

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

SUPREME COURT DENIES ANOTHER  
FREEDOM

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 8, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Court, in denying review of the compulsory teaching of sex education in Maryland, has again denied individual freedom; this time by inaction.

The latest Supreme Court negativism places the individual rights of parents and children in a captive status. At present, schoolchildren cannot be permitted to pray, but by analogy, they must submit to sex education in the public schools.

Explanation by the prosex education apologists that they had adopted sex classes upon concern over the number of girls who had become pregnant approaches effect but not the cause. Religious people know that the juvenile sex problem was not prevalent in school until prayer was abolished by the Supreme Court. The State educators made no effort to restore prayer or introduce trial classes in ethics, morality, and moral traditions before resorting to sex classes.

It will be argued that the court, in taking no action did not approve of compulsory sex curriculums in public school, but what other rational conclusion can be arrived at?

What next to torture humanity and demoralize civilization?

I include a newspaper clipping at this point:

[From the Evening Star, Dec. 7, 1970]

HIGH COURT REJECTS SEX EDUCATION SUIT  
(By Lyle Denniston)

The Supreme Court today refused to interfere with the teaching of sex education in Maryland.

Without comment, the justices threw out a complaint by three Baltimore families that the state's sex education program is unconstitutional.

The three families, each with children in Baltimore public schools, contended they have a constitutional right to teach their children about sex at home.

They contended this right was violated by the requirement, adopted by the State Board of Education in 1967, that each local school system have a program of sex education.

U.S. District Judge Alexander Harvey ruled in 1969 that the families had no complaint, and dismissed their lawsuit as "insubstantial." The ruling was upheld last June by the 4th U.S. Court of Appeals.

In their appeal, the Baltimore families said the program may "undermine, perhaps destroy, the authority of parents" to teach their children to live by moral traditions. The families are members of Baptist, Methodist and Roman Catholic churches.

The state board of education had adopted the requirement for sex education after becoming concerned about the number of school-age girls who had become pregnant. It ordered each local system to provide a program of sex education in every school, including elementary schools.

Because the Supreme Court gave no explanation of its action today, its refusal to hear the constitutional issue did not nec-

essarily mean it approved of sex education courses.

## SEX EDUCATION NOT APPROVED

However, by declining to hear the case, the justices did leave public school systems free to teach sex as part of their regular programs.

AIRPORT TRUST FUND CAN  
SAVE LIVES

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 8, 1970

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, a recent survey by the Associated Press reveals a chilling situation.

According to the AP, a number of municipal airports serving the Nation's scheduled airlines presently lack instrument landing systems. The blame comes from lack of funds and priorities set by the FAA.

Or, more recently, by the Administration's decision to bilk the public by using the airport trust fund to defray general FAA administrative costs—a violation of the intent, if not the letter—of the Airport and Airways Act.

Mr. Speaker, the Commerce Committee hammered out this landmark legislation to correct the situation described in the following article—inadequate facilities and a shortage of airports which overcrowds existing facilities.

Yet, the Administration has chosen, through bureaucratic doubletalk, to use these badly needed funds to hide a deficit budget.

This borders on being criminal.

An Ohio airport manager rings out the terrible truth, "It seems we have to kill a bunch of people before we can get anyone to listen."

Mr. Speaker, although the following article from the November 27 Austin American Statesman appeared in newspapers throughout the country, I include it to be reprinted in the RECORD. It will forcefully bring home the point to my colleagues—and hopefully, to the administration:

MORE AIRPORTS TO RECEIVE INSTRUMENT  
LANDING SYSTEM

(By Victor L. Simpson)

A number of municipal airports serving scheduled airliners are planning to install modern bad weather guidance systems after delays caused by lack of funds and priorities set by the Federal Aviation Administration, an Associated Press Survey shows.

Lancaster, Pa., airport will have an instrument landing system "ILS"—operational by February. Tucson International Airport hopes to have one installed by next summer and settlement of a legal dispute over palm trees apparently has cleared the way for operation of an ILS at Fort Lauderdale Airport.

But many other airports used by airliners have no present plans to install the equipment, citing costs too prohibitive without federal funds.

An earlier AP study, made following the crash of an airplane chartered by Marshall University, disclosed that about 300 air-

ports—more than half of those across the country serving scheduled airliners—lacked modern devices to help pilots land in bad weather. Seventy-five persons including members of the Marshall University football team died when the plane crashed in the rain at Huntington, W. Va., airport, which lacks the system.

Russell Hissam, manager of Zanesville, Ohio, airport, which has 26,000 take offs and landings each year, said present guidance systems at his airport "are not adequate."

"We have been complaining about this for years," he said. "It seems we have to kill a bunch of people before we can get anyone to listen."

"The FAA's method of determining where equipment goes is sometimes strange," adds Robert Gould, manager of the Marysville, Calif., airport. "It seems the places that are well represented in Congress get the equipment first."

Sophisticated instrument landing equipment costs about \$100,000 and airports also face additional costs of building towers, lengthening runways and installing additional lights.

A full instrument landing system under FAA definitions includes a glide scope, which is an electronic signal beamed at the plane to activate a cockpit gauge showing if the plane is coming in too high or too low; and a localizer, which is a separate radio signal showing whether the incoming plane is straying to the left or right of its line to the runway.

Louis LeLuca, manager of the Hazleton, Pa., airport said the FAA will install a complete ILS system by next summer.

Planes up to the size of a DC9 have been landing at the airport for at least three years, and there have been no accidents.

"When our ceiling is down, we have to turn them away, though," he said, "and passengers go to an airport 15 miles away at Avoca. When we get the new equipment we'll be able to bring them right in, even in bad weather."

Robert Chambers, administration manager at Tucson airport, explained the FAA priorities in determining installation of ILS.

"Historically the criteria for installation was based on the number of bad weather flying days. Tucson of course has very fine weather conditions more or less all year round and this puts us very low as far as eligibility for the system goes.

"Then about three years ago the criteria changed to the number of operations at the airport. That put us in a much more eligible position. With this in mind, this fall we were notified that the ILS would be installed here next summer."

Chambers said he didn't think there had ever been an accident at the airport that an ILS system would have prevented, but added, "This doesn't mean we wouldn't have one tomorrow."

Among the airports installing or planning to install ILS are North Bend, Ore.; Tucson and Phoenix, Ariz.; Chico City, Oxnard, and Santa Ana, Calif.; Lancaster and Hazleton, Pa.; Columbia, Mo.; Grand Island, Neb.; Texarkana and Hot Springs, Ark.; Wicomico County, Md.; Burlington, Dubuque and Mason City, Iowa; Albany, Ga.; Melbourne, Fla.; and Kailua-Kona, Kamuela and Molokai, Hawaii.

Other communities are applying for federal aid and some, like Liberal, Kan., are paying for runway and lighting improvements in the hope it will induce the FAA to install ILS at its expense.

A shortage of local funds seems the biggest roadblock to extension of ILS.

The FAA had been planning to install ILS at Riverside, Calif., airport but the county would first have to spend about \$1 million

to buy land and flatten hills where the antennas would go.

"We feel that only about 3 per cent of the flights into here would use an ILS," said airport manager Roy Bayless. "We couldn't justify it from the standpoint of other capital projects we need to get done."

Voters in Manhattan, Kan., turned down a \$1.3 million bond issue to about double the length of the airport runway. Federal funds of \$1.6 million were promised if the issue passed.

Eddie Holland, director of the Arkansas Aeronautics Department, said five airports in the state lack ILS and won't have them for several years "meaning until federal money is available to finance the cost."

Martha's Vineyard Airport the only airport in Massachusetts without ILS, was supposed to get it in 1964 but then federal funds became unavailable, said Truman Pace, airport manager. "Now we're programmed for it in 1971, but again we don't know whether the funds will be made available or not. It's strictly a federal decision. Local authorities are not involved at all beyond making recommendations."

"I guess you could say the problem is money," said William Santoro, manager at the Johnstown, Cambria County Airport in Pennsylvania.

He said the airport handled 1,070,000 airport operations in 1970. The only commercial airline that flies to Johnstown is Allegheny, he said, and most of the traffic is corporate and private craft. The airport's main runway, 5,500 feet long, can handle all but the largest jets, and terminal, restaurant and other facilities recently were remodeled.

"All we need to make it a first-class airport is the ILS," said Santoro. He said he had been trying to get a complete ILS system installed for the last 2½ years. "We don't want a Huntington, W. Va., on our hands," he said.

Another criterion in installation of ILS is geography.

An FAA panel in Alaska cited terrain as the reason a full ILS system has not been installed at Wien Memorial and Juneau Municipal airports.

Seven Alaska airports have ILS. It will be installed at three others. Another 14 have requested it.

Melbourne, Fla., Airport plans to install full ILS by next October. The airport had hoped to have the equipment this year but was taken off the list, according to the director of aviation, Edward L. Foster.

"The reason I was given," he said, "was the shortage of critical materials due to the Vietnam war. Copper, aluminum wiring and equipment needed for the ILS has been going to Vietnam."

"One of the problems of the FAA for the past five years has been the Vietnam war."

One airport with no plans to install ILS is in Key West, Fla. Key West, a coral island about 100 miles southwest of the mainland, has had weather only "one or two days a year," said airport manager George J. Feraldo.

"When we do have a shower, all we have to do is wait five minutes and it will be over. That's why I live down here."

#### THE GARDEN CLUB OF THE CLEVELAND COUNCIL OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

**HON. CHARLES A. VANIK**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 8, 1970

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great deal of pride that I take note of

the successful establishment in my congressional district of the garden club program of the Jewish National Fund Council of Cleveland. Under the leadership of my good friend Julius B. Amber the Jewish National Fund of Cleveland has become known throughout the world as one of the most innovative and dedicated organizations to benefit the State of Israel and provide meaningful social service to citizens of this country.

The garden club program allows a contributor to fund the planting of 100 trees per garden in the noble and astonishing effort which has long been underway in Israel to reforestate that great and amazing nation. When I visited Israel, I was continually having to be reminded that every tree or grove of trees which I saw had been planted by the hands of men, women, and children and that little forestation would otherwise have been probable or possible.

This especially creative garden club program conceived and developed by Dr. Martin Krasny of my congressional district allows such a massive effort to find new and unstinting support. To date well over 170 gardens of 100 trees each have been planted.

This program means live and new growth to the State of Israel. I extend my hearty congratulations to Mr. Amber, Dr. Krasny, and the members of the Cleveland Council of the Jewish National Fund and wish them continued and increasing success in this very special program. I wish to insert at this point in the RECORD the description of the program and the list of the gardens already planted:

#### JEWISH NATIONAL FUND COUNCIL OF CLEVELAND,

Cleveland Heights, Ohio, August 11, 1970.

DEAR FRIEND: A unique Garden Club has been established in Cleveland. Each member has agreed to plant a Garden of 100 Trees in the State of Israel. The sum total of these Gardens will be called The Cleveland Jewish National Fund Garden Club Forest.

Since the announcement of this project in the Jewish News (see enclosed reprint) we have sold an additional 26 Gardens, bringing the total to 96 Gardens, and are delighted to report that JNF Councils throughout the country have embarked on similar projects.

This personal involvement with the Land of Israel has brought deep satisfaction to our participants, and a worthy contribution to the afforestation so desperately needed. The Garden you purchase will reclaim wasteland and wilderness and bring Israel ever closer to your heart!

We invite you to become a member of the JNF Garden Club. Please call me at 321-1948, or call Mrs. Kekst at the Jewish National Fund, 932-8610 for additional information.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. MARTIN KRASNY,  
Garden Club Chairman.

#### JEWISH NATIONAL FUND ANNOUNCES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THESE GARDENS IN ISRAEL

The Lea Abrams Garden.  
The Samuel and Anne Abrams Garden.  
The Louis and Celia Adelstein Garden.  
The Dr. Leonard and Mims Adler Garden.  
The Sanford V. and Shirley Berger Garden.  
The Dave and Bella Chakoff Garden.  
The Al and June Dapeer Garden.  
The Lois Davis Garden.  
The William and Mona Dorsky Garden.  
The Epstein Garden.

The Dr. Louis C. and Alice Epstein Garden.  
The Rose Estrin Garden.  
The Fairmount Temple Youth Group Garden.  
The Myron Fant Garden.  
The Theresa L. Fish Garden.  
The Dr. Stuart and Elayne Fisher Garden.  
The Forest City Hebrew Benevolent Assn. Garden.  
The Dr. Marvin and Ellen Forman Garden.  
The Fred and Sandra Friedland Garden.  
The Max and Fannie Friedland Garden.  
The Louis and Frieda Gelfman Garden.  
The Gershenson Family Garden.  
The Bernard and Rose Gilbert Garden.  
The Saul Goodman Garden.  
The Dr. Joseph and Eva Gould Garden.  
The Gary and Marjorie Graines Garden.  
The David and Cynthia Greenberg Garden.  
The Sol and Lillian Herman Garden.  
The Bob and May Hershey Garden.  
The Keva and Joan Kekst Garden.  
The Dr. Zoltan and Renee Klein Garden.  
The J. Martin and Ida Kohe Garden.  
The Julie and Marie Kravitz Garden.  
The Lake Forest Country Club Garden.  
The Charles and Frieda Lauer Garden.  
The Louis and Fanny Leventhal and the Aaron and Minnie Horwitz Garden.  
The Milt and Bette Levine Garden.  
The Dr. Irving and Flora Lewis Garden.  
The Irving and Pearl Linden Garden.  
The Samuel and Molly Lox Garden.  
The Dr. Phillip and Gladys Lubitz Garden.  
The Harold and Harriet Mandel Garden.  
The Harvey Mandell Garden.  
The Sarah Ginsburg Kline Garden.  
The Anna and Morris Michalovitz Garden.  
The Daniel K. Marks Garden.  
The Willard and Gertrude Miller Garden.  
The Ronnie Milter Garden.  
The Morris and Jean Moss Garden.  
The Myron and Eileen Nickman Garden.  
The Halyim and Aviva Orlian Garden.  
The Frieda Paller Garden.  
The Sidney and Tonny Pelumis Garden.  
The Sydney and Phyllis Reisman Garden.  
The Leon and Kay Robbins Garden.  
The Ronald and Roberta Roger Garden.  
The Elizabeth K. Rothenberg Garden.  
The Melvin and Rose Rubin Garden.  
The Schwartz Family Garden.  
The Martin and Helen Schwartz Garden.  
The Sol and Molly Siegal Garden.  
The Fred and Norma Silverstein Garden.  
The Albert and Rivella Tavens Garden.  
The Samuel Tilzer Garden.  
The Nat Trugman Garden.  
The Sam and Irene White Garden.  
The Milton and Florence Wish Garden.  
The Harvey and Adele Wynbrandt Garden.  
The Jack and Helen Wynbrandt Garden.  
The Bennett and Donna Yanowitz Garden.  
The Dr. Louis and Joyce Zabell Garden.  
The Zimmerman-Cheinick Children's Garden.

#### JNF GARDEN CLUB

#### Committee

Dr. Martin Krasny, Chairman.  
Mr. and Mrs. Fred Friedland, Mr. and Mrs. Scotch Green, Mr. and Mrs. Joel Kay, Mr. and Mrs. Keva Kekst, Mr. and Mrs. Bennett Kleinman.  
Mrs. Martin Krasny, Dr. and Mrs. Irving Lewis, Mr. Daniel K. Marks, Mrs. Willard Miller.  
Mr. and Mrs. Sanford Milter, Mr. and Mrs. Ronald Roger, Mr. and Mrs. Harris Rothenberg, Mr. and Mrs. Mark Schwartz.  
Each garden contains 100 trees . . . you are welcome to become a member.

For further information call 932-8610.

#### JNK GARDEN CLUB NEWS

Some things really take root! The Jewish National Fund Garden Club is one of them. Whoever visits Israel finds that the drama of a century JNF has planted Trees. Since 1948 Israel is the story of the Tree. For over half

JNF has undertaken multifaceted projects of land clearance, road building and land development. And yet when you see the land of Israel, you first realize the impact of the Tree on the face of Israel. No other single project has involved participation of diaspora Jewry to such an extent. No other project has been so visible to the tourist in Israel.

For the soldier, Tree planting means camouflaging the roads, providing shelter and shade, and protecting border areas. For the farmer, Tree planting means turning sandy wastelands to arable soil, capturing moisture from clouds, and protecting crops from damage of wind and heat. For you, the Diaspora Jew, Tree planting means linking you to the Land of Israel—Eretz Yisrael.

The JNF Garden Club of Cleveland was structured to maintain this tie to the Trees already planted in Israel. Each and every Tree counts, but for those who continually plant individual Trees, the commitment to plant 100 Trees in their own name is exciting. Since one hundred Trees form a Garden, the JNF Garden Club has set as its goal the planting of 100 Gardens for this year. We shall indeed turn the Judean hills green.

Dr. Martin Krasny, Chairman of the Garden Club, and his recently formed committee are already hard at work, industriously planting the seeds of this concept in our community. Many new gardens have already been planted, and this idea is being very well received everywhere. We hope that you, too, will want to participate in this stimulating project.

Garden Clubbers are a unique group. They plant without soiling their hands. They fertilize by encouraging everyone to plant Trees, and they cultivate by gathering to discuss problems pertinent to Israel and the JNF.

Join us in reaping the rewards of this perennial effort at our open meeting in May. Look for our next Garden Club News for the date or call 932-8610 for additional information. Become a Garden Clubber!

#### APOLLO 14 PROGRESS REPORT

### HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 8, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, Tuesday, December 8, Spacecraft Comdr. Alan Shepard and Lunar Module Pilot Edgar Mitchell, in flight suits, conduct an extravehicular activity No. 1 simulation in the crew training area at Kennedy Space Center. The activity is open to news media, with the EVA beginning around 11 a.m. The crew deploy the Apollo Lunar Surface Experiments Package—ALSEP—take photographs, and collect lunar samples during the simulation.

On Wednesday, December 9, Shepard and Mitchell will take part in a lunar module mission simulation checkout with the Launch Complex 39A crew. The crewmen will be in the LM on the pad for the exercise. On Thursday and Friday, December 10-11, the crewmen will take part in simulations with Houston flight controllers from their simulator at KSC. Shepard is scheduled to fly the Lunar Landing Training Vehicle—LLTV—on Monday and Gene Cernan, backup commander, on Tuesday in Houston. During the week the crewmen also will take part in briefings and simulator training.

Flight Controllers for the Apollo 14 mission have two simulations scheduled this week at the Manned Spacecraft Center, Houston. On Thursday, December 10, a transearth injection will be conducted with the crewmen in the command module simulator (CMS) at Kennedy Space Center (KSC) Fla. On December 11, a translunar coast simulation will be conducted by flight controllers in Mission Control and the crew at KSC in the CMS. Both simulations will be conducted by Flight Director Gerald Griffin and his team of controllers.

David Scott and Richard Gordon, Apollo 15 prime and backup commanders, and James Irwin and Harrison (Jack) Schmitt, prime and backup lunar module pilots, will be in Hawaii all week on a geology field trip. The command module pilots, Alfred Worden and Vance Brand, will be in Menlo Park, Calif., December 7-8 for lunar orbit photography and related briefings. On December 9-10 they will be in Houston in the training simulators and Friday, December 11 in Dover, Del., at ILC Industries for suit fittings.

The Apollo 14 spacecraft integrated systems test will continue this week at Pad A, Complex 39. Major highlight will be the loading of liquid oxygen aboard the new cryogenic tanks in the service module as a verification of these systems. Tank No. 3 will be filled and pressure checked on Tuesday with tanks No. 1 and 2 undergoing checkout on Friday.

The spacecraft fuel cells will be calibrated and activated later this week.

A mission run simulation test on the lunar module is scheduled, starting Tuesday.

The spacecraft is expected to be mated electrically to the launch vehicle by next Sunday.

#### NOT A SYMBOL

### HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, December 3, I stood next to President Nixon as he presented Debra Jean Sweet the Young American Medal for her work in race relations and for organizing a 30-mile walk of 3,000 high school pupils to raise money to feed the poor. I was proud of this young lady from my district as she courageously but respectfully rejected the President's attempt to distinguish the award recipients from youthful dissenters.

The following is the text of a Milwaukee Journal editorial which appeared the following day:

MISS SWEET GOES TO WASHINGTON

Generalizing about American youth today can be risky—as President Nixon found Thursday when Debra Jean Sweet, 19, of Madison, stepped forward in a White House ceremony to accept a public service award and a presidential handclasp.

"I cannot believe in your sincerity until you get us out of Vietnam," she murmured

to the president's surprise and probable chagrin. It came across as an honest expression of concern, bravely and respectfully uttered. The president, to his credit, mustered a smile and seemed to accept the incident as another bump in a long day.

The interesting point is that Miss Sweet says she had planned no comment. Indeed, it probably would have been just another ceremony if the president had not stressed earlier that Miss Sweet and three other young recipients offered a marked contrast to youthful dissenters. The remark disturbed Miss Sweet. She has some serious worries about the country even as she works to reform it and, as she noted later, she didn't want to be "used as a symbol" against discontented young people. So she used her fleeting moment with the president to register her view as a loyal citizen.

Miss Sweet may not hasten an end to the Vietnam war but she surely served a valuable purpose in reminding the president and the rest of us that we should not underestimate the variety, individuality and sensitivity of the nation's young.

#### COLLEGE-LEVEL VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS BOOM

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 4, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times recently carried an excellent article by its correspondent William K. Stevens showing phenomenal growth in college-level vocational schools.

I hope those who are formulating educational policy at all levels of government will finally take cognizance of the fact that there is a revolution going on in American education—young people want meaningful courses to prepare them for the world of work.

We are witnessing the decline of credentiability with a new awareness by young Americans that sooner or later, each one of them will have to face the world of work.

The New York Times and Mr. Stevens' performed a notable public service by calling this fact to the attention of the Nation.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Nov. 22, 1970]

COLLEGE-LEVEL VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS BOOM

(By William K. Stevens)

OKMULGEE, OKLA., November 19.—Only 20 per cent of American youths today graduate from college with a four-year degree or better. Bill Risner, a wiry, 24-year-old Vietnam veteran with short brown hair, a shy manner and a Marine Corps bulldog tattooed on his right arm, is one of the other 80 per cent.

As a student at Oklahoma State Tech in Okmulgee, Mr. Risner is one of nearly two million Americans enrolled full-time in vocational or technical training courses above the high school level. That makes him part of an educational movement that has developed tremendously in the last six years. In 1964, there were about 150,000 students like Mr. Risner.

The growth constitutes one indication that vocational-technical schooling, long the stepchild of American education, may be about to come into its own. Mr. Risner's experience illustrates one reason why.

Yesterday morning, he sat at his own workbench in a neat, brightly lighted watch-making shop where quiet is prized and precision is king. He gently grasped a tiny balance wheel with a pair of tweezers, and with utter concentration installed it in a timepiece.

That done, he relaxed, lit a cigarette and quietly told a visitor that after four years of mixed-up drift in a general high school curriculum and after much indecision about his future that was partly resolved by his four years of service, he had worked in a machine shop for a while but was not really excited about it.

Then he began "fooling around" with watches in his father's jewelry store in Chickasha, near Oklahoma City. It was a short step from there to Oklahoma State Tech.

Mr. Risner's seriousness gave way to a broad grin when the visitor asked if things were working out all right.

"Yes, sir!" he said. "This is my bag. Not too many people can make a watch do what they want it to."

What has Oklahoma State Tech meant to him?

"Boy, I'll tell you the truth," he said. "It's the greatest thing in the world. Everybody talks about finding himself. I guess I found myself here."

Figures supplied by the United States Office of Education and the American Vocational Association suggest that Mr. Risner is in many ways more typical of American youth than is the winner of a baccalaureate degree.

#### TWENTY-THREE PERCENT ARE DROPOUTS

It is estimated that of every 100 youths, 23 drop out of high school before graduation. Another 25, like Mr. Risner, graduate from high school with no job training, but do not go to college.

Between five and ten graduate with enough technical or vocational training to get a job. About 15 enter two-year community colleges, where many take vocational or technical courses, or schools like Oklahoma State Tech.

That leaves 30 of every 100 youths who embark on four-year degree programs. But only 20 eventually graduate.

In all, the Office of Education estimates that as many as 25 million Americans now need some form of vocational and technical training. It says about 10 million are getting it—5 million in high schools, 2 million in full-time post-secondary vocational-technical programs, and the rest as short-term and part-time adult students who want to improve or update their skills.

Although the 10 million estimate is double that of 1964, suggesting a boom, the amount and quality of vocational-technical training even now is "pretty damn poor," according to Dr. Lee Harwick, associate Commissioner of Education for adult, vocational and technical training.

#### RISE IN FEDERAL AID

Authoritative sources within the Office of Education expect that during the next year there will develop what one official called "a substantially increased." Federal effort to expand and improve vocational-technical education. President Nixon's nominee for Commissioner of Education, Dr. Sidney P. Marland, Jr., is well known as a particularly strong advocate of the need to place vocational-technical training on an equal footing with academic instruction.

Like many other critics, Dr. Marland believes that "endemic snobbery has tended to classify the manual-manipulative task too simply as nonintellectual noncreative."

The National Advisory Council on Vocational Education, established by Congress in 1968, said in a report last year that Americans in recent years have promoted the idea that "the only good education is an education capped by four years of college."

The report branded this attitude as "snobbish, undemocratic, and a revelation of why schools fail so many students." The attitude, said the report "infects the Federal Government," which invests \$14 in the nation's universities for every dollar it invests in vocational-technical education.

Dr. Marland and others believe there are signs that this attitude is beginning to change, at least among some students who are starting to resist the "college-at-any-cost" viewpoint and are taking a second look at their own capabilities and interests, and at how they fit into today's job market.

The Office of Education estimates that 50 per cent of all jobs opening up in the 1970's will require training beyond high school, but less than a four-year degree. This appears to account in part for the dramatic surge in post-secondary vocational-technical enrollment.

In many cases, says Dr. Hardwick, the vocational-technical student in a postsecondary school like Oklahoma State Tech or one of the 1,100 community colleges that dot the land "has been out of high school, faced the real world, and found out he couldn't get a job."

The boom in postsecondary vocational enrollment is virtually nationwide and is taking place in a variety of institutions.

#### HUGE RISE SINCE 1963

In Wisconsin, for instance, the nonresidential Milwaukee area Technical College offers programs on five levels of difficulty, ranging from basic courses for functional illiterates to a two-year associate arts degree program in the most sophisticated technologies. Two-thirds of the school's 11,000 full-time enrollment is at the post-secondary level.

In North Carolina, a state-wide system of nonresidential technical institutes and vocationally oriented community colleges has grown to include 54 institutions since it was established in 1963. Enrollment has risen from 8,000 to 240,000.

In many states, such as California, Florida and Virginia, strong vocational-technical programs have developed in the community college system. Colorado this year reported that the vocational education share of community college enrollment had increased from 18 to 31 per cent in two years.

Dr. Hardwick, among others, considers the program at Oklahoma State Tech, a branch of Oklahoma State University, as an example of vocational-technical training very nearly at its best. With 3,000 students, it is the largest such school in the Southwest. It is atypical of other such schools in one respect. It is a residential institution, drawing students from all over Oklahoma, 31 other states and nine foreign countries.

#### WORKADAY SKILLS

In its essential aspects, however, the school's program is said to be typical of post-secondary vocational-technical education generally. Basically, the curriculum consists of the skills and techniques of workaday America.

Among the sights, sounds and smells at the school are the clang of hammers pounding out dented car fenders; the blinking of lights on computer consoles and the whir of magnetic computer tapes; the sweet odor of baking bread; the elegance of ornate cakes made by bakery students; the hiss of dry-cleaning machines; the pungent smell of leather in the shoe, boot and saddle shop; the intentness of commercial art students doing a still life; the fresh smell of cured wood in the carpentry shop; the put-putting of lawnmower and motorcycle engines; the deeper throb of massive diesels, and the quiet concentration of budding electronics technicians as they grapple with atomic theory, or of a student machinist as he programs a computer to operate a cybernetic metal-shaping machine.

In all, the school offers training in 47 specialties designed to lead students directly to jobs at the end of, typically, two years.

#### STUDENTS QUESTIONED

Dr. Kenneth Hoyt of the University of Maryland, a specialist in the guidance and counseling of vocational-technical students, last year questioned a sample of 648 Oklahoma State Tech students as to their backgrounds and reasons for attending the school. The answers generally matched those of a large, nationwide sample of 20,000 taken by Dr. Hoyt.

Fifty per cent of the students reported themselves to have been in the top half of their high school classes. Seven per cent said they were high school dropouts. A third were married, more than half younger than 21.

Sixty-one per cent, like Bill Risner, had taken a general course in high school. About a quarter had taken vocational education.

A key finding, to those who suspect that there is a new swing toward vocational-technical training among youth, was that only 28 per cent had been encouraged to attend a school like Oklahoma State Tech. Another is that 52 per cent said they ultimately had decided to take the training because they "dug" the particular field, rather than for monetary reasons.

These findings are consistent with two observations made by some students and teachers at the school.

#### FOLLOW OWN STAR

First, there appears to be greater willingness on the part of students to follow their own instincts and interests, rather than bow to the strong bias of many teachers, parents and guidance counselors in favor of college education.

Some students, like 22-year-old Don Freedman of Boston, are enrolling in vocational or technical courses after attending a four-year college. Mr. Freedman went to Long Island University for four years, then taught school for a while before discovering that "that really wasn't what I was into."

He is now at Oklahoma State Tech, studying to be a baker and cake decorator so that he can join his father's bakery business in Boston.

Second, some teachers detect a resurgence of pride in workmanship among some young people. Such pride is obvious in youths like 19-year-old Gerald Scott, formerly of Walton, N.Y., who overrode the go-to-college desires of his parent and guidance counselor to enroll at Oklahoma State Tech to study what he likes—auto mechanics. As he and his partner, 19-year-old Tom Shubbach of Burlington, Okla., pored over an automatic transmission, their pleasure and engagement were readily apparent.

"I couldn't really be happy doing anything else," said Mr. Shubbach.

#### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

#### HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother asks: "How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,500 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

**HORTON EXPRESSES APPRECIATION TO MRS. ARTHUR H. STEFFEN FOR VOLUNTEER WORK**

**HON. FRANK HORTON**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 8, 1970

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, all of us are aware of the high costs of health care, and we are all concerned about them going even higher. In many areas volunteers are striving to help keep down those costs.

One lady in particular comes to mind. She is Mrs. Arthur H. Steffen of East Rochester, a resident of my congressional district. For many years Mrs. Steffen has been engaged in volunteer activities with the Red Cross and her efforts, without question, have been of inestimable value to the community.

Mrs. Steffen, one of the first volunteer nurses to work in the blood program for the Rochester-Monroe County Red Cross Chapter, is now serving 19 chapters in the Rochester region. Her present assignment, which keeps her busy traveling 2 or 3 days a week, is to coordinate the volunteer activities in many areas of the Red Cross operation. She is the first division chairman of volunteers of the Rochester Regional Division of the American National Red Cross.

Mrs. Steffen is eminently qualified for this work. Through the years she has been a nurse in the blood program. She has taught in the nurse's aid program in hospitals. She has represented the Red Cross on the volunteer advisory board of the VA hospital in Canandaigua, and she has been a national field volunteer.

The great achievements of volunteers such as Mrs. Steffen often go unpraised. So it is with much pleasure that I bring this outstanding lady to your attention. She recently was the recipient of a salute by the Rochester Times-Union in a column by Jose Echaniz, Jr. The following article tells the story of Mrs. Steffen's contributions to her fellowman and I want to share it with my colleagues:

TIMES-UNION SALUTES MRS. ARTHUR H. STEFFEN

(By Jose Echaniz, Jr.)

Mrs. Arthur H. Steffen, who was one of the first volunteer nurses to work in the Rochester Monroe County Red Cross Chapter blood program, now serves 19 chapters in the 13-county Rochester region.

Mrs. Steffen is the first division chairman of volunteers of the Rochester Regional Division of the American National Red Cross. The year-old division was the second to be formed in the Eastern United States.

As chairman, she oversees volunteer activities in many areas, including the blood program, military and veteran services, nurses aides, disaster relief and safety programs.

The new regional approach is designed to develop better communications among individual chapters and assist in the training, recruitment and development of chapter programs.

Recent workshops have been held, for example, on communications and for chairmen and treasurers. Most of the area chapters are represented, facilitating the exchange of ideas and the solving of problems.

Mrs. Steffen's responsibilities keep her traveling in the Rochester region two or three

days a week in developing program and assisting volunteers in smaller chapters.

"We try to provide assistance and leadership wherever special knowledge or resources can be used," she said.

Mrs. Steffen's long association with the Red Cross makes her ideally suited for the job. Her service dates back to bandage rolling during World War II.

She was a volunteer nurse when the Rochester chapter established the nation's first civilian blood program in 1948.

In following years she taught in the nurse's aide program in the hospitals, then represented the Red Cross on the volunteer advisory board of the Canandaigua Veterans Administration Hospital.

She left that to become a national field volunteer out of the Rochester office; but her new role allows her to continue her interest in veterans, in three VA hospitals in the Rochester region.

Mrs. Steffen and her husband, a Fairport nurseryman, live at 227 Fairport Road, East Rochester. They have a son, Arthur, Jr., and three granddaughters.

A native of Canada, Mrs. Steffen is a graduate of Buffalo General Hospital School of Nursing and lived in Fairport for army years. She is a member and former deaconess of the First Congregational Church of Fairport.

**SPEECH BY BARBARA WELLS**

**HON. TIM LEE CARTER**

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 8, 1970

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to find that the teenage Republicans are very much interested in the drug problem, and are developing plans to solve this problem.

I wish to include for perusal of the Members a speech by Miss Barbara Wells, National TAR director, before the New York State Association of Real Estate Boards:

SPEECH GIVEN BY BARBARA WELLS, NATIONAL TAR DIRECTOR

Thank you . . . John Nagle . . . President Bob Loehfelm . . . Executive Vice President Chuck Starro . . .

I am extremely pleased and appreciative of the opportunity to speak to you today about a problem which affects each of us daily. The problem is rampant Drug Abuse in our Communities, particularly among our young people. I am also here to propose to you a way in which you can effectively help in combatting this growing problem.

The number of persons who have tried Marijuana at least once is estimated between 8-12 million—probably closer to 20 million.

Some surveys have put drug consumption in High Schools as high as 85% with a common figure in suburban areas ranging from 35-65%.

The Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs points out that less than 2% of our nation's hard-core addicts ever "kick" the habit.

The Drug Abuse problem is costing Americans 2 Billion dollars a year.

In New York City, between 20-30% of all crimes against property are committed by Heroin addicts.

Nation-wide, it is estimated that "Junkies" steal more than 3 million dollars worth of goods each year.

Federal officials report the number of drug-related offenses has increased 325% in the last decade in the U.S.

Among persons under 18 there has been a 1820% increase in drug-related offenses in the last 10 years. Juvenile arrests out-number adults by 6-1.

These are just a few statistics. Let's look at some individual cases:

We read in the *N.Y. Post* of a 10 year old girl on Lennox Ave. who offers herself to passing men for \$10 or \$5 or whatever she can get to support her habit. There are plenty of customers.

In the *N.Y. Times* we read of three boys—aged 11, 13, & 15 who were arrested on charges of selling heroin in Coney Island.

In the *Staten Island Advance* we hear of a 16 year old boy who sneaks out through a window, hides under a stairway and shoots heroine into his veins during a gym class.

The 9 year old who lies in a coma in a nearby hospital after popping pills.

The Hypodermic needle discovered taped to a toilet bowl in a Catholic High School.

The teenager sprawled on a street near death after taking an overdose of LSD.

Headlines from other recently clipped articles read:

Drug Addict Dies—at 12.

Cough Syrup Is Believed Death Cause of 16 Year Old.

15 Year Old Girl Dies of Drug Overdose.

16 Year Old Youth Dies After Sniffing Hair Shampoo.

"Flying" On LSD, Student Plunges To Death in Greenwich Village.

Glue Fumes Cited In Death of Youth.

14 Year Old Youth Collapses, Dies After Sniffing Gasoline from Car.

(Here, a tape recording is played, illustrating 2 teenaged boys sniffing gasoline from a can. One boy, while "high", pours gasoline over himself. The other boy, while "high" lights a match and the boy is severely burned.)

Dr. Michael Baden, Associate Medical Examiner for N.Y. City estimates that there are at least 20,000 teen age opiate addicts in N.Y. City alone! He also stated that there is much evidence that children are beginning to use Heroin at the age of 9 & 10. He says, "Kids appear to be using dope because of peer group pressures just like kids used to start smoking cigarettes."

There used to be some small measure of relief in the understanding that the "Drug problem" was pretty much a city phenomenon and not really a concern of the suburbs. In fact, the relief which resulted from this identification of drug abuse with city life became so necessary to our suburban image that it seems we neglected or refused to see the rapid and cancerous growth of drug use in our own communities. It was the grimy, garbage-strewn city streets that "Junkies" populated, not the tree-lined split-level suburban communities. Because of our adamant ostrich-like posture, we were ill prepared to meet and deal with this newly discovered, yet always present lethal threat. It is as though our make believe world—where no one mainlines, drops acid or smokes grass—burst open with a new sense of reality.

We can no longer continue our self-delusion. The reality of drug abuse has finally made an impression throughout the country. Some are inclined to lessen or ignore their own responsibility by casting blame for drug abuse on agencies outside of the home. While the local police and Federal authorities do have responsibility, they can only do their part of the job. Parents, teachers, and civic leaders must do their share. *Drugs kill suburban, middle-class kids, too.*

Every one of us is affected by drug abuse right now. We either have young children of our own, or young nieces or nephews, or a family with teenage children lives next door. In your occupation, you come across young families every day. Do you ever stop to think that one or more of these families has a child who is presently experimenting with drugs?

The statistics now show that drug abuse is a problem which has left no community untouched. Drug abuse is everybody's hang-up.

(Here, a 60 second film spot is shown, "Neighborhood Junkie").

The alarming number of teenage deaths attributed to drugs over the past two years has become of increasing concern to teenagers as well as parents. I think a majority of young people today are deeply concerned with this problem which is affecting so many of their peers. Almost every teenager you talk to today has had some personal experience—some first hand knowledge of the drug problem.

I like to think we can do something about it. I like to think the young people themselves will want to do something about it. The big job is really peer education. Preaching won't do it, but student-to-student teaching might.

The current drug problem is very much like a forest fire. It is self-expanding. Each inflamed goof-baller, psychedelic, and speed freak tries to inflame and involve his friends. And like a forest fire, it is also self-destructing, leaving in its wake the ugly burned-out and disfigured fragments of what used to be promising human beings. It is not the professional pusher who usually gets a person to try something new, but his closest friends, or combinations of peer pressure. Ironically, the answer to the drug problem can also be found through these very means. In other words, through student-to-student education of the facts, this same peer pressure can become a positive force in curbing the drug epidemic.

I've had the opportunity to work closely with teenagers for the past 8 years. Our organization has mushroomed to over 101,000 strong and continues to grow rapidly. TAR groups are organized on a state, district, county, and local High School level. With this active army of over 100,000 teenagers, TARS is in a unique position to carry this all-encompassing Stop Drugs Program into every High School and Junior High in America. It is not our concern that TARS get the credit for sponsoring the Drug Abuse Program within the school. In fact, official sponsorship is often shared with a coalition of student organizations, or the school itself. The content, not the credit, is the important factor.

I have great faith in our young people. I feel that through education, we can get our youth to see the futility of drugs—the stupidity of it all.

(Here, a 60 second film spot is shown, "Speed Kills")

The National TAR Drug Abuse Education program is aimed at the student leaders. The program was conceived, and developed by students. The program is conducted by students. This unique student-to-student approach has already proved to be tremendously successful in areas all over the country. Without exception, the High School Administrators have been more than cooperative in letting the TARS conduct programs within their High Schools, in setting up large assembly programs, and in working with small groups within the classroom. Presentations have been given by TAR groups to their High School faculty meetings, P.T.A. meetings, civic meetings, and to numerous other student and youth groups in and out of their High Schools.

The response to the TAR Drug Abuse Education program has been tremendous and we have received literally thousands of requests for information and materials. When we first organized our Drug program, we were shocked to find that much of the information on the Drug problem is contradictory. In fact, there is so much literature on the subject of Drug Abuse that the whole field is in danger of paper pollution. You constantly hear many proclamations, for example, on the

dangers of Marijuana. The truth is that very little is known as yet about the long range effects.

Here, a 60 second film spot is shown, "The Truth About Marijuana".

Many claims are made about the dangers of using LSD. There are many indications that the use of LSD may lead to Chromosome damage, as well as psychological damage. The one thing that we do know for sure is that there is no way of knowing whether an LSD trip will be good or bad.

(Here, a 60 second film spot is shown, "LSD")

Obviously, in carrying out a Drug abuse program, what's right for N.Y. City isn't necessarily the best approach for Monticello, N.Y. So our program also allows for flexibility. Our Drug Abuse Information Kits contain brochures, pamphlets, books, charts and other factual information on the medical, legal, physical and psychological aspects of drugs. Also included is a Drug Abuse Seminar Manual giving the "How-to's" of utilizing the materials in the Kit, and setting up a Drug Abuse Education program to suit the needs of an individual community.

Also available from National TAR Headquarters is an assortment of catchy posters which can be used during the program for Display in High Schools, and other community areas. New Materials are constantly being reviewed as they become available and are added to the Drug Kits when applicable. Other services provided by our National Headquarters to assist the local Drug abuse education efforts include our film library in which recommended films & short spots are loaned to local groups free of charge for their use. We also maintain a speakers bureau which includes not only a number of well qualified experts in the Drug abuse field, but also, former addicts.

In depth training sessions in Drug abuse education were held at all our State and National TAR Camps. These recently completed TAR summer camps involved close to 10,000 High School students and they are not well versed in the techniques of how to set up Drug Abuse Education seminars within their own High Schools. These TAR leaders will be teaming up with other student leaders and organizations in a joint effort to curb drug abuse.

The overall aim of the program is to provide the facts, eliminating the scare tactics and the appeal to the emotions too often used. It is only through early Drug Education that we will finally be able to slow the traffic in drugs which is rising at such an alarming rate and claiming the lives and future of our nation's young people.

(Here, a 60 second film spot is shown, "Where are You then?")

Our Goal is to get the information kits and other materials into the hands of the student leaders in all of our Nation's 30,965 High Schools and the 8,290 Junior High Schools.

The Cost of sending an information Kit to one student leader amounts to just under \$10.00. As you can see—by simple arithmetic—the cost factor of under-writing this much needed program is overwhelming . . . but so is the problem.

It is impossible to estimate the cost of drug addiction itself. How does one estimate the cost of twisted, ruined lives; the sorrow of grieving parents; the lost opportunity to brilliant young people who get hooked? We need your help in promoting this program—in reaching our young people before they become another tragic statistic.

I hope that you will be able to help us get this information to the student leaders throughout your state of N.Y. Your help is desperately needed. A considerable portion of our country's youth is at stake.

Thank you.

## CONGRESSMAN JOHNSON DISCUSSES POSTAL REFORM

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 8, 1970

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee I have been deeply involved in the evolutionary process that dictated the passage of the Postal Reorganization Act of August 12, 1970.

I was one of the original supporters for the proposition that the Post Office Department should be able to raise capital funds for the modernization of the Postal Service through the sale of bonds. I have also strongly supported the elimination of political influence in the Postal Service. Thirdly, I have pushed for an improvement in the present Post Office personnel procedures so that the postal employees will receive an improved pay scale and work in safer and more efficiently equipped buildings.

Therefore, I was very pleased when it was brought to my attention that my good friend and colleague, Congressman "Bizz" JOHNSON, had forwarded similar thoughts to his constituents in a newsletter. I feel that Congressman JOHNSON's words are both pertinent and concise. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, without objection, I would like to include in the RECORD a copy of Congressman "Bizz" JOHNSON's observations on the new U.S. Postal Service:

REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

(By Congressman HAROLD T. "BIZZ" JOHNSON)

OCTOBER 14, 1970.

DEAR FRIEND: Nothing touches our day-to-day lives as much as does the daily mail. Each day it brings us news of friends and relatives, helps us with our business transactions, informs, educates and entertains us, depending upon the publications we may receive through the mails. Any move to improve or change the mail system is of significance to each and every individual. Such a step has been taken. The Postal Reform Act of 1970 replaces the Post Office Department with a new independent establishment now known as the United States Postal Service. That the act calls for the efficient delivery of the mail for the people of this nation is spelled out clearly in the act's basic declaration of policy, a declaration which has special significance for an area such as the 20-county Second Congressional District with its more than 300 post offices, many of them small facilities serving small communities.

"The Postal Service shall" declares the law which received overwhelming Congressional support, "have as its basic function the obligation to provide postal services to bind the Nation together through the personnel, educational, literary, and business correspondence of the people."

"It shall provide prompt, reliable, and efficient services to patrons in all areas and shall render postal services to all communities."

"The Postal Service shall provide a maximum degree of effective and regular postal service to rural areas, communities, and small towns where post offices are not self-sustaining. No small post office shall be closed solely for operating at a deficit, it

being the specific intent of the Congress that effective postal service be insured to residents of both urban and rural communities."

As one who has consistently engaged in the battle to preserve our smaller post offices so that the citizens of less-populated areas may enjoy the same postal benefits as urban residents, I was most gratified to see this language incorporated into the legislation finally approved by Congress.

This was only one of several basic policy statements enacted into law as the Postal Reform Act will, at long last, take politics out of postal operations. No longer will the Postmaster General be the major political adviser to the President. No longer will United States Senators or Representatives in Congress have any say in local postmaster appointments or operations, a move which I have supported for many, many years.

Not only does the Act remove the postal service from politics, but it specifically forbids any United States Senator, Representative in Congress, elected official of any state, county, city or other political subdivision, or any official of a national, state or local political party from making "any recommendation or statement, oral or written, with respect to any person who requests or is under consideration for any such appointment, promotion, assignment, transfer or designation."

Thus the Postal Service, which will be under U.S. Civil Service regulations completely, will become absolutely non-political for the first time in the history of this nation and all appointments, including postmasterhips, will be through competitive civil service procedures. It is only good, common sense for an organization of the importance and size—the Postal Service has 750,000 employees—to be operated on a strictly businesslike basis.

In summary, the Postal Reform Act creates an organization of career, professional people to handle the mails, declares that each of the classes of mail shall pay its full burden of the cost of carrying the mail, and first class mail, of course, will continue to have priority of movement. Directing the achievement of this goal will be an 11-member board consisting of nine governors, appointed by the President and confirmed by the U.S. Senate, a Postmaster General appointed by the governors, and a Deputy Postmaster General named by the Governors and the PMG. This board, in conjunction with an independent postal rate commission, is charged with placing the Postal Service on a nearly self-supporting basis so that within 13 years the cost to the taxpayers will be reduced from the current \$950 million annually to less than \$5 million a year.

This, of course, does not include the cost of some special mailing provisions which are incorporated in the legislation and costs of which will be charged against the U.S. Treasury. These include such things as free mailing privileges for members of the United States Armed Forces in combat zones or in military hospitals as a result of combat action, free mailing of special reading material or records for the blind and the handicapped, and reduced mailing provisions for non-profit and similar organizations such as now exist.

It should be noted here that the Congress will be charged, as it always has in the past, in a lump sum the costs of handling so-called "franked mail." Similar provisions are made for reimbursement by other federal agencies of government to the Postal Service for the mail it issues. This, too, will be paid in a lump sum as it has been in the past.

Beyond the most worthwhile goal of putting the postal operations on an efficient, self supporting basis, the Postal Reform Act covers a variety of other subjects:

Obscene, lewd, lascivious, indecent, filthy or vile materials continue to be banned from the mails. Special sections are incorporated to curb mailing of pandering or sexually-oriented advertisements such as have plagued many of our California homes in recent years. I hope that these provisions, coupled with the penalties of up to \$5,000 fine and/or five years in jail for first offenses and twice that for subsequent offenses will help stem the flood of smut.

Except for clearly and conspicuously marked free samples and merchandise mailed by charitable organizations soliciting contributions, the mailing of unordered merchandise is prohibited. The law also prohibits the mailing of advertisements or solicitations printed in such a manner that they could be misconstrued as a bill, invoice or statement due. Prohibitions against false representations or promotion of lotteries are continued.

Recognizing the need for improved facilities, the Postal Reform Act authorizes the issuance of up to \$10 billion in bonds to finance a modernization of the system in an effort to make the handling of the mails faster, more efficient, and more economical, and also to improve working conditions for the employees.

As part of the program to make the operations of the Postal Service as businesslike as possible, new employee-management relations are established, authorizing collective bargaining between employee unions and management for the first time. The establishment of the collective bargaining units will be under National Labor Relations Board regulations. Strikes will not be permitted. The act provides for mediation and compulsory arbitration of labor disputes.

These improvements are ahead for the Postal Service. At present, the nine members of the Board of Governors have been designated by the President, however, they have not been confirmed by the United States Senate. The Board will name the Postmaster General, who will be the chief executive officer of the Postal Service. The Board of Governors and the Postmaster General will then appoint a Deputy Postmaster General to complete the managerial structure. The five member Postal Rate Commission already appointed by the President, will make necessary rate and mail classification recommendations to the Board of Governors.

With these appointments completed, the Postal Service is fully implemented and hopefully we will see the progress which those of us who supported the Postal Reform Act had worked for.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD T. (BIZZ) JOHNSON,  
Member of Congress.

#### JAILING CESAR CHAVEZ

### HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 8, 1970

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of the House the plight of Cesar Chavez and the agricultural laborers he represents. The continuing struggle of this valiant labor leader to improve the working conditions of the farmworker has once again resulted in his imprisonment for refusing to halt the strike and accompanying boycott against the growers of California. Yet, in the absence of effective Federal safeguards of the farmworkers' rights, Chavez sees no alternative but to continue the nonviolent tactic which has returned him to jail.

It behooves the Congress to come to terms with this growing crisis in American agriculture and offer the farmworkers in this country a better mechanism than boycotts and jail terms through which to achieve their goal of equitable working conditions and a decent wage. As an extension of my remarks, I wish to submit to you the text of an editorial in the New York Times of December 8, 1970, which discusses in further detail the need for such congressional action:

JAILING CESAR CHAVEZ

The imprisonment of Cesar Chavez, leader of the California lettuce strikers, is an exercise in legalism of the kind that serves only to discredit the law. Mr. Chavez, as firm in his dedication to nonviolence as Mahatma Gandhi, is a symbol of emancipation for the most exploited of the nations workers, the agricultural laborers.

The boycott for which he was jailed stems from the failure of Congress to extend to farm workers the same democratic machinery for determining union representation that millions of other workers have had for 35 years. If that machinery were available to record the preferences of lettuce pickers in the Salinas Valley, Mr. Chavez would have the law as ally, not obstacle, in his drive for economic justice.

The growers are hiding behind whirlwind contracts they signed with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters last July, a day after the Chavez union achieved final victory in its long grape strike and announced its intention of concentrating on the lettuce workers.

The leaders of the truck union, both nationally and on the West Coast, have acknowledged that their union has no business in this field. But most of the Salinas growers refuse to relinquish their pacts with the teamsters, even though that union has instructed its locals not to collect any dues or provide any service under the rush contracts.

None of these facts, of course, cast any doubt on the technical correctness of the order under which Mr. Chavez was imprisoned for violating a local judges antiboycott injunction. Indeed, the union chief himself voices no bitterness at having to pay the price for civil disobedience.

But the reality is that the incarceration will merely add intensity to the boycott, the weapon the Chavez union used with such success in unionizing the vineyards. It is a weapon subject to gross abuse. The proper way to eliminate it in future conflicts of this kind is Congressional passage of a law that would make such tactics unnecessary.

HORTON SALUTES PEARL E. VANREYPEN FOR HER DEVOTION TO COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

### HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 8, 1970

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, it is always inspiring to see examples of outstanding community service. A constituent of mine is one of those exceptionally devoted individuals who is giving unsparingly of her talents to benefit her fellow man.

Pearl E. VanReypen of Pittsford, N.Y., a great-grandmother, has given so much of herself to others through the years

that she does indeed stand as an example for us all.

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller recently appointed Mrs. VanReyppen to be a member of the New York State Citizens Information Service. Serving without pay in this position, she will coordinate the dissemination of information of particular value to the citizens of my district as well as the entire State.

For many years Pearl E. VanReyppen has devoted herself to service, including work with the Brighton PTA, the Salvation Army, and a term as president of the Rochester Federation of Women's Clubs. She continues to be active in numerous organizations which contribute to our community.

The Governor's appointment prompted a feature story by Jose Echaniz, Jr., in the Rochester, N.Y., Times Union. He recounts some of the many activities of this very busy lady. It is such a deserved salute that I would like to share it with my colleagues in the Congress. I believe we all may draw inspiration from a recital of the many ways in which Pearl E. VanReyppen has devoted herself to serving others.

The article follows:

**TIMES-UNION SALUTES: PEARL E. VANREYPPEN**  
(By Jose Echaniz, Jr.)

Pearl E. VanReyppen has long been active in community affairs—from service work for the Brighton PTA and the Salvation Army to a term as president of the Rochester Federation of Women's Clubs.

Now approaching her 73rd birthday, this energetic great-grandmother is embarked on a new project as Monroe County representative of the New York state Citizens Information Service.

The agency serves as a clearing house of information and a means of direct communication between individuals or groups, and state government.

Mrs. VanReyppen's one-woman county operation is concerned with solving such community problems as drug addiction and day care centers for working mothers through effective use of state programs and resources.

Her operation covers the vast area of concerns with which state government has become involved. These also include environmental conservation, consumer affairs, and legislation.

Mrs. VanReyppen serves without pay under appointment by Gov. Rockefeller.

A native of Marion, Mrs. VanReyppen is also an active real estate broker and former president of the Women's Council of the National Association of Real Estate Boards. She has served on President Johnson's Beautification committee and on Gov. Rockefeller's Conference on Women.

Her continued activity in community affairs and her real estate business illustrates her abiding interest in working with people.

She is first vice president of the Susan B. Anthony Republican Club and active in the Pittsford Republican Club, YWCA, Greenaway Garden Club, Formers Club, Rochester Civic Music Association, Art Gallery and the Rochester International Friendship Council.

Mrs. VanReyppen's husband, Arthur, was a consultant for the Empire Photo Engraving Co. and former president of its predecessor, the Vanguard Photo Engraving Co. He died last June.

Mr. and Mrs. VanReyppen had celebrated their 50th wedding anniversary the previous November. They had two sons, A. Jack and Robert D. VanReyppen, five grandchildren and a great-granddaughter.

Mrs. VanReyppen lives at 39 N. Country Club Drive, Pittsford.

## THE ARRIVAL OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS

### HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 8, 1970

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the pleasure of attending ceremonies on board the *Mayflower II*, celebrating the 350th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims.

One of the highlights of the day was an address by Dr. Jordan D. Fiore, professor of history at Bridgewater State College in Massachusetts.

His description of the way the hardy band of Pilgrim settlers built a working society from wilderness was something I thought deserved a wider circulation, and it is my privilege to share it with the readers of the RECORD.

The address follows:

#### THE ARRIVAL OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS

Three hundred and fifty years ago today a small band of Englishmen in an overcrowded ship made a momentous decision. Their voyage had begun in England more than three months earlier. After two false starts they finally embarked again, and after spending more than two months at sea, these Pilgrims decided to make a landing on Cape Cod.

It had undoubtedly been a thoroughly uncomfortable voyage. For the first few days the weather was pleasant, but the rest of the voyage was exceedingly rough. To begin with, these Pilgrims should have left England in the spring so that they might have arrived in the New World in time to get one basic crop planted or to make some plans for sustenance and shelter in the winter. Instead, they encountered the rough October gales as the storms rushed in from the west, and the ship was often forced to drift with few or no sails, buffeted by the storms and the high waves. The travelers lived in crowded quarters; 102 passengers and the crew and all of their gear and baggage strained the capacity of the 180-ton vessel. Most of the passengers from two ships had been crowded into the *Mayflower*, for her original sister vessel, the *Speedwell*, which the Pilgrims had hoped to use in America, proved unseaworthy and was left behind. Many seams in the deck were opened by the storms, and cold sea water leaked through on the uncomfortable passengers below. One of the main beams of the *Mayflower* was sprung and had to be repaired rather ingeniously at sea.

Their quarters were cold and damp, the passengers were cramped for space, the food was poor and unappetizing, and the clothing on their backs was frequently soaked. Yet, amazingly, only one person died *en route* and in the center of all their misery, as though the Lord planned the compensation, a child, Oceanus Hopkins was born at sea.

Our details of the voyage are scanty, for if there were any detailed log, it was never found, but we can well imagine the happiness and the relieved feelings of the Pilgrims as they sighted the coast of Cape Cod. The leaders had planned to sail southward along the Cape into Long Island Sound, about fifteen leagues in all, to anchor eventually in the area of the Hudson River. But as Bradford tells us:

"After they had sailed that course about half the day, they fell among dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking on them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape and

thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's good providence they did. And the next day they got into the Cape harbor where they rid in safety."

Then they lowered the anchor, and, we may feel certain, Provincetown Harbor made an excellent haven.

They thanked God for a safe voyage over the "vast and furious ocean" and for having delivered them, as Bradford writes, "from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element." And, even though they were happy in their decision, they were sobered by the thought that, in Bradford's words, "they had now no friends to welcome them nor inns to entertain them or refresh their weatherbeaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succor," a situation which a host of realtors, innkeepers, and hotel and motel owners on Cape Cod have long since rectified.

And well they might be sober. There were Indians throughout the area, and there was no assurance they would be friendly. All around them was a desolate wilderness at best, and now winter was coming on and the country "full of woods and thickets represented a wild and savage hue." The captain and the crew of the *Mayflower* were not of the friendliest disposition and were more than eager to see their passengers settled on land so that they might return to England.

Not all of the troubles of this company were external, for within their own group of passengers there were murmurs of discontent. The saints among them, the true Pilgrims, whose motivation was largely religious, were probably not inclined to be troublesome at this time, though some historians have offered interesting conjectures that this might not be necessarily true. The strangers, though, those whom they had hired to help them in the new settlement or those whom the investors had sent over, were not dependable. Aware that the area selected for settlement was outside the territory designed in the patent, they began to show their discontent and some even threatened once ashore, "to use their own liberty, for none had power to command them."

Thus before the colony began the Pilgrims were faced with a serious dilemma and they solved it. It is a credit to the amazing genius of this group that they were able to adapt much of their previously acquired knowledge and tradition to their new environment. Much of their success as colonists is due to this ability to adapt. If there were no governments provided by the English and no laws of record applicable to the area in which they settled, then they would proceed to make their own agreement.

Probably in the cabin of the *Mayflower* in Provincetown harbor the adult males of the company crowded and listened to the reading of an agreement which had been prepared. We do not know the author of this simple and direct document, but it probably was worked out by such leaders as Carver, Bradford, Brewster, and Winslow. What these men were asked to approve was a simple statement of intent, now known as the *Mayflower Compact*. They affirmed their allegiance to King James I; they delineated their reasons for planting a colony in America; for the glory of God, the advancement of the Christian faith, and the honor of king and country, and then immediately struck at the heart of the matter. By this document they asserted that "We whose names are underwritten" do "covenant and combine ourselves together in a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof do enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time,

as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

Here was an adaptation of the church covenants which the Separatists knew and understood, a simple agreement to join together as a "civil body politic" to make laws for the common good. A Pilgrim descendant, John Adams of Braintree, included the term "body politic" in the Preamble to the Massachusetts Constitution in 1780 and defines it for good measure in these words:

"The body politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals; it is a social compact, by which the whole people covenant with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people, that all shall be governed by certain laws for the common good."

Perhaps too much has been claimed for the Mayflower Compact. Bancroft proclaimed that "This was the birthplace of popular constitutional liberty," perhaps a little exaggeration. John Quincy Adams evaluated it as—

"The only instance in human history of that positive, original social compact which speculative philosophers have imagined as the only legitimate source of government. Here was a unanimous and personal assent by all the individuals of the community to the association, by which they became a nation. . . ."

While some historians view the compact cynically as a rather shallow attempt of the Separatist leaders to retain the *status quo*, and others measure the document in the light of Twentieth Century ideas, there can be no doubt, as Willison has written, that—

"For its day it was a remarkable document, a remarkable statement of revolutionary new principles, an important milestone in our long, hard, and often bloody ascent from feudalism, from that degrading 'aristocratic' system of power and privilege for the few which had held Europe in irons for centuries, vestiges of which still remain to plague us."

And this is how we must regard it. As Goldwin Smith wrote, "It heralded a policy of self-government, and may thus rank among the greatest documents of history." If we should view the Mayflower Compact in the historic climate of the seventeenth century it then appears as an amazing, almost unique political document of its time. Whatever one may claim for it, no one can deny that the Compact represents a political foundation stone for the republic, and no study of the development of government of the United States can ignore it; no collection of significant documents concerning American constitutional development is complete without the Mayflower Compact.

It may be true, as Professor Morison has stated, that "American democracy was not born in the cabin of the *Mayflower* or in the Boston town meeting, but on the farming, fighting frontier of all the colonies, New England included" but these farming, fighting frontiers could not have developed without an organized government, and all ideologies, democracy included, have to develop from an idea or a concept. In its origin, in its conception, in its promise, the Mayflower Compact stands as a rare document. The decision to land on Cape Cod and settle nearby and the promulgating of the Mayflower Compact were the great events of the day of the landing.

One more important political action remained. The Pilgrims proceeded to elect John Carver, "a man Godly and well approved amongst them," as their governor. Willison rightly hails Carver as "the first colonial governor in the whole New World, perhaps the first in history, to be named by the colonists themselves in a free election."

The matter of political order and political leadership being settled, a group of fifteen

or sixteen men, well armed, took the long boat and went ashore to fetch wood and water, explore the countryside, and see if there were inhabitants about. They were impressed with the dunes, with the excellent black earth below the sand, with the nearby woods of oak, pine, birch, ash, walnut and other trees. They gathered juniper "which smelled sweet and strong" and carried it back to the *Mayflower* where it made a welcome and pungent fire. The next day being Sunday, they rested, but on the Monday they began to carry out their plans for a settlement in earnest.

This is the simple story of the landing of the Pilgrims as gathered from the best contemporary sources. It is an uncomplicated tale, told by its leaders without embellishment and might well have been considered merely one more account of an attempt to found an English colony in America. What makes the Pilgrims so different? What makes their experience so worthy of commemoration?

They were an ordinary group; although there were several men of unusual intelligence there were no really greatly educated, greatly skilled individuals. Even in their own time, these Separatists were relatively unimportant. They were few in number in comparison with the Conformists of the period, were never really a threat to organized religion or society but simply a minor annoyance. Other dissenting groups actually took over the spiritual leadership of those who opposed the Established Church, so the Pilgrims could not even claim that they were a major part of that effort.

Charles McLean Andrews sees the Pilgrims as good simple men who produced no great ideas, no great literature or work of art but simply as "great emblems of virtue." Other writers follow this same point of view. In preparation for this assignment I have read a great many addresses about the Pilgrims delivered by statesmen, clergymen, historians, admirers and detractors and almost always the summary is the same. Here were good and virtuous people who made a permanent settlement in the New World in order to practice their religion without fear, they averred, and almost unanimously they exhort their audience to imitate the Pilgrims.

Today I hope to do a little more. As one who is not a Pilgrim descendant, I feel no obligation to extol my ancestors or to claim greatness or excessive goodness in them in the hope that some of the glory might be reflected on me. From the vantage point of 350 years, I would like to indicate what I believe made the Pilgrims great.

As persons who essentially accepted many Calvinist teachings, I believe that the Pilgrims viewed predestination not only as it applied to life after death, to eventual salvation or damnation, but to their actual lives. The fact that they had survived so many trials and vicissitudes, had been forced to overcome so many obstacles, and yet achieved their goal, must have convinced them that the hand of God guided every step they took. Their spiritual leaders could tell them that the dangers in America were great "but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not innumerable." The Rev. John Robinson could tell them that "Their ends were good and honorable; their calling lawful and urgent; and therefore they might expect the blessing of God in their proceeding . . ." and could add, "All great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courage."

This was language that they could understand and accept and could apply as well. The great and absolute faith that they possessed gave them a characteristic that is still fundamentally American: a strong sense of optimism. Rarely does there appear any hint of possible failure; even in times

of despair the Pilgrim accounts are filled with hope. If they bequeathed nothing else, this spirit of optimism that began with them would have made the whole venture worthwhile. We do not sense this in the earlier settlements at Jamestown and Sagadahoc, or even in the other settlements in Massachusetts shortly after the Pilgrims arrived.

Perhaps this sense of optimism, this feeling of impending success was engendered by the fact that the voyage and settlement were never conceived of as an exciting adventure, a chance to make great profits, or a great lark. From the beginning the intention was serious; they brought their wives and children, they sold almost all of their belongings in England, they mortgaged their future in a firm desire to make this their permanent home. Those who came without their families brought them over at the first opportunity, and, although a few returned to England in later years, the overwhelming majority of them built their homes, raised their families and adapted themselves to this strange new life.

In their adaptation they gave us two rare gifts. The Thanksgiving ceremony as we know it is essentially the Pilgrim observance. I know that one Maine historian has pointed out that Thanksgiving was first celebrated by fishermen along the coast there, and the Virginia historians tell us that Thanksgiving was first celebrated there. I hope that those early settlers did express their gratitude to the Lord, for the sake of their souls, but I submit that we do not celebrate Thanksgiving in the United States with a giant clambake or with a roasted Virginia ham. When Abraham Lincoln revived the Thanksgiving celebration more than a century ago, it was the Plymouth Thanksgiving that inspired him.

The other gift was the Congregational church idea, each church separate and independent, each made up of persons who agree to a voluntary compact. The expansion of this church compact idea gave us the Mayflower Compact; the adaptation of the compact to church organization formed the basis for town government and eventually to the most advanced form of democracy in existence in its day.

It is this skill at adaptation shown by the Pilgrims that continues to amaze me. Whenever a crisis arose, they seemed to find a way to solve it by adapting what they knew to the political, economic, or geographic problems that they found.

When they needed a government, they hurriedly wrote the Mayflower Compact. They needed laws, and, although there were no lawyers among them, they used Bible law, English Common Law, and American Common Sense to devise the laws that they needed to govern themselves. They preserved many rights: trial by jury, and protection of life, liberty and property being deemed important from the beginning. Eventually they codified these, and in the Fundamentals of 1636 they created the first code of laws prepared by Americans and adopted by Americans. When they needed food they turned to Indian corn, learned the Indian way to plant and fertilize it, and within a few years were trading corn with the Indians and getting furs in return.

When the communistic community planned by their creditors was unsuccessful, they devised a system of land ownership and cultivation and there was never the threat of starvation among them again. When their creditors demanded payment, they settled on a figure, and then by giving a monopoly of the fur trade to a few men who turned over all of the profits to the company, they eventually paid this debt. Although they had no charter, they expanded into other towns, and when it became difficult and expensive for all men to come to Plymouth, they devised representative government.

With all their limitations of training and experience, they successfully carried out a rare experiment, and although few in numbers they remain to this day rightfully respected and revered by the millions of Americans who have followed them to this Promised Land.

I am fond of repeating Goldwin Smith's observation that "If Columbus discovered the new continent, they discovered the New World." The Pilgrims did not merely land in America; they really arrived, and countless generations of Americans will be extremely grateful that these Pilgrims came and dwelled among us, for as William Bradford, their best chronicler wrote, "The face of things was to the rejoicing of the hearts of many, for which they blessed God."

#### TRIBUTE TO VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION CHAPLAINS

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Veterans' Administration Chaplain Service recently celebrated its 25th anniversary at a banquet held at Bolling Air Force Base here in Washington. The Honorable Donald E. Johnson, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, delivered an eloquent and moving tribute to the Veterans' Administration chaplains.

The Chaplain Service of the Veterans' Administration performs an extremely important service to mankind. The congregation of these men includes those dedicated men whose sacrifice in behalf of their Nation has resulted in bodily injury, often of a permanent nature. The Chaplain must not only be there for the spiritual needs of these brave men, but he must also help them through a difficult period of adjustment.

The Honorable Donald A. Johnson has given a noble tribute on the 25th anniversary of the Veterans' Administration Chaplains Service. It is an honor and a privilege to insert these remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that they might receive wider attention.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of remarks by the Honorable Donald A. Johnson, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs for the Veterans' Administration at the Veterans' Administration Chaplain Service, 25th Anniversary Banquet at Bolling Air Force Base in Washington, D.C., on December 1, 1970, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE DONALD E. JOHNSON

Chaplain Bobber . . . Dr. Appelquist . . . Bishop Moran . . . Rabbi Lev . . . Chaplain Sampson . . . distinguished members and guests of the Veterans Administration Chaplain Service:

I am indeed honored to join with you tonight in this observance of the 25th Anniversary of the VA Chaplain Service.

The ecumenical make-up and mission of their Service are a source of justifiable pride to our VA chaplains.

I hope . . . however . . . that they won't go as far in this direction as a local builder.

He was putting up a beautiful house of worship. A passerby stood admiring the growing structure. To one who looked like the foreman, he said:

"That's a beautiful house of worship you're building. What denomination?"

"Can't tell yet," replied the foreman. "We're putting it up on speculation."

The poets tell us that an anniversary is that vital moment which links the past and the future.

Certainly . . . tonight is such a moment.

For . . . in celebrating the Silver Anniversary of the VA Chaplain Service . . . the more than 800 clergymen who ARE this Service . . . and their nearly 170,000 lay associates in VA . . . proudly recall the past . . . with all of its accomplishments . . . and confidently face the future . . . with all of its challenges.

Joining you in spirit tonight . . . I know . . . are such revered men of God as Chaplain Morris A. Sandhaus . . . the first representative of the Jewish faith to become Director of a Federal Chaplain Service . . . and Chaplain Gerhard Leverenz . . . who gave his life this past spring in the service of those who served.

I believe sincerely that these great and good men . . . and all deceased VA chaplains . . . now enjoy the reward which a merciful and loving Father has prepared for all of His children . . . but especially for those who ministered to Him and to His children so faithfully and so well.

There has never been a time during the past quarter-of-a-century when the valued spiritual and social work of VA chaplains was not needed.

I tell you tonight . . . however . . . that at no time have concern and compassion . . . the solace and strength . . . which VA chaplains bring to our hospitalized veterans and their families . . . been more needed than now.

In terms of sheer numbers alone . . . the magnitude of your task has never been greater. And this area of measurement will be enlarged in the years to come.

The new . . . and highly readable . . . pamphlet on "The Chaplain Service in Veterans Administration Hospitals" points out . . . and it is true . . . that "The chaplain serves in a unique environment. He lacks the protective and strengthening surroundings of the parish."

But this recognition of the difficult loneliness of the chaplain's mission does not alter the fact that the "parish" of VA chaplains is the nation's largest.

The VA Chaplain Service "parish" numbers 800,000 ill and disabled veterans who receive quality medical care in VA's 166 hospitals each year.

It numbers tens of thousands of additional veterans cared for each year in nursing homes, domiciliaries, and restoration centers.

It numbers in its "congregation" the wives and children . . . the mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters of these veterans.

Beyond these claimants on the time and concern . . . the experience and dedication of VA chaplains . . . are the members of the staffs of our hospitals.

And yet more . . . the religious and medical and social work groups in each VA hospital community.

I will comment briefly in a moment about each of these "parish" segments . . . as they affect the VA Chaplain Service.

First . . . however . . . permit me to repeat a conviction I expressed when I was sworn in as Administrator of Veterans Affairs nearly a year-and-a-half ago.

I said then . . . and I repeat tonight . . . that it is a privilege for me to be associated with the most able, dedicated, hard-working, and concerned, compassionate employees in the Federal Government.

This past July . . . at ceremonies marking the 40th Anniversary of the establishment

of the Veterans Administration . . . I also observed that tens of thousands of VA employees . . . through the years . . . had foregone the opportunity to better themselves and their families . . . when they turned down higher-paying positions in private industry . . . or in other government agencies . . . in order to continue serving those who served.

This audience constitutes the vanguard of such unselfish Americans.

It would be presumptuous for any layman . . . even though he is the Administrator of Veterans Affairs . . . to tell VA chaplains WHY and HOW their ministry is so vital to so many of their fellow men.

Yet . . . it is only through examining the WHY and HOW of the VA chaplain's ministry that we laymen in the Veterans Administration . . . and the American people . . . can even begin to appreciate how the VA Chaplain Service has become such an integral, indispensable member of the VA medical team . . . and why it must . . . and will . . . remain such.

Let's take a closer look at the VA chaplain's "congregation" . . . and challenge.

Let's begin with the hospitalized veteran. Granted . . . his purpose for being . . . whatever his age . . . whatever his illness or disability . . . is eternal salvation.

But it requires no divinity degree to understand that a 20-year old, double-amputee veteran of Vietnam must be approached and counseled and guided differently than a chronically ill, 90-year old veteran of the Spanish-American War.

I have said many times since becoming Administrator of Veterans' Affairs that our Vietnam veterans . . . all of them . . . wounded or not . . . have fought the loneliest war in American history.

They have not known the national unity that has been an essential source of strength for American fighting men since the Revolution.

The American people don't realize . . . however . . . how our fighting men in Vietnam have responded to loneliness . . . and to lack of truly national support back home.

And . . . based on some suggestions I have read and heard . . . lack of understanding of what kind of Americans they really are. I'll tell you.

They are the most sincere, the most unselfish, and the most outgoing humanitarians who have ever worn the uniform of our country.

They have endured the hell of combat . . . of jungle heat, torrential rains, and constant mud.

And they have returned from one battle after another to take on . . . willingly and voluntarily . . . the unheralded task of building or rebuilding huts and churches . . . of feeding hungry Vietnamese . . . clothing the naked . . . caring for the sick.

We should welcome them home . . . and into our midst . . . for their experience . . . not detain them in some detoxification center so that they won't be subject to the "bends" of war due to a too rapid return to civilian life.

Certainly . . . our Vietnam veterans learned how to kill . . . and how to survive.

But they also learned . . . and can teach us . . . true humanitarianism.

Just as the veterans of America's other wars returned to become the leaders of our nation . . . not just responsible, lawabiding, God-fearing citizens . . . so, too, will our Vietnam veterans.

I believe this sincerely . . . and I know that you do, too.

Now . . . to get back to the double-amputee or other severely disabled veteran of Vietnam.

He will be given the finest medical treatment possible.

And deservedly so.

But it will not be enough . . . by itself . . . to rehabilitate him.

He has to rebuild his whole life.

Will he rebuild it in the knowledge and the belief that "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it?"

Without the concern, the encouragement, the patience, and the prayers of the VA chaplain . . . the answer might well be "no." Let me digress long enough to recognize an important principle which guides our VA chaplains.

Neither this veteran . . . nor any other . . . will ever be coerced into accepting spiritual help . . . or converted to a particular faith . . . even though he may not belong to any denomination.

Instead . . . they will be encouraged by the chaplain to ask:

Is life worth living?

To learn the truth. Yes . . . life is worth living.

Then . . . strengthened spiritually as well as physically . . . to go on to make this truth a reality.

New emphasis is being given in our VA hospitals to care of the chronically ill.

For the 300 full-time and 500 part-time VA Chaplains . . . this emphasis can only mean additional work . . . additional hours spent in visiting with older, chronically ill patients . . . strengthening their will to live . . . preparing them for the fate that awaits us all.

This preparation is more than spiritual . . . although anyone who . . . through the teaching, the encouragement, and the example of the VA chaplain . . . has come to believe that the Lord "is my refuge and my fortress" . . . is prepared in the best possible of ways.

This preparation also means assuring him of the welfare of his family . . . and, of course, following through on this assurance.

Two months ago I had the opportunity to meet with the directors of our 166 hospitals. In my opening remarks at this conference . . . which was held here in our nation's capital . . . I noted that in our best managed VA hospitals . . . the Director is totally involved.

He is known to the hospital personnel . . . all of them. He is warmly greeted by patients who welcome his periodic visits.

This . . . and more . . . could be said of our VA chaplains . . . in all of our VA hospitals.

I say "more" . . . because of the unique and far-reaching duties and responsibilities of the chaplain as a key member of the hospital team.

To enumerate just a few of these duties and responsibilities.

He ministers to veteran-patients through weekly and Sabbath or Sunday worship services in the chapel or hospital wards . . . and over the public address system.

He makes regular ward and bedside visits to patients . . . providing personal and sacramental ministry, spiritual guidance, and personal counseling.

He conducts funerals, wedding, baptisms, and other religious rites.

He participates in the celebration of patriotic occasions.

He acquaints hospital personnel with the religious program and the specific duties of a chaplain so as to integrate this program into the general treatment program of the hospital.

He evaluates and distributes religious literature to patients . . . corresponds with the relatives of veterans . . . and maintains liaison with local veterans' organizations in matters pertaining to the spiritual welfare of the patients.

He maintains cooperative relationships with other departments and members of the hospital staff . . . and interprets the VA chaplaincy program to local interested groups and organizations.

In short . . . the Veterans Administration chaplain is a clergyman . . . a counselor . . . a confessor . . . a comforter . . . a companion . . . a contact between the veteran patient and his family, the hospital staff, and the world outside . . . and beyond.

His is a great responsibility . . . but an even greater calling.

There are times . . . I know . . . when our VA chaplains . . . for all of their zeal and dedication and spiritual devotion . . . must wonder whether their work is adequately understood and valued.

I believe that it is by all of us in the Veterans Administration who have been privileged to know our VA chaplains . . . and to work with them.

Certainly . . . I hope that we shall always be wise enough and fair enough to remember and to follow this dictum of John Henry Cardinal Newman:

"If he be an unbeliever, he will be too profound and large-minded to ridicule religion or to act against it; he is too wise to be a dogmatist or fanatic in his infidelity. He respects piety and devotion; he even supports institutions as venerable, beautiful, or useful, to which he does not assent; he honours the ministers of religion, and it contents him to decline its mysteries without assailing or denouncing them."

