covered with plywood. In the few that are occupied, people live only on the upper floors because the ground level is considered too vulnerable to burglars, who roam the neighborhood.

On a winter afternoon, the area seems to be a ghost town occupied by children at play. This scene of premature decay and abandonment provides visual evidence of a trend that is evident in large cities across the country:

While the nation is undergoing the most critical housing shortage since World War II, structurally sound dwellings in the inner

cities are being abandoned in increasing numbers to vandalism and demolition.

In Detroit, where there are 3,000 empty buildings—1,300 of them abandoned by their owners—Jack Kelley, Deputy Commissioner of the Department of Buildings and Safety Engineering, said:

"People are looking all over for good homes and we have thousands of these empty ones around."

#### CAUSES TERMED COMPLEX

The causes are complex and are intertwined with all the other factors of urban distress, especially the troubles of poor minorities. A survey of 14 major cities showed that the abandonment of housing that could be rehabilitated at a reasonable cost is occurring almost exclusively in poor minority neighborhoods.

The acceleration of this process, however, seems to be caused chiefly by these developments:

The landlord, who has been accused for years of overcharging and underservicing low income families, now finds the slum unprofitable and is withdrawing as fast as possible. "The buildings become harder to rent, and the owners find it more economical simply to walk away," said Albert Nerviani, chief of the St. Louis housing code enforcement office. Tenant strikes and urban violence of recent years also have discouraged investors.

Economic conditions that are holding down construction of new housing—high costs and interest rates and scarcity of capital—are also hampering rehabilitation and simple repairs.

Whites, and to some extent blacks, when they have the means and opportunity, are migrating to the suburbs or outer areas of the city to escape blighted neighborhoods. For example, Negroes are moving from Anacostia, the southeastern section of Washington, into Prince Georges County, Md., leaving behind vacant units that would be snapped up if they were not in a distressed area.

Federal and local programs of rehabilitation, housing subsidies and demolition programs are barely making a dent in the abandonment process. In the Roxbury section of Boston, 2,700 apartments have been rehabilitated recently under Federal and local effort, but the number of abandoned or vacant buildings in the city has increased from 450 to 800 in the last two years.

In Philadelphia, where at last count there were 24,000 vacant residential structures, Ivan B. Bluckman, assistant housing director, said, "There are thousands of abandoned properties in Philadelphia that are not the responsibility of anyone."

#### TWO POLICY APPROACHES

This raises the question of national policy.

The previous Administration had planned on expanded urban renewal, Model Cities and other Federal programs to help to arrest inner city decay. The Nixon Administration, however, is taking a different approach. For example, the Democrats had projected Model Cities appropriations at about \$1 billion for the next fiscal year. Mr. Nixon's new budget calls for half of that, which is the current expenditure.

What the Nixon Administration is promising instead is action and programs that will help the minority poor to acquire more personal wealth and earning capability and opportunity to move into better neighborhoods, as whites have done.

Some local officials say this does not answer what will happen to the inner cities, and they fear that abandonment and blight will spread to stable neighborhoods if left unchecked. For example, fairly new apartments in the Anacostia section of Washington are vacant and boarded up because they are close to distressed areas.

According to the survey, the problem of abandonment is worst in the large cities of the industrial East and Middle West. In New

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

York, officials estimate that 114,000 apartments have been lost since 1965 because of the abandonment of the buildings.

The trend is found also, however, in Southern and Western cities where there is a large minority population. In Houston, officials estimate there are 7,500 abandoned dwellings, and New Orleans recently closed part of a five-block area near the center of town because of decay.

In Chicago, where 1,400 buildings were demolished by court order last year, John Hight, chief of the city's building demolition, said that most of the cases fell into a pattern.

#### THIEVES MOVE IN

"The neighborhood deteriorates, crime increases," he said. "Tenants damage the buildings and may balk at paying their rents. The landlord is hauled into housing court for violations. If he tries to comply, he finds it difficult to get a good contractor to go into the area. He just quits trying."

"Eventually, it gets so bad people move out. Thieves and vandals come in. Plumbing, heating and electrical services are stripped and sold for salvage. Eventually the thieves go through the floor and dig up the lead pipes and sell them."

"A building, which not long before could have been repaired, is wrecked beyond repair. And then it ends up under the ball at the court's direction."

One building in Chicago provides a case study of some of the conflict, sociology and economics involved. The building, at 5801-09 Calumet Avenue on the South Side, was erected in 1901 and contained 24 apartments.

To make more money by packing in more families, the owners converted it some years later to 95 units, in violation of the building codes. The courts in 1962, after a complaint had been filed, ordered it deconverted to 24 units.

Last June, an inspection showed the building to be largely occupied but in a state of neglect and infested with rats and roaches. The authorities said that the building could have been put into shape without major work.

The owners, Cheers Enterprises, Inc., did not follow the orders of the court in correcting code violations, and on Oct. 24 city inspectors found the building vacant and stripped of plumbing and heating facilities. The case was moved to demolition court.

#### PANTHERS OCCUPIED BUILDING

Subsequently, members of the Black Panther party occupied the building, and it was there on Nov. 13 that the shooting occurred in which two policemen and a Panther were killed and several policemen and Panthers wounded.

On Dec. 1, the building was ordered demolished, and last week, after several delays caused by cold weather, the structure was gone.

One hopeful sign, housing officials say, is the tax reform enacted last year, which cuts the amount of depreciation an owner can claim during his first few years of ownership. The previous depreciation table encouraged a rapid turnover of buildings and thus their deterioration.

## LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, man's most basic quest is freedom—freedom from those forces which threaten both individual and collective independence.