The Veterans Administration Chaplain Service may not have become venerable enough . . . in a quarter-of-a-century . . . to be regarded as an institution.

But I can assure you tonight that the hundreds upon hundreds of men of God and of goodness who have ministered to hospitalized veterans and their families during the past quarter-of-a-century have caused the Veterans Administration Chaplain Service to be regarded with admiration, esteem, and gratitude by all it has served.

Again . . . it has been a privilege being with you tonight.

May God continue to inspire and strengthen you as you go about His work on earth.

Thank you.

#### PROTESTED MISTREATMENT OF THE FLAG

**HON. NORRIS COTTON**

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, Scott Jones, 18 Depot Street, Newport, N.H., launched a protest of a different sort recently in the form of an essay which he submitted to his eighth grade class at Newport High School. Scott, son of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Jones of Newport, protested mistreatment of the American flag.

His essay was so well received that his English teacher read it to all of her other classes and it was printed in the Manchester, N.H., Union Leader as well. Since that time, Scott has been deluged with letters of praise from persons throughout the country who share his opinions about the defacement of our flag.

At a period in our history when it seemingly is the vogue to flout the Nation's traditions, it is refreshing to find young people still taking strong stands in their defense.

This week we noted the 29th anniversary of the bombing of Pearl Harbor. It

is a particularly appropriate time to submit Scott's essay for printing in the RECORD.

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

#### MISTREATMENT OF THE FLAG

(NOTE.—The following editorial was written by Scott Jones, an eighth grade student, for his English class at Newport High School. Scott, who lives at 18 Depot Street in Newport, received an A— for his thoughtful commentary.)

I do not believe in mistreating the American flag. The American flag to me represents the country and what it stands for. Through the years the attitudes of many people have changed toward what the flag is, what it stands for, and how it should be treated.

In days gone by, many people treated the American flag with great respect. Thousands of people have died fighting for and under the American flag. There are many famous examples that can prove this. One such example is General Custer's last stand. Custer and his men died fighting back to back with the United States flag between them. Many men who fought in wars declared the battle lost when the flag fell and did not rise again.

Today many people do not care how the flag is treated. It is thrown in the dirt, burned in protest, and even ripped to shreds. One example is Abbie Hoffman blowing his nose on an American flag. Was he opposed by anyone, was he stopped? No, some people even cheered when he did this. I do not believe such an act of ignorance should be honored and publicized by anyone.

I think that such mistreatment of something that represents the country and the people in it should be a federal offense to the country. The symbol of such an outstanding country as ours should be honored and treated with respect. Slandering, burning and damaging the American flag to me is a shameful, malicious, and dishonorable act and should be prevented and stopped. So as you can see in the facts and examples, I have proved I feel mistreatment of the American flag is damaging my representation as a citizen of the United States.

#### CHRISTMAS LETTER FROM A FORMER MEMBER OF THE HOUSE

**HON. TIM LEE CARTER**

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave accorded, I am including herewith as a part of these remarks, the splendid and unique Christmas letter of a former member of this body, and also a Governor of the Canal Zone during the construction era of the Panama Canal. I refer to Hon. Maurice H. Thatcher of Kentucky and Washington, D.C. For many years, Governor Thatcher has written original poems in the form of a Christmas message to friends. The 1970 letter, all things considered, is one of the best he has ever written. For one who has reached and passed the centenary date, the instant letter is one of remarkable self analysis and revelation. It is of the highest literary value and by its placement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, it will constitute a message, not only to myself, a friend and fellow Kentuckian,

but as well to the entire membership of the House and Senate.

The phrase in the poem, "and honors rich outpour," is, as I understand it, a reference to the signal honors and recognitions accorded Governor Thatcher at the celebration of his 100th birthday on August 15, 1970, and fully described in the splendid story of the occasion placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Senator THURMOND on September 9, 1970, on pages 30960 through 30967.

The letter follows:

SEASONS GREETINGS: CHRISTMAS 1970

In spirit I am young, the watchful Time Attests mine age. My urge and preference point

To many things—both lowly and sublime. Meanwhile I hold myself in strict account—And past a tether's length I may not go;

But in its slack I am sustained and free. Of youth I keep enough to don and show A vital front—whatever odds there be.

These lines are writ beyond the ample date Of years five score—and Honor's rich outpour,

And those who read can judge; and speculate On that to come—by what has gone before. My aims and goals inspire—they're much the same

As those bygone—as current toils proclaim. At this best interval you have my warm regards,

MAURICE H. THATCHER,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

### JACKSONVILLE UNIVERSITY, WORLD BEATERS

### HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, last year the Jacksonville University basketball team excited the citizens of Jacksonville, Fla., the whole State, and the United States with its outstanding record and exploits. The Dolphins team finished second to perennial college champion UCLA.

The freshness of the basketball team from the banks of the St. Johns River, one of the legendary rivers of the world, which provides the impetus for the great economic, distribution, and cultural center which is Jacksonville, has been carried over to this year's basketball schedule.

Already, Jacksonville University has won four games and ranks fourth among major college basketball teams in the wire service polls.

This year the Dolphins in these difficult and trying times, are stirring the world, as the following article from the Florida Times-Union of December 4, 1970, points out:

DOLPHINS WOW THE WORLD WITH RECORD  
152 TO 106 WIN  
(By Maynard Eilers)

NEW YORK.—The big green machine, more commonly known as Jacksonville University, made an almost unbelievable assault on the Madison Square Garden record book and crushed an open-mouthed St. Peter's team here Thursday night, 152-106.

Scoring 86 points in the final half and placing seven players in double figures, the Dolphins broke the collegiate scoring mark

in the Garden by a whopping 30 points and even tied the professional record set by the New York Knicks 19 years earlier.

"If a team feels cornered in the first half," said Ernie Fleming, JU's individual leader with 30 points, "they'd better not even show up for the second half."

"We feel 'em out the first 20 minutes and murder 'em the second 20 minutes. And it will happen every time a team decides to run on us."

The JU point record of 133, set against Tampa in 1962, also tumbled, as did a school rebounding record of 79 as the Dolphins grabbed 91 rebounds.

Artis Gilmore, 7-2 All-American, did his best to turn the fancies of a partisan crowd of 12,742 with 34 rebounds, a Garden and individual record as well as a school mark.

"I don't know if we'll score as many points every game," said Gilmore with a wide smile, "but we played against a team which likes to run and simply did a better job of running."

"Playing in the garden was neat, like going back to the NCAA in College Park. And setting the rebounding record is a special honor. I'm proud to hold it."

Another certain record-holder is Pembroke Burrows, who only scored 12 points but made all six of his shots. Adding that to his nine of nine he made against Biscayne he is hitting 100 percent for the season.

"That's the way it's supposed to be done," shrugged Burrows.

"Besides, you can't miss many when you shoot from as close as I do."

After Fleming's 30 came Harold Fox with 29 and Gilmore with 28, followed by Vaughn Wedeking's 15, Greg Nelson's 14, Burrows' 12 and Chip Dublin's 11 points.

It was the second highest scoring game in NCAA history, topped only by Houston's 152-108 defeat of Texas Wesleyan on Feb. 22, 1966.

The 152 points is apparently the second highest, along with Houston's win over Texas Wesleyan. Houston scored 158 points against Valparaiso on Feb. 24, 1968.

The 126 field goals attempted tied the most in NCAA history. The record was set Dec. 11, 1946, in a Louisville-Hanover game.

The 86 points scored in a half set a new collegiate record, too. The previous high was 85, also in the Houston-Texas Western game.

Gilmore, despite being forced to play less than his usual aggressive type of game due to being called four times for goaltending, nevertheless made 12 of 27 shots and dominated the defensive boards.

"Some of those goaltending calls were awfully lousy," Gilmore said with a frown as he threw a sweaty sock on the dressing room floor.

"Perhaps one of them was a good call, but that's all. I don't know how they can call them like that. I'm the best judge up there, and I say they were blocked shots."

Greg Nelson broke the first record, the collegiate scoring mark in the garden, with two free throws with 5:51 to go. Ernie Fleming scored on a drive 90 seconds later for JU's 134th point, a school mark.

The Dolphins missed the collegiate scoring record of 164, set by Houston in 1968, and two points more by either side would have broken the two-team scoring mark of 260 points in the Houston-Texas Western game in 1968.

"We showed tonight," said JU Coach Tom Wasdin to at least 30 writers in the steamy dressing room, "that we don't have to pass to Artis to win. And Artis is very unselfish about that, too."

"You saw how many shots he blocked? Not that many. But how many times did St. Peter's shoot into the rafters because of him?"

Were the Dolphins spurred on by the dramatic history of the garden?

"That might've helped," said Fleming, "but Jacksonville is for real. We wanted to prove

what kind of club we are, and this is the place to prove it.

"Have you ever seen a team as fast as us?" he asked. Someone said he heard Florida State was faster.

"We'll find out. We'll find out in just two games," Fleming muttered.

Fleming was talking about the Jax Charities-Civitan Classic in Jacksonville's Coliseum Monday and Tuesday nights, in which FSU and JU are favored to win their opening night games and face each other in the final.

The game's higher scorer was St. Peter's Rich Rinaldi, who scored 32 points. Harry Anderson, a former JU freshman player, hit on only three of 12 shots to finish with seven points.

The Dolphins hit on 52 percent of their field goals and 61 percent of their free throws. St. Peter's completed 48 percent of its field goals and 76 percent of its free throws.

### CESAR CHAVEZ JAILED FOR FIRST TIME IN HIS LONG CAREER

### HON. ALAN CRANSTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, on Friday, December 4, 1970, Cesar Chavez went to jail for the first time in his long career of organizing agricultural workers. I am deeply distressed by this development because it constitutes a further intensification of the already bitter labor-management dispute between field workers and some lettuce growers in the Salinas Valley of California. It raises questions about the failure of Congress to provide a framework by which agricultural workers can organize and bargain collectively with their employers, in the same manner and with the same rights and responsibilities accorded to virtually all other labor groups in the Nation since 1935.

The New York Times on December 8, 1970, published a fine editorial entitled "Jailing Cesar Chavez." I was immediately impressed with the brevity and clarity with which the editorial dealt with the complicated issues leading up to the imprisonment of Cesar Chavez. Because I believe the editorial is worthy of serious consideration by Members of Congress, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### JAILING CESAR CHAVEZ

The imprisonment of Cesar Chavez, leader of the California lettuce strikers, is an exercise in legalism of the kind that serves only to discredit the law. Mr. Chavez, as firm in his dedication to nonviolence as Mahatma Gandhi, is a symbol of emancipation for the most exploited of the nation's workers, the agricultural laborers.

The boycott for which he was jailed stems from the failure of Congress to extend to farm workers the same democratic machinery for determining union representations that millions of other workers have had for 35 years. If that machinery were available to record the preferences of lettuce pickers in the Salinas Valley, Mr. Chavez would have the law as ally, not obstacle, in his drive for economic justice.

The growers are hiding behind whirlwind contracts they signed with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters last July, a day after the Chavez union achieved final victory in its long grape strike and announced its intention of concentrating on the lettuce workers.

The leaders of the truck union, both nationally and on the West Coast, have acknowledged that their union has no business in this field. But most of the Salinas growers refuse to relinquish their pact with the teamsters, even though that union has instructed its locals not to collect any dues or provide any service under the rush contracts.

None of these facts, of course, cast any doubt on the technical correctness of the order under which Mr. Chavez was imprisoned for violating a local judge's antiboycott injunction. Indeed, the union chief himself voices no bitterness at having to pay the price for civil disobedience.

But the reality is that the incarceration will merely add intensity to the boycott, the weapon the Chavez union used with such success in unionizing the vineyards. It is a weapon subject to gross abuse. The proper way to eliminate it in future conflicts of this kind is Congressional passage of a law that would make such tactics unnecessary.

#### NO ADVANCE, NO ADVANTAGE

### HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, much has been said in the Congress about the recent U.S. airstrikes against North Vietnam.

In its November 24 editorial, the Boston Herald Traveler writes that it is closer to the strategic truth to assess these raids as both punitive and preventive. They are punitive in that they are a retaliation against the shooting down of an unarmed U.S. reconnaissance plane over North Vietnam and are preventive in that they were aimed to slow or halt the buildup of Communist troops and materiel near the South Vietnam-Laos battle area.

President Nixon has stated that the United States will issue warnings, not threats, and that if these warnings are not heeded, we would respond accordingly. In this case, this action was necessary to protect the lives and security of Americans remaining in South Vietnam.

I firmly agree with the Herald Traveler that we cannot allow Communist troops to prepare for a major assault while U.S. troops are being withdrawn and include the editorial "No Advance, No Advantage," at this point in the RECORD:

#### NO ADVANCE, NO ADVANTAGE

The weekend raids by U.S. warplanes against targets in North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia—including a dramatic attempt to rescue American prisoners of war—are startling only if one forgets a basic principle of President Nixon's foreign policy, enunciated many months ago. The United States will issue warnings, the President said, but not threats. If the warnings are not heeded, the United States will determine what action should be taken.

The action taken—several hundred sorties against Communist anti-aircraft installations and related facilities—has been described by Pentagon officials as "protective

reaction strikes" and by Pentagon critics as a "major escalation" of the war in Indochina.

It might be closer to the strategic truth, however, to concede the bombing raids are both punitive and preventive. They are punitive in the sense that they are a retaliation against the shooting down of a U.S. reconnaissance plane over North Vietnam a week earlier. The same thing happened last May; North Vietnam downed a reconnaissance plane and the United States retaliated.

Retaliation is warranted, the United States contends, because of the tacit understanding assumed between this country and Hanoi when President Johnson halted the bombing of North Vietnam a few days before the election of 1968. That understanding was that American overflights would continue to safeguard another presumed understanding, that the Communists would not take special advantage of the suspension of the bombing by intensifying their supply and infiltration efforts. Hanoi now disputes both understandings, but it probably no longer disputes the expected reaction to what the United States considers their breach.

The air strikes are preventive because the reconnaissance planes at which North Vietnam is firing Russian missiles have verified not only a buildup of Communist forces near the Laos-South Vietnam battle area, but also the emplacement of SAM batteries near the Laotian border. These missiles, by protecting the Ho Chi Minh trail in Laos, could materially alter the course of hostilities in Cambodia and South Vietnam and seriously jeopardize the entire U.S. policy of disengagement and Vietnamization.

Such jeopardy is not about to be tolerated. The United States has not allowed Communist troops and supplies free passage along the Ho Chi Minh trail in the past, and the phased withdrawal of American troops does not mean North Vietnam and the Vietcong can open a four-lane highway into downtown Saigon. Interdiction of Communist men and materiel is still imperative. As President Nixon emphasized in June, such movements will be interdicted (or at least impeded) so long as it is necessary to protect the lives and security of Americans in South Vietnam.

The political flak, of course, has already begun to burst over the White House and the Pentagon; the recommendations of the Joint Chiefs of Staff will be dismissed or denounced by junior senators and senior savants, and most public figures will take their accustomed places for the latest recriminations.

Whatever the charges and protestations, however, to allow Communist troops—via an unmonitored route and scattered sanctuaries—to prepare for a major assault while U.S. troops are being withdrawn would be military madness.

#### MOST AMERICANS SUPPORT PRESIDENT NIXON'S HANDLING OF HIS JOB

### HON. CHARLES M. TEAGUE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Mr. Speaker, despite all the charges by critics of the Administration that President Nixon hurt his personal position by campaigning so heavily in the recent elections, the Gallup poll which was published over the weekend shows that the President's popularity is virtually unchanged since before the election cam-

paign. A gratifying 57 percent approve of the way he is handling his job.

While this steady, high rate of approval must be pleasing to the President, it also points out a greater truth—which is that the American people are much smarter than the media and many politicians give them credit for.

In responding to this most recent poll they have cut through the thicket of claims and counterclaims to base their support for the President, simply on the fact that he is doing his best in a tough job and trying to get our men out of Vietnam.

The American people have a genius for cutting through to the heart of the matter and supporting their President, even under difficult circumstances, if they feel he is doing his best in working for America. That fact is reaffirmed today and it is reassuring to know that the President still has a solid majority that back his policies.

#### EARTHA M. M. WHITE: NO. 1 U.S. VOLUNTEER

### HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, the No. 1 volunteer worker and leader in the United States is Dr. Eartha M. M. White of Jacksonville, Fla.

Miss White, 94 years old, was honored last week for her great works for humankind when she received the \$5,000 top national award as the winner of the Lane Bryant Volunteer Award as the individual who had contributed most in America in 1970 for volunteer action.

As her longtime friend and the nominator of her for the Lane Bryant Award, I believe Dr. White is a symbol of goodness and mercy who should be followed. We should all be inspired by her many activities for all people.

I insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following articles and editorials which outline the current projects she is involved with in her hometown, which I represent, and a description of her background, attesting to her latest honor—America's No. 1 Volunteer:

[From the Jacksonville (Fla.) Journal, Dec. 5, 1970]

#### EARTHA WHITE CARRIES OUT THE PROPHECY OF HER NAME

(By Ray Knight)

Eartha Mary Magdalene White is a frail 94-year-old woman who has a way of getting things done.

Last Thursday, when she received the Lane Bryant Volunteer Award in New York, she spoke with a note of the old Presbyterian doctrine of predestination about the better part of a century she has spent serving others:

"My name," she said, "was given to me six months before my birth. One of my relatives wanted me to be named Eartha, so I would be a storehouse unto the people. Another relative wanted me to be named Mary Magdalene after a great woman of the Bible.

"Although I was my mother's thirteenth child and the only one who lived, I have

truly carried out the prophecy of those aged men who named me."

The list of the many volunteer roles Miss White has filled would include those of lecturer, humanitarian, teacher, coordinator, educator, leader, pioneer, nurse, soldier, writer, planner, promoter and counselor—to mention only a few. But even though the usual age for retirement has long passed, Miss White has not slowed down.

Her newest and most ambitious project is the Eartha M. M. White Nursing Home, a handsome, three-story, masonry structure at 5334 Moncrief Road.

It is a non-profit, 120-bed institution that furnishes comprehensive nursing care to patients, the majority of whom are indigent. Its current percent of occupancy is 94.4.

Financing such an operation is a large task, she admits. It has been her policy in past years to turn over gifts she receives at the birthday parties—all the more recent ones having been held in the civic auditorium—to the home. And contributions also help, but even when funds grow slim, she doesn't worry: "I am sponsoring nine projects without compensation and find that faith in God will accomplish all things."

In addition to the nursing home and an old folks home, which she also runs, Miss White has been instrumental in the establishment of a maternity home, a child placement and orphans home, a home for delinquent black girls, the Harriet Beecher Stowe Community Center and a tubercular rest home.

She is the founder and president of the Clara White Mission, an agency which has served hundreds of destitute and helpless individuals.

During the depression, the mission distributed food, clothing and other necessities free of charge to persons suffering severe economic losses. Food is continuously distributed by the mission to the underprivileged and toys are given to needy children at Christmas.

The mission provides prisoners released from Duval County's prisons with food, clothing, job counseling and any other services needed for their readjustment in society. For more than 40 years, she visited the inmates at the prisons and took interest in their personal concerns and problems.

Miss White's interest in preserving historical heritage led her to collect a large quantity of antiques, historical photos and novelties, furniture, bric-a-brac and other articles of cultural significance. They are now displayed at the Eartha M. M. White Historical Museum.

She is presently associated with the National Business League, in which she serves as historian. In addition, she is a member of the state and national Association of Colored Women's Clubs, the state and national Housewives League, the Seminole Culture Club, the Jacksonville Historical Society and the Jacksonville Humane Society.

A native of Jacksonville, Miss White was the 13th child of Clara English White, a former slave, and a review of her remarkable life gives truth to the prophecy of a minister who predicted at her birth: "She is going to live and be a blessing to everyone."

Her history of volunteer service to the community dates back to the 1880s.

In 1885, several black persons organized themselves into a group called the Union Benevolent Association. They devoted their efforts to charitable activities and purchased land as a site for a home for the aged.

But the group became inactive and the idea for a home never went past the planning stage.

Fifteen years later, Miss White, a school teacher and social worker by that time, succeeded in bringing the group together for its first meeting since shortly after its inception.

Inspired by the young woman's concern, the association granted Miss White the responsibility for constructing a home for the aged, as well as any other agency she deemed necessary for the community's needs.

She also was made president of the association and has held that office since that time. Her intensive campaign to obtain funds for the home was successful and it was finally built.

Hundreds of individuals depending on charity for their survival have been served by this agency, free of charge. At present, more than 50 elderly people are being cared for at the home.

During the Spanish-American War in 1898, Miss White catered to the needs of the sick and wounded, providing nursing care and distributing and administering food.

A daughter of the Grand Army of the Republic and a member of the Women's Relief Corps, she was the only woman in a 60-man inter-racial "War Camp Community Service Conference" in Jacksonville during World War I.

For a time, she was director of the War Camp Community Services and coordinator of recreation in Savannah, Ga. She was also a member of President Woodrow Wilson's White House Conference.

During World War II, as a colonel of the Women's National Defense Program, she organized canteen service and managed various Red Cross Center activities.

Eartha White's mother had a special prescription for life:

"Do all the good you can,  
In all the ways you can,  
In all the places you can,  
For all the people you can,  
While you can."

Miss White is a living example of this policy.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 4, 1970]

SHE'S 94 AND STILL BUSY DOING FOR OTHERS

(By Angela Taylor)

"Let me first explain to you about my name," said Eartha Mary Magdalene White, her bright brown eyes commanding attention as she sat in her neat black dress with fur-trimmed sleeves, her small body almost lost in the armchair in her room at the Plaza.

"Six months before I was born, two elderly relatives came to visit my mother," she began. "One said I should be called Eartha, so that I would be a storehouse unto the people. The other one wanted Mary Magdalene for that great woman in the Bible who did so much good."

That visit was in 1876 in Jacksonville, Fla. Miss White was the 13th and last child born to Clara English White, a former slave, and the only one of the 13 to grow to adulthood. Clara White's own mother had been sold at auction in Jacksonville, while her daughter remained on the plantation. They did not see each other again until the daughter was grown.

Eartha White has lived up to her first name. She has been a storehouse of good works to both the black and white of Jacksonville. Her energy and dedication are responsible for eight projects: the Eartha M. M. White Nursing Home, a modern 120-bed hospital; two boarding homes for the ambulatory ill, aged or handicapped; two child care centers; a lodging house for alcoholics; a mission to feed, clothe and comfort the poor and a community center for recreation and education.

Yesterday Miss White was presented with a \$5,000 Volunteer Award given by the Lane Bryant department store at a Plaza Hotel luncheon. (Next year, the store will turn over the awards function to the National Center for Voluntary Action.) A second award for the same amount was given to the Valley Orthopedic Clinic of Calexico, Calif.

Despite her age, Miss White hasn't stopped her good works. ("My grandfather lived to 129.")

"I'm still interested in a park," she ticked off on one of her long fingers. "Those people who live in housing projects can't get a breath of fresh air or listen to music."

"And a workshop, so young people can learn a trade," was counted off on another finger.

"I never married—I was too busy," Miss White went on. "What man would put up with me running around the way I do?"

#### HER FULL LIFE

Indeed, she has been busy. Although 94 years is a long span to remember, she details her life with more experiences than seem possible and sprinkles her narration with Biblical quotations.

Her mother, she said, was a ship's stewardess. When Eartha was in her teens, they came to New York because "there was too much sickness in Jacksonville." Eartha studied hairdressing and music—"I sang with the first Negro opera company." (She doesn't remember its name.)

As a young woman, Miss White returned to Jacksonville to teach school but "it didn't pay much." Still she managed to save \$150 and, in 1904, she gave up teaching to open what she calls a "department store."

"I thought I could buy the world with that \$150," she recalled with a laugh. "But when my merchandise came, it was but one crate and when I complained to the man who sold it to me that the goods hadn't come, he laughed and said I was sitting on it."

She remembers getting up at dawn to go down to the docks to get vegetables inexpensive enough for her poor customers. After two years of running the store in Jacksonville, Miss White attended a meeting of the Union Benevolent Association, a black group that had purchased some land to build a home for the aged in 1885, but had never gotten beyond the planning stage. Miss White said she would take over the responsibility and with her own money and some cajoled from others, she built the home, which currently cares for 50 elderly people.

Other projects followed. She is most proud of the hospital named for her, for which she donated the land. The red brick building was partly financed by Federal funds, but Miss White is active in raising the \$200,000 it still needs from private donors.

She now lives in one room of her own house. She has made the rest into a museum devoted to Negro culture and her many awards and mementos of the trips she has made.

"Of course, I came on the plane," she replied about her trip from Jacksonville. "I'm always on planes. I've even been to Israel, it's all in the museum."

Has Miss White ever considered marriage? She was engaged to a "fine young man" when she was 16, but he died. What about the future? She let out a whoop of laughter and pointed out what she would require of a husband.

"First, the man I married would have to be handsome. I couldn't live with an ugly man. Or an ignorant one. How could he talk to me about the way I live, unless he was smart? And he couldn't marry me for me to take care of him. He'd have to have heaps of money."

Then, as an afterthought: "Guess he'd have to be deaf, dumb and blind to get married to me," she chortled.

#### INTEREST IN CLOTHES

Although she scoffs about such notions as fashion, she takes a feminine interest in clothes, asking her traveling companion to bring out a printed dress shot with glittery threads and with butterfly sleeves made of chiffon. And the set of rhinestone jewelry a friend had given her.

What will Miss White do with her award money?

"I've already decided. I want it to serve humanity. The money is to God, not to me," she replied. "What would I do with it? Sit around the Plaza Hotel? I'm too busy."

[From the Florida Times-Union, Dec. 3, 1970]

LANE BRYANT VOLUNTEER AWARD—EARTHA WHITE TO BE HONORED

Miss Eartha M. M. White has been named as the recipient of the 1970 Lane Bryant Volunteer Award for her more than 70 years of extraordinary volunteer service.

At a luncheon being held today in New York, the 94-year-old Jacksonville philanthropist will receive a check for \$5,000 from Raphael Malsin, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Lane Bryant, Inc., a group of women's clothing shops.

Miss White was nominated for the national award by U.S. Rep. Charles Bennett. She was cited for her work in establishing two homes for the aged, a maternity home, buildings for child care centers, a tubercular rest home and the Harriet Beecher Stowe Community Center.

During the Spanish American War, Miss White attended to the needs of the sick and wounded; during the Depression, she established a soup kitchen, and during World War I, she was the only woman in a 60-man interracial "War Camp Community Service Conference."

For over 40 years, she has visited the inmates at the Duval County Prison, and she is founder of the Clara White Mission, named for her mother who was an ex-slave.

The group winner of the 23rd annual Lane Bryant awards was the Valley Orthopaedic Clinic, Calexico, Calif. The clinic was presented with the award for its "skilled treatment and compassionate care" to crippled children of Mexicali Valley.

[From the Jacksonville Journal, Dec. 3, 1970]

THE NO. 1 U.S. VOLUNTEER

Eartha Mary Magdalene White, Jacksonville's 94-year-old humanitarian and philanthropist, received the Lane Bryant Volunteer Award today at a luncheon at The Plaza Hotel in New York City.

The award, which includes \$5,000 cash, is presented to the one person in America considered to have made the most outstanding voluntary contribution to his or her community during the past year.

Miss White, nominated by U.S. Rep. Charles E. Bennett of Jacksonville, was selected from more than 500 nominees.

Dwight Cooke, author, lecturer and news analyst, presided.

The reception and luncheon was hosted by Raphael Malsin, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Lane Bryant Inc.

The guest list included: Charles Wilkinson, special consultant to the President and himself past president of the National Center Voluntary Action, Washington, D.C.; singer Dorothy Maynor, who is also director of the Harlem School of the Arts; Dr. W. B. Stewart, president of Edward Waters College; and Rev. A. Leon Lowry, chairman of Tampa's Commission of Community Relations and group winner, 1968 Lane Bryant Volunteer Awards.

Dick Sewell, administrative assistant to Congressman Bennett, represented Bennett, who was unable to attend because of today's session of Congress.

Today, on the floor of U.S. House of Representatives, he said in part:

"Mr. Speaker, today at noon at the Plaza Hotel in New York City, Dr. Eartha M. M. White of Jacksonville, Fla., will receive the 1970 Lane Bryant Volunteer Award for her outstanding volunteer work which has contributed greatly to her community and its citizens.

"It was my pleasure and privilege to nominate Mrs. White for this top national award, and I join with her many friends and with those she has helped through the years in congratulating her on this signal honor."

Wilkinson brought a message from President Nixon who paid tribute to the "quiet dignity, humility and self-effacing generosity" of the award winners.

Group winner today was the Valley Orthopaedic Clinic of Calexico, Calif.

The 23-year-old Lane Bryant Volunteer Award will end today. But the resources of the widely known and respected program will be made available to the National Center for Voluntary Action to utilize the development of a new, nationwide program of official public recognition of citizen volunteers to the betterment of life in America.

The announcement was made jointly here today by H. I. Romnes, president and chairman of American Telephone and Telegraph and head of the National Center's recognitions and awards committee, and Malsin, founder of the Lane Bryant Volunteer Awards and chairman of the board of Lane Bryant Inc. The national center is a nonprofit, non-political corporation established in February 1970 to assist both established and emerging organizations in the voluntary field.

Henry Ford II is chairman of the center's board. President Nixon serves as honorary chairman.

The 13th and only surviving daughter of an ex-slave woman, Miss White, who founded the nonprofit Earth M. M. White Nursing Home, which serves mainly indigent patients, and the Clara White Mission was selected by a panel of four nationally famous judges.

Former astronaut Col. Frank Borman, field director, Space Station Task Group; Robert H. Finch, former secretary of Health, Education and Welfare; Robert Montgomery, former movie star and now president of The Repertory Theatre of Lincoln Center, and Dr. Bennetta B. Washington, director of Women's Center, Job Corp Manpower Administration, Department of Labor.

"To say thank you is a mild way to express my sincere gratitude," said Miss White in remarks prepared for today's presentation.

"Most of my life has been spent in service," she said. "You must not forget that the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof and they that dwell therein. All we have is a life's interest. We cannot carry anything with us, but we must return to the dust whence we came."

[From the Florida Times-Union, Dec. 4, 1970]

AN AMBASSADOR OF CONCERN

It's not easy to find a person to whom the adjectives "dedicated," "devoted," "concerned" and "giving" can each be applied with equal fervor. And it's rare, indeed, to find that combination of traits spanning a lifetime of service to one's fellow men.

It takes courage, strength, faith, inspiration, spunk and just plain love to devote the majority of 94 years to doing good for others. And yet that's what Eartha Mary Magdalene White, Jacksonville humanitarian and philanthropist, was honored for yesterday in New York City. She was chosen the No. 1 volunteer in the United States from among 500 other nominees to receive the Lane Bryant Volunteer Award along with \$5,000 cash.

Eartha White's extraordinary service has made her almost a legend in her own time. She is the 13th and only surviving daughter of an ex-slave. She began during the Spanish-American War helping the sick and wounded. She established soup kitchens during the Depression. During World War I she was the only woman in a 60-member interracial "War Camp Community Service Conference." For over 40 years she has visited the inmates in Duval County prison facilities.

If there is still any doubt about why she was selected the country's No. 1 volunteer, take a look at her list of other accomplishments: Miss White has established a maternity home, two nursing homes for the aged, buildings for child care centers, a rest home for tubercular patients, the Harriet

Beecher Stowe Community Center and the Clara White Mission, named for her mother.

This dedicated lady merits much admiration and respect. Her philosophy, which she gained from her mother, is simply: "Do all the good you can, for all the people you can, while you can."

Those words should be inspiration enough for anyone who is worried about the apparent lack of concern for one's fellow man today. As long as there are Eartha Whites around to care, concern still lives.

[From the Jacksonville Journal, Dec. 5, 1970]

SALUTE TO EARTHA WHITE

The First Lady of Jacksonville in service to others has been so recognized on a national level.

Her name, Eartha Mary Magdalene White, has been synonymous with humanitarian efforts in this city for many decades and it is gratifying, but not surprising that Miss White has received the Lane Bryant Volunteer Award at a luncheon in New York City.

The award, which includes \$5,000 in cash, goes to the one person designated as having made the most outstanding voluntary contribution to his or her community during the past year.

Miss White, now 94, was selected from more than 500 nominees, a high honor and rare accomplishment.

The 13th and only surviving daughter of an ex-slave, the recipient founded the nonprofit Eartha M. M. White Nursing Home, which serves mainly indigent patients, and the Clara White Mission.

Her service to her fellow man for nearly a century should stand as a constant reminder of what can be done in the name of simple dedication and selflessness that transcend race, creed or class.

Eartha White deserves Jacksonville's warmest gratitude and appreciation.

TANZANIA

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, on the 9th of December 1961 a proudly independent Tanganyika for the first time took its rightful place in world councils. Since that time, Tanganyika—officially renamed Tanzania following its April 1964 union with Zanzibar—has been one of Africa's most articulate and forceful spokesmen in the field of human rights. Its President, Julius K. Nyerere, has adopted the Swahili title "Mwalimu" in recognition of his role as a teacher for his own people. He seeks to build a nonracial society based on the dignity and equality of all men, a criteria that he hopes may one day prevail throughout Africa.

President Nyerere also seeks to make economic independence as much of a reality for his people as political independence. He has stressed self-reliance in urging his predominantly rural people to work harder to help themselves. He also seeks greater economic cooperation among the developing countries themselves as well as between them and the industrialized world. On this ninth anniversary of Tanganyikan independence I would like to salute President Nyerere and the people of Tanzania, and wish them success in the years ahead.

EDITORIALS COMMENDING PRESIDENT NIXON FOR HIS ACTIONS IN VIETNAM

**HON. GERALD R. FORD**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, of the many editorials commending President Nixon for protecting our withdrawal troops with the bombing raid on North Vietnam and for seeking to free American prisoners of war by a daring rescue attempt, those in the Birmingham, Ala., News, the Nashville, Tenn., Banner, and the Cincinnati, Ohio, Enquirer are representative.

Although the POW rescue attempt did not succeed, its result was positive in that it focused national and international attention on the deplorable state of American prisoners of war. It is unlikely Hanoi will ever abide by the Geneva Conventions regarding treatment of prisoners of war; however, it surely understands now that the United States will make the maximum effort in its concern for its captured servicemen.

The bombing raid should also make Hanoi aware that, although we are withdrawing our troops, we intend to see that they have every protection and that the Vietnamization program is not jeopardized by the buildup of North Vietnamese troops and materiel.

For the information of my colleagues, I include these editorials in the RECORD: [From the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Nov. 30, 1970]

THEY'RE NOT FORGOTTEN

While it failed in its immediate goal, the daring attempt to rescue some of the hundreds of Americans who are held prisoner by North Vietnam did accomplish something:

It focused national and world attention more directly than anything else has done on the plight of those prisoners.

Even U.N. Secretary-General U Thant, whose critical views on U.S. involvement in Vietnam are, as he himself noted, "well known," called on Hanoi to permit international organizations like the Red Cross to have access to the U.S. prisoners.

That is the very least that should be expected of the North Vietnamese government which has violated the terms of the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners of war and which has callously refused even to furnish the names of all the men it holds, leaving thousands of loved ones of men missing in action hanging in agonizing uncertainty.

Reports reaching this country that many prisoners are dying in captivity contributed to the decision to attempt a rescue mission; they ought to contribute also to an irresistibly strong demand—not only in this country but throughout the nations where "world opinion" is so ever ready to condemn the U.S.—that Hanoi change its brutal, inhumane policy toward American prisoners.

In the meantime, the rescue mission should have put Hanoi on notice that the American people are deadly serious in their concern for their countrymen, and that those held prisoner in North Vietnam are by no means "forgotten men."

We remember, and we shall go on remembering; and Hanoi must not be permitted to forget.

[From the Nashville (Tenn.) Banner, Nov. 23, 1970]

JUSTIFICATION ENOUGH—THOSE RAIDS WERE STAGED TO SAVE U.S. LIVES

Not many Americans will join the hysteria brigade screaming imprecations of "mustn't-mustn't!" at U.S. Commandos for an attempted search-and-rescue mission—seeking to free prisoners of war in North Vietnam. Not many will add their voices to the Senate's Dove chorus deploring bomber raids in that area.

They were valid military support missions, undertaken in behalf of American fighting men; and American sentiment still is on that side, overwhelmingly. Make no mistake about that. It hasn't switched. It doesn't share the pusillanimous view that the way to an honorable peace in Indochina is surrender.

Defense Secretary Melvin Laird divulged the facts in the case yesterday, disclosing at his press conference the "why" of that Commando excursion, and of bombers in operation where they hadn't been recently:

(1) There were reports that U.S. pilots held in those prison stockyards were dying.

(2) The resumption of the bombing as noted was in retaliation for the shooting down of U.S. reconnaissance planes.

These were not acts of infamy—nor of escalation. They assuredly were not atrocities, but in every sense logical and justified; and the outrage would attach to any refusal to use whatever methods are necessary to protect America's fighting men.

There was heroism indeed on the part of the men who participated—a search and rescue mission which, though it failed of its purpose because the prisoners had been removed, would justify citation for the heroism it manifested.

There still are those in the Dove ranks who asperse every military action, every policy decision not—and properly—of their making . . . every peace step short of abject surrender.

Their continuing hysterical gripe gives aid and comfort to the enemy—those delegates dragging their feet at the Paris conference.

The administration is pursuing—but not blindly—the deescalation course. It is reducing the size of the American force in Vietnam and environs. It has reversed the trend of steady enlargement there, pursued by the two previous administrations from the moment of that commitment. Under President Nixon the war is being wound down. Properly he does not intend to leave the nation's military flanks unprotected during this withdrawal.

The concern also is for the maximum effort in behalf of U.S. prisoners of war.

Make no mistake about it, the constituency of this nation approves of both policies.

[From the Cincinnati (Ohio) Enquirer, Nov. 25, 1970]

ANOTHER OPPORTUNITY TO GET BURNED

In ordering last weekend's bombing raid in North Vietnam, as well as the attempt to rescue U.S. prisoners of war near Hanoi, President Nixon could safely have counted on two reactions.

The first was that the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong negotiators at the Paris peace talks would seize upon the attacks as a provocation to stall even further.

The second was that the virtual moratorium on congressional criticism of U.S. Vietnam policy would end.

Both developments have unfolded in the wake of the weekend attacks. In Paris, the chief of the North Vietnamese mission dramatically announced his intention to boycott the negotiating session scheduled for today. And in Washington, one after another of the Vietnam War's critics cited the attacks as a step toward re-escalating the war.

That such reactions were clearly predictable and that Mr. Nixon nonetheless chose to proceed with the air assaults can only mean that he and his military advisers deemed the bombings as indispensable to the success of the administration's blueprint for the phased withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam.

The attempted rescue was obviously a humanitarian effort to alleviate the plight of American prisoners in enemy hands.

The air attack came at a time when there was mounting evidence that the North Vietnamese were preparing for a major new assault on the South—despite the continuing withdrawal of U.S. forces and despite President Nixon's appeal for a standstill ceasefire.

There were indications, for one thing, that Hanoi had accumulated in its Southern provinces a stock of military supplies between 40% and 50% larger than its stockpiles of a year ago. These supplies would ultimately have moved down the Ho Chi Minh Trail into South Vietnam and Cambodia.

There was evidence, in addition, that the North Vietnamese had deployed roughly half of their military personnel outside their own frontiers.

These indications pointed unmistakably to a North Vietnamese plan to escalate the war. Given the nature of the U.S. commitment to continued U.S. withdrawals and to the war's Vietnamization, President Nixon would have been remiss in not using every resource at his command to frustrate Hanoi's purposes.

The air attacks become, in this light, somewhat comparable to last spring's strike against the enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia. Like the air attacks of the past weekend, the Cambodian operation was condemned as a widening of the war, as a scuttling of the Paris peace talks and as the death knell of a negotiated peace.

Yet the Cambodian critics have fallen strikingly silent as the operation itself has turned out to be precisely what it was intended to be—a limited offensive operation aimed at safeguarding U.S. forces and keeping the U.S. withdrawal program on target.

The critics of Cambodia were burned by their rashness to condemn. Those who rushed into print with their condemnations of last weekend's air assaults are running the same risks.

CONSUMERISM: A THREE-TOED SLOTH

**HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, with the interest in consumer affairs and consumer legislation of growing public importance, I would like to insert into the RECORD a speech delivered at the 61st Annual Meeting of the American Home Economics Association in Cleveland, last June, by Mary Jane Bostick, associate professor in the department of home economics at Wayne State University. Dr. Bostick calls for a more realistic attitude toward consumer affairs. The speech follows:

CONSUMERISM: A THREE-TOED SLOTH

(Delivered by Mrs. Mary Jane Bostick)

The consumer's rights, responsibilities and protection are a major concern to the businessman, the involved government agencies and the consumer himself. There is much

interest today in "the consumer" and the philosophy of consumer protection and education. Since recent economic surveys show that the average consumer will spend upwards of a quarter million dollars by the time he is 65, it is no wonder that he has been viewed and surveyed from all sides. No wonder he is that focal point of so many advertising campaigns, business ideas, and economic and political pressure groups. Nor is it just these groups that are giving attention to the consumer. Educational institutions and governmental agencies are equally interested in his movements, selections, ideas and reactions to new processes and technological change.

But then some questions need to be asked. Is all this apparent concern for consumers' welfare really for their good or is it merely a smoke screen to hide the real shallowness of concern that these organizations have for consumers? Why does the consumer feel such frustration when so many consumer aids and agencies are seemingly so interested in him?

Why is Caveat Emptor—let the buyer beware—still the rule rather than the exception? Does the consumer know his role in the economy? Is the consumer really king? Why does Senator Phil Hart issue a press release stating that \$30 out of each \$100 the consumer spends are wasted?

These questions and others form the basis of my theme for this talk today—Consumerism: A Three-Toed Sloth. By this I mean to suggest that all three main groups—government, businessmen and consumers—are taking self-serving positions instead of focusing on solving the annoying and often serious problems involved. Neither foot-dragging, accusations nor unenforced regulations will meet the issues or change the climate of today's marketplace.

Perhaps a capsule history of the consumer movement itself might give us all perspective. This is not a talk to incite or indict any one group but to explore attitudes and to suggest increased communication rather than blame. I would like to suggest some of the whys for the questioning attitudes of each group and then hope that prodded progress will result.

Too many segments of our society, even the government, seem to be more concerned with finding someone or some issue to blame rather than identifying the real causes of the problems and then communicating and cooperating to reduce or eliminate them.

The result therefore is more negative conflict—not positive progress. Such conflict only causes further dissension within industry, the consumer protection agencies and consumer activist groups at a time when it is critical for all to develop ways of better cooperation, greater satisfaction with goods and services, and coordination and unity to handle the many consumer and ecological problems facing all of us. Yes—all of us—for consumers are not separated. They are not apart from businessmen or government employees. These people are consumers as well, although one often wonders if they ever think like consumers in relation to their own spheres of action. Marlo Pel in his book *The Consumer's Manifesto* suggests, "Is not everyone a consumer? Of course, but in a good many cases the individual's interests as a producer, whether in the ranks of labor or those of capital and management, outweigh his interests as a consumer."

Modern day consumer impetus or concern in this country has had three major periods of thrust. Actually we're in the third period presently. The consumer movement began modestly in New York City with the Consumers' League of 1891 which expanded into the National Consumers' League in 1898. The 1930's again brought consumer concern forward and the 60's have certainly focused on the consumer vs. the marketplace. Each period, as Robert Hermann tells us in his short history *The Consumer Movement In*

*Historical Perspective*, has occurred during a period of rapid social change and economic dislocation. In each period, journalistic exposés highlighted the issues and hastened public awareness.

The late 1890's and early 1900's had Upton Sinclair's book *The Jungle* to nauseate the public and motivate Congress. It brought about the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906. The 30's saw the public's concern activated through Kallent and Schlink's book *100,000,000 Guinea Pigs* and resulted in the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act of 1938, replacing the less inclusive law of 1906.

Ralph Nader is today's spokesman. His book *Unsafe at Any Speed* keyed the issues, and his latest, just coming off the press, *The Chemical Feast* will open another section in Pandora's box.

In each era new awareness and new legislation or self-regulation came about because informed consumers worked with concerned legislators, galvanized public opinion and effected change.

They why—Consumerism: A Three-Toed Sloth? It is a basic truth that as long as people are gullible there will be people to take advantage of them.

As Oliver Cromwell said, "Subtlety may deceive you," and history shows us that consumer protection laws, of some form or other, existed as long ago as ancient Mosaic and Egyptian times. But the devising of new legal ways to get people's money or to circumvent regulations always seems to keep ahead of the activities of the law and consumer organizations. Consequently all of you who are among the more knowledgeable consumers have to become aware of this consumer who is being wooed and written about, and of the facts about protection, enforcement, self-regulation and the problems encountered. Thus you can be in the vanguard in seeking ways to educate all consumers to help themselves.

The triumvirate of consumer, business and government can be viewed as heroes, as villains or as victims depending upon one's point of view. Business, manufacturing, producer-retailer can be viewed as exploiters concerned only with profit or as the consumer's benevolent friend through the advances gained by manufacturing research and technology. Government agencies can be presented as the citizens' bulwark against exploitation or as the handmaidens of lobbyists, congressional pressure groups and business interest. In reality they are somewhere between the two; they are often just not listening.

What are these slothful situations and attitudes? Here in the U.S.A. we are generally supposed to have the most efficient and successful business operations in the world. Why is the collective consumer finger being pointed at them? Why has Mr. Nader singled out several of the most important and prominent firms for in-depth review of their products and consumer policies?

It appears that businessmen, the decision-makers and problem-solvers of our society too frequently when they see a problem work around it rather than solve or eliminate it. They really do not work out the bugs that bother or frustrate the consumer until they are forced to by unfavorable publicity, regulation or a drop in sales. Let us look at some examples.

Take product safety as a prime example. Styling and merchandising often conflict with safety. Here we only have to recall all the words written about automobile safety. But we do not too frequently think of poor insulation in ranges resulting in burns, or ranges with high ovens only, set so far off the floor that a small woman could easily dump hot fat all over herself while removing a roast. Why is something marketed that is known to have a potential for death such as some of the self-cleaning ovens with no warnings? And in this day of apartments and town houses why is there not a well put

together, well insulated apartment sized range with some of the work simplification features of the larger models? These, of course, are designed for the selling features so that the customer steps up to the next model. We are frequently told that it is the cost factors which prevent certain refinements. Is safety a refinement?

Often it is the design itself which makes a product unsafe. Or often it is just not thinking a product through all the uses or stresses to which it will be subjected. Or, is it just not caring? This latter attitude is most disastrous in children's toys. Please recall the cloth play tunnel marketed a little over a year ago, the cloth of which was inflammable. Should not the manufacturer warn the public of preventable hazards? Too often the businessman quotes the old saw, "The public doesn't read the instructions!" Have you ever tried to find Slot A into which Slot B should be fitted according to a diagram on Christmas Eve when the gas station just has to go together? Or have you attempted to wade through some of the care and use booklets accompanying many of our "labor-saving appliances"? Could it be that the instructions are ambiguous and the safety instructions unclear? Until recently the best known of industry-oriented safety labels, the Underwriters Laboratory Seal of Approval, did not cover fire hazards. Only recently have some "safe" baby auto seats been developed for sale. Does it take tragedy as in several drug incidents to have proper concern, control and, hopefully, self-regulation? In our local Detroit newspapers once a month are listed those retailers cited for short weight and other types of retail food violations.

*Consumer Reports* recently had an article on the missing and/or extra tea bags, bouillon cubes, chicken legs, giblets, etc. found in consumer packages. Also included were such items as mailing labels, paper plates and cups as well as antacid tablets. The message is clear. Even though in most instances industry did not wish to defraud, it is inaccurate. If the consumer wants full measure guaranteed, will he have to count everything?

At an international consumer meeting two years ago, a charming Swedish woman started her talk by asking, "Don't we all wear each other's clothes?" By this she meant that Americans or United Kingdom people wore clothes made in Austria, Canada, France, Italy or elsewhere as well as those made at home. By this she was indicating what many have been wanting for years—some international care symbols which could be used by all manufacturers of ready-made clothes and could be understood by all consumers regardless of language. This is difficult because our Centigrade and Fahrenheit temperature systems are different. But it is a need.

Some progress has been made through our textile labelling act. But where are the labels? Easy to find when needed or lost when the hang-tag is removed before wearing? Do they really give the consumer needed information for care and choice?

The British experiment with the "Tel-Tag" has aroused considerable attention and some American industries appear to have appreciated the message and are introducing their versions. One even uses the name "Tel-Tag." Large appliances have always presented the consumer with a problem when the need for service arises. Where is the name plate—on the back or the bottom? I recently had to help someone lift a portable microwave oven to find the model number and other information needed for a report.

The Association of Home Appliance Manufacturers has a committee of consumer-oriented people to study and advise them about appliance complaints and problems. A worthy step forward and I am sure there are others. But they are in the minority—not the majority. So you can see that industry must accept its share of the slothful approach to the consumer's plight.

One cannot leave this segment of the trivariate without mentioning the media and advertising. They, too, being business-oriented, often think of fees rather than citizen welfare. What responsibility do these groups have for the billion-dollar-a-year quackery cost? Do they promote dishonest retailers in their advertising policies? Should they not become more aware of the consumers' interests? When manufacturers face their responsibilities and go hand-in-hand with media much progress can be made in consumer understanding. TV is an especially powerful persuader. With power should come responsibility. Some advertisers have not yet matured.

One last question in this segment. What about the hidden price increases which often escape or confuse consumers such as the 15 1/2 oz. lb. that soon becomes 14 oz. or the look-like-a-quart bottle that is not?

At this point, I believe it only fair to focus on another segment of our group—government and other protective agencies, forever watchful, always concerned, consumer-oriented. Well, perhaps not always. Many laws that are not enforced appear to be totally for the consumer but are really, like the regulations under the jurisdiction of the FTC, more to prevent unfair competition.

Has government had too cooperative an attitude? Ralph Nader suggests such about FDA in his book *The Chemical Feast*. He cites the old but continuing situation of caffeine in cola drinks, sodium benzoate as a preservative, standards of identity, percentages of fat, additives, pesticides and sanitary regulations to mention just a few.

The Fair Packaging and Labelling Act was hailed as a milestone of consumer concern and protection by its Congressional promoters. But as too often happens, laws are passed by Congress with no money for mechanisms or personnel to enforce them. The FPLA has too few people assigned to its enforcement by the three agencies concerned—FDA, FTC, and Commerce—for it to be a truly meaningful consumer aid. FTC is just beginning a Consumer Protection Bureau for investigation and education related to the "truth-in-lending" law. But what about all the loop-holes such as when the interest is charged in consumer billing?

Enforcement seems to be a sometime thing—catch as catch can. Think of the food additive problems of this area of the country alone with mercury in fish. Is anything much being done with the radiation emission law for controlling radiation leaks in color TV's and microwave ovens?

The problem of toy safety has already been mentioned. Government needs to expand its staff, to review its standards and have the fortitude to say they are not adequate or they are not realistic or enforceable. But if the standards are adequate, government should have the courage and the wherewithal to enforce them.

Perhaps government needs to look at the whole picture of consumer protection in this rapidly developing technological economy and realize that bureaucracy as well as business must learn more about the consumer, his problems and how to inform and educate him.

Through the years I have worked with and appeared on programs with many hard-working and dedicated government personnel and it certainly should be stated that individual agencies and persons often have their hands tied by self-serving legislators and lobbyists. Should these politicians not also ask themselves the question, "Are we not consumers, too?" If they work for less restrictive laws or enforcement relative to their districts or their industries, in what way is someone breaching their consumer rights or protection? Is it lack of communication between government and industry, mistrust or just an "I really didn't see it that way" attitude?

Now this consumer who has been the victim of slothful business and government—is he slothful, too, or is he active and alert in protecting his interests? Let us say that so much of what is happening today is so subtle that people do not know what it is or what its effect is. For today's citizen, life has to be prettily packaged up for the freedom and convenience he wants. But this presents an information gap. Since he's more urban than rural, he has fewer built-in guides for judgment. He frequently has to take much on faith and hopes industry is playing fair and that government is protecting. But is he playing the game fairly, too, since he wants to be assured that the others are doing their jobs? The consumer voice through activist groups tells him he is being exploited. Frequently he is as in credit charges, holder-in-due-course provisions, games, poor quality and workmanship, safety factors, etc. The protection agencies tell him, "Relax, we're doing the job!" And industry says, "Of course we wouldn't gyp you!" With such a procedure it could get to be a game. But who writes the rules?

Not all business exploits. Ethical firms want their reputations to remain untarnished and retain the consumers' good will and through enlightened self-regulation usually do. But the consumer must also practice a sense of consumer responsibility if the game is to be fair. Or is he the third sloth?

First and foremost he should accept his responsibility as a citizen and become aware of the protection available and laws already in existence and demand their enforcement before asking for more. Political awareness would contribute to more responsible public servants as bureaucrats and politicians and the consumer would then inject a sense of validity to it all.

The consumer now must examine his own practices and habits and see what his contributions to the marketplace and society are. Does he realize how some of these contribute to the economy—especially the prices he has been complaining about? Business has a perfect right to cite his unethical practices such as: shoplifting, wearing and returning, mis-handling of products in the store, payment practices and myriads of others. Is his action responsible or considered when he could clearly read the label on products with cyclamates? Why does he condone the high use of hidden calories in carbonated beverages for his children in place of fruit juice for needed nutrition? Never has he paid so much for so little in his purchase of local foods and beverages. Has he educated himself in good consumer practices such as label reading, selection by grade and quality for use?

And what about the consumer's following of directions on goods purchased? Usually much concern has gone into preparing these directions which for some products are regulated by law. There are good regulations on frozen dinners or products such as frozen meat and poultry pies which have been developed for the consumer's protection against salmonella poisoning. The recent problem involving dried noodle soup although regrettable would not have caused anyone harm if the soup had been made according to directions. The organisms would have been killed.

When did you last check how you stored your poisonous products—medicines, kitchen chemicals or household and garden pesticides? Have you been concerned about industrial and societal pollution? What is your pollution index as a consumer? How do you stand on solid waste disposal—garbage, throwaway bottles, packaging, barbecue smoke, overdoses of pesticide in your garden? As you left the last meeting on environmental problems, did you light up, gun your engine and go back to see if your incinerator had completed its task?

So each one of us—industry, government and consumer—has been slothful in his ap-

proach to consumer issues. Concerned consumer groups are gathering strength and these changes are inevitable. These changes are not those computers can handle for they are changes in peoples' attitudes and hopes in relation to their expectations.

Industry needs to stop looking at the law as something to be circumvented but rather as something to protect the legitimate business. Home economists in business should think as consumers would and alert their companies to the concerns people have—in essence to be the company's consumer conscience. Home economists in general should respond politically to laws and law enforcement and teach concern for law and ethical business and consumer practices. Cooking and sewing alone will not meet the needs of today's society.

Communication and education then seem to be the step forward needed to overcome the inertia of sloth. The kind of cooperation needed is one that will integrate and respond constructively to consumer issues. Consumer information conferences are valid and valuable if those involved are truly interested in suggesting ways to cooperate and solve or reduce some of the problems. Consumers themselves can give evolutionary impetus by telling business how and when they have done a good job—not just complaining when it has failed. An example would be the usefulness of the new Tel-Tags on some appliances.

For as Abraham Lincoln said, "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done but cannot do at all or cannot do as well for themselves in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can do as well for themselves the government ought not to interfere."

So if industry prefers self-regulation it should regulate with a consumer conscience and consumers must operate in society and the marketplace with ethics and a sense of responsibility.

#### RESOLUTION TO ESTABLISH A SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE AGING

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 7, 1970

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to congratulate the gentleman from Arkansas on his compassion, dedication, and insight into a shameful situation which exists in American society today. Pearl Buck once said that you can judge a civilization by the way it treats its helpless. I do not believe we would like to be judged by the way we treat the elderly of our society. The gentleman from Arkansas has come forth with a resolution to create a Select Committee on the Aging which could go a long way toward civilizing us.

The plight of the aged in America has become more serious over the years, a paradox when one considers the progress this country has made in other areas. But it is a paradox easy to explain—early retirement, more leisure, longer life, rising rents, higher food bills, exorbitant medical costs, and mobility on the part of younger family members. Unfortunately, longer life often means higher

bills and more and more solitude. We can do better than this and we must.

It is unnecessary to document individual cases of the hardships caused by inflation and neglect. The gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. PRYOR) has already painted a gruesome picture. Instead, I ask the Members of this body to remember each day we meet here in Congress, we grow a day older. I solicit your wholehearted endorsement of the gentleman from Arkansas' resolution.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE LATE JOSEPH TOMASCIK OF WILKES-BARRE, PA.

### HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the community of leadership of Luzerne County, Pa., lost a noble servant in recent weeks with the death of Attorney Joseph Tomascik, of Wilkes-Barre, a former State legislator, delegate to the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention, distinguished member of the bar, educator, and true Christian gentleman. For me, his untimely passing was more than a loss to our community, it was one of long personal friendship.

An obituary which appeared in the Falcon, the official publication of the Catholic Slovak Sokol, perhaps best portrays the exemplary life he led, and the excellent tribute which was paid on his death.

#### THROUGHS ATTEND FUNERAL OF ATTORNEY JOSEPH G. TOMASCIK IN WILKES-BARRE, PA.

The funeral services were held on Saturday, October 3, 1970, of Hon. Joseph G. Tomascik, former member of the State Legislature, who suffered a fatal heart attack on September 30th in his study at 59 S. Washington St. He resided at 628 N. Franklin St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Born in Wilkes-Barre, Mr. Tomascik was a graduate of Sacred Heart Slovak School, Coughlin High School, Cornell University, Dickinson Law School, New York University, George Washington University, American University and Scranton University, having earned degrees of AB, MA, MS, LL.B., and LL.M.

A State representative from 1960 to 1962, he served as a Workmen's Compensation referee from 1958 to 1960. He also was a special state Deputy Attorney General, 1956-57; special assistant Attorney General, 1957-58; assistant District Attorney, 1961, and delegate to the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention, 1967-68.

Attorney Tomascik was active in Rotary, serving as governor of District 741, secretary and conference chairman. He was a member of Wilkes-Barre Rotary Club and had served as a director, vice president and president.

He was a director of Wyoming Valley Crippled Children's Association and Wilkes-Barre Chapter, National Foundation of March of Dimes, also serving as campaign chairman in 1966 and 1967.

In addition, he was an active worker for the United Fund, American Red Cross, Heart Association and Cancer Society. He was a member and former officer of the Elks, Moose, the Slovak Catholic Sokol and other Slovak and Slavonic organizations.

He was admitted to Pennsylvania, District of Columbia and United States Su-

preme Court Bars. From 1948 to 1952, he was an assistant professor of government and history at King's College.

Attorney Tomascik was a member of Sacred Heart Church, N. Main St. His law office was located in the Blue Cross Building, 15 S. Franklin Street.

Surviving are sisters, Anna, Marion and Margaret, all at home. Helen, executive secretary to Congressman Daniel J. Flood, Washington, D.C., and a brother, Matthew, Wilkes-Barre.

The funeral was held from the Morris funeral home, 625 N. Main St., Sat., Oct. 3, 1970.

#### FATHER BERNAT CELEBRATES MASS

A Solemn High Mass of Requiem was celebrated on Saturday, October 3, in Sacred Heart Church, North Main St., by Rev. Michael C. Bernat, Deacon was Rev. Francis J. Beeda and sub-deacon, Rev. Jude Smith, O.F.M. Master of ceremonies was Rev. Vincent Grimalta. Homily was delivered by Rev. Clement Podskoch, C.S.C.

Seated in the sanctuary were Msgrs. Stephen Yanchuska, J. J. Podkul, William Burchill and Francis A. Costello along with Rev. Lane D. Kilburn, CSC; Rev. George Matircho, Rev. Alcuin Shields, O.F.M., Rev. E. J. Gerrity, Rev. Arnold Walters, O.F.M., Rev. John J. Dzurko, Rev. Clement L. Kazlauskas, CSC, Rev. Francis Zolcinski, Rev. John Balberchak and Rev. Stephen Yaneka.

A large delegation of Sisters of SS. Cyril and Methodius, Danville, Pa., attended the Mass.

Interment was in St. Mary's Cemetery, Hanover Township, where benediction was pronounced by Rev. Francis J. Beeda, Msgr. Francis A. Costello and Rev. George Matircho.

Pallbearers were: Elliot Katuna, Jacob Elko, Gail Young, Joseph Stryjak, Daniel Stadulis, Michael Elko, Edward Stryjak and Thomas McAndrew Jr.

Honorary pallbearers were: Congressman Daniel J. Flood, Judge John J. Sirotnak, Congressman Fred Rooney, Hon. Edward W. Lapatto, Hon. Richard L. Bigelow, Judge Bernard C. Brominski, Judge Robert J. Hourigan, Hon. Peter Paul Olszewski, Hon. Benjamin R. Jones, Hon. Milton Shapp, Andrew Puhak, Esq., Al. J. Kane, Esq., Dr. Rev. Jule Ayers, George Anthony, Dr. Ellis Roberts, Rep. William T. Bachban, Rep. Stanley Mehoichik, Rep. James Musto, Rep. Frad Shupnik, Rep. Bernard J. O'Brien, Senator Martin L. Murray, Arthur Silverblatt, Esq., J. Earl Langan, Esq., Robert F. Dilley, Esq., and Michael Lewis, Esq.

Also, Rep. Frank J. O'Connell, Rep. Francis J. Worley, Hon. Edmund C. Wideman, Jr., Hon. Frank Crossin, Joseph B. Farrell, Esq., James Lenahan Brown, Esq., Francis P. Burns, Esq., Thomas J. Glenn Jr., Esq., Frank Slattery, Esq., Julius Altman, Esq., Arthur D. Dalessandro, Esq., John W. McCormick, Esq., William Murphy, Esq., Dr. Raj Chopra, Dr. Nicholas D. Mauriello, Senator Harold Flack, Emil Wagner, Dr. Hamilton R. Young, John D. Check, William Siskovich, John Metzko, Charles Portale, Cyril Bosak, Desider Bolchak, Walter Serbring and James J. Law.

Also, Mayor John McGlynn, Mayor William Loftus, Major Edward Burns, William Curwood, Bernard Podcasy, Esq., Frank C. Castellino, Senator T. Newell Wood, Floyd Yoskowsky, Esq., Dr. Robert J. Alexander, Louis Shaffer, Esq., Alexander Laffey, Esq., Edward Popil, Harry Gerstein, Thomas O'Donnell, Esq., Raymond Sobota, Esq., Olin Morris, Tony Dylo, Dr. G. Mitra, Hon. Con McCole, Michael Kaminski, George Kaminski, John Bush, Franklin D. Coslett, John J. Yarrish, Dr. I. E. Rosenberg, Dr. George Lopatufsky, Aubrey Price, Dr. Robert Clements, Dr. Joseph Kocyan, Blythe Evans, Esq., George Yencha, Joe Simone, Joseph Roarty, Joseph X. Lokuta, John Adamchak, Leo Mohen, Frank Gramazio, William Fahey, Esq., George Yanik, John Ruddy, Dr. Michael Hydock,

Frank Faye, Joseph Calore, Andrew Garber and John Elko.

#### FATHER CLEMENT PODSKOCH PREACHES

People from all walks of life attended the funeral. It was a great shock to the entire valley.

Father Podskoch in his homily said that Joe, as he was popularly known, meant a lot to so many people. When he taught political science and history at Kings College about 21 years ago, the students looked forward to his class because he had such a wealth of information to give them. Father Podskoch said that Joe challenged them to get involved in the matters of local, state and federal government which many later did.

Father Bernat, his close friend was emotionally moved and could not preach, so he asked Father Clement Podskoch, who was Joe's student 21 years ago. Father Podskoch said that he gave himself to others. Even many men cried during the services.

Rev. Jule Ayers, a prominent Protestant minister, a close friend of Joe's, was among the honorary pallbearers. Father Podskoch concluded his homily by saying: "Happy birthday, Joseph and a Rebirth in Heaven." It surely was food for thought and everyone attending the services went away feeling that what Father Podskoch said, was so true.

May he rest in peace! We express our deep sympathy to the bereaved family.

#### CONGRESSMAN FLOOD PAYS TRIBUTE TO

ATTORNEY J. G. TOMASCIK

Congressman Daniel J. Flood issued the following statement concerning the death of Attorney Joseph G. Tomascik, who passed away on September 30, 1970 at his home, 59 South Washington St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

"Our community and myself, personally, have fallen victim to the mortality of man.

"Joe Tomascik, my good and trusted ally, was indeed a pentecostal man who made greater all the people of our community with his multi-lingual communications.

"Joe was a legislator, a lawyer, an educator, and a community leader. Joe was a member of a distinguished family which always thought of neighbors first.

"Mrs. Flood and I extend our sympathy and that of all the people of my Congressional District to his sisters, Anna, Margaret, Marian, and my faithful executive secretary, Helen."

Mr. Speaker, Attorney Joe Tomascik was a literary man in every sense and it was only fitting that one of the most prominent newspapers in my district, the Sunday Independent of Wilkes-Barre, deemed the occasion of his passing as worthy of this tribute; in an editorial captioned "Attorney Tomascik":

Wyoming Valley lost one of its most tireless workers for progress and modernization last week with the passing of Atty. Joseph G. Tomascik.

His positions in public service work were so many they can't even be listed here. But he served as a State Representative and also as a delegate to the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention, just two of many such positions.

Attorney Tomascik was one of those very few people who always found the time, or made time, to do work or assume volunteer jobs when his services were sought.

In his chosen profession, law, there was no more respected lawyer, anywhere. Atty. Joseph G. Tomascik was a truly fine human being. Wyoming Valley has been lucky he chose to accomplish all that he did here for us.

Mr. Speaker, among the hundreds of tributes paid Joseph Tomascik was the one, perhaps if he could be with us today, of which he would be most proud. The Pennsylvania House of Representatives,

upon motion of the six members from Luzerne County, in a special resolution recently cited his role as a constitutional convention delegate, as well as esteemed position as a civic leader.

Thank you.

#### KEEPING INFORMED OF THE RISING SOVIET MILITARY MIGHT

### HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, in my view the American Security Council has been doing an excellent job of keeping the American public informed of rising Soviet military might.

Several international authorities now concede that the Soviet Union may indeed be ahead of the United States in some categories of weaponry. This ominous development has been obscured by the conflict in Vietnam.

As a part of their educational program, the American Security Council issued what they called "Operation Alert" to stress the serious decay in the strategic military balance between the United States and the U.S.S.R. Following this "Operation Alert—Interim Report" was released by that organization on November 16, 1970. I commend its contents to the attention of my colleagues:

#### OPERATION ALERT—INTERIM REPORT

Phase II of the Operation Alert educational program will soon be completed.

The overall purpose of Operation Alert is to educate the general public concerning the growing seriousness of national security problems. Special emphasis is being given to the changing strategic military balance between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

This was, and is, badly needed because the United States has become second best in both numbers and megatonnage of strategic missiles while the attention of the general public has been directed toward other problems.

As Stewart Alsop put it in his October 5 *Newsweek* column:

"The Soviet Union has been behaving, in fact, as though the true balance of power has shifted sharply in its favor. And that is, of course, precisely what has happened. As presidential advisor, Henry Kissinger, has repeatedly pointed out 'The strategic balance has altered.' Whereas in 1962, the U.S. held a decisive advantage in nuclear-strategic weapons, now the advantage lies with the Soviet Union.

"This shift in the power balance is a central reality of our situation. As far as the politicians are concerned, it might as well not exist. . . .

"In other days when John F. Kennedy was running for President, for example—the shift in the balance of power . . . would have been a dominant political issue."

Mr. Alsop was, of course, entirely correct. The strategic balance was not a political issue at the beginning of October. However, by the end of October, it was getting much more attention.

By October 28, The Washington Evening Star ran a story with the four-column headline, Weapons Gap Is Election Issue. In this story staff writer Orr Kelly reported that:

"The strategic balance between the United States and the Soviet Union has emerged as an issue in the forthcoming elections in a manner somewhat reminiscent of the "missile gap" controversy of 1960.

"The issue was raised in a red, white, and blue pamphlet being mailed to between 1.5 and 2 million persons by the American Security Council, a private group which keeps close check on defense matters. The Council charges that the U.S. is now number 2 in strategic military power, supports the charge with a chart of the strategic military balance and rates all the members of Congress on the basis of a National Security Index."

The day before Orr Kelly's column, Vice President Agnew had spoken on national security and the elections at the Navy League annual dinner in New York City. In this October 27 speech, the Vice President reported that:

"The Soviets are now spending 17 to 18 billion dollars a year for strategic offensive and defensive forces, while we are spending between 7 and 8 billion."

The Vice President expressed concern about the members of Congress who are "so viscerally antagonistic toward the whole defense complex. . . ."

He explained the basis for his concern in this manner:

"If, as is entirely possible, it should become necessary to augment our defense rather than cutting it further—if, therefore, we should be obliged to request more billions of dollars and a rapid step-up in the quality and numbers of major weapons systems—and if all these people should remain in the decision-making positions of the United States Senate, then God save our Republic, because such a program in the present climate in the Senate would surely fail."

In this speech, Vice President Agnew favorably contrasted the "efforts of the American Security Council—a Council that stands behind the President's efforts to keep America strong" with the activities of the "unilateral disarmament lobby."

Since the election, both President Nixon and Vice President Agnew have expressed satisfaction with the election results because the voters had given the administration a working majority in the Senate on national security and foreign policy issues.

A comparison of the election results with our National Security Index of Congressional voting records confirms this view. President Nixon now has the opportunity to ask for a really adequate defense with a reasonable expectation that Congress will respond favorably.

#### PHASE I—RESEARCH

The Operation Alert report was developed at the end of Phase I—the research phase—of the program and consisted of:

1. An analysis of the current strategic military balance between the United States and the U.S.S.R. The extensive research involved was a continuation of the work done in developing the strategic balance reports published by the American Security Council Press in 1967, 1968, and 1969.

2. The results of the 1970 National Security Issues Poll which involved 115,599 participants. These participants represented a wide range of domestic political viewpoint including, for example, those who contributed \$50 or more to Senator Eugene McCarthy's 1968 campaign.

It also included the results of straw polls conducted by 203 newspapers.

3. A comparison of the National Security Issues Poll results with the national security voting records of each member of Congress. The resulting National Security Index was unique in the vote-rating field because it was based on the Poll results rather than on American Security Council positions.

It is important to note that the report listed the key national security roll call votes of each member of Congress so that voters might also make their own ratings.

#### PHASE II—EDUCATION

Phase II of the Operation Alert educational program began when the American

Security Council Press published the Operation Alert report on September 23, 1970.

About 2,500,000 copies of the Operation Alert report have now been distributed.

Full page ads promoting the distribution of the report have appeared in well over 100 newspapers across the country, including The New York Times, The Washington Evening Star, The St. Louis Globe-Democrat, and The Los Angeles Times.

Key editors of every daily newspaper in America received copies of the Operation Alert report and a large percentage of them wrote editorials or columns concerning Operation Alert.

It received nationwide news coverage when it was released and received increasing coverage as the elections neared. For example, from Monday to Friday of the week before the elections, there was a major news story on Operation Alert in one or both of the major Washington, D.C. newspapers every day.

#### A BI-PARTISAN EDUCATIONAL EFFORT

In line with the bi-partisan educational purposes of Operation Alert:

1. Candidates of both the Republican and Democratic parties asked for and distributed approximately 350,000 Operation Alert reports.

2. The Operation Alert program neither supported nor opposed any candidates. So, candidates with National Security Indexes ranging from "0" to "100" distributed the report. Candidates who were running on a "new priorities" platform considered a "0" rating to be the equivalent of a "100" rating in the eyes of the voters they were trying to reach.

3. Lists used for the invitations to serve on the Operation Alert Board were broadbased. For example, at least three U.S. Senators who scored a "0" on the National Security Index were invited to serve. Two-Senator William Proxmire and Senator Mark O. Hatfield—accepted.

Their membership is appropriate because we do have a common interest in peace, in generating discussion on national security issues, and in better informing voters on these issues. We do have differences as to the urgency of some of these issues and as to how they can best be handled. However, we are proud to have their participation—and of several others with similar views—because it is an important factor in making this an all-American rather than a partisan approach to education concerning national security problems.

4. Several newspapers ran the ad on a public service basis.

5. Since the ad is primarily focused on the facts concerning our strategic posture, some newspapers are running the ad after the elections. Similarly, one magazine is planning to insert the Operation Alert report in its next issue. Some organizations are just beginning to distribute the report.

#### PHASE III—BROADEN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM THROUGH COOPERATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

As Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird told the NATO defense ministers at the end of October, the U.S.S.R. has increased its land based ICBM force to 1400 (while the U.S. has remained static at 1054 for more than three years).

Since our relative strength continues to decline, a much larger educational effort must be mounted to alert the American people to the seriousness of the situation. This need is the greater because the disarmament lobby has been waging a major campaign to lull the American people into believing that the United States is so far ahead in military strength that we can cut back the defense budget without risk.

The same need for education exists for the full range of national security problems including foreign policy and internal security matters.

The educational institutions and voluntary associations of America together can

do much more than they have toward educating the general public regarding national security and foreign policy issues.

Accordingly, we are now planning the formation of local councils or committees as the means through which organizations and institutions representing all segments of society can work together to improve public understanding of national security issues and to encourage responsible citizenship.

Our pilot council, the Missouri Council on National Security, is headed by Democratic Governor Warren E. Hearnes as Honorary Chairman, Congressman Richard H. Ichord, Chairman of the U.S. House Internal Security Committee, is Chairman of the Advisory Board. The Executive Committee includes other outstanding Missourians of both political parties, newspaper publishers, radio and TV station managers (including network VPs), labor, business, religious and civic leaders. It also includes the chief executives of state-wide membership organizations such as the Missouri Teachers Association, the Missouri Department of the American Legion and the Missouri State Chamber of Commerce.

We are now inviting our 258 cooperating colleges and universities and 189 cooperating organizations to give us further advice on how we can most effectively implement this multi-institution effort on a nationwide basis.

#### UNITED PROFESSORS FOR ACADEMIC ORDER

HON. DONALD E. LUKENS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, recently the newsletter of the new organization, University Professors for Academic Order, came to my attention. This group was formed by Professors Z. Michael Szaz, William H. Roberts, and Charles A. Moser on July 3, 1970, in order to counteract the increasing disruption of learning and the many riots on our campuses and to protect the academic and economic interests of concerned professors at our universities and colleges.

Although the group did not have the benefit of any Federal or State finances, they grew in 5 months to more than 600 members at 280 campuses and in 44 States of the Nation. These men expect the membership to reach the 1,000 mark by the end of January.

On January 30-31, 1971, UPAO will hold its first national conference in Washington, D.C., at which time their views will be expressed. These views will be presented in resolutions regarding the basic issues confronting American college and university education and administration.

The founders of the University Professors for Academic Order are known as excellent scholars and good American patriots who have been in the forefront in the struggle against anarchy, terrorism, and other real dangers threatening the academic society and our great university systems. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD the following material from their December 1970 newsletter, *Universitas*:

#### THE SPECIFIC PURPOSE OF UPAO

(By William H. Roberts, Professor of International Law and Relations, The Catholic University of America)

In the course of the last twenty to twenty-five years, many of our universities and colleges have either newly organized or developed already existing departments and divisions which have tended to stress essentially narrow vocation training. In many cases, this trend has been hidden behind the gloss of a thin layer of superficial academic teaching. Although inter-disciplinary advanced research is certainly called for in many areas of knowledge, interdepartmental studies have frequently had a narrowing rather than a broadening effect on our students. At the same time, our universities have increasingly tended to change their character by emphasizing their "service" that is primarily their supposed leadership in political and/or social planning and engineering. UPAO considers it to be one of its principal tasks to restore the integrity of academic personnel by having the members of the profession devote their efforts and time again primarily to the principal objectives of American higher education, namely, academic teaching, research and scholarship.

The academic profession has also suffered from the fact that college education and, at a later date, graduate and professional education, have been put on a mass-education basis. This has not only led to the present financial crisis, but also to an academically unwarranted faculty-student ratio. In turn, the increasing quantitative burden of the individual faculty member had to lead to a deterioration of quality in teaching, research and scholarship. The worsening financial situation, which is partly due to the shift to mass education, kept faculty salaries far below those of other professions and the steadily increasing cost of living. This situation forced many members of the academic profession to look for additional extra-academic income with the result that their outside activities kept them from concentrating on their principal academic tasks.

It seems that an improvement of the presently existing situation depends basically on two factors. First, the establishment of faculty-student ratios in colleges, graduate and professional schools which provide again an opportunity for effective academic teaching under conditions which give the faculty member sufficient time for productive research and scholarship. Second, an improvement in the economic situation of the profession, namely, faculty salaries which provide for an adequate standard of living and, eventually, adequate retirement annuities.

One of the contributing factors in undermining the integrity of the academic profession has been the ever-increasing trend to "politicize" the personnel policy—and, thereby, the teaching and primarily the politico-social research output—of our institutions of higher education. All of us are aware of the principal symptoms of this "politicization," namely, the *de facto* institutionalization of selective hiring, firing, and tenure policies which are frequently linked to extra-academic criteria. Specifically, in all too many cases the positive or negative application of these policies has come to depend on the willingness of the prospective or already appointed faculty member to participate actively, or to accept at least passively, the trends which attempt to change the very character and the traditional mission of American universities. In other words, the faculty member's professional future is made to depend on his active or passive acceptance of the attempted transformation of our universities into either full- or part-time indoctrination centers which serve various causes of political and/or social activism.