The people of Lithuania, oppressed by totalitarian rule, suffer such a plight.

They have made relentless and resolute efforts to regain their identity and their existence as a free people—to enjoy the independence which is rightfully theirs.

I am honored to be associated with their cause as a Knight of Lithuania, for I share the goals and ideals of the Lithuanian people—their commitment to self-determination and justice and to human dignity for all men. For so long as one man remains unliberated, no man can be entirely free.

Those who believe in the dignity of life, who strive for the ideal of individual self-realization, who fortunately experience the precious essence of liberty, cannot ignore the plight of those who still strive for such fundamentals of existence.

The free spirit of a people is the essence of its very life. The Lithuanian people ask no more; they deserve no less.

Mr. Speaker, once again I am proud to rise on this day in paying tribute to a brave and undaunted people.

## DEMOCRATIC POLICY COUNCIL—III: ECONOMIC AFFAIRS DURING THE 1970'S

### HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, inflation and recession threaten the American people as we move into the 1970's, despite a gross national product that approaches the \$1 trillion mark. Definite measures, not fancy rhetoric, are needed to halt this critical problem. I introduce into the RECORD a statement by the Democratic Policy Council, which Monday adopted a series of measures which we feel will combat this problem if they are swiftly and decisively put into use. Gardner Ackley is chairman of the council's economic affairs committee, and I am a council member.

The statement follows:

#### DEMOCRATIC POLICY COUNCIL—III: ECONOMIC AFFAIRS DURING THE 1970'S

The success of our efforts in the 1970's to use the resources of America wisely for the benefit of all depends on maintaining a strong and sound economy. Today, this goal is threatened by the cruel reality of inflation and the growing threat of recession.

Most Americans, particularly those of modest or fixed incomes, have suffered under the 6.1 percent rise of consumer prices which occurred in 1969. Sky-rocketing grocery bills and an enormous increase in the cost of basic health services bring home the fact that inflation has been more rapid in the last year than in any since 1951.

Interest rates, meanwhile, have soared to the highest levels in over a century, small business has been denied fair access to credit, and the housing industry has entered a full-fledged recession. The economy's expansion has come to a halt, and unemployment is a reality for a rising number of workers in major industries.

While some have benefited from skyrocketing interest rates, strategic control of sources of credit, or the ability to push prices or income up faster than costs, most Americans have been caught up in a fruitless attempt to keep up with a spiraling cost of living or of doing business, and many have suffered severe economic disability.

## ECONOMIC CRISIS

How has the Republican Administration brought us to this state of economic crisis?

The Republican Administration has failed to give us strong, balanced and affirmative leadership to deal effectively with our developing economic crisis. It has rejected a policy to give leadership to private price and wage decisions, and has even repeatedly advertised that it had no concern with such decisions. This announced renunciation of Presidential leadership told the responsible and the irresponsible that the sky was the limit. And the results were predictable: prices in those industries previously responsive to Democratic wage-price leadership rose an average of 6 percent in 1969, compared to the 1.7 percent annual increase that occurred in these industries from 1966-68.

However, the Administration has shown no interest in considering the use of credit control authority granted it by the Congress.

We can expect little relief until the Administration decides to stop fighting inflation with one hand tied behind its back.

There have been other failures. A year ago the Administration was unable for months to decide whether or not it favored extension of the income tax surcharge, or whether it wanted tax reform and, if so, what kind. More recently, it has been unable to make up its mind about monetary policy, standing helplessly by, alternatively wringing and clapping its hands while interest rates have soared.

## REPEATED HOPES

We have heard nothing more effective than a series of repeated hopes by the Administration—repeatedly disappointed—that its policies would soon bring a slowing down of inflation. Now we are told that this is all the fault of the Democrats and that the projected budgetary surplus for fiscal year 1971 will do the job. But the Administration forgets to tell the American people that this budget—if it does turn out to be balanced—will not be the *first* balanced budget in recent years, but the *third* in a row; and it is only the first for which the Republicans are fully responsible.

If a balanced budget, therefore, was the solution for all economic ills, then surely the inflation both of the cost of living and of interest rates, like the drying up of credit for housing and small business, would have long since begun to ease, and American workers would not now be fearing the loss of several million jobs from a potential recession.

We learned long ago that a balanced federal budget in itself is no panacea for a sound and balanced economy—yet this is all the Republicans have offered in the past year. A sophisticated economic policy adequate to the needs of the 1970's must have many concerns: among them, stable prices, jobs for all, reasonable interest rates, the fair availability of credit, adequate economic growth, and a sound dollar internationally. It must seek equity for all sectors of society—producers and consumers; small businessmen, farmers, homebuilders and homebuyers; workers, the self-employed, the unemployed, the unemployable and the retired; as well as big business and the banks. All these concerns cannot be met by the simple prescription of a balanced budget.

We are forced to this conclusion: the rhetoric of the Republican Administration's concern about inflation is directed at the so-called silent majority. But the reality is that the Republican economic policy has endangered the economic welfare of the great majority of the American people. The history of Republican economics supports the fear that—as in 1954, 1957, and 1960—a Republican Administration may once more plunge us into recession. The American people are entitled to something better.

In the coming months, the Committee on Economic Affairs will release policy studies

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in the following areas and possibly others: economic goals for America; fiscal and monetary policies, and tools for their execution; inflation; tax structure; federal-state-local fiscal relationships; the concentration of economic power; and international trade and the balance of payments.

## NEW FEDERAL RESERVE CHAIRMAN DESCRIBES STANDBY SELECTIVE CREDIT CONTROL POWERS AS "HELPFUL, DESIRABLE"

## HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, every issue we confront, and every vote we cast, force us to search our hearts and consciences to try to make decisions which are the proper ones for our country. This is particularly true on very controversial legislation on which the two major parties have taken generally opposite positions. We have party loyalties which most of us respect, but we also have a deeper loyalty to the good of the country, and I think most of us try to put that one foremost.

Thus, it was reassuring to me on Saturday morning to have the new Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the Honorable Arthur F. Burns, former counselor to President Nixon, find merit in—and welcome—a provision of law which was pushed through the House on December 17 by Democratic votes, and which was reluctantly signed into law 6 days later only because the President saw overwhelming urgency in the enactment of something else he wanted in the same legislation.

The controversial provision I am referring to is title II of Public Law 91-151. The public law, to lower interest rates and fight inflation, to help housing, small business and employment, and for other purposes, was an omnibus bill put together and jointly sponsored by the Democratic members of the House Committee on Banking and Currency in an effort to rescue the housing market from stagnation caused by excessively high interest rates and tight money. Title II—authority for credit controls—gives the President the power to authorize the Federal Reserve Board to regulate and control any or all extensions of credit when he, the President, determines that such action is necessary or appropriate for the purpose of preventing or controlling inflation generated by the extension of credit in an excessive volume. Title II was originally introduced by me on November 24 as H.R. 14954, and was incorporated into H.R. 15091, the omnibus measure which provoked one of the bitterest House battles during the entire first session of this Congress.

## THE FIGHT OVER TITLE II

I believe every member of the minority on the Committee on Banking and Currency joined in signing minority views on H.R. 15091 contained in House Report 91-755. While critical of nearly everything in H.R. 15091 except a non-controversial provision earlier passed by

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the Senate, the minority views were particularly vigorous in opposition to title II. At one point the minority views referred to title II in these words:

This goes even further than a scattergun approach—this is blindly pulling the trigger and swinging the barrel and the victim would be our whole economy, which means all of us.

Elsewhere in the minority views in House Report 91-755, the following statement is made:

Specifically, the idea of standby credit controls has some appeal. Existence of the authority might have some deterrent effect on excessive use of credit even if the authority was not actually invoked. But providing such standby authority is not without its dangers. It could trigger a violent psychological reaction that would have a devastating impact on the economy and blow inflation through the roof.

Nevertheless, the House agreed 259 to 136 to pass H.R. 15091 on December 17, after rejecting, 193 to 206, a recommit motion which would have deleted title II and other controversial provisions from it. The following day, on December 18, House and Senate conferees agreed on the final version of the bill, including title II intact as it passed by the House. A Senate provision to amend the Defense Production Act to permit voluntary agreements to regulate credit was also agreed to in conference. Both Houses then passed the bill on December 19 almost unanimously—the House by a vote of 358 to 4, the Senate by a voice vote.

## PRESIDENT DEPLORES INCLUSION OF TITLE II

In signing the bill into law on December 23, 1969, President Nixon stressed the importance of the one provision of the bill which he wanted—the continuation of then-expiring authority by Federal supervisory agencies to regulate rates of interest paid on bank deposits and savings and loan share accounts. But he deplored the inclusion in the legislation of other provisions which he said "the administration did not request and does not desire" and, in effect, accused us of not having acted "responsibly."

In particular, he said:

Two provisions of the bill would authorize voluntary and mandatory credit controls, which, if invoked, would take the Nation a long step toward directly controlled economy and would weaken the will for needed fiscal and financial discipline. These aspects of the bill made the decision to sign it a very difficult one, but the need to prevent chaos in our interest rate situation has made my approval imperative.

## FORMER FEDERAL RESERVE CHAIRMAN'S VIEWS

Mr. Speaker, the idea of standby consumer credit controls had long been endorsed by the former Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the Honorable William McChesney Martin, during hearings over a period of years before the Committee on Banking and Currency or before its Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs. Last year, under my questioning, Mr. Martin went further and suggested a good hard look at the need for authority to control business credit, including commercial paper.

Commercial paper outstanding has soared in volume in recent years. It is a form of I O U issued sometimes by banks

but more often by big business firms to raise large amounts of cash, usually for short periods, at whatever interest rate the market will bear. After Chairman Martin discussed with our committee the inflationary potential of commercial paper in raising interest rates all along the line, the Federal Reserve moved to regulate commercial paper issued by national banks, which would be within its jurisdiction. However, this left 90 percent of the commercial paper issued in this country still outside any regulation at all.

**WHICH SIDE WOULD CHAIRMAN BURNS SUPPORT?**

Mr. Speaker, with this background in mind, some of us on the Committee on Banking and Currency were most curious Saturday morning about the views of the new Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System on the desirability of having standby credit controls. The Honorable Arthur F. Burns, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Eisenhower, and counselor to President Nixon at the time Public Law 91-151 was signed, came before our committee Saturday morning, a week after assuming his new position, to discuss the present crisis in mortgage financing in connection with bills now pending before us to open up new sources of mortgage money for home ownership.

In his new position, independent of the President, would he reflect the thinking of his predecessor as Chairman of the Federal Reserve on the question of standby credit controls, or would he reflect the thinking of the President who had nominated him to the Fed?

The following exchange took place in the committee hearing Saturday morning:

**Mrs. SULLIVAN.** In a measure which originated with this Committee last year and which was signed into law on December 23, the President now has the authority to ask the Federal Reserve to regulate and control "any or all extensions of credit when he"—the President—"determines that such action is necessary or appropriate for the purpose of preventing or controlling inflation generated by the extension of credit in an excessive volume." I am quoting the exact language of the statute.