These policies have had several effects, namely, first, essential changes in the legitimate ideas and concepts of academic freedom. Secondly, they also had wittingly or unwittingly the effect of lowering the public policy and academic standards, rules, norms and procedures which are necessary to maintain and promote academic freedom. It is one of the specific purposes of UPAO to foster amongst its members a renewed and deeper understanding of the legitimate concepts of academic freedom and of procedures which are necessary and adequate for their protection and maintenance.

UPAO also considers it to be one of its principal purposes to revive the ideas on which the mission of American education has been traditionally based. Clearly, all these purposes of UPAO lead beyond the narrower scope of academic interests to issues of public interests, and to a deeper understanding of the fact that a healthy and sound structure of American higher education is essential for the maintenance and protection of our governmental and social order which includes the national security of the United States.

If we turn now to problems of the governance of our universities, we find that its structure has suffered and has been undermined by the very same developments to which we have already referred. However, we find in this connection an additional contributory cause, namely, the completely unwarranted inflation of purely administrative personnel which is grossly overpaid as compared to the average compensation received by faculty members. The apologists of an over-inflated academic bureaucracy attempt to explain this trend by referring back to the newly discovered "service" character of our universities. However, the most important impact of the new bureaucracy makes itself felt in academic policy-making which has traditionally been entrusted to faculties, to a few top-level administrators and to trustees. It has now shifted to a new and anonymous academic bureaucracy which surrounds the top administrators. Although this bureaucracy has no organic connection with the mission of American higher and professional education, it has, in fact, become one of the power centers of academic policy-making. Since the bureaucracy does the staff work, the average top administrator, board of trustees and, certainly, the average faculty come to accept the alternatives offered to them if, indeed, they are offered any alternatives for making their basic decisions.

In the August 1970 issue of its newsletter, UPAO has outlined an initial committee structure through which it intends to activate and promote its purposes. This committee structure involves, on the one hand, a representative cross-section of the UPAO membership. On the other hand, the committees by their contracts with faculties, top administrators, trustees, accreditation agencies, and appropriate agencies of the Federal and States governments will be the principal vehicles through which our purposes will be turned into concrete action.

In conclusion, this article is but an elaboration of the UPAO purposes and objectives which have been stated in terse legal terminology in our Articles of Incorporation and in our bylaws.

#### CHAPTER NEWS

The *University of Bridgeport* chapter held its first formal meeting on November 18, 1970. About twenty-five faculty members attended. Professor Victor C. Swain presided and our regional director, Professor Justus van der Kroef was also present. The speaker was the national president, Dr. Z. Michael Szaz, who emphasized the return to nonpoliticization and quality education as the twin aims of UPAO in the academe. As the other major aim, he mentioned the protection of

nonradical professors in regard to academic freedom, tenure and other professional and economic fields.

As mentioned in the previous issue, the *University of Puget Sound* held its first formal meeting in order to organize a chapter on November 5, 1970. Professor Gary Peterson presided and a chapter was officially formed.

The *Madison College* chapter held its second meeting on November 18, 1970. It agreed to emphasize three points in its statements: 1. a definition of academic freedom in all its aspects; 2. means for retaining the competition of ideas and encouraging a representation of a spectrum of viewpoints on college campuses; 3. faculty ethics in relation to academic freedom and order. Professor Robert Lisle, Department of Classics, was elected chapter president as Professor Henry Myers had, in the meantime, been appointed UPAO state director for Virginia. The next meeting will be held on December 9.

The *Youngstown State University* chapter, which already has 22 paid-up members, held its formal meeting on November 24, 1970. Professor William O. Swan, Chairman, Department of Education, presided as campus representative, and UPAO regional director, Professor Robert E. Ward, was also present. The speaker was the national president, Dr. Z. Michael Szaz, who informed the meeting of the activities of the national office. The next meeting of the chapter has been set for December 4. Dr. Szaz, through the efforts of the chapter, also appeared on the Danny Jones TV talk show on November 25, 1970 on Channel 33 (ABC) and was interviewed by all three local TV stations (ABC, NBC and CBS). He was also the featured guest on the Don Russell Show (three hours' duration) on WFMJ-AM on November 25 and on a similar show by Dan Reilly on the morning of November 27 at WBBW-AM radio.

The *University of Florida* (Gainesville) chapter is being organized and after their preliminary meeting on November 9 they approached the president of the University to ensure his good will before calling the first formal meeting. Professor Thomas O. Neff is acting as our representative.

A meeting of the *University of Southern California* chapter has been held early in November. Details will be reported as received.

The *University of Arkansas* (Fayetteville) chapter held its preliminary organizational meeting on November 24, 1971. Professor George P. Smith II from the Law School presided.

The *Fairleigh Dickinson University* chapter held two meetings, on October 28 and November 3, 1970. At the first meeting, the national president, Dr. Z. Michael Szaz, spoke on the purposes of UPAO. Dean Byron C. Lambert from the Rutherford campus presided, and UPAO regional director Dean Heinz Mackensen from the Teaneck campus was also present.

At *Catonville Community College*, the first organizational meeting of UPAO took place on November 16, 1970. The national president, Dr. Z. Michael Szaz, spoke of the objectives of UPAO. Prof. John Z. Levay, Department of Psychology, presided as campus representative. Another meeting was set for early December to elect officers.

#### STATE AND REGIONAL NEWS

All State and Regional Directors have been asked to prepare for the election of representatives to the national meeting as prescribed in the Bylaws. Members will hear from them in areas where there are no chapters, or from their own chapter chairmen where a chapter already exists. There will be a representative for every ten members in the organization or fraction thereof in excess of ten.

A meeting of the campus representatives in the state of *Colorado* was held on November 17 in Denver, Colorado. It was called by regional director Professor William Stickler. The meeting agreed to emphasize the need for law and order with justice on the campus and the need for the academe to be non-political. It also handled organizational details. Five universities and colleges were represented.

#### APPOINTMENT OF REGIONAL DIRECTORS

The Board of Directors, meeting on November 1, appointed the following members as Regional Directors. Region I (New York and New England): Professor Justus van der Kroef, University of Bridgeport; Region II (Mid-Atlantic States and Virginia): Professor William H. Roberts, Catholic University of America; Region III (Southeastern U.S.): Professor Alfred Mills, University of Miami; Region IV (Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, West Virginia):

Professor Robert E. Ward, Youngstown State University; Region V (North Central States and Missouri and Kansas): Professor William Fleming, Ripon College; Region VI (Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma): Professor Paul Hendershot, University of Mississippi; Region VII (Mountain States): Professor William Stickler, University of Denver; Region VIII (California, Arizona, Hawaii, Alaska): Professor Harold Koontz, University of California at Los Angeles.

#### APPOINTMENT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE AND ITS MEETING

The Board of Directors, meeting on November 1, appointed the members of the Nominating Committee at the recommendation of the president. The chairman of the Nominating Committee is Professor John Fawcett, University of Mississippi, representing Region VI. Other members are: Professor Heinz Mackensen, Fairleigh Dickinson University; Professor Walter Jacobs, University of Maryland; Professor Richard Kreske, University of Miami; Professor George Overby, Youngstown State University; Professor Jerzy Hauptmann, Park College; Professor Libor Brom, University of Denver and Professor William Caldwell, University of Southern California. The Committee met at 3:00 P.M. on Saturday, November 21, by means of a telephone conference call for almost an hour. Professor Eliseo Vivas, Rockford College, Professor emeritus from Northwestern University, was nominated for President; Professors William H. Roberts, The Catholic University of America, and Charles A. Moser, George Washington University, for Vice President; and Dr. Z. Michael Szaz for Executive Director. Also nominated were three members of the Board of Directors for each of the eight regions. The slate of nominated officers and board members will be sent to the membership by January 3, 1971, in accordance with Bylaw provisions together with any nominations received under alternative procedures stated in the Bylaws, if any.

#### APPOINTMENT OF STATE DIRECTORS

The Board of Directors, meeting on November 1, also appointed a number of state directors. The list is as follows:

*Alabama*: Professor Herbert A. McCullough, Head, Department of Biology, Samford University, Birmingham, Alabama.

*Arizona*: Professor J. W. Stull, Department of Dairy and Food Sciences, University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz.

*Colorado*: Professor Roy Colby, Department of Modern Languages, University of Northern Colorado, Greeley, Colorado.

*Illinois*: Professor Donald L. Kemmerer, Department of Economics, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

*Ohio*: Professor Keith McKean, Department of Religious Education, Youngstown State University, Youngstown, Ohio.

*Virginia*: Professor Henry Myers, Department of Political Science, Madison College, Harrisonburg, Virginia.

#### APPOINTMENT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND TENURE

The Board of Directors, meeting on November 1, also appointed the permanent Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure. Its chairman (until January 31) will be Professor Eliseo Vivas, Rockford College. The following members were appointed as members of the Committee: Professor David Guinn, Baylor University; Professor O. Carlos Stoetzer, Fordham University; Professor Donald Kemmerer, University of Illinois; Professor Mary Susan Power, Arkansas State University; Professor Theodore Perros, George Washington University; and Professor Alastair McCrone, University of the Pacific.

#### APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN FOR THE NATIONAL MEETING

The Board of Directors' meeting on November 21 appointed the following members as national meeting chairmen of committees: Professor George P. Smith II, Committee on Academic Government; Professor Robert E. Ward, Committee on Accreditation; Professor Jerzy Hauptmann, Committee on University Teaching and Research; Professor Walter Jacobs, Committee on Professional and Economic Interests and Professor Mark A. Graubard, Higher Education and Federal and State Governments Committee.

#### NEWS ON THE FORTHCOMING NATIONAL MEETING

The meeting will start at 10:00 A.M. on Saturday, January 30, 1971 at the Hotel Embassy Row with a report of the outgoing President and the installation of the new President and officers. Afterwards, the plenary session will be recessed, and the afternoon will be reserved for committee meetings. There will be a reception and a dinner with a prominent speaker Saturday night. Sunday morning is reserved for religious observances and the plenary session will be resumed at 1:00 P.M. to hear committee reports and resolutions. There will be a meeting of the new Board of Directors following the end of the plenary session. For reservations and further details, please contact our national office, 3216 New Mexico Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

#### ATTENTION! PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS

In order to vote for chapter, city state or regional representatives, or in order to become a candidate for the above offices, you must have paid your dues by *December 18, 1970*, which means that they must be in the mail by *December 15, 1970*.

Attention! We welcome articles, news items and other contributions from our membership for the coming issues of *UNIVERSITAS*. All such material must be original, however.

#### CENTER OF AMERICAN LIVING CONFERENCE

Charles A. Moser, national secretary of UPAO, represented the organization and spoke briefly at a session on Anarchy on the Campus of the Emergency Leadership Conference at New York's Hotel Biltmore on November 17. The meeting was sponsored by the Center of American Living, Inc., under the chairmanship of Lady Malcolm Douglas-Hamilton. Dr. John Howard, president of Rockford College, presented the main address; Professor Howard Adelson of CCNY spoke on behalf of University Centers for Rational Alternatives. Representatives of many national organizations at the Leadership Conference were presented with concrete suggestions to combat problems of drugs, organized crime, pollution and pornography, in addition to campus anarchy.

## BREAKDOWN IN OUR SYSTEM OF DEFENSE

### HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, once again a diligent and dedicated newsman has called attention to a breakdown in our system of defense.

On this occasion it is Mr. Ted Lewis of the Daily News of New York City. Mr. Lewis, in his column Capitol Stuff appearing in the December 8 edition of the News, spells out clearly and strongly the inadequacy of our Federal Government communications system.

Is this inadequacy caused by indifference or stupidity? The answer to the question should be sought immediately by the Armed Services Committees of the two bodies of Congress.

And, in obtaining the answer, members of the committees should force the Department of Defense, and all other agencies of Government to take prompt steps to correct the situation set forth by Mr. Lewis.

I do not expect it will take the enactment of laws to bring about correction. Just some knocking of executive department heads together to rouse the responsible people from their slumbers and get them to work in setting up a reliable and foolproof communications system.

Mr. Lewis' column follows:

#### COMMUNICATIONS STILL FOULED UP 29 YEARS LATER

(By Ted Lewis)

WASHINGTON, December 7.—The reports released by the White House today showing the communications snafus in the Soviet defector incident off Martha's Vineyard raise a question of far greater importance to national security than a muffed chance to free one man seeking asylum.

The question should be put angrily: Why in hell should a government establishment with the best communications system in the world remain fouled up so that 29 years after Pearl Harbor it still operates in this horrible bureaucratic malfunctioning way?

Consider this inquiry in its dimensions as it relates to the nuclear war threat. As President Nixon said in mid-1969, "When a war can be decided in 20 minutes, the nation that is behind will have no time to catch up."

The nation that is behind has to be the nation with a communications and intelligence system that is unable to get the facts through to the proper command posts in time.

Yet that lesson should have been learned in the series of investigations into the Pearl Harbor sneak attack of 29 years ago today. But it hasn't been learned. Otherwise, the Soviet defector incident wouldn't be on the conscience of the nation today.

Consider simply one phase of the Martha's Vineyard case—the effort of the Coast Guard to contact the State Department for instructions. The chief of the intelligence staff of the Coast Guard here in Washington contacted the Coast Guard officer in the science and technology office in the State Department about who should be contacted. The reply was the office of security, and the office of security said the proper office to be contacted for instructions was that of Soviet Union affairs. And on and on—while hours passed in trying to get through the bureaucratic maze.

Way back in July 1969, a House subcommittee which investigated the loss of the spy ship Pueblo came up with the unanimous finding:

"The inquiry reveals the existence of a vast and complex military structure capable of acquiring almost infinite amounts of information but with a demonstrated inability to relay this information in a timely and comprehensible fashion to those charged with the responsibility for making decisions."

And it was pointed out at that time that a month before the Pueblo was seized in January 1968, there was a serious communications lapse—a warning from the National Security Agency (Intelligence) that the Pueblo might be seized by North Koreans never reached the responsible Navy authorities.

What good is a communication-intelligence system that costs the taxpayer far more than a billion dollars annually if it cannot work in a pinch—in a crisis? Or more to the point, when is the federal establishment ever going to straighten out the whole mess?

Why, for example, wasn't something drastic done to halt the malfunctioning back in the summer of 1967?

Think of it—six months before the Pueblo seizure, the defense communications network tragically failed, and as a result the spy ship Liberty, off the Gaza Strip, was strafed by Israeli planes with the loss of 34 American lives.

The morning before the attack a message was sent from Washington to the Liberty ordering the vessel to move farther out to sea because of the danger of attack during the six day war between Israel and the U.A.R. The message was misrouted, was not received on the Liberty until after the attack.

#### SECRECY TRAPPED MARSHALL'S WARNING

That snafu occurred 26 years after Pearl Harbor, the most glaring and tragic instance in our history of bureaucratic communications bungling.

The friendly biographer of Gen. George C. Marshall, Forrest S. Pogue, refers in his book on that Marshall period to how the War Department "bumbled on the threshold of war" in the communications area.

On the morning of Dec. 7, 1941, Marshall, as chief of staff, had penned his war alert message to the Hawaii commanders warning of a Japanese ultimatum at 1 p.m.

"The super-secrecy surrounding the magic intercepts (our code-breaking system) had served well to conceal the fact that the United States had broken the Japanese code," wrote Marshall's biographer. "That same elaborate secrecy now prevented rapid transmission of vital information."

The warning thus was delayed in transmission. Then it was found out that the Army signal system was unable to contact Hawaii "at the moment" and so "it was necessary to use commercial telegraph." Thus the warning to Pearl Harbor did not reach our commanders before the Japanese struck.

It would seem logical that even bureaucrats, in and out of the defense establishment, would have considered the Pearl Harbor experience sufficient incentive to establish a properly functioning communications system. They clearly didn't, or the Liberty and Pueblo incidents would not have occurred the way they did.

Reflect a bit on what the House subcommittee in 1969 concluded in the Pueblo case, in connection with Nixon's warning about being a few minutes behind in event of a nuclear war.

The inquiring group said that because of "the failure of responsible authorities at the seat of government to either delegate responsibility or in the alternative provide clear and unequivocal guidelines governing policy in emergency situations—our military command structure is now simply unable to meet the emergency criterion outlined and suggested by the President himself."

## H.R. 18679—THE "PRACTICAL VALUE" OMNIBUS BILL

### HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, at noon on December 3, 1970, there was placed on the desk of the Speaker of the House H.R. 18679, as passed by the Senate during the afternoon of the preceding day. Minutes later, I recommended on the floor of the House that the Senate version be concurred in. There was no objection, and the bill, as passed by the Senate, was thereafter approved by the House.

In my accompanying remarks in the House, I pointed out that section 11 of H.R. 18679 had been deleted from the bill by virtue of an amendment proposed by Senator PASTORE, the vice chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and I stated that this action by Senator PASTORE was taken with my acquiescence as chairman of the Joint Committee. I made several other pertinent observations which I should like to repeat—these appear on page 39818 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of December 3, 1970:

Section 11 merely emphasized that the uniquely expert consultative services of the National Academy of Sciences and the National Council on Radiation Protection and Measurements should continue to be utilized, as presently contemplated by subsection 274h. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, in connection with the formulation of basic radiation protection standards pertinent to the health and safety aspects of exposure to radioactivity resulting from the development, use, or control of atomic energy. Section 11, however, stressed that these services should be applied on a continuing and comprehensive basis, rather than—as heretofore—infrequently or from time to time. Section 11 further stressed that the scientific findings and advice provided by these preeminent scientific bodies were to be widely disseminated.

Section 11 would not have presented the new Environmental Protection Agency or any Government agencies from consulting with and seeking the advice of any other outside experts they might select. Section 11, in no way, inhibited the furnishing of scientific advice. It supported it.

Furthermore, section 11 did not provide for the setting of standards by the National Academy of Sciences or the National Council on Radiation Protection and Measurements. Responsibility for setting standards would have continued to remain in the Executive—and in the hands of the Environmental Protection Agency, as desired by the President.

One further point should be registered. Section 11 did not add as a new requirement that the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy receive reports respecting the setting of standards pertinent to radioactivity resulting from the development, use or control of atomic energy. This requirement has been legally applicable for many years; it is contained in section 202 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended.

In short, section 11 would not have interfered with the prerogatives of the President or the functions of the Environmental Protection Agency.

Nevertheless, as a courtesy to the new Environmental Protection Agency, I now urge the House to agree to the deletion of section 11 from H.R. 18679—not because the provisions are not worthwhile or are not fully in the public interest—but simply to

give the new Environmental Protection Agency a reasonable period of time in which to become organized and—without the need of explicit statutory directions—to proceed under its present authorities, including the authority in present subsection 274h. of the Atomic Energy Act, to carry out the objectives of section 11.

I also inserted in the RECORD a letter I had written earlier that day to William D. Ruckelshaus, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, which reads as follows:

DECEMBER 3, 1970.

HON. WILLIAM D. RUCKELSHAUS,  
Administrator, Environmental Protection  
Agency, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RUCKELSHAUS: Congratulations on your favorable reception by the Senate Committee on Public Works and on the Senate's speedy confirmation of your nomination.

Yesterday afternoon, in the Senate, Senator Pastore proposed an amendment to delete Section 11 from H.R. 18679. As you know, this Section would have revised the provisions of subsection 274h. of the Atomic Energy Act. H.R. 18679, as thus amended, was then passed by the Senate.

As Senator Pastore stated in his presentation of the amendment, I had acquiesced in the judgment to delete the proposed revision to subsection 274 h. The amended version of H.R. 18679 will be considered in the House very soon, perhaps even later today, and I will support and urge the House to approve the amended version of H.R. 18679 which was passed by the Senate.

The deletion of Section 11 is really a courtesy to you and your Agency. I hope the contents of Section 11, the pertinent portion of the Joint Committee's report accompanying H.R. 18679, and my explanation to you of the Committee's underlying purpose will, in practical effect, remain tantamount to a word to the wise. I am also writing to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget to urge that he help assure the budgeting and allocation of sufficient funds to enable the consummation in the near future of the broadly-scoped arrangements contemplated by Section 11.

You are aware that the FRC has existing agreements with the National Academy of Sciences and the National Council on Radiation Protection and Measurements. The Committee is deeply concerned that expert scientific advice on the problem of radiation tolerance should be secured on a continuing and comprehensive basis, and it knows of no better or more credible expert sources than these two distinguished scientific bodies.

As soon as reasonably practicable after the Agency is sufficiently organized, please advise this Committee if there appear to be any problems that could interfere with the initiation of such arrangements with the National Academy of Sciences and the National Council on Radiation Protection and Measurements. Also, as a general matter and in accordance with the responsibilities provided for in Section 202 of the Atomic Energy Act, I request that the Agency keep the Joint Committee fully informed, on a reasonably current basis, of significant events and activities pertaining to atomic energy.

This Committee wishes the Agency, under your leadership, great success in its efforts toward fulfillment of its important mission to protect the environment. With respect to atomic energy fields, this Committee stands ready to assist and cooperate in every reasonable way.

Sincerely,

CHET HOLIFIELD, *Chairman.*

The following day, on December 4, I wrote the following letter to George P. Shultz, Director of the Office of Management and Budget:

DECEMBER 4, 1970.

HON. GEORGE P. SCHULTZ,  
Director, Office of Management and Budget,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SHULTZ: The enclosed copy of my letter to Mr. Ruckelshaus summarizes the legislative posture of H.R. 18679 as of yesterday morning. After I signed the letter, the House passed H.R. 18679 as amended by the Senate.

I hope you will counsel the President to sign the bill. The revisions to the Atomic Energy Act which the bill will effect are clearly in the public interest.

With respect to the comprehensive arrangements with the National Academy of Sciences and the National Council on Radiation Protection and Measurements contemplated by Section 11 of the bill, which we have deleted, I believe these arrangements can be consummated under EPA's present authorities, including the authority in subsection 274 h. of the Atomic Energy Act. I urge you to help assure that the relatively modest sums which are needed to support the yearly costs that these comprehensive scientific efforts would entail are budgeted and made available to the EPA.

Public confidence in Federal standards or guides for radiation exposure ceilings can only be firmly established on the basis of scientific information and advice from the most creditable expert bodies. I believe public confidence, so soundly based, is imperative if the nuclear industry and civilian nuclear power are to survive.

Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated by the Joint Committee.

Sincerely yours,

CHET HOLIFIELD, *Chairman.*

From a substantive standpoint, the foregoing is a full and accurate account of the recent Congressional action on H.R. 18679, and of the deletion of section 11 and the present posture of the effect of this deletion.

#### SIX NEW HAMPSHIRE SKIERS TO REPRESENT AMERICA IN INTER- NATIONAL COMPETITION

### HON. NORRIS COTTON

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

MR. COTTON. Mr. President, those of us who hail from the areas of the country where the snows of winter are both expected and welcome took particular note this week of the annual selection of the United States Ski Association team which will represent America in international competition.

I take pride and pleasure in pointing out to Congress that six New Hampshire skiers have earned places on the United States alpine and Nordic teams this year.

The 21-member alpine team will open competition at the World Cup downhill races at Sestriere, Italy, next Saturday and at Val d'Isere, France, December 16-20.

The Nordic team, with 25 skiers, will begin jumping competition December 26 at the international meet at St. Moritz, Switzerland.

The New Hampshire skiers on the alpine team are Steve Lathrop, Amherst, and Tyler Palmer, Kearsarge.

Those on the Nordic team are Bruce Jennings, Canaan; Teyck Weed and

Charles Kellogg, both Hanover, and Peter Davis, Henniker.

It is to be expected that I, as a Senator from New Hampshire, would focus attention on these outstanding New Hampshire athletes. However, I also extend my warm congratulations and best wishes for success to the 40 other young men and women from all parts of the country whose skills and demanding physical training have qualified them to represent our Nation in the highly competitive international skiing field.

#### OKLAHOMA CITY FIRM OF BENHAM- BLAIR IN ITS 61ST YEAR

### HON. JOHN JARMAN

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

MR. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to call to the attention of my colleagues the fact that the architectural engineering firm of Benham-Blair and Associates of Oklahoma City is in its 61st year of professional services. The success of this fine firm is a testimonial to the free enterprise system upon which this country was founded.

In 1906 Webster L. Benham, a young civil engineer fresh out of Columbia University, came to Oklahoma Territory for a short visit with relatives. He found the excitement of the new frontier to his liking and the short visit turned into a lifelong residence.

For the first couple of years, Mr. Benham served as assistant city engineer for the booming city of Oklahoma City and its more than 60,000 residents. He also taught civil engineering at Epworth University which is now Oklahoma City University.

In 1909 he opened his own office for the private practice of engineering. It is highly unlikely he realized he was establishing a firm, which in its 61st year would have offices from coast to coast with a staff of specialists offering a broad range of services in the architectural and engineering fields. There is hardly a city or town in Oklahoma that has not retained his firm's services for one or more projects as have many cities in other states.

Municipal civil engineering was the field which Webster Benham liked best and it was in this direction that the firm's efforts were concentrated throughout most of his life and until his death in 1952.

At that point, David B. Benham, the middle son who had joined the firm as a junior engineer in 1946, took over the reins. Although he, too, was a civil engineer, it was his feeling that the firm had to diversify if it was to meet the challenge of a world in which technical and scientific knowledge were growing so rapidly as to make almost every major project a complex problem requiring many disciplines.

In 1956 an architectural division was established for the first time with Bill J. Blair as the principal architect, and in 1964 Benham Engineering Co. became

Benham-Blair & Associates, architects-engineers-consultant.

In addition to this diversification, David Benham came to the conclusion that the firm should also broaden its base geographically. The first step in this direction was taken in 1960 with the establishment of an affiliated office in Phoenix, Ariz. Next came the Los Angeles affiliate, followed by offices in Little Rock, Ark.; Jackson, Miss.; Miami and Fort Lauderdale, Fla.; Washington, D.C.; and Houston, Tex.

Recognizing the value of the computer to an architectural engineering firm, in 1962 Benham-Blair & Associates established a computer division with a full-time director of computer operations. By early 1967 the firm's computer usage had grown to the point that a new million-dollar computer complex was being installed. In October 1967 a separate computer time-sharing company—Academy Computing Corp.—was established. Since then ACC has completed the installation of even larger computer complexes in Houston, Tex. and Palo Alto, Calif., and the computer firm has become a public company. This foresighted decision to establish a computer division has profoundly affected the firm and its growth and will continue to do so in the future.

I congratulate this outstanding organization on its many years of service and the fine contribution it has made to Oklahoma and the Nation in the field of architecture and engineering.

#### AMERICANS IN ACTION

### HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 8, 1970

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, as all of us know, during recent months southern California has been plagued by numerous fires and soon our area will again be subjected to devastating floods that destroy thousands of homes and cost millions and millions of dollars in damages.

I am pleased to note the great interest that private enterprise and private groups have taken in trying to help those individuals who have suffered so much from these devastating and tragic fires and floods.

Several years ago, during a terrible flood in Ventura and Santa Barbara Counties, Governor Reagan called upon the contractor's association, along with the various local union groups, to assist those people who were affected by this tragedy. The contractors and workers promptly moved in with bulldozers to aid the local people. During the recent fires, private individuals also took the initiative to help their friends in trouble. As an example, the R. & D. Development Co. in Woodland Hills donated over 100 apartments to victims of the fires that had lost their homes; they gave them the apartments free for 30 days. This is a classic example of how private groups, individuals, and businesses can and do

solve their own problems in a compassionate and unselfish manner. I believe that it is important for us, in Congress, to salute these fine nonbureaucratic efforts and bring attention to them. This is another fine example of Americans in action.

#### EDUCATION LEGISLATION FOR THE SEVENTIES

### HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, Secretary Richardson gave a forward-looking address to the Council of Chief State School Officers in Miami Beach on November 16 on the educational goals of this administration.

He proposed a simplification of education authorization legislation and a consolidation of programs for research, reform, and educational development. Current education legislation is a hodgepodge of categorical programs enacted to meet specific needs. The time has come to simplify and consolidate various authorities.

The Secretary proposes the simplification of over 100 programs into the Educational Assistance Act of 1972 with five main areas: vocational education, impacted aid, programs for the handicapped, and support services. He recommends the block grant approach through States having to develop plans approved by the Office of Education.

The Educational Renewal Act of 1972 would consolidate current authorities for research, demonstration projects, and educational development.

I have worked for passage of legislation along these lines for several years and am happy to see the Secretary propose this simplification and consolidation. I urge my colleagues to give the Secretary's speech their attention and support.

The speech follows:

AN ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON

A few hours after I accepted my new assignment at HEW my mind began turning to the question how soon I could reestablish communications with your organization and the other important groups in the fields of education, health and welfare.

Don Dafoe, Forrest Conner and Sam Lambert have been good enough to talk with me. That meeting, others we have had in Washington, and this gathering today evidence the mutuality of interest and interdependence of the Federal and State governments in the area of education. Sound working relationships between us have always been essential under our decentralized educational system. They will be in the future.

The President, in March of this year, expressed the future this way:

"The diversity and freedom of education in this Nation, founded on local administration and State responsibility, must prevail."

There is one key, I believe, to the successful practice of diversity in our common educational enterprise. George Canning, British Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister of the nineteenth century, hit upon it. He did not, however, appreciate its worth. He wrote:

"Of all plagues, good Heaven, thy wrath can send, Save me, oh save me, from the candid friend."

I do not agree with Canning: I believe in candid friends. I hope you will consider me—and my Federal colleagues, too—candid friends. I hope you will be the same to us. Candor and the recognition of mutual interests that is the basis of friendship are imperative in a decentralized education system such as ours. I propose that we act toward one another as candid friends.

Let's take an example of how this might work. In candor, you might say to me that an educational system founded on local administration and State responsibility should not involve a lot of controls and restrictions on the use of Federal dollars.

To this I agree. I believe that Federal dollars should be spent according to needs of the State where they are sent as those needs are seen by the people who live there.

Then, in the same candid and friendly spirit, you would point out to me the multitude of rules and regulations that bind you in your efforts to use Federal dollars to improve the education system of your State. You could even mention a pair of new ones upon which the ink of Ted Bell's signature is hardly dry . . . "comparability" and "mandated parental involvement."

In the same candid and friendly spirit I would respond this way. I do not yet know of a State that has managed to do without rules governing the use of its own State education funds. In dealing with dozens and sometimes hundreds of school districts, you almost inevitably meet the local administrator who sees an issue in a different way.

Whether his way is right or wrong is not the question. It's what you understand the Legislature commanded. You must meet your stewardship responsibility. Hence you have rules and they must apply to all. So must we for—again, in candor and friendliness—almost inevitably someone here sees a matter a different way from the majority. And we, too, must meet our stewardship responsibility.

Let me assure you, though, that I believe that we in HEW must minimize rules and regulations that restrict State and local prerogatives, adopt them only in the face of manifest need, and do away with them when the need no longer exists.

#### THE SIMPLIFICATION OF FEDERAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Let me tell you what we hope to accomplish in this problem area.

We intend to develop a plan which would involve a top to bottom overhaul of the Federal legislation from which our Federal education programs derive. If we can hammer out such a plan and win its adoption, you and the whole educational community will be better off, at least as far as the impact of Federal dollars is concerned.

At present, I believe, there are well over a hundred different programs in the Office of Education alone. They are authorized under a long list of laws enacted over many years. Our education legislation is strong and intelligent, but disorderly. For example, twenty programs concern the disadvantaged. They are managed, I am told, under fifteen sets of guidelines.

The Congress did make some improvements just this last spring, and we infer from this that there is some sympathy in the Legislative Branch for the plight of the administrators who must live with this patchwork. I don't know who should get the most sympathy—local education people, State education people or the people in the Federal Office of Education, but it would take a lot of sympathy to cover all the men and women who need it.

Both the Congressional staff people and ourselves share the hope that we can make the most effective use of every Federal dollar

invested in education. This patchwork of laws, we believe, actually obstructs effective use of Federal funds, and we have the duty to propose a plan to change this situation.

Let me outline, simply for discussion, one possible way of proceeding: First, we might consolidate—into one legislative act—all education programs that lend financial support in operating and maintaining the current educational efforts for elementary and secondary schools. This legislation could be called "The Education Assistance Act of 1972."

Second, we might consolidate all programs of educational research, reform, professional development, experimentation and demonstration into one act which could be entitled, "The Educational Renewal Act of 1972."

Such a procedure would be limited in its effect to elementary and secondary education. Higher education legislation would be treated separately.

The Assistance Act would emphasize block grants to the States with broad discretionary powers to use Federal funds in five major areas:

First, vocational education; second, impacted aid; third, assistance for the education of children of low income families and the disadvantaged; fourth, assistance for the education of the handicapped; and fifth, educational support services such as strengthening State educational agencies, assistance to libraries and educational technology and so forth.

We would do away with the highly prescriptive provisions, the rules and the regulations of the multitude of titles and subsections of the statutes we now administer.

We would ask each State to submit a comprehensive plan on how the State would allocate Federal monies in each of the five broad areas. The money would flow by block grant through the State and, according to its plan, to the local school districts. The State would have broad discretion in the formulation of the plan to meet its needs as those needs—as I said earlier in this talk—are seen by the people who live in the State. The State plan would not be boiler plate; its formulation would not be the mechanical compliance with Federal standards. Rather, each State plan and its formulation would be a unique response to the special problems of that State. It would be a real plan—a design for action.

We would ask that the plan be "goal-oriented," that is, geared to what would be accomplished with the Federal dollars. We would ask you to tell us in advance what changes would occur and what benefits would accrue rather than just where you want to send the Federal dollars.

With this "goal-oriented funding" approach, with skillful and thorough evaluation processes, with a minimum of rules, regulations, titles, and programs, and with a heavy emphasis on local and State discretion to use Federal dollars to solve local and State problems in the five block grant areas . . . with all of these, we believe we would have an administrative system that will achieve the optimum effectiveness in the use of Federal dollars.

There are other possible approaches to simplification, and many problems, yet to be solved, with the course I have outlined. But this is the direction in which we must move. And, having a clear understanding of our goal, we hope to be able to inform you of rapid progress towards it.

Now, while candor is the watchword, let me touch on other topics in which we have strong mutual interests.

#### STRENGTHENING STATE EDUCATION AGENCIES

The keen interest expressed by members of your organization and the interest of the U.S. Office of Education have been most persuasive in convincing me that State departments of education are essential working units in the Federal education structure.

We intend to help your departments to continue the high priority planning and evaluation functions which you have recently begun. In addition, we shall aid you as you begin working with local educational agencies in your States to build a strong foundation for planning and evaluation. This way we can all be more responsive to the call for accountability and better management in education.

If we are to solve many of the educational problems facing our country many of the initiatives must flow from strong State education agencies. This is an area in which a new and vital federalism can be particularly effective.

#### COMPENSATORY EDUCATION AND THE POVERTY CYCLE

My new role in the Administration constantly brings me face to face with the difficult and seemingly insoluble problems of the poor and the disadvantaged. How can we break the cycle of poverty in which hundreds of thousands of American families are trapped?

Our health programs are valuable and humane. They can reduce the crippling disabilities which fall so heavily on all Americans, but devastate the poor. But they cannot by themselves solve the entire generation-to-generation poverty problem.

In the field of welfare you know of the President's proposed Family Assistance Plan to replace the current welfare system. This, I hope, will go a long way toward breaking the poverty cycle.

But education also has an integral role in this national task.

Our compensatory education programs, though often criticized, have accomplished much. Some of the funds have supplanted instead of supplemented local and State funds. That is wrong and must be fixed. Some of the administration was faulty, and that is easier to understand than to condone. We know we must improve our stewardship.

By and large, however, I believe these funds have done good work. The learning curve on how to do the job of compensatory education—a job never before attempted on such a scale—is sharply up. Our additional work on dropout prevention, our work on providing aid for post-secondary students, our vocational programs and our continuing education programs have all been helpful.

Every educator knows first hand of the penalizing educational effects of poverty. You know too the statistics that quantify the obvious—for example, that over 40 percent of children with fathers having less than 8 years in school and annual incomes of less than \$3000 were reported in one study a year or more behind their proper grade levels. Another study showed that the achievement test scores of ninth graders with grade school fathers were about half of those with college fathers.

But the poverty cycle persists. So must the question: is there more that educators can do?

Consider for a moment the fact that in 1971 a boy and a girl who are caught in the poverty cycle can leave a high school and together establish a family. By 1972 they could be three. By 1977 or 1978 that third little citizen will be a potential client of a school district in your State, and probably in need of compensatory education.

In any group of educators it is interesting to listen to the number of times "the students" are referred to. But let me ask if those two young parents are not as important clients of our educational system as "the students?" Indeed, they may be doubly important. First, as parents of a child . . . probably a disadvantaged one . . . with whom you will have to cope in six or seven years. Second, as the creators of a home environment which can advance or retard the entire efforts of your system—teachers, build-

ings, dollars and all the rest. Can educators afford to lose interest in this young couple?

Our educational research data strongly suggest that in order to raise the average quality of educational product of a given school, we should introduce into that school a greater concentration of pupils from homes where learning is respected and encouraged. We know that the solution of the problems of giving quality education to children in formerly segregated areas are not solved by the establishment of desegregated school systems alone. Indeed, it only brings us up to the starting line.

Our efforts in desegregation—and I want to talk more about those efforts in a few minutes—will in a few years probably produce most of the education benefits we can reasonably hope to achieve by the desegregation route.

The children from families where learning is encouraged will be more widely dispersed. And this will help to raise the educational level of thousands of disadvantaged boys and girls. But like you, I am a person schooled in the American philosophy that cutting up the pie into thinner and thinner slices is always less desirable than making a bigger pie. Therefore I ask, "Should not educators try harder to increase the number of homes that encourage learning as the next big effort to help break the cycle of poverty through educational means?"

Is it not in the educator's self interest to minimize, if possible, the number of educationally deprived children of 1978 and 1980? Can educators, perhaps working in close concert with other specialists in the community, help turn an educationally deprived home into one that encourages and supports learning achievement—that will add to rather than detract from the future quality of life in the community? I am sure this wonderful transformation happens spontaneously in thousands of homes each year. Can we find out how to make it happen deliberately so the children of a newly enlightened home can in their turn provide the magic catalytic effect to other disadvantaged children when they go to school each day?

Research on the effectiveness of "Sesame Street"—a program which the Office of Education had a major role in creating and supporting—points to the potential. Children who watched most and learned most tended to have mothers who watched the show with them and who often talked with them about it. Perhaps our slogan for the 1970's should be, "Each living room a school room."

The men and women who work in compensatory education hardly need a new challenge. They tell us with sincerity and quite accurately that their objective is to work themselves out of a job. Here perhaps is a way to accelerate progress to that objective—to do it in one decade, perhaps, instead of two, or more.

A big job? Difficult? Yes, but are not our educational systems in this nation filled with able people who, if given leadership, turn to big and difficult jobs with enthusiasm?

#### DESEGREGATION—THE 1970 ACCOMPLISHMENT

Let me turn again to desegregation, an area that has been marked by turmoil, disagreement and, often, hostility. It is not my purpose to review the negative aspects of the desegregation story but to draw your attention and perhaps the attention of others to the recent positive and human side of the story.

With the *Brown* decision of nearly 16 years ago we began the slow process of change. In its decision in the *Green* case in 1968, the Supreme Court accelerated the process by, in effect, ruling out "freedom of choice." Last year, in *Holmes vs. Alexander*, the Court said, "Now."

Today of the approximately 2700 school districts in the 11 Southern States, more

than 97 percent have desegregated. All but 76 districts have converted to a unitary system, and almost 700 school districts have changed this school year. In a 3 month period of 1970 we have moved from having less than 28% of the South's black school children in desegregated school districts to over 90%.

Without in any way suggesting that we have reached the end of the effort, or that we are not much later than we should be in reaching this point, let me pay tribute to the many thousands of individuals who have made the recent giant step forward possible: the practical sense of the word.

Many of the districts that have taken the step this Fall are those where community reluctance, if not community resistance, has been strongest. The fact that these changes have come, and come peacefully, is to the credit of all—parents and children, black and white. In thousands of homes, there have been earnest and agonizing conversations between parents and children of all races about the personal impact of the changes. I believe that it is to the credit of these families that the overwhelming result of these conversations has been the conclusion, "Let's make it work."

A long chain of such decisions has contributed to the success that has been achieved. In each State the chain has led from the home back through the community and through the entire school system. The classroom teachers have been a key part of this chain. Thousands have been transferred into new surroundings from schools where they have served comfortably for years. They have met face to face the resistance to change that is part of all of us but, somehow, is often peculiarly strong in children. They have absorbed and dampened expressions of hostility and even incipient violence from the most intransigent. With dedication and imagination they have eased the friction and abrasion inevitable in the thousands upon thousands of new and unfamiliar human contacts which have been part of this whole effort.

School principals and school administrators have provided the on-the-spot leadership, the planning, the organizing and problem-solving skills so vital in the process of change. My education colleagues like Ted Bell have reminded me that, under ordinary circumstances, simply changing a school's boundaries or changing a single transportation route or a curriculum can unleash a host of problems in relations with students and their parents. To have done all of these things and more on the massive scale of this Fall, and to have done it with a minimum of upset, was a remarkable job.

If schools of education were ever to use the case study method to the same extent that law and business schools do, I am sure the story of what these principles and district superintendents did last summer would produce dozens of fascinating cases to use in the training of future leaders in school administration. Of course, a few might drop out at the very thought of how difficult school administration can be.

But with all this effort by so many dedicated and resourceful people, the real job of making desegregated education as good as we want it to be is barely begun. The cost of change is high. The bill has yet to be totalled, much less paid.

We think the part of the cost that reasonably should come out of Federal funds in this year is \$425 million. Next year, a billion dollars.

The Emergency School Assistance money that was appropriated by the Congress last summer should be used well. The \$64 million available to school districts has been spent on teacher preparation programs, on

curriculum revision, and special programs to help pupils, and on worthwhile community programs. But racial isolation and related educational disadvantages are deeply rooted—and not just in the South. We know that compliance on paper, too often, is not compliance in fact. For these reasons we will continue to work for equal education opportunity—regardless of the region—in the same spirit, and we hope with the same success, that have characterized your efforts this year.

Hence emergency school assistance is a national job and merits the support of people from every State. I hope you gentlemen will accept this thesis and lend your own valuable support to the passage of the \$425 million appropriation request that is now before the Congress.

Throughout the communities where these changes were wrought there were dozens of citizens who helped make the effort work—school board members, civil rights leaders, public officials, civic leaders, officers of the courts and of the law. They contributed to their community's decision to make this change and to make it smoothly.

The State advisory councils appointed by President Nixon and the education agencies in the affected States have made significant contributions to the success of this effort. The men in this room from the States concerned have provided outstanding leadership and organizing skill at the State level plus the practical school know-how that have made the difference between success and failure. A great contribution was pulling together the school people to meet with the group of Federal executives last spring and summer—the group which, I understand, was known with varying degrees of affection as "The Road Show." Knowing that the law required the Office of Education to make grants directly to the local education agencies under the Emergency School Assistance Program, we are particularly appreciative of the assistance you gave us in getting the funds allocated in record time.

Finally, I want to pay tribute to the Federal people who contributed so much to the Administration's school desegregation program. The group was drawn from quite a list of Federal offices including HEW's Office for Civil Rights, Office of General Counsel and Office of Education. The Justice Department was heavily involved. These men and women demonstrated how Federal people with a clear mandate and a dedication to diplomacy can mobilize men of goodwill in a wide area to make a good thing happen. This demonstration of skill and energy should raise doubts about the popular impression that the Federal government is a massive, immovable bureaucracy with molasses for blood and red tape for muscle.

DAVID D. DOWD, JR.

### HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with many other officials, friends, neighbors, and constituents in complimenting David D. Dowd, Jr., of Canton, Ohio, who has been named Outstanding Prosecutor of the Year by his Ohio colleagues. It is an honor that is richly deserved, and I share the sentiments expressed in the following editorial from the Canton Repository:

#### TOP PROSECUTOR IN OHIO

There is always something uncommonly gratifying about the kind of honor that has come to Stark County Prosecutor David D. Dowd, Jr., who has been adjudged by his peers as Ohio's "Outstanding Prosecutor of the Year."

First of all, it confirms the good judgment of county voters who elected him. Secondly, it demonstrates rather impressively that the quality of one's work as a public official does not always go unnoticed.

In this case, Mr. Dowd was recognized in part for this service to the county and the state in development of the Stark County Metro Narcotic Squad, which has cracked down on users and pushers of illicit drugs.

He has made many other contributions in law enforcement because he is not satisfied to perform only the prescribed and ordinary functions of his office. When he sees a need for more aggressive action, he does not hesitate to become involved, as witness his efforts in behalf of several statewide committees dedicated to crime prevention.

We commend Mr. Dowd for having earned and won this award.

#### MISS JUANITA CASTRO SPEAKS BEFORE ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUES

### HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, at the recent convention of the World Anti-Communist League held in Japan, Miss Juanita Castro delivered a most excellent speech. Miss Castro is the sister of Fidel Castro, the Communist dictator of Cuba. Although active in the Cuban revolutionary movement from 1953 until her brother seized power Miss Castro fled her homeland in 1964 to actively work against her brother's terroristic regime.

Miss Castro makes many points in this address which have a direct bearing on today's events in the United States. She outlines how the Communists created a collective and individual fear of anticommunism in Cuba in order to eliminate those elements who were actively working against the Communists coming to power. We see this type of hysteria being whipped up today in our own Nation. The old shibboleth of "McCarthyism" is being dragged out again and brandished over any type of activity which might lead to the implementation of internal security laws necessary to control the elements bent on destruction of our society.

The Communist Party and its front and captive organizations are frightened. They see the possibility of the enactment of much needed legislation, and possible action in the field of judicial reform, which would severely limit their freedom of action to destroy our nation. They are fighting back by trying to equate legitimate protection of our citizens with "repression" or "fascism."

The rear warfare forces of the Soviet Union understand perfectly that with correctly perceived internal security measures in effect they cannot accomplish the mission assigned to them by the Soviet Politburo. They wish to cloud our

perception and confuse the issues to the point where the necessary steps that must be taken to preserve individual freedom for the majority of Americans will not be taken.

Miss Castro also recalls that—

The "liberals" and the "leftists" who join the Communists in their struggle for power are swept away, jailed, or executed, as soon as the Communists control the government of a country.

The Communist purging of temporary non-Communist allies has happened so often that one would think that by this time the leftists would have learned the lesson. Coalitions with Communists cost considerable.

The speech follows:

SPEECH DELIVERED BY MISS JUANITA CASTRO BEFORE "WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE AND ASIAN PEOPLE'S ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE," HELD IN TOKYO AND KYOTO, JAPAN, SEPTEMBER 15 TO 20, 1970

The story of what has happened in Cuba until the present is very long. Batista's dictatorship and Fidel's tyranny cover eighteen years. I'll endeavor to be as brief as possible in telling what I have witnessed during those long and dramatic years.

The politico military difficulties in Cuba began with the unjustifiable military coup of March 10, 1952. This was the original sin. This is the main cause of what is happening today. Batista's dictatorship spawned Fidel's Communist tyranny.

By March 10, 1952, Cuba had found the way to lay the foundation for an institutional order based on the 1940 Constitution; this was the same Constitution that Fidel promised to re-establish after the victory of the Revolution while he was still at the Sierra Maestra. This promise, which was one of the fundamental points of the revolutionary program that the Cuban people supported, was never fulfilled by Fidel, as he fulfilled none of his other promises.

After March 10, 1952, the majority of the political institutions, as well as the constitutional order, were disrupted. However, due to the productive ability of the Cuban people, workers, employers, professionals and technicians and their hard work, social progress continued despite the political mishaps. This means that before January 1949 the crisis in Cuba was eminently politico-military. It was not, as some have tried to make it appear, a socio-economic crisis.

On January 1959, a new era of hope and recovery began. The immense majority of the people believed that the great opportunity had arrived to organize Cuba by institutional means and start it on the path of true democracy, with its accompanying attributes of social justice for all and individual and collective freedom.

In the socio economic order, the majority wished for reform in the areas of national life that still lagged behind, so as to put them on a par with the general levels already attained and thus, begin a new phase of greater progress by means of social evolution, a more positive and advantageous means than subversion and violent revolution.

It is only fair to recognize that every section of society, from laborers to businessmen and professionals, were ready to play their part unselfishly. Fidel had his great opportunity within his grasp and rejected it for submission to a historically bankrupt system, Marxism-Leninism, and to its disreputable agents in Cuba, the "Old Guard" of opportunists in the Communist Party. To do this, Fidel revived Red mummies who had not made one single sacrifice during the Cuban Revolution and who had participated in every political fix in the country and allied

themselves with every dictator or tyrant who happened to be in power, among them, Batista himself.

On the other hand, the true revolutionaries and fighters were relegated and eliminated periodically.

Those who rule Cuba today are not the ones who fought on the mountains and in the cities, but opportunistic agents of Soviet Imperialism who contributed absolutely nothing to the victory of the original Revolution.

Before Socialist Communism was established in Cuba, Cuban workers had, among other rights guaranteed by the 1940 Constitution: a minimum workday; a progressive work schedule; the right not to be dismissed arbitrarily from their jobs, retirement and social insurance; yearly vacations with pay; sick leave; maternity benefits; maternity leave; per diems and compensation for industrial accidents; medical assistance; hospitalization; payment during vacations or leaves of absence; seniority; arbitration commissions that dealt in labor conflicts; labor representation before official, autonomic, and private organizations, right to administrative appeal; right to file labor claims; payment for overtime; the right to freely organize unions, federations, and confederations; automatic pay raises; and the right to strike.

The labor laws that protected Cuban workers were about the most advanced in Latin America, as proven by those who have studied and observed them, and those whose minds are not biased by ideological sectarianism.

What Cuba needed was to increase and extend its development and the essential techniques to reach higher and fuller goals which would have eliminated periods of unemployment, particularly in the rural areas where, due to the predominantly agricultural economy of Latin American countries, there exists a lack of sources of permanent employment. This lack should be met with the creation of more industrial enterprises in agriculture and in cattle raising, and with the reforms adequate for social evolution.

Cuba—before Communism—was like a painting that lacked only the final strokes. Among these final strokes were political and administrative honesty, respect for the Constitution of the Republic; and raising the standard of living of the rural and urban minorities that lagged behind the majority of the population. In truth, it was neither a perfect country nor a paradise, it would be demagoguery to say so since nothing human is perfect.

Human works can aspire to create higher levels of well-being and happiness, both individual and collective, but never perfection. Whoever promises perfection and an earthly paradise is deceiving his fellowmen. However, a higher level can be reached in the economic, social and political areas.

Nevertheless, the betrayal of the present rulers has surrendered the Cuban people, through force and deceit, to the worst of all politico-economic systems, as is Marxism-Leninism when it is put into practice. Life under this ruthless system is about the worst ever known to mankind.

Cuba has had the misfortune of going from one tyranny to the other. For this reason, the great majority of the Cuban people fervently hope for a better future that can never be similar to *either the past or the present*. Our solution should be *something new and different*. This solution will be reached only if we look to the future.

Since Marxism-Leninism was established in Cuba the Cuban peasant has lost whatever land he owned, and those who owned none, the hope of ever owning any land under the Socialist-Communism regime.

Cuban parents have lost their right to educate their children in the school and religion

of their choice. Parents cannot exercise custody of their children. Children are forced by the Communist Party to obey only the State, not their parents.

Professors cannot exercise academic freedom or teach their subjects in accordance with strictly scientific curricula. Many capable teachers have been expelled from the Universities, Secondary Schools, Elementary Schools, Technical Schools, because they refused to submit to the arbitrary order of the Communist Party.

Study curricula have been altered to adapt them to the low academic level demanded by the Communist Party to be able to graduate elements pliable to Communism.

Universities and all other teaching establishments and institutions are militarized.

Professors cannot exercise authority. The Communist Party is the sole ruler of the universities and all other institutions of learning by means of terror and the force of arms.

Students are not allowed to study and hold objective debates on the academic texts required for the training and thorough knowledge of a profession. The textbooks for Marxist-Leninist indoctrination that have taken the place of those previously freely chosen by the faculty, are placed above any training for a profession or trade. The students are forced to study for the profession or trade determined by the Communist Party, and are allowed to graduate only when they can recite by heart the Marxist-Leninist textbooks that are of far more importance in a Socialist Communist State than the subjects pertaining to any profession. The Communist Party is far more interested in training "Communists" than good professionals; therefore, honest professionals and technicians have been removed from their positions when they refused to accept Communist tyranny.

Other consequences of the Communist regime endured by Cuba are these:

The Cuban people lost their freedom, their independence and their sovereignty; the Cuban people lost the right to freely elect their government; the Cuban people lost their right to practice the religion of their choice; the Cuban people lost the right to better themselves and to raise their standard of living, under Communism they have no satisfactory future; the Cuban people lost their peace and happiness; the Cuban people are enslaved by international Communism and State totalitarianism.

From all this we can learn a dramatic lesson: the Marxist-Leninist system, State Communism, will never be able to raise a country's standard of living or solve its problems. All it can hope to do is to make them worse. Under the politico-economic system, wealthy people are made poor, and the poor, destitute.

Every factory belongs to the Communist State; every business belongs to the Communist State, every parcel of Cuban soil belongs to the Communist State; every material object belongs to the Communist State and the State can dispose of it as it wishes.

All human beings also belong to the Communist State that disposes of them cruelly, as if they were so many beasts of burden.

It is not an exaggeration to affirm that under the Marxist-Leninist Communist system everything . . . absolutely everything . . . belongs to the insatiable Communist State.

The correct position for the leaders, and the one the people should demand of them, is the development of social justice, freedom, and opposition to all extremisms.

The "liberals" and the "leftists" who join the Communists in their struggle for power are swept away, jailed or executed, as soon as the Communists control the government of a country.

The Communists, as soon as they reach power, devour those who were their allies only yesterday.

The Communists have no peace among themselves, and much less where their circumstantial allies, as they call the "liberals" and "leftists" are concerned.

The Communists eliminate and kill each other. They constitute a voracious plague that first attacks circumstantial allies, and later, turns to destroy its own ranks.

The Cuban people know now that the Communists are not patriots, that they are not nationalists, that they are not heroes, that they are not anti-imperialists, that they are not honest.

The Cuban people know the Communists are the agents of the most inhuman and cruel imperialism ever known to Mankind.

The Communists are traitors to their homelands.

The Communists are fanatic followers of an ideology that rejects and proscribes every noble human feeling.

The Communists want to enslave Mankind by imposing Marxism-Leninism, a system that is nothing more than a totalitarian dictatorship that sustains itself in power by means of military force, terror, repression, and mass murder.

The Communists speak of "freedom", "equality", "workers' rights", "independence", "sovereignty", "social progress", "peace".

However, the Communists, when they reach power, practice slavery, inequality, do away with workers' rights, destroy independence and sovereignty and submit themselves to the Soviet Empire, eradicate progress and social conquests; the people lack everything and the "peace" they are so vocal about is used to disarm those who oppose their insatiable appetite to conquer peoples and nations. It turns into . . . war . . . and extermination.

The "peace" the Communists demand serves to disarm democracy so they can continue their aggression and wars without opposition.

That is why thousands of people from the Communist countries escape daily, crossing barbed wires, walls, fortified shores, and seas teeming with torpedo boats that attack and murder men, women and children.

Fidel began the communization of Cuba because his plan was not to build a free and prosperous society, but rather to turn Cuba into an aggressive military base to spread Communist Imperialism to the Americas in exchange for commanding the aggressive action, and exercising totalitarian power as the highest representative of International Communism in the Americas. Fidel will never be satisfied with merely being the dictator of Cuba. He hopes to dominate every country in the Americas. His ambition is ridiculous; it knows no bounds. To satisfy his ambition he is capable of using, indiscriminately, an armament given to him by Communist Imperialism which, in turn, uses him as a tool of its subvertionist and interventionist policy.

Since Fidel's only interest are his aggressive plans, the Cuban people are suffering the consequences and the country has already been destroyed by a regime that is an utter economic and social failure.

Communist Imperialism is set on taking over America, Asia and the whole world as well. They are very close to here. From Red China and North Vietnam they intend to size other countries in Asia, consequently, Japan is not out of danger. If the Communists are not stopped in Vietnam, another mistake will have been made by those nations who are obliged to face this danger and to fight this war against Communist expansion.

There shall not be peace in Vietnam until the war is won. The military retreat would be a victory for the Communist aggressors.

The anti-Communist fighters in Vietnam as well as in other countries—Cuba, for example—must be helped to win the war, not to detain them in their advance instead.

Before Cuba fell prey to Communist Imperialism, the Cuban people, who were not and are not Communists, did not have the experience necessary to understand what those intellectuals, politicians, student and labor leaders who followed Communist ideology were capable of doing, they masqueraded, as they do everywhere, as defenders of freedom, democracy and peace.

This was our first mistake. We neither studied nor observed what the Communists had been doing since they took over the first country. We forgot their history of treason. And so, we were deceived.

Later on, the Revolution played into their hands. Many Cuban revolutionaries, who were not Communists, but who, nevertheless, allowed the Communists to infiltrate the revolutionary cadres, ended by being persecuted, imprisoned or executed by the very same Communists that a short time before appeared to be their friends and allies. Thus history and experience prove that those Communists, that may today appear as "patriots", if allowed to spread their ideology and use their tactics, tomorrow will be the slave masters of the people.

Those Communists who demand "freedom", tomorrow will refuse us that freedom.

Those Communists who demand respect for human life, tomorrow will be firing at us when we stand before the "wall". Those Communists who are allowed to use the law for protection, tomorrow will destroy that very same law, so that we are deprived of its protection.

Communist propaganda, in order to disarm the revolutionaries, the Christian Democrats, the Christian Socialists, the Liberal Socialists, etc., spread the view that it is a sin for liberals to be anti-Communists.

That's how they began in Cuba. First, they created a collective and individual fear for anti-Communism. Later the Communists took over the Revolution. And, finally, the Communists eliminated, imprisoned, or banished from the country, and even executed, all those who had accepted without question the complex of not being anti-Communists.

Thus they set their trap. The same kind that the Bolsheviks used in Russia to become sole masters of a Revolution that had been forged by many different revolutionary fronts. This way, the Communists exterminated those who had not dared to be anti-Communists.

Those who defend "coexistence" should explain why the Communists do not allow anyone who disagrees with them to "coexist" with communized countries, and why they continue to advance aggressively and to devour, in the name of "coexistence" and "world peace", any nation that borders on a state ruled by a Communist regime.

I have witnessed how the people of different levels, who gave so much aid to the Revolution, were inhumanly deprived of their normal means of support, and how only the few groups that give their allegiance to the Communist Party are given jobs that even in their case are miserable, and for which they are paid slave wages.

And yet, I was present also when long before all this Fidel would criticize our father for being too generous with the peasants in his farm and for not acquiring more land.

Later, I saw him, already a tyrant, disposes those same peasants of their homes and lands, and extend the fences down to the very sea, to be sure that he owned everything inside the immense Communist Estate. Nowadays in Cuba every worker and peasant is Fidel's slave.

I have seen how families, who made their fortune by means of honest, productive work, or inherited it legally, were dispossessed. Those families were not anti-Communists. They didn't even know what Communism was. However, they were on the Communists'

black list; they were considered enemies, and thus, deprived of their properties.

Now, they have no means of support. Many have committed suicide. Others are dying slowly, consuming the meager food rations allowed them by the regime.

I have seen parents lose their children to Marxist-Leninist indoctrination system that trains children and young people in the fanatical obedience to the Communist Party, to the extent that they denounce their own parents as "counter-revolutionaries".

I have seen parents and children jailed in inhuman political prisons and in concentration or hard labor camps, and I have heard personal witness accounts of thousands of executions before the "wall".

I have heard Fidel say:

"Each day that passes is one more battle we win in the American nations. Each year we remain in power means consolidation of the offensive we are planning and executing to spread Communism to every nation in the world".

Fidel thinks only in terms of war.

I had the opportunity to know most of his plans, even if only in general outlines.

I am fulfilling a duty towards my own conscience in denouncing them in time.

It is a task of every citizen to fight against communism. Our goal must be: Victory over Communism first and World Peace then!

#### CHARLES COUNTY COMMUNITY COLLEGE INITIATES ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

#### HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to commend the faculty, administration, and students of Charles County Community College in my congressional district. While other campuses around the country are making headlines as being centers of student unrest and dissent, Charles County Community College is making headlines as a frontrunner in environmental control education.

I salute particularly my good friend, Jay Carsey, president of the college, and Belva Jensen, head of the biology department, for conceiving this program and for carrying it through. It has been a pleasure for me to have been of some assistance in acquiring Federal funds to support the program. Just this week, I have been informed that the Federal Water Quality Administration will award the college a \$62,010 supplemental training grant to enable the college to continue training waste treatment plant operators.

Mr. Speaker, I include a recent article describing this unique educational institution at this point in the Record for the interest of all environmentalists in this body:

#### A COLLEGE INTENDS TO IMPROVE THE ENVIRONMENT

People at Charles County Community College are just as proud of a sewage disposal plant as they are of the attractive new colonial buildings on their campus. It's not that the facility looks glamorous but it means something special to many of the faculty and staff, to some of the students and even to residents of the area served by the college.

The plant symbolizes the college's efforts to distinguish itself by contributing to man-

power development and eventually to the improvement of the environment.

Long before Earth Day and the many political proclamations began, Charles County Community College had announced that environmental control education was a field in which the institution could specialize, much as the University of Maryland might make a name for itself in agriculture or the University of Michigan in law or medicine.

More than three years ago, the college began seeking funds to organize educational programs for men and women who "care about fields, plants and animals, streets and inland waterways, beaches and shore lines, the air we breathe." Federal, state and local support was obtained to develop programs in pollution abatement technology and in solid waste technology, according to J. N. Carsey, president of the college.

He credits Belva Jensen, head of the biology department, with developing the project. Several county sanitary inspectors took a course in biology under Mrs. Jensen. Upon completing the course, they decided that they would have done their jobs differently and better had they had the benefit of the course earlier.

From this experience, Mrs. Jensen decided that a course specially designed for pollution control might prove effective. At the time, for example, there were, according to state health authorities, only three certified sewage treatment plant operators in Maryland.

Mrs. Jensen, with backing from Mr. Carsey, who helped find federal support, planned a three-point program: curriculum development, construction of a science and technology center for laboratories and classrooms and building the sewage disposal plant to serve the college and community while giving students practical experience. All have been realized. In the fall of 1969 classes began with some 20 students enrolled—including one "committed housewife."

"Community colleges," says Mr. Carsey, who was one of the youngest college presidents in the country when he took the post five years ago at the age of 35, "are ideally suited to work in the pollution control field. The improvement of the environment is really a local problem which has to be tackled on a local basis—naturally with help and direction at the national level.

"Moreover," he continues, "much of the work that needs to be done in improving the water and air can be accomplished by well-trained technicians."

Charles County Community College is in an ideal area for the investigation of pollution problems. Natural laboratories abound: the Tobacco River, the Potomac, even Chesapeake Bay. The college is near Port Tobacco. These "labs" are used for the testing equipment and training in pollution control techniques.

When all the environmental equipment is installed, the college will prepare men and women to manage sewage and water treatment operations, do research and analytical work on pollution control and engage in laboratory and field operations. Those who complete the programs can look forward to well-paying jobs since there is a shortage of personnel in the field.

Carl Schwing, now in charge of the pollution control program at the college. He describes himself as a white hat—a sanitary engineer—who worked his way through college as a sewage plant engineer. He can trace pollution control techniques through the centuries from the Babylonians to the present. He feels the Babylonians probably had systems as good or better than those in operation today.

Schwing is optimistic about the college's efforts at improving the environment and providing careers. But he knows it is not easy to glamorize some of the work areas in sewage disposal.

In addition to what has already been accomplished by the college, there are plans to use the campus for demonstrating the first complete recycling operation in the country. All wastes—liquid, solid, heat and even noise—will be reused within the system. For example, instead of burning used exam papers as is the custom now, they will be remade into new examination papers. The heat now pumped into the atmosphere from air conditioners in the summer will be stored and used by the college. The college will make extensive use of its large computer installations for machine teaching to allow students to advance at their own pace.

Charles County Community College is appropriate in many ways as the site for pioneering efforts to educate men and women to improve the environment.

While the campus is in a beautiful wooded setting, once a tobacco farm, the institution serves an area which lost its major industry when slot machines were banned in Maryland several years ago. The college is in LaPlata, on the once bustling 301 strip. Abandoned motels are reminders of the halcyon days.

Opened in 1958 at a vacant Nike missile site, the college has become a major cultural resource for the community. It has an enrollment of about 1,000 students, drawing from the surrounding area.

It offers work leading to transfer to four-year colleges and universities at the end of two years—and offers, in addition to the pollution control technologies, a variety of other technical courses of study. Its new computer center serves the community as well as the students.

"And that," says Mr. Carsey, "is why we exist. For we are a community college. Our job is to improve the community. If we can help clean up the environment and simultaneously prepare people for rewarding jobs, then we will have gone a long way toward fulfilling the promise of the community college."

#### DR. TAL BONHAM SOUNDS CITIZEN ALERT

#### HON. JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, on November 19, 1970, a distinguished theologian delivered a major patriotic speech from the steps of the State capitol in Little Rock.

Dr. Tal D. Bonham, president of the Arkansas Baptist State Convention, pastor of the South Side Baptist Church in Pine Bluff, addressed 500 people who stood in the rain to hear his words.

That speech contained fundamental truths about the United States, and an exhortation to sustain those fundamentals which have provided the framework for U.S. progress and achievements.

In order that my colleagues of the Congress may share Dr. Bonham's thinking, I include his speech, "Wake Up, Citizen," in the RECORD at this point:

#### WAKE UP, CITIZEN!

During World War I, a member of the State Council of Defense in an Illinois city received a stack of patriotic posters with the request to display them all over town. He enlisted the help of an overenthusiastic teenager and instructed him: "Put these up all over the city wherever you find a dead wall." Later in the day, the official was taken to a nearby cemetery where he read

on the tomb of one of the city's deceased founding fathers:

"Wake up, citizen! Your country needs you!"

#### A PROUD AMERICAN

If it were possible, I too would request that some of our forefathers awake with the plea, "Your country needs you!" If they could awake, I would express my gratitude to those who paid for my freedom at Bunker Hill, Gettysburg, and Iwo Jima. I would have a special word of thanks for those who lost their lives on a barren ridge in Korea or a slimy jungle in Vietnam.

I am a proud American! My gratitude to God for this nation still causes a lump in my throat when I think of the patience of a Washington, the wisdom of a Franklin, the compassion of a Lincoln, the integrity of an Eisenhower, the courage of an unknown soldier, the vision of a Jefferson, and the sacrifice of a Nathan Hale. I hear them as though it were yesterday:

"I have not yet begun to fight."

"I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

#### SIGNED IN BLOOD

My hat is off to that group of brave men who signed that historic document in behalf of the people of the 13 colonies which stretched from New Hampshire to Georgia. They signed knowing that it meant danger. Nevertheless, they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. They literally signed the Declaration of Independence in their own blood.

Carter Braxton of Virginia saw his ships swept from the seas by the British Navy and he died in rags. Thomas McKean, hounded by the British, was separated from his family. Francis Lewis' home was destroyed and his wife died in jail. The homes of Ellery, Clymer, Hall, Gwinnett, Heyward, Rutledge, and Middleton were looted by soldiers and vandals. John Hart was driven from his wife's bedside as she was dying and their 13 children fled for their lives. Others who dared sign the Declaration of Independence met similar fates.

#### A THRILLING FLAG

I don't know about you but I still thrill at the sight of our flag. I can enthusiastically pledge allegiance to a flag whose stripes represent the struggles of the original 13 colonies and whose stars represent the freedoms of the 50 sovereign states of these United States. I can pledge allegiance to a flag whose red reminds me of courage, sacrifice, hardiness, and valor. I can pledge allegiance to a flag whose white reminds me of purity, innocence, and liberty. I can pledge allegiance to a flag whose blue reminds me of loyalty, vigilance, perseverance, and justice.

I can pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands!

#### AN EMPIRE RISES

I can almost see George Washington, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin sitting among those present at the state house in Philadelphia in 1787. They were there for the purpose of drawing up a constitution for the new nation. Delegates were arriving late because of the weather. The small states wanted representation equal to that of the larger ones. The larger states wanted representation on the basis of population. It seemed as though there was no possibility of reaching a decision.

Then, Benjamin Franklin spoke:

"Gentlemen, I have lived a long time and am convinced that God governs the affairs of men. If a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid? I move that prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven be held every morning before we proceed to business."

After prayer, our founding fathers drafted a document that insures, to this day, the freedom of all Americans.

#### ONE NATION UNDER GOD

I glory in the spunk of John Leland, a Baptist preacher from Massachusetts who moved to Virginia at the end of the 18th century to aid in the struggle for religious liberty. He became a candidate for the Virginia Constitutional Convention and had planned to exert his influence to see that the Constitution was not ratified by Virginia until it guaranteed full religious freedom. He and James Madison met beneath an oak tree near Orange, Virginia, where Leland agreed to support Madison for political office with the understanding that he would, in turn, present amendments to the Constitution which would guarantee religious liberty, free speech, and a free press. Madison kept his promise and introduced the ten amendments known as The Bill of Rights.

I visited our nation's capitol recently and knelt to pray in the prayer room. The prayer room is centrally located for the convenience of any member of the U.S. House or Senate. I asked, "Is it used much?" The answer was, "Yes, it is used often during the sessions of the House and Senate." There is an open Bible on the altar opened to the 23rd Psalm. I was told that this one passage is read most by those seeking the will of God before voting on some vital issue. In fact, the page on which the 23rd Psalm is found is so worn that they had to cover it with plastic.

The prayer room is rather simple. There are only ten chairs in it. There is an altar flanked by two candelabras, an American flag, and two small kneeling rails. Over the altar is a lighted stained glass window. It features Washington on his knees at his inauguration surrounded by the names of the 50 states of the United States. Directly over his head are the words: "This nation under God." Beneath the kneeling President are the words of Psalm 16:1 which Washington prayed at his inauguration:

"Preserve me, O God, for in thee do I put my trust."

#### A DISTURBED AMERICAN

I am proud of our American heritage. I am a proud American! But I am also a disturbed American!

In 1903, 17 people committed themselves to the teachings of Marx and Engels and organized the first Russian communist political party. At that time 90% of the Russian peasants owned no land and had no rights. At that time 80% of them could not read. A 17 year old Russian youth by the name of Vladimir watched the Royal Police seize his older brother, cut out his tongue, cut off his ears, and hang his body at the door of their humble hovel where it hung until it rotted down. "Someday," said the 17 year old boy, "I will change things!" The world later knew him as Lenin.

Communism swept through Russia promising a better life to the downtrodden. They said to a little peasant boy, "Come, little Joe, and follow us and we will give you a new way of life." He had seen three brothers and a sister starve to death as peasants. He had been trained as a religious leader but he hung up his frock and followed those who later gave him the name of Joseph Stalin.

In China, Mao Tse-Tung led the Chinese phase of the Communist movement to control the world and by 1949 he had defeated the Chinese Nationalist forces and drove them into Formosa.

#### HAS COMMUNISM CHANGED?

Communism's initial formula for world conquest was: "First, conquer eastern Europe; then, the masses of Asia; then, we will circle the United States of America, the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack it. It will fall like an overripe fruit in our hands."

When revolution came in Russia and China, the masses were both ignorant and

poor. America is both prosperous and literate. The Communist Party is probably the most innocent looking underground organization in the United States. I am convinced that it moves quietly to infiltrate labor unions, college campuses, judicial powers, and religious bodies. I am convinced that much of the burning, looting, shooting, and rioting that we have observed in recent years is directly related to communist inspiration. Several years ago the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation labeled the communists as "masters of deceit" and estimated that there were over 20,000 committed communists and over 200,000 communist sympathizers in the United States. No one knows how much that number may have grown in the past few years.

#### ALL IS NOT LOST

I am proud of this nation. I am disturbed at some recent events in this nation. But I am convinced that all is not lost. Already in many of our churches and on many campuses, the fresh wind of a spiritual awakening is blowing.

If those who claim to believe the Bible will merely heed and proclaim its admonitions, America will remain the "land of the free." When James Russell Lowell was asked, "How long do you think the American Republic will endure?" he replied, "So long as the ideas of its founding fathers continue to be dominant."

Jesus said, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's" (Matthew 22:21). No wonder Toynbee said, "The first heralds of the gospel brought a living faith to a dying civilization." To follow the admonitions of the Bible will truly bring a living faith to this nation that may be dying in racial strife, drug addiction, alcohol, pornography, and pollution (both inward and environmental).

Christian citizenship calls for prayers—not pot shots. Certainly, we must constantly question the policies and deeds of our local, state, and national leaders but we must also pray for them. The Apostle Paul left no place for the censorious spirit when he said, "I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty" (I Timothy 2:1-2).

#### FAIR SHARE OF TAXES

Christian citizenship calls for financial support. When our Lord spoke of rendering unto Caesar that which belongs to Caesar, he did so in the context of a conversation on paying taxes. Jesus paid his taxes (Matthew 17:24-27). The Apostle Paul admonished Christians to pay their taxes (Romans 13:6). We should thank God that our places of worship are tax exempt in America. But, it is high time that someone reminded many churches that there is a limit to their exemptions. I pray that our nation will never levy taxes on our places of worship and religious education. However, it is no more than right for a church to pay its fair share of taxes on revenue producing property.

Christian citizenship calls for a rededication to law and order. The Bible admonishes us to "be subject to principalities and powers" and "to obey magistrates" (Titus 3:1). It calls for our respect of those in places of leadership (Romans 13:1-4).

#### THE MESSAGE OF THE BOOK

Those who believe in the Bible must be busy about proclaiming its message as never before! Let them echo the words of the Psalmist from California to Maine: "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord" (Psalm 33:12). Let them remind every American that "Righteousness exhalteth a nation: but sin is a reproach to any people" (Proverbs 14:34).

Let those who believe the Book point a troubled world:

To the One whom the grave could not contain;

To the One with a message of love for a world of hate;

To the One who points a polluted world to a theology of inner ecology;

To the One who is productive—not destructive;

To the One who does not destroy classes but loves all classes;

To the One who is color blind when he looks upon a human being created in the image of God;

To the One who died for all men of all races.

#### LEARN, EARN, BURN, OR TURN?

The church stands at the same crossroad and asks the same question with the rest of the world: "Which way from here?"

Some are saying, "Learn—education is the way." Others are saying, "Earn—economic development will solve all of our problems." Some are crying, "Burn, Baby, Burn—our society is so corrupt that it must be destroyed." When others clamor to learn, earn, and burn, we must listen to the voice of God who says, "Turn—be converted from your selfish ways and find life everlasting in Jesus Christ."

Many years ago, a French statesman visited America to ascertain the American ideal. Here was his conclusion: "I sought for the greatness and genius of America in her commodious harbors and her ample rivers, and it was not there; in her fertile fields and boundless prairies, and it was not there. Not until I went to the churches in America and heard her pulpits aflame with righteousness did I understand the secret of her genius and power. America is great because she is good and if America ever ceases to be good, she will cease to be great."

Wake up, Citizen! Your country needs you!

#### KENYA

### HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, on December 12 the Republic of Kenya will celebrate the seventh anniversary of its independence. I believe the time is appropriate to note the impressive record which Kenya has made in these past 7 years.

Under the wise and dedicated leadership of President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya has demonstrated to the world the benefits of a multiracial society. Despite the dire warnings of cynics, Kenya has evolved a policy of economic pragmatism and political evolution which continues to offer a home and a future to its citizens of different racial backgrounds. President Kenyatta has demonstrated to the world that old animosities can be forgotten and buried in the search for a better tomorrow. I would like to point out, Mr. Speaker, that this opinion of Kenya and its remarkable president is shared by that most hardheaded of observers, the American businessman. The number of American companies making private investments in Kenya, often in cooperation with local private and governmental interests, continues to increase rapidly.

On this seventh anniversary of Kenyan independence, therefore, I wish to extend the congratulations and best wishes of the American people to the President and people of the Republic of Kenya.

WALL STREET JOURNAL POINTS UP  
PLIGHT OF CAPTIVE NATIONS

## HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, an article in today's Wall Street Journal focuses attention in a unique way on the plight of the nearly 6 million persons living in the Baltic States.

The piece serves as a reminder that the Soviet Union continues to control the Baltic States against the will of its captives, and in violation of all of the rights and freedoms of the 6 million people there.

I commend the article to my colleagues:

PHANTOM DIPLOMATS CARRY ON IN BRITAIN—  
MEN WITH NO COUNTRY

(By Felix Kessler)

LONDON.—By all rights, His Excellency August Torma should easily qualify as dean of the diplomatic corps here.

Mr. Torma is Estonia's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary—a post he has occupied since 1934, when he presented his credentials to King George V. "It was on December 12th or 13th," he recalls.

Of 112 foreign envoys here, Mr. Torma alone has had official business with either King George V or his successor, King Edward VIII, who became the Duke of Windsor after his abdication.

And yet the 76-year-old Mr. Torma wasn't even invited last month to the Queen's annual reception for the diplomatic corps at Buckingham Palace. In fact, Mr. Torma and Queen Elizabeth II haven't met since her coronation in 1952, although he knew her as a young princess during the reign of her father, King George VI.

A Buckingham Palace official, after confirming that last month's guest list had excluded Mr. Torma, confesses "I didn't know Estonia had a legation here."

The Royal Family, however, hasn't committed an unpardonable gaffe by snubbing Mr. Torma. For the past 30 years, Mr. Torma hasn't existed. At least officially, Mr. Torma is, in effect, an envoy without a country. He and four other such "phantom diplomats" have been granted diplomatic privileges by the British government—but they aren't quite recognized by it.

This unusual state of diplomatic affairs dates to 1940, when Russia invaded Estonia and its Baltic Sea neighbors, Latvia and Lithuania. The three Baltic states were unwillingly "absorbed" by the Soviet Union, which now numbers them among its 15 republics. Britain acknowledges the political realities of the situation. It concedes that Russia occupies and governs the Baltic states—but it doesn't recognize the legality of the Soviet absorption.