Your predecessor as Chairman of the Federal Reserve has said to this Committee that he thought it would be helpful and useful to have such authority in the government for standby selective credit controls. President Nixon, in signing the bill, indicated, however, that he had no intention of using these powers and did not want them. But what do you think about the usefulness of this power? Do you think we are better off having it than not having it?

And this leads me, before you answer that, to the next question: Do you think there are any types of credit now being extended in "an excessive volume" which perhaps should be limited or controlled under this law?

**Mr. BURNS.** My answer to your first question is an unqualified affirmative. I think standby authority is helpful, desirable, and I have been for it for many years.

Now, your second question is more difficult, and the second question is one on which I have an open mind and will continue to have an open mind every day as we move forward.

My present tentative opinion is that markets are adjusting, the economy is undergoing a process of change, and my tentative

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opinion is that these controls should not be imposed at the present time.

But that is an opinion that I am ready to change as the evidence comes in.

Mr. Speaker, speaking on behalf of the 206 Members of the House who voted not to recommit H.R. 15091 and thus not to delete title II last December 17, when 193 Members attempted to kill chiefly that portion through the recommit motion, I am glad to see that the new Chairman of the Federal Reserve, despite his longtime political closeness to President Nixon and despite the President's opposition to title II, thinks we did the right thing. Whether or not the credit controls are ever used, it is good to know the Government has a powerful instrument which it could employ if necessary, in curbing credit inflation.

**PARALLEL GOVERNMENT—TECHNIQUE OF SUBVERSION**

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 10, 1970*

**Mr. RARICK.** Mr. Speaker, the professional revolutionary is taught that there are many skirmishes to be fought to overcome constituted authority but that armed open warfare must come only in the final battle.

Revolutions, because they are unpopular and unwanted by the vast majority of the people, are instigated among the people by a hard-core few.

In their buildup for the final bloodbaths of takeover, it becomes necessary to work for popular support and a base of safe operations. Their known leaders being unpopular and their ideas contrary to the wishes of the majority—public opinion can only be reached by the use of half-truths and disguised objectives.

Usually, these are aimed at select minorities—with the intention of portraying a united front—and affecting the emotions of the masses. Thereby, some converts are gained to their hazy thinking, or at least opposition and resistance from well-meaning people is neutralized.

Not desiring to stand public scrutiny in an election, the leaders and sympathizers enter the field of government as appointed specialists and advisers. In this position they dedicate themselves to the stealing of power from the elected representatives of the voters.

Such infiltration is not new and must be studied and understood by all who believe in a form of government where the elected popular leaders are responsible to the people.

We find this pattern in far too many instances—when the cooperating elected official is defeated by the voters, the superexpert appointee remains, as does his web of power and influence. This hide-and-seek type of revolution is called parallel government by some revolutionists. Far more treacherous than the fifth column—and more effective by the softening-up process than open pitched battle—it exists in many forms and is never identified by its true name.

For example, examine the parallel government in the current appeal for civil rights. An emotional appeal is made to selected minorities. Pressures are used to mold popular opinion. Guided objectives are achieved through fear, always just short of open insurrection. Two steps forward and one step backward. Negotiated peace, but always unilaterally. The majority of our people and constitutional government lose on each so-called compromise.

Albert Krebs, of the New York Herald Tribune-Post Dispatch, was granted a lengthy feature interview in Atlanta with one Martin Luther King. In this interview, King, the son of a Christian minister, related how he had no interest in religion until, as a student at Atlanta's Morehouse College, he read Thoreau's "Civil Disobedience."

He then "decided that the ministry could be best used for social protest," and said that he had studied and had become a follower of Mohandas K. Gandhi, the Hindu nationalist, whose suicide scheme for other people was successful in destroying the control of Christian England over India.

A workable knowledge of Gandhi's operational techniques calls for a reading of the books "War Without Violence," by Krishnalal Shridharani, and "The Power of Nonviolence," by Richard Gregg. Both are readily available and can be obtained through almost any library.

These authors detail the teaching and philosophy of Gandhi for a planned demoralization and overthrow—from within—of organized existing government. Both books are prepared with simplicity, obviously with purpose in mind of reaching the unlearned. They outline the scheme for using riots, boycotts, and demonstrations to accomplish one goal—the collapse of the government. The entire technique is made so plain that following chapter 1 of the Shridharani book will be found a diagram or blueprint which outlines the entire revolutionary technique.

Gandhi terms the last stage before collapse and takeover "a parallel government." The sinister theory of "parallel government" is simple. Infiltrate the duly elected authority, subvert their actions, and neutralize the powers of constituted government so that uninformed or misinformed people will come to distrust or lack confidence in their elected officials. In actuality it is the formation of a nonelected government operating under or within an existing government.

Thereafter, the people will be given reason to look to the unelected members of the parallel government machinery as the true leadership because they alone will be able to exercise the control to maintain law and order or insure peace.

However, the revolutionary peacemakers' success is not the result of intelligence or leadership, but rather because they of the parallel government movement are a part of the same conspiracy as the revolutionary mob they alone can control.

Presently there exist, in this country, thousands of parallel governments that daily influence the lives, thoughts, and liberties of our people, and gain prestige

through the use of such sugar-coated appeals as "progress," "social action," "brotherhood," and even "peace."

The most readily recognized characteristic of the parallel government is that the ruling membership is never voted on by the people. I can even sport the name "democratic" without granting a vote—a controlled democracy.

The aim of these retrogressive groups is unswerving—slavery of the individual by overthrow of his established government. Covering every facet of human endeavor, a myriad of names and objects, they eventually all interlock for self-supporting interdependence. Many, even now, reveal identical leadership overlaps which best reveals their interlocking connections for unified control of purpose. But all carry an image of supporting an emotional moral cause—well financed and publicized out of proportion.

As you read your daily paper or watch television, think beyond the catchy slogan and title of these groups. An "organization" of unelected folks working with what may seem to be a worthwhile project or to correct a promoted inequity—but where the policies and directives are dictated from the controlling head officials down, in lieu of coming from the people up—may well be a parallel government.

Ask yourself, "Do these groups come within due bounds of your elected constitutional government? Do they also work to construct worthy images to influence officials? Do they, in any way, have some influence on public opinion?" If so, you may find a portion of your government has been usurped by unelected leaders—many duped to the goals of the parallel government.

Thomas Jefferson has said:

Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of kings to govern him?

Once entrenched, the parallel government constantly strives to enlarge its base of popularity by delusion among the masses.

New Federal programs only create an additional financial source for parallel government growth.

We the people, more so in a few States than in others, have now been granted a theoretical guaranteed right to vote. For every one person, one vote. But what are we to vote for, when the government is influenced—if not run—by appointed, unelected men who, through the use of parallel governments, seek and in many instances have abolished the power of votes? Where the parallel government has stripped elected officials of authority or so influenced public opinion against their responsibility, far too many representatives suffer from inadequacy or lack courage to regain their proper constitutional powers. Why? Because of the fear of the parallel government.

Mr. Speaker, chapter 1 of Krishnalal Jethalal Shridharani's book, "War Without Violence," sets forth in detail the 13 steps of the revolution leading up to the parallel government under the Gandhi theory.

Because the Gandhi movement is being taught and used against our Gov-

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ernment and people daily, I feel our colleagues will find peculiar interest in a résumé of Gandhi's technique of Satyagraha and I include the condensation as follows:

### 1. NEGOTIATIONS AND ARBITRATION

The search for a peaceful solution as the indispensable first step in the strategy of Satyagraha has a twofold significance. In the first place, it emphasizes the fact that, though unfortunately disrupted for the time being, the disputants have a fundamental unity. It also emphasizes that if the unemotional attitude of give-and-take as the ideal condition is not obtainable at the critical moment, the Satyagrahis hope to create it as a result of their non-violent direct action.

Over and above utilizing such legislative channels as are open to them, the Satyagrahis may enter into direct negotiations with the responsible party on the opposite side. Sending a deputation composed of influential and notable citizens to the proper authorities. Failing in either action, the Satyagrahis may seek arbitration by a third party . . .

When even arbitration fails to satisfy the demands of the Satyagrahis, the time is ripe for them to take the second step in the programme of non-violent direct action.

### 2. AGITATION

Generating "cause-consciousness" becomes the supreme aim of Satyagraha leaders at this stage of the movement.

Issuing pamphlets . . . , circulating books and papers . . . are . . . activities of the agitators. Catchy songs and slogans upholding the "Cause," personal contacts, speeches, group meetings, debates and discussions also form a vital part of the propaganda activity. The use of modern means of communication such as the radio and the cinema is also included as an integral part of the machine of mass propaganda.

In case there is even an infinitesimal conflict in anti-Satyagraha ranks with regard to what stand their body should take, that conflict is now increasingly aggravated by the constant activity of the Satyagrahis. And at this stage . . . the Satyagrahic assignment is to disrupt the balance of personal and group loyalties in the opponent by psychological suggestions.

### 3. DEMONSTRATIONS AND THE ULTIMATUM

"Cause-consciousness" now seeks expression. Public meetings grow larger and larger. Schools and colleges, though under the control of the government, become undercover centres of Satyagrahic thinking and planning.

Satyagraha at this point is colorful, and "colour" leads to good publicity. Thereupon this publicity draws in more people. Party songs and party slogans are directed toward individuals who have not as yet been swayed. Uniforms are paraded and the youth of the community finds a new outlet for its energies.

Included in this stage of Satyagraha is the precipitous step of issuing an ultimatum. . . . A specific time limit is set for the government's fulfilment of these minimum demands. If the government does not change its position after the ultimatum the people, confident that they can make government impossible, embark upon direct action. Thus the ultimatum amounts to a "conditional declaration of war."

If this decisive phase of Satyagraha also fails to bring about a just settlement, the populace is then called upon to plunge into the more militant programme of direct action.

### 4. SELF-PURIFICATION

By taking upon themselves a part of the responsibility for "the wrong" they are fighting against, the Satyagrahis undertake a different line of attack from that of the revolutionists. Contending that the wrong might

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not have materialized but for their own submission, the Satyagrahis begin to change their own behavior and thought patterns.

### 5. STRIKE AND GENERAL STRIKE

From this point on, it is hard to present a progressive, step-by-step development of Satyagraha. Many of the phases of Satyagraha that are to follow are not the direct outgrowth of one from the other, but are, on the contrary, distinct instruments to be utilized either simultaneously or separately.

The strike as such is labour's instrument for the acquisition of a desired standard of treatment and living from the employer. Its place, therefore, in a political movement directed toward either amending or toward ending the government is not so obvious. But a closer scrutiny of our complex economic life will uncover a few places where modern forms of government are extremely vulnerable to the weapon of the strike. Attacking these vantage points through the instrument of the strike, consequently, becomes a part of Satyagraha strategy.

### 6. PICKETING

Picketing is the natural consequence of a strike. In the programme of the Indian Satyagraha, however, a strike is not the only signal for picketing. The latter has been evident many times in India independent of any strike. In most cases, picketing as a phase of Satyagraha has followed the boycott.