## "NOTHING CHANGES . . ."

For that reason, the Baltic states continue to enjoy diplomatic privileges and to maintain legations here. But since none of the Baltic governments actually exist, a Foreign Office spokesman notes, none can perform the routine function of appointing new legation officers to replace deceased officials. Over the years, attrition has reduced the three Baltic legations to five accredited officials among them.

Mr. Torma is the last surviving envoy. Lithuania and Estonia are headed by junior officials who assumed the role of charge d'affaires upon the death of their envoys. The Lithuanian delegation consists only of Vincas Balckas, the charge d'affaires. The Foreign Office declines to speculate whether

Britain will quietly alter its views of the Lithuanian situation when the legation no longer has an accredited representative.

For his part, Mr. Balckas tries to avoid interviews, which are obviously painful. "We give interviews and nothing changes," he says. "Our countries are still occupied, and the stories give us pain, as if to reproach us for existing. Is something wrong in that?"

Mr. Balckas keeps in touch with the dwindling Lithuanian community, attending social and cultural affairs. "This week, I'll be going to four functions," he says. Although his Lithuanian passport is still valid, he hasn't traveled abroad since 1959. "I hate leaving the office to go away now," he says. "I prefer staying here at my post."

The Baltic legations continue to function—issuing passports, displaying their flags on national holidays, keeping alive memories of their brief period of independence between the two world wars. But they function in diminished elegance, existing mostly on private contributions and carefully watching expenses: Furniture hasn't been replaced in 30 years, rugs are threadbare, old maps curl against faded wallpaper. Only the outside brass plates that identify the stately buildings as legations are kept as shiny as those of the busiest embassy.

## DIGNITY AND IRONY

Last year, after three decades of controversy, the British government appropriated about \$16 million in gold reserve that the Baltic states had on deposit with the Bank of England since before World War II. The money became part of a fund to repay British claims for property lost as a result of Russia's occupation.

"We thought this was very unfair," says Ernst Sarepera of the Estonian legation. "It wasn't our governments that appropriated the property. The money should have been preserved for the legitimate governments as a matter of principle."

Mr. Sarepera, who is Estonia's consul general, accepts the political situation with dignity and irony. Several times a year his duties require his attendance at consular affairs at which Russian and other Iron Curtain officials are also invited. There never are any incidents, though face-to-face meetings are minimized. "We're all civilized people," says Mr. Sarepera with a thin smile.

As a consulate, the Estonian legation still issues passports to those Estonian natives who haven't taken out British citizenship. "We aren't as busy as we used to be," says Mr. Sarepera, who observes that the Baltic legations issued documents to tens of thousands of refugees who fled the three states immediately after the war.

Old friends in the diplomatic corps still invite the Baltic legations to social functions. Once a year they go to Buckingham Palace—to an afternoon garden party, not a diplomatic gathering. Among their diplomatic courtesies and privileges, the legations aren't required to pay income taxes. Income has, to be sure, diminished greatly.

The legations firmly hold the view that their states will someday be independent again. "History hasn't stopped today," says Eric Zilinskis, the Latvian legation's secretary. "Who can predict the future." He keeps books and documents with pictures of Latvians killed or tortured under the Russian occupation. "But we don't demonstrate like hooligans," he says. "Our relations with the world are peaceful—and delicate."

The United States goes beyond Britain and recognizes neither the Soviet Union's legal nor de facto occupation of the Baltic states, a position that gratifies the three legations. "The world owes us some justice," says Mr. Torma, "but we have only right on our side, not might." Nevertheless, he's confident that there will be a change. "Not tomorrow nor the next day and I probably won't see it," he says, "but things won't be like this forever."

Meantime, the phantom diplomats try to remind the world that their nations once existed and governed about six million people without Russian assistance. And, occasionally, European border authorities are reminded of the Baltic states when someone like Mr. Zilinskis presents them with a Latvian passport.

"Of course, only on holiday," he says. "There are no business trips for me anymore."

UNCOMMON MAN AWARD GIVEN TO  
VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW

## HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, December 7, 1970, Vice President Agnew was in New York City to receive the Uncommon Man Award from the Boys' Clubs of America. In accepting the award, the Vice President addressed the board of directors of the Boys' Clubs of America and once again, it seems to me, has exploded the myth that he is antiyouth.

Anyone who takes the trouble to read the complete text of the Vice President's remarks, not only on this occasion, but on other occasions as well, can readily see that he is really "with it" as far as the great majority of our young people are concerned.

We all know that the most often repeated complaint or concern of our young people is their fear of losing their identity or individuality, if you will. The fear that they are being swallowed up in a morass of big campuses, big business, big labor, and, their greatest concern, big government. The Vice President directs his remarks to that very concern, not only in his New York speech earlier this week but also in a speech he delivered in New Orleans, La., on December 2, 1970. I ask that both texts be placed in the RECORD at this point and I would hope that young people both on and off our campuses would take the opportunity to read both in their entirety to get the real message of the Vice President rather than the distorted picture of the man and his philosophy which is actively promoted by certain individuals and groups around the country.

The texts follow:

ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT,  
NEW YORK, N.Y.

It is indeed a privilege to be with you tonight and to receive this "Uncommon Man" award from what is probably the most uncommon collection of men in America. I consider it a rare honor and I am very grateful.

When I reflect on the talent that fills this room, the success that each of you has achieved in his chosen profession, and the fact that you have gone beyond that to dedicate your energies to helping hundreds of thousands of boys become appreciative of and contributive to the greatness of America, I am doubly impressed.

Nor am I unmindful of the role that two Presidents of the United States have played in this organization—Herbert Hoover, who was your chairman for 28 years and considered that it was the most meaningful experience of his life, and Richard Nixon, who took seriously his responsibilities as

your chairman for four years preceding his inauguration as President last year.

It is also a real pleasure to share this platform tonight with the greatest baseball player of our era—and one of the greatest of all time—Brooks Robinson. I consider myself fortunate that Brooks helped me campaign for Governor of Maryland four years ago instead of running against me. Seriously, he's as great off the field as on it; he gives unstintingly of his time to numerous worthwhile religious and charitable causes. You and the 850 thousand boys' club members throughout the United States can indeed be proud that Brooks is an alumnus of one of your clubs—Little Rock, Arkansas.

Earlier this year, I had the opportunity to learn something about the work of one of your clubs—the Silesian Boys' Club of Los Angeles. I was very impressed with the work of this Club with underprivileged boys of the Spanish-speaking minority in the Los Angeles area. Through the courtesy of certain "Spiro Agnew" wristwatch manufacturers, the Silesian Boys' Club received a \$10,000 check to assist in their good work. I hope Mickey Mouse will not be offended at our effort to build up the Silesian Boys' Club's treasury.

I can't commend too highly the work that has been done by your national organization since 1906 and by some individual clubs for more than a century. America urgently needs more of this kind of interest in our young people from the private sector—intimate, personal leadership that inspires them to achieve and excel in our strongly competitive society. A boy, discouraged and on the ropes from initial failure, needs an experienced, understanding hand to set him squarely on his feet and point him in the right direction.

One of my duties as Vice President is to serve as Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity. One of the responsibilities of the Council is the support of state and local youth coordinators. These coordinators serve on the staffs of Governors, mayors and county officials. They try to coordinate and energize public and private efforts in the area of youth opportunity—not an easy task.

These men and women must sort out and keep up with more than 200 Federal programs which directly or indirectly relate to children and youth.

It has been disturbing to me that, as the Federal government has created and publicized more and more programs, people have turned increasingly to government to solve their problems. This applies to youth work as well as to other fields.

At a meeting of the youth council a few weeks ago, I remarked on the need to reverse this trend by preventing the erosion of private group interest. In too many cases, we have regarded the availability of Federal money as an excuse to cease private support or to restrict the effort to that which the Federal funding will finance. We have fallen into the habit of saying, "that's all we can do because that's all Washington will give us." Many projects could be accomplished if the energy spent badgering Washington for more money would be applied to raising money for the project itself.

I do not deny that public assistance is useful and sometimes necessary. But if the Federal money is imaginatively utilized by local and state governments to stimulate activity and production in the private sector, the positive good resulting can be doubled or even tripled.

And it's important to remember that success depends on something more than money. The involvement and dedication of people, working shoulder to shoulder for a cause in which they are deeply committed, can overcome seemingly insurmountable obstacles. That participation is far more powerful than an impersonal signature on a check.

If we could use more of our Federal funds to stimulate private endeavors such as yours, instead of smothering initiative in a blanket of bureaucracy and a proliferation of programs, America would be a stronger nation for it.

Tonight, I am honored to be in the company of men who intensely enjoy their work of serving others. But what makes your willingness to help especially important is that you are successful products of our free enterprise system. You are representative of our fine institutions and of the professional freedom enjoyed in the United States. Everyone of you, by virtue of his own intelligence, vigor, stamina and fight, has attained a high peak of accomplishment in some field—be it government, labor, law, the military, sports, or some other business or profession. In short gentlemen, you are the establishment—and because you are the establishment—which is fashionably characterized as cold, crass, brutal, and selfish—you are confounding the critics of the American way by your willingness to help others less fortunate than yourselves. To prove their thesis, they would prefer that you spend your time exploiting the poor, evading the law, cheating the consumer, and terrorizing all of lesser position by your arrogance and insensitivity.

In these times it is vital that you continue to stand in obvious refutation of the minority of our fellow citizens who have lost their faith in American values. Your respect for our competitive system coupled with your sincerity and compassion for the underprivileged and faltering among our youth help to repulse the current attacks on our traditions.

I believe it is appropriate tonight to discuss the challenges to our traditional values.

In particular, the competitive, ambitious, aggressive side of our outlook is under attack: the businessman's drive for profit is labeled money-grubbing, the politician's joust with his opponent is branded as vicious and divisive, the military commander's desire for victory is mocked as jingoistic heroics. The urge to fight one's way to the top in any undertaking is sneered at as inhumane and unworthy.

In the public mind, this attack on traditional values is believed to represent the feeling of most of our youth. I do not think this is fair or accurate. There are many, many young people, in my opinion the vast majority, who believe firmly in the American system and in traditional American values; while at the same time many of those who attack our values are no longer youths, but full grown adults.

Nevertheless, because the report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, of which I have been both critical and commendatory, has given such an excellent description of the new "anti" culture, I should like to read you a few passages. The report is speaking of what it calls "youth culture," but I want to emphasize that I consider that label a misnomer.

But here are some passages:

"This subculture took its bearings from the notion of the autonomous, self-determining individual whose goal was to live with 'authenticity,' or in harmony with his inner penchants and instincts. It also found its identity in a rejection of the work ethic, materialism, and conventional social norms and pieties. Indeed, it rejected all institutional disciplines externally imposed upon the individual, and this set it at odds with much in American society.

"Its aim was to liberate human consciousness and to enhance the quality of experience; it sought to replace the materialism, the self-denial, and the striving for achievement that characterized the existing society with a new emphasis on the expressive, the creative, the imaginative. The tools of the workaday institutional world—hierarchy,

discipline, rules, self-interest, self-defense, power—it considered mad and tyrannical. It proclaimed instead the liberation of the individual to feel, to experience, to express whatever his unique humanity prompted."

Now in this much lionized subculture, three aspects strike me in particular. First, the avoidance of ambition and the retreat from power, struggle and greatness. Second, the emphasis on the abandonment of discipline, on hedonism; and "doing your own thing." Third, a gradual turn to solipsism, to the notion that there are no standards beyond oneself.

These three traits derive from an unwillingness to look beyond oneself or go beyond oneself. The retreat from ambition and from the arena of great affairs is justified by the emphasis on chucking societal restraints and "doing one's own thing." Older standards and principles that transcend the individual and have often called him forth to something nobler than self, are rejected, and the rejection is justified by reliance upon one's individual standard of values.

There is a positive side to this. After all, no less a personage than Plato once described justice as "doing one's own things." And none of us is naive enough to believe that there are not abuses in the accumulation as well as in the exercise of power. Prestige is not always well-earned.

But there is also a negative side. The reward of ambition is responsibility as well as power and prestige. And since power is an increment of achievement, no one will want power if achievement is considered an unworthy objective. And if there is no competition for power, it will fall into the hands of those least qualified to use it constructively.

There is little doubt that this new "anti" culture is opposed to what is generally considered to be the traditional, American values. To use the modern jargon, they are two different "life styles." I favor the traditional, but I firmly believe that both have the right to exist. Men can live in differing ways; they have the right to choose and tolerance demands that we try to see the good aspects of other ways of life.

I must state very emphatically that I have not given this description of the new way of life, juxtaposed to ours, for the purpose of criticism. Rather, I have given it in the desire simply to delineate, because I feel it is a phenomenon worthy of attention. However, I believe we should also be aware of what this new outlook signifies, not so much in moral terms as in practical terms—what it means for us and for our country.

Let us consider for a moment what this country stands for. It stands for freedom. It stands for equality of opportunity, and for justice. I realize that these concepts will always be ideals, goals; that they do not exist in perfection here. Our principal minorities still suffer from inequality of opportunity. But we have improved greatly in the past two decades, and with the help of all fair-minded citizens we shall conquer this defect. The beauty of our system is that it dramatizes flaws rather than conceals them.

In spite of our imperfections, I believe that our country remains the bulwark of freedom in the world today. With us rests the responsibility and the capacity to see that freedom does not die. Most of you remember well the Second World War and how this country armed itself to fight one of the greatest threats to freedom the modern world has seen, the Nazi Reich. If we had not gone to war and fought for 4 long years, it is possible that freedom would have perished from this earth. The Communists had already extinguished liberty in Russia, and were on their way to doing so in China. Britain would surely have fallen, and I doubt that we in America would have remained free from invasion after the Nazis and the Communists had divided the vast Eurasian continent among themselves.

But we did go to war and, because of our decision to fight, freedom was preserved. Freedom is very precious, but it is fragile—it does not survive by itself. It must be fought for, every year, every day. Not always with arms, but always with will. Sometimes the threats to freedom are not readily apparent as threats—isolated acts of violence—an anarchist's bomb thrown in the name of peace—a policeman murdered in the name of freedom itself.

It is worth remembering that freedom is not something common in the world, nor has it always been there. Free, representative government was first developed as a political goal in Ancient Greece, and it remained for a long time a peculiarly Western response to communal needs.

We have inherited a firm belief in the correctness of an unfettered citizenry partly through the survival of great literatures from Greece and Rome, and partly through the success of nations that were founded on the principle of liberty. Athens reached the peak of her attainments as a democracy. Rome grew to world power through a constitution based on self-government. But our own country is perhaps the greatest example the world has ever known of the success that freedom brings.

But the men who founded our country did not find a ready model for their concepts of free government. Because freedom at that time was languishing. There was a King in England, and a King in France; an Empress in Russia and an Emperor in China. Self-government did not exist in any major power in the world at the end of the 18th century.

The men who founded this nation therefore drew their concept of freedom in large part from their reading of ancient literature, and from their reading of authors who themselves were influenced by the Ancients. The example of a government by the people did not exist for them to observe in their contemporary world, because it had been extinguished with the founding of the Roman Principate, 180 years before.

And so we see how rare a thing freedom really is, and how few nations and how few people in the history of the world have been able to enjoy it. Even today, a great portion of the world's population is not free.

These facts illustrate quite vividly that freedom does not simply take root and perpetuate itself, but must be established, cultivated and guarded—consciously and diligently.

It is because freedom requires vigilance and effort to survive that I am worried about the "anti" culture of today. I fear that those who espouse this way of life do not realize how quickly a massive individual rejection of responsibility and power could snuff out the freedom that makes their style of life possible. They say, "Make love, not war"; and their slogan has appeal. But it misses the point because it suggests that those of us who believe that there are times when freedom must be defended, would rather make war than love. This is not true. No thinking person desires war. All sane Americans want peace. But we must face the fact that there are some in this world who are not interested in peace—at least not until their dreams of conquest are fulfilled. Therefore, we must retain the power and capacity to deter them and defend ourselves, if necessary.

It has been made clear throughout our history that we do not covet the resources of others. Certainly, all Americans want peace; all Americans want happiness; and all Americans want freedom. On this we are agreed—both we who believe in traditional values and those who profess the new "anti" culture.

What sets us apart is not the ends, but the means: is freedom best preserved by striving or by resting? Are the things we value most—justice, equality, peace—best secured by ef-

fort or by ease? Perhaps there is nothing intrinsically wrong with a society or civilized withdrawal and relaxation, but in view of the terrible fragility of freedom, can such a society be preserved in today's aggressive world?

Freedom always demands unceasing wakefulness, but most especially now, when her enemies are both powerful and aggressive. We need men in America who are strong as well as humane. We need men who understand that leadership requires effort and who are willing to make that effort—men who go beyond themselves both in joining the battle for prizes and in serving others generously.

Your directors of the Boys' Clubs of America are such men. You have competed with other men and you have served other men. And the boys you have helped get a start on a better life than they were born to, will not forget. They have noticed what sort of men you are, the sacrifices you make, the generosity you have shown, and to them you will remain an example.

Because of you, they will be better able to believe in the American dream, to trust in American freedom, to have confidence in their ability to compete and to accept responsibility. They will not need to find a cheap outlet for their desires or live a degrading life in a fantasy world of dangerous drugs and narcotics.

They are strong boys. I believe they represent the great majority of American youth today. I do not think that, in honesty and fairness, we can tar the bulk of our young people with the brush of "anti" culture. In my view, our young people are too energetic, too positive. Some of the more vocal elements in our society may disagree and if you spend a great deal of time before the television tube, you too may wonder where I get my optimism. Well, I get it from my own observations—from traveling the length and breadth of this great country—seeing all those fresh young faces at airport fences, on city streets, even at political meetings—and hearing them say in a hundred ways that they believe in America. My judgment is that the youth of America is sound.

That is why I am optimistic: because we have fine young people and men like yourselves who together have accepted the responsibility of all Americans: to keep the United States strong as a guarantee of freedom in the world.

All of us want our country to be great, not only in her power, but especially in her humaneness. We want justice and equality and happiness for all our citizens. These are gentle aspirations, and it may seem strange to the advocates of the "anti" culture that there is also a tough side to happiness. But I believe that even in this sleek and prosperous age we would do well to heed the words of the great Athenian statesman, Pericles, who once said to his countrymen over 2400 years ago, that "the secret to happiness is freedom, and the secret to freedom is courage."

#### ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT AT THE LOUISIANA REPUBLICAN DINNER

The growth of the Republican Party in Louisiana, and throughout the South, proves that the days of one party domination here are numbered. No longer can the Democrats in Washington automatically count on blind loyalty from Dixie. From now on thoughtful Southerners will insist they have the opportunity to select, from viable competing parties, the candidates most qualified and most representative of their views. In Louisiana, the Republican Party is going to win its share of elections because it will field top-flight candidates—people like your outstanding State Senator, Ace Clemons, and Ben C. Toledano, who made a fine race for Mayor of New Orleans.

But good candidates are only one part of any successful political effort. Without

strong party executives, willing to do the bull work in the parishes, the best candidates cannot win. I want to compliment Chairman Charles DeGravelles and our loyal party workers all over Louisiana for their tenacity and courage. They are the reason Republicans made the best showing ever at the grass roots this year. Those fifty-nine parish executive committees did not bloom spontaneously. They came about through hard work.

I was also pleased to learn from your State Chairman that our two United States Attorneys in Louisiana—Jerry Gallinghouse in New Orleans and Don Walters in Shreveport—are doing such an outstanding job. Our congratulations to both of you.

A little over a year ago, in this same room I had the privilege of speaking at a dinner very similar to this one. Some of you were probably present that evening. You may recall that I committed an unpardonable Vice Presidential sin on that occasion—I said something. From time to time over the past year I have made other candid observations. And, irrespective of the jerks and quivers of my critics, I fully intend to continue to speak out on the issues in accordance with my convictions. Some may disagree, but I believe that audiences deserve something thoughtful from a Vice President when he makes a speech—certainly something better than bureaucratic pap or vague compassionate promises to cure all the ills of mankind.

Tonight I would like to discuss a subject which is neither sensational nor controversial at the moment, but which could possibly become both because of my discussing it. But whether or not that occurs, I feel it is vitally important to an understanding of the American political system and the rather substantial changes now taking place in our federal government.

A Governor from one of your neighboring states, who had national aspirations in 1963, once said that there wasn't "a dime's worth of difference" between the Democratic and Republican parties. Well, a dime wouldn't begin to cover the difference between the sound fiscal policy of this Administration and the free-wheeling machinations of the big spenders in the other party. It would run into billions if you measured it in dollars.

Tonight, however, I would like to talk about a difference that is not measurable solely in money. I would like to touch on the contrast in philosophies, as reflected by the actions of the national leaders of the two parties.

I am aware that in this audience there are probably as many who consider themselves Democrats as there are those who consider themselves Republicans. But I don't believe you would be here if you didn't feel that President Nixon and I more closely represent your views than do the leaders who now speak for the Democratic party at the national level. And, therefore, I regard you as philosophical brethren and include you in our group—which I would loosely describe for purposes of this discussion as "centrist-moderate-conservative."

The fundamental difference between the two major parties today lies in how they view the citizen—what he ought to be, what he can become, and whether it is possible for him to remain identifiable as an individual rather than become a cipher in a throng of over 200 million people. Expressed another way, the question is will his party regard him as unique John Smith, a complex product of infinitely varied factors both inherited and acquired; or, on the other hand, will his party be satisfied to simply regard him as John Smith, a poor man, or John Smith, a black man, or John Smith, a young man?

It is my contention that our hypothetical poor John Smith is not comparable to every other poor John Smith. Their mutual poverty may be one characteristic that they have in common, yet they may differ in hundreds

of other ways; and they may have completely divergent views of what their government should be doing to help them out of their poverty. But most importantly, no John Smith needs a self-appointed elitist stranger to tell his government what is best for all the John Smiths similarly situated. After all, he is an American citizen; and in our free system he will make himself directly heard.

Our party—not only intentionally, but instinctively—strives to preserve the citizen's individuality against the encroachment of a continuing drive toward collectivism. We don't want to see all of those infinitely varied John Smiths hammered and pounded into a single conforming image by the machinery of some distant bureaucracy. We know full well that the troublesome lack of predictability of the John Smiths is an essential ingredient of true freedom and the glue that holds America together. A gigantic central government is the root to obliteration of the individual and to bureaucratic manipulation of the total population.

The left-to-liberal group, on the other hand—whose views dominate the national leadership of the Democratic Party—has a blind spot for the individual. It prefers to see the whole citizenry rather than the man. This group instinctively tries to eliminate individual variances by imposing a uniform but imperfectly fitting solution for all. This is a process that discourages individual and private group initiative; moreover, it forfeits state and local governmental prerogatives:

There is another difference no less important to the understanding of politics today and what this national Administration is trying to accomplish in Washington. This is the question of individual competence.

We believe that within the law a citizen should be allowed to shape his own life insofar as he is able to exercise the will and ability to do so.

We believe that the average citizen can direct himself more productively and more satisfyingly than he can be directed by someone in government.

We believe that federal employment does not give a person the insight to run other people's lives better than they can—that most citizens can think and do very nicely for themselves if given the incentive to strive and the opportunity to achieve.

The opposing view held by left-to-liberal politicians looks upon a normal individual as a semi-ward of the nation. He is collectively referred to as "the masses" by these politicians. He is regarded as a person so deficient in competence as to require the constant ministrations of federal careerists. Now, consider the inherent arrogance of this concept that the individual can't do, or at least can't do as well as others believe he must. The rationale is that therefore he has to be done for. And believe me, he generally is "done for" by the time they get through with him.

Our philosophy holds that government should act as a catalyst to stimulate the citizen to be productive and self-protective; that public assistance should be provided only where the individual and the private sector have plainly failed. Even then the federal assistance should be geared to the repair of the faulty private machinery and not its replacement. We certainly do not agree that the citizen should be suffocated in an unsought protective cocoon of governmental "good-Shepherdism."

There is always some danger in any discussion of general principles, such as this rather abstract examination of party postures, that one may with some justification be accused of oversimplifying. In what I am now going to cover, I must accept that risk.

It seems to me that the national Democrats have increasingly become oriented toward a terribly complicated, altruistic, and

unworkable plan designed to help the people—without the advice and consent of the people themselves. Oh, there is plenty of advice and criticism from the elitist social architects who designate themselves as special spokesmen for the people—but these pontificators are far removed from the reality of the common man's individual problems.

The Republican Party, instead of trying to dictate the destiny of people, believes in helping people to help themselves. This concept is based on our conviction that people have a pretty good idea of how they need to be helped and, if they need advice, they will seek it as close to home as possible. And if they need governmental action, they will demand it as close to home as possible. Because if that action is not forthcoming, they want to be able to figure out who failed to carry out their mandate.

Another easily identifiable difference in approach between the national parties is the distinction between remedial and compensatory action. We believe in correcting faults in the system. They believe in compensating for them by extending the system.

For example, when there was a breakdown in the teaching of English in certain high schools—such as was discovered recently when a large percentage of New York City College enrollees under an open admissions policy were found unable to read above eighth and ninth grade levels despite their high school diplomas—academic liberals of the other party favored the addition of compensatory courses in the college.

To us it makes little sense to ignore the failure of the high school system and teach reading all over again in college. We believe that the breakdown should be corrected where it exists—in the high school—so that expensive duplication at the college level can be avoided.

In short, if a student can't do high school work, he shouldn't be pushed ahead, graduated, and told he is ready for college. Better that he should be reoriented in a useful vocation where he can meaningfully compete and make an honest living.

There are many other examples of the preference for compensatory over remedial action. Time does not permit me to detail them tonight, but I expect to touch on them in future talks.

Now with that fractional understanding of philosophical differences, let's examine some little publicized aspects of the Nixon presidency that have already wrought fundamental and sweeping changes in the federal structure.

When the Nixon Administration took office twenty-two months ago, it inherited an administrative nightmare. In the preceding eight years, hundreds of programs had been enacted with virtually no attention to their interrelationship or coordination. The number was such that the Nixon Administration even published a catalog of the catalogs which described federal assistance programs so that State and local governments would know what aid was available. In 1 year alone—1965—there had been 109 new programs enacted. Some programs provided federal money to the States, some to local governments through the States, some to local governments directly, some directly to private groups. And the percentages of federal aid fluctuated wildly between all of them.

By 1966 there were 11 separate programs for health profession assistance, 10 for higher education, 8 for educational research, 7 for mental retardation. American citizens became accustomed to hearing a new program announced daily—often with much fanfare, and all too frequently without any later followthrough by the Congress to provide the money to fund these widely publicized promises. In many instances, the programs were rendered meaningless by the mountains of paper work required at the State and

local level. Delays of months and years ensued.

There are now over a thousand federal assistance programs, and their cost has increased tenfold in the past two decades—from \$2.4 billion in 1951 to \$27.6 billion in the current year.

President Nixon set out to bring some order into this chaos and also to decentralize the bureaucracy—to move a big share of the decision making out of Washington and closer to home. Ten central regional offices were created throughout the United States for administration of programs previously handled directly from Washington or from federal offices located helter-skelter around the country. All federal agencies now work through those 10 offices in the administration of programs. Mayors or governors have need to visit only one city to discuss their problems instead of 5 or 6, as was the case previously.

Kentucky officials, for example, had to deal with HEW at Charlottesville, Virginia, with OEO in Washington, with Labor in Chicago, with HUD in Atlanta, and with the Small Business Administration in Philadelphia. Idaho and Utah officials had to deal with federal offices in Denver, Kansas City and San Francisco—spread halfway across the country.

We cut red tape by the bundle. The processing of forms which had previously rendered programs meaningless was simplified and streamlined.

In the urban renewal program, for example, who have cut the paper work in the planning stage by 50 per cent and eliminated 40 per cent of the processing steps. The average planning time has been cut from 36 months to 15 months.

In the subsidized housing program, the grant processing time is being cut from one year to 6 months. In the low rent public housing program, we have cut the processing time by one full year. In the water and sewer programs, application processing time has been cut from 32 weeks to 11 weeks.

John Fischer, writing in the November issue of Harper's said of the President's governmental reforms:

"It comes hard for me to have to admit that the Administration might be doing something right. Nevertheless it is my duty as a reporter to note that it now is up to something pretty interesting—something which has scarcely been mentioned in the news media . . .

"It seems odd to me that practically nobody has noticed how drastically the Administration is changing the very structure of government. When Truman remodeled the White House porch, the press flew into a tizzy. But when Nixon starts to remodel the framework of the federal system, in ways which may well affect the lives of all of us, hardly anybody twitches an eyebrow."

If the Congress cooperates, my friends, the President will change the federal system much more than by bringing efficiency to a previously confused hodgepodge of overlapping programs. The keystone of the New Federalism is revenue sharing—giving State and local governments an unfettered share of the tax resources. This will reverse the power flow from Washington back to the states and localities. It is a vote of confidence in the concept of shared powers established in the Constitution nearly 200 years ago. I am confident that there will be enough of an approving groundswell from governors and mayors of both political parties to get this innovation enacted.

Another example of our confidence in the citizen's ability to handle his own affairs is reflected in the Administration's approach to low income housing. For years our collectivist friends have favored vast public housing projects despite the demeaning and often dismal way of life such projects

engender. We, on the other hand, feel we have a better way—the home ownership concept. It helps low-income families acquire their own homes; it gives them a chance to develop pride and dignity through home ownership. Again, it's a vote of confidence in individual dignity, and the will and the ability of the individual to do for himself. The number of starts for such housing increased from 153,000 in 1969 to 425,000 targeted for this year. In just two years we have nearly doubled the nation's total production of subsidized housing over the previous three decades.

The philosophical differences extend to all areas of government. On the subject of crime, the opposition finds excuses for criminal behavior in the deficiencies of our society; we recognize that our society is not yet perfect, but it will not improve unless we hold the individual accountable for his own conduct.

The opposition drifts ever closer to endorsing a guaranteed income regardless of effort for every man, woman and child in America. They feel there isn't necessarily a connection between work and income, that society somehow owes everyone a basic standard of living.

We hold that people should be helped by government only to the degree that they cannot help themselves. Those who can work, should work, and—unless I miss my guess—they want to work. This is why a stern work requirement lies at the heart of the President's Family Assistance Plan and why it should never be construed as a guaranteed income for everyone in America.

I could continue with such examples, but I believe the ones I have cited are sufficient to show there is a new philosophy about government at work in Washington, and that there is indeed a lot more than a "dime's worth of difference" between the two parties and their basic philosophical approaches to government.

Our views that are now being put into effect are bringing changes for the first time in decades in the operation of the federal system. We will be happy to be judged on the results in 1972.

As the President has said, this is not an administration of promises. The American people have had enough of those. We will be judged on our performance.

Thank you and good night.

**PUBLICATION OF REPORT OF HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY**

**HON. RICHARD H. ICHORD**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Speaker, I place in the RECORD a copy of the letter which I circulated on December 8 to the Members of the House of Representatives and also a copy of the resolution mentioned therein:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY,

Washington, D.C., December 8, 1970.

DEAR COLLEAGUE: A report of the House Committee on Internal Security, prepared in accordance with rules of the House and resolutions of the Committee duly adopted, was ordered by the Committee on October 7, 1970 to be reported to the House. This report, captioned "Limited Survey of Honoraria Given Guest Speakers for Engagements at Colleges and Universities", was thereupon

filed with the House on October 14, 1970, designated House of Representatives Report No. 91-1607, and referred to the Union Calendar. Pursuant to rules of the House and acts of Congress, particularly 44 U.S.C. 101 et seq., the report was submitted for printing to the Public Printer, who with the Superintendent of Documents, has the duty to print, publish and disseminate reports and other documents of the House.

The Public Printer and Superintendent of Documents have not yet, however, fulfilled their statutory responsibilities with regard to House Report No. 91-1607 because they were permanently enjoined from doing so on October 28, 1970 by Judge Gerhard A. Gesell of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. The entire proceedings in the court may be found in the Congressional Record of November 17, beginning at 37799.

I will not attempt to review the entire background of the situation here. In a letter to all Members of the House on November 17 I expressed the view that Judge Gesell's decision demonstrates disrespect for, and judicial encroachment upon, the freedom of speech expressly granted to Members of the House by the Speech and Debate Clause of the United States Constitution. His decision should be of grave concern to every Member of this House regardless of political or philosophical persuasion. The injunction constitutes an ominous intrusion into the prerogatives and privileges of the House. It is, indeed, an unlawful obstruction of the Constitutional duties of the House.

By the very terms of the Constitution, Article I, Section 6, the Courts are denied jurisdiction to question Members' speech or debate ("they shall not be questioned in any other place"). The Constitution also requires the House to publish its proceedings (Article I, Section 5). A Committee report, through which Members speak collectively, can surely be of no lesser stature than the speech of one Member alone. The courts have previously recognized and upheld the principle that the printing and publication of reports of Committees of the Congress cannot be restrained by the courts. I fully reviewed the facts and applicable law during a Special Order on December 2, 1970 (Congressional Record, 39512 to 39521) at which time some of you participated with me in ventilating the issues.

It should be noted that Judge Gesell's decision has been appealed, but the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia on November 5, 1970 denied a motion for expedited processing. The case will therefore be relegated to routine and perhaps protracted proceeding. Meanwhile, the Congress and the public are denied the right of timely access to data collected pursuant to the Committee Mandate. This result is, I believe, intolerable.

Judge Gesell, a non-elected public official, has assumed the power to supervise, censor and restrict the dissemination of the speech of elected representatives of the people. It is imperative that the prerogatives and privileges of the Congress in such matters be unmistakably and vigorously asserted. If the encroachment is not successfully challenged, history will hold us guilty as accessories to the withering of legislative authority. We would be responsible parties to a significant precedent for subordination of the legislative branch of government.

In an effort to offset and reverse the circumstances which have thus developed, to avoid mooted the case on appeal, and to afford the Court an opportunity to avoid a confrontation, I instructed the Committee staff to prepare a second report on the same subject. On December 3, 1970 the report, captioned "Report of Inquiry Concerning Speakers' Honoraria at Colleges and Universities" (a copy of which is enclosed) was duly ap-

proved by the Committee by a 5 to 1 vote with Mr. Stokes dissenting, and order to be reported to the House.

There is a possibility that this report might be construed by the Court as a "re-statement" of the prior report within the prohibitions of the injunction, or it may be attacked in the same manner as was the prior report. Therefore, I intend to introduce a privileged resolution for consideration which by its terms will order the Public Printer and Superintendent of Documents to forthwith print, publish and distribute the report in accordance with rules of the House and acts of Congress, and will enjoin all persons from interfering with performance of the work. A copy of the resolution is also enclosed for your reference. In order that you will have ample time to study the report and the resolution, it is not my intention to rise to a question of the privilege of the House until December 14th, at which time, or as soon thereafter as practicable, I will rise to the question to lay the matter before the House.

The resolution enclosed does not provide for the consequences of a violation of the congressional injunction. It will not, itself, constitute a finding of contempt for a breach of the order. It serves, however, as notice of the will of Congress that further obstruction will not be suffered. But if disregarded, the House will have the competence to initiate additional measures, such as the exercise of the power to hold in contempt of Congress. I am hopeful that the judicial branch will quickly recognize the grievous error it has committed, and that such strong action will not be necessary. An unseemly confrontation of two coordinate branches of government should be avoided.

In the light of the legislative powers exclusively conferred on the Senate and the House by the Constitution, and the precedents of the House on this subject, there should be no doubt that the encroachment of the judiciary upon the functions and procedures of the House involves a question of highest privilege. Your careful consideration of this important matter is earnestly solicited.

Sincerely yours,  
RICHARD H. ICHORD, *Chairman.*

**RESOLUTION**

Whereas, the Constitution of the United States vests all legislative powers in a Congress of the United States, consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives (Article I, Section 1);

And whereas, the said Constitution authorizes the House to determine the rules of its proceedings (Article I, Section 5);

And whereas, pursuant thereto the House enacted H. Res. 7 of January 3, 1969, as amended by H. Res. 89 of February 18, 1969, thus adopting the rules of the House, including Rule X establishing the Committee on Internal Security as a standing committee of the House, to consist of nine members to be selected by the House; and by agreement to H. Res. 251 of February 18, 1969, elected to the standing Committee on Internal Security Richard H. Ichord (chairman), Claude Pepper of Florida, Edwin W. Edwards of Louisiana, Richardson Preyer of North Carolina, Louis Stokes of Ohio, John M. Ashbrook of Ohio, Richard L. Roudebush of Indiana, Albert W. Watson of South Carolina, and William J. Scherle of Iowa;

And whereas, House Rule XI, enacted as aforesaid, names and defines the powers and duties of standing committees of the House, which includes the reference of all proposed legislation, constitutional amendments, messages, petitions, memorials, and other matters relating to the subject listed under the standing committees therein named; and commits particularly the following subject

to the Committee on Internal Security, in part, as follows:

#### 11. COMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY

(a) Communist and other subversive activities affecting the internal security of the United States.

(b) The Committee on Internal Security, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make investigations from time to time of (1) the extent, character, objectives, and activities within the United States of organizations or groups, whether of foreign or domestic origin, their members, agents, and affiliates, which seek to establish, or assist in the establishment of, a totalitarian dictatorship within the United States, or to overthrow or alter, or assist in the overthrow or alteration of, the form of government of the United States or of any State thereof, by force, violence, treachery, espionage, sabotage, insurrection, or any unlawful means, (2) the extent, character, objectives, and activities within the United States of organizations or groups, their members, agents, and affiliates, which incite or employ acts of force, violence, terrorism, or any unlawful means, to obstruct or oppose the lawful authority of the Government of the United States in the execution of any law or policy affecting the internal security of the United States, and (3) all other questions, including the administration and execution of any law of the United States, or any portion of law, relating to the foregoing that would aid the Congress or any committee of the House in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Internal Security shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendation as it deems advisable.

And whereas, acting pursuant to the powers and duties, the legislative purpose, and upon the subject committed to it by the aforesaid resolutions of the House, the committee met in session duly called and held on February 20, 1969, at which a quorum of the committee was in attendance, and considered a proposal submitted to the members of the committee by the said chairman as follows:

I desire hereby to lay before the Committee a proposal for study and investigation in depth of revolutionary violence within this Nation.

It is becoming increasingly evident that one of the gravest threats to our internal security and to the free functioning of our democratic institutions is posed by the activities of certain organizations which would effect changes in our government or its administration by other than constitutional processes. Recent investigations of this Committee, the statements of responsible officials, Federal and State, and daily press reports, appear to me to sustain this conclusion.

In this respect, moreover, we are faced with ever-mounting demands from the Members of the House and the public for legislative action, both for additional legislation and with respect to the examination and appraisal of the administration and enforcement of existing law, including proposals for constitutional amendment as well.

I need not state that the legislative problems we face on the subject of subversion are of the utmost complexity and difficulty not solely from the constitutional standpoint, but equally so from the standpoint of developing practical and effective legislation. We must find the answers to certain basic questions, among which are the following: Is additional Federal legislation necessary? What form should such legislation take? Should these statutes be essentially regulatory or penal? Can we profitably amend existing statutes in this area? What is the Federal role, as contrasted with the State role, in the exercise of the police power on this subject?

In addition, a number of bills have already been referred to the Committee. Undoubtedly additional legislation will also be referred to it from time to time. Such legislation involves a number of subjects vital to the protection and maintenance of our internal security, including such subjects as the protection of defense facilities, the security of classified information released to industry, Federal employment security, vessel, ports, and harbor security, the protection of our armed forces during periods of undeclared war, passport security, proposals with respect to the Emergency Detention Act of 1950, etc.

The answer to the foregoing questions, and the disposition of such legislation, will obviously require the most painstaking and thorough inquiry and understanding of the extent, character and objectives, the organizational forms, financing, and other facts, with respect to those organizations and individuals engaged in revolutionary violence, sedition, and breach of peace and law, as are proper subjects of investigation as mandated by the House. Obviously, we cannot legislate in a vacuum.

I therefore submit for your approval my proposal that, under my direction, the staff be authorized to undertake preliminary studies and inquiries, the results of which I shall, from time to time, report to the full Committee with a view toward the subsequent authorization of such full scale investigations and public hearings as to the Committee may seem desirable and necessary.

And whereas, at said meeting a resolution was adopted as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Chairman be directed to cause staff studies and preliminary inquiries to be made with respect to the organizations and subjects herein proposed, and to report on same from time to time, with his recommendations, with a view toward determining whether full-scale investigations and public hearings shall be authorized and conducted by the Committee with respect to any such organization or subject.

And whereas, pursuant to the authority hereinbefore mentioned and resolutions of the committee for such purposes duly adopted, studies, inquiries, reports, and investigations were made and hearings conducted from time to time by the committee upon the subject committed to it;

And whereas, pursuant to the authority conferred by House Rule XI, and committee resolution of February 20, 1969, aforesaid, the chairman directed staff studies to be made with respect to the financing of revolutionary violence, including for such purposes a survey to be made of colleges and universities with regard to honoraria paid to guest speakers of which the committee was advised in a memorandum delivered to its members on May 18, 1970, as follows:

RE: SURVEY OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES WITH REGARD TO HONORARIUMS PAID TO GUEST SPEAKERS.

I have become increasingly concerned over the past months with the financing of revolutionary groups through speaking engagements on our college and university campuses. Accordingly, I have asked the staff to prepare a list from public source material to determine the extent of speaking engagements by those persons who we know to be associated with revolutionary groups.

Though the extent of honorariums paid to college & university speakers is not always reported in the newspapers, the limited information that is available suggests to me that honorariums may well be of significance in funding the activities of revolutionary groups. In March of this year, J. Edgar Hoover, in his testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations, discussed financing and furnished the names of Black Panther speakers who appeared before secondary schools, colleges and universities dur-

ing the year 1969. Attached is an excerpt from Mr. Hoover's testimony for your consideration.

I have requested the staff to prepare, in the form of a survey, a letter to be sent to selected colleges and universities in the 50 states, requesting the voluntary participation of these schools in providing to us information with regard to speakers they have had on campus, group identification and sponsorship of speaker, the amount of honorarium paid (check or cash), to whom this money was paid and the source of funds involved.

It appears to me that this is a logical inquiry in connection with the Committee fulfilling its mandate and I would be most appreciative of your suggestions and comments with regard to this proposed survey and its implementation.

And whereas, at a session of the committee duly called and held on June 16, 1970, at which a quorum was in attendance, the aforesaid memorandum was called for discussion, and it was duly moved and agreed that an inquiry on this subject be undertaken;

And whereas, a proposed report to the House on the results of the aforesaid inquiry, titled "Limited Survey of Honoraria Given Guest Speakers for Engagements at Colleges and Universities," was considered at a meeting of the committee duly called and held on October 7, 1970, a quorum being in attendance, at which amendments were made to the said report and, as thus amended, the committee agreed that the report be made to the House;

And whereas, in accordance with the rules of the House and at the direction of the committee, at a session of the House on October 14, 1970, the said report was filed with the House by the chairman of the committee designated House of Representatives Report No. 91-1607, which was referred to the Union Calendar;

And whereas, thereafter the House on October 14, 1970, agreed to recess and went into recess from thence until November 16, 1970;

And whereas, on October 13, 1970, one day before the filing of said report and recess of the House, a complaint (Civil Action No. 3028-70) was filed with the United States District Court for the District of Columbia by Lawrence Speiser, director of Washington, District of Columbia, office of the American Civil Liberties Union, in which Nat Hentoff, John Doe, and Richard Roe were named as plaintiffs in a suit against the chairman and members of the Committee on Internal Security of the House of Representatives, the chief counsel of said committee, the Superintendent of Documents and the Public Printer, in which it was alleged that the filing and publication of the report with respect to honoraria paid to the plaintiffs and the class of persons they allegedly represented had no legitimate legislative purpose, but was being carried out by the defendants with the purpose and effect of (1) deterring colleges and universities from permitting plaintiffs to appear on their campuses as speakers (2) punishing plaintiffs for their views by exposing them to the harassment normally associated with "blacklisting"; and the court was asked to declare the action of the defendant committee members in preparing and seeking to publish the report to be unconstitutional, and to enjoin the defendants from filing, printing, publishing, or disseminating the report and from disclosing any material or information contained in it;

And whereas, on the same day, to wit, October 13, 1970, the Honorable Gerhard A. Gesell, a judge of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, acting upon the application of the said Lawrence Speiser for a Temporary Restraining Order, set the matter for hearing a 2 p.m. of that

day and, without the service of notice on the defendant parties in interest, proceeded ex parte to enter a Temporary Restraining Order as follows:

TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER

It appearing to the Court from the verified Complaint and the application for Temporary Restraining Order and accompanying affidavit that a Temporary Restraining Order, pending hearing and determination of plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction should issue, because, unless defendants (except the named Members of Congress) are restrained from printing, publishing and distributing the Report on Honoraria Paid Guest Speakers for Engagements at Colleges (a copy of which has been filed and impounded as the Court's Exhibit) which contains any list of names of individuals who have had speaking engagements at colleges or universities, plaintiffs will suffer immediate and irreparable injury, loss, damage and infringement of constitutional rights before a hearing can be had on plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction;

And the Court having concluded from the materials before the Court that the printing, publication and distribution of any such lists of names as part of said Report may be unlawful, unauthorized by Congress, serves no proper legislative purpose and infringes upon the constitutional rights of those so named;

Now, therefore, it is ordered, that defendants (except the named Members of Congress) and their agents, servants, employees and attorneys, and any persons acting in active concert or participation with them (except the named Members of Congress), be and they are hereby restrained until the determination of plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction from directly or indirectly seeking to print, publish or distribute any list of names of individuals who have had speaking engagements at colleges or universities as part of a proposed Report on Honoraria Paid Guest Speakers for Engagements at Colleges and Universities.

It is further ordered, that the 23rd day of October 1970 at 9:30 o'clock a.m., at the United States Courthouse in Washington, D.C., is fixed for the time and place of hearing plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction.

It is further ordered, pursuant to Rule 65 (c) that plaintiffs post a bond in the sum of one dollar (\$1.00).

And whereas, copies of the aforesaid complaint having been served the following day upon the parties defendant, an appearance was entered by the Department of Justice on behalf of Representatives Ichord, Pepper, Edwards, Ashbrook, Roudebush, Watson, and Scherle; Donald G. Sanders, chief counsel of the said committee; Rolland Darling (Acting Superintendent of Documents); and A. N. Spence (Public Printer), and on October 20, 1970, a motion to dismiss was filed with the court on behalf of said defendants, together with supporting affidavits and a memorandum of law, from which it will appear by reference thereto that the court was fully apprised of the facts with respect to the issuance and filing of said report hereinbefore set forth, as well as points of applicable law;

And whereas, pursuant to its order of October 13, 1970, the said court sat on October 23, 1970, to hear arguments on plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction, and after argument entered the following order:

ORDER

This cause came on for hearing on the 23rd day of October, 1970 upon plaintiffs' motion for a preliminary injunction and defendants'

\*No appearance has been entered in this action in behalf of Congressman Louis Stokes and Richardson Preyer. They are not represented in this action by counsel.

opposition thereto and during the argument on the motion, the parties to the action through their counsel having agreed that the Court could consider this matter on defendants' motion to dismiss, plaintiffs' complaint for permanent injunction and the record and counsel for defendants\* having deferred to the Court's request that the temporary restraining order entered in this cause be extended to the close of the Court's business on the 28th day of October, 1970 in order to afford the Court the opportunity to make findings of fact, conclusions of law and to enter the final judgment in the action, it is by the Court this 23rd day of October 1970.

Ordered that the temporary restraining order entered herein by the Court on the 14th day of October, 1970 be and the same hereby is extended to the close of the Court's business on the 28th day of October, 1970 and it is

Further ordered that the Clerk of Court be and he is hereby directed to record in this Court's docket an entry reflecting the agreement of the parties\* to this action made through their counsel that this cause has been submitted to the Court for final disposition on defendants' motion to dismiss, plaintiff's complaint for permanent injunction and the record.

And whereas, the court thereafter on October 28, 1970, granted permanent injunctive relief as follows:

ORDER

Plaintiffs' application for declaratory judgment and permanent injunctive relief having, with consent of the parties, come before the Court on affidavits, and the Court, after briefs and full argument, having filed herewith its Memorandum Opinion containing Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law, it is

Ordered that the Public Printer and the Superintendent of Documents be and each is hereby permanently enjoined from printing and/or distributing, or directly or indirectly causing to be printed or distributed, any copy of a Report of the House Committee on Internal Security captioned "Limited Survey of Honoraria Given Guest Speakers for Engagements at Colleges and Universities" or any portion, restatement or facsimile thereof, provided however that in the event said Report or any part thereof shall be introduced into or be mentioned during the course of proceedings of the House or of the Senate this injunction shall not apply to subsequent normal publication or distribution of the Congressional Record in full text, without special reprinting or excerpting of any portion or portions relating to said Report; and it is

Further ordered that the complaint be and it is hereby dismissed as to all parties except the Public Printer and the Superintendent of Documents, and the Temporary Restraining Order previously entered in this case is and shall be dissolved [sic] upon the service of this Order on the Public Printer; and it is further

Adjudged and declared that said Report of the House Committee for [sic] Internal Security is without any proper legislative purpose and infringes on the rights of individuals named therein as protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and that any publication of said Report at public expense, except as herein provided, is illegal.

And whereas, on October 30, 1970, the said defendants, Representative Preyer joining, gave notice of appeal and filed an appeal from the aforesaid order with the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, together with motions for summary reversal of the district court's order or, in the alternative, for the expedited processing of this appeal, with memorandum in support of said motions, requesting that the court of appeals should consider and decide

the case before Congress returned from recess on November 16, 1970;

And whereas, the court of appeals on November 5, 1970, in disregard of the urgencies of the situation and of the rights and privileges of the House, entered a per curiam order denying defendants' (appellants') motion for summary reversal or, in the alternative, for expedited processing of this appeal, as follows:

Before: Wright, McGowan and Tamm, Circuit Judges in Chambers.

ORDER

On consideration of appellants' motion for summary reversal of the District Court's Order enjoining the Public Printer and the Superintendent of Documents from printing or distributing a House document or, in the alternative, for expedited processing of this appeal, of the opposition filed with respect thereto and of the record on appeal herein, it is

Ordered by the Court that appellants' motion for summary reversal or, in the alternative, for expedited processing of this appeal is denied. Per Curiam Circuit Judge Wright did not participate in the foregoing order.

And whereas, the said report of the Committee on Internal Security, the printing and distribution of which has been enjoined as aforesaid, was authorized to be filed with the House in accordance with the rules and practices of the House;

And whereas, the Constitution of the United States provides that each House shall keep a Journal of its proceedings and from time to time publish the same (Article I, Section 5);

And whereas, Rule XIII of the House, duly enacted as aforesaid, provides that reports of committees shall be delivered to the Clerk of the House for printing and reference to the proper calendar under the direction of the Speaker, and the titles or subject thereof shall be entered on the Journal and printed in the Record; and pursuant thereto the aforesaid report of the Committee on Internal Security has been so entered and referred;

And whereas, by the rules and practices of the House, the reports of committees are printed, published, and disseminated for the use of the House, its committees, and the public in accordance with such rules and the acts of Congress for such cases made and provided, particularly title 44, United States Code, section 101 et seq.;

And whereas, on order of the House, it is the duty of the Public Printer and the Superintendent of Documents to print, publish, and distribute the reports and other documents of the House in accordance with the order of the House and applicable acts of Congress;

And whereas, the printing, publication, and distribution of the aforesaid House report (91-1607) entitled "Limited Survey of Honoraria Given Guest Speakers for Engagements at Colleges and Universities," was duly authorized and submitted for printing to the Public Printer in the normal course of business;

And whereas, it is not the rule or practice of the House to print or publish the full text of the reports of its committees in the Journal of the House or the Congressional Record;

And whereas, the restraints and limitations upon the printing, publishing, and dissemination of the aforesaid report imposed by the court's aforesaid orders constitute an unwarranted and impermissible obstruction of the execution of the rules and practices of the House and of its legislative processes and procedures;

And whereas, it is essential to the due and effectual exercise and discharge of the constitutional functions and duties of the House, and the promotion of wise legislation, that no obstruction or impediments should exist to the publication of such reports of the

House as the House may deem fit or necessary to be published:

And whereas, it is essential to the working of our parliamentary system and to the welfare of the Nation that the speech, debate, and proceedings in the Houses of Congress be made known to the country:

And whereas, it is expressly provided by the Constitution of the United States that for any speech or debate in either House the Senators and Representatives shall not be questioned in any other place (Article I, Section 6):

And whereas, the foregoing provision of the Constitution, thus succinctly stated, arose out of a time-honored struggle for liberty and was adopted from the English Bill of Rights of 1689 which declared in unequivocal language: "That the Freedom of Speech, and Debates or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or Place out of Parliament.":

And whereas, a report of a committee of the House filed with the House is speech or debate of Representatives in the House;

And whereas, by the express provisions of the Constitution, Article I, Section 6, aforesaid, the courts are enjoined against questioning, and are denied jurisdiction to question, any speech or debate in either House and may not censor, disparage, inquire into the contents of, or otherwise question, limit, or restrain, the speech or debate of Representatives in the House;

And whereas, the speech and debate of Representatives in the House is absolutely privileged, subject only to the control of the House, and is a privilege intrinsic to the right of the House to preserve the means of discharging its legislative duties;

And whereas, it is a fundamental principal of a free constitution, incorporated in the Constitution of the United States, that the legislative, executive, and judicial powers be separated (see *The Federalist*, Nos. XLVII and XLVIII);

And whereas, the House of Representatives is invested with the power to prevent and punish such contempts of its authority and privileges as is necessary to preserve the means of discharging its legislative duties, and that this power rests upon its right of self-preservation to enable the public powers given to it to be exerted; a power indeed which has been recognized in the precedents of that Court by which the inferior Federal courts of the District of Columbia are bound [see *ANDERSON V. DUNN*, 6 Wheat. 204 (1821); *IN RE CHAPMAN*, 166 U.S. 661 (1896); *MARSHALL V. GORDON*, 243 U.S. 521 (1916)];

And whereas, the chairman of the said Committee on Internal Security has this day reported to and filed with the House a report of the said committee entitled, "Report of Inquiry Concerning Speakers' Honoraria at Colleges and Universities" (House of Representatives Report No. 91-1607);

And whereas, at a meeting of the said Committee on Internal Security duly held and called on December 3, 1970, at which a quorum of the said committee was in attendance and voting, the said chairman was duly authorized and directed to file said report;

And whereas, said report was made in accordance with the rules of the House and upon the subject committed to said committee pursuant to the provisions and mandate of House Rule XI and resolutions of the committee duly adopted;

And whereas, the said report this day filed is upon the same subject matter as the prior report (No. 91-1607) of said committee, hereinbefore mentioned, and may be construed as a "restatement" of the whole or a part of the prior report, the printing and distribution of which was permanently enjoined by the hereinbefore mentioned order of the court dated October 28, 1970: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That—

(1) In accordance with the Rules of the House of Representatives and the acts of Congress made and provided, the Public Printer and the Superintendent of Documents shall forthwith print, publish, and distribute, and they are hereby ordered forthwith to print, publish, and distribute to and for the use of the House of Representatives, the Committee on Internal Security of said House, and those entitled to receive them, the usual number of copies of the report (No. 91-1607) of said Committee on Internal Security titled, "Report of Inquiry Concerning Speakers' Honoraria at Colleges and Universities," which has this day been duly reported to the House.

(2) All persons, whether or not acting under color of office, are hereby advised, ordered, and enjoined to refrain from doing any act, or causing any act to be done, which restrains, delays, interferes with, obstructs, or prevents the performance of the work ordered to be done by paragraph numbered (1) hereof; and all such persons are further advised, ordered, and enjoined to refrain from molesting, intimidating, damaging, arresting, imprisoning, or punishing any person because of his participation in, or performance of, such work.

(3) Copies of this resolution shall be forthwith furnished by the Clerk of the House to the Public Printer, Superintendent of Documents, and the clerks of the United States District Court and of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

#### NATIONAL SELF ANALYSIS

### HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, in these days of national self analysis, an article in the December 5, 1970 *New Yorker* raises some provocative questions:

#### NOTES AND COMMENTS

We've been following the reports on the recent commando raid on the prisoner-of-war camp in North Vietnam, and we were particularly interested in this exchange between Senator Fulbright and Secretary Laird, which we read in the *Times'* account of the recent Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings:

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I don't like to say it was all a bad idea simply because it failed, but it did fail. There was something wrong with the intelligence.

Mr. LAIRD. This was not a failure, Mr. Chairman, and I would—

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Well, it was a failure.

Mr. LAIRD. These men knew full well the chance that there might not be P.O.W.s present.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I'm not complaining about the men but those men responsible for it.

Mr. LAIRD. I would like to tell you, Mr. Chairman, that we have made tremendous progress as far as intelligence is concerned—

Mr. FULBRIGHT. You mean since Friday?

Mr. LAIRD.—but we have not been able to develop a camera that sees through the roofs of buildings. We had—The intelligence in this mission was excellent. But let me give you the intelligence rundown, as far as the location of troops were concerned, the location of buildings, the makeup of the camp, where the SAM missiles were located, where the anti-aircraft was located, where the radar blanks were in the radar screen, so that we could make penetration without detection.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. But, Mr. Secretary, I don't think this is relevant. There weren't any prisoners there, so what difference does it make?

Mr. LAIRD. There were prisoners there, Mr. Chairman, and we knew full well . . .

In Secretary Laird's remarks there is to be found a remarkable definition of "success" and "failure"—a definition that implies a radically altered notion of what the government's responsibility for its actions is. Success is measured wholly in terms of the vigor and health of the war machine, without any reference to what's happening to the war itself. The world outside the confines of the government's own organizational machinery disappears from view, and success and failure are judged by standards that are completely internal. One might compare the government to a doctor who tries to judge the health of his patient by taking his own temperature; or one might compare it to those "permissive" educators who grade their pupils on the basis of effort rather than on the basis of results. Under this system, even a moron can get an A in nuclear physics, and though in certain schools—particularly schools for the handicapped or the mentally retarded—this system may be wise and merciful, it is foolish and dangerous when the government uses it as a way of not facing its mistakes and of giving itself straight A's for everything it undertakes.

We have long believed that certain fundamental errors lie at the root of our country's travail in Vietnam. For one thing, the forces sent to Vietnam were entirely inappropriate to the task they were asked to perform; in fact, it is hard to imagine that any forces from any country could have performed the tasks that our government assigned to its Army. It has now become apparent that sending the Army to build democracy in Vietnam was like sending a carpenter to sew up a dress, or sending a fireman to settle a marital dispute, or sending a psychiatrist to put out a fire. And the results in Vietnam have been as ludicrous as the means. But if you apply the Laird Principle, and forget what it was that you wanted to accomplish in the first place, and forget what the results were, too, then the whole war can be seen as a "success." Laird's answers to Fulbright provide a good metaphor for the entire war effort. If a hearing were to be held on the success or failure of the war up to this point, it might, we imagine, proceed as follows:

Q. We went into Vietnam to help the South Vietnamese fight Communism and build themselves up so that they could stand on their own. Why have we failed?

A. I'd like to say that as far as the actual operation of the war is concerned, this has been a tremendous success. As to the efficiency and morale of our armed forces, this is the most sophisticated, finest Army we've ever had. Let me give you a rundown on some of the things we have accomplished. We've got the best Air Force we've ever had. As to pilot performance, these are the finest pilots who have ever flown planes, and they've got the most sophisticated ordnance that has ever been put together. This has been a tremendous plus for our side. We've got B-52s that can tear up a strip of jungle a mile long; we've got a pinpoint surgical precision in our air strikes that we never had before; we've got some ordnance for any job you want done. When you put all this together, it means that our men have been able to apply more ordnance in this war than in all our other wars put together.

Q. But the enemy continues to infiltrate its men into South Vietnam, and continues to fight in South Vietnam, and now in Laos and Cambodia as well.

A. Well, we're going at this thing from every side. I don't want to just emphasize the negative side and forget the great work that our Rural Development boys have been

doing, because we've had a whole string of successes on the positive side. We've built some of the most modern housing the rural people have ever seen. Some of them had never seen a television set until we brought one along, and our agricultural team has been doing a lot of work with new advances in farming. We've got a machine called the Transphibian Tactical Destroyer that weighs ninety tons and can cut a highway through any jungle. In the entertainment field, we've shown thousands of films throughout Vietnam, and we've kept our military bands busy, too. We've developed a tremendous store of techniques there. We replaced their tradition-oriented village system with a progress-oriented democratic system, and we've got a team of some of the highest-paid professors in the country to tell us how to put their country together again in line with modern processes, with the disruptive elements shut completely out of the picture.

They were two thousand years behind us when we got there, and we've brought them into the modern age. In terms of the development process, we introduced a lot of potential workers into the urban areas, and now, with our resettlement programs, we're getting some of them back into the countryside again. We've made amazing advances in this field, too.

Q. Then why do the villagers hate us?

A. Modernization can't happen overnight. It took us two hundred years to do it. As to the hostility that sometimes is generated, we've got planes dropping billions of leaflets explaining our system in the kind of language they understand. This is the biggest, best-organized, most sophisticated psychological war effort we've ever launched, and I want to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to our Psy War team. They're just tops. And that goes for Intelligence, too. We've got an infrared device that can just about read a fellow's mind from ten thousand feet. We've got the whole country rigged to the most sophisticated computers. They've given us more reports per square inch of enemy-controlled territory than we've ever had before.

Q. Well, then why do the enemy always know when we are going to attack, whereas we never know when they are going to attack? Everything you say is very impressive, but what has it got to do with building a strong democratic government in Vietnam? Why aren't we achieving our objectives?

A. Well, in answer to your question I'd say that we've made fantastic progress. Our machine has outproduced, outgunned, and outtalked their machine in every hamlet of Vietnam. As to whether we're achieving our objectives, I'd say that this is the best-coordinated, best-financed, most highly motivated operation we've ever mounted. In other words, we've succeeded.

Q. Then why have we failed?

A. You can't have everything.

DANIEL KEFFER POST 75 OF CLAIRTON, PA., OBSERVES 50TH ANNIVERSARY

### HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, December 5, I had the privilege of participating in a most impressive program held in observance of the 50th anniversary of an American Legion Post in my 20th Congressional District of Pennsylvania—the Daniel Keffer Post 75 of Clairton, Pa.

Ostensibly, the event was held to honor charter members and past commanders of this post, one of the oldest in Pennsylvania. In reality, however, it did much more than that. It honored all Americans who possess a love for their country and its flag. It was a stirring demonstration on the part of Post 75, its officers, members, and more than 500 persons who attended the banquet. Symbolically, it was a clarion call for all Americans to reunite under their flag; to rededicate themselves to the principles and ideals of this great Nation.

Americanism was the theme for the evening. It was stressed by speaker after speaker who took the rostrum in a flag bedecked auditorium. Among those addressing the crowd were: E. Thomas Cammarota, State Commander of the American Legion; Joseph F. Watson, Allegheny County Legion Commander; Joseph D. Kelly, 36th District Legion Commander; Leonard C. Staisey, chairman of the Allegheny County Commissioners; John F. Matz, mayor of the city of Clairton; Regis R. Malady, State legislator from the 39th District; John Dado-minici, a member of Post 75; and Msgr. Michael B. Hrebin, pastor of Ascension Church.

You may have noted, Mr. Speaker, this anniversary observance took place just 2 days before a date which all Americans should remember for all time. I know many of us here can vividly recall the details of December 7, 1941, when Japanese war planes swooped out of the sun to attack Pearl Harbor and plunge this Nation into 4 years of bloody conflict.

Appropriately, the principle speaker for the Keffer Post observance was a man who is a living link with the horrors of that war and those of Vietnam today. More than most, he knows what it means to live under the American flag. More than most, he knows the agonies, despair, hopes and fears which must grip Americans held captive by the North Vietnamese.

The man is Mr. Carl L. Moldovan, who is a survivor of the infamous Bataan Death March of World War II, and who spent 3½ years in Japanese prison camps in the Philippine Islands and on the Japanese mainland. I had never met Mr. Moldovan but, after hearing his experiences, I could not help but pray to the Almighty for the safety of American prisoners now in Vietnam. I could not help but give thanks again for having returned safely from World War II back to the United States of America.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Post 75, the visiting Legionnaires, and Mr. Moldovan for reminding us all what a great land America really is. I commend the post and its officers, past and present, for continuing to foster a love of country and of flag. I would like to call the attention of my colleagues in the House to the men who sponsored this public demonstration of patriotism—Comdr. Michael W. Mihalov of Post 5 and his staff: Henry W. Drnach, senior vice commander; Joseph V. Drnach, junior vice commander; Gerard D. Pasquerell, adjutant; John A. Maksin, finance officer; Andrew York, service officer; Raymond G. York,

chaplain; Charles A. Yaksick, historian; and Mark McLaughlin, sergeant at arms.

These men carried on a tradition established August 1920, when the Keffer Post was chartered by the national Legion organization. I feel it only fitting and proper that the men and women who began it all should be recognized in the RECORD. These charter members are: Roscoe H. Brunstetter, George M. Barone, Joseph J. Berezny, Michael Behary, Elsie Jean Bailey, Carl Blackburn, William H. Brown, Daniel Black, George Cranisky, M. A. Cunningham, Ralph J. Cole, C. B. Davis, Vincenzo DeSalvatore, John Filakousky, Harold Francis, John Fulmer, Alfred Farrell, Charles Farrell, John Gogo, Robert Gibson, Frank Gaydos, Joe Gaydos, Reginald Gates, Silvio Geangilio, Andy Gombar, Kenneth Keister, J. Carl Leis, Frank Lindsay, John Martis, Tony Mitchell, Stanley McGuire, C. B. Norcross, D. A. Polhemus, John Raynak, Richard Reager, A. M. Snyder, G. A. Sugier, B. B. Shanks, Daniel Trainor, E. A. Thomas, Leonard White, and John Zoho.

Over the past 50 years Post 75 has contributed much to the city of Clairton. It has joined in or sponsored many community programs and projects, all designed to improve and enrich the lives of the city residents. These endeavors have been successful because of the leaders who commanded Post 75, and I take great pleasure in inserting a list of their names in the RECORD:

1920-22 Dudley A. Polhemus.  
1922-24 Alfred Farrell.  
1924-25 J. Carl Leis.  
1925-27 Carl Blackburn.  
1927-28 Robert M. Taylor.  
1928-29 Dr. David M. Boles.  
1929-30 Earl Bissell.  
1930-31 Dr. C. J. Murphy.  
1931-32 C. J. Watson.  
1932-33 Thomas M. Grace.  
1933-34 Frank Wilson.  
1934-35 William R. Walls.  
1935-36 Andrew York.  
1936-37 Andrew Girman.  
1937-38 Thomas J. Boyd.  
1938-39 John P. Baird.  
1939-40 William McConnell.  
1940-41 William R. Walls.  
1941-42 Dr. C. J. Murphy.  
1942-43 Earl Bissell.  
1943-44 John P. Baird.  
1944-45 Andrew York.  
1945-46 Earl Bissell.  
1946-47 Dr. C. J. Murphy.  
1947-48 C. Donald Feight.  
1948-49 Francis Fisher.  
1949-50 Charles Stillely.  
1950-52 John Payne, Jr.  
1952-53 Joseph Strinich.  
1953-54 Robert Passera.  
1954-55 C. Donald Feight.  
1955-56 Phillip Martell.  
1956-57 Willis Campbell.  
1957-58 Edward A. Pastorik.  
1958-59 Charles A. Yaksick.  
1959-60 Larry Zuber.  
1960-61 A. Kenneth York.  
1961-62 John W. Davies.  
1962-63 Raymond G. York.  
1963-65 Neil Declina.  
1965-71 Michael W. Mihalov.

Mr. Speaker, Post 75 is proud of its leaders and its achievements. It should be for its record is outstanding, reflecting with great credit upon the city of Clairton, the national American Legion and the Nation itself.

## COMMUTER CONTAINERS

## HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, since my first term in the Congress in 1963 I have been working to improve the lot of my constituents who are commuters on the New Haven and Harlem-Hudson Divisions of the Penn Central Railroad. My friend Art Buchwald, however, has in the single stroke of his formidable pen, come up with a solution to this problem that far exceeds any of my efforts. I would like to share his column in yesterday's Washington Post, entitled "Commuter Containers," with my colleagues and insert it in the RECORD at this point:

## COMMUTER CONTAINERS

(By Art Buchwald)

The question of what to do about American passenger railroads is still very much on the administration's mind. There is no doubt that the railroads are losing money on passenger business. If they had their druthers they would just stay with freight. At the same time the public's need for passenger trains, particularly commuter trains, is great.

What is the solution? Professor Heinrich Applebaum, who holds the Casey Jones Chair of Railroad Philosophy at Pullman University, has come up with a radical idea that could save both the railroads and the needed passenger service.

Professor Applebaum says the solution to the problem can be found in large aluminum containers, which are now being used for freight.

These containers are placed on trains already packed, and unloaded the same way. This saves companies' money in freight handling, loss due to pilferage and breakage, and also saves time.

Applebaum claims there is no reason you can't use the same containers for people.

This is how it would operate: Let us assume that 150 people are going to take the 7:30 a.m. from Greenwich, Conn. When they arrived at the platform, they would be placed horizontally in the containers (this would give everyone an extra hour's sleep to New York.) The container would be insulated as well as air-conditioned.

When everyone was squeezed in the container it would be sealed. Then a freight train going through Greenwich would stop and the container would be hoisted on board a flat car.

The same thing would happen all along the way. Commuters in containers at Port Chester, Rye and Larchmont would all be waiting to be picked up by the freight train.

When the train arrived at Grand Central Station the containers would be taken off by cranes and opened on the platform, and everyone could go to work.

The reverse would happen in the evening. Applebaum said, except in this case to break the monotony, the commuters would be loaded in vertically.

The beauty of the plan, says Applebaum, is that by using containers, railroads could cut the cost of a ticket from Greenwich to New York by \$3.50.

They could also profit by the fact that they would not have to build new passenger trains, and they could eliminate the bar cars.

Psychologically, they wouldn't have to worry about customer relations, as the commuter service would be run by the freight department.

The big advantage of this is that, once the railroads were able to legitimately treat passengers as freight, they would improve their service rather than try to discourage people from using the railroads.

Applebaum says that, at the moment, the container idea would only be practical on short runs, but he felt that as time went on a method could be developed for long runs to freeze people in refrigerator cars and then thaw them out when they reach their destinations.

The Department of Transportation, which is trying to find a solution to the passenger train problem, has expressed great interest in the Applebaum plan. A spokesman for the department said:

"If nothing else, it could save the Penn Central Railroad."

MEDICAL SCHOOLS IN  
FINANCIAL CRISIS

## HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. ROGERS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, as each of us knows, the medical schools in this nation and their affiliated teaching hospitals are in acute financial distress. This is a particularly distressful situation when we remember that these same institutions are under considerable pressure to expand their enrollments. That, of course, is as it should be, given the fact that we suffer from a shortage of physicians. However, if that expansion is to be successful, it will be necessary to stabilize these beleaguered institutions.

Mr. Speaker, in the November 23, 1970, issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association, this very real problem is highlighted by an excellent editorial entitled, "Money and Medical Schools."

The editorial follows:

## MONEY AND MEDICAL SCHOOLS

In today's turbulent environment, daily concerns are expressed in strident terms which a decade ago would have been used only for impending tragedies. As a result, important warnings are likely to be unnoticed. The financial problems of the nation's medical schools are not receiving the public and professional attention they deserve, possibly because the warnings are lost in the cacophony of daily alarms. The danger is present; the alarms have been sounded, but the responses to date are far from adequate.

The challenge has gone out to the nation's medical schools to increase substantially their output of physicians. While no authoritative numerical goal is available, few of the statements call for less than 50% expansion of entering classes within the next five years.

It is unlikely that an increase in the number of students by from 50% to 100% in the next five to ten years can occur without major changes in the pattern of medical education. After an initial delay, medical educators now seem ready to consider a wide variety of changes, including innovations in curriculum, reduction of premedical requirements, accelerated programs, elimination of nonessential requirements, better utilization of space, and more effective use of personnel.

The call for increased output of physicians is only one of many urgent demands—and they are demands, not requests—on the 103 US medical schools. That the convergence of

enhanced public expectations and awakened desires by educators to meet those expectations finds the schools in such a weak position to respond because of financial pressures is unfortunate. The situation might become tragic, tragic because, at a time when the nation needs to expand medical schools, financial problems may cause several to close their doors. While the dangers are more immediate for some of the 46 private schools, the pressures are on both public and private schools.

The reasons for the financial bind are numerous and complex but may be summarized as follows: (a) the medical schools suffer from the inflationary pressures of the economy, with special effects on an institution dealing only in services; (b) the schools have the financial problems common to all educational institutions, with special emphasis on the fact that the faculty and other medical personnel needed are in unusually short supply; and (c) the schools have a special need to respond to public pressure relating to health care and the education of personnel to provide that care.

Just to continue with the current operations, without regard to the urgent need to innovate and expand, most of the schools will need extraordinary financial help.

Applications for federal construction grants, needed to improve and expand medical education programs, total more than \$400 million. Approved but unfunded grants this year will exceed the 1971 appropriation substantially.

At a time when the schools are trying to provide special training and special financial assistance to minority and disadvantaged students, student aid is needed more than ever before, as federal funds have been reduced.

The well known restrictions on federal research and research training expenditures strain the school's ability to maintain faculty stability, in spite of relatively large amounts of new money to support medical care programs. Faculty members once supported on research projects are not readily shifted to programs of immediate community and clinical impact.

John A. D. Cooper, MD, president of the Association of American Medical Colleges, in an appearance before the Senate Appropriations Sub-committee last spring eloquently expressed the concern of many persons aware of the seriousness of the situation: "We are here again this year with, unfortunately, the same plea we made last year. . . . But, this year, I have to add an even grimmer note. The perilous financial structure of our medical schools has now reached such a degree of instability that the whole structure is gravely threatened, particularly the private schools, which make up about half of all the medical schools in this country. I hope that I won't have to return to this Committee next year to report that, in the face of the increasing need for physicians, medical schools have closed, as dental schools already have."

While Dr. Cooper was expressing need for federal aid, it is clear that the problem must also be of concern to the medical profession, to all levels of government, to purchasers of services of academic medical centers, and to the public.

RETURN OF LITHUANIAN SEAMAN  
CAUSES NATIONAL CONCERN

## HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, The attempted defection of a Lithuanian sailor

from a Soviet vessel to a Coast Guard cutter off Martha's Vineyard, November 23 has now become a national and international cause célèbre.

Nowhere, however, is there more concern and more interest than in my district, where the events took place and where most of the participants live. It is their hope, and mine, that the Congress and the executive branch will get to the bottom of this bungled affair.

I am glad to note that the hearings I called for on December 1 are now underway, both by the Foreign Affairs Committee and by the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee. These hearings have already produced much information on how the misguided decisions of November 23 came to be made, and will undoubtedly produce more before they are finished.

While I cannot and will not prejudge the case before the facts are all in, it seems clear at this point that the fault does not lie with the Coast Guard crew on the *Vigilant*. They were given clear orders, and despite their reluctance to do so, they had to obey them. Those orders were in apparent conflict with our national policy regarding defectors, and the source and authority as expressed by statute and in the U.N. protocol to which we are a signatory—for those orders is now the issue before us.

This is an issue that supersedes both the question of the Coast Guard's competence of the State Department's initiative. It raises the larger question of just what kind of nation we are, what kind of people we are. When 38 people in suburban New York shut their windows as Kitty Genovese was being murdered in the street below, we were all horrified; this was not the kind of reaction we expected Americans to have.

Now the same reaction has developed in regard to a Lithuanian seaman seeking freedom, and a lot of us are wondering anew just what direction this country is heading.

The world is wondering too, but neither the nation's conscience nor the Congress will allow the windows to be shut this time.

Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Robert Brieze, was on the Coast Guard vessel when the incident occurred. He was in Washington yesterday to testify before the Foreign Relations Committee. His testimony moved those who heard it deeply, and I would like to place it in the RECORD at this point:

#### TESTIMONY OF ROBERT M. BRIEZE

My name is Robert M. Brieze. I am President of New Bedford Seafood Producers Association.

Today, I would like to make a brief statement concerning the attempted defection of the Lithuanian sailor, Simas Kudirka.

Approximately 8:30 a.m. on November 23, the U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Vigilant* sailed to make a rendezvous with the USSR mother ship *Sovietskaya Litva*. There were five civilians aboard the *Vigilant*—Howard W. Nickerson, Executive Director of Seafood Dealers Association of New Bedford; John Burt, Port Agent for New Bedford Fishermen's Union; William Gordon, Assistant Regional Director of National Fisheries Service; an unidentified interpreter; and I.

We were aboard the *Vigilant* for the purpose of discussing fishing rights and, spe-

cifically, fishing methods of yellow tail flounder.

At approximately 10:30 a.m., the five civilians, accompanied by Captain Eustis of the *Vigilant*, boarded the USSR mother ship anchored outside Martha's Vineyard off the coast of Massachusetts, within the territorial waters of the United States.

Between 2 and 2:30 p.m., Captain Eustis was called back to the U.S. ship. The purpose for his leaving was unknown to us, but I felt something suspicious was happening.

About 3:45 p.m., Captain Eustis came back to the *Sovietskaya Litva* and ate lunch, but did not take alcoholic beverages.

About 4 p.m. all of the U.S. representatives and Captain Eustis went back to the U.S. Coast Guard ship *Vigilant*, along with several Russian officers and dignitaries.

At approximately 6 p.m., a United States sailor informed me that there was a defector aboard who had asked for political asylum. I then went to see Captain Eustis. The Captain told me that the defector was a Lithuanian and that he was asking for political asylum.

I explained to the Captain that the United States State Department does not recognize the occupation of Lithuania by the Soviets, and that the State Department has a special desk which handles Baltic affairs. I further told Captain Eustis that should the Lithuanian defector be returned to the Soviet ship, he would either lose his life or be exiled to Siberia. I informed him that I had escaped the Soviets myself in 1944 and I knew how they treated defectors.