### 7. DHURNA—SIT-DOWN STRIKE

The success of the sit-down is due to the fact that no industry which sells its products directly to the public can afford to alienate public opinion. The general public is always opposed to violence and bloodshed in suppressing strikes, and unless these methods are utilized, it is almost impossible to break a sit-down strike. Dhurna, therefore, is the most dramatic way of influencing public opinion both when the effort is successful and when it is crushed.

### 8. ECONOMIC BOYCOTT

Boycott, as an organized programme of withdrawing and of inducing others to withdraw, from business relations with the opponent, is too well-known a weapon in the Western world to warrant a detailed analysis here.

### 9. NONPAYMENT OF TAXES

The call for non-payment of taxes ushers in non-violent direct action in its purely illegal, unlawful and seditious stage.

When a "no-tax" is attempted, the reactions of the state can easily be imagined. It strikes back at the Satyagrahis with arrest, confiscation of land plots and leases, confiscation of property, bank accounts and cattle.

### 10. NONCOOPERATION

The withdrawal of public support must mean an end of a political system. The community, as distinguished from the state, can render the latter powerless by not cooperating with it. Thus, noncooperation constitutes a potent weapon in the hands of the people in order to end an oppressive rule.

1. Surrender of all titles of honor and the voluntary giving up of all honorary offices.

2. Nonparticipation in government loans.

3. Boycotting of law courts by litigants. It would amount to the suspension of legal practice by lawyers and the settlement of civil disputes by private arbitration. It is conceived as a weapon for further lowering the prestige of the government as well as a starting point for a new authority.

4. Boycott of government, schools and colleges. This step would provide the movement with a crop of youthful recruits and at the same time check the influence of academicians.

5. Boycott of the legislative councils. Outstanding and able politicians would, as a consequence, come out to work among the people instead of wasting their time in impotent debates. By withdrawing from the

legislatures, the leaders are likely to rob the government of such status as is bestowed by their participation.

6. Withdrawal from government service.

7. Withdrawal of men from the Army and the police. The state, without the indispensable assistance of coercion would be virtually emasculated. Anti-militarism would further threaten the existence of the state should a coup d'état be attempted.

10A. OSTRACISM

Ostracism, or social boycott, is a weapon of the community against its members who refuse to join in the general programme of noncooperation with the opponent. Thus he who refuses to non-cooperate is non-cooperated in turn. It is generally justified on the ground that by siding with the community's enemy he has forfeited all the privileges that are the result of community life.

11. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

By refusing to obey the statutes of the state, the Satyagrahis deny the existence of the established order. One by one, or simultaneously, the important laws and decrees of the state are broken, so that eventually the entire "rule" is uprooted. It is important, Gandhi has insisted time and again, that only unpopular and obnoxious laws be broken at the beginning of a Satyagraha. Only the breaking of unjust statutes attracts the sympathy of the general public and favorable world opinion.

No government is likely to allow a deliberate breach of any of its laws, much less a programme of disobedience. It will fight for its very existence. It will strike with all the coercive measures at its command.

A government faced with civil disobedience would arrest and imprison all lawbreaking individuals and groups. The Satyagrahis, in that eventuality, have pledged not to defend themselves but are expected to accept the punishment willingly. But how many people can a state arrest?

12. ASSERTIVE SATYAGRAHA

During the operation of this measure, the Satyagrahis begin to discharge, partially at least, certain of the activities and functions of the state made stagnant by their own previous action.

13. PARALLEL GOVERNMENT

Parallel government is the full materialization of the programme of its immediately previous stage, viz assertive Satyagraha. Herein the Satyagrahis establish a new sovereignty by replacing the established order. Parallel government is the community act of taking over all the functions of the tottering government, thus squeezing the established order out of existence.

NO-NONSENSE APPROACH TO SLUM SCHOOLS

HON. BENJAMIN B. BLACKBURN  
OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 10, 1970

Mr. BLACKBURN. Mr. Speaker, recently there has been a great deal of discussion over the Court rulings requiring racial balance in southern schools. In a recent interview published in the Wall Street Journal with Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a noted black educator, he voices his opposition to the proposed shifting of Negro and white students in order to achieve racial balance. Instead, he feels that concentration should be placed upon teaching the basic fundamentals of education such as reading, writing, and arithmetic rather than undertaking dubious social experiments within our schools. For the information of my col-

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

leagues, I hereby insert the interview in the Wall Street Journal into the RECORD:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Dec. 26, 1969]  
NO-NONSENSE APPROACH TO SLUM SCHOOLS

(NOTE.—This interview with Kenneth B. Clark was excerpted from the November bulletin of the Council for Basic Education, with the council's permission. Dr. Clark, an educator and psychologist, is president of Metropolitan Applied Research Center, New York.)

Q. Dr. Clark, in a speech two years ago you called for a "reading and arithmetic mobilization year" in which all other activities in ghetto schools would give way to the goal of bringing every normal child up to at least his present grade level in those subjects. What was the reasoning behind that proposal?

A. The reasoning would seem to me to be embarrassingly simple. The major deficiency in the ghetto schools is in the basic academic subjects of reading and arithmetic. This deficiency is observable from the third grade on and becomes progressively worse through the elementary and secondary grades. It seems to me that if one is confronted with a problem, one tries to solve it. So, as I said, the basis for my suggestion is embarrassingly simple. We can solve our problems by taking a year, or the necessary time, and by concentrating all the educational resources and personnel in a program designed to raise the reading level and the computational skills of ghetto school children up to the norm for their grades. It can be done. What disturbs me is that people consider this a radical proposal. If we were confronted with a medical problem, a disease of epidemic proportions, we would address ourselves to curing that disease. We wouldn't temporize and engage in long theoretical discussions about whether disease is or is not desirable, or things of that sort. We would address ourselves to accomplishing whatever was necessary to control it.

A RELUCTANCE TO ACT

Q. What kind of reception did your proposal get?

A. Politely indifferent. The educational establishment, it seems to me, is content to continue to discuss interminably the problems of the "disadvantaged." It is willing to consider theory after theory, but seems very reluctant to act.

Q. If I have correctly understood your writings and speeches, you would not go along with the Coleman Report in its insistence that the problems of ghetto education are more socio-economic than educational.

A. I must say, in all candor, that I do not go along with most of the highfalutin, theoretical research approach to the problems of the education of the disadvantaged. Rightly or wrongly, I am addicted to the law of parsimony. I believe that one does not seek more complex explanations of a situation before one has been able to rule out simple and obvious explanations. The Coleman Report, like other reports from our prestigious institutions and individuals in the files of education, for some peculiar reason ignores the basic variable in the academic performance of low income and minority group children and that of more privileged children. Are those in the minority group being taught as efficiently, as effectively, as those other children? It is only when we have completely ruled out that variable as the determinant for the lower level of performance that we then can look for more complex determinants. I do not know of a single situation in which minority group children have been taught efficiently, effectively and with compassion and understanding and skill, in which their performance has not been at or close to the norm of the performance of other children equally well taught.

Q. Do you believe education needs to be significantly different for whites, blacks, Indians or Mexican-Americans?

A. I certainly do not. I think that the people who propose special education, special this, special that, for minority group children are violating the law of parsimony. When equal conditions have been established and it is found that the children do not respond, then and only then are we justified in looking for special methods, special techniques.

Q. Again, by implication, you have indicated your position on compensatory education—if children are taught well, they don't need it.

A. That's right. Every compensatory education program that I know of is merely a program in which these children are being taught. The critical variable is that children who previously have not been well taught are now, under the guise of some special program, being taught well.

Q. I am particularly interested in your position, as a Negro, regarding the place of black dialects in the schools. Robert F. Hogan, Executive Secretary of the National Council of Teachers of English, in our recent interview with him, implied that dialects should have equal acceptance with standard English in the schools.

A. I am unalterably opposed to such an acceptance. I believe that the purpose of a school is to teach the standards of a society in language, arithmetic, social studies. I do not believe that you can make the deviations and the variants the standards. I am also opposed to what I understand is the new style among grammarians, that anything goes as long as it is used. If one were to translate that permissiveness into arithmetic, for instance, you would have chaos. I'm not talking about theory. I'm talking about the basic, essential communication among members of a society. A word has to be spelled so that you know what it is. Otherwise, again, chaos. As I understand it, and I am obviously very old-fashioned, a school's primary function is to communicate to young people what the standards are. Certainly a good teacher will not only present the standards but will also strive for an understanding of the rationale for those standards and an understanding of the function of standards in a culture.

Therefore, I do not believe in the second-language approach. I do not believe in the dialect approach. I do not believe it serves any useful function to elevate sub-cultures to the point where they are given the same value as the standard in the training and discipline of young minds. I just don't see it.

INSIDIOUS AND RACIST

If there were no standards, then I could see no particular reason for schools. One could just permit young people to absorb as they would the variety of norms and patterns that exist in a varied community, communities of diversity. What is more to the point, I think this permissiveness is in itself a very insidious, racist approach to the problems of education.

Q. Because it provides for shifting standards?

A. Certainly! What it is doing, in effect, is giving up on certain youngsters, considering them expendable. It is insidious because it seeks to institutionalize the very inequities and manifestations of inequities that a democratic society and a democratic education in that society should attempt to neutralize.

And it certainly is insidious that once this institutionalization has been effected, it is not the end. What has to be taken into account is that the dialect and the other subculture norms are not salable in the larger society. They might have some value as exotic primitives, but they have no value in meeting the demands and requirements of the efficient functioning of a democratic capitalist economy.

Q. Arthur Jensen engendered a debate by his claim that the reason for the failures of compensatory education can be found in the lower I.Q.'s of minority group children. You have already indicated your displeasure with the Jensen thesis. Certainly the article has been more attacked than praised, hasn't it?

A. It hasn't been attacked enough. It is an insidious article; that is, it is an insidious approach. Scientifically, it's preposterous. Dr. Jensen doesn't know what he's talking about when he talks about genes, about genetic determination. The whole area of genetics is so complex, so unexamined. In this complicated and mysterious area of biology, geneticists are only beginning to understand the relationship between gene partners and physical characteristics. They are a long way from understanding the relationship between genetic determiners and psychological characteristics. I don't think Dr. Jensen is a racist, he's just naive. Apparently, he has never understood the work of Franz Boas or Otto Klineberg and the cultural anthropologists, who, as early as the 1930s, were presenting evidence to show that the significant variable in understanding differences among human beings was not, as far as we know, inherent biological determinants, but the complexity of social and environmental forces that interact with whatever biological potential exists in particular individuals.

Q. Along these lines, some time ago, you remarked upon the wastefulness of attempting to create a culture-free I.Q. test. Have you had any second thoughts on that subject?