At approximately 11 p.m., Captain Eustis said that he had orders from above to give back the Lithuanian defector to the Russians. I then pleaded with Captain Eustis to save the defector's life and keep him aboard the *Vigilant*. Captain Eustis said he had no choice as he had received his orders. At this time Captain Eustis was crying. He said that the orders had come from the Boston office.

About 11:30 p.m., three additional Russians boarded the *Vigilant* for the purpose of removing Simas Kudirka. The six Russians were allowed to go to the room where Simas Kudirka was placed. A fight ensued and cries were heard by all of us from the room where the Russians had entered to get Simas Kudirka. The door was temporarily opened, and I heard cries of "help, help," and saw Simas Kudirka being beaten by the Assistant Soviet Commander. His face was bloody and his shirt torn off.

Somehow, Simas Kudirka managed to escape the room, ran on deck, and still shouting "help, help," disappeared from sight on the upper deck. Somebody shouted "he jumped, he jumped," and at that time the *VIGILANT* started its engines and snapped its lines from the *Sovietskaya Litva*.

The Russian sailors continued searching the U.S. ship. They found Simas Kudirka hiding, overpowered him, tied him with ropes and blankets, and beat him violently.

At midnight, somebody ordered a United States lifeboat lowered and several U.S. seamen accompanied the six Russians and Simas Kudirka to the Soviet ship.

When the U.S. sailors returned, they said that Simas Kudirka had been beaten savagely and that he was either unconscious or dead when he was taken aboard the Russian ship. They said he had been kicked repeatedly.

After the Soviet ship raised its anchor, we followed it out of United States territorial waters. On the way back to port, Captain Eustis asked all of us to keep the matter quiet.

We returned to port at 3 a.m.

On the way back to port, Captain Eustis showed us the items that the Lithuanian defector had left behind after the Russians had dragged him away. They consisted of pictures of his wife, two dictionaries, and other items.

## ROYBAL CALLS FOR J. EDGAR HOOVER'S RESIGNATION

### HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 8, 1970

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, as a result of recent evidence documenting the apparent inability of the current Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to deal impartially with all segments of American society, I call upon my colleagues in the Congress to join me in urging the resignation of J. Edgar Hoover. Whereas the record of Hoover during the earlier years of his career was laudable, his latest racial slurs show him no longer to be capable of directing the dispassionate enforcement of federal laws by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Hoover's most recent remarks against those of Mexican and Puerto Rican descent in which he asserted that one must beware of Mexicans and Puerto Rican citizens for they are prone to assault you with a knife—*Time* magazine, December 14, 1970, page 16—is indicative of his growing inability to manage the office of FBI Director in a professional and statesmanlike manner without injecting his racial prejudices. Not only does such a remark defame the character of those Americans of Mexican and Puerto Rican descent but it weakens public respect for the FBI and those men who serve in it.

At a time when respect for law enforcement is constantly threatened this nation cannot afford to retain in office a federal law enforcement official who undermines the people's faith in the fairness and impartiality of its highest law enforcement agency. Tragically enough the reputation of the FBI is now being eroded by the very same man who in years past has contributed to the Bureau's fame as this nation's most professional law enforcement body. It is with this in mind that I now call for the retirement of J. Edgar Hoover as the Director of the FBI and the selection of a man who can do justice to the great agency that Hoover himself helped to create.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD the published excerpts of a *Time* magazine interview with J. Edgar Hoover in the expectation that others will observe for themselves the declining ability of the current FBI Director to conduct himself in a professional manner befitting the distinguished agency he now directs.

#### J. EDGAR HOOVER SPEAKS OUT WITH VIGOR

For 46 years, under eight Presidents, J. Edgar Hoover has presided over the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He will be 76 on New Year's Day, but the prickly views on everything from his former bosses to the "jackals of the press," the frank prejudices, the devotion to the bureau pour forth with undiminished vigor. On the wall of his office is a mounted sailfish whose staring eyes are as steely as the chief's own. There Hoover discussed a variety of topics with *TIME* Correspondent Dean Fischer. Excerpts from the interview:

On reducing crime: First, there must be improvements in the training and salaries of

law-enforcement officers. Second, there must be court improvements. Many judges don't sit as long hours as they should; they come in at ten o'clock, take a two-hour lunch break, and go home early in the evening. Third, there must be improvements in the penitentiaries. Some people come out worse than they went in. I have been accused of opposing parole and probation. I'm heartily in favor of them. But I am vigorously opposed to the abuse of parole and probation. The bleeding hearts on parole boards ought to be a little tougher. [In the matter of preventive detention] people who commit serious felonies—rape, murder, hijacking and kidnaping—should be incarcerated until they're tried, but it's absolutely wrong that they should have to wait seven or eight months before their trials.

On extremist groups: Bombings are the most serious threat to society because of the activities of the Black Panthers, the S.D.S. and the Weathermen. You take last year, when 23 police officers were killed and 188 injured by [black] racial extremists. The Black Panthers are directly associated with guerrillas in Jordan and Algiers. They pose the worst threat from the standpoint of violence.

On protecting the president: We cooperate with the Secret Service on presidential trips abroad. You never have to bother about a President being shot by Puerto Ricans or Mexicans. They don't shoot very straight. But if they come at you with a knife, beware.

On the FBI's image: We have recruited 50% of our [1,000] new agents from the officer corps in Viet Nam. You get a man who has been in command of men and he has to use good judgment. They all have to be above average in personal appearance. You won't find long hair or sideburns à la Namath here. There are no hippies. The public has an image of what an FBI agent should look like.

On Robert Kennedy: My differences with Bobby were very unfortunate. His father was one of my closest friends. He wanted me to lower our qualifications and to hire more Negro agents . . . I said, "Bobby, that's not going to be done as long as I'm director of this bureau." He said, "I don't think you're being cooperative." And I said, "Why don't you get a new director?" I went over to see President Johnson and he told me to "stick to your guns." But there was no disagreement about organized crime.

On his 1964 meeting with King: I got a wire from the Reverend Doctor King in New York. He was getting ready to get the Nobel Prize—he was the last one in the world who should ever have received it. He wired asking to see me.\* I held him in complete contempt because of the things he said and because of his conduct. First I felt I shouldn't see him, but then I thought he might become a martyr if I didn't. King was very suave and smooth. He sat right there where you're sitting and said he never criticized the FBI. I said, "Mr. King"—I never called him reverend—"stop right there. You're lying." He then pulled out a press release that he said he intended to give to the press. I said, "Don't show it to me or read it to me." I couldn't understand how he could have prepared a press release even before we met. Then he asked if I'd go out to have a photograph taken with him. I said I certainly would mind. And I said, "If you ever say any-

\*The celebrated meeting between the two men occurred Dec. 1, 1964, after Hoover called King "the most notorious liar in the country" for advising civil rights workers to avoid making complaints to FBI men because they were Southerners, and King then suggested that Hoover had "faltered" under the burdens of office.

thing that's a lie again, I'll brand you a liar again." Strange to say, he never attacked the Bureau again for as long as he lived.

On the FBI's campus activities: A lot has been said in the press about the FBI swarming onto the campuses. The FBI is not on any campus. A Princeton professor blamed me for having agents on the campus, and he even called me a bastard. I wrote him that the FBI never goes on a campus except to investigate bombings of federally funded buildings, and while I do not indulge in vulgarity, I called him a liar. It's an absolute lie. Of course, most students think we shouldn't go on unless they invite us. They can have as many demonstrations, sit-ins, lay-ins as they want, and we will never look into it. I think students have a perfect right to dissent and to express their views through proper channels. But they ought not to resolve their differences by throwing bricks and bottles on the streets.

On his health and habits: I told the President I'd remain as long as my physical condition permitted. We have employees in the bureau who are in their 80s. I've always been against retiring a man by age; the longer a man is with us, the more valuable he becomes. To keep fit, I walk several blocks almost daily to the office. [His other recreation consists of TV watching and playing the horses at nearby tracks.] I live on the edge of Rock Creek Park, and I used to walk there. I can't do it now because of [crime] conditions in this city. I've been very observant of my weight. I had to cut off 20 pounds, and I had to give up everything I like, like chocolate cream pie. My two dogs are among the smartest and most affectionate dogs I've ever seen. Anybody would think twice before they'd commit murder because of the way those dogs bark. They're great company to me. The less I think of some people, the more I think of my dogs. I can leave in the morning and be in a bad mood, and when I come home at night they'll jump all over me.

LOS ANGELES HONORS MAX CANDIOTTY

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, on January 24 the Los Angeles community will honor one of its most distinguished citizens and outstanding philanthropists—Max Candiotty.

More than a thousand of the community's leading citizens will gather at a dinner to salute him not only for his past philanthropies, but for his newest undertaking, "The Fund for Higher Education in Israel."

That he deserves such an honor is beyond question.

Few men can match him in terms of his dedication to community service and his success in the business world.

For 4 years, he has served as a working member of the Los Angeles County Citizens Efficiency Economy Committee, a group whose recommendations have already resulted in substantial savings to the county's taxpayers.

He is a pillar of the Jewish Community of Los Angeles, serving on the board of directors of the Jewish Federation Council, and for the past 3 years

he has been president of the Sephardic Jewish Community and Brotherhood of Los Angeles.

On the national level, he was a co-founder of the Fund for Job Corps Graduates.

Additionally, Mr. Candiotty was singled out for special honors by the government of the State of Israel, which has presented him with the Israel Freedom Medal, an award for his outstanding efforts and contributions towards building that beleaguered and courageous nation.

His newest project, "The Fund for Higher Education in Israel," is further evidence of his signal contributions to Israel, providing improved educational opportunities for Israeli youth.

A veteran of U.S. Army service during World War II, he has demonstrated success in a number of business fields. He worked his way through UCLA and USC to become a certified public accountant—and then went on to become a lawyer, graduating from the University of Southern California Law School in 1950 with a doctorate in law.

He is best known in the business world, however, as president of Daylin, Inc., a company which grew under his direction from a single pharmaceutical unit into a major national business enterprise in 10 years.

Clearly, Mr. Candiotty is one of our Nation's outstanding citizens.

I know that all members of this House will want to join me and the people of Los Angeles in honoring Max Candiotty on January 24.

THE CRISIS OF CHILDREN'S TV

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, television is one of our most prominent technological triumphs, yet like most products of American genius a potential for good and bad use is present. The malleable mind of the American child is the battleground for those who see children's programming as a means to sell products and those who would use it as an educational tool. Following are two articles which appeared in the recent press and explain the inspiring struggle and promising results of the "Sesame Street" show whose aim is toward the mind, not the money of our very young:

"SESAME" SEEDS OF LEARNING

(By Elizabeth Shelton)

Disadvantaged children watching "Sesame Street" regularly made greater learning gains than middleclass youngsters who watched only infrequently, an independent study reported yesterday.

The Educational Testing Service of Princeton, N.J., released the results of an in-depth study of the educational television program's effect on 3- to 5-year-olds. It also found that 3-year-olds made greater gains than older children.

The non-profit educational research and measurement organization also found:

Children who watched the program made greater gains in learning than children who did not. (This was true for inner-city, suburban and rural children and those whose first language was not English.)

The children who watched the show the most and learned the most were those whose mothers watched with them and discussed the program with them.

Children who watched the show most often gained the most.

The skills that received the most time and attention on the show were generally the skills learned best.

Of the 3-year-olds, the study found these youngsters started out, in the pretest, lower than the 4- or 5-year-olds. After watching the show regularly, their post-test scores were higher on the average than most 4-year-olds and many 5-year-olds.

Even 3-year-olds who watched the program only two or three times a week gained a great deal, it was reported.

Dr. Samuel Ball, who directed the research for Children's Television Workshop, producer of "Sesame Street," said in presenting the findings at a press conference in New York that the evaluation showed the program has "a strong and positive effect on disadvantaged children."

Gains in learning by disadvantaged children are a principal goal of the program, which is supported financially by private and public agencies.

The study was conducted in Boston; Durham, N.C.; suburban Philadelphia; Phoenix, Ariz. and in an isolated rural area in northeastern California.

There were 943 children in the final research sample, the majority of them disadvantaged in economic status, educational opportunity and family attitudes.

The children were divided into four groups, depending on how often they watched the program. The tests were given to them individually by trained adults from their own neighborhoods. Information was also collected on the child's home environment.

"Sesame Street" receives funds from the U.S. Office of Education, Ford Foundation, Carnegie Corp., the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the John and Mary R. Markle Foundation, the National Foundation of Arts and Humanities and the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

#### CHRISTMAS ISSUE TO LOSE VALIDITY

(By Ernest A. Kehr)

For the first time since 1861, the Post Office Department will demonetize postage stamps after only 88 days of validity.

This was revealed by Postmaster General Winton M. Blount, when he announced that the five Christmas stamps, precanceled for use in 69 major cities of the nation and to be issued on Nov. 5, will no longer be valid after Jan. 31, 1971.

This decision might well have some dire effects in American circles.

For years collectors have been buying huge numbers of commemoratives in full mint panes with a hope of profiting by sales at a later date. They found a measure of reassurance in the thought that "they're always good for postage." Of course, Blount did not suggest that he intends to demonetize other special issues of the past, but by doing this in connection with the forthcoming precanceled Christmas stamps, a precedent will have been established.

The decision to print 875,000,000 of the new quintet, precanceled for use in the selected 69 cities, was made because last year's experiment was so successful. At that time, precanceled Christmas stamps were made for and used in New Haven, Baltimore, Memphis and Atlanta.

As was the case then, the Post Office Department will urge patrons to use precancels, then sort and bundle their holiday greetings according to destination cities and states.

This will enable mail to bypass several handling operations at dispatch post offices. It also will avoid possible damage to off-size envelopes, which often jam cancellation machines.

Normally, those persons who use precancels on bulk mailings, and do the sorting and bundling, are given substantially reduced postal rates because of the labor they save postal clerks. Such is not the case with the Christmas stamps. Users will still have to pay the full 6-cent first class fee.

#### ANNUAL GEORGE E. STRINGFELLOW CANCER EDITORIAL CONTEST

### HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, the times in which we live are marked by rapid change, change that brings with it astounding progress. Our technological advances alone have shown us what man is capable of doing. New developments in all the sciences are coming with breathless speed. We can look to the future with wonder in expectation of the new discoveries we will achieve in the years of this decade.

Yet, there is one area in which success does not appear to be so readily attainable. Cancer, one of the most dreaded of all human diseases, is still a killer at large. It took the lives of an estimated 330,000 Americans in 1970—over 900 persons a day, more than one every 2 minutes. Hence, the eradication of this disease must be the concern of all citizens.

Researchers and scientists are at work in laboratories throughout our vast country, attempting to unlock the key that will solve the puzzle of cancer. We are beginning to win, but much remains to be done.

Until a cure is found, a widespread cancer control program is the most effective means of combating the disease. In the early 1900's few cancer patients had any hope of cure. By the late 1940's one in four cancer victims was being saved, and since 1956 the ratio has been one in three. This increase in the survival rate has been made possible through knowledge of the importance of early detection and treatment of the disease.

People are more aware of cancer and its prevention as a result of widespread education programs to alert them to the seven warning signals of cancer and the importance of early detection and treatment. There are 7,500,000 Americans alive today who have been cured of cancer.

The American Cancer Society, a nonprofit volunteer organization founded in 1913 to serve the public, has been in the forefront of this struggle for 57 years.

The society fights the disease through a threefold program of research to find a cure, education to save lives, and services to provide assistance to the person al-

ready afflicted with cancer. The New Jersey division with its 60,000 volunteers is an active part of the national organization and carries out programs in all three areas.

Research to conquer cancer is being conducted through American Cancer Society grants at five institutions within the State. The division has a uniform service program through its 21 units to provide services to all residents of New Jersey. Counseling, loan closet items, and dressings are available to any cancer patient, and transportation services, in the form of volunteer motor corps, are available to the cancer patient who is unable to travel alone for treatment. Approved medications and visiting nurse services are paid for by the society for the medically indigent cancer patient, and practical nurse, housekeeping, or nursing home care will be provided when necessary for a medically indigent patient with advanced cancer. Rehabilitation programs for the laryngectomy, mastectomy and ostomy patient are an important aspect of the service program to help the patient return to a useful life, and many of the units throughout the division sponsor free detection programs for the public.

The New Jersey Division conducts an active public education program to alert citizens of the State to the seven warning signals of cancer and other important knowledge about the disease.

An essential phase of this public education effort is the annual George E. Stringfellow Cancer Editorial Contest which has been conducted annually by the division since its inception in 1947. The contest is named after the first president of the division. All daily and weekly papers throughout the State, as well as high school publications, are invited to submit an original editorial on the subject of cancer control. Through this contest, the press brings cancer control into public awareness and performs an invaluable service.

People must be given facts and knowledge to arm themselves in the fight against cancer. The New Jersey division is most grateful to the press for its continued support of the contest and proudly announces the winners of the 1970 George E. Stringfellow Editorial Contest.

In the daily category the winner is "Worrying Won't Help," written by Mr. George F. Shivers of the Atlantic City Press, Atlantic City, N.J.

First place in the weekly category is "We're Beginning To Win," written by Mr. J. Fred Coldren of the Cape May Herald, Avalon, N.J.

In the high school category the winner is "The War," written by Louis Revesz of St. Anthony High School, Trenton, N.J.

The editorials follow:

#### WORRYING WILL NOT HELP

(By George F. Shivers)

In the length of time it takes to read this, three Americans will die of cancer.

Last year more than 300,000 died of the disease; about 900 every day.

Frightening though these statistics may be, we don't mean to write a "scare story" implying that most readers are doomed to die of cancer.

On the contrary, it must be pointed out that cancer is curable and that about 200,000 will be saved during the coming year. Another 100,000 also might be saved if they take a few simple precautions and observe a few easy rules.

It is heartening to learn that 1.5 million Americans who once had cancer are living normal lives today.

What steps can we take to reduce our chances of getting cancer?

There are three basic rules: 1) Have a medical checkup annually, no matter how well you feel; 2) avoid cigarette smoking, overexposure to sunlight and other known causes of cancer; 3) learn cancer's warning signals and go to your doctor immediately if one of them lasts longer than two weeks.

A great majority of cancers can be detected early—and if treated immediately the probability of cure is excellent.

April is Cancer Crusade month and the drive for funds already has begun. The New Jersey Division of the American Cancer Society again is stressing the slogan "Fight cancer with a check-up and a check."

Cancer research costs money—lots of it. The people and the tools it will take to find the final cure as well as the continuing search for the cause of cancer and ways to prevent it are expensive. As research goes forward and new leads open up, costs snowball.

Today's research funds, like all budgets, buy less than they did a few years ago, the New Jersey Division says adding, "There are no bargains in cancer research."

As an added slogan during this year's Crusade, the Society says, "If you put up the money, we'll put up the brains."

For years we all have sympathized with victims of cancer, but sympathy won't cure the disease. Money will.

Do mankind a service and contribute to the Cancer Crusade. Do yourself a service and have a checkup soon.

The seven warning signals are:

1. Unusual bleeding or discharge.
2. A lump or thickening in the breast or elsewhere.
3. A sore that does not heal.
4. Change in bowel or bladder habits.
5. Hoarseness or cough.
6. Indigestion or difficulty in swallowing.
7. Change in size or color of a wart or mole.

Remember: When discovered early, most cancers are curable. However, no one ever has been cured of cancer by worrying about it. If you suspect you have cancer, do the smart thing; follow the advice of the American Cancer Society and make an appointment with your doctor . . . now.

#### WE ARE BEGINNING TO WIN

(By J. Fred Coldrene)

In sports circles, when we hear someone say, "We're beginning to win," we naturally think of the frustrated coach whose team is hopelessly in last place late in the season, but who had just won a game or two.

But when we pick up a pamphlet with the title "We're Beginning To Win," the situation isn't quite as hopeless or futile. As a matter of fact, the outlook would be pretty good, for the pamphlet contains the story of the American Cancer Society and the progress being made against the disease, considered practically unbeatable not too many years ago.

Like everybody else, I have a vague idea of the progress in the fight to beat cancer. But unfortunately, there is nothing vague in my recollections of the frightening toll cancer has taken in the field of sports. Ty Cobb, Barney Ross, Ernie Davis, Babe Ruth, Willie Hoppe, "Pop" Warner, Babe Didrikson Zaharias are a few of those who "struck-out" to cancer.

And we all know dozens of examples locally of active men and women who lost their game of life to the killer disease.

One recent tragedy involved that superb young athlete Fred Steinmark of the Texas Longhorns championship football team. He displayed the same will to win following the operation taking off his leg at the hip that marked his competitive zeal on the gridiron.

Fred Steinmark learned to use his new leg weeks before rehabilitation experts thought he would. When he walked across the stage by himself to accept his football letter, the Associated Press reported it as "one of the most emotional moments in college football's 100 years."

This drama, played before a nation-wide television audience, was made possible by research that has given doctors much better methods for early detection and treatment of cancer.

The men of science responsible for these advances are strangers to headlines and the acclaim of roaring crowds that are a part of college football. But there is a link between the football field and the research laboratory. What is it? The research was made possible because of contributions from the same fans who cheered and cried for Fred Steinmark.

Competent medical experts can now state flatly that cures for all forms of cancer will be found. They qualify their predictions only by saying that the public must continue to support the programs of research, education and service.

Twenty years ago, the five-year survival rate for all cancer was only one in four. Ten years ago, it was one in three. Today, it could be one in two if all patients were treated in time.

And today, there are one and one-half million men, women and children alive—cured of cancer—including the tough ones . . . lung, stomach, intestines, throat, breast, bladder . . . not just the easy ones.

In my mind, "we're not beginning to win." We're in the ninth inning and we're beating cancer, but we've got to finish the game. Each one of us can help maintain that advantage until the end by supporting the 1970 Cancer Crusade here in Cape May County.

#### THE WAR

(By Louis Reves)

Anxious spectators eyed the television screen, waiting for the death count in this year's war. "God help us!" they shrieked in terror and dismay. 50,000 men had died in battle and still no one had done anything concrete to end the slaughter. When would someone, anyone, move to stop this needless death and suffering in the United States?

Across the country, men, women, and children grieved the loss of their loved ones. The government attempted action to comfort the mourners, silence the critical, aid the wounded, and curtail the aggressor. These efforts were not enough.

Legislators have been playing politics with a deadly issue. The war we just mentioned is not the Vietnam war, or any other armed conflict between nations. The war which claimed 50,000 lives this year and for many years is the war of cancer.

42,000 men have died in Vietnam since the inception of that conflict. More die each year of lung cancer caused by cigarette smoking. Man is being ruled and slaughtered by the tobacco plant. When will this war come to an end?

The Antonian feels that the needless waste of human life can be averted. Each and every one of us should be informed about the dangers of cigarette smoking. Then we must all join in a jubilant protest against cancer by burning our "cancer-draft card," and burying our cigarettes.

The Congress of the United States and its members should be as protective in behalf of the people as they are with the Indochina issue and ABM. Anyone can go almost anywhere and buy a pack of "boxed-Vietnam," a little package which contains 20 of the

necessary implements for anyone to start his own little syndicate of chemical-roulette. Why should America be subject to this danger?

We have a Congress, a Constitution, and a population which is supposedly aware of the value of human life, why is nothing done about this problem? End the Cancer war, leaders! End the cancer war, educators!

But most important, please end the cancer war, students!

#### BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

George E. Stringfellow, 1600 South Eads Street, Arlington, Virginia, was born in Reva (Culpeper County), Virginia, son of James and Elizabeth (Bowers) Stringfellow. He spent much of his early life in this area and in Washington, D.C. where the family later moved.

Mr. Stringfellow was appointed Vice President of Thomas A. Edison Industries of West Orange, N.J., by the late Thomas Alva Edison with whom he was associated for the last decade of the inventor's life. After thirty-nine years of service he retired in 1959 as Senior Vice President.

Mr. Stringfellow's civic activities have been varied and many. He was one of the founders and the first president of the New Jersey Division of the American Cancer Society and was the recipient of that Society's award for distinguished service in cancer control. He is an Honorary Life Member of the Board of Directors of the American Cancer Society and a Life Member of the Board of Trustees of the New Jersey Division.

He received the 1958 Citation Award of the Academy of Medicine of New Jersey and was elected an Honorary Life Member of the Academy.

He was Chairman of the New Jersey Republican State Finance Committee. He served for ten years as president of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association; two terms as president of the Chamber of Commerce of the Oranges and Maplewood, and was cited as the outstanding citizen in those five cities. He received a Citation of Merit from the New Jersey Association of Business Schools, and from the New Jersey Society of Professional Engineers he received the Citizen Award for outstanding achievement in industrial statesmanship. He was cited by the Brotherhood of Christians and Jews for bringing about a better understanding among the three religious sects. He served two terms as President of the Kiwanis Club of New York City and was chairman of several international committees. He was awarded the Certificate of Service by the Rotary Club of Orange, N.J. He served eight years as president of the Board of Managers of the Home for Disabled Soldiers in Menlo Park, N.J.

Mr. Stringfellow holds honorary degrees from several colleges. In 1958-59 he served as Imperial Potentate of the Shrine of North America and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the 23 Shriners Hospitals for Crippled Children. He is presently an emeritus member of the Board of Trustees of these hospitals. He is a 33° Mason. He is a member of the Duquesne Club of Pittsburgh.

He is a director of Mine Safety Appliances Co., Pittsburgh; a member of the Board of Trustees of the James Monroe Foundation, Fredericksburg, Va.; and an emeritus member of the Board of Trustees, Indiana Institute of Technology.

The first Mrs. Stringfellow, the former Carrie M. Pearnaw, died in 1961. In 1966 Mr. Stringfellow married Verna N. Seyfarth.

In September 1968 Mr. Stringfellow moved from East Orange, N.J., where he had resided since 1923, to Arlington, Va., fulfilling a desire of many years to return to the State of his birth where members of his family still reside.

UNIFY NATION'S DISUNITY BY  
SUPPORTING POW'S

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I have contacted numerous mayors in the district I represent urging their cooperation with the letter writing programs being developed by our midshipmen and cadets at the military academies in support of our POW's.

The Harvey, Ill., Tribune in a editorial Thursday, December 3, calls attention to this and to other letter writing campaigns. I insert this item in the RECORD urging that as many Americans as possible participate in one of these very timely and, hopefully, effective efforts:

UNIFY NATION'S DISUNITY BY SUPPORTING  
POW'S

The Viet Nam war, perhaps more than anything else in recent American history, has widened the rift between American citizens and contributed a reason—be it good or bad—for perpetuating disunity in the United States. But recently there has come to national attention a campaign that may reunite Americans in one aspect of the war.

The plight of the prisoners of this war should be something that touches all Americans regardless of their political belief. Last week's rescue attempt into North Viet Nam could be a political maneuver, giving a shot in the arm to the drawn-out, now-boring war as far as public interest goes. Or, agreeing with the dove's in the Senate like Fulbright, Kennedy and Muskie, it could be "another copout by the by the Nixon administration" that is postponing the end of the war they feel should have been over long ago. Or, it could truthfully be the "daring and valiant effort" that the "Chicago Tribune" has called it.

But regardless of the reason why the rescue attempt was made, and forgetting our own reaction to the reasons for being in the Southeast Asian area, the fact remains that 2,300 American servicemen are missing in action and perhaps subject to the horrors of a North Vietnamese prison camp.

This human suffering should affect even the most dovish observer of the war. "Peace," they cry, but they must temper their protest with compassion. Perhaps none of our boys should be over there and perhaps immediate withdrawal would be the most effective way to bring the POW's home, but at the moment, they are there and immediate withdrawal does not seem likely.

Both hawks and doves are united in their hope for peace; they differ only on the approach. Peace at any price could be very costly. Likewise, even the most hawkish hawk does not enjoy reading the casualty lists. Putting politics aside, what can you do to show your humane and sympathetic interest toward American POW's?

Several letter-writing campaigns have been launched aiming at just this: an apolitical and compassionate voice to North Vietnamese officials. One campaign, as a result of the efforts of students, urges letters to be sent to the Office of the President; Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; Hanoi, North Viet Nam, by sending them to the letter campaign headquarters: POW Campaign; United States Naval Academy; Annapolis, Maryland, 21402; or to the United States Military Academy; West Point, New York, 10996.

The League of Women Voters, also, has launched a similar campaign asking letters be addressed to the North Vietnamese dele-

gate to the Paris peace talks, Xuan Thuy, delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; 8, Avenue General Leclerc; 94 Choisey-leRoi; Paris, France. Twenty cents postage is needed and both the students and LWV urge the following to be included in the letters:

Make public the names of all Americans held; provide humane treatment of all who are held; and return all prisoners starting immediately with the sick and disabled. The students add these other requests: permit neutral inspections of all prison camps; and allow a free flow of mail between POW's and families.

Perhaps such a campaign will be, as dove cynics predict, meaningless without complete and immediate withdrawal. However, the unity of a nationwide campaign to indicate the compassion all Americans feel toward their own embattled sons could break down some of the barriers disuniting the United States.

RAILPAX

**HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, Leo Rennert, a Washington correspondent for California's McClatchy newspapers, has prepared an excellent analysis of the national rail passenger system proposed last week by Transportation Secretary John Volpe.

Mr. Rennert explores the irony of the final Census figures released the very day Mr. Volpe was unveiling his tentative plan. Despite the fact that the three Pacific States have been growing nearly twice as fast as the rest of the country, the Department of Transportation plan leaves, as Mr. Rennert puts it, "lots of open spaces in the West."

Notable by their complete omission are north-south routes along the Pacific coast as well as service connecting the west to the southwest and south. If these proposals are allowed to stand, a traveler of the future who wanted to take the train from Los Angeles to San Francisco could do so only if he went by way of Chicago. Passenger service to points such as San Diego, a metropolitan area of 1.4 million people, would be eliminated altogether.

Mr. Rennert's column makes timely reading, and I commend it to our colleagues:

THE OLD WEST RIDES AGAIN

(By Leo Rennert)

WASHINGTON.—Transportation Secretary John Volpe showed a poor sense of timing when he unveiled the Nixon administration's plans for a national network of rail passenger service.

Almost at the same hour that he was showing newsmen which passenger train routes are worth preserving, Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans was at the White House to brief President Nixon on the results of the 1970 census.

The two reports, it turns out, are so dissimilar in content and perspective they well might have been written in different centuries—let alone issued on the same day.

On the one hand, the census figures clearly show the dramatic growth of California and its neighbors. While the nation's population grew by 13.3 per cent during the last decade,

the West spurred ahead by 24.1 per cent. The region now has 35 million people—an increase of 7 million since 1960. That is the equivalent of a major European country.

REFLECTED?

But is this westward population shift anywhere reflected in Volpe's plan for rail passenger routes? Hardly. In fact, just the opposite concept seems to have guided its drafters—a West of wide open spaces, with few population centers, where the deer and the antelope still roam.

Volpe recommended retention of 16 intercity corridors for passenger trains for the entire nation. Of these, only three would reach the West Coast—Chicago-Seattle, Chicago-San Francisco and Chicago-Los Angeles. But what about the north-south travel needs of California's 20,098,863 people, and Oregon's 2,110,810 and the State of Washington's 3,443,487 that have just been counted by the Census Bureau?

Their needs were totally ignored by Volpe. There simply would be no direct rail passenger connection between Seattle, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Of course, any Northern Californian interested in riding a train to Southern California still could do so. If he were willing to go via Chicago.

The map accompanying Volpe's report dramatically illustrated its regional bias. It was a chart with which Lewis and Clark or John C. Fremont immediately would have felt comfortable—lots of lines crisscrossing the East, lots of open spaces in the West.

In the Eastern half of the country, six different routes out of New York. Ten out of Chicago. Cincinnati on direct links to Washington, D.C., St. Louis and Chicago. Boston, where Volpe served as governor of Massachusetts, tied to Miami.

SPOKES

Contrast this with the Western half of the nation, which would have only three spokes running out of Chicago to the Pacific—presumably to give Easterners some way to reach those virgin territories.

The Southwest, another area of major growth, also fared badly. No service westward from New Orleans through Texas (about to gain a new House seat) and on to California (a gain of five seats.)

Fortunately, there is still time for train buffs and local and state agencies to acquaint Volpe with how things really are west of the Mississippi in the last third of the 20th Century.

Protests can be filed with the Transportation Department here in Washington until the end of December.

In this connection, two administration alibis are worth some comment.

To explain his treatment of the West, Volpe argues he has to think about a congressional mandate that the government-created corporation which will run the passenger trains eventually will have to turn a profit. Ergo, potentially unprofitable routes are to be avoided. If he were permitted to be more candid, however, Volpe would have to admit that federal subsidies always will be needed to keep even his minimal passenger network alive and that Los Angeles-San Francisco would seem to be at least as economically justifiable as New York-Buffalo (loss of two House seats.)

ROUTES

The other explanation that the new corporation may add routes to the initial network also should not fool the West. Given all the other demands on the federal budget, the network about to be selected simply will not expand—either before or after the next decennial census. Or the one after that.

What puzzles some administration watchers is why the White House would allow Volpe to recommend a plan which so clearly is an affront to the two regions Nixon must have to win reelection in 1972—the West and the Southwest.

Is this another case of political bungling? Or perhaps just the opposite—a demonstration of the highest statesmanship, a refusal to cater to sectional interests?

Nobody knows. According to one source, there may be a third explanation. "The White House," the source said, "probably figured Gov. Reagan would not be upset as long as they didn't tamper with stagecoach lines."

## RED NATIONS IGNORE U.N. PLEA FOR PALESTINIANS

**HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it is accurate to note that the struggle for world freedom is waged in many ways. The battle for men's minds is a major cold war item between the free world and totalitarianistic communism. The Communists have been energetic and imaginative in their propaganda to which they give constant priority.

An interesting comparison between propaganda and actual performance of the Communists is explained in an article Thursday, December 3, by Chicago Tribune U.N. Reporter William Fulton in which he tells of the Communist nations consistent lack of cooperation in the U.N. aid to Palestinians. The article follows:

### RED NATIONS IGNORE U.N. AID PLEA FOR PALESTINIANS

(By William Fulton)

United Nations Correspondent

NEW YORK.—Those nations proclaiming themselves as the best friends of the Arabs were the most silent this week at the annual pledging conference for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine refugees.

Eleven Communist countries offered no contributions.

Thirty-nine governments pledged a total of \$16,326,067. This fell far short of the \$45,500,000 goal required to meet basic subsistence needs for the 1,500,000 Arabs stranded by the tides of the three wars with Israel.

### SOVIETS ARE SILENT

As usual, the Soviet Union, mightiest thunderer for the Arab cause, gave nothing. Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Romania and the Ukraine followed suit. Cuba and Communist Albania also made no move toward their pocketbooks.

The majority of the Communist states say Israel is responsible for the plight of the Palestinians and should pay accordingly. The same nations contend that Britain, France and Israel should make similar reparations for refugee difficulties stemming from the 1967 Arab-Israeli War.

Only Yugoslavia offered the equivalent of \$20,000, representing Yugoslav goods.

Promising a contribution, Richard H. Gimer, United States representative, said that thru the 21 years of the agency's existence, America had contributed more than a half billion dollars, or nearly 70 per cent of the total given.

### NO SPECIFIC PLEDGE

Gimer said he could not offer a specific pledge at this time because Congress has not completed action on foreign assistance. It was the same situation a year ago, and the U.S. eventually gave \$22,200,000.

British Ambassador, Sir Colin Crowe, noted that his government followed as the second largest contributor with a total of \$114,000,000 down thru the years. He particularly regretted that the Soviet Union and its eastern associates had made no contributions whatsoever.

### HAMBRO HITS CRISIS

To the states directly affected, the Palestine agency records total contributions thru the years as follows: Egypt, \$5,475,976; Jordan, \$2,346,129; Syria, \$1,796,839; Lebanon, \$880,750 and Israel, \$3,076,190.

This year's poor showing came despite a plea by U.N. General Assembly President Edvard Hambro that the refugee agency faced "the most serious and desperate financial crisis of its history."

Laurence Michelmore, commissioner general of the agency, estimated that the aid received by each refugee averaged only 10 cents a day. The basic food ration, which only three out of five refugees receive, consumed four cents a day.

Hot meals provided for preschool children average 10 cents each; medical services one cent a day for each person and water and sanitation services, less than one cent a day for each person.

Education will take up 46 per cent of next year's budget. The number of students rose dramatically from 35,700 in 1950 to nearly a quarter million this year.

## PANAMA CANAL STUDY

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, those who are interested in retaining the existing Panama Canal by modernizing its facilities under the treaty in force with the Republic of Panama, should find the reports from the President's Interoceanic Canal Study Commission of considerable interest.

I ask that the front-page story from the Star and Herald, Panama, R.P., and the commission's recommendations follow:

### COMMISSION PROPOSES 2-CANAL SYSTEM

URGES U.S. CONTROL, R.P. PARTICIPATION

"Creation of an Isthmian canal system including both the existing Panama Canal and a sea-level canal on Route 10, operated and defended in an equitable and mutually acceptable relationship between the United States and Panama," is the major recommendation announced yesterday by the U.S. Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission.

Route 10 lies between Chorrera, on the Pacific side of the Isthmus, and Lagarto, on the Atlantic side, a distance of 48.5 miles. It lies entirely outside the present Panama Canal Zone, west of it.

The Commission said the proposed sea-level canal on Route 10 would be built by conventional excavation methods, would be provided with tidal gates, would be capable of accommodating at least 35,000 transits a year and ships up to 150,000 deadweight tons, and would cost \$2.88 billion at 1970 prices.

It recommended that construction—estimated to take 15 years—be started no later than 15 years ahead of the date when it is estimated that the capacity of the present locks canal has been exceeded. This is now projected to occur during the decade beginning in 1990.

Construction of a third set of locks for the present canal, the Commission said,

would be only "a temporary solution without significant military advantages, and it would not relieve the problems in United States-Panamanian relations that derive from the personnel and defense requirements of the lock canal." Additional locks also would mean operating costs "far above" those of a sea-level waterway, the Commission pointed out.

In its letter of transmittal of the report to President Richard M. Nixon, the Commission said:

"The construction of a sea-level canal by conventional means is physically feasible. The most suitable site for such a canal is on Route 10 in the Republic of Panama. Its construction cost would be approximately \$2.88 billion at 1970 price levels.

"Amortization of this cost from toll revenues may or may not be possible, depending on the growth in traffic, the time when the canal becomes operative, the interest rate on the indebtedness, and payments to the host country. We believe that the potential national defense and foreign policy benefits to the United States justify acceptance of a substantial financial risk.

### NEGOTIATE NEW TREATY

"As a first step," the Commission added, "we urge that the United States negotiate with Panama a treaty that provides for a unified canal system, comprising both the existing canal and a sea-level canal on Route 10, to be operated and defended under the effective control of the United States with participation by Panama."

While singling out Route 10 as the "most advantageous sea-level canal route," the Commission said "a sea-level canal in Panama constructed by conventional excavation either on Route 10 or Route 14 is technically feasible."

Route 14, which parallels the existing lock waterway, lies within the present Panama Canal Zone.

While advocating for Panama "a greater role in the canal enterprise than at present and justifiable economic benefits from canal activities," the Commission urged nevertheless that the United States "should retain effective control of canal operations."

Terminating treaty arrangements for canal construction, operation and defense "the most critical elements" the Commission said "the essential treaty conditions are apparent" and in one conclusion echoed a Panamanian complaint of long standing. It said:

### IMPROVE RELATIONS

"United States relations with Panama could be improved by progressive reduction of the number of United States personnel in the canal operating authority and a concomitant increase in the proportion of Panamanian personnel in the positions normally occupied by United States citizens."

It said construction of a sea-level canal on Route 10 and operating it together with the existing canal as a single system would provide for Panama "the greatest benefits in added employment and foreign exchange earnings."

On the subject of tolls, the Commission came out for a "variable pricing system for tolls" as the best means for attracting the most traffic and generating the greatest revenues in a future canal of any type, lock or sea-level.

It favored participation by other nations in the financing of the proposed canal system, "if such multinational participation is acceptable to the Government of Panama."

The use of nuclear explosions was ruled out in the Commission's report. "Unfortunately," it told President Nixon, "neither the technical feasibility nor the international acceptability of such an application of nuclear excavation technology has been established at this date. It is not possible to fore-

see the future progress of the technology or to determine when international agreements can be effectuated that would permit its use in the construction of an interoceanic canal.

"Hence, although we are confident that someday nuclear explosions will be used in a variety of massive earth-moving projects, no current decision on United States canal policy should be made in the expectation that nuclear excavation technology will be available for canal construction."

The Interoceanic Canal Study Commission was created by the U.S. Congress to explore the question of a sea-level canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific. It investigated eight routes—four in Panama, including the present Panama Canal Zone; two in Nicaragua and Costa Rica, one in Colombia and Panama, and one in Colombia.

Its chairman is Robert B. Anderson, who is also the United States' treaty negotiator with Panama, and the other members are Robert G. Storey, Milton S. Eisenhower, Kenneth E. Fields and Raymond A. Hill.

Text of the Commission's letter to President Nixon is as follows:

"Dear Mr. President:

"We have the honor to submit herewith the final report of the Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission as required by Public Law 88-609, 88th Congress, as amended.

"One provision of the law required us to determine the practicability of nuclear canal excavation. Unfortunately, neither the technical feasibility nor the international acceptability of such an application of nuclear excavation technology has been established at this date. It is not possible to foresee the future progress of the technology or to determine when international agreements can be effectuated that would permit its use in the construction of an interoceanic canal. Hence, although we are confident that someday nuclear explosions will be used in a wide variety of massive earth-moving projects, no current decision on United States canal policy should be made in the expectation that nuclear excavation technology will be available for canal construction.

"The construction of a sea-level canal by conventional means is physically feasible. The most suitable site for such a canal is on Route 10 in the Republic of Panama. Its construction cost would be approximately \$2.88 billion at 1970 price levels. Amortization of this cost from toll revenues may or may not be possible, depending on the growth in traffic, the time when the canal becomes operative, the interest rate on the indebtedness, and payments to the host country. We believe that the potential national defense and foreign policy benefits to the United States justify acceptance of a substantial financial risk.

"As a first step, we urge that the United States negotiate with Panama a treaty that provides for a unified canal system, comprising both the existing canal and a sea-level canal on Route 10, to be operated and defended under the effective control of the United States with participation by Panama.

#### 15 YEARS AHEAD

"If suitable treaty arrangements are negotiated and ratified and if the requisite funds can then be made available, we recommend that construction of a sea-level canal be initiated on Route 10 no later than 15 years in advance of the probable date when traffic through the present canal will reach its transit capacity. Current trends indicate that this will be near the end of this century; the specific year can be projected with increasing confidence as it draws nearer.

"We recognize, however, that the President of the United States and the Congress will continue to face many serious funding problems and must establish the relative priorities of the requirements for defense, welfare,

pollution, civil rights, crime, and other problems in social undertakings then existing.

"We specifically recommend that, when the rights and obligations of the United States under new treaties with Panama are determined, the President reevaluate the need and desirability for additional canal capacity in the light of canal traffic and other developments subsequent to 1970, and take such further steps in planning the construction of a sea-level canal on Route 10 as are then deemed appropriate."

#### TEXT OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS

##### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

"A sea-level canal across the American Isthmus has been sought for more than four centuries, and all who have participated—the Spanish, the French, and the American builders of the present lock canal—remained convinced that a sea-level canal ultimately should be constructed. The canal studies in 1947, 1960, and 1964 arrived at the same conclusion but counseled interim measures and postponement of construction.

"Today there are no technical obstacles of sufficient magnitude to prevent successful construction and operation of a sea-level canal. Determination of its feasibility must be a judgment of values, many of which are unquantifiable. The political, economic, and military advantages for the United States, the Western Hemisphere, and the world in an adequate and secure Isthmian canal cannot be measured precisely. A weighing of estimated revenue is only one measure, and a tenuous one at best. The most critical elements—the treaty arrangements for canal construction, operation, and defense—remain to be established. Nevertheless, the Commission believes that the essential treaty conditions are apparent, and on the basis of the many considerations discussed in this report and its annexes, it has reached the following conclusions and recommendations.

##### "CONCLUSIONS

"1. The United States, as the major Western Hemisphere power has the responsibility of insuring the continued availability of an adequate and secure Isthmian canal operated on a neutral and equitable basis. This obligation is recognized in United States treaty agreements with the United Kingdom, Panama and Colombia.

"2. The Panama Canal is of major importance to the defense of the United States. The United States should retain an absolute right to defend the present canal and any new Isthmian canal system for the foreseeable future.

"3. An adequate Isthmian canal is of great economic value to many nations, but especially to the United States since approximately 70 per cent of the tonnage through the canal in recent years has been to, from, or between United States ports. This relationship is expected to continue.

"4. The size limitations of the existing Panama Canal impose constraints upon the use of bulk carriers on canal routes. The worldwide trend to larger ships for movements of bulk commodities will make these constraints of increasing economic significance to United States and world trade as time passes.

"5. The potential demand for annual transits of ships of the size that can pass through the present canal probably will exceed its estimated maximum capacity of 26,800 annual transits during the last decade of this century. Saturation of the existing canal will impose difficult but not necessarily intolerable constraints on world shipping. If greater canal capacity for both numbers of transits and larger ships is not provided, potential traffic increasingly will be diverted to larger ships on alternate routes and to other transportation modes. Provision of additional canal capacity would be advan-

tageous to the continued growth of United States and world trade.

"6. Initial construction of additional canal capacity should provide for handling ships up to 150,000 DWT. New locks designed for such ships would have no greater size capacity, but a sea-level canal that could accommodate 150,000 DWT ships routinely could accommodate 250,000 DWT ships under controlled conditions.

"7. The new capacity that should be provided initially is 35,000 annual transits. Any plan adopted should not preclude progressive expansion to double or even triple this capacity.

"8. A total canal capacity of at least 35,000 annual transits could be provided by constructing a third lane of locks for the present canal. This would be a temporary solution without significant military advantages, and it would not relieve the problems in United States-Panamanian relations that derive from the personnel and defense requirements of the lock canal. The augmented capacity could be exceeded by demand for transits soon after the new locks were built. Locks capable of accommodating ships of 150,000 DWT would cost more than three-fifths as much as a sea-level canal of far greater capacity and would not be capable of transiting the Navy's angle-deck aircraft carriers. Additional locks would also increase operating costs of the canal far above those of a sea-level canal.

"9. A sea-level canal would provide a significant improvement in the ability of an Isthmian waterway to support military operations both in its lessened vulnerability to interruption by hostile action and in its ability to transit large aircraft carriers that cannot now pass through the Panama Canal. These military advantages of a sea-level canal, together with its capacity to meet the potential demand for transits over a much longer period, and its lesser operating costs would more than counter-balance the lower construction cost of augmenting the existing canal with larger locks.

"10. The technical feasibility of the use of nuclear explosives for sea-level canal excavation has not been established. Whether the technology can be perfected and the international treaty obstacles to its use removed are not now predictable. Removal of the technical and treaty obstacles to employment of nuclear excavation would still leave major political and economic obstacles to a sea-level canal remote from Panama's population centers. A sea-level canal on Route 17, excavated wholly or in part by nuclear explosions, is currently infeasible for manifold reasons and probably will remain so, regardless of the establishment of technical feasibility of nuclear excavation. A sea-level canal excavated partially by nuclear methods on Route 25 in Colombia might someday be politically acceptable if proved technically feasible.

"11. A sea-level canal in Panama constructed by conventional excavation either on Route 10 or Route 14 is technically feasible.

"12. Route 10 is the most advantageous sea-level canal route.

"13. Although available evidence indicates that the tidal currents expected in a sea-level canal without tidal control structures could be navigated safely by most ships, tidal gates could increase navigation safely and should be provided.

"14. A conventionally excavated sea-level canal on Route 10 with tidal gates, capable of accommodating at least 35,000 transits each year of representative mixes of ships of the world fleet up to 150,000 DWT, would cost \$2.88 billion to construct at 1970 prices.

"15. The costs and revenues of a future sea-level canal cannot be forecast reliably over the 75-year period that might be needed for its construction and amortization. Among the critical factors are the cost of money and the stability of the value of money. If the

old and new canals were financially integrated at initiation of new construction, and if the most favorable forecast developments in construction costs, revenues, and interest rates were realized, a sea-level canal opening in 1990 could be financed through tolls while paying reasonable royalties to Panama. Less favorable developments in future costs and revenues which are possible during the period would make amortization through tolls impracticable. Amortization could require toll increases over the present Panama Canal levels as well as additional periodic increases to compensate for inflation of future costs. Low interest rates or low royalties would facilitate financing larger investments and permit lower tolls. Conversely, high interest rates, high royalties, or tolls lower than economically justified would reduce the construction investment that might be amortized from tolls.

"16. A variable pricing system for tolls designed to meet the competition of alternatives to the canal would attract the most traffic and generate the greatest revenues in a future canal of any type, lock or sea-level.

"17. Assurance of recovery of the United States investment is desirable, but need not be the sole determinant of United States canal policy. The decision to build or not to build a sea-level canal should also take into account economic, political, and military factors.

"18. Although true internationalization of a future sea-level Isthmian canal does not appear to be attainable, multi-national participation in its financing and management could be financially and politically advantageous. The United States should seek such participation within a bi-national treaty with Panama, but not make future United States canal policy dependent upon its attainment.

"19. United States relations with Panama could be improved by progressive reduction of the number of United States personnel in the canal operating authority and a concomitant increase in the proportion of Panamanian personnel in the positions normally occupied by United States citizens. Construction of a sea-level canal would facilitate reduction of the United States presence in that it could be operated and defended with fewer total personnel.

"20. Construction of a sea-level canal on Route 10 or Route 14 would create great economic benefits for Panama. Of the alternatives considered, the greatest benefits in added employment and foreign exchange earnings for Panama would be derived from construction of a sea-level canal on Route 10 and operating it together with the existing canal as a single system.

"21. United States canal objectives and enduring tranquil relations with Panama are most likely of attainment under a treaty arrangement which gives Panama a greater role in the canal enterprise than at present and justifiable economic benefits from canal activities, but the United States should retain effective control of canal operations.

"22. So far as the Commission is able to determine on the basis of limited studies, linking the oceans at sea-level would not endanger commercial or sport fish on either side of the American Isthmus. No significant physical changes to the environment appear probable outside the immediate areas of excavation and spoil disposal. Tidal gates could be used to eliminate substantially the flow of water between the oceans, and the water between the gates would have incidental temperature and salinity differences from either ocean that would constitute a limited barrier to transfer of marine life. A definitive and reliable prediction of all ecological effects of a sea-level canal is not possible. The potential for transfer of harmful biota and hybridization or displacement of species in both oceans exists but the risks involved appear to be

acceptable. Long-term studies starting before construction is initiated and continuing many years beyond the opening of a sea-level canal would be required to measure ecological effects.

"23. A decision to construct a sea-level canal should allow for planning and construction lead time of approximately 15 years to meet the projected date of need, which can be fixed with increasing confidence as it draws nearer. Other factors, however, including the treaty terms with Panama that are ultimately negotiated and ratified, as well as the national priorities for Federal financing then existing, should be the final determinants of whether the President should propose sea-level canal legislation to the Congress.

"24. Construction of a sea-level canal, if financed principally by the United States, should be planned and carried out under the direction of an autonomous authority of the United States Government.

#### "RECOMMENDATIONS

"The Atlantic-Pacific Interoceanic Canal Study Commission recommends that:

"1. Any new canal treaty arrangement with the Republic of Panama provide for:

"a. Creation of an Isthmian canal system including both the existing Panama Canal and a sea-level canal on Route 10, operated and defended in an equitable and mutually acceptable relationship between the United States and Panama.

"b. Canal operating and defense areas that include both the existing Panama Canal and Route 10.

"c. Effective control of canal operations and right of defense of the canal system and canal areas by the United States, with such provisions for Panamanian participation as are determined by negotiation to be mutually acceptable and consistent with other recommendations herein.

"d. Acquisition of the Route 10 right-of-way by the canal system operating authority as soon as practicable.

"2. The canal system be operated to provide an equitable share of revenues and other economic benefits for Panama consistent with efficiency of canal operations, financial health of the enterprise, and maintenance of toll levels that permit effective competition with alternatives to the canal.

"3. Other nations be encouraged to participate in financing the canal system, if such multi-national participation is acceptable to the Government of Panama.

"4. Subject to the priority of more important national requirements at the time, the United States initiate construction of a sea-level canal on Route 10 no later than 15 years in advance of the estimated saturation date of the present canal, now projected to occur during the last decade of this century.

"5. When the rights and obligations of the United States under new treaties with Panama are established, the President reevaluate the need for and desirability of additional canal capacity in the light of canal traffic and other developments subsequent to 1970, and take such further steps in planning the construction of a sea-level canal on Route 10 as are then deemed appropriate.

"6. Modernization of the existing canal to provide its maximum potential transit capacity be accomplished, but no additional locks be constructed.

"7. The United States pursue development of the nuclear excavation technology, but not postpone Isthmian canal policy decisions because of the possible establishment of feasibility of nuclear excavation at some later date.

"8. The following studies initiated in the course of the Commission's investigation, if not otherwise completed beforehand, be continued to completion by the control authority of the new canal system if such an authority is established and the Route 10 right-of-way acquired.

"a. Investigation of the subsurface geology of the proposed trace of Route 10 to permit selection of the exact alignment for design purposes.

"b. Investigation of slope stability applicable to Route 10 geologic conditions.

"c. Investigation into the hydrodynamics of large ships moving through confined waters with variable currents.

"9. A permanent agency of the Executive be designated to support and coordinate public and private research activities that could contribute to the evaluation of the potential environmental effects of a sea-level canal, and if the decision is made to initiate its construction, advise the President as to the organization for and funding of such additional research as might be required to reach definitive conclusions.

"Chairman Robert B. Anderson, because he is also Special Representative of the United States for United States-Panama Relations, disassociated himself from Recommendation 1, which concerns new treaty arrangements with the Government of Panama.

#### ON GIVING THE VOTERS A CHOICE

### HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, Glenn E. Watts, secretary-treasurer of the Communications Workers of America, testified today, before the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. Mr. Watts spoke of the need for legislation to—as he put it—"guarantee to the American voter that he or she will get at least some opportunity to determine the attitudes of the major candidates for President and Vice President free of the spuriousness of commercial hucksterism."

The Communications Workers of America has been interested in achieving this goal for several years, and has proposed legislation to bring this about. It would provide a certain amount of television broadcast time for candidates for President and Vice President who have qualified to run in at least 35 States. A portion of that time would be for debates.

Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Watts' presentation on this vital subject in the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF GLENN E. WATTS, SECRETARY-TREASURER, COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT, WEDNESDAY, DEC. 9, 1970

Mr. Chairman, my name is Glenn E. Watts, and I am the Secretary-Treasurer of the Communications Workers of America, a Union representing more than a half-million workers in the United States and Canada.

We would like to confine our remarks to one aspect of your broad study of the American political process. That aspect could be summed up as the need to guarantee to the American voter that he or she will get at least some opportunity to determine the attitudes of the major candidates for President and Vice President free from the spuriousness of commercial hucksterism.

The vehicle to do this exists, and it has already proven that it is capable of giving the voters this opportunity we emphasize. It is television broadcasting. Televised debates between the major candidates for the two highest offices in the nation, plus personal pres-

entations of their views in depth, would accomplish the goal we seek.

Before I move into my points on why this should be done and how it should be done, I would like to acknowledge that the related parts of the political process which are the concern of these hearings—campaign fund raising and campaign spending—are, of course, vitally important. It all goes into the mill which culminates in an oath-taking ceremony on the chilly steps of the Capitol every fourth January. We hope you will receive good recommendations on fund raising and spending legislation, and that you will come up with your own recommendations in these areas which need attention so badly.

I do not think I have to go into detail for you to show that if the Communications Workers of America's thoughts on campaign broadcasting are enacted into law, the Congress will have eradicated great inequities to the voters who want to make an intelligent choice for President and Vice President of the United States, as well as having injected a large dose of ethics into our Presidential campaigns.

We would still have those vehicles of deceit—the ten-second and thirty-second and sixty-second spot commercial—unless Congress should try to ban them completely, or unless the major parties mutually agree not to use them. For now, we think we should accept them as a political fact of life—hopefully temporary, but still there.

All of us are familiar with how these spots can be and have been used, and this should spur Congress to enact legislation such as we are proposing which raises political campaigning out of the sewer created by the devisers of scurrilous spots. It should be done for every election, but especially for the Presidency and Vice Presidency.

It can be done by requiring the broadcasters—users of the airwaves which belong to the people—to provide a specific amount of time for the major candidates for President and Vice President, and by stipulating how that time would be used.

Some questions about that immediately come to mind.

How do you decide who is a major candidate and who is a frivolous candidate? How much time? When? In what format?

CWA has drafted legislation covering this, using, as a starting point, a bill Senator Warren G. Magnuson introduced in 1960. I would like to touch the major items in our bill, and with the Committee's permission, I would like to ask that the following items be included in the hearing record:

A draft of our bill, and a section-by-section analysis.

A display advertisement which CWA ran in 17 major newspapers and the CWA News in 1968, headed, "This Is No Time For A Fractured Campaign."

A Communications Workers of America Executive Board statement adopted in February, 1969, headed, "TV Debates in Presidential Campaigns."

A Communications Workers of America Convention Resolution adopted in June of 1969, headed, "Presidential Nominees."

Our proposed legislation provides that a candidate for President or Vice President would be one who has qualified for the office under the laws of at least 35 states.

Each of the candidates for President would be entitled to two hours of prime broadcast time for his own use, and the opportunity to participate in debate with all of the other Presidential candidates for a total of five hours during the eight weeks preceding the election. The personal use time would be in one-hour segments, and would not include commercials such as the minute and less spots, or extensive use of prepared film. One hour of the joint appearances time would be reserved for the Monday night before the election.

During the same eight weeks preceding the election, each candidate for Vice President would be entitled to one hour of prime broadcast time for his own use, and the opportunity to participate in debates with all of the other Vice Presidential candidates for a total of two hours.

A Presidential Candidates Joint Appearances Coordinating Committee would be established, with the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission as chairman, to make the arrangements needed to carry out the provisions of the legislation. Broadcasters would be represented on the Committee.

The joint appearances time would be simultaneous in each time zone of the Nation, so far as possible.

A candidate who declines to appear in conjunction with the other candidate, or candidates, would not prevent the accepting candidates from appearing, but the Coordinating Committee would devise a format for the program as needed.

The Federal Communications Commission would develop the rules and regulations needed to implement the legislation, and would require reports from the networks and stations covering their performance under this legislation.

Those, in list, are the major elements of the proposed legislation.

An obvious question is—why isn't radio included?

Radio and television are both tremendously effective methods of reaching people, but each has different characteristics. On radio, except for news, there is practically no networking, and no real prime time—we listen driving to work, the housewife listens as she works at home. It is intermittent-type listening. And it is strictly audio—it lacks the added dimension to convince that vision gives.

Also, the debates we propose would be available to the radio stations and we could expect that a large percent would carry them.

Another question which deserves an answer is—why shouldn't the broadcasters be paid for this time which the bill grants free?

We should remember that the airwaves belong to the people—not the broadcasters, and the broadcasters pay a very small fee—a very small part of their profits for the use of the airwaves.

If we figure prime time to be the hours from 7 p.m. to 11 p.m., then there are 224 hours of prime time in the eight weeks before the election. If we have three candidates for President who are qualified under the legislation, we would have a total of 16 hours devoted to personal time plus joint appearance time for the candidates for President and Vice President. That is not a large amount of time, when we consider that we are dealing with the election of the President and Vice President of the United States.

Two other points often figure in discussions on Presidential debates.

One involves the problem of a candidate who is glib but may be less qualified than an opponent who is not quite as articulate.

It is hard to conceive of anyone rising to the high political position of Presidential nominee who is not articulate—the process usually eliminates such candidates at the lower levels of contention. Also, in personal presentations of their attitudes and in debates, Presidential candidates have the opportunity to convince the voters that glibness is not as valid an attribute for a President as knowledge and sincerity.

The voters recognize this.

The other point involves the issue of national security—will a candidate, in debate, disclose some state secret in his anxiousness to score on his opponents? We don't think that is a realistic problem.

But certainly, if one of the candidates is so constituted that he loses his poise and discloses information which can harm the nation, we should know that before the election because we are liable to suffer from it after the election if that candidate is elected.

These questions are, of course, legitimate, and should be raised and answered. But we need to keep sight of the forest—of the real good for the national political health the implementation of our proposed legislation would bring.

If we think of it as causing election campaigns to rise in ethical tone, and become more of an educational process than an experiment in commercial hucksterism, we see immediately the great benefit involved.

We need that improvement, and if we get it, it could be the beginning of a general movement to better values and better attitudes toward how we govern ourselves.

It is time to move in that direction.

Thank you.

## LET US COME DOWN TO EARTH

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, my opposition to the supersonic transport and other wasteful Federal programs does not include a lack of concern for the people whose jobs are threatened by necessary cutbacks.

As I have said time and again: We must restore full employment in this country; we must find constructive jobs for those workers, skilled and unskilled, who are hit by the reductions in programs such as the SST.

This point was made quite well in an excellent editorial that appeared on Monday, December 7, in the Long Island Press which is ably edited by David Starr. I believe the theme of that editorial, "Let Us Come Down to Earth," is something that all the Members should ponder and something to which we must respond.

The editorial follows:

### LET US COME DOWN TO EARTH

The Senate's refusal to pump millions of dollars of federal subsidies into the development of a supersonic transport plane is a victory in the struggle to reorder American values. However, victory is not enough in itself. What matters is how it is used. It is not enough to deny funds to economically-foolish and ecologically-damaging projects without also acting to fill the job and business vacuums that result from such a decision.

From Washington to Long Island, the shock will be felt different ways and in varying intensities. Thousands of engineers and other specialists face unemployment at Boeing in Seattle immediately and there is a long-term threat in the loss of a \$34,500,000 contract for Fairchild Hiller and Farmingdale for construction of major parts of the prototype SST.

The negative economic impact of the SST decision, however, must not be seen as an isolated event. It is part of the economic crisis that followed the huge cutbacks in defense and aerospace spending—the greatest single cause of the current unemployment and economic downturn. And the latest figures, as reported Friday, show no change in the trend, with unemployment rising to 5.8 percent, highest in 7½ years.

The economically debilitating effect of defense and aerospace cutbacks reveals how deeply dependent the economy has become on the stimulus of governmental spending programs. The answer—as President Nixon implied over the weekend is not to make SSTs in order to create jobs, but to create jobs in vital areas that are now neglected.

We have to overcome the notion that while it is morally or otherwise appropriate for the government to direct huge expenditures of money, national resources and talent to the production of guns and space-ships it is inappropriate to act with similar vigor and commitment to build subways, houses and all the other necessities of daily American life.

While President Nixon, in his statement on the economy Friday night, paid lip service to the desirability of such goals, he appears far from ready to commit the government to the kind of vigorous and creative programs the times demand.

Part of America's claim to greatness lies in the skill and imagination with which we mobilized our people and resources to create the most powerful defense apparatus in history or to put man on the moon. The claim on us now is to restore our economic health by applying our skill and imagination, with equal verve and scope, to programs aimed at meeting basic needs and improving the quality of life.

Some defense-aerospace firms have, on their own, already diversified into such areas to take up the slack from the loss of huge defense contracts. Grumman Corporation at Bethpage, for example, has put subsidiaries into the production of underseas research craft for oceanography, commercial aircraft for executive-size planes, mobile homes, environmental protection systems and truck bodies, and has joined an 11-firm consortium seeking government support in the Operation Breakthrough housing program.

But not all firms have capital to underwrite such ambitious projects without aid from Uncle Sam. A host of programs are begging to be born to stimulate such a conversion on a broad national scale. There is work to be done immediately—hospitals, homes, transit facilities, power systems, schools, sewage treatment plants—that could absorb many of the unemployed.

And there are vast areas of scientific and technical ignorance begging to be conquered in everything from disease to pollution control. All that great technical talent that will not be designing SSTs, weapons systems and spaceships should be funneled into job retraining programs.

It is no longer enough to simulate economic recovery through indiscriminate expansion. We must accompany any growth program with clearly defined objectives and strong inflation controls. We need neither pie nor SSTs in the sky, but a spacelike program that gets down to earth.

#### "THE GREEKS HAD A WORD FOR IT"

**HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention, for a moment, to the role of different levels of Federal, State, and local government in combating pollution of the environment.

On November 11, 1970, Mr. James K. Carr, Director of Airports, San Francisco Airports Commission, San Francisco, offered the following remarks at

the Annual Conference of Airport Operators Council International in Montreal, Canada.

Because Mr. Carr addresses his comments to the role of airports in world development, not only in the areas of economics, culture, communications, and education, but with particular reference to noise and air pollution, I insert Mr. Carr's remarks, "The Greeks Had a Word For It."

#### THE GREEKS HAD A WORD FOR IT

The word "ecology" according to my best information was used in the English language about 1873, having first been used by the German zoologist Haeckel in 1869. It has gained use in these one hundred years, but nothing like its use in the last two or three years or perhaps I should say—months.

*The Greeks had a word for it; "oikos" (house) and "logos" (word) meaning essentially "the study of the house,"—the house we call earth.*

In these days the Greeks have an even more urgent concern for the "study of the house"—the house we call earth.

A September 13 UPI dispatch out of Athens said this:

"Smog and jet-aircraft sound waves are slowly destroying the Parthenon, Greece's most famous ancient monument.

"On hot, humid days a light bluish-gray cloud of smog lingers over Athens. It blurs the Acropolis, the majestic hill rising from the City Center.

"Millions of tourists trodding on the ancient floors take their toll on the Parthenon and other temples on the Acropolis. But ecologists and archaeologists say the real dangers are jet aircraft sound waves and erosive car-exhaust fumes.

My assignment this morning is to present a paper on "Environmental Considerations and Airports". It's an immense order to fill—in the time available.

The difficulty of the task brings to mind an airport operator's recent demand that:

"We should have a single governmental agency where we can get final answers on this 'ecology-environment' thing."

That, if it could be established, would have to be the "Department of Everything".

Because of the individual characteristics of each airport and the varied environmental problems of everyone, it would serve little purpose to give you an "environmental shopping list". My assignment can be discharged better if my remarks are aimed at the policy questions. More accurately, there is a need to discuss the basic philosophy from which airport operators should view these latest developments regarding ecology and environment.

Emphasis is needed on basic philosophy because the environmental questions facing us today are essentially ethical questions—moral philosophy questions. The nation's growing concern of environmental sickness is the ethical consequence of sustained ecological abuse.

"In a relatively few years, through misuse of the environment, man is about to do what no man has been able to do in more than 2000 years—destroy the Parthenon . . ."

People's nervous systems in some areas are in the same danger as the Parthenon.

To define our terms:

"Ecology", in sociology, is the relationship between humans, their material resources, and the consequent social and cultural patterns.

"Ecology", in biology, deals with the relationship between living organisms and their environment.

"Environ" means to surround, enclose, encircle. To the airport executive, breathlessly striving to keep pace with expanding airport demands, "environ" seems to mean entrap

and frustrate, since environmental concerns cause so many more hurdles in getting the job done.

The airport executive probably thinks he has further justification for his "dim view" when his airport's expansion program, demanding federal aid for financial feasibility, must now be thoroughly reviewed in light of several laws, including—

The Environmental Policy Act of 1969—(Public Law 91-190) and the environmental provisions of

The Airport and Airway Development Act of 1970—(Public Law 91-258).

The airport executive's emotional upset is heightened when he first sees the several pages of the important FAA Order 5050 on *Interim Instructions for Processing Airport Development Actions Affecting the Environment* and attachments.

The relationship of the airplane to natural resources and people no longer exists that existed a relatively few years ago when in 1932 Bob Reeve, Alaska's first glacier pilot, climbed off a freighter at Valdez, to push back the world's air frontiers.

The environmental situation is vastly different. With jet engines, larger planes, and the crowding of people into metropolitan areas, that earlier relationship has undergone a profound change—and fast.

Airport planners and engineers have lost the luxury of establishing an airport without consulting dozens of governmental agencies and considering sometimes millions of people who are demanding an end to noise, air, and water pollution.

"Ecological Judgment Day" has arrived.

Airport engineers and planners, and a host of associates in the aviation industry must realize Airports are for people.

People must realize that they are only a part of Creation, even though they are the most important part.

Airports are complicated transfer points between air and ground transportation. They are places where travellers' service requirements must be met. Airport developments should be measured by these fundamental objectives.

Nothing speaks to us more forcefully of our need for an ecologically cautious approach to any physical changes of the landscape than the photograph of "spaceship earth" from the moon and the realization of the thin layer of it that supports life.

The members of this organization, especially the international members, are well aware that present day aircraft can encircle "spaceship earth" in a relatively few hours. When the SST is flying, the time of encirclement will be much less.

The effect of aircraft and airports then, on the total environment in this thin layer that supports life, will be more important than ever.

Man lives off the resources of the earth as well as on it. The thin-layered surface envelope of the earth where man lives, if ignorantly exploited, can result soon in disastrous consequences.

So-called technological success, unless put and kept in proper perspective with overall human needs, can merely mean a skyrocketing increase in personality-fragmenting, alienating, psychological experiences.

Noise pollution is a prime example of the threat.

Within the lifetime of many of us, the nostalgic sounds in rural areas that were so well described as "the lowing herd . . ." and "the drowsy tinklings that lull the distant folds" in Gray's *Elegy*, have been supplanted or inundated by the seemingly constant jet engine roar near many of the major metropolitan airports.

We must muffle the maddening decibels. More than our hearing is at stake. We cannot let an "atheism of noise" destroy our soul. Nor can we close our ears to the rising chorus of concerned citizens demanding

cleaner air, cleaner water, and a more livable land.

"Let's face it." You and I know that airports are not responsible for all these environmental problems. The jet engine is in fact one of the more efficient power packages yet developed. But in so many cases airports are the visible target.

Airplanes in the San Francisco Bay Area, for example, cause far less than one hundredth of the air pollution caused by automobiles in the same area. But it is the airplane with its carbon fall-out that is highly visible.

We well know aviation ecology problems extend far beyond the responsibilities, capabilities, or authorities of Airport Commissions and Boards of Directors of airport agencies. However, it is easier to take aim on an airport and its policy makers than dozens of different airlines. Airports are out in front—like the "professional Irish" marching on St. Patrick's Day.

Regardless of the tendency to blame airport operators for all the ecology upsets caused by the aviation industry, those responsible for airports must determine as best they can the areas where airport commissions and their staffs can be effective in the necessary effort to protect and enhance the environment. One particular very important example comes to my mind.

There is an invisible, weightless, non-toxic pollutant—it is called "noise." In the fight against unnecessary noise, the AOCI has an outstanding record. The AOCI can continue to improve that record.

Airport operators must not relent in their drive to bring about a retrofit of engines on existing aircraft to reduce the present unnecessary noise pollution. These same out-of-date engines spew visible pollutants making airports a prime target for everyone who is fighting dirty air.

AOCI President Matt Lukens spoke well and accurately about noise and "retrofit" on January 23, 1970 when he stated:

"One of the most difficult conditions we face is aircraft noise. The overwhelming public reaction to excessive aircraft noise has resulted in restrictions to operations and widespread opposition to expansion of existing airports or development of badly-needed new airports. *The technology to reduce aircraft noise at its source exists.*"

"We have the legislative and administrative tools to implement that technology."

As an example of public indignation about noise, San Francisco International Airport and four airlines were sued a few weeks ago for alleged damage to homes by families on the San Francisco Peninsula living more than twenty miles from the Airport.

It is this type of citizen concern in so many areas that prompted AOCI President Lukens to take issue with the Honorable Secor Browne, Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) when Chairman Browne was quoted as questioning the value of retrofitting aircraft engines now.

It is important to note that President Lukens emphasized:

"No one has ever suggested that the airlines alone should meet this cost."

With this statement, the members of AOCI agree.

Both as to cost and technology Mr. Lukens is well supported by the NASA-Douglas-Boeing-Rohr studies of retrofit. He is also more than well supported by the public demand that something be done about it. Development of a new power package, in lieu of a retrofit program, will just not happen soon enough.

Another point that should be made clear is this:

"Airport administrators are all too well acquainted with the airline industry's present financial problems."

Quite logically, we cannot pay for expanding airports, nor can the government collect its project tax revenues unless we have financially healthy airlines.

Financially healthy airlines, in turn, help create financially healthy airframe manufacturers. Financially healthy airlines and airframe manufacturers mean more jobs—and a better business economy.

We are all in this together—airports, airlines, airframe and engine manufacturers. Together and—only together—we shall solve them.

President Lukens and airport representatives demanding programs to "retrofit" as fast as possible don't disagree with Chairman Browne that traffic control procedures should be taken wherever possible to abate noise. Neither do they take issue with Chairman Browne's statement that as an industry and a nation we "should be forward looking to totally new power packages."

Time doesn't permit a full discussion of the need to eliminate, as well, visible emissions from jet engines. "Carbon fallout" is one of the greatest public relations problems for airport operators. Retrofit would eliminate this as well as curb the devastating decibels of aircraft noise.

Some mornings from south of San Francisco International Airport the nearby San Bruno hills can hardly be seen. At peak hours from Interstate Highway No. 280 there is the appearance of rainfall from "carbon fallout" on takeoff. This pollution can be and should be stopped as soon as a program can be adequately financed. Admittedly, some short steps are being taken to alleviate the problem, but they should be long strides.

I have painted a bleak picture. Now, let's see if there isn't a brighter outlook.

Having been immersed in this ecology-environment subject for many years, and just recently participating in a two-day FAA workshop regarding largely Ecology and Airports sponsored by the AOCI and others, I want to assure you it's a new day in planning airports or expanding them, *but it's not all bad.*

First—a great number of dedicated people in various governmental agencies are hard at work.

Even President Nixon recognizes ecology considerations almost create a "Department of Everything" problem.

To solve it, The President has recently established a four-sided pyramid organization with the President's Council on Environmental Quality playing a very important role.

The National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration, the Department of Interior; the Environmental Protection Agency are involved; and there may well be more sides to the pyramid before it's over. The President must make the final decisions.

Secondly, don't be too critical of the Department of Transportation or the FAA if you seem to be engulfed in paper work regarding ecology and environmental considerations.

The officials of the FAA have been given the job of carrying out the intent of the Congress. If you think it's an easy assignment just read—and reread Section 16 of the Airport and Airway Development Act of 1970.

With this new emphasis on total environment, Airport operators should not "take a back seat" in pointing out the enhancement of man's total environment—the enrichment of our lives because of air travel.

Airport officials can proudly point out—the improvement of livability—the better communication and the extensive education of millions of people that result from the present stage of the aviation industry.

Airport operators in various areas have played a part in enhancing total livability—helping provide the economic base for cultural improvements that could never have otherwise been financed. For example, the

growth of the San Francisco Peninsula and the development of colleges, theaters, and many other cultural activities would not have been possible without a prospering San Francisco International Airport and its effect on the local business economy and tax base.

The Los Angeles plan of "satellite airports" will be a principal factor in spreading the population of Southern California and reducing the overcrowding that has brought on so many other environmental problems in that area.

The State of Idaho's unique system of airports in beautiful wilderness areas has made these areas useable without ruining them with roads.

Conservationists have even suggested a moderately-sized airport, tied to public transportation on Cape Cod Seashore Park which would be far better for the environment and people than the multi-lane freeway that would otherwise be necessary to move crowds along that narrow strip of land.

It's a relatively minor thing—but by cooperating with the State Department of Fish and Game, a land fill at San Francisco International will have a scalloped edge to develop shelter and breeding areas for fish where otherwise the currents would have been too strong for fish propagation.

I mention these things to emphasize that airport developers can turn some of these seeming obstructions into opportunities. It can be done by an honest consideration of the concerns and problems of others.

The very recent workshop session with FAA officials was certainly encouraging. The questions and answers made good sense.

The FAA representatives admit that going "strictly by the book" or "disregarding the book" are the two extremes to be avoided in preparing a case. They are reasonable representatives of the federal government trying to do their job.

Airport operators can expect an exercise of good judgment by FAA officials. Airport operators must, however, not just accept—they must welcome "environmental review."

If not, the danger signs are up higher on airport expansion. Already the CAB has placed restrictions on flights in and out of five airports.

Failure to meet environmental needs can spread the signals of distress and can choke airport activity.

All of these "environmental developments" mean there must be a greater emphasis on sensible planning. Above all—airport operators must anticipate their needs well in advance—I repeat well in advance. There will be no other way to escape a delay in converting plans into programs if the law is to be carried out as intended by the Congress.

The Palmdale proposal of the City of Los Angeles is an excellent example of how necessary it is to anticipate the closest kind of scrutiny and be prepared for every kind of environmental question.

The morality of environmental concern boils down to this: Technology and its great benefits and the economic activity it generates must be used to meet real human needs. We realize that development is the basis for our economic system. There can, and will be great benefits from an expanded aviation system, but we must be honest enough to recognize limitations in crowded areas, particularly.

To sum up this assignment, I should like to conclude with awareness of the need for airport commissions to establish positive policies based on a philosophy of stewardship that is much broader than anyone believed would be necessary a few years ago.

To establish such policy one needs to face some philosophic facts.

Frankly, as with the understanding of death, the ontological approach is essential—leave the Creator out of Creation . . . and

you will get the wrong answer—or no answer at all.

It is my privilege to represent a City and an International Airport named after the world-renowned St. Francis of Assisi. To some he is known only as a lyrical mystic with a poetic love of animals.

A closer examination of his beliefs explains why he has been proposed as the "Patron Saint of Ecologists." His writings and his life expressed the view that man must respect all Creation. The clarity of his insights shed some valuable light on the ecological problems of today.

Although as the Eighth Psalm tells us, man has dominion over other creatures—St. Francis makes it clear that having "dominion" does not authorize tyranny or ruthless exploitation.

Man has no charter for abuse of creation—animate or inanimate. There is a real interdependence in nature. Man enjoys a delicate tenancy in the Creator's world and a heavy responsibility of stewardship goes with it.

Thus, you can see that influenced by St. Francis of Assisi—the man for whom San Francisco International Airport is named, I advocate an aggressive, vigorous ecological policy by the AOCI that considers the relationship of airports to the rest of Creation.

The world should be informed how aviation and airports have increased mobility, broadened communication, and improved education beyond our dreams. Properly planned aviation and airports can and will in many ways improve man's total ecology sociologically in the future.

We shall have to approach the problems honestly and with the humility of a St. Francis. We must above all recognize the real and earnest concern of others about the future of man's environment and the effect of airports upon it.

That philosophy and resultant policy will give airport expansion and the aviation industry a new thrust in a world where change is the most certain thing we know. Environmental review can then help rather than hinder.

This can mean a change in the direction of true conservation which really means the wisest use of the resources that have been bestowed upon us—the highest form of national thrift.

If the members of this organization assume this policy of broadened responsibility for the effect of airports then we will have embarked upon a new era of "ecological considerations and airports," which will improve the livability of this thin layer on "spaceship earth"—the only home we know.

#### TAX CREDIT FOR HIRING THE AGED

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to introduce H.R. 15953 early this year. This measure would provide a tax credit for an employer who hires older persons in his trade or business. The amount of such a credit would be equal to the increase in the employer's cost of doing business which results from the employment of older persons. Such cost increases could include increased insurance premiums, contributions to pension funds, medical costs or workmen's compensation funds, and the costs of training the older worker. This would be an effective step by Government in the

effort to preserve the talents which the older members of our society are willing and able to give to us. Following is an article which appear in the Wall Street Journal on November 2, 1970, which illuminates the success that certain private firms have had with hiring the elderly.

I include the following:

#### IMPROVING WITH AGE: MORE COMPANIES HIRE WORKERS THEY ONCE SPURNED—THE ELDERLY

(By Bill Paul)

Note to personnel men:

Go find Harry Giltz and hire him back.

You remember Harry. You tossed him out the door 10 years ago when he reached the mandatory retirement age. Today Harry is 75 years old and probably a bit fragile.

Nonetheless, Harry will not only do better on the job than the youngster who replaced him, but he will also complain less, show up more regularly and gladly work for less money and no fringe benefits at all.

That, at least, is the story told by a growing number of companies across the country. Corporate personnel chiefs are finding that oldsters form a ready and willing labor pool for a wide variety of part-time, temporary or hard-to-fill jobs—jobs that even in a time of high unemployment still exceed the number of workers willing or qualified to accept them. And retirees, many of them feeling the pinch of inflation and many others just plain sick of sitting at home staring at the walls, are responding to the new demand with alacrity.

#### A HAPPY PAIRING

Retirees are seldom sought out to fill skilled blue-collar jobs or high-level white-collar positions. More typical is the sort of work that recently lured John Rossi and Bob Wealat, both 67, and Ruby Bates, whose age is her own secret, back from retirement. Miss Bates was called in by General Motors' New York office to file paperwork. Mr. Rossi sorts mail for Texaco executives in Manhattan. And Mr. Wealat was hired by IBM to edit and update sales and engineering manuals.

Almost without exception, both the workers and the companies are delighted. Mr. Rossi, for example, worked 32 years for the Post Office, retired last year and discovered he could neither make ends meet nor pass the time of day. "There's never going to be any retirement for this man," he now declares. "You've always got to keep your mind occupied." Besides that, he adds, "How can a man live on a \$80-a-week pension?"

A spokesman for GM's New York office says the company recently became "disappointed with the young temporaries we'd hired." So in the first half of this year GM took on 11 retirees as temporary clerical workers, Ruby Bates included. Somewhat to its surprise, "we found that the seniors did as good a job, and in some instances better, than our young temporaries," says the spokesman.

No one knows the full extent of the trend. The Bureau of Labor Statistics says about two million of the 20 million Americans over 65 hold jobs, but it believes most are self-employed or do volunteer work or work for small mom-and-pop operations unburdened by retirement rules or pension plans. Not until recently has big industry begun to drop the bars against old folks.

Last August, for example, Bankers Trust Co., New York, launched a citywide recruiting effort to find more than 100 old people for temporary and part-time work as tellers, accountants and security men. United Fruit Co. has been hiring retirees in the Boston area since last January as mail room and communications employees, and Manpower Inc., a leading personnel agency, has a two-year-old employment program for oldsters

that, according to a spokesman, "has really caught on with employers."

#### WELCOME UP TO 90

Although the recent rise in unemployment has made it easier to fill vacant job slots, some companies still go out of their way to seek out oldsters. "The older worker may go at a slower pace, but over a year's time you get more out of him because he's more steady, conscientious and always shows up for work," says Jack Heeran, chairman of Circuit Systems Corp., of Villa Park, Ill. As a rule, says Mr. Heeran, who is 47 himself, he prefers employees over 40, and he will happily take on a worker as old as 80 or 85. Once they pass their 90th birthday, Mr. Heeran is less interested.

Mr. Heeran feels old folks get an unfair shake at most companies. He is a self-made millionaire who retired at age 40 to play golf in California. He got bored with that in short order, but when he tried to get a job with former business associates, they all told him he was too old. That angered Mr. Heeran, who started his own company, which is doing quite well, he says, with a good number of old folks on the payroll.

Few executives are as committed as Mr. Heeran to hiring the elderly, but clearly the practice is catching on. Colonial Penn Group, a diversified Philadelphia concern, has set up employment agencies that specialize in retirees in more than 25 cities, and it says business is booming.

That's not to say there aren't obstacles for the company that decides to hire people over 65. "I could use older people," says one personnel director, "but our pension and insurance plans are geared to mandatory retirement at 65, no exceptions allowed. Even if I decided to change that, the union would say no."

There is a way around that problem, however. Many companies—Texaco among them—simply hire their over-65 help through a personnel agency, which keeps the workers on its own books as employees of the agency. Texaco pays the salaries, but it avoids having to shell out the sick pay, pensions, and other fringe benefits that its own internal rules call for it to grant to employees.

That might seem like a raw deal for the oldsters, but most of them are so happy to work that they don't complain. Such eagerness may help explain why senior workers perform some jobs better than younger men or women. These include jobs in which the accumulated expertise of an oldster is needed on a limited basis—as is the case with Mr. Wealat at IBM—and so-called dead-end jobs that young people shun or purposely do poorly at. One major Eastern manufacturer turned to retirees after finding most of its young mail room staff was smoking marijuana and taking drugs on the job.

One reason retirees may enjoy and therefore perform well at unglamorous jobs is that they usually work part-time. Woodward & Lothrop, a department store chain, based in Washington, D.C., employs 300 to 400 over-65 workers a year as part-time sales personnel to spell regular employees during lunch hours or to increase the work force during the Christmas shopping season. Though the work is strenuous, the oldsters generally work only a few hours a day. "These people do a superb job," says Fred Thompson, the concern's personnel director. He is convinced that "many companies are missing the boat" by not hiring the elderly.

#### AN EAGER LABOR POOL

The store's personnel men began appealing to senior citizens' groups in Washington a few years ago after a sizable radio, newspaper and direct mail employment campaign failed to turn up enough qualified younger people to fill the firm's temporary vacancies. They found hundreds of qualified elderly persons eager to put in a few hours a day.

Social security laws inhibit many oldsters from working full-time. Currently, if a retired person between the ages 65 and 72 earns more than \$1,880 but less than \$2,880 annually, he loses half his annual benefits. If he earns over \$2,880 he gets no Social Security payments at all. Consequently, retirees prefer part-time work and, if they do work full-time, many of them do so for low salaries so as to retain their Social Security benefits.

Some employers have that reason in mind when they hire the elderly. Butcher & Sherard, a Philadelphia brokerage house, figures it saves about \$25,000 a year by employing four over-65 men as runners.

Legislation pending in the Senate would increase the cut-off point on earnings that disqualify a person for Social Security to \$3,000, but many critics feel that will be hardly any help at all for the elderly person who wants to work but can't afford to give up his Social Security. Students of the problems of the aged point out that Social Security laws were passed before many companies instituted mandatory early retirement and before many medical advances that have lengthened life spans and improved the health of the elderly.

#### SKEPTICS AROUND

So far, the Federal Government has done little more about the problem than to hire a handful of oldsters itself. Two months ago, the Federal National Mortgage Association began using 15 retirees to take bids over the phone twice a month during its open market operations. Previously the bids were mailed—a method that proved increasingly unreliable.

Most Federal agencies, though, do no more than private industry to encourage employees to stay on after their 65th birthdays. And it's clear that many a skeptical personnel man has yet to be convinced that hiring the old is wise. Typical is the East Coast executive who says: "Sure, some old people are still able to turn out a good day's work, but we have a mandatory retirement age for a reason. By and large, older folks can't cut the mustard anymore."

Most labor unions, which have fought long and hard for early retirement rules, also frown on the elderly taking up slots in the work force, although for a different reason. "People should retire by 65 on a decent pension," says a spokesman for the International Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers. "Otherwise, it blocks opportunities for younger guys down the road."

Despite such obstacles, the hiring of oldsters is picking up as more and more companies spread the word that the elderly do well on the job. "There is no substitute for experience," says Jim Berg, a personnel man at Perkin-Elmer Corp., a Norwalk, Conn., maker of optical equipment. Perkin-Elmer employs several engineers and scientists over 65, some of whom came on board after being retired by other companies. "They think just as young as the young ones," says Mr. Berg, "and often they hold up better."

#### H.R. 15953

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide credit against income tax for an employer who employs older persons in his trade or business

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) part IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to credits against tax) is amended by redesignating section 38 as section 39 and by adding after section 37 the following new section: "SEC. 38. CREDIT FOR EMPLOYMENT OF OLDER PERSONS.

"(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an employer (as defined in section 3401(d)), there shall be allowed as a credit against the tax

imposed by this chapter for the taxable year an amount determined under subsection (b).

"(b) AMOUNT OF CREDIT.—The credit allowed an employer by subsection (a) for any taxable year shall be an amount equal to the increase in his cost of doing business during such year which results from the employment of older persons, as determined under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate. For purposes of this subsection, any expenditure made by an employer in the conduct of his trade or business (including insurance premiums, contributions to pension funds, contributions to medical costs, contributions to workmen's compensation funds, and any other trade or business expense, including the increased cost of training an older worker and increased cost of maintaining an increased medical and nursing staff necessary where older persons are employed, within the meaning of section 162), whether attributable to an individual employee or to the employees of such employer generally, shall be considered an increase in the cost of doing business which results from the employment of older persons to the extent that it would not have been required or made if the age of each employee involved were the lowest age at which an employee could reasonably (and consistently with the sound operation of the trade or business) be hired to perform substantially the same duties (and no factor other than age were taken into account).

"(c) CREDIT NOT TO CAUSE REFUND OF TAX.—The credit allowed by subsection (a) shall not exceed the amount of the tax imposed by this chapter for the taxable year, reduced by the sum of the credits allowable under the provisions of this part other than this section and sections 31 and 32.

"(d) CREDIT IN ADDITION TO DEDUCTIONS.—The credit allowed by subsection (a) shall be in addition to, and shall not reduce or otherwise affect, any deduction which may be allowable under this chapter."

(b) The table of sections for such part IV is amended by striking out

"Sec. 38. Overpayments of tax."

and inserting in lieu thereof

"Sec. 38. Credit for employment of older persons.

"Sec. 39. Overpayments of tax."

SEC. 2. (a) Section 36 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to disallowance of credits to individuals paying optional tax or taking standard deduction) is amended by striking out "and 35" and inserting in lieu thereof "35, and 38".

(b) Section 37(a) of such Code (relating to retirement income credit) is amended by striking out "and section 35 (relating to partially tax-exempt interest)" and inserting in lieu thereof "section 35 (relating to partially tax-exempt interest), and section 38 (relating to credit for employment of older persons)".

SEC. 3. The amendments made by this Act shall apply only with respect to taxable years ending after the date of the enactment of this Act.

#### U.N. SEEKS PURGE OF FREEDOM

#### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the most biased organization in the world, the United Nations Organization, is now considering purging from its membership any state practicing racial discrimination or denial of self-determination by revolution.

Interestingly, the resolution identifies Palestine as well as "regimes" in Southern Africa.

Of equal interest, the United States, Britain, and France were among those opposing the resolution.

After all, the majority of the members of the United Nations do not understand liberty, and that is why in their mania to suppress freedom they seek to condemn it with such Communist trigger words as discrimination—segregation and apartheid.

Since our leaders lack the courage to withdraw our membership, perhaps the United Nations may yet expel us.

I insert a related news clipping:

[From the Panama (Republic of Panama), Star & Herald, Dec. 1, 1970]

UN TO OUST NATIONS WHICH PRACTICE BIAS

(By William N. Oatis)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—The general assembly was scheduled to adopt a resolution today declaring that any state practicing "racial discrimination, such as apartheid . . . should have no place in the United Nations."

The resolution was the latest slap at South Africa, where apartheid or race segregation is official policy.

It also called upon all governments to terminate any remaining "diplomatic, consular, commercial, military, social and other relations with . . . South Africa and other racist regimes in Southern Africa."

It bore the recommendation of the assembly's social committee, where it had been approved by a vote of 75-12 with the United States, Britain and France among those opposed and 22 countries abstaining.

The resolution was one of four against discrimination and for self determination that were on the assembly's agenda for its final approval on recommendation of that committee.

Key provisions of the other three resolutions:

Urged U.N. members "to do their utmost to eliminate all racial discrimination in education, employment, housing and other fields of community life."

Requested full co-operation with a new committee to eliminate racial discrimination that came into being under a convention for that purpose effective last Jan. 4.

Affirmed the right of peoples "under colonial and alien domination" to struggle for self determination "by whatever means at their disposal," and condemned governments that deny self determination, especially to "the peoples of Southern Africa and Palestine."

#### SOUTH SHELBY CARDINALS FOOTBALL TEAM WINS THE CLASS AA SCHOOL STATE FOOTBALL CHAMPIONSHIP IN MISSOURI

#### HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to announce that the South Shelby Cardinals football team, in my congressional district, has won the Class AA School State Football Championship in the State of Missouri.

I am pleased to pay tribute to the fine young men and their coaches on this outstanding achievement.

The Shelby squad roster is as follows:

Number and name	Position	Height (ft.-in.)	Weight (pounds)	Year	Number and name	Position	Height (ft.-in.)	Weight (pounds)	Year
10 Steve Dean (3) <sup>1</sup>	Q	6-1	170	Senior.	61 Pat Kendrick (1) <sup>1</sup>	DG	5-11	155	Senior.
11 G. W. Dimmitt (1) <sup>1</sup>	Q	5-11	135	Junior.	62 Terry Swearingen	T	5-8	160	Sophomore.
12 Paul Weatherford (2) <sup>1</sup>	HB	5-10	160	Senior.	63 Brad Russell	DG	5-11	140	Junior
13 Russell O'Laughlin	Q	5-9	135	Sophomore.	64 Gary Chinn (3) <sup>1</sup>	G	5-11	190	Senior.
20 Wes Russell (1) <sup>1</sup>	DHB	5-11	145	Senior.	65 Harold Bono (2) <sup>1</sup>	G	6-0	165	Do.
21 Lane Clarke (1) <sup>1</sup>	DHB	5-7	130	Do.	66 Randy Stultz	G	5-10	190	Sophomore.
22 Mark Magruder	HB	5-6	120	Sophomore.	70 Jim Watson	T	6-0	175	Junior.
23 Curt Lichty (1) <sup>1</sup>	HB	5-6	125	Junior.	71 Robert Rollin	T	5-10	180	Do.
24 Roy Johnston	HB	5-6	150	Do.	72 Curt James (1) <sup>1</sup>	C	6-2	195	Senior.
30 Greg Morton (2) <sup>1</sup>	HB	6-1	165	Senior.	73 Charles Dieker (1) <sup>1</sup>	T	6-2	190	Junior.
31 Gary Wilt (1) <sup>1</sup>	HB	5-9	135	Junior.	74 Eddie Mayfield (1) <sup>1</sup>	T	6-1	185	Senior.
32 Robert Lorey	H	5-3	130	Sophomore.	75 Bruce Schwada	G	5-6	125	Sophomore.
34 Mike Lorey (1) <sup>1</sup>	HB	5-9	145	Senior.	76 Learel Peak (1) <sup>1</sup>	G	5-8	145	Senior.
40 Eddie Ramsey	FB	5-9	150	Sophomore.	80 John Mitchell	E	5-10	170	Sophomore.
42 Rusty McCollum	DG	6-1	220	Senior.	81 Mike Maupin	E	6-0	150	Do.
44 Carl Weatherford (1) <sup>1</sup>	FB	5-10	170	Junior.	82 Randy Bono	E	5-11	145	Do.
50 Lynn Keller (1) <sup>1</sup>	C	5-11	160	Do.	83 Ricky Davis (1) <sup>1</sup>	DE	5-7	135	Senior.
51 Mike Zahm	C	5-9	155	Do.	84 Kenny Rutter (1) <sup>1</sup>	E	6-4	195	Junior.
52 Billie Bob Wilt	C	5-9	150	Sophomore.	85 Mike Rutter (1) <sup>1</sup>	E	6-0	150	Senior.

<sup>1</sup> Number of years lettered.

## LETTERS FROM VIETNAM

### HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 3, 1970

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the young son of a valued friend of mine was drafted while attending college and served and lost his life in Vietnam late last summer.

His letters home between March and August revealed information and an attitude not generally reflected in the news reports of that war. I think that excerpts from them will be of interest, revealing as they do the feelings of an intelligent and educated young man when he observed that the press was distorting conditions with which he was familiar.

The family has asked me not to reveal his name nor their name for fear of harassment from that despicable group of Americans that takes pleasure in obscene and nasty phone calls and letters to the families and survivors of loyal soldiers.

I have deleted the names of officials criticized by the young man in two of the excerpts.

The letters are as follows:

*Late March/Early April.*—"What is the general reaction back in the world now that North Viet Nam's aggression is completely in the open. They obviously want all of Indo-China under their control—what do the peace people say now?"

*Received 6/5/70.*—"Detailed inventory of one of the smaller Cambodian caches with 39 items listed including 1,000 pounds of marijuana and 1,000 syrets of heroin." 1 month ago it would have been the biggest of the war, now it is nothing. To give you an idea this cache had 50,000 rds of 12.7 mm (.51 calibre) another had 6,700,000 rds.

*Received 6/16 (Cambodia).*—"Support for units over here is fantastic nothing like anyone before has had (We are only missing the New Jersey)."

*Received 6/16.*—"I am forwarding an article out of Time magazine. I regret that such trash is being foisted on the American people by a magazine of national prominence. The author is unquestionably against the Cambodian operation. He lets his opinion not only color his writing but ignores the facts." (Two pages of rebuttal to the Time article follow.) Rebuttal included following statements:

"Also every enemy bunker complex we have been in and most of the dead we've got were relying heavily on thrown away C rations of the Allies. In Tag Ninh food was

so scarce the enemy was relying on cans of C's that had been opened and burned for food. Even when they are well off the NVA must rely heavily on our waste to survive. Starvation has been an important factor in the 10's of thousands of defectors. It does have an effect. A hungry soldier does not fight well, a starving one does not fight at all."

"The author mentions 'average paddy-field variety Viet Cong.' He is sadly 5 years out of date—no doubt about it. About 90% of the fighting in Viet Nam is done by the North Viet Namee Regular Army (NVA). They are full time regular equipped, uniformed, trained soldiers. The paddy field type has been relegated to a source of intelligence, food and hiding places. A man who spends 12 hours a day working in the fields has little time left to play war. Also this 'average' type has been killed off so much that the V.C. cannot recruit 1,000 men per month over the entire country of S.V.N. The sympathizers are in no hurry to fight.

"I doubt that we will find a remedy for 'news pollution' but I can hope. I hope things are well over there and most people see through the smog."

*Received 7/29.*—"Last week one of our sister companies had the only contact in three weeks. They caught a VC battalion commander and 2 of his company commanders. The intelligence on them has been extremely valuable. Their rice ration has been cut in half. Their troops ordered to sell their uniforms and start hunting and fishing for food. Their morale is very low."

"Another change here probably not noted back home is the recent success of the RF PF forces. These forces are militia not part of the ARVN's. They are equipped no better than the enemy. Up until recently they have been doing a very mediocre job of defending their own towns. Two weeks ago a battalion of RF PF sought out an NVA battalion in their base camp, and killed 200 of them (2/3) while only losing 30 of their own. The NVA and VC are forced more and more into the jungles away from the popular support they need but cannot get."

*About May 6th.*—"I told you the last time I was in a bad place—I got out of it—they moved us from Taj Ninj to Cambodia—I want to go back to Viet Nam. You have no idea how many of them there are here—well entrenched leading a fairly good life and we come over and spoil everything—how nasty can you get? The firebase we operate out of is within 100 meters of a 1,000 bunker complex they used to train sappers (people who sneak into firebases with explosives to blow everything up.) This is sort of like setting up a vivisection laboratory in the middle of the National Headquarters of the S.P.C.A.—it doesn't work too well.

*Sometime in March.*—"As to avoiding the draft if you can, do it, but I have no sym-

pathy with the lawbreakers who want to have it both ways. If as \_\_\_\_\_ and the like give those people general amnesty they've given the biggest kick in the face they can muster to 50,000 dead, 400,000 wounded and 3,000,000 veterans of this hole in the world."

*August 13.*—"We are in a new area of operations and no one but the enemy has been here for two years. They blatantly grow large fields of crops such as cane, corn and rice. We are now rolling out to destroy their supply areas. \* \* \* They build themselves rather fancy homes—It reminds me of Cambodia!"

*About May 16th.*—"Point of interest. Of all the people who hate war of those who know it best the Infantry has more hawks than anywhere else—everyone here supports our move into Cambodia—at least half want to go there."

"All of the 'peace creeps' back there ought to be sent here—they will learn a lot from experience they could never learn from books, reports and pink professors. When I return I will definitely be less tolerant of those who speak but do not know."

*Date Unknown.*—"Our moving every month at the most keeps the enemy off balance and prevents him from having the time to make a well-planned attack. Any attacks they come up with are small scale and don't matter much. Their effect is like throwing a marble in a hornets nest—with the same reaction."

*September 3.*—"I can say very little about what I do for reasons of security in spite of the fact that very little is secret and the bigoted news media are always running around."

*March 1970.*—"Nothing new except opinion. Most of those are directed at Marxist agitators (I wish they would start calling them that) plus the \* \* \* should all go to hell. Strong language but I am frightfully put up about their endless antics for political popularity—I've never seen a darker collection of white knights. I was a bit unhappy to see Mayor \* \* \* calling draft dodgers and deserters the "true heroes." I know what motivates them more than he does because I have been closer to them. They are scared and they are running."

*Received 8/6/70.*—"I had some copies of enemy propaganda directed to American troops but can't find it. Aside from the usual appeals to any fighting man there is the recurrent lines heard so much from the American Peace Crowds—they don't even change the words. The 'arguments' (slogan is a better word) are the very same one hears at the University and the Marches."

*Received August 20.*—"Defoliated areas represent only (guess) 3-5% of the total land area. Defoliation only kills the upper canopy and is only 80-90% effective. Little or no erosion occurs because of the defoliation because of rapid plant growth (ground cover) and the ground is already very flat in defoliated areas."

*Last Letter—written 9/17.*—"The good men are those that are not necessarily the smartest, or the strongest, but the ones who apply themselves who work and drive on harder, men who regardless of circumstances control themselves when the time comes. Those who save tears and passion for resting moments and concern themselves with reality and practical approach to it."

### CAPTAIN DONAHUE MAKES HIS MARK IN VIETNAM

#### HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud today to acknowledge the success of Capt. Daniel J. Donahue, whom I nominated in 1964 to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

Captain Donahue served with the famed 101st Airborne Division in Vietnam, where he escorted Gen. William C. Westmoreland on a tour of his positions in July 1969.

We are all proud of Captain Donahue. I am especially proud to have been instrumental in his appointment to the Academy, which has provided him with the opportunity to prove his ability as a leader.

The following article is from the Pike Interchange, September 1970, which is published by the New Jersey Turnpike Authority. Captain Donahue's father is director of purchasing for the New Jersey Turnpike Authority.

The article follows:

#### CAPTAIN DONAHUE MAKES HIS MARK IN VIETNAM

The famed 101st Airborne Division has an officer who has made good since his graduation from West Point in 1968.

It took Daniel J. Donahue III only two years to advance from second lieutenant to captain—a rise that has marked the lad's service in this country, Germany and Vietnam.

This past July, Captain Donahue, whose father is the director of purchasing for the New Jersey Turnpike Authority, had the honor of escorting Chief of Staff William C. Westmoreland on a tour of the positions at Fire Base Vegel, Vietnam.

A month before, Donahue had been promoted to captain in a brief ceremony at Camp Eagle in Nam, the home and in-country training post of 101st Airborne. That was on June 5, two years to the day since Captain Donahue graduated from West Point.

Captain Donahue, in frequent correspondence with his parents, Daniel and Rose at their home in Spring Lake, has kept them up-to-date on his activities.

Appointed to the U.S. Military Academy by Congressman Dominick Daniels, young Donahue entered the Academy on July 1, 1964. Graduating four years later, he chose the Infantry as his branch of service and was assigned to Ranger and Airborne training at Fort Benning, Georgia.

He was later assigned to the third Armored Division in Germany as a platoon leader with the 36th Infantry. On June 5, 1969, a year after his graduation, he was promoted to first lieutenant and made company commander and participated in various exercises in the European Theater.

Back to the States in January 1970 for a short leave at home in Spring Lake, then assignment to Vietnam and the 101st Airborne.

Captain Donahue's achievements in the military service certainly make his parents mighty proud. A day doesn't seem to go by that his father can be seen reading the latest news from his boy in Vietnam. The letters make interesting reading, too.

### THE MEDICAL DRAFT EXEMPTION

#### HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 7, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times Magazine of November 29, 1970 carried an article by Saul Braun entitled, "From 1-A to 4-F and All Points In Between." The article describes the vast network of draft counseling organizations which has grown up, largely in the last few years, to assist young men who seek a means to avoid the draft. The article discusses at length the eagerness of many young men today to use medical deferments as well as a variety of other means to avoid induction.

Mr. Speaker, it is wrong for a nation to proceed with a system which forces so many of its young men to seek ways to avoid participation. It is essential that the Congress abolish the Selective Service System on June 30, 1971, when it is due to expire, and replace it with a new system which will meet our military manpower needs while assuring young people a meaningful way to work within the system.

The New York Times article follows:

#### FROM 1-A TO 4-F AND ALL POINTS IN BETWEEN

(By Saul Braun)

Karl Bissinger, a trim, buoyant, gray-haired man who has been doing draft counseling since 1967 at the Greenwich Village Peace Center in Washington Square Methodist Church, says that as far as he is concerned the change in attitude toward the idea of draft avoidance is very visible.

"When I first started out, you didn't get anybody whose families were behind them. Now their fathers come in with them. I recently counseled a young boy whose father is in the Sanitation Department, and a few weeks ago when we asked the kids who showed up where they were from, half turned out to be from South Village, old-line Italian families. Also, each Saturday at noon we have a peace vigil at the corner of Eighth Street and Sixth Avenue. We pass out leaflets offering draft counseling. Two years ago we had the leaflets thrown back in our face. Now people get out of their cars and ask for them."

"The fact is," Col. Paul Akst, director of Selective Service in New York City, told a reporter, "that people want to fail [service-induction examinations] and they're finding ways to do it."

Just as, increasingly young men are investigating the possibilities of eluding or deferring military service, the need for informed counsel has grown enormously. Jack Shattuck, the coordinator of draft counselors in the New York metropolitan region for the American Friends Service Committee, notes that "a counselor without materials is deadly

to counselees. He must be kept abreast of both policy and regulations."

Organizations like the A.F.S.C. and the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, which has headquarters in Philadelphia, Chicago and San Francisco, supply the training, which consists, generally, of perhaps half a dozen three-hour sessions of familiarization with the current regulations followed by a period of apprentice-counseling under somebody else's supervision. Anybody can become a counselor, and apparently more and more people are doing it. Douglas Farnsworth, finance secretary of the C.C.C.O., points to the growth of his own organization as one indication: "In 1965 we were a single three-man office in Philadelphia. Now we have three offices around the country, and a staff of 45. Most counselors are still the young, active, concerned persons of both sexes, but we're getting more housewives, and more clergymen of all faiths. It almost has become Establishment to be counseling."

Most major cities have at least one counseling agency. In Manhattan there are no fewer than nine active groups and, in addition, the Board of Education this year will be supplying draft information in the city's 92 high schools.

Those who might think of draft counseling as a basically unpatriotic activity would not find themselves in agreement with Colonel Akst. "Unpatriotic?" says Colonel Akst. "Not at all. I've always felt counselors do us a great service. I went to see the high-school counselors and lectured to them. I think it's a wonderful idea. The well-educated person is our ally. Just talking about it and setting out the options is no crime. But once they tell the man to leave the country in order to avoid the draft, then it's a violation of the Selective Service Act."

None of the counselors I interviewed will advocate such a course, but, on the other hand, all if not most will cheerfully present it to the registrant as one among numerous options. It is precisely upon this point that some counselors feel the high-school counseling will be of dubious value. "The school counselors," one says, "will try to avoid all kinds of 'questionable' things like a discussion of skipping to Canada or a refusal to register for the draft." Vincent Young of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Draft Counseling Service, which is in the Siloam Presbyterian Church, says of this development: "The hell with that. If we go into the schools, we're going in there to get them out of the draft."

"What you call draft counseling varies enormously," says Shattuck. "You have the heavy political counseling at one end of the spectrum and, the other, the pure information-givers." Consequently, a portrait of the typical draft counselor would be difficult to draw. Among the large number I interviewed there were radical, long-haired young men and motherly middle-aged ladies with up-swept hair; those who were against the war and those against the entire system; pacifists as well as those who could very easily conceive of fighting some sort of "just" war. Some, like Bissinger, believe that the counselee should not be "educated" politically in the course of counseling. Others, according to Shattuck, do only political counseling.

"These groups," he says, "will say, first, we have to give you our political rap, you must first understand how the military runs our entire life, et cetera. And if the person's with them, they'll help him. Otherwise, no. At the Friends, of course, we have respect for integrity. We try to find out where the counselees are at and try to help them understand what options are available."

Charlie Freehof, the draft counselor at Brooklyn College, was himself a resister who was punitively reclassified 1-A by his draft board. As the Supreme Court later, in the 1970 [David] Gutknecht case, declared this procedure unconstitutional, Freehof wound up neither in the Army nor in jail, but a

draft counselor. He does not do political counseling, but believes that it is inherently a political activity:

"I certainly have political ideas and if I'm talking to someone at length my ideas will get through to them. The main idea that I want to promote, essentially, is that non-violent revolution is not only possible but necessary. That is one of the things that motivated my own resistance. I feel it's very necessary to make acts of nonviolent resistance public.

"However, if a kid comes in and is thinking of resistance, I'll discuss it with him at length. I'll play the devil's advocate. I discuss the problems and in the end I'll tell him to think about it for six months. People should know that the act of resisting the draft in total will change their life styles completely."

"What it boils down to is this," says Frank Allegra of the Episcopal Peace Center. "We're here to help the kid. The main thing in my mind is to help him discover what he wants to do. Basically, what we're dealing with is this situation. At the age of 18, the kid has to register. He then draws his lottery number in the year he turns 19 and then he becomes eligible for the draft in the year he turns 20. At that point he can either go into the service or get a deferment of one kind or another, or become a conscientious objector, or have a high enough lottery number so he doesn't get called, or else, finally, noncooperate or emigrate. He can noncooperate by going underground or by going into the courts and possibly going to jail.

"We can help him in any of these cases. Let's say, he decides to go to Canada. We tell him about Canada. If he's not rushed for time, we tell him to take a trip to Canada to visit and see what's what, and maybe try to get a job offer, letters, et cetera, and then apply for landed-immigrant status, which will enable him to live in Canada.

"We keep up to date. We get our information from a newsletter called Ex-Net, put out by a group in Toronto called The Red, White and Black. They, in turn, get information from a network of Canadian groups about border crossings, jobs, attitude of the people, and so forth. However, we don't get too many willing to emigrate. Most are interested in C.O. and/or medical deferments. Then come hardship and student cases. In the past year, there have been a number of changes in the law. The President's Executive order of last April abolished new occupational deferments, new agricultural deferments and new fatherhood deferments. Also, there was the 1970 [Elliott] Welsh case in the Supreme Court, which enlarged the definition of a C.O. to include nonreligious C.O.'s whose beliefs were sincerely and deeply held."

At The Village Peace Center, one evening in October, about 30 boys came in for counsel. Nine of them sought G.I., or in-service, counseling which, according to Bissinger, is the fastest-growing counseling field. In an effort to get a better idea of what the counseling session is like, I sat in on a conversation between Irving Sadoff, a salesman of cleaning chemicals who lives in Washington Heights, and a young man named Ken, a bookkeeper with two years of college who was referred to the Peace Center by a friend. Ken has just passed his pre-induction physical despite the fact that he has a heart murmur and two notes, one from his own doctor and another from a radiologist, verifying the condition. Now Ken is in a crisis situation, he says. He has his 1-A and a late October call-up, so time is short.

"All right," says Sadoff, a big, husky man who spent three years in World War II and is not a pacifist. "There is no formal appeal to findings at the Whitehall medical," he tells Ken. "But there are informal ones, and they go through the Surgeon General. You have a family physician? Have him make a

call to Colonel Sgalitzer. The Surgeon General, U.S. Army, 703-826-7228 or 703-826-6326. Call person to person. Or write to him, at the Recruiting Command, Hampton, Va. The zip code is 23369. You could even do it yourself if the doctor won't do it. If so, we'll have to get you to a doctor who, if he comes to the same conclusion, will write you that letter.

"A good letter consists of basically three elements: a detailed diagnosis, then a prognosis, and the conclusion that he doesn't feel you should be in the Army. Come back here on Tuesday and we'll get you to a doctor who will write a good, strong letter. Send it to Colonel Sgalitzer. If the colonel turns you down, we can go over him. Send the letter special-delivery registered with return receipt requested. Make copies of everything you send out. Make four copies. Send your draft board a copy and ask them to put it in your file. In the event of future litigation, you've got to want records. You'll probably be back Tuesday. Most doctors don't like to write those letters."

Ken digests all this advice, delivered in a rapid, patient manner, and then asks, "What about C.O.?"

"That is a possibility," says Sadoff. "But first let's see what happens with the heart murmur."

Elements in this interview said to be common to many draft-counseling sessions include the following: the total amount of time elapsed was about half an hour; the young man appeared with a reasonable claim that could be developed; the information about the young man that was elicited was sketchy at best; much of the counsel consisted of pragmatic details of methodology and arcane lore, like the Surgeon General's zip code, rather than discussions of policy matters.

Also said to be not uncommon is the military's willingness, at the pre-induction physical, to overlook apparent defects which the Army lists as disabling. Sadoff recalled for me an earlier case in which the young man suffered from colitis, yet was classified 1-A. "And here it is," Sadoff said, producing a copy of the Army's AM 40-501, "Standards of Medical Fitness." "Irritable colon of more than moderate degree. That's something he has, with X-rays to show it, and a doctor's letter, and still they took him. He's going to write Colonel Sgalitzer also."

One reason for these occurrences may be the increased difficulty that some boards are having meeting their quotas. Sadoff quoted to me some statistics which give him satisfaction: "From October, 1969, to May, 1970, California boards mailed induction notices to more than 18,000 men in order to fill a draft quota of just under 8,000, and even then only 6,033 men were actually inducted. Almost 40 per cent didn't even bother to appear." Colonel Akst says that New York has not been having difficulty meeting its quotas, but he does admit that Army physicians "are always looking for malingerers."

Doubtless there has been stiffening resistance at the Army medical centers to the drastically increased interest in medical deferments—and to the testimonials from civilian doctors supporting deferments. In the New York City area there are two psychiatrists who, according to counselors, have written an enormous number of letters on behalf of young men. Jack Shattuck says the A.F.S.C. simply advises its clients not to consult them and Frank Allegra explains that, in any case, support emanating from these "letter factories" is generally discounted. Also, he adds, they are not needed; the vast majority of medical deferments are based on actual debilities—and, as some counselors say, everybody has something he can push. Allegra tells the story of the young man who came in and insisted that he was physically in top shape. It was not until Allegra asked him if he had ever been on crutches that the client said that, yes, he had been, six to

eight times in the past year alone; his weak ankles kept getting sprained. "Here it is," Allegra said, producing his copy of the "Standards of Medical Fitness." "Instability of a major joint . . . if the individual requires medical treatment of sufficient frequency to interfere with the performance of military duty."

That medical deferments are so popular is partly due to President Nixon's Executive order which tightened deferments and made things tougher for the counselors, and partly due to the relative lack of inconvenience accompanying this path. It is also due in large measure to the fact that there are an incredible number of ailments that the Army offers as potentials for deferments. I served in the Army for two years with no undue suffering and yet, if I read the A.R. correctly, I have four conditions I could have teased into contention for a medical deferment. Says David Sutter, author of "4-F, a Guide to Draft Exemption": "No one is so healthy that he cannot be an Army reject."

A glance through the regulations shows that deferments are allowed for such classic conditions as flat feet, hay fever, asthma and three different types of homosexuality (but not acts stemming from "curiosity, immaturity or intoxication"), as well as the rarer disorders like myxedema (thyroid deficiency) and hermaphroditism. "The first thing to understand," Sutter notes, "is that you don't have to be unhealthy to be unfit."

As Irving Sadoff suggests, not all doctors care to write letters affirming unfitness to serve, even in the presence of an appropriate debility. Until recently, the client had to shop around in a profession not noted for its support of radical procedures of any sort. Now, however, counselors will generally be supplied with a referral list of doctors who do. Among these doctors are some psychiatrists who sincerely believe that the desire to avoid military service is, in itself, a good reason for the Army to exempt.

The referral lists are compiled and maintained by organizations like the Medical Committee for Human Rights, a group of health professionals formed in 1964 to provide medical services for civil-rights workers in the South. The National Chairman of M.C.H.R. is 34-year-old Dr. Eli Messinger, a child psychiatrist, who says, "We're actually doing the military a favor by screening out those who have problems that would impair their ability to function in the Army."

Dr. Messinger and his wife, Ruth, several years ago organized a draft counseling service in the Bronx which Mrs. Messinger operated out of the Lorillard Baptist Church until, as he puts it, "We became increasingly impatient with the purely technical role we were playing in interpreting the range of options open to a guy." Mrs. Messinger turned to teaching at Manhattan's experimental Children's Community Workshop School, and Dr. Messinger to the M.C.H.R. draft referral services.

"The M.C.H.R. has chapters in some 25 cities," he explains, "and the draft-referral services are developed chapter by chapter. Here in New York, our phone is in the Village Peace Center. We list about 100 doctors of various kinds who can be contacted when a counselee is deemed to have legitimate medical or psychiatric problems. We prefer that he go to his own physician, unless the man is not willing to write a letter or is politically averse to writing a letter of it's otherwise not feasible. It isn't our job to say whether the boy should or should not be in the Army, but to offer a diagnostic definition of his condition. I've had about 70 guys come in, usually in a crisis situation. Of those I've seen, close to all turned out to be worth a letter.

"I think when society preaches systematic destructiveness, then that undermines the person's efforts at self-control. Many a guy with very limited capacity for adaptation has

managed in civilian life to work out some niche for himself. A night watchman, say. But these guys feel very vulnerable and rightly frightened about entering the Army. In addition to those who feel frightened, there are those who are fearful they would react with rage to authority, or to a stupid command.

"I'll spend about an hour with the guy. You can get a good idea of a person's major psychological problems in that time. But the psychiatrist at the induction center spends very little time with him, a matter of minutes, and his approach is, how are we going to mash, squeeze or mutilate this boy to make him fit. Their bias is toward the organization. Ours is toward the guy. I'm only concerned about one thing, that our services are being used by middle-class, sophisticated, better-educated young men, but not by blacks, and in this way maybe unintentionally we're agents of social discrimination."

Dr. Messinger is not the only one to voice concern that blacks are not receiving a fair share of draft-counseling assistance. "The problem of helping the black community with counseling is complicated," says Father Elmer L. Sullivan, the rector of St. Augustine Episcopal Church in Elizabeth, N.J. Father Sullivan is a counselor who specializes in conscientious objectors. "The whole Selective Service set up is very cerebral, like a chess game. It's definitely a middle-class, educated person's game, and most poor people in the ghetto don't like to play games like that. It isn't their bag, this filling out of forms and personal appearances and appeals and what not."

Be that as it may, certain counselors to the black community are discovering that militant young black men (apart from those who never register and instead simply disappear into the ghetto, which is said to be a considerable number) can be made eligible for 1-Y (a sort of temporary 4-F) or 4-F classification not on medical or psychiatric grounds but on "administrative" grounds. This category would include any young man militant enough to be a source of disruption within the military.

"You have this situation in Bedford-Stuyvesant," says Shattuck. "A lot of men there are claiming C.O. on the basis of second-class citizenship. In some cases this comes on as a political rap and in some cases they are so strong about it that the boards are classifying them 1-Y, as politically dangerous and disqualified morally, as security risks, because they'll go in and organize or possibly turn their guns around."

I observed one such counseling session at a distance, from the far end of a long narrow room, but was not allowed to hear the substance of the counseling. Three counselors had got together in a close huddle with one young man who was described as "a difficult case." The Bedford-Stuyvesant group receives most of its referrals from Black News, a locally edited paper that recently carried an "open letter to all brothers" which indicated how such a claim could be developed. The writer said he had "heard about some jive classification that they have for people who object to war on so-called 'religious reasons,' can you dig that?" He goes on to answer Form 150 for conscientious objectors in terms "that A Black Man could relate to":

"My demand for exemption from Honky Hero Army is based on the fact that NO Black man should be conscripted to bear arms for a country that kidnapped him from his home 350 years ago, forced him into the most dehumanizing form of slavery ever known to mankind, and has used every conceivable means to keep him in this position. If you Crackers would open your eyes, you would see that it doesn't even make sense to ask me to serve in YOUR army when my people are being bombed in Sunday Schools

(worshipping YOUR god) in Birmingham, Alabama, my sisters are being slaughtered in Jackson State in Mississippi, and my brothers and sisters in the People's Liberation Army, the Black Panther party, are being held for ransom on some — charges."

The sign on the church door attests to the success of these tactics: "Draft counseling. Hell no we won't go. With us, the Bedford-Stuyvesant Draft Counseling Service, it is more than just a slogan. It's a fact. Over the past two years of service to the black community we haven't lost a brother yet."

"A kid will have several chances to prove his militancy," Frank Allegra says. "At the pre-induction physical. At the induction center. In a C.O. claim. Sometimes it works, sometimes it doesn't. I think it's bad, anyway, to put all your eggs in one basket. Every case usually begins with one apparent thing to work on, but in just talking about him you'll often develop other things."

The wide range of options available has the effect of encouraging game-playing, as Father Sullivan says. Allegra gives one example:

"You can wheel and deal with the lottery with someone who's a student who has a medium lottery number. If he tries to play with the lottery, by guessing what year his number might not come up, and loses, he can still get a 1-SC, which is given to undergraduates who have received induction orders and are full-time students. This cancels the induction order for the academic year. Then they have to reclassify him anew. He might go from giving up his 2-S (the ordinary student deferment) in favor of the lottery, to induction in the lottery, to 1-SC, to reclassification of 1-A, to another application for 2-S."

Observing a counseling session is, as Father Sullivan says, very like watching a chess master ponder a sequence of moves. One that I witnessed began with the young man, whom I'll call Bill, telling the counselor, whom I'll call Bob, that he had just received his notice to report for a pre-induction physical, although he had applied for a deferment on the ground that he had been hospitalized three times for trying to kill himself, the first time with pills, the second time by slashing his wrists and the third time with pills and gas. The Government appeals agent he spoke with was not impressed; just seeing a psychiatrist, he told Bill, was no ground for exemption.

Bill, a tentative, shaky young man of 18, who had quit school and hadn't worked since April but wanted "to be an actor," had been referred to Bob by the American Friends. He didn't want to take the physical, he said. He only wanted to take a "mental test." Bob then explained that the way he would get his deferment was precisely by going down there for the physical, and bringing along with him a letter from his psychiatrist describing his suicide attempts. This seemed to me a strong case, and Bob said he felt it was, but he was not content to let it rest there. He began to question his motives and attitudes.

"I saw you looking at this manual we have about Canada. What if they do induct you? Do you think you'd go in?"

"I'd leave the country."

"There's no way you'd go in?"

"I'm just against the whole thing."

Bob developed the intelligence that Bill's objections were not political but subjective and personal.

"What if you had a good Army job. Would you still not go?"

"Yeah, it's still giving in to them. What's so bad is what they do to their own people. Just the other day a guy wearing a peace medal got court-martialed." Bob had to push somewhat to get Bill to declare that another bad thing the Army did was "make people murder people." Still, Bob was prepared to file the possibility of a C.O. in the back of

his mind. He then went on to discover that Bill's height and weight were well within the limits and that he was a regular user of drugs, mainly ups and downs. This wasn't worth developing. "The Army just gets uptight about heroin and maybe speed," Bob explained.

"Ever been to see a specialist for anything?" Bob asked. "Broken bones, allergies? Ever been restricted in physical activities in school?" The answer to each of these was no. In the end, Bob had explored virtually all the possible avenues, including resistance, and was able to sum up:

"I think you have a fairly strong case. When you go to the physical, be sure to stick the letter from the psychiatrist under the nose of the examining doctor. In any event, get back to me. Then we can start the other wheels moving. Don't try drugs, I don't think you need it as a gimmick to get out that same day. It might help, it might hurt. And there's always the possibility of C.O. That would be important now, not in '72 when you become eligible. It would look more sincere."

As far as gambits go, the classical one, of course, is simulated homosexuality, and it certainly has not gone out of the repertoire, as the following quotation from a leaflet distributed by Columbia University's Student Homophile League indicates:

"Students who consider themselves basically heterosexual but are interested in taking advantage of the 'homosexual' exemption, as well as homosexuals faced with what is usually a major decision on how they regard themselves, should by all means get in touch with the Student Homophile League to discuss this matter. Our office, in 109 Earl Hall, is open Monday through Friday from 5 to 9 P.M., except when we have SHL dinners upstairs."

I have no idea what the response has been to this offer from me: who "consider them selves basically heterosexual," but the change in the social climate implicit in the offer is also visible in other manifestations. There are political assumptions that are universally shared, though for the most part implicit, within the antidraft community. But they are less significant, I believe, than the social and psychological assumptions that are even less visible, but nonetheless operative. Just as homosexuality is less scorned and feared by this generation of young men than it was by their elders, so is a category that might be summed up as "weakness." The stigma that once commonly attached to a 4-F military classification, and comparable attitudes toward the conscientious objector, have virtually disappeared. This goes a long way toward explaining the dramatic increase in C.O. claims.

Jack Shattuck, who is a C.O., recalls that when he went down to the draft board to tell them he "couldn't kill, of course," his father was very upset. "He thought I'd wreck my life. But he eventually became used to the idea that I was this nut that was going to be a C.O. Slowly he began to realize that the law was changing, that it was not a weakness but a very strong conviction and another way of living a life."

Father Sullivan says that not only are the number of C.O. claims rising but that, especially since the Welsh case, which extended the category to include humanists, the claims are being based on greatly expanded grounds. "I have a guy who submitted an entire C.O. claim based on popular music, with Bob Dylan the crucial one in it. He's a very sincere person. The youth subculture, the songs and music, play a very important part in reaching the decision [to conscientiously object to military service]. Many more have been aided in coming to their decision by Dylan than by the Bible."

Some counselors, such as Father Sullivan, specialize in C.O. cases. Other counselors in northern New Jersey will refer potential C.O.

claims to him. "Maybe 60 per cent wind up C.O.'s. I've never lost a case, by which I mean, I've never had a man inducted or go to Canada or go to jail."

Other counselors—Frank Allegra of the Episcopal Peace Center for one—say that usually the client will come to them with some idea that he might be eligible for the C.O. classification. At other times, however, as recently happened in Allegra's office, a strong C.O. claim can develop out of the most unpromising materials. I had the good fortune to stumble upon the session in which Allegra realized, with considerable excitement, that the young man, despite a considerable initial difficulty in expressing himself, actually was, in fact, a C.O.

Allegra had first seen the 23-year-old three weeks earlier. Dave didn't think he was a C.O. but, luckily, had asked at the induction center for the C.O. form. The request itself automatically defers the induction notice. Dave had passed his pre-induction physical and he has a low lottery number of 109. He's married. "When he first came in," Allegra said, "we talked two or three hours and I asked questions like, what would he do if he got inducted, what if there were a black revolution? He didn't come on as a C.O., and with his Afro and goatee I knew the board wouldn't buy it. We had two things that we opened up: at his physical he had high blood pressure, and also he had never had a complete physical."

Allegra also discovered that Dave was an apprentice welder. Since there is a 2-A apprentice deferment, this seemed a promising development. He sent Dave off to find out whether the company he works for would sponsor him and whether the apprentice program was certified by the state or Federal governments. If any of these proved to be the case, he would be eligible for the deferment. Also, Dave and his wife was considering adopting a child, which opened up the possibility of a 3-A hardship deferment. And Dave had once had a 1-Y deferment as a Youthful Offender.

When Dave called back, he told Allegra that he had somewhat misrepresented himself. He wasn't an apprentice welder, just a laborer. Nonplussed, Allegra asked him whether he wanted to be an apprentice and if so how could he go about it? Could he talk to the shop steward? Or the guy who got him into the construction union in the first place? And Dave explained that he had taken the job expecting to be made an apprentice, but that three white guys who had been hired after him had got into the program ahead of him. The draft board would not want to hear about injustice, all it would want to know was whether Dave was an apprentice or not, so Allegra considered how to put legal pressure on the union or the employer or both, while at the same time finding out how Dave could get into a new apprenticeship program.

The second time Dave appeared, Allegra tried to draw him out on his concept of "Brotherhood," which apparently meant something to the young man. "When you do violence to somebody," Dave told him, "you treat them as less than you, and that's not Brotherhood." Dave said he believed in God and that God wants all men to be brothers.

"So we talked and I began to think that maybe I had a C.O. claim," Allegra told me.

When I first met Dave, he and Allegra and I went down to a restaurant on Seventh Avenue at 23d Street where Allegra continued his questioning. Did Dave have support at home?

"When my father heard I was trying to get out, he was angry," Dave said, slowly and in a low voice. "Called me a traitor; said he fought in World War II. But he don't care. If I was to go to him and say I was goin' in the service, he'd say, 'Oh, yeah?' Like that. Wouldn't say, what you fighting for, or anything like that. He's drunk just about every time I talk to him."

Allegra asked him if he could get any supporting letters for his C.O. claim—from lifelong friends who could attest to his beliefs.

Dave bit into a tuna sandwich and chewed for a moment before answering. "Well, most of the guys I grew up with are dead or in jail. Armed robbery, grand larceny."

"I think I have a pretty good idea," Allegra said, "but suppose you tell me. What was your childhood like?"

Dave grew up with a gang in which the younger ones had to fight the older ones to get toughened up. Often police in squad cars would spot them and pull them over, throw them against a wall, take their wallets. "What I call harassment," Dave said. "I was 12 when I first started hanging around. Then about 1966, '67, a drug thing came into our community. Everybody. I smashed up. But I'm off it now."

"Were there gang fights?" Allegra asked. "Some."

Dave recalled one gang fight. A guy came at him with a knife. "If they do that," he explained, "the only thing you can do is get away." He himself never carried a knife. "So I was using the garbage can covers, you see, and then running up the beach. Man, I figure I fall, that's it. What saved me is the guy chasing me, he fell first."

After dinner we returned to the Peace Center, and Allegra continued the questioning. Why did Dave register when he was 18? "I figured I get a draft card I can go in a liquor store. Draft card and you can go places." Dave's answers all came slowly, hesitantly. It was clear he was unused to examining himself with words. He picked his way as through a minefield.

"In 1967 my mother was sick, dying of cancer. Like I was on drugs then and I knew the first thing I had to do was get off drugs. And I started checking myself out. And everything I was doing contradicted the things I believed in. And I started to relate to the things I believe in. And things started to smooth themselves out. See, I was meeting a lot of people who was running around but they didn't know what they was doing. How can you ride around in a Rolls-Royce in a neighborhood and you see people, hungry and ragged? That could be you. That is you. You see?"

"How did your beliefs come about?"

"This is something I have always been taught, in the home, by my mother." Dave's mother used to take him to church, and he only stopped going when it became apparent to him that the church wasn't practicing what it preached. "Just a lot of—," he said. "Like the minister riding around in a Lincoln. Just playing on the emotions of the people." Dave grinned and shook his head. "See, the changes I went through, the Government won't accept it."

Allegra persisted, however. "Would you call what you went through a religious experience? a conversion?"

Dave paused for a long time, then turned his head away and gazed up at the ceiling. His eyes were beginning to go liquid. "See, I felt it was because of me what was happening to my mother. God works in strange ways. To have my mother dying in the hospital, like she was doing . . ."

Tears sprang to his eyes.

"That made me relate." He ran his fingers through his hair and sighed. "Because one thing, man—that'll change your whole life. Before she got sick she weighed 140. And then she was down to 80 pounds, like a concentration-camp victim. Man, it turned me around."

After another long pause, Allegra said. "What was the change that people could see?"

"Well, the clothes. Before when I had some money I knew what I was going to spend it on. Then it didn't matter about clothes. And the drugs."

"You were on skag?" Dave nodded. "That isn't something people do easily, just stopping like that."

"Every now and again I had to stop and examine myself," Dave said. "I'm going through a phase now." He gestured toward his goatee. "I'm thinking of cutting my beard off. 'Cause I stopped to think what a beard means to me. A certain amount of knowledge and being able to live up to your convictions. And I haven't reached that point yet. Cutting it off is like admitting something to myself. Like a self-discipline. 'Cause if you do it and you want to have it you have to work a little bit harder."

"After my mother died I was alienated from all the people. I had the feeling of being locked up in my room. Then I started smoking again, grass, and listening to the different people rap. All different kinds of religion, and I came to the conclusion that the Baptists are fighting the Catholics and the Jews are fighting somebody else and I said, that ain't it. That ain't it. What are you fighting for? Basically all religions believe the same thing. But I didn't belong to any of them. I belong to me, and I relate to the Supreme Being who I call God. I don't care where you go, on some island that never was discovered. And if you check out their religion you'll see it's all the same thing, it's Brotherhood."

"I always was sure of it but I got caught up in the system. I read 'Strength to Love' by [Martin Luther] King in '69, and he more or less opened up my eyes to the ultimate as far as human existence is concerned. The war is self-explanatory in dealing with people at a local level. War is nothing but a mass scale of violence. Like, if it's wrong for me and you to engage in some kind of warfare because of any reason, now how can you justify going across the street to make war?"

This was an extraordinary speech to have come from a young man who had, barely two hours earlier, scarcely been able to vocalize his sentiments. Clearly, it came from some part of himself he does not normally expose, and Allegra was very excited.

"You really are a C.O.," he exulted. But Dave was dubious about the draft board. "Look," Allegra broke in excitedly, "it took a few hours to convince me and to find out how. Okay, what we have to do now is take my knowledge of the draft boards and what they're looking for and take what you've said to me in a few hours and set it down on paper, okay? So it's gonna take them like 20 minutes to read, and the supporting papers and so forth, and then work on preparing for a personal appearance. Now sure it's rough, but draft boards, you know, they can understand."

"Naw," Dave said. "They can't understand."

Allegra simply shrugged off the young man's doubt and then launched into a summation which was his analysis of Dave's case. It was, for me, a good insight into the way his mind had been assimilating and developing several hours of random and often tedious discourse:

"Look," he said. "A kid grows up in a quite bad neighborhood, you know, hangs around with the gang, has to fight to prove himself within the gang, you know, gets involved with, you know, grand-larceny charges, gets involved with heroin, sort of is on the road to destruction, you know, and then, at the same time, you had been going to Sunday school and hearing these things preached to you, they sounded good to you, but what the minister does when he gets out of his pulpit, that doesn't seem too right."

"Then comes your mother's death, and that changes you around, you start to think about things, you look at yourself, you start to see what's really important in life. And you know, this feeling that God deals, you know, talks to people in different ways, one way being, well, like, my mother had to die

in order for me to sort of see the way, okay? And this is the way I communicate with God. And then you say, okay, I have reached the point where I realize that, whereas before I wasn't, you know, headed anywhere and now I do have some sense of direction, you know, and I do see that Brotherhood is the thing now, and I've carried it to the point where I can't go and kill anybody. I had like sort of a conversion I started three years ago and I'm continuing, I'm going on the way now, and how can you ask me to stop and turn around and go back and kill people? Go back into that violent world I grew up in? They can't say that. I don't think they can do it, you know. So how does that sound to you?"

Dave had an amazed and delighted grin on his face. He had been listening with deep attention to Allegra's rap, and now he shook his head and said it sounded great to him, and that's the way it really is, but you know, the board...

"I'm not saying I guarantee a C.O.," Allegra said hastily. "But if they turn you down, you have a chance from the appeal board. If both of them turn you down, you've still got grounds for a court case on this. They gotta have a reason to turn you down. Circuit Court of Appeals cases now say the board must have some basis in fact for denying a C.O. or hardship or any other claim."

He asked Dave to stay in touch with him, then ushered him out. He returned a moment later and shook his head wryly. "He'll be back, but that's one thing, they often don't come back. If they get their deferment, they usually don't bother to let us know, even though we ask them. I don't know why, really. That's just the way it is."

#### HOOVER VERSUS CLARK

### HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 3, 1970

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include with my remarks an editorial comment from the Canton Repository relative to the recent public discussions between J. Edgar Hoover and Ramsey Clark. I heartily concur with the editor. The editorial follows:

#### HOOVER VERSUS CLARK

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and former Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark are miles apart, ideologically, psychologically and politically.

Each sees the role of law enforcement at the federal level in a different light, and when Mr. Clark fired the first volley in his book, "Crime in America," the issue was joined and both proceeded to engage in some rather vituperative name-calling.

The former attorney general, who was Mr. Hoover's boss from 1967 to 1969, charged that the 76-year-old director had a "self-centered concern for his own reputation" which has led to the FBI sacrifice of "effective crime control."

Mr. Hoover replied by calling Mr. Clark a "jellyfish" and a "softie" and said he was the worst attorney general in the 45 years the director has headed the elite federal law enforcement agency.

Many other things were said and many more will be said which will not shed any light on the basic, underlying reasons behind the wide chasm between the divergent points of view.

Mr. Clark is an ultra-liberal who fancies himself as the champion gladiator in defense of individual rights, even when it seems he is defensive of those elements in our society which are bent on disruption and violent change in open rebellion against law and order.

Mr. Hoover, on the other hand, is a proud, conservative man who believes firmly in discipline and the inalienable right of people to be free from harassment, violence and the ravages of crime and ideological and revolutionary defection, no matter the source.

The FBI director is a strict constructionist who has built the Federal Bureau of Investigation into one of the most intelligent, effective and efficient law enforcement agencies in the world.

We admire him for the skill and dedication with which he has performed his job, and if, at times, he seems to bask in the glory of his accomplishments, we are not offended by it because we feel the country is infinitely better off for his great contributions to the internal peace and tranquility that have existed for most of the years of his service.

Mr. Clark has asked the FBI director why he didn't speak out against him when he was attorney general.

We should like to ask Mr. Clark why, if he felt as strongly as his words now indicate, he didn't fire Mr. Hoover when he was the director's boss.

The reason is quite obvious. The public outburst would have swamped Mr. Clark.

In this battle of words, our vote of confidence goes to Mr. Hoover.

#### VIETNAMIZATION IN QUESTION

### HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the first days of a new year, the war in Southeast Asia is still very much a reality that continues to plague and divide our nation.

Since his inauguration, President Nixon has emphasized his commitment to peace and affirmed his intentions to get us out of Vietnam as rapidly as reasonably possible. Since that time, the Administration's policy of Vietnamization has produced only token efforts to disengage us from the tragedy of that war. The Administration has still never clearly spelled out its intentions to irrevocably withdraw from the war.

Indeed, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird's statements of recent months would indicate that the Administration is ambivalent about any intentions to get us out of the war. In testimony before a House Appropriations Subcommittee, Secretary Laird said that he would "not rule out" the possibility of reescalation of the Vietnam war if the President's policy of Vietnamization does not "lead the way to a military victory." The emphasis shifts back from a determination to conclude a just peace to the old game of American willingness in Vietnam to keep all of the options open.

The recent abortive "raid" on the North Vietnamese Son Tay prison camp raises further questions as to our long-range intentions.

Apprehension and confusion about our current policy in Southeast Asia are not confined to Washington. A constituent of mine, Mayor-elect William P. Holtsclaw of Prineville, Oregon, writes as a concerned American father whose son is a Marine stationed in Vietnam. His frustration and his son's concern over

the Administration's apparent lack of sincerity in bringing the war to a halt are poignantly stated. His letter brings the problem into sharp focus and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ULLMAN: My son is an Army aviator flying helicopter gunships in Vietnam. He is a volunteer so I'm not writing you from the viewpoint of a parent whose son was drafted and is serving reluctantly. My personal appraisal of this war is one of a horrible mistake and I think it is criminal that my son's life is on the line to accomplish such dubious results. An older son in the Marines finished a tour in Vietnam in June of this year.

My son and I were not really concerned over the fruitlessness of this war when it appeared that every effort was being made to wind down the war and bring our troops home.

Even when we went into Cambodia there seemed to be some justification for buying time to safely extricate our troops and allow the process of Vietnamization to run its course. My son won a Distinguished Flying Cross in this operation.

My concept of Vietnamization must be different from that of our military leaders. It is becoming more apparent to us every day that the Military still believes that a military victory is possible and they are following that policy using Vietnamization as the vehicle. Recent developments in Vietnam, namely the attempt to free P.O.W.'s in a grandstand move into North Vietnam, increased bombing of North Vietnam and continued involvement in Cambodia even though there is no need from the standpoint of guarding withdrawal of our troops indicates to me that the military leadership is creating situations to justify prolonging our stay there. This does not seem to be consistent with President Nixon's stated policy of every move designed to turn the fighting over to South Vietnam as soon as possible and accelerated, orderly withdrawal of our troops.

No one can deny that there has been a sizeable reduction in our troops in Vietnam but is the policy really as Mr. Nixon has stated it? My concept of Vietnamization is one of steadily replacing all of our activities in Vietnam with Vietnamese so that we again become advisors and support the Vietnamese only logistically. This does not mean that we also must assure them military victory by escalating the war everytime they appear to falter. Unless someone flushes the military leadership out of the "jungle" on this question we will be getting deeper into this conflict before we know it.

My purpose for writing this letter is to urge you to act now to make this known to the American people and to use whatever influence available to you to expose the military objective and make the Pentagon actually conform with President Nixon's goals as he has told us over and over again in recent months.

My son has been supporting the 4th Division in recent months from An Khe in the Central Highlands. The news media have been making a big thing over the withdrawal of the 4th Division. (Actually only a small percentage of them came home—the ones who had put in their full time. The rest were reassigned to other units.) My son was reassigned to support the ARVN at Pleiku which is near the Cambodian border. They lost two gunships (like he flies) and three Hueys (that carry troops) in one day last week. Believe me he doesn't see any deescalation of this war. It is the same scene playing over again that has become so monotonous the past several years. It would not surprise me to see American ground troops moved back into the fray "to protect our withdrawal!"

If the Administration cannot move more rapidly toward the goal of getting out of Vietnam, then I urge you to use any means

available to you to force them out. To me, the "enclave theory" is another way of saying we are planning to be there forever as seems to be the case in South Korea and West Germany.

A Disillusioned Parent,  
WILLIAM P. HOLTSCLAW.

### EFFECT OF CONGLOMERATES

## HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, last November 17, ICC Commissioner Kenneth H. Tuggle addressed the National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners at their 82d annual convention in Las Vegas on the effect of conglomerates in reference to the ability of carriers and utilities to serve the public.

In light of the mounting crises in all areas of transportation, I felt Mr. Tuggle's remarks merited the attention of my colleagues. Therefore, I am inserting it in the RECORD as a matter of public interest:

#### THE EFFECT OF CONGLOMERATES ON THE ABILITY OF CARRIERS AND UTILITIES TO SERVE THE PUBLIC

In the subject for this meeting the committee has given us not only an extremely important development in today's business world, but also a rather broad approach to discussing it. It can be viewed from any number of perspectives. I will limit my remarks to the relation of conglomerates to the public interest in transportation, particularly surface transportation for which the Interstate Commerce Commission has a regulatory responsibility.

The effect I am primarily concerned about is whether the conglomerate will serve the national transportation policy: Will it foster sound economic conditions in transportation and among the several carriers? Will it promote efficient, economical, safe and adequate service? Will it make appropriate provision for and best use of transportation facilities? Will it be consistent with the public interest in transportation, and remain so?

Before attempting any analysis of the problem, let us consider briefly what the conglomerate is.

A simple diagram would show a parent company above a group of subsidiary companies engaged in a variety of economic activities not necessarily related. In terms of operations the subsidiaries are most likely engaged in disparate economic markets. Viewed in terms of function, the conglomerate might be seen as a management structure for the purpose of generating capital, and employing it with the greatest efficiency to produce the maximum return on opportunity capital.

From one viewpoint the conglomerate might be seen as a means toward economic stability, able to employ the best managerial and operating talent, to obtain capital at the lowest cost, to undertake giant enterprises for production and service needed now and in the future by a fast growing country in the process of doubling its requirements before the century ends. The ups and downs of one enterprise can balance those of another. Thus, each of the constituent companies might plan with confidence for maintenance, growth, and improved operations, and, from the standpoint of the public, become more dependable.

That view is the vision of an ideal. And its reliability is seriously suspect—if experience counts for anything.

In transportation, corporate diversification is far from new. From the earliest days, railroads have engaged in nontransportation activities. Especially, have they concerned themselves with real estate, acquiring land along their lines for use as industrial sites and seeking to induce businessmen to locate thereon as prospective rail shippers. Western railroads with large land holdings transferred to them by Congress, for nearly a century, have had resort to income from the sale of real estate and the lease of land for mineral extraction, grazing, farming and lumber production. Others, the bituminous coal roads, for example, own vast acreage on which they have leased out or sold the coal rights. In fact, income from real estate has redounded greatly to the benefit of the Nation's transportation by giving strength and vitality to some of our largest and most reliable railroads.

The strongest railroads in the Nation have had the benefits of land resources and diversification. One western railroad, for example, obtains more than 40 percent of its revenues from non-transportation activities. Non-railroad income to another western carrier in 1969 was equal to 60 percent of its net railway operating income, and for a third it was 22 percent. Other railroads are extensively engaged in real estate development. This kind of diversification, which historically has gone hand in hand with railroading, has been generally compatible with railroad operation.

Today, diversification is being accomplished by either "buying in" to the transportation business or "building out" from the carrier base through the formation of a non-carrier holding company as the parent. The "building out" method favored by the railroads, has gained the greatest public attention. The resources for financing these undertakings include cash inflow from operations, surplus accumulated cash, balance sheet strength as the base of borrowing power, and the use of transportation assets as collateral in debt financing.

Among the non-transport activities of railroad conglomerates are such ventures as television, investment service, life insurance, banks, oil and gas, lumber, hotels, and a wide variety of real estate developments.

There appear to be more than 40 motor carrier related holding companies. More than 15 motor carriers with aggregate revenues of over \$500 million have been acquired by 13 nontransportation enterprises, among whom are five which might be termed conglomerates.

Now we are in a critical time: The Nation must provide for the enormous transportation demands of the foreseeable future, even though, at the moment, it is beset by serious economic problems—which are probably only transitory. According to many valid indicators our economy will about double within only a few decades. And then more so than now, it will demand a vigorous, sound and innovative transportation system providing fast, wideranging service and dependability.

Transportation, to the modern world, is basic; its service is indispensable; and its growth potential is vast. Yet there is well-founded and widespread concern about major disinvestment from the common carrier industry. In 1969 when the GNP reached a new high, transportation returned in earnings only 1/3 as much per dollar invested as industry generally. Railroad earnings have been generally unsatisfactory for at least two decades.

The conglomerate structure with a non-carrier parent now provides a means by which disinvestment can be implemented. And that is where the fabric is beginning to unravel.

The Commission proposes to repair it—by rulemaking and, hopefully, by legislation which it is requesting.

It is to be expected that the management of the conglomerate is primarily concerned with maximizing the return from the overall structure of multi-company operations. And that's its obligation to the stockholders. But, at the same time, any carrier entity within the conglomerate has the primary and principal function of providing a designated quantum of our transportation needs. That, of course, is its obligation to the public, and the paramount concern of the ICC.

In a conglomerate of non-regulated activities, if a line of trade founders, the subsidiary involved can be liquidated or spun-off with impunity. The Nation's economy and the public would be little the worse for it. It is largely a private affair.

This is not true with regulated transportation. A large carrier has substantial transport obligations. It may be relied upon by millions of people, great industries and entire regions of the country. It cannot be scuttled without far-reaching injury to the economy. It is largely a public affair.

When the recent diversified conglomerate development began to involve ICC carriers to a noticeable degree, the Commission undertook to determine how regulated transportation was being affected and what regulatory steps might be needed. We were greatly concerned about possible disinvestment from transportation through deferred or neglected maintenance and dissipation of transportation resources through the sale of carrier assets.

It was recognized that a carrier in a deficit or marginal posture or having a low rate of return would be an apt subject for corporate agglomeration, particularly if it possessed significant tax credits or severable assets. Even an affluent carrier might assume the conglomerate form to facilitate the utilization of its credit or deployment of its resources for non-regulated activities promising higher returns. The temptation is strong to put money where the greatest returns can be realized.

Various means for carrier erosion appeared possible such as—

Neglect of maintenance, and curtailment of capital outlays;

Excessive payments for managerial services;

Sale of assets to affiliates at less than true value;

Spin-off of profitable subsidiaries by stock dividend to the parent corporation;

Excessive drain of carrier assets through dividends to the corporate parent in the form of cash or securities;

Use of carrier tax credits in a consolidated return without a consideration moving to the carrier;

Unfavorable contracts due to lack of arm's length bargaining.

To inquire into these and other possibilities—favorable or otherwise—the Commission set up an ad hoc study group of staff directors, and authorized several pilot audits of existing carrier-connected conglomerates. These suggested certain inherent conglomerate qualities which pose a threat to carrier affiliates, and convinced us that the situation invites very close surveillance along with stronger regulatory measures.

On the basis of these preliminary steps, and input from other sources, the Commission began to move on several fronts. We are continuing the studies and audits, and have instituted a number of formal investigations to determine whether the law has been violated and to learn more about how best to protect the public interest.

A few weeks ago, on October 13th, Chairman Staggers of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce introduced H.R. 19720, the Commission's proposal for

legislation. I will have a few words on that bill in a moment.

Work is in progress at the Commission on other fronts. Task forces are preparing for rule-making proceedings to amend our reporting and accounting regulations. We want the conglomerate's accounts to fully reflect the intercompany transactions affecting carrier members. That would include such things as dividends, property transfers, leases, and allocation of overhead costs, etc.

We want to design a report system that will provide a meaningful view of the holding company so that questionable practices and transactions might be identified in time to prevent deterioration of carrier service.

And we want the carriers' regular reports to disclose detailed and timely information on management services provided by the conglomerate; on pension fund administration; on property transfers, leases, allocation of income taxes in consolidated tax returns, and on other matters.

As to securities under section 20(a) of the Interstate Commerce Act, we believe registration statements should be required comparable to those filed at the Securities and Exchange Commission for issuances under the Securities Act. And a rule-making proceeding will be instituted for that purpose.

There should be no gap between the jurisdictions of the SEC and the ICC through which holding companies might escape securities regulation. We are studying the matter in conjunction with the SEC and are exploring the possible need for additional legislation.

These are all part of our program to protect the public's transportation system from being abused by conglomerates. But, an effective program requires far more funds and staff than are now allotted us. We have, for example, only 55 field agents to service all modes of surface transport in the entire country. We need more now; we have needed more for years; and if the proposed bill is passed by Congress, a substantial augmentation will be essential, including accountants, lawyers, investigators, economists, along with clerical support, both in the field and in Washington.

For the present, we have developed a more intensive procedure in our regular field audit. For carriers in conglomerates, we have placed the audits on an annual rather than 2-year basis. A team of four or five auditors combs through the records of the carrier and the records of its conglomerate parent and affiliates which relate to the management of the carrier. The minutes of the board of directors are scrutinized for plans and actions arising out of the conglomerate relationship. The auditors' guidance form requires responses to many questions bearing upon the conduct of management as distinguished from purely accounting matters.

In addition, new reporting requirements have been placed upon motor carriers in conglomerates, requiring, for example, the disclosure of all transactions with each affiliate where the annual intercorporate business is \$5,000 or more.

In the meantime, when a conglomerate comes before the Commission, e.g., when two or more carriers are involved, or a carrier wants to issue securities, we can and do impose conditions to protect the public interest. In one such instance, restrictions were imposed requiring that Commission approval be obtained for all future transactions between the carrier and its corporate parent or affiliates and prohibiting the encumbrance of carrier property for non-carrier purposes.

In the bill introduced by Chairman Staggers we are seeking to prevent runaway conglomerates in transportation. Key measures would provide the ICC with jurisdiction as follows:

Over the acquisition of a carrier by a non-carrier. At the present time, any person or

company not having transportation interests can acquire a carrier without our approval.

To set rules and regulations governing financial transactions between carriers and their non-carrier affiliates.

To inspect the records of non-carrier persons or companies in control of or controlled by a carrier.

To enter such orders as may be required from time to time, including divestiture of control, whenever the Commission finds that such control is impairing the operating ability of the carrier.

To prescribe the accounting and reporting methods of a non-transportation company that controls a carrier.

The bill would also require public recordation of the ownership by any person of more than 1 percent of the beneficial or legal interest in any class of a carrier's stock; and it would establish a presumption of control where any person owns 5 percent or more of a carrier's voting securities. Criminal sanctions now applicable to carrier employees would be extended over the employees of the holding company and other companies affiliated with a carrier.

The legislation would apply only where annual operating revenues exceed \$5 million for railroads and \$1 million for other carriers. These jurisdictional amounts make it apparent, first that we are mostly concerned about the larger carriers whose debilitation would have a telling effect on the public; and second, that we acknowledge both the great size of the task and the severe limitations of our budget.

Now you may ask whether legislation like this isn't really intended to freeze carrier assets where they lie in the transportation industry—in a sense, make it slave capital. On this I can speak authoritatively only for myself, and I would say that to petrify assets would be shortsighted and irrational. What we least need is to insulate the carriers against the flow of capital. For that could suffocate the free enterprise spirit needed for carrier growth, and cut off the inflow of investment. In the end, a draconian restriction like that would strangle the carrier system.

On the other hand, we have now had an opportunity to observe a number of conglomerates in action, where non-carrier management was unfettered by the regulatory restraints customary to carriers. Some of the effects have been most disquieting. In some instances we have found:

- Deterioration of carrier service
- Erosion of working capital
- Neglect of maintenance
- Dissipation of carrier assets in non-carrier ventures, sometimes of questionable quality
- Carriers stripped and then turned out to pasture despoiled and impoverished.

This kind of corporate raiding must be stopped. It should be virtually impossible for carriers, through diversification, to emasculate themselves or be stripped of the wherewithal by which to perform their essential transportation function. This is fundamental.

The first step is obvious. The outflow of the carriers' assets, resources, skill and managerial talent necessary to a robust and viable common carrier system must be arrested; and a correlative step, equally important, is to provide a regulatory climate in which carriers can flourish and grow as transportation companies. This means that it must be possible for the business of transportation, under efficient management, to produce a profit sufficient to justify the retention of capital in the undertaking.

With the proposed legislation and reinforced staff the Commission would appraise the carrier's marriage to a conglomerate before it happens and modify the marriage contract or condition the relationship as needed to protect the public interest. And

in the course of this legalized corporate polygamy, it would oversee the harem activities, both among the affiliated members, and between them and the master of the house, so as to insure that consistency with the public interest is maintained.

The jurisdiction to unscramble a transaction or cause divestiture of control would stand primarily as a deterrent to improvident dealings, and as a constant reminder to the principals that not only themselves and their stockholders, but also the public interest must be served.

These various actions by the Commission seek to protect the carriers from being abused by the conglomerate and then left destitute. They are basically preventative. But far more than that is needed, if our transportation system under private ownership—especially the railroad sector—is to survive.

It seems impossible, as things are, for the railroad industry to generate enough capital for the maintenance and growth essential to the objectives of the National Transportation Policy. Their returns are chronically too low. The economic pressures towards disinvestment from surface transportation are clearly reflected by the fact that the aggregate profit of the fifty largest transportation companies in 1969 was 3.8 percent of their total equity. By contrast, the return for regulated utilities was 10 percent, while the respective figures for the fifty leaders in retailing and commercial banking were 11.4 percent and 12.0 percent.

No one would dispute the truism that the owners of an enterprise have a right to seek reasonable profits through all legitimate means. They have guarantees under the Constitution and rights under their charters and the laws. As a matter of law, carriers have been free to sell off assets without Commission approval. Some have done so to remain alive. In the case of the New Haven and the Central of New Jersey, now in reorganization, it was to little avail; the stockholders and creditors were forced to subsidize transportation for the public through the consumption of carrier assets.

The problem runs deeper than closing the door on disinvestment; it deals with whether regulated surface transportation, especially the railroad industry, can be made profitable.

I have no doubt that overly restrictive regulation would lead to the doom of the railroads, and perhaps other carriers as well. But, as experience has shown, unbridled economic freedom can also bring serious harm to the carrier system.

## TEXTILE IMPORTS

### HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Monsanto Co., with a splendid facility in my congressional district, prepared for me some facts concerning the astronomical increase in textile imports. Mr. Speaker, even I who have lived so long with this problem was shocked at this carefully documented record of textile imports. I urge a careful study of these facts by my colleagues on both sides of the Capitol. And I urge an especially careful study of these facts by those publications throughout the nation who have failed to bring a complete picture of this problem to the American people.

The information follows:

## TEXTILES IMPORTS

The following is a simple, straightforward statement of what has been happening in textile imports. . . .

In the last 10 years (1959-1969) imports into the U.S. of all textiles (yarn plus fabric plus apparel, all fibers) have more than tripled. While cotton and wool imports have about doubled, the astronomic growth has been in man-made fiber (MMF) imports: from 221,000 equivalent square yards (1,000 equivalent square yards) in 1963 to double that amount in 1965, then double again to 934,000 in 1967 and double again to 1.8 billion equivalent square yards in 1969.

In the last four years the growth of imports of man-made fibers and products (yarn plus fabric plus apparel in thousands of equivalent square yards, cellulosic and non-cellulosic) have been:

Imports of man-made fibers, year-to-year growth, per thousand equivalent square yards

	Percent
1965-1966	41
1966-1967	17
1967-1968	56
1968-1969	23
4 year growth (average annual rate)	33
1969-1970 9 months	47

By weight the MMF imports in all forms reached 473,000 pounds in 1969, constituting 9% of U.S. production for consumption.

This growth of textile imports into the U.S. has created a mammoth textile trade deficit, now running well over a billion dollars per year, up from 1/4 billion dollars 10 years ago.

## TRENDS

While the current absolute level of imports is a significant part of the total U.S. market, even more important are the trends of these imports and the underlying causes of these trends:

As indicated above, MMF imports show by far the highest growth rates—33%/year average for the last 4 years. In the same period cotton has grown 6%/year while wool has shown no growth. Within MMF, non-cellulosic imports are growing faster than cellulosic imports.

By form of product imported, in the last 4 years apparel has grown the fastest at 22%/year, with yarn at 19%/year and fabric at 7%/year. But in 1969 of the total imports the percent contributed by each form was:

	Percent
Yarn	15
Fabric	31
Apparel	42
Misc	12

Significantly, the order of importance—apparel, fabric, yarn—is the order of value added, which is also the order of labor content.

Knit fabrics imports are growing faster than woven fabrics imports—40%/year versus 14%/year for the last 4 years.

Growth of imports into the U.S. is coming primarily from four Far Eastern countries (which had 60% of the imports in 1969):

U.S. IMPORTS, MILLION ESY BASIS, YARN, FABRIC, APPAREL (ALL FIBERS)

Rank	Country of origin, by rank, in 1969	Percent of total, 1969	Growth rate, 4 years, 1965-69 (percent per year)
1	Japan	29	11
2	Hong Kong	16	15
3	Taiwan	8	40
4	West Germany	7	52
5	South Korea	7	54

Imports from Germany are not typical in that they are mostly in the form of non-cellulosic yarn and fibers, specifically polyester and acrylic, mostly imported by fiber

companies and heavily by associated companies (e.g., Hoechst/Hystron, Dow-Badische).

The U.S. import/export textile trade balance, which has been negative since 1961 in pounds and longer than that in dollars, is the more serious in that it is a part of a continually deteriorating overall U.S. trade balance. In 1964 the U.S. had a \$7 billion trade surplus; five years later, in 1969, the U.S. had a trade surplus of only \$1.3 billion. (The 1969 \$1.3 billion surplus if adjusted to a real trade basis, i.e., CIF rather than FAS, was a deficit of \$1.1 billion). The textile component of the deficit has grown from zero in 1964 to \$1.2 billion in 1969—more than accounting for the entire U.S. trade deficit in 1969.

The rate of increase of imports is greater than the growth of the textiles business in the U.S. so there is a definite, significant, long-term trend for imports to command an increasing share of the U.S. fiber market:

	Imports of all textile articles (fiber content basis) (millions of pounds)	Imports as percent of U.S. domestic consumption	Increase of imports from prior period (percent)	Increase of U.S. domestic consumption (percent)
1961-2	1487	7.0		
1963-5	1681	8.4	40	17
1966-8	1999	10.3	47	20
1969	1,100	10.6	9	6

<sup>1</sup> Average

Growth of U.S. consumption (weight basis) versus imports, by fiber, has been:

## GROWTH, 1961-62 TO 1969

[In percent]

Growth	Cotton	Wool	MMF
U.S. consumption	+1	-24	+159
U.S. imports	+96	-5	+368

The resulting trend of import penetration of the U.S. fibers market is:

## IMPORT PENETRATION BY FIBER

[In percent]

	Cotton	Wool	Manmade fiber
1961-62	7	22	4.9
1969	12	27	9.1

For man-made fibers, in growing from a share of 4.9% in 1961-2 to 9.1% in 1969, imports captured 12% of the growth of U.S. consumption (372M out of growth of 3172M).

The relatively faster growth rate of MMF consumption in the U.S., indicated in the second above table, is part of a strong worldwide trend, as indicated by the following trend in shares of market by fiber for the world and for the U.S. from 1961 to 1969:

	Percent of total textiles		
	Cotton	Wool	MMF
World:			
1961	63	16	21
1969	53	12	35
Change	-10	-4	+14
United States:			
1961	62	9	29
1969	42	5	53
Change	-20	-4	+24

To the extent that the magnitude of the total fiber business in a given nation relates to scale of operations and thence to competitiveness, it is significant that the long

term trend is that the U.S. is dropping rapidly in its share of world fiber production:

## U.S. SHARE OF WORLD FIBER PRODUCTION

[Percent by weight]

	Cotton	Wool	MMF	Total
1950	49	6	37	40
1969	21	3	29	21

As a more stringent test of competitiveness, the share of exports of textiles and clothing by the U.S. versus other areas shows a most depressing trend:

## PERCENT CHANGES IN EXPORTS BETWEEN 1964 AND 1968

By	United States	Japan	Developing areas	Communist bloc	World
Of textiles and clothing	+3	+41	+51	+30	+35
Of total manufactures	+42	+100	+72	+35	+54

The poor showing of the U.S. versus other areas in exports of total manufactures indicates that the even poorer showing in exports of Textiles & Clothing is part of a bigger, unfavorable trend in U.S. trade.

As a last comment on trends—the recent headlines say, “U.S. imports of cotton, wool and man-made fibers up 19% for 9 months 1970 versus 1969.” But the details behind the headline confirm vindictively the MMF import trends previously described, for in the first 9 months of 1970 versus the corresponding 1969 period U.S. imports (M ESY basis) for wool were down 13% and for cotton were down 8%, in this bad textile year in the U.S., while for MMF imports were up 47%. The U.S. textile and clothing dollar trade deficit for the first 9 months of 1970 was up by 16%, from \$821M to \$950M, a \$1.27 billion annual rate.

## CAUSES

Neither this memo nor the attached paper was intended to go much beyond the presentation of import and related data but some discussion of the causes of the “import crisis” might be added here.

The number one underlying cause of the rapidly increasing imports of fibers, fabrics and apparel into the U.S. is that the imported products are made with very low cost labor; since the products are labor-intensive the prices can undercut U.S. prices (and sometimes even be under U.S. costs) even after paying the tariff and the extra freight. Compared to the U.S. minimum wage of \$1.60/hour and the average U.S. textile wage in the range of \$2.30—\$2.43/hour, rates in Japan are 45c/hour, Hong Kong 31c/hour, South Korea and Taiwan 11c/hour (all rates including fringe benefits).

The second important cause of increasing importation is that the U.S. has no administrative blocks whereas all other industrial nations employ a variety of devices for restricting importation of textiles and apparel. Thus, even though the Textile Tariffs into the U.S. and the other nations are about the same, the low cost imports come more readily into the U.S. However, Kennedy Round Tariff reductions do exacerbate the problem. From 1968 to 1972 the U.S. tariff reduction for textiles, all fibers, all forms on a weighted trade basis will be about 13%. For MMF in all forms the reduction will be about 14.8%.

## LEGISLATION

Back in 10/1/62 the “Long Term Agreement on Cotton Textiles” (LTA) was negotiated by 23 nations. It basically provided for control of imports of all cotton textile products on a category and country basis. At

the time of these negotiations it was the U.S. intention that the LTA be a first step in carrying out an all-fiber control program which would eventually cover wool and man-made textile products. So the current U.S. requests for negotiation of import quotas comes as no surprise to our trading partners. The stepped-up tempo of the U.S. activity for some form of control is a result of the much more rapid rate of increase of imports in recent years. Further, the causes are known and there is no hope or sign that these causes will be removed or materially moderated in the future.

The Japanese answer to the U.S. request for negotiations of quotas on textile imports is basically that the U.S. textile industry as a whole is not suffering from imports, that damage to the industry has not been proved. They point out that over the last 10 years or so, for example, the textile and apparel industries' sales, profits and employment are all up. They further feel that the proportion of imports to total U.S. domestic consumption is relatively low (they quote 8.5% by weight for all fibers, all products). They avoid all detailed comparisons, all specific long term trends, all comparisons of U.S. imports versus exports, of U.S. imports versus Japanese imports, of Far East origin versus other, of labor rates, of U.S. versus Japan tariffs, of trade restrictions.

The U.S. fiber/textile/apparel industry is like a man standing in a tank of water up to his knees. The Japanese say, "What is he yelling about? He is far from drowning." Our man has two reasons for yelling: first, the water is rising very rapidly. Second, the water is boiling—"boiling" in the sense that the damage to the U.S. industry caused by imports goes well beyond the loss of volume because the still relatively small volume of imports compared to total U.S. consumption is causing severe price attrition on the volume the U.S. manufacturers manages to hold.

#### WHY REGULATION?

### HON. PAUL N. McCLOSKEY, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Mr. Speaker, with various types of transportation crises occupying our attention at the present time, I would like to commend to the attention of the House an extremely thoughtful speech on the subject of transportation regulation, recently delivered by the president of the world's largest trucking company, Mr. William G. Shite, of Consolidated Freightways, Inc.

#### WHY REGULATION?

(Remarks by William G. White, president and chairman of Consolidated Freightways, Inc., before the San Francisco chapter of the ICC Practitioners Association, San Francisco, Calif., Nov. 24, 1970)

The past few years have seen increasing attacks on transportation regulation, culminating in the recent introduction of Senate Bill 4371 by Senate Majority Leader Mansfield, co-sponsored by Senator Church of Idaho, which would abolish the Interstate Commerce Commission.

In my humble opinion the next two years are going to see these attacks continue and even increase in tempo, and I predict that very shortly Secretary of Transportation Volpe will lend the prestige of his office to this view, and that the President's "State of the Union" message next January will call for some sort of deregulation legislation.

Most of you are a great deal more knowledgeable than I am about ICC matters, so I hope you will forgive me if I try to set before you some views I have come to hold after some 35 years in the transportation industry and with a primary belief that transportation can prosper only if shippers' needs are met.

On many occasions and in many sources I have read that the Interstate Commerce Act was necessary and desirable in 1887 because the railroads had a monopoly and without regulation the roads would most likely destroy themselves. Inasmuch as there were 108 roads in receivership in 1887 (First Annual Report of the ICC, 12/1/1887, Pg. 5), there may be some truth in this statement. However, I believe that careful reading of the events leading to the passage of the Act will convince the most severe skeptic that the real reason for the Act to regulate commerce was to provide protection for the shipping public.

Although much had been said and written about the background, the Interstate Commerce Act really had its genesis when the Senate accepted a resolution from Cullom of Illinois providing for Senate Committee Investigation of Transportation. The Cullom Committee conducted hearings during the latter part of 1885 in the principal cities of the country. It took over 2,000 pages of testimony, and so universal was the insistence for regulation that the Cullom Committee, composed entirely of economic conservatives, reported as follows:

"It is the deliberate judgment of the Committee that upon no public question are the people so nearly unanimous as upon the proposition that Congress should undertake in some way the regulation of interstate commerce."

The Cullom Report then went on to advise the Senate and the people of the United States precisely what it had found wrong in transportation: (Emphasis added)

"The paramount evil chargeable against the operation of the transportation system of the United States, as now conducted, is unjust discrimination between persons, places, commodities and particular descriptions of traffic."

Perhaps the most enlightening reading on the subject is the First Annual Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission which was presented to the Secretary of the Interior on December 1, 1887. This report outlines in great detail the reasons for passage of the Act to regulate commerce. I would like to share some of these comments with you in the form of direct quotes from the Report itself. Speaking of the chaos existing prior to passage of the Act, the Commission said: (Page 4) (Emphasis added)

"The carriers of the country were thus enabled to determine in great measure what rules should govern the transportation of persons and property; rules which intimately concerned the commercial, industrial and social life of the people."

Speaking of the rate structure prior to passage of the Act, the Commission said: (Page 6) (Emphasis added)

"These arrangements took the form of special rates, rebates and drawbacks, under-billing, reduced classification, or whatever might be best adapted to keep the transaction from the public . . . The memorandum-book carried in the pocket of the general freight agent often contained the only record of the rates made to the different patrons of the road, and it was in his power to place a man or community under an immense obligation by conceding a special rate on one day and to nullify the effect of it on the next by doing even better by a competitor."

"Nevertheless it was a common observation, even among those who might hope for special favors, that a system of rates, open to all and fair as between localities, would be far preferable to a system of special contracts

into which so large a personal element entered or was commonly supposed to enter. Permanence of rates was also seen to be of very high importance to every man engaging in business enterprises, since without it business contracts were lottery ventures.

"Local discriminations, though not at first bluish so unjust and offensive, have nevertheless been exceedingly mischievous, and if some towns have grown, others have withered away under their influence. In some sections of the country if rates were maintained as they were at the time the interstate commerce law took effect, it would have been practically impossible for a new town, however great its natural advantages, to acquire the prosperity and the strength which would make it a rival of the towns which were specially favored in rates; for the rates themselves would establish for it indefinitely a condition of subordination and dependence to 'trade centers'."

Many more examples are set forth in the Commission's First Annual Report but I think I have given you enough to illustrate my point. The Act to Regulate Commerce was passed to protect the public. Any benefits accruing to the carriers as a result of the legislation should be considered peripheral to the central issue—protection of the public. The First Annual Report states it this way: (Page 10).

"For the purpose of correcting the evils above alluded to, so far as it was constitutionally competent for national legislation to do so, the Act to Regulate Commerce lays down certain rules to be observed by the carriers to which its provisions apply, which are intended to be and emphatically are rules of equity and equality . . ."

So much for the genesis of the Act to Regulate Commerce. What is different today that alters the picture from 1887?

In relation to the basic reason for passage of the Interstate Commerce Act, I submit there is very little different today than in 1887. Sure, we now have motor carriers, air carriers, buses, pipelines, improved waterways, freight forwarders, United Parcel, and have, in fact, nullified, if not removed, the railroad monopoly that was present in 1887. But is the need for regulation any different? If we could wave the magic wand and dispense with the Interstate Commerce Act, would the public benefit?

Probably some shippers and communities would receive lower rates in this pure competitive environment. Maybe in some instances the chosen few would also receive better service. But what happens to the shipper/receiver in Colby, Kansas; Dillon, Montana; Prestonburg, Kentucky; and the literally thousands of similar communities throughout our great country?

At this point I think I should say that, from a purely selfish point of view, complete deregulation could be the best thing that ever happened to Consolidated Freightways.

Instead of having to buy existing companies or otherwise expend money to acquire rights to serve new areas we could open up wherever we choose and operate over any routes we choose.

We could set our own rates and handle the traffic we choose.

To some extent we have this situation today in our operations in much of Canada. Yes, we do quite well there and probably could do quite well here under similar circumstances.

Why, then, am I talking against deregulation? Simply because I do not think that it is in the public interest. In Canada we publish rates just as we do in the United States, but it is common for other carriers to quote hip-pocket rates. A shipper in Calgary, for example, shipping to Edmonton can get four or five different rates from five different carriers. The rates he has are for that day only and two weeks later he can get four or five rates that will again be different from those he got earlier. Also, he may get the rates two

weeks later from a couple of carriers who weren't even in business two weeks before and perhaps one or more of the carriers who gave him the earlier rates will already be out of business.

And perhaps worst of all, he never knows what his competitor across the street is paying for the same service, particularly if it is a larger company with a lot of freight to route!

Thus far I have talked in terms of complete abolition of the ICC and resulting complete deregulation. There is a middle ground, however, and advocates of a "superagency" for transport regulation are in this position. Generally, this approach contemplates a merger of the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal Maritime Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission. The resulting entity, depending on whom you're quoting, might be a part of the Department of Transportation or might, in fact be a separate agency combining the functions of the three merged agencies.

Such proposals are not new. Back in 1934, the Federal Coordinator of Transportation, Commissioner Joseph B. Eastman, in his report on Regulation of Transportation Agencies, recommended that there be a single Commission for the regulation of all forms of transportation (S. Doc. 152, 73rd Congress, 2nd Session 38 (1934)). Professor Emery R. Johnson made a similar recommendation in his 1938 study on *Government Regulation of Transportation*; and in 1949, Charles L. Dearling and Wilfred Owen did likewise in their work on the *National Transportation Policy*. In 1961 the Special Study Group on Transportation Policies under the chairmanship of General John P. Doyle also recommended the marriage of the ICC, the CAB and the FMC (Senate Report 445, 87th Congress, 1st Session 107-11 (1961)).

Aside from change for the sake of change, I've been somewhat intrigued with the reasons currently being advanced for supporting the agency merger concept. The "buzz" words seem to be containerization and intermodal coordination. Both of these concepts are desirable and neither is new. I am not convinced that these reasons provide sufficient justification for merger.

My company is presently involved with all three agencies in addition to the Department of Transportation. CF Air Freight is an air freight forwarder under the jurisdiction of the Civil Aeronautics Board. We own 51% of Pacific Far East Line which operates under the jurisdiction of the Federal Maritime Commission. Our motor carrier operations, of course, are subject to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

I don't think this is necessarily bad! We are also subject to the jurisdiction of the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Department of Internal Revenue, the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity, etc. A special report entitled *The Regulators Can't Go On This Way*, published in Business Week earlier this year (2/28/70), pointed out that there are more than 100 federal agencies that exercise some measure of regulation over private economic activities. If centralization of administrative jurisdiction makes sense, then maybe we should think about one streamlined agency for all these functions. We should also remember that the ICC has turned its safety duties over to the DOT, leaving the ICC generally free to concentrate on economic regulation. The CAB, on the other hand, is responsible not only for regulation of air lines but for their promotion as well. There is also the anomaly of economic regulation of ocean carriers, shared by the rate-monitoring FMC and the subsidy-doling Maritime Administration. It seems to me that a uniformity of functions would be an absolute prerequisite to consolidation and, quite frankly, I doubt there is sufficient support for such uniformity.

There is nothing in the law to prevent the CAB, the FMC and the ICC from working

more closely together on matters of mutual concern. It is my understanding that the respective chairmen of these agencies have been meeting periodically and that inter-agency task forces have resulted from these conferences. No doubt this type of cooperation will continue. More importantly, I am unable to recall any earth-shaking decisions or actions by any one of these agencies that had a detrimental effect on the actions of the other two.

In the final analysis, we must remember that the Interstate Commerce Commission is a creature of Congress. It was bred by Congress to act on behalf of Congress. It serves as a quasi-legislative arm thereof; it also serves as a quasi-judicial body; and above all, it regulates an industry that is quasi-public utility in nature. If criticism of the actions, or inactions, of the Commission are warranted, where should that criticism be directed—at the Commission or at the Congress on behalf of whom the Commission functions?

We can't say that the system is stagnant. There have been over 200 changes in the Interstate Commerce Act since it was first enacted in 1887. From five Commissioners it has grown to eleven. From 0 employees it has grown to over 2,000. Additionally, there have been thousands of interpretations and court cases which have served to mold the administration of the Act within the legal confines of the statute itself. To advocate eradication of this solid base which has produced the best transportation system in the world is, in my opinion, sheer folly.

I don't want to leave you with the impression that I think all is well with the ICC. Some of the changes that have been made over the years may not always have been for the best.

For example, I think perhaps five Commissioners could very well function as well as the eleven we now have. Also, I'm not sure that the *independence* of the ICC has always been promoted by the present system of appointing and confirming Commissioners. Perhaps some group like yours should pass on the qualifications of ICC Commissioners, as the American Bar Association endeavors to do with Supreme Court Justices.

But perhaps my biggest concern about the present setup is the small amount of attention the ICC gets from Congress to whom it reports. Year after year the ICC has sent to the Congress Annual Reports with specific legislative recommendations, but little attention has been paid to these well-thought-out views.

If our transportation network is to meet the demands of the 70s and the 80s, we will need, in my opinion, a strong, independent Interstate Commerce Commission. Whatever changes are needed to assure the nation efficient, economical transportation should be in the form of well-reasoned statutory amendments to our present base—the Interstate Commerce Act.

Thank you!

#### KENNETH QUADE'S PLEA TO SAVE ALASKA FOR POSTERITY

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, November 16, 1970

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Kenneth Quade, a deeply concerned and sincere writer, has expressed with compassion his views on the exploitation of Alaska. I insert a copy of this article from the Milwaukee Journal of November 30, 1970, in the RECORD at this time.

#### IN MY OPINION—WILL WE EXPLOIT ALASKA FOR THE DOLLAR OR SAVE ITS SPIRIT FOR POSTERITY?

In the near future, the Interior Department plans to issue the permit that will allow the oil companies the right to construct a pipeline on the North Slope of Alaska. I feel it will prove to be one of the biggest ecological blunders of the century.

Alaska is at the crossroads. We can exploit it and make it one of the most corrupt and devastated states in the Union in the next decade, thus further dehumanizing the individual. Or we can put our priorities in their proper perspective and see the value in the respect and reverence for nature and save it for future generations.

While much has been written about the damage oil will do to the ecology, my opposition to oil in Alaska is of a different nature. Mine is not popular with the mass. Perhaps it is because so many live such shallow lives they would not understand. Maybe it is because this nation has become so callous it can see value only in dollars and cents.

I have never looked at Alaska as just a gob of land. To me it always has had a spirit.

Sometimes traveling through the tranquility and serenity of its vastness I have gone a hundred miles or more without seeing a human being. Why would anyone want to travel in such solitude? This is a question I've been asked often. But it is a question you do not answer with words.

#### SO ME UNDERSTAND, BUT ONLY A FEW

Why does a man climb a mountain? That, too, is a hard question to answer by those who do. But we who understand—and we seem to be of a small minority—do not communicate with words. We communicate by the look in the eye, the expression on the face.

One thing Alaska has taught me: Man does possess an "inner being." It has to be fed. All too often in today's society it dies of malnutrition.

It is an area of man that is not satisfied by the dollar. It is an area of man that is not satisfied by eight-cylinder automobiles. Or by stoves with self-cleaning ovens. Nor by refrigerators with automatic defrosters.

Call me a dreamer. But I notice that those who pride themselves on their sophistication and live by the false and artificial, lack the cohesive material to hold a sane society together.

If we allow oil into the Arctic of Alaska, then Alaska as we know it today will cease to be. It will lose its identity. Stories of adventure. Stories of inspiration. These will come to a halt. That spirit I speak of will be snuffed out.

#### THERE IS HOPE IN OUR YOUTH

Instead Alaska will become a land of figures: How many oil wells are being drilled. How many barrels of oil are pumped through a pipeline. How much money the latest oil lease brought. How rich Alaska is becoming.

What good is it to dress a man in a tuxedo if he has to stand knee deep in mud?

The past two years I have tried every effort to alert the nation to the danger oil holds for Alaska. Why? One, because my conscience would not allow me to do otherwise. Two, because I see some hope in our youth.

In the past it has been profit against profit. Profit against power. Even profit against poverty. Now because of our environmental awareness, it is profit against self-preservation.

The question is: Have those formidable opponents, apathy and greed, become so powerful that the American people are willing to let themselves be destroyed in order to make the Gross National Product their god?

Alaska has lived among the wolves. But a new kind of wolf is moving into Alaska. He hides behind words like "economic development" and "progress" instead of trees and bushes.

Oil will send the esthetic values of Alaska spiraling downward. Some segments of our population will be given further cause to resent, distrust and be discouraged in the system and the Establishment. Wealth again will not cure our "sick society." Instead it will only add more causes for its ills.

## THE ARMS TRADE—PART XVI

### HON. R. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, recently, the Student Advisory Committee on International Affairs, located here in Washington, D.C., published a paper by J. Griffin Leshar entitled "Arms Sales to Latin America: A Policy for the Seventies".

For those of us disturbed by the uncontrolled growth and direction of this trade, particularly in Latin America, I highly recommend Mr. Leshar's article, reprinted below, as concise, timely, and provocative:

#### ARMS SALES TO LATIN AMERICA: A POLICY FOR THE SEVENTIES

(By J. Griffin Leshar)

Should the United States continue to pursue its foreign policy goals in Latin America through the sale of conventional arms and the granting of military assistance?

As the decade of the Seventies begins, this fundamental question concerning our military aid policy in the southern hemisphere merits a fresh look.

Supporters of our foreign military sales and military assistance programs for Latin America point to the following arguments:

Latin American counterinsurgency capabilities must be maintained with U.S. arms and assistance in order that an internal atmosphere conducive to social and economic progress can be guaranteed.

If the United States will not sell arms, then Latin American states will rely on our European competitors.

Selling arms abroad is necessary to our balance-of-payments position.

Latin American states must not spend unnecessarily on weapons systems, but rather concern themselves with social and economic progress. Yet they do have minimal defense needs, and the United States should furnish them with the necessary material.

Through arms sales and military assistance the United States military representatives in-country maintain a cordial working relationship with the Latin American military establishment and encourage them in democratic methods.

(NOTE.—Grif Leshar has traveled in Argentina (1967) and Chile (1969) studying Latin American politics. A graduate of Wesleyan University in Connecticut, he is completing postgraduate studies at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. Presently he is on the editorial staff of the Student Advisory Committee, and plans a career in journalism and teaching on Latin American affairs.)

Latin America is strategically important as part of our southern flank. We must not lose control over the South Atlantic, Panama Canal, the Drake Inter-oceanic passages, and other facilities and transit rights. Our military aid policy supports this strategic interest.

Critics of present military aid policy emphasize the following points:

U.S. identification through government-to-government arms sales with repressive Latin American military regimes destroys any

credibility we may have as a staunch supporter of democracy.

The real threat to Latin American governments is not extrahemispheric, but rather their own people whose spiraling expectations place increasing demands on government to create more jobs, more housing, more food, and the like. Arms sales only put Latin American governments in further debt to the United States, and indeed contribute to a lack of social and economic progress.

It would do no harm for the Latin American military to try European competitors. They will learn the hard lesson that Europeans are even more ruthless in their arms dealings than the Americans, and have no qualms about making a fast dollar.

Our arms trade in Latin America (annual average during the 'Sixties of \$48 million) is so small as to make no appreciable difference in our balance-of-payments position.

The American taxpayer should not be required to support the credit unworthiness of Latin American militaries which are offered long-term, low-interest loans by the U.S. government to purchase U.S. military hardware.

Each time the United States or a competitor begins to sell to one nation and upsets the delicate arms balance in the hemisphere, an almost uncontrollable chain reaction ensues as neighbors scramble to restore at least parity with the others.

Dissatisfaction with our arms sales and military assistance policy in Latin America is sufficient to consider an alternative scheme that, on the one hand, recognizes the defense needs of Latin American states which they have determined by themselves and, on the other, minimizes the unfavorable image the United States has as the major supplier of arms to this region.

Such a scheme must place the onus of responsibility and accountability on the shoulders of Latin American governments to make the final decision as to weapons needs and the sacrifice their economies can endure to acquire military hardware.

At this end a new approach must assure that U.S. policy is based on valid, long-term national policy objectives, not on political expediency, departmental whims and bureaucratic in-fighting for prestige and tax dollars.

#### THE SIXTIES: PAST TRENDS

During the past decade the United States has been the primary source of major weapons for Latin America;<sup>1</sup> U.S. hegemony over the arms traffic in this region has been interrupted only occasionally by third-party dealings. Both Argentina and Brazil have acquired British warships and French tanks. Chile has bought jet aircraft from Britain, while Peru has done likewise from France. All Cuban hardware has come from the Soviet Union. However, such examples have been the exception, not the rule.<sup>2</sup>

In terms of overall U.S. military aid, both arms and assistance for such programs as counterinsurgency training and civic action, there has been one important trend. While our military assistance has generally decreased in keeping with a policy relying less on direct grants-in-aid than in the past, requests and appropriations for arms sales, especially for credit funds, has substantially increased.<sup>3</sup> This development sharply contradicts the sense of Congress, expressed in 1968, which resulted in a separation of the arms business from the category of foreign aid. A new law was passed, the Foreign Military Sales Act of 1968, which was designed to keep in check the massive amounts of U.S. military hardware sold abroad. A ceiling of \$75 million per year was placed on arms sales to Latin America, and while Defense Department statistics indicate this ceiling has not been overrun yet, present trends show that it may happen soon.<sup>4</sup>

Footnotes at end of article.

Aside from the politics of policy-making in Congress and the Executive Branch, the 'Sixties was also characterized by a series of chain reactions in Latin America once one nation upset the arms balance with a new purchase. Consider the following scenario as it occurred between 1965 and 1967.<sup>5</sup>

In October 1965 the United States consented to sell 50 A-4B Skyhawk attack jets to Argentina. The figure was later decreased to 25 due to the demands of the Vietnam War.

Chile, aware of her border difficulties with Argentina, soon began negotiations for more advanced aircraft. The Santiago government received U.S. offers of 16 A-4Bs and 16 F-86s (Korean War vintage) for \$3.5 million. However, the Chilean military desired the faster F-5 Freedomfighter. Not prepared to sell such a sophisticated aircraft at that point, the United States refused to comply with the request. In October, 1966 Chile announced its intention to buy 21 British Hawker Hunter jets for \$20 million.

Peru, also mindful of border problems with Chile, sought to bolster its own air force. With considerable reluctance the United States agreed to furnish some F-86s, but Peru's economic troubles were complicated by a sudden devaluation of her currency, and the United States chose to halt the sale. In August of that same year, Britain was persuaded by the United States not to sell 6 Canberra jet bombers to Peru, for \$2.5 million. Nevertheless determined to obtain advanced aircraft, Peru finally purchased 12 Mirage V fighter bombers from France for \$20 million.

Venezuela, soon thereafter, negotiated for 74 F-86s with a private arms dealer, Interarms-Merex, a U.S.-licensed company that sold arms from Italy. Brazil showed an interest in 100 French fighters belonging to the German Luftwaffe. The military coup in Argentina in mid-1966 halted a planned sale of 50 M-41 tanks offered by the United States. Quick to exploit the situation, French suppliers sold 50 of their new AMX-30 tanks for \$200,000 a tank. Such European competition sufficiently bothered Washington that it changed its policy. After October, 1967, the United States was prepared to make available its F-5 Freedomfighter.

As we approach the 'Seventies, another cycle appears in the making as a result of agreements between the United States and various Latin American governments. Last May it was revealed that the United States had agreed to sell 16 reconditioned A-4B Skyhawk jets to Argentina, and had decided in principle to sell at least 50 Skyhawks and F-5 Freedomfighters to Brazil, Chile and Colombia. State Department sources said that neither A-4 nor the F-5 was supersonic, while the Skyhawk, used by the Navy in Vietnam and by Israel since 1968, was an attack plane capable of 600-to-700 miles per hour and was generally priced at about \$1.3 million a plane.<sup>6</sup>

Because Latin American arms sales is not a top priority issue for Washington policymakers, preoccupied as they are with the Vietnam war, the Middle East crisis, and supporting with arms and assistance the forward-defense countries around China and the Soviet Union,<sup>7</sup> the decision to sell or not to sell is generally made at a low level in the foreign policy-making hierarchy and simply approved at the top. As a consequence, the basic assumption underlying our military aid policy in Latin America are not sharply questioned by those busy at the highest levels of government. The justification for U.S. policy before members of Congress during committee hearings differs little from year to year.<sup>8</sup> The U.S. approach remains unchanged due to bureaucratic inertia and general neglect.

#### THE SEVENTIES: A TIME FOR MATURITY

What follows is a military aid policy for the coming decade.

The United States must recognize one basic premise: Latin American states merit a mature policy. Washington must deal with

this continent of nations, not as younger brothers with whom the Colossus of the North shares a sense of "hemispheric solidarity," but rather as a region in which we may have basic foreign policy interests due to its proximity. For years, both Congress and the Executive Branch have attempted to treat Latin America in a "special way." The Rockefeller Report on Latin America suggests "special" institutional reforms in the Executive hierarchy to demonstrate that we care about our sister republics to the south.

Such proclamations of good faith and historical ties are mere rhetoric to many young citizens in the United States and Latin America who have grown up in the post-World War II era in U.S.-Latin American relations. We have elevated their expectations too often with grandiose promises, e.g., the Alliance for Progress, only to fall short of total support later because of more immediate commitments in other areas of the world such as Southeast Asia. If we do not cast aside our fatherly (some might say colonialist) image, then we must accept the neglect by Latin American states who will look to other nations in Europe, Africa, and the Far East for a more mature diplomatic relationship. In fact, this trend has already begun, and the United States is slow in recognizing it. The changing panorama of Latin American trading patterns is undoubtedly the strongest sign. Foreign investment from France, England, West Germany, Japan, and Canada is expanding substantially. All indications point to a more international approach externally and a more interdependent approach internally for the Latin American community of nations.<sup>2</sup>

The corollary to this doctrine of maturity toward Latin America asserts that the United States must not insist on "special relationships" in the field of arms and assistance. Likewise, Latin American states must not expect "special treatment." The practical steps toward implementation of this doctrine are as follows:

#### Minimal defense needs:

The United States must recognize that Latin American states have minimal defense needs which must be met. However, these defense requirements should be determined independently, i.e. without special assistance, from United States military missions. Removing this advisory function eliminates the need for large numbers of U.S. military representatives in-country (over 446 in June, 1970) except for a few military attaches in each country (1 to 4) to handle essential communication.

#### Cash-and-carry, non-governmental sales:

Once the Latin American state determines its minimal defense needs and expresses an interest in buying American, then its purchasing representatives should be allowed to investigate the possibilities on the U.S. market. This entails a strict cash-and-carry arrangement through normal business channels. There would be no government-to-government sales or active arms-advertising by Defense or State Department officials.

No public credit (e.g. Export-Import Bank loans):

If a sophisticated and expensive aircraft is their wish, for reasons of prestige or territorial defense, then the Latin American purchasing representatives should rely on normal commercial dealings and private credit sources. The American taxpayer should not be asked to subsidize the Latin American military establishment.

#### Disassociation from foreign aid program:

There should be no stipulation that economic assistance will depend on the recipient's allocation to military uses. The short-run exigencies of our arms sales policy must not dictate the long-run commitment of U.S.

foreign policy to the cause of social and economic development.

The implications of this policy for the 'Seventies highlight certain features of our present military aid policy requiring adjustment. As far as changes in the decision-making process in Washington are concerned, neither the Department of State nor the Department of Defense would be actively promoting and selling military hardware in Latin America. That is, professional officers and diplomats would not be required to perform a job for which they were not trained, namely, marketing U.S. arms abroad. Their professional education and practical, on-the-job experiences hardly prepare them to sell conventional weaponry. This fact is emphasized by former service personnel themselves who have been responsible for arms sales in Latin America.

Moreover, neither the military officer assigned as an advisor to State nor the State officer assigned to the Pentagon have any real influence on policy. Even interchanging personnel does not improve the basic policy. Policy recommendations are made by the in-country ambassador based on his country team members' beliefs and opinions. These beliefs from the "field" are acted upon back in Washington by all levels at the Department of State and Defense. Departmental personnel take the word they get from the various military advisory groups in-country as gospel and fight relentlessly to get these recommendations approved. By eliminating the need for such in-country advisors, this kind of bureaucratic in-fighting would substantially disappear.

It must be emphasized that there are controls under this policy for the coming decade. The State Department, principally through the Office of Munitions Control, will still regulate the flow of U.S. arms to Latin America by means of export licensing, to U.S. manufacturers wishing to fill orders. As it stands, congressionally imposed ceilings on amounts sold by the U.S. government are artificial. Through technical loopholes in the legislation, presidential waivers, escape clauses, and the common habit of selling at cost or less, military hardware declared obsolete for our own military use, those responsible for governmental arms sales have too often violated the good faith of Congress which in 1968 clearly meant to limit our dealings in the international arms trade.

Surely, the possibility of increased black market activities in arms comes into question, but need not be any greater source of concern than at present. It is not intended that Latin American governments will be totally excluded from purchasing in U.S. markets. Rather they would be responsible for initiatives in locating the best arrangement with U.S. manufacturers, i.e. go to the marketplace. Competitive pricing would theoretically render them a reasonable deal.

Furthermore, the tendency for foreign aid to be used as a whipping boy when Latin American governments spend public funds on expensive military hardware contributes to the overall deterioration in our friendly relations. Their policy-makers are justifiably offended by our interfering with the determination of their own national priorities. The *de facto* disassociation of arms sales and military assistance from foreign aid might just make our rhetorical concern for economic development ring more true in Latin American ears. Changes in our foreign aid must not follow changes in our military aid as the night the day.

In Latin America national officials, whether from military or civilian ranks, will be required to make some hard economic decisions as between military and non-military spending. Confident that they can play the United States off on its European competitors, Latin America militaries know they can secure favorable treatment ulti-

mately in Washington. U.S. governmental sources, principally the Department of Defense, argue that the arms traffic must not fall to our European allies, many of whom are ironically fellow members of NATO such as England and West Germany. We locate the arms, design packages of public and private credit, and push Latin America further into debt to the United States government. If indebtedness to the United States is to become a chronic state of affairs, it seems more sensible to be paying off an income-producing, development loan than a non-productive but prestigious squadron of jets.

But if the Latin American government decides to buy and their countrymen protest the decision, then the policy-makers will be answerable to their people and the United States government will not become a convenient scapegoat for their lack of poor political or economic judgment.

If the United States considers it in its best interest that a particular Latin American state acquires certain arms and training for critical security reasons, the Department of State can permit the sale through the issuance of export licenses. What about a crisis situation? In such cases, the President of the United States has at his command the total resources of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines. He would be making the key decisions, and not a low-level, departmental advisor. Short of crises, the market forces would dictate the flow of arms carefully monitored through export controls.

What is the role of Congress in the decision-making process under this new scheme? Its most important, perhaps only effective, tool at its command in the area of military aid policy is its power over the purse. It can as a body increase or decrease appropriations each year. However, even this last remaining vestige of power in the check-and-balance system is being eroded by an onslaught of well-packaged arguments and publicity campaigns organized by those testifying for high levels of military aid. For security reasons, few outside the Department of Defense actually know how much the United States deals in government-to-government arms sales. Congressional restraints, such as the \$75 million ceiling for Latin America, are easily circumvented, and Congress does not have the man and hours to keep watch over the situation.

Under this new approach, Congress would be assured that arms sales were not the business of government, but that government controlled the business. The committees would review the licensing record and overall policy assumptions of the State Department and other departments involved such as Commerce and Treasury. With their votes on departmental budgets, members of Congress could express their approval or disapproval with the record rather than try to second guess the activities of Executive agencies. In the past Congress has too often been presented with *faits accomplis* on various arms sales made by the government, and has even been powerless to find out the exact details of the decision after the fact.

#### THE LONG RUN

If the broader problem of the conventional arms flow from industrial countries to the developing world is to be handled realistically, long-term planning is essential. It is highly unlikely that the conventional arms trade can be permanently curtailed. Either all industrial suppliers will have to halt production, or all purchasers will have to stop their demand. The prospects for either development are practically nonexistent.

The only rational alternative is to establish a permanent and ongoing international body, under the auspices of the United Nations, that will at least bring together its

<sup>2</sup>Footnotes at end of article.

member states, especially the big arms sellers, and debate as well as monitor the conventional arms trade. This body can be initiated at a Conventional Arms Limitations Talks (CALT) similar to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) in progress at Vienna between the United States and the Soviet Union.

By far the greatest number of conflicts have occurred in the Third World since World War II—Korea, Vietnam, Nigeria, the Middle East, and scores of other lesser clashes. The arms used in the fighting arrive from the factories of the industrial nations. Dollar for dollar, governments are by far the biggest contributors to the international arms traffic. In the late 'Sixties the United States government alone sold approximately \$2.0 billion in arms per year to other nations, and this figure *excludes* the military hardware going to Vietnam, Laos and Thailand.<sup>10</sup> Other industrial nations are also responsible for the arms flow to the developing world.<sup>11</sup> It is these governments which must address themselves collectively to the problem in the long run.

The difficulties entailed in Conventional Arms Limitation Talks and the permanent establishment of an international body to monitor specifically the conventional arms traffic may appear insurmountable. But perhaps it is time for the United States to set an example in the 'Seventies and invite the participation of other governments to assess the role that conventional arms sales play in this era of conflict in the world.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey Kemp, *Arms Traffic and Third World Conflicts* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1970), International Conciliation Series - No. 577, March 1970, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs), *Military Assistance and Foreign Military Sales Facts*, March 1970, pp. 7, 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> George Thayer, *The War Business* (New York: Avon Books, 1969), pp. 236-238. This sequence of events appears in these pages.

<sup>6</sup> A. D. Horne, *Washington Post*, Friday, May 13, 1970, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. South Korea, South Vietnam, Taiwan, Greece, Turkey, and others.

<sup>8</sup> See the hearings on foreign aid and foreign military sales before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations or the House Committee on Foreign Affairs for testimony by State and Defense Department officials each year.

<sup>9</sup> One indication of their more international approach to arms buying is Argentina's *Plan Europa* designed to diversify its weapons systems by purchasing from England, France, West Germany, and even Czechoslovakia. See the *Foreign Military Sales Act Hearings for 1970, 1971*, held before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on March 24, 1970, pp. 42-44.

An indication of their more interdependent approach internally is the fact that Argentina has begun to flight test its DINFA-AX-2 twin turboprop counterinsurgency aircraft. If the tests are successful, it may be offered for sale to other Latin American countries. See *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, October 27, 1969, p. 17. Cited in Kemp, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Testimony by U. Alexis Johnson (Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs), *Foreign Military Sales Act Amendment Hearings for 1970, 1972*: Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, March 24, 1970, pp. 5-6.

<sup>11</sup> For a sobering report on the proliferation in arms production, see *World Military Expenditures 1969* published by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Department of State. (Washington, D.C. 1969).

### PLEA FOR STRONGER GUN CONTROL

#### HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the city of New York recently was fortunate to obtain the services of one of the most outstanding law enforcement administrators in the Nation, Patrick V. Murphy, as its new Police Commissioner. Mr. Murphy was in Washington yesterday to address the National Association of Citizens Crime Commissions. The subject of that address was the continuing need for strict gun control. As one who has supported enactment of strong Federal gun control measures in the past, and as a sponsor of legislation to further strengthen those laws, I found yesterday's New York Times report on Mr. Murphy's remarks most interesting and encouraging, as will, I'm sure, other Members and readers of the RECORD. It is particularly timely that we remind ourselves of our continuing firearms problem in light of recent action of the Ways and Means Committee in ordering to be reported legislation which would substantially weaken the reporting provisions of existing Federal gun control laws.

Citizens of the 23d Congressional District of New York, which I have the honor to represent, will have an opportunity to hear Mr. Murphy in person this Sunday, December 13, in the Bronx when he appears as a featured speaker at the Community Leadership Conference I have organized to consider "Safe Streets: A Priority Goal."

The report of Commissioner Murphy's statement on gun control follows:

#### MURPHY SEEKS A POLICY TO DISARM ALL CITIZENS

(By Richard L. Madden)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Police Commissioner Patrick V. Murphy of New York City appealed today for "a strong uniform policy of domestic disarmament" to "take away the guns from the people."

Exemptions to such a policy, Mr. Murphy said, "should be limited to the military, the police and those licensed for good and sufficient reason."

Speaking to the annual meeting of the National Association of Citizens Crime Commissions at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Mr. Murphy declared:

"For too long we have indulged the gun maniacs—both criminal and law-abiding citizens. The name of the game is human life, and it is a game we dare not play. The stakes are too high for an advanced society which values human life above all other considerations."

#### CITES 3 POLICE DEATHS

Mr. Murphy said the speech was the strongest he had ever made on gun controls. He noted that in his two-month tenure as Police Commissioner in New York, he had had to "console" the families of three city policemen who had been killed with "guns that shouldn't have been there."

To carry out a "domestic disarmament" policy would require "strong leadership" from the Federal Government, Mr. Murphy said. He acknowledged that it would be a "highly emotional issue in Congress and elsewhere, but if we are serious about doing

something, halfway measures are not enough." He said he had not discussed his ideas with Mayor Lindsay.

Mr. Murphy's speech went well beyond his comments made Nov. 10, after the slaying of a police sergeant, when he called for control of hand guns "on a national scale." Possession of a hand gun is illegal in New York State unless the gun has been licensed by the local police, but many other states have far less restrictive laws and some have none at all.

"Studies on guns—long and short—abound," Mr. Murphy said. "Numerous laws on the national, state and local level limit the manufacture, sale, importation and possession of firearms. And yet there is no diminution of their unlawful use."

"Under the deceptive guise of freedom and the belief that citizens must be armed to resist tyranny, the American people tolerate and abet assault, robbery, murder and street crime at gunpoint."

"If this is freedom in its finest form, it is also freedom in its final hour."

"We have no way of determining how many firearms are in violent hands. We don't know the extent of the condition, but we know the condition exists. Throughout the country in recent years, tons of weapons have been plundered in transit and stolen from armories and gun dealers."

"We can no longer rely on restrictive licensing and uniform laws," Mr. Murphy continued. "We are at that point in time and terror when nothing short of a strong uniform policy of domestic disarmament will alleviate the danger which is crystal clear and perilously present."

"Let us take away the guns from the people. Exemptions should be limited to the military, the police and those licensed for good and sufficient reason."

The prepared text of Mr. Murphy's speech contained an additional sentence that said that he "would look forward to the day when it would not be necessary for the policeman to carry a sidearm." But the Commissioner deleted that sentence and explained later that he had not wanted to be misunderstood as saying that he was "proposing the disarming of police."

He added, however, that a day when policemen would not have to carry sidearms would be "my ideal—my dream."

The audience of about 75 representatives of local citizens crime commissions applauded Mr. Murphy enthusiastically. The association, founded in 1952, represents 19 volunteer citizens crime commissions, including those in Chicago, Philadelphia and Long Island.

### THE HARE AND THE TORTOISE

#### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, as our national space program grinds to a halt, as we lay off thousands of highly skilled Americans, as we reduce our space capability in industry, the university and government, the Soviet Union continues to reinforce and expand its manned and automated space effort. An editorial by Mr. Robert Hotz in the November 23, 1970 issue of *Aviation Week & Space Technology* does much to outline the serious posture that this nation has adopted with respect to our space program. As Mr. Hotz points out we have the opportunity to retrieve our

position, but that opportunity is fast slipping away and requires leadership and action. Because of the significance of this editorial, I commend it to my colleagues and the general public.

#### THE HARE AND THE TORTOISE

The Soviet Union has dramatically demonstrated this fall that it is pursuing a broad program of space exploration at as fast a pace as its technical base permits. In a recent 60-day period, the USSR launched 22 spacecraft from its three space centers while only three gantries in a forest of empty steel towers at Cape Kennedy had U.S. spacecraft on launch pads. The Soviets also demonstrated that their space program still has the moon as a major goal by launching three lunar-directed spacecraft that photographed, returned surface samples and explored the lunar topography.

The Soviet achievements on the moon are indeed formidable. But their technology still falls far short of the Apollo system that landed four U.S. astronauts on the moon last year and returned them safely to earth. The Soviet unmanned vehicles are engaged in the same type of preliminary exploration of the lunar environments that the U.S. did in preparation for its manned lunar landings. Zond 8, which photographed the surface on a circumlunar mission is roughly comparable in function to the U.S. Lunar Orbiters of 1966-67. The Luna 16 and 17 spacecraft are similar in function, despite increased capabilities, to the Surveyors the U.S. used for preliminary surface reconnaissance of potential Apollo landing sites. Thus it appears that the Soviets are still pursuing their long-established goal of eventually landing men on the moon and establishing manned stations there for scientific observation and exploration. The Zond series of spacecraft is man-rated, according to Soviet space experts. They will probably be used for final reconnaissance missions preparatory to manned landings in much the same manner that Apollo 8 blazed the trail for Apollo 11 and 12.

Although much of the U.S. lunar data is available internationally, the Russians are clearing operating their own program for acquiring and evaluating data required for their next generation of manned lunar spacecraft. Although they must of necessity follow the same inexorable logic of exploration, they have developed a space technology with the Zonds and Lunas that is as distinct from our Lunar Orbiters and Surveyors as were Vostok, Voshod and Soyuz from our manned Mercury, Gemini and Apollo spacecraft.

The Soviets have lost their pioneering leadership in manned space flight, but they have lost none of their determination to press on toward their ultimate goals.

They are still building an ever-broader technological base from which to pursue space exploration. There has been no faltering in either the morale of their space scientists and engineers or the support from their political leadership.

The contrast of the last two months of furious Soviet space activity with the shambles of the U.S. space program glaringly spotlights a major national flaw in management of technology and waste of national resources. It also offers another vivid example of the hare and tortoise racing fable.

The Soviets had the imagination to dream of exploring space and the technical guts to pioneer it. Their Sputniks burst on an astonished world with all the impact of a psychological atomic bomb. Soviet prestige rode high on their orbiting spacecraft. The U.S. embarked on a furious technological spurge to catch up. Setting the manned lunar landing as its major goal, the U.S. space program of the 1960s probably will go down in history as man's greatest constructive expansion of

his capabilities in his long sojourn on this planet. The successful lunar landings of 1969 left the world breathless and the Soviets far behind.

No sooner had the tremendous exhilaration of this stunning achievement subsided, than the fleet U.S. space rabbit ambled to the roadside and took a nap under a shady economy tree, confident that the Soviet tortoise could never overtake him. The great science and engineering teams that conceived, built and operated the Apollo system and the other marvelous facets of the U.S. space program were broken up, the facilities mothballed and support of the national leadership dwindled. This rabbit nap at the roadside will also go down in history as an incredible blunder of national leadership and an unnecessary dissipation of a unique national resource.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration is floundering along leaderless. The President has deliberately shrunk the space program as a deflationary economic tool. Congress has become indifferent. After \$24 billion has been spent to develop the system and operational base for manned exploration of the moon, the Apollo flights have been drastically reduced. To save a few million dollars, the bulk of the scientific dividends Apollo could return on this investment are sacrificed.

Meanwhile, the Soviet tortoise plods along the lunar road, surviving technical disasters, changing political winds, international defeats and many other hazards unknown to foreign observers. The Soviets are now working on the moon with their remotely controlled robots. They are developing a substantial military space program of reconnaissance satellites, orbiting bombs and satellite interceptors. They are developing multi-manned earth-orbital space stations, communications satellites, deep space scientific probes and at regular intervals affirm that their sights are still firmly set on Mars and interplanetary voyaging. The Soviet tortoise is still some years behind the snoozing U.S. space rabbit. But it is moving inexorably ahead, albeit at a slower but steadier pace than its principal international rival. Whether the Soviets will ever again overtake and regain world leadership in space technology depends in large measure on how much longer American political leaders and the American people let their somnolent space rabbit languish in idle dreaming.

#### SALT AND ON-SITE INSPECTION

### HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, at this point I would like to insert in the RECORD an interview with Dr. John S. Foster, Jr., Director of Defense Research and Engineering for the Department of Defense, which appeared in the November 30, 1970, edition of U.S. News & World Report.

This interview is extremely important for a number of reasons. In the first place it is important because Dr. Foster brings to our attention the magnitude of the Soviet threat in the field of strategic weaponry. He points out that the Soviets are spending more for research and development work in defense related fields than the United States and that this is paying off for them by way of increasingly sophisticated weaponry. If this situation continues Dr. Foster forecasts

that we "will lose our technological superiority to the Soviets in the next several years."

Technological superiority increases the effectiveness of the forces of the side which possess it. It is not very difficult to visualize what the Soviet Union will do when it gains the preponderance of force necessary to destroy our strategic weapons systems. A preponderance of force is not developed by serious conquerors simply so that they can say they have it.

There is another item of the greatest importance contained in this interview. When questioned about the Soviet anti-ballistic-missile system Dr. Foster replies:

Today they have an operational ABM complex around Moscow, as well as about 10,000 surface-to-air missiles already deployed. We think this SAM force is largely for defense against aircraft. However some of these interceptors may have ABM capabilities.

Dr. Foster states that some of the Soviet SAM's may have ABM capabilities. In other words, he is not sure whether or not the Soviet's surface-to-air missiles have an ABM capability at this point. Dr. Foster has available the best intelligence data that the United States is capable of gathering.

What does this mean in relation to the SALT talks? It can only mean that any agreement which comes out of these negotiations must, if it contains a limitation on ABM systems of any sort whatsoever, also have a provision for onsite inspection. It is obvious that if we are not at the present moment able, by existing intelligence gathering methods, to ascertain whether or not the Soviet SAM's have an ABM capability any agreement to reduce or hold the line on our own deployment of Safeguard must be accompanied by the inspection procedures necessary to determine whether or not the Soviets are deploying ABM's.

From Dr. Foster's statement it is apparent that we are not able to determine this from aerial observation.

Recent U.S. experience with satellite and U-2 observations have been less than satisfactory. During the Middle East cease-fire agreement we were unable to determine whether or not the Soviets were violating the agreement, which they were, because of the insufficiency of our aerial reconnaissance measures.

Secretary Laird, testifying on the recent gallant attempt to rescue the American men being held captive by the North Vietnamese Communists, made the statement that "there is no camera that has ever been constructed that can go through the roof of those buildings"—referring to the compound where the Americans were thought to be held. It is obvious that aerial reconnaissance, marvelous as it is, has several limitations.

If we cannot determine whether the Soviet SAM's have an ABM capability through the use of aerial reconnaissance and other existing methods it would be foolhardy in the extreme to come to any type of agreement with the Soviets concerning the limitation of ABM systems without on site inspection.

This is especially true when the Soviets are moving ahead in so many aspects of strategic weapons development.

The interview follows:

**RUSSIA VERSUS UNITED STATES—COMING CRISIS IN ARMS**

(Interview With John S. Foster, Jr., Director of Defense Research)

**Q.** Dr. Foster, there has been a lot of talk by defense officials in recent weeks that the U.S. is in peril of falling behind Russia in military strength. Do you share that apprehension?

**A.** I do. I am concerned about the way events are moving. And I am not sure the public understands just why Secretary of Defense Laird and other officials are so concerned.

**Q.** What is it that causes the worry?

**A.** Several things. First, surprising as it may seem to Americans who are used to our technological superiority in defense, the U.S. will lose technological superiority to the Soviets in the next several years if present trends continue. It's a struggle that largely goes on in secret, but already we can see some of the things to come in new top-quality Soviet weapons. Further, if this loss of leadership occurs in three to four years, we will face certainly an extremely expensive, perhaps an impossible, task if we choose to attempt to regain our leadership even by 1985.

Another area of concern is the Soviet effort in strategic weapons. They have a continuing momentum both in development and deployment which we lack.

They have a similar momentum at sea where, over all, we're slipping back.

I'm concerned, too, about the significance of the increasing quality of the weapons they pass on to their client states. We have faced technologically advanced Soviet weapons in Korea and Southeast Asia, and our friends face them in other parts of the world. It is significant, too, that while the Soviets send first-class planes and missiles and ships to their clients, they have even better equipment coming along for their forces at home. And we can expect to see these improved systems going to their clients in the future.

**Q.** How are they able to do these things?

**A.** It's largely a matter of level of effort.

They have been moving steadily upward in money and technical manpower. We've been declining. And now they are ahead of us in sheer equivalent effort. Our level is being reduced in almost every area of military technology and civilian space technology.

**Q.** How do the two countries compare today?

**A.** Right now, I'd say we still have a two to three-year lead over the Soviet Union generally across the board, in research and technology, based on our work over the last two decades. Of course, there are exceptions in certain areas. However, the Soviet effort has actually increased to a point where it is now larger than ours by perhaps 40 to 50 per cent. Next year their effort could be 60 to 70 per cent larger than ours.

If the present trends continue—with the U.S. cutting back while the Soviet Union continues to increase its efforts—the Soviet effort could be double that of the United States by 1975, and with that would come a rapid reversal of our technological positions. One basic factor contributing to recent past and future trends is that the technical-manpower base in the Soviet Union continues to grow while ours has leveled off.

We are used to being the nation that makes the leaps ahead in defense technology. In the future, the big surprises may well come from the other side. We tend to forget that this has happened before—the German missiles and jet aircraft in World War II and the Soviet sputnik in 1957. I think it is pertinent to know that just prior to sputnik we had permitted the Soviet military and space effort to increase to the point where it was 50 to 70 per cent larger than ours.

**Q.** Is it possible to forecast future Soviet advances?

**A.** In any technical area where we are ahead, we can predict upcoming Soviet quality improvements rather accurately because we know what's possible. We can't predict the timing of a jump forward, though, because that depends on the amount of effort and the priority they choose to give it. In areas where we're behind, it's just very difficult to predict, because there we don't yet have a good understanding of what is possible out on the horizons of a technology which they can see and we can't.

**UNITED STATES COULD BE "NO. 2 BY 1974"**

**Q.** How much more are the Russians spending?

**A.** Right now, judging from their results, the Soviets are putting the equivalent of about 3 billion dollars more a year into defense-related technology than we are. If this is sustained, we not only will lose our lead, but we will lose much of our ability to predict their gains and much of our ability to counter them quickly and effectively.

By 1974 or '75, we would be No. 2 technologically in some critical areas. To prevent this, we would have to expand our present effort by a large amount immediately—which doesn't look practical in today's environment. If we wait longer, the expansion required is still greater. And then, even if we tried to spend the money, we wouldn't have the technological base or the manpower to build on. The base is barely there now—in people, institutions and facilities. While they are building theirs, ours is eroding.

Let me indicate what 3 billion dollars a year for several years means. Like any group doing a job within budget limits, we have a list of major things which would be practical to develop if the money were available—in our case, a new strategic bomber, an improved ballistic-missile defense, a better air-defense system, several land-battle vehicles, improved attack submarines, two or three types of tactical fighter planes, a new missile submarine, better over-the-horizon radar and dozens of lesser systems. An extra 3 billion dollars would enable us to proceed with the development of all of these systems.

If the divergence between the U.S. and Soviet research-and-development efforts continues, they could, over the next five to seven years, turn these or similar systems into their "have" rather than "need" list. Of course, it would be their choice—I don't know what theirs would be.

**Q.** Is U.S. research and development being reduced more than other areas of defense?

**A.** No. It seems to me that the President and Secretary Laird and the Congress have a sort of equal-pain approach to defense-budget cuts. Research, development, production, deployment, operations—everything is absorbing reductions roughly equally. We in research and development are not alone in our concerns.

**Q.** Dr. Foster, does the danger that you see include the big Soviet effort to go ahead of the U.S. in nuclear missiles? Are they already ahead?

**A.** There are different ways to compare these forces in the two countries. In "throw weight"—the total usable payload on top of a missile—the Soviets have a capacity about twice that of the U.S., and they also surpass us in total megatonnage, which is a rough measure of total destructive power, but not in total number of warheads. However, their "throw weight" advantage could be converted into more warheads—in which case they would surpass us in both numbers of weapons and in total destructive power.

The Russians have more land-based missiles operational today—over 1,300 launchers, compared with our 1,054. We have more submarine-based ballistic-missile launchers operational today than they have—656, compared with 200 to 300. If you include all of the Soviet missiles completed and under construction we know about for land and sea-based, their total is larger than ours.

But we stopped adding numbers to both our land-based and submarine missile forces four to five years ago, and the Soviets are continuing their missile production. The Soviets have continued building up their already larger land-based strategic-missile forces at an impressive rate—an average of about 250 per year for the last four years. They are deploying sea-based ballistic missiles in Polaris-type submarines at the rate of about 130 missiles a year. By 1974, we can expect a Soviet submarine-launched ballistic-missile force also comparable in size to, or larger than, our own.

**Q.** Does the U.S. still maintain its superiority in nuclear-armed bombers?

**A.** Generally, yes, although it depends on how you measure it. We have 500-plus long-range bombers. The Russians have about 200 long-range bombers and another 700 medium bombers and refueling tankers. If half of these medium bombers were to be used as tankers to extend the range of the rest, then I'd say the two countries would be roughly equal in bombers. That situation is not likely to change much in the next five years.

There's possibly a more important factor: Our bombers would have to penetrate a Soviet air-defense system which is modern, dense and sophisticated. Their bombers under present conditions would go against an American air-defense system which is thin, obsolescent and shrinking.

**Q.** How would you compare the two countries in total strategic nuclear power?

**A.** Looking at all aspects, I think you could say that there is rough parity between the two countries today. This rough parity will probably continue to exist for a few years in the future. However, I think that if the Soviets continue their momentum, in the absence of a SALT [Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty] agreement, the balance will shift more and more in their favor unless we take offsetting actions.

**RUSSIA'S "INVISIBLE THREAT"**

**Q.** How big a danger does Russia's momentum in missile deployment pose, assuming the U.S. doesn't react?

**A.** If the technological developments which are under way in the Soviet Union are completed and the resulting weapons are deployed, they will constitute a severe threat to our land-based strategic deterrent missiles. Their ICBMs would be able to take out almost all of our Minuteman force. Their submarine missiles could catch much of our bomber force on the ground—and also those Polaris boats which are in port. The surviving Minuteman missiles, bombers and Polaris/Posedon missiles would then face much improved Soviet missile and air defenses. Those are the consequences of the improvements that we think we understand in Soviet weapons. In effect, that is their "no surprise" force of four to five years from now.

I'd like to point out that one of our problems is that the Soviet strategic build-up is not easily discernible to either Congress or our people—it is a sort of invisible threat.

**Q.** Can anything be done to prevent the present balance from being upset?

**A.** One way is through negotiations on strategic-arms limitation. We hope that SALT, which has resumed, will result in an acceptable agreement which preserves the security of both sides. But, as Secretary Laird has noted repeatedly, we cannot afford an interminable wait for such an agreement, while Soviet momentum in deployment and development continues. Neither should we unilaterally stop those programs designed to preserve our security in the absence of an agreement. We may be faced with some difficult decisions in this area in the months ahead, and we should not let our hopes obscure the facts.

Q. What about antiballistic missiles—is there also rough parity with the Russians in that area?

A. No, but it's a little complicated. As you know, the Soviets long have believed in defense in depth. Today they have an operational ABM complex around Moscow, as well as about 10,000 surface-to-air missiles already deployed. We think this SAM force is largely for defense against aircraft. However, some of these interceptors may have ABM capabilities.

In any case, the Soviets have the technology to give much of this force an antiballistic-missile capability within the next few years. We, of course, have no ABM deployed. But, technologically, the situation is probably reversed. I believe the U.S. Safeguard is technologically ahead of the Soviet Union's Moscow ABM system.

Let me add a very important point: Of the major weapons which we can actually count—in land-based missiles deployed or attack submarines, for instance—we find more often than not that the Soviets are ahead in numbers. On quality, of the thing which we usually cannot accurately measure short of actual combat, we believe that we are—or have been—ahead. The trade-off of technological quality for quantity is highly judgmental and carries some risk as it is. That is why I become increasingly worried as the Soviet effort devoted to technology continues to exceed ours.

Q. Are you saying the Soviets have deployed a weapon complex that is inferior to the planned Safeguard ABM system?

A. Yes. But one has to be very careful in making a judgment here, because there are a lot of weapons that, while perhaps technologically inferior to others, still do the job—particularly if they are more numerous. And if an arms-control agreement does not stop further ABM deployment and development, we should expect additional, probably new-generation Soviet ABM missiles and radars to be deployed. The Soviets are already testing components in the Safeguard class.

It is particularly misleading to compare present U.S. and Soviet ABM systems. They have had components of their ABM deployed and have been able to shake down operational problems for the last several years. We will have our first site deployed and ready for shakedown four to five years from now. So it's not particularly useful to compare an existing Soviet defense with a future U.S. defense. We don't know what the Soviet system will look like, but at the rate the Soviets are going in development, it should be quite good.

#### WE KNOW THE SOVIET ABM WORKS

Q. Do you believe the present Soviet ABM really works?

A. We know it works, but we can't tell just how well it works. We do know that it can intercept many present ICBM warheads. So our job is to try to figure out how to defeat that system. Any defensive system, just as any offensive system, has some limitations, and we have to exploit those limitations.

Q. How can you defeat the Soviet defense system?

A. One simple way is to exhaust it simply by sending more warheads than the system can intercept. That is a primary reason why the Administration and the Congress decided to provide MIRV's—multiple, independently targeted re-entry vehicles—for the U.S. missile force. MIRV should enable us to saturate the Russian defenses. We plan to put more warheads on many of our missiles. Of course, with the same number of launch vehicles, the weight per warhead goes down. Thus, MIRV, which increases the number of warheads, does not necessarily increase the total destructive capability of the force.

Q. Dr. Foster, the Russians seem to be putting great emphasis on their huge SS-9 missile. Why?

A. We're not certain, but the most likely reason, which becomes more certain every day, is to knock out our Minuteman missiles. There are four clear indicators to support this conclusion. These relate to the payload, number, accuracy and multiple-warhead characteristics of the Soviet SS-9 missiles. The Soviets have over 300 of these missiles now operational or under construction. The SS-9 can carry a nuclear warhead with a yield of up to 25 megatons. That's many times larger than the largest yield we have on our Minuteman. Certainly it could be used against U.S. cities. However, the U.S. has only a dozen or so cities large enough to require a missile as large as the SS-9, and the Soviets have more than 1,000 other ICBM's to target against our cities.

So, the reason we conclude the SS-9s are being deployed to attack Minutemen is that the SS-9 has by far the best accuracy of any ballistic missile in the Soviet inventory. It is being tested with multiple warheads, and there are strong indications that each warhead will be able to attack a different Minuteman silo. With three warheads per SS-9, they would require a little over 400 SS-9s to knock out all but a small fraction of our Minutemen, and they are still building more SS-9s. With three re-entry vehicles per missile, they could have enough to target every Minuteman by 1974-75.

#### SEVERAL WAYS TO SURVIVE

Q. In the face of that Soviet power, is there any way the U.S. can provide for the survival of a retaliatory force?

A. Yes, there are several ways we can provide for the survival of a significant portion of our Minuteman and bomber force. But no one of these ways is cheap.

The first way for our ICBM's to survive is by active missile defense—an ABM system. The Safeguard system, deployed at four Minuteman base areas, would provide for the survival of a number of Minutemen. As the threat increases, however, more ABM defense will be needed, or fewer Minutemen will survive.

A second way would be to take some of the Minutemen out of their silos, put them on vehicles which upon alert could drive to any one of many hardened shelters—to gain the advantage of the "shell game."

Still another way would be to have the Minuteman placed on alert aircraft based at airfields away from our coasts, which could be airborne before Soviet missiles arrived.

Each of these measures—and others—are in various stages of examination or deployment. The best way for now is to preserve the Safeguard option. Safeguard would also help protect bomber bases that are in danger of surprise missile attack from Russian submarines near our coasts. The full 12-site Safeguard system would provide for the interception of the leading edge of an attack and give the bomber pilots the precious minutes they need to take off. Thus our deterrent would be maintained and credible, and the likelihood of all-out war is less. But the fastest and cheapest way to provide for our future security would be to have an equitable agreement emerge from our discussions with the Soviets.

Q. Some people say the Pentagon ought to move all its missiles out to sea. Do you agree?

A. I do not agree, and for two reasons: First, from time to time, we find potential weaknesses in each of our weapons systems. We have found them in each of three strategic systems—the land-based missile, the sea-based missile and the long-range bomber. For a period of months or even a year or two, one system or another in the past has had faults which would have made them vulnerable to an enemy had he been aware of them. We cannot guarantee this will not continue to occur again and again in the future.

Second, the Polaris submarines could have an Achilles heel, so to speak. While they are

currently judged to be the least vulnerable of our strategic forces—because they are in a sense hidden in the vastness of the oceans—we can't be sure we know everything about what the Soviets are doing to counter their invulnerability.

Our Polaris submarines are quiet enough to be undetected by the Russians most of the time. But the Soviets have an increasing number of submarines, ships and planes "on the prowl." So I don't believe we should risk the security of our nation on any single system which rests on a rapidly changing science and technology and in which there are so many uncertainties.

Q. Can the Russians neutralize U.S. missile subs today?

A. No. Certainly not those at sea. But the Soviets are improving their attack capability, judging from their vigorous work in anti-submarine warfare. The Russians not only have the largest attack-submarine force in the world today, but they are increasing substantially the antisubmarine ability of that force. They've made recent additions, for instance several new classes of high-speed submarines, new cruiser-class surface ships with helicopters, and new equipment on anti-submarine-patrol aircraft.

Q. Are we planning to build newer missile subs?

A. Yes, we are now reviewing several design alternatives. Without a crash program, the earliest we could have a substantial number of new-design ballistic-missile submarines would be by the mid-1980s. By that time, our Polaris submarines will be 20 to 25 years old.

I believe we must design and be ready to deploy a new version like the concept now under study. We call this concept the ULMS—undersea long-range missile system. It would be very much like the Polaris submarine, but would carry larger missiles which would travel greater distances. The Soviets already are testing a long-range missile for submarines that is in the 3,000-mile range. Our ULMS might have an even longer range, so that it would not have to travel so close to the Soviet borders, making it potentially less vulnerable.

#### RED CHINA'S MISSILE PROGRESS

Q. Are the Red Chinese much of a threat yet?

A. No. However, two to three years after they make their first test of an intercontinental ballistic missile, the Red Chinese will be a strategic threat to the U.S.

Q. Has Peking tested an ICBM?

A. Not to our knowledge, but it could come at any time. The Communist Chinese have put a satellite into space with a capable rocket system. Continued development of such a system could give them an ICBM capability. Over all, Chinese missile progress toward an ICBM has been slower than we thought it would be.

Q. Turning to tactical weapons, Dr. Foster, how does the U.S. stand?

A. Well, I already mentioned our problems with conventional sea power. We have an over-age Navy. The Soviets, by contrast, are expanding from largely a coastal-defense force to a global Navy, extending Soviet power to oceans throughout the world. They can increasingly threaten our sea lifelines, particularly to Europe.

We have the same problem of obsolescence in equipment for the Army and Air Force. This is less dramatic because tanks and planes individually cost less than ships, but obsolescence is no less important. The Soviets are impressively active in these fields. For example, although present Allied and Communist manpower and aircraft are about equal in numbers in Europe, the Communists have more tanks and more than twice as many artillery pieces and rocket launchers. And they are rapidly increasing their tactical-aircraft strength and improving in quality.

Q. Is the U.S. behind the Soviet Union in tactical weapons, over all?

A. It's close. Up until two years ago there was no question that the momentum of the Soviet program was greater than ours. For example, Soviet fighter aircraft were increasing in quality while retaining over-all numerical superiority.

The Soviets fly a new-model fighter on an average of every 18 months as a result of their steady pace in research and development.

I feel, though, that with our new F-14 and F-15 jet-fighter programs, we will be in a much better position in this area.

Q. How do U.S. airplanes compare with Soviet fighters?

A. They are quite different. The U.S., with few exceptions, has emphasized design concepts which require good performance at lower and medium altitudes, and thus has concentrated on altitudes of below 40,000 to 50,000 feet. The Soviets, on the other hand, have employed design concepts for high altitudes, so we don't have strict comparability. The Soviets have tended to concentrate on relatively short-range fighters in the past. Because of our obligations abroad and our geography, we have tended to concentrate on longer-range aircraft.

The present trend in the Soviet Union, however, is toward larger and longer-range fighters. They have a very high-altitude, high-speed aircraft that we call the Foxbat. It is based on a level of technology that is equal to our best in many respects. We have nothing comparable to that, and don't plan one.

They also have a new improved MIG-21 that's been flying in Egypt which seems to have eliminated some of the serious deficiencies that we noted in the earlier versions flown over North Vietnam.

However, we think our F-14 and F-15—and their weapons—will be able to cope with both the Foxbat and the new versions of the MIG's.

#### TARGET DATES FOR NEW U.S. PLANES

Q. How soon will these newer American planes be ready?

A. We expect to have flights of the Navy's F-14 early next year, with inventory beginning in 1973.

The Air Force F-15 will have its first flights in the 1972-73 period, and inventory deliveries beginning two to three years later.

These planes will not necessarily be faster than ones we have today. But in battling other fighters, higher supersonic speed is not as important as being able to have high acceleration, hard maneuvering capabilities, and most important of all, weapons that work reliably, and more effectively. I expect the F-14 and F-15 to have those characteristics.

Q. Are there any weapons being developed for our ground forces to offset the enemy's superiority of numbers?

A. Yes. One of the most promising developments in Vietnam that might apply to Europe or elsewhere in the future is the use of sensors. In ground warfare the single most serious deficiency is in our ability to find out where the enemy is and to know whether or not we have been successful in attacking him. These sensors are small packages of electronics which tell the field commanders what is going on in their vicinity. The sensors can be put in place by hand or dropped from aircraft. They can report to our operators the sounds and seismic disturbance caused by people walking, or by trucks or tanks in the area, the presence of metal objects and so on.

Also, we are doing well in armed helicopters, guided air-to-air and air-to-ground ordnance and night-vision equipment.

Q. How do you destroy a tank when the sensors find one?

A. The sensor information is sent to an antitank force. We have gone heavily into the missile approach. The Tow and Shillelagh missiles—the first for use on the ground and the second from helicopters—have a first-

class capability against tanks. These missiles can destroy tanks from 100 yards to a mile away.

Q. Are any new weapons being developed or produced for the individual soldier?

A. Yes, a number of important individual weapons are coming along. For instance, there is surveillance radar and other sensors for the soldiers, better communications, grenade launchers and antitank weapons. The soldiers are getting light armor for their personal protection, and the wounded are getting faster, greatly improved care. Some of our techniques of quick medical care are being tried now by civilian agencies in the United States, in co-operation with the Department of Defense. Important to the soldier also is the fact that food at the battlefield is much improved.

#### UNPLEASANT SURPRISES FROM RUSSIA

Q. Dr. Foster, what is the outlook for the Pentagon's getting more money for defense research and development?

A. As Secretary Laird has said, we presented "a rock-bottom, bare-bones budget." We are making every possible effort to persuade the Congress to restore as much as we can of the half-billion-dollar cut currently under consideration by the Congress, to our research-and-development program for fiscal year 1971. I believe that the Congress will restore at least a portion of the cut.

However, it seems to me that it is not likely that our level of defense research-and-development effort will increase significantly in the next few years if present trends in this country continue. It is more probable that the level will decrease. I believe that this fact, coupled with a larger and rising Soviet effort, will increase the risk to the security of the free world.

We are making a serious and conscientious effort to obtain an equitable settlement at the SALT, but this could take years. In the interim we must not neglect our developments and deployments.

We are doing the very best we can to improve our management of ongoing programs—to remove some of the reasons for congressional criticism.

I don't know whether or not we will receive increased funds in the future. Events and our ability to communicate the crucial need for congressional and public support will decide that. But to put it bluntly, the Soviets may force us to spend more. They are likely to go beyond their present capabilities and produce surprises that will be unpleasant for us, hopefully not disastrous—sputniks, not Pearl Harbors.

Our challenge is so to structure our research-and-development efforts for the '70's that the likelihood of sputniks or Pearl Harbors will be minimized.

#### SAVANNAH RIVER PLANT

### HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the South Carolina-Georgia Nuclear Council recently met to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the announcement of the site for the Atomic Energy Commission's Savannah River Plant. Guest speaker for the commemorative dinner was Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

This was truly a memorable event, since this magnificent facility has meant

so much to our area, as well as to the Nation. This great plant has made many contributions to the military security of the United States and it continues to make fantastic advances in the field of peaceful application of nuclear technology. Dr. Seaborg's address splendidly describes these contributions.

In no small measure the progress of the Savannah River Plant, as well as the economic development of the entire Central Savannah River Valley, has been due to the positive attitudes of the area's citizens with respect to the development of nuclear technology. An outstanding example of this forward-looking thinking is the South Carolina-Georgia Nuclear Council, under the leadership of Chairman James D. McNair and Vice Chairman Sherman Drawdy. This public-minded organization is to be commended for sponsoring this anniversary event.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to represent in the Congress the area so closely connected with the Savannah River Plant. This facility, together with the new Duke Power Co. nuclear development in the northern section of the Third Congressional District, will make this district one of the leading centers of the peaceful application of nuclear technology. For that reason we are vitally interested in the continued success of the Savannah River Plant, and of the Atomic Energy Commission under the splendid leadership of Dr. Glenn Seaborg.

I am pleased to include in the RECORD the remarks of Dr. Seaborg at the Dinner of the South Carolina Nuclear Council, December 7, 1970, Augusta, Ga.:

#### THE SAVANNAH RIVER PLANT—A TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

It is a distinct honor and a pleasure to join this gathering in celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Atomic Energy Commission's Savannah River Plant.

As its very able manager, Nat Stetson carries a heavy responsibility for the plant today represents an investment of some \$1.3 billion, with a total of about 5,800 Federal and contractor employees and an annual budget of \$116 million. I need not add that this facility is an important part of the economy of Georgia and South Carolina and an indispensable part of AEC's operations.

When one considers anniversaries, it is usually in the context of marriage, and whoever originated the symbols for such yearly celebrations has devised an interesting list of materials for gifts that increase in value as you get older.

So we find that the proper gift for a couple married one year should be made of paper; for 10 years, of tin; and for 20 years, of China. Now a collection of Wedgewood china might seem like an expensive and impressive present. But in fact Savannah River is producing a product on its own that outranks in value all the materials on the list, even the diamonds appropriate to a 75th anniversary.

I refer, of course, to californium-252, a radioisotope that holds such great promise. When we announced the availability of this rare isotope for the first time two years ago, the price was \$450 billion a pound—if a pound had been available. Fortunately, in californium we have, in Christopher Marlowe's phrase, "infinite riches in a little room," and one needs only microscopic amounts to put it to work. My point is that any gift we might present on this anniversary would seem modest indeed beside the value of what the Savannah River Plant is contributing to the nation.

Perhaps looking back down the corridors of history, 20 years seems insignificant as a period of time. What counts are the events which occur in any given era. And the past two decades was certainly a period packed with significant change.

To appreciate that era and this anniversary let us revert briefly to 1950. Where were you and what was going on 20 years ago when the decision was made to build the Savannah River facility? In that year, Harry Truman was President. Hopalong Cassidy was the top star on television. Fifty-cent pieces were plentiful. The Dodgers were in Brooklyn and the Giants were in Manhattan. The Atlanta Falcons did not exist, and even if they did, you couldn't see them on color television because it wasn't around either.

In 1950, the Supreme Court said in a historic ruling that under the Fifth Amendment no one could be forced to testify against himself. And on November 28, 1950, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission took a major step with the announcement of a site in South Carolina to build a facility which over the course of two decades has not only contributed substantially to the defense of the U.S. but has also produced other nuclear materials beneficial in industry, medicine and agriculture.

To obtain the full flavor of the events and decisions which led to the November 28, 1950, announcement, we must go back to September 3, 1949. The events of that day and the subsequent developments have much drama.

"It is not given to human beings," Winston Churchill once wrote, "to foresee or predict to any large extent the unfolding course of events. In one phase, man seems to have been right, in another he seems to have been wrong. Then again, a few years later, when the perspective of time has lengthened, all stands in a different setting, there is a new proportion. There is another scale of values."

On Saturday, September 3, 1949, a new scale of values began developing for the United States. In Washington on that day, the U.S. Senate set a new record for short sessions when it succeeded in assembling and adjourning in forty seconds. Like others, the senators were anxious to leave the Capitol for the Labor Day weekend. By late afternoon most of the central city was deserted. Even the traffic on Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House had subsided to a few automobiles. On G Street, just west of the Executive Mansion, the office buildings were empty except for a few guards and an unlucky group of Air Force officers and enlisted men who had drawn duty on the last holiday of the summer. As the slanting rays of the afternoon sun pierced the clouds, the staccato rhythm of a teletype machine broke the drowsiness. No one suspected the report sputtering from the machine would set in motion a chain of events placing on the Atomic Energy Commission and other segments of the U.S. Government a burden of extraordinary decisions. For the tangle of events of the next five months recorded more than a political struggle; they seem to involve the very destiny of man.

The teletype report alerted the headquarters of the Air Force's Long Range Detection System that a WB-29 weather reconnaissance plane on routine patrol from Japan to Alaska had picked up some measurable radioactivity.

By Monday morning, September 5, there was enough additional information to spoil the holiday for most of the Long Range Detection staff. Reports of substantially higher counts of radioactivity began coming in. With the assistance of the British, who checked the radioactive air mass as it preceded east, officials were convinced that the Soviet Union indeed had detonated a nuclear device.

The event was determined to be a successful test explosion by the Soviet Union of its first atomic bomb. The news was announced

to the American public by President Truman on September 23.

The Russian explosion, narrowing, as it did, the superiority of the United States in the atomic field, prompted President Truman, as he announced the confirmation, to remark privately that "this means we have no time left."

In Washington, on November 9, 1949, when the first formal official step was taken to bring order out of the chaos of dispute, the day was cloudless and pleasant.

At five o'clock on that afternoon, a top secret document was dispatched to the White House by the Atomic Energy Commission. Having reviewed the recommendations, President Truman on November 19 directed a letter to the Secretary of the National Security Council appointing a committee composed of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission to study further the Commission's conclusions and suggest steps that should be taken by the White House.

Within several weeks, the Committee voted to recommend that the United States proceed with a nuclear effort, and the ensuing months brought an intensive study by the Atomic Energy Commission of the problems involved in construction of a plant to produce materials needed for a thermonuclear device.

On June 12, 1950, the Commission approached the Du Pont Company, which had built the plutonium factories in the State of Washington during World War II, to consider a contract for the construction of reactors of a new design to produce the necessary materials. Within a few days, Du Pont had in its possession a letter from the President urging it to participate in the interest of national security. And on August 1, Du Pont signed a contract with the Commission to proceed with the design, construction and operation of nuclear reactors that could produce materials important to the Nation's defense.

Meanwhile, the Commission had requested the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, to aid in a survey of a new production site and the acquisition of land once a site was chosen. On June 29, the Commission, Du Pont and the U.S. Corps of Engineers, formally began the site survey.

When the Commission announced on August 2, 1950, that Du Pont had agreed to a contract to design, construct and operate new atomic facilities it stated the work would be done at a "site yet to be selected." This statement brought to the offices of the Commission between that date and October 15 more than 1,100 letters from interested Americans with recommendations for 147 different sites.

Finally, Du Pont, the Commission and the Corps of Engineers reviewed the merits of 114 potential sites in nearly every section of the country. The list was eventually pared to seven. And in early November a final decision was made.

On November 17, Gordon Dean, then Chairman of the Commission, went to the White House to advise the President of the decision. The President looked at a map of the proposed site of more than 200,000 acres that was to be taken over, asked whether a less populated area might not be found, and instinctively pointed out the hardships to be faced by communities such as Ellenton and Dunbarton.

A reluctant "No" came from Mr. Dean. The site best met the criteria that had been established by the Commission and the National Defense Establishment. The criteria for such a site had been carefully worked out by the Commission and Du Pont. First, there was need for great amounts of water to cool the nuclear reactors that were to be built. The Savannah River, one of America's historic rivers and which DeSoto first saw in 1540 when he crossed it just south of Augusta in a search for gold, was considered an

ideal source. Other factors that were considered were a low population area near high population centers, freedom from floods, a satisfactory power supply, accessibility, transportation, the terrain, low incidence of storms, the operating requirements of the plants themselves, and the fact that construction was possible the year round.

November 28, 1950, was unseasonably cold in the Central Savannah River Area. The temperatures had plummeted to below freezing and the weather was in sharp contrast to the news that was in the making. On the day before, a Sunday, a group of Atomic Energy Commission and Du Pont officials from Oak Ridge, Washington and Wilmington, had met in Augusta to put the final touches on plans to announce the beginning of a new era, and then had split up into teams to give the news to officials of cities and communities in the immediate area on the next day. Some persons in the Central Savannah River Area might have known something was in the air, but they were not prepared for this news at 11 a.m. on November 28:

"The United States Atomic Energy Commission today announced its new production plants to be designed, built and operated by the E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company of Wilmington, Delaware, will be located in Aiken and Barnwell counties, South Carolina. The new site will be known as the Savannah River Plant.

"To make way for the plants and the surrounding security and safety zone, it will be necessary for some 1500 families to be relocated in the next 18 months . . ."

Although twenty years have passed and our country has performed great feats in its space program by sending men to the moon, the magnitude of the job of building the Savannah River Plant is still impressive. Not so well known are several interesting sidelights which have become a part of the history of the Savannah River Plant.

How many know, I wonder, of the contributions made during construction by the David brothers—two 4 feet 2 midgets—whose previous claim to fame had been their appearance in the movie *The Wizard of Oz*. They were employed in the Savannah River Projects Pipe Department as welders since they were able to work in cramped quarters that were inaccessible to men of normal size.

Then there was the son of Vachel Lindsay, the famous American poet, who put in a stint as a carpenter and Jim Nabors, the Gomer Pyle of TV, who spent a short time at the plant as a clerk in the early 1950s. In addition, the Savannah River Plant was a lifesaver for a number of sponge divers from Tarpon Springs, Florida. The men, who had run into hard times due to a falling market in sponges, were brought to the Savannah River Plant by a Du Pont subcontractor as painters.

We all appreciate, of course, the immensity of the project that brought nearly 39,000 workers to your area at the peak of construction in September 1952, but only a summary can adequately reflect the tremendous extent of the work. The statistics remain impressive. The materials included:

39,150,000 cubic yards of earth moved; equal to a wall 10 feet high and 6 feet wide from Atlanta, Georgia to Portland, Oregon.

1,453,000 cubic yards of concrete poured; equal to a highway 6 inches thick and 20 feet wide from Atlanta, Georgia to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

118,000 tons of reinforcing steel; equal to 3,300 carloads or a train 30 miles long.

27,000 tons of structural steel; equal to a train 8 miles long.

85,000,000 board feet of lumber; enough for a city of 15,000 homes with an average population of 45,000.

126,000 carloads of other materials; equal to a continuous train from Atlanta, Georgia, to New York City.

52 miles of water line pipe, about 84 inches in diameter.

230 miles of new roads and 63 miles of permanent new railroad track and 2,000,000 blueprints, the latter equal to a strip of paper 24 inches wide reaching from Atlanta, Georgia, to Seattle, Washington.

For assistance in design and construction, Du Pont retained as subcontractors, among other industrial leaders, such well-known firms as Blaw-Knox Company, the Lummus Company, American Machine and Foundry, New York Shipbuilding, Combustion Engineering, B. F. Shaw Company, Johns-Manville and Miller-Dunn Electric.

The translation of these materials into the complex structures and supporting facilities which make up the Savannah River Plant brought traumatic experiences to many citizens—the 1500 families which had to break long ties in moving to new locations, the residents in the surrounding area who had to cope with the influx of thousands of new persons, both in construction and operations, and who had to adjust to changing conditions.

It is a matter of record, however, and this is borne out by Atomic Energy Commission and Du Pont officials familiar with such large construction projects, that the cooperation, the dedication to national purpose and the positive attitudes of the residents of this area during construction and operations were and are the most outstanding of their experience. The public support of the construction and operations of the Savannah River Plant and the interest in plant developments, including those involving peaceful uses of the atom, have been one of the most salutary and rewarding ever experienced by the Atomic Energy Commission. What has impressed the Commission is the confidence shown by the public in the integrity of the personnel who operate the plant and in the positive programs that are maintained to protect the health of the environment. There are, indeed, environmental considerations in the control and containment of radiation, but the public in this area appreciates that every effort is made to operate in a safe and constructive manner and that meticulous, continuing attention is given such programs. On behalf of the Atomic Energy Commission, I would like to extend an expression of appreciation for your support, cooperation and understanding.

The competence and dedication of the Du Pont Company in the design, construction and operation of the Savannah River Plant have indeed been noteworthy. The Company has given meticulous attention to assignment of some of its most capable administrators and technical personnel to plant programs.

For example, former President Crawford H. Greenewalt, now Chairman Emeritus of the Board of Directors, was, from the beginning, personally involved in studies and planning for the project. Assignments in the organization set up by the Company to oversee operations of the facilities included such outstanding men as Dr. R. Monte Evans, Dr. William H. Mackey and Lombard Squires, all of whom spent considerable time on the site in meeting construction and operations schedules. The travel they and their associates logged on round trips from Wilmington and to the plant site totaled thousands of miles and thousands of hours.

In operating one of the world's most complex facilities, Du Pont has efficiently discharged its responsibilities. The Company has consistently met, or exceeded, schedules for delivery of nuclear products for national defense, has continuously worked on, and brought about, improvements in plant processes and operations, has generated economies that have resulted in savings of the taxpayers' dollars and has worked assiduously to develop projects to most effectively realize the potential of the atom for peaceful purposes and maintain the health and vitality of operations.

In two other areas of interest, the Company has achieved safety records that are nationally and internationally recognized and has encouraged its employees to participate in every aspect of community activity and development. The staffs at the Savannah River Plant—Du Pont and the Atomic Energy Commission—are to be commended for the leadership and interest they have shown in community progress and uplift.

Among those who have set the tone for community relations and participation in civic activities are Don A. Miller, first Plant Manager, Julian Ellett and Jay Monier, who in turn succeeded him, all of Du Pont, and Curtis A. Nelson, first AEC Manager at the site, and Robert C. Blair and Nat Stetson, who followed him, plus Gus O. Robinson and Howard Kilburn of the AEC. They have been joined by Dr. Milton H. Wahl, first Director of the Savannah River Laboratory and his successors, Bill Overbeck, Frank Kruesi, and Dr. Clark Ice, and by Robert K. Mason, first construction manager at the site and his successors.

In addition, they have endeavored at all times to keep the public promptly and adequately informed. As a result, the public has confidence and faith in the integrity of management and in the programs that are carried on.

The record of our contractor, the Du Pont Company and the Commission's Savannah River Operations Office in effectively pursuing new ways to utilize the large investment at Savannah River constitutes an outstanding chapter in the story of nuclear energy and we would expect that the coming years will bring new and useful achievements for the American public.

The coming of the Savannah River Plant to this area set the base for acceleration of industrial development that has made the Central Savannah River Area one of the Nation's most dynamic sections, reflecting outstanding cooperation between the residents of two states, who take advantage of a river as a State line rather than allowing it to isolate their interests. An example of such cooperation is, of course, the formation of the South Carolina-Georgia Nuclear Council, organized in 1967, which has as its objectives "maintenance, on behalf of the counties and communities within the vicinity of the Savannah River Plant, of the furtherance of continued economic progress of South Carolina and Georgia" and "serving as a focal point for expressing the interest and cooperation of the various communities in the development of peacetime atomic energy projects both on and outside the confines of the Savannah River Plant." The Council has effectively helped to create in the public's mind an appreciation of the constructive programs of the plant.

During the 20 years since the announcement of the site for the Savannah River Plant, the U.S. Government has contributed approximately three billion dollars to the economy of this area through plant construction and operations, and new industries such as Owens-Corning Fiberglass, Pyle National, Kimberly-Clark, Olin Industries, Columbia Nitrogen, Proctor and Gamble, Continental Can, American Cryogenics, Du Pont and others, have created new jobs and new opportunities.

The most recent addition to the growing list of industries is Allied-Gulf Nuclear Services which will construct a \$70 million nuclear fuel reprocessing facility in Barnwell County adjacent to the Savannah River Plant. In connection with this development, there is no doubt that the positive attitude of residents of this area on nuclear programs was one of the compelling factors leading to the selection of the site. Furthermore, with Barnwell County taking title from the U.S. Government to an additional 900 acres bordering the 1587-acre Allied-Gulf site, the way is open to possibly attract other nuclear-related activity. I understand that

the Council is planning to further develop the concept of a nuclear center. The future could be most rewarding for the entire Central Savannah River Area in both South Carolina and Georgia.

Mankind's growing concern for his environment has opened new avenues of usefulness for the Savannah River Plant with its vast acreage of woods and waters. The Commission is pleased that the site has become the locale for ecological studies that will undoubtedly uncover useful information for both nuclear and non-nuclear industries. These types of studies are being pursued at the Savannah River Ecology Laboratory, operated for the Commission by the University of Georgia. Du Pont also is active in this field of activity at the Plant.

You are aware, of course, that the Savannah River Plant is still involved in the production of materials for the national defense. What is heartening for the future, however, is the continued utilization of the versatile nuclear reactors here for the production of materials that will directly benefit humanity. The Savannah River Plant is destined to play a continuing significant role in the constructive development of nuclear energy.

No history of the Savannah River Plant would be complete without mention of a major step forward in 1965 when one of its reactors reached a sustained neutron flux of record proportions. This flux totaled 6.1 quadrillion neutrons per square centimeter per second. To give you an idea of the achievement, this was more than 100 times the flux in most nuclear power reactors.

The significance of this accomplishment was that it opened the way for production of isotopes of very high specific activity, for production of man-made elements heavier than uranium which have important research potential, and for the speed-up in production of special radioactive isotopes.

The potential for good that is inherent in such materials as californium-252, plutonium-238, cobalt-60, and curium-244 is tremendous. With capabilities not found elsewhere, the Savannah River Plant has played a unique role in nuclear development through its production programs. The plant produced the first commercial quantities of plutonium-238 and curium-244, the first significant quantities of californium-252, and is the principal source of high intensity cobalt-60. The plant has set an enviable record in responding to national needs. In the future, its reactors can be expected to meet Commission requirements with the same degree of competence and with the same dedication to safety that has always marked past and present operations.

At the beginning of my remarks I mentioned the great monetary value of a small amount of the heavy element radioisotope, californium-252, produced at the Savannah River Plant. The true value of this isotope is yet to be appreciated in terms of its uses to mankind. The uniqueness of californium-252 as an investigative and research tool is expected to bring a variety of beneficial applications such as improving health, upgrading industrial products, increasing energy reserves and expanding the nation's supply of valuable metals. Californium-252 can be used in cancer research and treatment, in industry, space exploration, general scientific research, civil engineering, agriculture, mineral exploration and hydrology and petroleum exploration.

It is apparent that the unique properties of californium-252 already have been widely recognized. Since the AEC announced its market evaluation program for this isotope in June 1969, the Savannah River Operations Office has received more than 2,000 requests for information on its potential uses.

Californium-252 has two characteristics that make it especially valuable. First, it lasts a reasonably long time compared with other isotopes. It has a half-life of 2.6 years.

That means we can ship it to hospitals and industries with the assurance that it will not quickly fade away before it can be put to work.

Second, this isotope emits a prodigious quantity of neutrons, the submicroscopic "bullets" which cause the splitting of uranium atoms in atomic furnaces. A tiny quantity of californium, just one curie of it weighing about 2 milligrams, emits almost as many neutrons per square centimeter per second as a reactor. It is for this reason that californium has been called a "hip-pocket reactor."

The advantages of this portability are immediately apparent. With such a compact and lightweight source, hospitals no longer need to send cancer patients to an accelerator or reactor for neutron irradiation but can treat them in their own buildings. And other users will find its diminutive size equally advantageous.

The list of applications for this new product continues to grow. The U.S. Department of Agriculture Sedimentation Laboratory is planning to use californium-252 to evaluate its potential in measuring moisture and density of soils and for chemical analysis of certain elements in the soils. At Kansas State University, californium may help cope with a new environmental problem. The material is being evaluated there for quantitative analysis of mercury and other toxic materials in commercially processed food.

Several hospitals in the United States are testing californium-252 for use in the treatment of cancer; the material is also being used in well logging to locate oil and gas reserves, and in programs to locate gold and silver underground and minerals on the ocean floor. In another area, californium-252 is being used in a metering device to measure the sulfur content of coal as it moves on a conveyor belt. The objective is to reduce air pollution, since sulfur is a prime contaminating element. If sulfur in coal can be reduced or eliminated, cleaner air and better health will result.

Sources of californium-252 fabricated by the Savannah River Laboratory are now being loaned to 26 commercial firms and private institutions. In addition to the loan program, californium-252 has now been placed on sale, more broadly, since larger quantities will be available at a reduced price in early 1971 through a special production program in one of the Savannah River Plant reactors. The larger quantities I mention consist of a total supply of about one gram or 1/28 of an ounce.

Another important isotope made here at the Savannah River Plant is plutonium-238. Plutonium-238 holds great promise as an energy source for a nuclear-powered cardiac pacemaker. Such a pacemaker, using material produced at Savannah River, was successfully implanted in a dog in 1969 at the National Heart Institute at Bethesda, Maryland. Scientists hope that the nuclear-powered pacemaker will eventually replace battery operated devices currently used by about 20,000 persons, in addition to about 5,000 new patients incapacitated by heart block who receive pacemakers each year. The nuclear pacemaker is about two-thirds the size of a pack of cigarettes and weighs about three-and-a-half ounces, and its longer life gives it a greater advantage over the battery operated pacemaker which must have its implanted batteries replaced by a surgical procedure every few years. Nuclear-powered pacemakers have already been implanted in human patients in France and England.

The Savannah River Plant also has contributed to research on a nuclear-powered artificial heart. In cooperation with the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, plutonium-238 prepared in one of the Savannah River reactors has been refined and encapsulated as a heat source for such a device. If successful, the program would make a significant contribution to extending the life of heart

patients, for physicians have estimated that more than 10,000 artificial hearts could be used annually in the United States alone.

The same radioisotope that would power an artificial heart is already supplying power in space. Both Apollo 11 and Apollo 12 astronauts left several scientific devices on the moon which use plutonium-238 as a heat and power source. Through the services of such devices scientists are learning more about the history and make-up of the moon. The material is also being used as sources of electric power in weather satellites that will enable scientists to give us more accurate, long-range weather forecasts.

Two other useful products produced at the Savannah River Plant, cobalt-60 and curium-244, have potential for space heating in remote frigid locations as well as underseas habitats, and as sources of electric or mechanical power in space, terrestrial and underseas environments.

All these are products of the Savannah River Plant and all are products with a future. We have seen only the beginning of the age in which their many uses will be applied and their benefits to mankind realized.

So the twenty years of this great nuclear age facility, whose anniversary we now celebrate, have been only a prologue to a fascinating story yet to unfold. We can be proud of what we have built here. And we are grateful to all of you who have helped build and operate this important plant. Now we must focus on the future with the same determination and dedication that has brought us this far. It will not be a future without its share of obstacles, its demand for hard work, perseverance, imagination and innovation. But the Savannah River Plant provides a good background and a good base on which to build that future. I hope that twenty years hence we can again gather to celebrate an anniversary of this plant and that at that time we can look back on an even greater era of progress than that which we are privileged to celebrate today.

#### NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE CORPS

### HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, December 7, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, November 29, 1970, The New York Times carried an article concerning a medical clinic being operated by volunteers in Calexico, Calif., for the primary benefit of poor Mexican-American children in the Mexicali and Imperial Valleys.

I believe that this article is of particular interest since the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has just reported out a bill (H.R. 19860) to create a National Health Service Corps. Similar legislation was passed unanimously earlier this year by the Senate. I testified in favor of this legislation before the Subcommittee on Public Health and Welfare on November 24, 1970, and am greatly encouraged by the prompt action by the committee.

Mr. Speaker, the Calexico clinic is an example of the sort of facility which might be developed by the National Health Service Corps. I hope that this legislation will be placed on the House calendar as soon as possible.

The New York Times article follows:

#### VOLUNTEERS RUN CLINIC ON BORDER

CALEXICO, CALIF., November 28—When Marta Ortega, daughter of a cotton picker in Mexicali, was six years old, her parents wrapped her in a white shroud and a priest administered the last rites. The Mexican child was dying from a spinal tumor.

With her mattress as a stretcher, she was lifted into a private plane and flown the 225 miles to Orthopedic Hospital in Los Angeles. Now, at 13, Marta is a pretty, healthy and grateful school girl.

Among her nine brothers and sisters are Roberto five, and Barbarita, seven, named for the couple who started Calexico's Valley Orthopedic Clinic, Dr. Robert B. Nichols, assistant director of rehabilitation at Orthopedic Hospital, and his wife, Barbara.

Marta is one of nearly 3,000 children of the Mexicali and Imperial Valleys helped by the clinic since its unplanned beginning in 1961.

Operated on volunteer contributions of time and money, the clinic will receive next Thursday the \$5,000 1970 Lane Bryant Volunteer Award for the most outstanding community service performed by a group. The presentation will be made at a luncheon in the Plaza Hotel in New York City.

#### MAJOR ITEMS OF EXPENSE

The money, according to Mrs. Nichols, will be used for the clinic's major items of expense—corrective shoes, X-ray film and plaster.

Dr. Nichols first went to Calexico after a friend suggested that he "pick out" needy patients who could be accepted by Orthopedic Hospital in Los Angeles, a free or part-free facility for youngsters under 21 with orthopedic problems.

Polio, almost a forgotten disease in the United States, remains a problem in Mexico's 450,000 population in the Mexicali Valley. When the doctor arrived in the United States Immigration Service office, 236 Mexican children were waiting to be examined.

"We thought we were seeing every crippled child in Mexico," said Mrs. Nichols, who dropped out of medical school to bring up the couple's four children. "They came on burros and in wheelbarrows and in grocery carts. We finished at 2 A.M."

The immigration officer, Wayne Van de Graaff, and his wife, Josephine, volunteered to help the Nichols continue the weekend clinic, now housed in the top story of a donated building in Calexico.

Another key volunteer in the clinic's efforts is Dr. Charles LeRoy Lowman, Orthopedic Hospital's 90-year-old founder. His hospital sets aside 10 free beds for use by clinic patients and assigns three of its residents to assist Dr. Nichols in the Saturday examinations.

The doctor and his wife, both licensed pilots, have enlisted the San Fernando Valley Airmen's Association as a flying ambulance service.

The city of Calexico has donated a \$200,000 parcel of land on which the clinic plans to build the Valley Orthopedic Center. The center will include out-patient facilities and a 50-bed hospital where some surgery can be performed.

#### A CHEAP FOOD POLICY WILL HURT OUR COUNTRY

### HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, I was most happy to receive a copy of a letter one of my constituents, R. M. Feig, of the Farmers' State Bank of Raymond, sent to the Kiplinger Washington editors.

Mr. Feig shows a clear understanding of the problems of agriculture and the effect of low farm prices on the balance of our economy.

With your permission, I insert his letter in the RECORD and recommend its reading to my colleagues:

DECEMBER 2, 1970.

The KIPLINGER WASHINGTON EDITORS,  
Washington, D.C.

Re: Kiplinger Agricultural Letter, November 27, 1970.

GENTLEMEN: In your newsletter referred to above, in paragraph 2, you stated: "Less than 10% of all voters are farmers, or from farm families."

Technically, this may be correct; however, if you consider the number of people living in small towns of under 10,000, in the rural areas of America, then you are talking about 35% of the people in the U.S.A. As anybody knows, those of us living in small towns are directly affected by farm prices, as our whole economy is based on farmers.

I wish you would point out that the "Cheap Food" policies of President Nixon and of the previous presidents, hurts about one-third of the people in our country, directly, and if we are hurt economically, then we, in turn, will not have the purchasing power to buy the items produced and sold in the urban areas, so that in the total picture, a "Cheap Food" policy hurts the whole country.

We in the rural areas need the help and understanding of the economists of the eastern urban areas. Farming is the "basic" industry of our country; it provides more "New Health" to our country than any other industry. Did you ever stop to think that a farmer plants four kernels of corn, and produces from those four kernels about 1000 kernels of corn? This means 996 kernels of "New Wealth" for our country. If you consider the transformation of: Hay into milk, grain into beef, pork and eggs, seed grain into harvested grain, the total of the "New Wealth" staggers the imagination.

A "Cheap Food" policy will hurt our country, but a "Good Farm Price" policy will help our country.

I hope that you can understand what I'm talking about and will study the situation, and if you agree with me, maybe you will help to influence the proper people, to change our "Farm" policy.

Thanks for anything you can do.

Yours very truly,

R. M. FEIG,  
Executive Vice President.

#### APPRECIATION DAY

### HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, unbelievable as it sounds, more than 641 policemen have been killed since 1960 in the United States, over 80 of them this year—and the rate of violence is climbing.

Police are not the only public safety personnel who are victims. Many firemen find themselves attacked by snipers when they arrive at a fire.

When those who are responsible for protecting citizens from violence and fire—our police and firemen—are attacked by extremists, I believe that the foundation of civilization is in jeopardy.

Those who are found guilty should be severely punished, but the cooperation of

the public is also imperative. Too many citizens are either apathetic, or too frightened to cooperate with the police—and that only encourages those who commit the violence.

But, Mr. Speaker, the cooperation of the public is not the only requirement. Its appreciation is also needed. That is why the National Committee for Responsible Patriotism, headed by Charles W. Wiley, of Sayreville, N.J., is holding Appreciation Day on December 15 to show citizens' appreciation of the police and firemen who protect us 24 hours a day.

A great patriot, Wiley launched Operation Gratitude on December 5, when a motorcade traveled to Washington, D.C., but the climax will take place on Tuesday, December 15, when Appreciation Day will be held. Mr. Wiley should be commended not only for his deep interest in the safety of citizens and police and firemen, but for his dynamic leadership. He is an outstanding American who has a great love for his country.

I hope that every citizen who values and appreciates the vital, but unheralded work of police and firemen, will show their support next Tuesday. The courage and dedication of our police and firemen make it possible for citizens to live and work in safety 365 days a year. Those who want to show that they care about our police and firemen, and that they appreciate them, have a real opportunity to do so on Tuesday, December 15.

On Appreciation Day, there will be a nationwide moment of silence at noon in honor of all who have fallen defending our civilization on the home front. Other activities on that day: fly the American flag; drive with headlights on during daylight hours; and ring church bells for 5 minutes from 11:55 a.m.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that every person who appreciates the police and firemen of America will observe Appreciation Day. But we should appreciate them every day in the year.

IT MATTERS LITTLE IF WE SAVE  
SOME MONEY AND, IN THE PROC-  
ESS, LOSE OUR COUNTRY

### HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, someone once said that control of the seas of the world will go to that country which demonstrates superiority, in submarine strength and that because approximately two-thirds of the world's surface is water, it follows that the country which controls the waters of the globe also will control the land.

In this respect, it is indeed disturbing to realize that, as reported in a recent issue of the Liberty Lowdown, Russia has the greatest submarine fleet of historical record. It has a fleet of 350 submarines, with 80 of these being of the nuclear-power type.

It is further stated that the most recent Soviet Polaris-type submarine can discharge some 16 ballistic missiles, and these have a range of about 1,300 miles.

It is understood that the Russians are testing another ballistic missile that can be fired over a range of 3,000 miles, a candidate for inclusion in the already powerful Soviet submarine fleet.

It is equally disturbing to realize that, as pointed out by Liberty Lowdown, according to current construction schedules, the Russian fleet of modern Y-class ballistic missile submarines will overtake the United States fleet of 41 Polaris submarines sometime either in 1973 or 1974.

This is an alarming situation, and American defense authorities, both in the Congress and in the executive department, must concentrate their attention immediately on this serious situation and endeavor to correct it.

To give America a strong submarine posture will, of course, be costly, but it must be recognized that such expenditures are in the interest of our national security and, as such, are not costs but, instead, investments.

The evil of inflation is upon us, and because Federal budgets have a dynamic impact with respect to our domestic economy, we must exert every effort to keep down the costs of Government operation. We must be careful, however, in how we concern ourselves with economy where it relates to our national security, for it matters little if we save some money and, in the process, lose our country.

#### THE SON TAY RAID

### HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, much comment has been generated about the Son Tay raid, a topic which is still current. In my belief, the vast majority of the American people are deeply grateful that the administration had the courage to execute this raid, and I do not think that any one will hold the administration responsible for the fact that the prison camp was empty when the mission arrived.

In these thoughts, I am joined by one of the leading newspapers of South Carolina, The State newspaper, published in Columbia. In an excellent lead editorial of December 4, 1970, the State said:

Most Americans will be prepared to excuse the Defense Department for having tried to free the prisoners at Son Tay, even if the attempt failed. And when the Defense Department's critics become as alarmed about American prisoners as they are about the efforts to free them, perhaps significant world opinion can be aroused in their behalf.

Mr. President, I commend the editor of the State for this objective and careful analysis, and I include this editorial in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

REACTION TO RESCUE RAID SHOULD GRATIFY  
COMMUNISTS

So shocked was the querulous Senator Fulbright at news of the Son Tay raid that he could scarcely credit his ears.

And *The Washington Post*, after deliberating overnight, concluded that the raid "can hardly enhance the prospects of a negotiated release" of the American prisoners of war.

Columnists Frank Mankiewicz and Tom Braden, with characteristic clarity, put the whole operation down as a callous political trick whereby the Nixon men hoped to lay up a few headline Wallace votes for 1972.

It is depressing. It is more than depressing. Despite pious disclaimers, one senses instinctively that some of the critics—not all of them, but an appreciable number—privately would have felt betrayed had the operation succeeded. Their smug twaddle, tirelessly proclaimed, would have been abruptly cut off. It is suggestive that when the mission failed, they expressed no regrets. Their instant impulse was to gloat and, in some cases, to seek partisan advantage.

Well, then, what about the Sontay raid? This about it: the mission failed because the Communists, probably having been tipped off by one of their numerous agents in Saigon, moved the prisoners to a safer compound. Such miscalculations do occur, though the uncertainty of daring enterprises is better known to those who run the risks than to those who stand safely on the sidelines wringing immaculate hands.

This is not to say that the raid should never have been attempted. The Secretary of Defense had been informed by U.S. intelligence that at least six Americans recently had died in the hands of their captors. He felt that something had to be done besides talking about a "negotiated release." President Nixon offered the enemy a prisoner exchange two months ago, and nothing came of it. Secretary Laird, weighing one thing with another, decided it was time to act.

If the Defense Department is to be faulted, it is for failing to act soon enough. But acting at all in Vietnam—or at least acting so as to inconvenience the Communists—has become politically hazardous. And before condemning the Administration, its critics might examine the question of why this is so. They will discover, if they approach the question honestly, that it is so precisely because those who are grousing now about the Sontay mission groused in the past about bombing the enemy. They groused about refusing to negotiate, and about "collaborating" with a government in Saigon which, they never cease observing, falls short of that state of perfection demanded, as William F. Buckley Jr. once noted, by graduate students in political science at Harvard.

The fact remains that the enemy continues to hold an unspecified number of Americans prisoner. The enemy refuses to comply with the minimum requirements of the Geneva Convention on the treatment of prisoners. The enemy is known to have abused these Americans, to have tortured them, to have denied them medical treatment—in short, to have dealt with them in a cruel and barbarous fashion.

This being the case, most Americans will be prepared to excuse the Defense Department for having tried to free the prisoners at Sontay, even if the attempt failed. And when the Defense Department's critics become as alarmed about American prisoners as they are about the efforts to free them, perhaps significant world opinion can be aroused in their behalf.

#### BANNED IN RUSSIA

### HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, as some of the fainthearted in our country set about

to make sure that our writers, lecturers, and artists are pristine pure before they may be allowed to write or lecture or speak, it is significant how much these fainthearted have in common with those in the Soviet Union who also worry about the dissenters in their midst, particularly among their writers.

Arthur Miller, a distinguished American playwright who has frequently found himself blacklisted and condemned by some of the zealots in this country, now finds himself blacklisted in the Soviet Union. His offense is that he sided with some of the dissenters within Russia. Presumably now our own blacklisters will add to their list anyone who sides with the banished in this country. And so the ugly circle is complete.

The action against Mr. Miller and his comments is particularly timely since one of our own committees seems so determined to set up a new list which includes some writers and others who are not favored by the committee. While Mr. Miller does not make the current list, he has made past lists of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Is not the irony of the similarity of methods of blacklisting enough to cause us to end the practice?

Mr. Miller's comments "Banned in Russia," as they appeared in the December 10 New York Times, follow:

#### BANNED IN RUSSIA

(By Arthur Miller)

One day the Soviet cellist, Mtslavl Rostropovich, gallantly declares that he will continue to stand by his old friend, Aleksandr Solzhenitzyn: a few days later Solzhenitzyn writes Stockholm that he dares not come out to receive his Nobel Prize today lest he be prohibited from re-entering his own country.

If it is possible to be shocked without being surprised, that is what I was. For I could not forget that Solzhenitzyn's works have never brought charges against the current regime but only against that of Stalin. Yet, with all my sympathy for Solzhenitzyn he was, after all, far away. Then I read the dispatch from Moscow reporting that all my plays are banned henceforth from the stages of the Soviet Union, and a television production of "The Price" canceled. In an instant the world shrinks to a room.

If Solzhenitzyn had confined his attacks to Stalin, my plays had not even dealt with Soviet problems. In fact, some have been popular in the Soviet Union through all kinds of political weather for twenty years. To what do they owe their sudden noxiousness? Ironic parallels sprung across my mind—once blacklisted in my own country I was now blacklisted in Russia. Comrades, shake hands with the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

This ban on my work was explained as part of a new campaign to liquidate ideological slackness and stop the infiltration of liberal ideas into literary and scientific thinking.

I assume that the diktat against my works stemmed from official displeasure with a preface I wrote for "In Russia," a book of photographs by my wife, Inge Morath. The preface was attacked a few months ago as anti-Soviet. What strikes me is that neither the attack nor the ban on my plays was necessary. They need merely have ceased producing my work, and since "In Russia" has been published in the Soviet Union what led them to bother reviewing it.

The answer, I am afraid, is that they have chosen to use me to warn the others. I never joined in the popular anti-Soviet crusade of the Fifties; I opposed the Vietnam

war from the outset, and said so; as President of International P.E.N., I led its campaign to establish P.E.N. Centers in the Soviet Union (an effort which failed in the final analysis because the Soviet Writers Union could not accept the P.E.N. Constitution which pledges its members to fight censorship). But on the whole I was at least not an enemy, despite such "failings" as protesting against their treatment of Jews, and writing to the Government to ease the treatment of Sinyavsky, Daniel and Solzhenitzyn.

As for "In Russia"—it rejects certain Soviet fundamentals—but also gives plenty of credit for positive accomplishments. Indeed, a great many people have said it made them want to visit the Soviet Union for the first time.

I can only think about that what has brought down this total ban is a decision to clap the door shut on everything that has happened since Khrushchev first came to power. There is to be no more "liberalism." Once again they are saying to writers, you are either with us or against us. The role of the writer reverts to that of publicist for the party.

Personally, I am of little significance in this except as a token demonstration to show how far they are prepared to go, and if this brings down the ridicule and new hostility from Western intellectuals, the internal dividends are apparently weightier in the Soviet scales in terms of subversion and order. Moreover, the new "revolutionary" attitude of militance may find favor in the Third World and among the revolutionary youth who have scoffed at the Soviet Union as another version of the conservative establishment.

This ban is an extreme act. The wind is rising. And light and breezy edge of it that has brushed my sleeve reminds me again of what a spirit lives in Aleksandr Solzhenitzyn who has pitted his very existence against its force. One can only marvel at such a man. But he is not alone. If he were they would not be sending out the dogs to bring him down. They are disgracing Russia, just as our witch-hunters disgraced us and are again fingering the tools of repression. The tragedy evidently, is fated to continue long after its lessons should have been learned.

#### A SALUTE TO BOYD CRAWFORD

### HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to salute Boyd Crawford for his splendid 31 years of service to the Congress and to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. His period of service encompasses a time of drastic change in this Nation's relationship to the rest of the world, yet Boyd Crawford has grown on this demanding job, and many of the great successes of American foreign policy bear his imprint. The general membership of the House, in addition to the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, have come to respect his outstanding record of accomplishment and service on the committee staff. I first became well acquainted with Boyd when he served under my distinguished colleague from South Carolina, Dick Richards. Mr. Richards always speaks of his admiration, respect, and high esteem for Boyd

Crawford. Dr. MORGAN, the present chairman of this great committee, likewise recognizes Mr. Crawford as a dedicated, devoted, and great American. He has worked without regard to political party, and has served committee chairman of both parties. He is a creative thinker as well as an efficient administrator of the committee staff work and he will be missed by all Members of the House. Mrs. Dorn joins me in wishing Boyd Crawford continued success and happiness as he leaves the service of the Congress and the Foreign Affairs Committee.

ENVIABLE RECORD COMPILED BY  
HONOLULU REDEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY  
OVER THE PAST 20 YEARS

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, to some, the phrase "urban renewal" conjures up a vision of a blind bulldozer clearing land where poor people lived so that giant commercial developments can be erected.

Wherever that vision might relate to reality, if at all, it most certainly has no relevance in Honolulu. The Honolulu Redevelopment Authority—HRA—has proved time and time again that enlightened urban development can make our city more enjoyable and more livable, as well as healthier economically.

In the 20 years since its establishment, HRA has undertaken projects with a total cost of over \$112,500,000. Over 7 million square feet of land for renewal purposes have been acquired, improved, and resold by HRA. At the same time thousands of families and individuals, and hundreds of businesses, were aided in relocating.

HRA has completed and fully closed out three urban renewal projects. One of their renewal programs, the Kapahulu rehabilitation project, is often cited as a standard which other local agencies are invited to emulate by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

All of these fine achievements have come about largely as a result of the dedication and resourcefulness of the people who make up HRA, men like its chairman, Joseph Lunasco; its vice chairman, Sherman N. Dofsett; its secretary, Sunao Miyabara, its other members, Hung Leong Ching and John H. Felix; and its manager, Melvin Y. Shinn.

On the occasion of its 20th anniversary in October 1970, HRA compiled a synopsis of its own activities, which constitutes, by a simple recounting of facts, a tribute more eloquent than any I could conceive. So that my colleagues and other readers of the RECORD might appreciate the accomplishments of this outstanding organization, I include at this point in the RECORD the HRA synopsis of activities:

CXVI—2586—Part 30

BETTER LIVING IN A BETTER NEIGHBORHOOD  
THROUGH URBAN RENEWAL UNDER THE  
HONOLULU REDEVELOPMENT AGENCY OF THE  
CITY AND COUNTY OF HONOLULU, HAWAII,  
1950-1970

INTRODUCTION

The Honolulu Redevelopment Agency has been actively functioning in its capacity of implementing the urban renewal program of the City and County of Honolulu since it was established in 1949. The existing projects in execution and the projects in planning are calculated to implement the overall goals and objectives of the Agency.

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The goals and objectives of the Honolulu Redevelopment Agency are consistent with Federal aims and local community needs.

The overall goals and objectives of the Honolulu Redevelopment Agency on which its long-range program is based are the following:

(a) The elimination of urban blight where it exists, and the prevention of its further spread, by a selective use of both redevelopment and rehabilitation programs.

(b) The provision of diverse choice of housing for all income groups, with initial concern for those lower income groups not presently served by the normal housing market. Particular responsibility is assumed by HRA for relocating those persons displaced by the redevelopment process.

(c) The improvement and modernization of commercial areas where betterment has not come about through the efforts of individual owners.

(d) Assistance in development of the cultural life of the community by including cultural facilities in redevelopment project plans.

In the years ahead, these goals and objectives will determine the Agency's overall policy, its major programs, and its individual projects, as well.

The Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has clearly stated certain *National Goals* to be attained in the urban renewal, which will be prime factors in establishing project priorities. Summarized, these *National Goals* are:

1. *Expansion of housing supply for low- and moderate-income groups.* This applies both to conserving and increasing such housing supply.

2. *Development of areas of employment opportunity.* This applies to development of centers of employment opportunity for jobless, underemployed, and low-income persons through commercial or industrial redevelopment.

3. *Renewal of areas with critical and urgent need.* Priority is given to areas of physical decay, high tension and great social need, where all available resources are to be used to improve conditions.

In addition, HUD has emphasized the need for *balanced programs*: e.g., programs directed toward eliminating blight and providing housing for all income levels, upgrading and modernizing commercial areas and providing for the civic and cultural life of the community.

Finally, HUD has pointed to the need for *full employment of every urban renewal dollar*, and evaluation of the responsible use being made of grant funds already committed.

The Honolulu Redevelopment Agency, in its present and its projected programs, such as the Model Cities program considers these *National Goals*, locally applied, to be a part of its own *Goals and Objectives*.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

1. The objective of prevention and elimination of urban blight is implemented through two different types of program:

a. *Rehabilitation and Conservation*—to eliminate and prevent deterioration within an

area which is not yet beyond reclamation through: removing only those structures which cannot be salvaged; reorganizing and expanding the public facilities to provide the framework for a sound neighborhood; rehabilitating private property—that is, remodeling and renovating those existing structures which do not conform to standards prescribed for the area; and maintaining all property in accordance with those standards.

b. *Clearance and Redevelopment*—the program of redevelopment involves: the acquisition of all or most of the land within a designated area by a local public agency through purchase or condemnation; the demolition of structures on that land; the relocation of displaced persons and businesses; and the eventual conveyance of the cleared parcel to a private entrepreneur, who is obligated to redevelop it in accordance with a municipally approved plan.

2. The objective of providing housing to serve the needs of all income groups is implemented through the following programs:

a. *Clearance and Redevelopment*—where parcels of land are developed for multi-family uses to meet low-, moderate- and high-income groups.

b. *Conservation and Rehabilitation*—preserve and upgrade existing housing stock and eliminate environmental conditions causing blight.

c. *Auxiliary Redevelopment Housing Program*—where vacant land is acquired for relocation of displaced persons caused by public improvements.

d. *Relocation Program*—where displacees are assisted in housing needs through referrals to public and private housing supplies.

3. The objective to improve blighted area's socio-cultural, commercial and employment opportunities is all inextricably conjoined with the programs as stated above. The proper mix and arrangement of various land uses are essential to maintain the organic balance of a community.

Specific objective (projects)

1. Rehabilitation and Conservation—Kapahulu General Neighborhood Renewal Area:

a. Paki Project.

b. Hinano Project.

c. Hoolulu Project.

d. Olu-Kikeke Project.

2. Clearance and Redevelopment:

a. Kukui Project.

b. Kauluwela Project.

c. Chinatown GNR Area, Pauahi Project.

3. Auxiliary Redevelopment Housing: Hala-wa Makalapa Manor by HCHA.

4. Although Model City areas offer potential for projects, the type of treatments has not been determined a this time.

Projects Completed

A. Mayor John H. Wilson project in Kalihi Valley

Federally assisted clearance-redevelopment project 29.7 acres.

This blighted residential area, predominantly open in nature and used for hog and poultry raising and truck farming, was cleared and transformed into a modern, well-designed residential neighborhood of 162 single family dwellings, zoned Class A residential of 5,000 square foot minimum lot areas.

The project, the first undertaken by the LPA, won distinction as the first federally-guided renewal project to be completed in the Western Region of the United States, was one of the few to realize an immediate profit, and most important, served to emphasize both the need and the feasibility of revitalizing other decayed and blighted neighborhoods.

Project execution began December 1953, completed June 1959.

Gross cost—\$1.2 million, net profit—\$176.0 thousand.

#### B. Kokea auxiliary redevelopment project in Palama

Non-federally assisted relocation housing project for moderate-income families with occupancy priority to families displaced from urban renewal projects or from any other governmental actions—3.7 acres.

Area was developed into 144 housing units of one- to four-bedroom dwellings with local funds under Act 101 of the 1957 Legislature, which authorized the Agency to acquire "undeveloped vacant land" for development by private enterprise into predominantly residential uses to provide dwelling units for families displaced from areas acquired by governmental agencies for public uses, at rents such families can afford.

The first increment of the project consisted of 108 one- to four-bedroom, all-electric units and was completed in 1961. The second increment of 36 one- to two-bedroom units was completed a year later.

This type of project is an excellent example of what can be accomplished when government and private enterprise work in solving housing problems. Project was developed through cooperative efforts of the property owner, developer and the Agency.

Project execution began March 1959, completed June 1962.

Gross cost—\$10.0 thousand to Agency for staff technical assistance.

#### C. Kallhi Triangle project in Kallhi Valley

Non-federally assisted clearance-redevelopment project, 8.5 acres.

This blighted area, adjacent to the Mayor John H. Wilson Project across the highway and consisting of similar blight and deterioration as the Wilson Project, was the first renewal project in the nation to be completed by means of private owner redevelopment and rehabilitation.

Twelve of the 15 property owners of 22 multi-sized lots initiated and organized a private development group, and placed their properties in common trust. Area was cleared and redevelopment under an improvement district program into 40 residential parcels of 5,000 square foot minimum lot areas.

Gross cost—\$86.0 thousand, net cost—\$16.0 thousand.

No cost to Agency except for staff technical assistance.

#### D. Queen Emma project in downtown Honolulu

Federally-assisted clearance-redevelopment project, 73.8 acres.

First major undertaking of clearance and redevelopment of a slum area, one of the pockets of overcrowded and unsafe buildings and tenement dwellings, located in Downtown Honolulu within a few minutes walk from the Central Business District. The area was redeveloped into a major residential, commercial and institutional complex.

Some of the outstanding developments are the \$12.5 million Queen Emma Gardens of 587 apartments for middle-income families—(three high-rise buildings designed by the world famous architect, Minoru Yamasaki), Longs Drugs, Safeway Shopping Center, Harris Memorial Church, Hosoi Garden Mortuary, Kukul Mortuary, Borwick Mortuary, See Dai Doo Society, Nuuanu YMCA, New Kamamalu Playground, and the Foster Gardens Extension.

Project execution began September 1958, completed June 1964.

Gross cost—\$11.6 million, net cost—\$4.0 million.

#### E. Aala Triangle project in downtown Honolulu

Another federally assisted clearance-redevelopment project in Downtown Honolulu urban renewal complex of five projects—4.1 acres.

One of the oldest and busiest slum sections in Downtown Honolulu, the project area was sold to the City and County Department of

Parks and Recreation for development into a beautiful, open space park for use as a passive recreational facility, especially for the elderly.

Project execution began April 1962, completed December 1965.

Gross cost—\$2.4 million, net cost—\$2.0 million.

#### F. Kewalo-Lunalilo auxiliary redevelopment project in Makiki

Non-federally assisted relocation housing project, 0.6 acre.

This vacant area was acquired by the Agency and sold to a private developer for construction of 38 two-bedroom apartments for moderate-income families.

Project is the second of this type to be developed, the first being the Kokea Project.

Project execution began March 1963, completed April 1967.

Gross cost—\$177.0 thousand, net cost—\$79.0 thousand.

#### Projects in Execution

Projects in various stages of execution

##### A. Kukui project in downtown Honolulu

The third of five federally-assisted clearance-redevelopment projects in Downtown Honolulu, 75.0 acres.

Another pocket of overcrowded, unsafe buildings, dilapidated single dwellings and tenement-type dwellings, mostly two-story structures, is being developed into a neighborhood harmoniously blended with residential dwellings and commercial, cultural, institutional, playground and educational facilities.

Completed are the York Building—professional and business offices; Kamali Park—open space; the Izumo Taishakyo—Shinto Shrine; and the Hawaiian Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association Health Center building; and Kalanithuia—150-unit public housing for the elderly.

Construction has been completed on the 822-unit, \$16.0 million Kukui Gardens moderate-income, multi-family housing. Full occupancy was attained in mid-November, 1970. The project received National recognition by winning a National AIA Award of Excellence in National competition in November, 1970.

Under consideration are the Ginza Plaza, a commercial shopping center complex with Oriental motif; the Cultural Plaza, a planned unit development including housing, institutions, schools, shopping center also with Oriental motif; and a low-rise commercial development.

Project execution began September 1960—to be completed December 1971.

Estimated gross cost—\$27.4 million, estimated net cost—\$17.2 million.

##### B. Kauluwela project in downtown Honolulu

The fourth of five federally-assisted clearance-redevelopment projects in the Downtown Honolulu urban renewal complex, this is another pocket of overcrowded, unsafe buildings, dilapidated single dwellings and tenement-type dwellings, mostly two-story wooden structures—29.9 acres.

The area is being developed into a planned neighborhood including multi-family apartments for the elderly and moderate-income "gap" group, a neighborhood shopping center, school, library, park and institutional facilities.

Completed in December 1966 is the Liliha Branch Library under the State Department of Education.

Now under construction are the Aloha United Fund Community Service Center scheduled for completion in January 1971, and the 126-unit high-rise cooperative housing to be completed in December 1970—the first in a series of high-rise and low-rise housing developments of 383 apartments for moderate-income families and the elderly under the sponsorship of the nonprofit Hawaii Council for Housing Action, Improve-

ments to the Kauluwela School and Kauluwela Playground are also in progress.

Project execution began March 1966, to be completed December 1970.

Estimated gross cost—\$7.6 million, estimated net cost—\$5.8 million.

#### C. Paki project in Kapahulu

The first of four federally-assisted rehabilitation projects under the Kapahulu General Neighborhood Renewal Plan (GNRP)—43.3 acres.

The area is predominantly a neighborhood of neat, single family homes, and blighted only to the extent that rehabilitation treatment is required to restore the area to a sound, attractive and desirable neighborhood. As of August 31, 1970, of the 374 dwelling units in the project area, rehabilitation has been completed on 244 units, and another 100 on which rehabilitation has been started. Section 312 Loans and Grants, and Section 115 under the Housing Act of 1964, as amended, to 139 property owners thus far amount to \$713,050 and \$90,175 respectively.

Project execution began July 1966, to be completed January 1971.

Estimated gross cost—\$4.5 million, estimated net cost—\$4.0 million.

#### D. Hinano project in Kapahulu

The second of the four federally-assisted rehabilitation projects adjacent to the Paki Project under the Kapahulu GNRP with similar neighborhood characteristics as the Paki Project—107.5 acres.

As of August 31, 1970, of the 898 dwelling units in the project area, rehabilitation has been completed on 401 units and was started on another 273 units. Section 312 Loans and Grants and Section 115 grants under the Housing Act of 1964, as amended, to 259 property owners thus far amount to \$1,395,350 and \$118,435 respectively.

Project execution began July 1966, to be completed July 1971.

Estimated gross cost—\$11.4 million, estimated net cost—\$9.5 million.

#### E. Halawa auxiliary redevelopment project in Halawa

The third non-federally-assisted relocation housing project for moderate-income families with occupancy priority to families in Halawa displaced from the proposed Halawa Stadium, Federal highway, Hawaii Housing Authority, and others displaced by urban renewal projects or from any other governmental actions—8.5 acres. Project is similar to the Kokea and Kewalo-Lunalilo Projects.

Called "Makalapa Manor," the 122-unit cooperative townhouse development is being jointly sponsored by the Pearl Harbor Memorial Church, Hawaii Methodist Union, and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Local No. 1, AFL-CIO, on a nonprofit basis.

Project execution began March 1969. Groundbreaking ceremony was held on March 28, 1970. Construction completion schedule—June 30, 1971.

Estimated gross cost \$1.3 million, estimated net cost—\$926,000.

#### Projects in Planning

##### A. Hoolulu project in Kapahulu

The Hoolulu Project is the third of four federally-assisted rehabilitation projects under the Kapahulu GNRP. This project is generally bounded by Kapahulu Avenue, Olu Street, Aloha Avenue and the North Boundary of the Paki and Hinano Projects and contains an area of 126.9 acres.

The land use is predominantly residential with over 80 acres zoned for residential use and 18 acres zoned for business use.

The Part I Loan and Grant Application was submitted to HUD on August 11, 1970. The estimated net project cost is \$21.05 million with a federal capital grant of \$15.28 million. Project execution is expected to begin in May 1971 and completed in April 1977.

**B. Chinatown GNRP in downtown Honolulu**

Federally-assisted preparation of a General Neighborhood Renewal Plan covering the western portion of the Central Business District in Downtown Honolulu known as "Chinatown"—36.0 acres. The Chinatown GNR Area is divided into four projects—Pauahi, Nuuanu, Kekaulike and Maunakea Projects.

Situated next to the waterfront and pier areas, the area is one of the first sections of Honolulu to be completely developed and contains sufficient evidence of deterioration, obsolescence and environmental deficiencies including inharmonious mixture of commercial and residential uses, primarily retail and service oriented on the ground floor with apartments and rooming houses above and at the rear, small, irregular lot sizes, and narrow alleys, to warrant some type of improvement and rebuilding program. The area also includes ethnic groups, social organizations and Oriental shops that give the area an atmosphere of the Orient.

The goal of the renewal program is to improve the area where people may work and live in a neighborhood that boasts a clean, safe and healthy environment, provides decent, safe and sanitary housing for single individuals, elderly and moderate-income families, and preserves the atmosphere of the present Oriental neighborhood including the ethnic groups and social organizations and fish and meat markets, Oriental goods, stores, chop suey houses and restaurants, and other small shops and stores.

The Chinatown GNRP application was approved on June 30, 1970. The preparation of the GNRP is expected to be completed in June 1972. The estimated net cost of renewal in the Chinatown GNR Area is \$62.5 million.

**C. Pauahi project in Chinatown**

The Pauahi Project is the first of four projects in the implementation of urban renewal in the Chinatown GNR Area.

The Pauahi Project consists of two blocks situated on the North corner of the Chinatown GNR Area, is bounded by Beretania, Maunakea, Hotel and River Streets and contains an area of 6.3 acres.

The general characteristics of the project area are similar to the general characteristics of the entire Chinatown GNR Area. The project area contains physical deterioration, obsolescence and environmental deficiencies to a degree to warrant urban renewal.

The Pauahi Project Survey and Planning Application was approved on June 30, 1970 with project execution expected to begin in September 1972. The estimated net project cost is \$11.52 million and the Federal capital grant is \$8.27 million.

**Projects in preplanning****A. Olu-Kikeke project in Kapahulu**

The fourth and last increment of the federally-assisted rehabilitation projects under the Kapahulu GNRP—126.9 acres.

Survey and planning Application, submitted to HUD in July 1968 is still pending with HUD in Washington, D.C.

Estimated gross cost—\$14.8 million, estimated net cost—\$12.8 million.

**B. Koko Drive auxiliary redevelopment project**

The fourth non-federally-assisted relocation housing project for moderate-income families similar to the Kokea, Kewalo-Lunalilo, and Halawa Projects—27.9 acres.

Of the 27.9 acres, the proposed plan is to develop 19.7 acres for 200 apartment dwellings and 8.2 acres for a neighborhood playground under the City's Department of Parks and Recreation.

Gross estimated cost is \$459,300 to the Agency plus cost of construction to the developer.

**C. Model cities program**

Agency is participating in the Model Cities Program and will in due time be the operat-

ing agency for urban renewal in the Kalihi-Palama (2,000 acres) and the Waianae (36,800 acres) Model Neighborhood Areas.

**WHY A RECESSION WITH INFLATION?****HON. JEROME R. WALDIE**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, most of us would agree that the present condition of the Nation's economy is not one to be further desired. Yet complain as we will, we seldom take the time to initiate a careful analysis of the problem. Such is not the case with Mr. Cyril Bell of Walnut Creek, Calif. Mr. Bell has a background in British economics, and as someone looking in from the outside, is perhaps better able to attain a general overview of the problems of our economy. He has come up with the interesting observation that the United States' economy is currently in the midst of an unusual situation; concurrent recession and inflation.

Mr. Bell's appraisal of the problems of the Nation's economy is most interesting. I would call the attention of my colleagues to his thoughtful analysis:

WALNUT CREEK, CALIF.,

August 21, 1970.

The Honorable JEROME R. WALDIE,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: Thank you for your letter of July 17, 1970. It was a pleasant surprise. I consider it an honor that you have asked me for my comments on the decline in the state of the nation's economy and to make recommendations for immediate steps to assist the real estate and home building industry.

In order that you might more easily assess the contents of this letter you should know something of my background. I was brought up in a conservative home, educated at an English public school, worked for the Conservative Party in England and had several years serving in Asia as an officer in the Indian Army and then in a British colonial bank. I have seen abject poverty and starvation first hand and thus learned to feel for the underdog. I have also seen that colonial capitalism has done little or nothing to destroy poverty in Asia and so has earned little support from Asians. In American terminology I am therefore a liberal.

The more I applied myself to the economic problems of America the more I realized how complex they were. Then a problem faced me. Did I have time to write both a letter to my congressman at his level of intelligence and understanding and at the same time write an article for the average American—the Voter. I decided No. But if I wrote for the average level of intelligence and understanding you would understand it. I hoped that in writing it for the Voter, you would agree this was the best course. The result therefore is a combination of letter-article which I call *The U.S.A.'s War Economy—August 1970*.

**THE USA'S WAR ECONOMY—AUGUST 1970****The problem Stated—Inflation and Recession**

Whatever economic experiences this country has faced in the past, none measure up to the complexities of the present combination of both inflation and recession.

The very steps which are taken to halt inflation—a severe curbing of the monetary

supply with consequent increase in interest rates, combined with government steps to withdraw money from circulation by increasing taxes, and also by restricting and cutting back government expenditures—are the very steps which bring on a recession.

So the usual monetary and fiscal policies used to fight inflation are the very ones which start and perpetuate a recession.

On the other hand, those monetary steps which are taken to lift the economy out of a recession—expansion of the money supply with consequent lowering of interest rates, and the fiscal steps of lowering taxes combined with expanding all government expenditures—are the very steps which can fuel inflation.

Therefore, in order to stop inflation under the present ground rules, monetary and fiscal steps must be taken which bring on and sustain a recession. On the other hand, in order to avoid a recession we have to take steps which fuel inflation.

It appears that under the present ground rules using only monetary and fiscal tools we must have either of the economic evils—inflation or recession—or have both, which we have now.

We are therefore faced with an incontrovertible fact which is the base for my future reasoning. This fact is that we are faced with a unique economic problem which obviously cannot be solved within "outdated ground rules" using only monetary and fiscal tools. This unique problem can only be solved satisfactorily and quickly by searching further afield for solutions.

Before I discuss these solutions, it is necessary to turn to the causes of this inflation-recession problem.

**An Analysis of the Present Inflation**

The old adage, that too much money chasing too few goods produces inflation, is generally accepted. The stream of money which exceeds the stream of marketable goods usually produces increased prices.

However, if the stream of money and goods is about the same and if either public or private investment increases both the stream of money (which investment invariably does) and also the stream of goods marketable within the same economic sphere, then inflation need not be serious. This happened in the United States in the Kennedy years and the early Johnson administration.

After Johnson expanded the Vietnam War, much of the Federal Government's expanded investment produced "non-marketable goods." This huge investment in war goods increased the money stream without correspondingly increasing the marketable goods stream.

These goods being non-marketable are what I like to think of as "inflationary goods". The wages and salaries made out of the production of these "inflationary goods," flows into the money stream but the goods themselves, being non-purchasable, cannot absorb any of that money stream. Therefore the money made out of the production of these "inflationary goods" is "excess money" flowing in the money stream and available for chasing marketable goods.

With our desire to combat communism, we have to fight it either on a defensive basis with the threat and use of our armaments or go into the attack on communism's only base—poverty. (This is discussed in greater detail below.) Both call for huge investments which will throw off "excess money."

With armaments the goods produced are strictly non-marketable anywhere, while in a worldwide crusade against poverty the goods produced will be non-marketable in the United States of America. In both cases the wages and salaries paid in the production of armaments and anti-poverty goods are "excess-money" in the U.S.A. money stream.

A third source of "excess money" which helps cause inflation comes from wage increases exceeding productivity. That part of the wage increase which exceeds productivity is "excess money" in the money stream because there are no goods in the marketable goods stream to absorb it.

In order to help others see the above reasoning more clearly I have drawn some simple diagrams to illustrate these basic causes of inflation (Appendix A).

There are therefore at least 3 types of "excess-money" in the money stream.

First, money (wages and salaries) made from the production of non-marketable war and space goods (Diagram 1)

Secondly, money paid out in wages and salaries for producing goods which never reach the U.S. market and therefore are not in the U.S. marketable goods stream. These goods are in effect bought with Federal Government Aid money and given to developing countries. They have the same effect on inflation in the United States as armaments. (Diagram 1)

Thirdly, money pumped into the money stream from wages increases which exceed productivity. (Diagram 2)

Another important cause for inflation is the almost unnoticed but considerable erosion of the market in a supposedly free economy.

Our economy is supposedly free because the government has not interfered with it unduly. But, and it is a big BUT, our economy is not free because of the huge size of both corporations and unions. What is happening is that our vast corporations pressured by equally big unions, grant excessive wage raises and then pass on the cost of these extra wages, etc. in increased prices. Unfortunately in many U.S. industries the competition of a free market is a thing of the past. It will never return. Consequently, the downward pressure on prices provided by genuine competition has gone forever. In this climate prices rise to new highs every year as arranged between management and labor. This fixing of prices or wage-price spiral is commonplace where demand is strong and our economy is growing with high employment. It is also possible in some industries during a recession. It will be interesting to see how much of the recent Chicago teamsters' 13% increase a year for 3 years—making a 39% total increase—will be absorbed by the companies concerned!

We have had since 1965, when the Johnson administration expanded the Vietnam war, a large increase of "excess money" in the money stream due mostly to the big expansion of non-marketable war and space goods. This I believe to be the major cause for the present inflation. The other reasons for inflation given above have also had their influence. The second most important cause of inflation and one which realists must concede is here to stay, is the incessant wage-price spiral. This is inherent in the vastness of American corporations and unions with the consequent irreversible erosion of the free market.

#### Why a recession with inflation?

The present recession was planned, originated and sustained by the Nixon administration, as its major effort to containing inflation.

With its out-dated economic approach—overlooking both the erosion of the market and the vast amount of non-marketable goods in the goods stream—the Nixon administration resorted to outdated ground rules of monetary and fiscal policies.

Nixon's recession measures on the monetary front called for and got from the Federal Reserve Board a reduction in the expansion of money. This monetary step brought on in 1969 a 30% increase in the cost of mortgages—from 6½% p.a. interest to 8½% and more. This served to curtail Real Estate business and severely restricted home building.

Unemployment and underemployment was not restricted to Real Estate and Building. Tight money has reduced purchasing power throughout the nation, as was planned, resulting in less sales of marketable goods. Workers in sales, distribution and production of these marketable goods have thus found themselves on unemployment insurance and lately on welfare.

Nixon's recession measures on the Fiscal front included the repeal of investment tax credits, thus reducing the initiative of producers of marketable goods to increase production of such goods. This step further increased unemployment.

At the same time, in response to criticism of too high military expenditures, the Nixon administration—instead of controlling military contracts and "over-runs" with industrialists—threw tens of thousands of soldiers on a sagging employment market.

Therefore it is obvious having taken monetary and fiscal steps to bring on a recession and added soldiers to the sagging employment market, the Nixon administration has planned, originated and sustained the present recession.

In these circumstances it was expected by the government and hoped for by the people that inflation would be reduced to a very small monthly increase. This has not been so.

I think most of the reasons for the strong inflationary pressures still continuing in spite of the recession are to be found in the preceding section.

First, the Nixon administration has reduced the money flow from those engaged in producing marketable goods but it has also reduced the marketable goods flow. This reduction of both cash flow and marketable goods flow has about balanced itself out. It has therefore not reduced to any significant degree the pressure of cash flow against marketable goods flow which has been one cause for inflation.

Secondly, those producing non-marketable goods—war and space goods—are still mostly employed. With strong unions back of them their incomes are sustaining a strong cash flow without producing marketable goods to absorb that cash flow. As noted above, this is inflationary on its own. But when it is taken in conjunction with a reduced marketable goods flow it provides a stronger inflationary pressure than it had exerted before!

Thirdly, the cash flow of the soldiers who have been discharged, was mainly not spent in the United States but in Asia. Therefore the reduction of cash flow here has not reduced the pressure on the marketable goods flow in the United States economy.

Fourthly and fifthly, the inflationary pressures of wage increases exceeding productivity and corporation-union arbitrary (non-market) increasing of prices has been permitted to go unheeded.

For these reasons above inflationary pressures have continued in spite of Nixon's planned recession.

In a recent article in *The Christian Science Monitor* by Phillip W. McKinsey entitled "Economic gears shifted—U.S. pushes monetary expansion" the writer while mentioning the administration's sustained recession, describes the proposed change from recession to expansion. However, the Federal Reserve Board under the chairmanship now of Mr. Arthur F. Burns does not seem anxious for a quick monetary expansion. Although Mr. Burns was quoted as saying "... further declines in employment must be halted soon if we are to avoid a significant deterioration of business and consumer attitudes," he nevertheless seems concerned that a significant expansion of money will only fuel a new burst of inflation. It appears that the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, which I understand is not technically subject to the President's wishes, is concerned with the Nixon's administration's economic policies. These policies appear to be that of

planned recession to curb inflation, followed by a planned expansion to reduce unemployment, then another planned recession to avoid inflation. This I think of as "Nixon's planned economic see-saw"!

Because it is so new, I leave until last Nixon's "inflation alert." This timid approach of the federal government to fighting a strong, sustained inflation is merely playing with the problem. It is too early to be sure it will not work over say two or three years. But it has certainly failed to bring an immediate halt to inflation, which the nation wants now. Those of us in the Real Estate and Building industries especially deserve better from our government. We have waited a long time for a significant expansion of money, thus reducing interest rates—at least a little—and encouraging purchases of homes. No effective stimulant to the economy is possible without a significant expansion of money and this is not possible without strong and firm control of inflation. This firm control of inflation Nixon appears to be psychologically and politically unable to provide.

We are therefore left after 18 months of the Nixon Administration with the phenomena of inflation combined with a recession—a recession planned, originated and sustained by President Richard M. Nixon's administration. This unique problem of inflation-recession is ample proof that outdated conservative economic policies are just not good enough for America today!

#### Will inflationary pressures ease in the 1970's?

As political realists I think it is evident to us that a very large percentage of the nation's budget in the 1970's is going to be spent on armaments and space materials. (i.e. non-marketable goods).

The alternative way of fighting communism (by attacking worldwide poverty) to which we may move gradually in the 1970's will also mean the production of non-marketable goods in considerable quantities.

We must therefore admit—and this is a crucial factor in my reasoning—that we have presently a war economy—in that a vast amount of our goods produced are non-marketable—and that for the 70's this war economy will continue. The only change is likely to be in quality of production—from swords to ploughshares—and not in quantity.

With a vast amount of non-marketable goods being produced in the United States of America in the 70's and the certainty we will not return to a free market in our large wage-price setting industries but will retain our corporation-union arbitrary market, there can be no doubt strong inflationary pressures will be here indefinitely.

#### A Suggested Plan for the Economy

The first point to note is that economic planning is here to stay because economic conditions—not political philosophies—demand it.

The crux of our economic problems lies, not in recession, because we can plan our way in or out of recessions, but with combining a controlled inflation (say 2% p.a.) with steady economic growth and full employment. If one is more concerned with national productivity rather than with the individual, we would replace the words "full employment" with "near 100% national productivity."

We know how to have steady economic growth with full employment but the problem is to get both of these with a controlled inflation.

It is evident from what I have said before that the usual monetary and fiscal policies cannot reduce the required result—the economic trip—controlled inflation, economic growth and full employment.

There can be no doubt that the usual disinflationary monetary and fiscal policies

reduce both economic growth and employment while doing little about controlling inflation.

This then is a fact which must be acknowledged if my suggestions are to have acceptance.

Because the curbing of strong sustained inflation is the key to our other economic problems we must take equally strong and determined steps to control inflation firmly—pin it down with certainty!

Nixon's half-hearted, too late, flabby approach to inflation—his inflation alert—is only worthy of the uncertain, the unknowledgeable and the timid stranger to economics.

It is too late now for President John F. Kennedy's jaw boning which he used to good effect on industry. The horse is out of the stable and to close the door now would be laughable. The determined strong leader, the man who can lead—and not merely follow the polls in Nixon style—demands action which he knows will be effective and effective quickly.

Nothing less than wage and price controls imposed on a minority of the people, in order to provide freedom from excessive inflation for all Americans is required now. This choice of priorities has been necessary since the beginning of 1970.

The philosophical aspects of this effective clamp on inflation is discussed in the next section of this letter.

With inflation securely clamped down to 2% p.a. or on the average about 0.17% a month and *not* before, other effective steps can be taken—this time to ensure economic growth and full employment.

First the *Monetary* supply can be increased as soon as wage and price controls become effective. This increase of money supply by the Federal Reserve Board should go as high as is consistent with getting the country back to full employment as soon as possible.

This easing of *Monetary* policy should reduce interest rates and encourage a healthy optimistic public attitude towards the country's economic future. This would be in sharp contrast to the article written in *The Christian Science Monitor* August 17, 1970, by David R. Francis. It was headed "Inflation still called Key Factor—Observers label U.S. business outlook gloomy." This is a most unusual heading for the *Monitor* which rarely leaves the middle of the road and tries to take the optimistic view.

While the easing of monetary policy in general will have a beneficial effect on Real Estate and Building, more is required to solve the problem in this area.

I do not believe mortgage interest rates will drop by 30% to their 1967/68 levels even if monetary expansion was increased from the present 4% to 10% per annum. Banks and other financial institutions also, like big industry and unions, have watered down the effectiveness of the so-called free market. Therefore taking a practical view—rather than the classical theoretical view—of the money market, I am sure further federal government action is necessary.

This action should *not* be directed at interest rates which should be allowed to move as freely as possible.

Both the building industry and the general public—especially the young marrieds—will be immediately helped by the reduction of monthly payments under F.H.A. and G.I. loans. These monthly payments are out of reach of far too many of the public.

The Federal government should therefore arrange for a considerable extension of the repayment period for F.H.A. and G.I. loans and also extend these loans to second homes. The second homes market is a big one and could provide considerable employment if helped by F.H.A. and G.I. loans.

This action will give an immediate boost to the building trade and all associated businesses. The Real Estate profession will also

be considerably helped by these steps. So much for the immediate action on the Monetary front.

The first *Fiscal* step taken should be to reinstate investment tax credits for all companies producing marketable goods. This is what is badly required—marketable goods to absorb the fresh money flowing into the pockets of builders, realtors and hopefully many other workers.

The Nixon administration prodded by its White House liberal in residence, Professor Patrick Moynihan, has introduced for the first time in American history the guaranteed income. This in principle is good, but the amounts in question are pathetically small. Whatever the figure, it will be introduced directly into the money stream and therefore require compensating marketable goods in the goods stream.

Because more marketable goods are now and will be constantly required, it is necessary to switch workers (whose wages swell the money stream) from producing non-marketable goods such as war, space and national prestige goods like the SST, to producing marketable goods with a ready market now. In order to be just to our soldiers in particular and to our workers in war and space industries we should ensure they are not fired until other jobs in the marketable goods industries open up. For this reason investment tax credits may have to be higher than before and other steps might have to be taken by the federal government to invite management ability and investment into producing marketable goods.

Having got the national economy moving again, we must be prepared to hit inflation *immediately* should it show *any* signs of getting out of hand.

We must be prepared to impose again the income tax surcharge for required periods.

In order to bring home to the public that we live in a war economy and will continue to do so for the indefinite future, we should be prepared to issue Special War Bonds. But these special war bonds must be *special* and takes into consideration the underlying American ethic of good business. Every voter eligible to vote in federal elections should be permitted to buy a limited amount of these Special War Bonds. The bonds should be of varying due dates—1 month, 3 months, 6 months, 9 months and 12 months with increasing interest rates as the period of investment increases. No voter should be allowed to hold at any one time more than, say, \$100 of these Special War Bonds which would pay interest at 2% above the going rate.

The general public would have, first, pride in owning Special War Bonds, and secondly, it would be good business for the public to own them because of the extra return on their savings and the flexibility of varying due dates. The government with its eye on inflation can use these Special War Bonds as a sponge to absorb the excess money in the money stream. The government can at short notice increase or decrease the amount each voter may hold of these Special War Bonds. It might within one year change the limit from say \$100 to \$500 or \$1,000 per individual voter—depending on inflationary pressures. Special incentives could be made to encourage wage and salaried personnel to make monthly purchases of special war bonds through payroll deductions. As an income tax consultant I think this would be one of the simplest and surest ways for the federal government to float these bonds.

This idea of Special War Bonds would provide an inflation conscious federal government with a strong, flexible tool—one of many, but much more flexible than most—to retain a firm grip on inflation.

In conclusion on this plan for the economy we should balance our federal budget.

One U.S. senator reported recently that *annually \$43 billion was lost to the Federal*

*government due to tax loopholes.* A Presidential Commission is *long overdue* to report on all tax loopholes and how they effect the economy. Some may be useful in our planned economy for producing results beneficial to all Americans. Some may be useful under certain economic conditions. But others may well be excess loot, unearned and undeserved by those benefitting and therefore unworthy of modern America. It is fair and also patriotic that corporations which have, are, and will especially benefit from our continuing war economy should be required to pay an excess profits tax. There can be no doubt that there are more than enough funds in private and corporate hands to ensure adequate private investment and balanced federal budgets.

As you notice I finish this section with another blow at inflation which should, can, and *must be kept within the 2% per annum limit.* As the previous section showed, the inflationary pressures of our continuing war economy will be with us in the 1970's but we must firmly control inflation. Nothing else is good enough for America.

*Philosophical notes: Why not admit our correct economic identity*

The confusion caused by the different images which emerge with the use of the words Communism, Socialism and Capitalism is unfortunate. But it is more than unfortunate because these varying images cause deep misunderstandings and are used by some politicians deceitfully.

It is so easy to call something Socialism and therefore verging on Communism. When Vice-President Agnew refers to the Democrats' desire for social justice as Socialism destroying our free economy, we have a thorough distortion of the facts.

I cannot go into details on this subject but I wish to make some points clear.

The Capitalist's role in life is *solely* to increase the capital of the country. The Socialist's role is to ensure that distribution of this capital is equitable—not equal—and thus provide a strong consistent purchasing power. The Socialist is as necessary to the welfare of the Capitalist and the country as the wife is necessary to the welfare of her husband and family.

We must ask ourselves this: How strong would the Capitalist be who had produced goods for poverty-stricken people who had no money to buy those goods? The fact is the Capitalist relies on, in fact is dependent on, the Socialist to provide the purchasing power which gives the Capitalist his profit. The false assumption that the Capitalist helps to distribute the wealth (which is patent nonsense) is the greatest falsehood of the twentieth century.

The fact is the *viability of this great country's economy is as dependent on Socialism as it is on Capitalism.*

In fact the accurate economic identity of the United States of America today is that of a Capital-Socialist country.

As further proof of this statement it is only necessary to point out that democratic Socialists—that is, Socialists who believe in a two or multiple party system—have called for economic planning for decades. They have pragmatically realized that the never ending war economies and the ever increasing size of corporations and unions, have effectively distorted the free economy of the 1970s and earlier. In such circumstances economic planning was necessary for the good of the majority of Americans.

Ever since the President of the United States of America has had a Council of Economic Advisors this country has had some kind—often very ineffective—of economic planning. We have had, for over a decade in America, Socialistic economic planning. To pretend otherwise is as sensible as the ostrich pretending it cannot be seen by burying its head in the sand.

It is surely time for America to have the wisdom and fortitude to admit that it is a Capital-Socialist state.

We certainly have in President Richard M. Nixon, who is the first president of the United States of America to plan, originate and sustain an economic recession, a Socialist President. He is naturally a strong believer in Capitalism too, and so a correct description of President Nixon is a Capital-Socialist—President of the United States of America!

As a loyal member of the Nixon administration Vice-President Agnew is also a Capital-Socialist!

The sooner the United States wakes up to its accurate economic identity and admits it, the sooner will its leaders take the right economic course.

Nixon recently stated he