A. No, I haven't. I.Q. tests are what they are. They have their uses. Their results reflect the complexity of those forces I was speaking of. They attempt to measure the individual potential, a capacity not too well understood, and I don't expect that it will be during my lifetime, as it interacts with the complexity of social and environment influences to which the individual has been subjected since birth and before birth. And they are further complicated by the complexity of the forces involved in the construction and validation and administration of these tests. They leave much to be desired, but they are the best we have. It is preposterous to talk about their being culture-free. They exist in a culture. A culture-free test would be useless. No individual functions outside of a culture.

Q. Most of the books and articles that have been appearing about the education of black children, at least those that have sold widely, seem to me to have been basically personal success stories. The I'm-the-only-one-who-really-understands sort of thing—such books as "Death At An Early Age,"

"The Way It Spozed to Be," "Thirty-Six Children." What do you think of the effects and values of this particular school of writers?

A. Well, I would certainly be more inclined to accept their frailties before I would accept the Jensen-type frailties. It's true that you see in many of these personal reports a kind of self-righteous, positive sentimentalism. This may be necessary. This kind of approach might be much more effective in stimulating change than the rational, matter-of-fact mathematical approach that I have. But I'm inclined to say, "Look. If you teach these children, you don't have to love them. You don't have to be sentimental."

I recall my own history in the schools as I was growing up in Harlem. I don't remember some of my better teachers loving me as such. The thing that stands out in my mind is that these good teachers held me to standards. In this regard, I sensed, maybe not at the time but looking back on it, that in holding me to the same standards they would hold everyone else to they were conveying to me a respect and an acceptance of me as a person, which I then responded to positively. I don't remember love as such. In fact, some of the teachers who seemed to be emotional and positive in their affection for me were not particularly good teachers, if I remember them correctly. They were too easy, too accepting of shoddy performance on my part. I remember the man who introduced me to algebra in the junior high. He was a German by the name of Ruprecht. He was tough, hard. But somehow or other, at the end of my contact with Ruprecht I recognized that there had been real warmth there. He manifested it by his insistence that I do my homework and go up to the board to solve problems. These were manifestations of his respect for me as a human being.

And I think this is what is at the heart of what is needed now. The ghetto child needs to sense from his teachers that they respect him as a person. And the only way he can sense it is through his accomplishments and through teachers providing the parameters for accomplishment. This is where the whole thing about pride comes in. I am convinced that black children or any other group of children can't develop pride by just saying they have it, by singing a song about it, or by saying I'm black and beautiful or I'm white and superior. These approaches are senseless. Pride comes through demonstrable achievement. The people who know this best are the people in the ghettos. The children know when they are able to accomplish something and when they are failing. They know when

they are being relegated to the dung heap of academia. They know when they can't read as well as others or when they can't do arithmetic. To set them apart and give their groups the names of birds or animals doesn't fool them a bit. I don't know a single child who is so unintelligent as not to know when his school has given up on him. I don't know of a single child who can be fooled by being told that it doesn't matter whether he knows how to read or write or do arithmetic because he has a glorious culture or because of his great color. They don't buy it. That's why they become junkies, to escape from themselves, to escape from that second-class kind of reality. If you want to change that reality, you've got to change it in the schools.

#### THE DOCTRINE OF "DIFFERENCE"

Q. Do you see any hopeful trends in ghetto education? Are the established school systems getting anywhere, or are they all capitulating to this easy doctrine of "difference"?

A. Frankly, I think there is too much capitulation to this "difference." It's the fad now, and this fad is being reinforced by the black separatists, black nationalists, white sentimentalists and white segregationists. I'll have none of it. It must be counteracted. I think we are going to have to get school districts with tough-minded leadership that will reject this kind of nonsense and demonstrate what can be done with top level education. We are going to have to get competitive educational systems, private, pseudo-private, semi-private, quasi-private—what you will. We are going to have to have schools for the employees of big industries, subsidized by these big industries—AT&T, Western Electric, banks. And we'll have to use these new forms of semi-public systems, subsidized school systems, to do today what the private school systems did 30 or 40 years ago.

Q. Before they joined the group? Many private school educators, as you know, also subscribed to the doctrine of "difference."

A. But they haven't joined on the whole quality-of-education issue, as they apparently have on the jargon level. My son went to a private New England school, and in the fourth and fifth forms (tenth and eleventh grades) he was reading books and being held to standards of writing and criticism more rigid than we find set for some college freshmen. American education is most undemocratic when it accepts ideas of inferiority. The independent schools never really succumbed to the dilution of standards that seem to prevail in the public schools. Furthermore, many of the schools in suburbia never really succumbed to it, either. The chief victims of the dilution of educational standards have been the lower-income white and minority-group youngsters in the inner city.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, February 16, 1970

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*Teach me to do Thy will; for Thou art my God; Thy spirit is good; lead me into the land of uprightness.—Psalm 143: 10.*

O God, our Father, whose will is peace, whose nature is love, and whose desire is that we live in peace with Thee and in love with one another grant unto us a vision of Thy purpose for mankind as we lean on the windowsill of heaven and look up to Thee in prayer.

Deliver us from antagonisms that annoy us, from trifles that try us, from disagreements that make us disagreeable, and by Thy spirit make us great in goodness, good in our greatness, and

genuine in all our endeavors on behalf of our beloved country.

Amid the problems that perplex us and the difficulties that dismay us do Thou strengthen and sustain our spirits and lead us in the paths of righteousness for Thy name's sake. Amen.

#### THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Tuesday, February 10, 1970, 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, who also informed the House that on February 11, 1970, the President approved and signed a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H.J. Res. 888. Joint resolution to authorize the President to designate the period beginning February 13, 1970, and ending February 19, 1970, as "Mineral Industry Week."

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, 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: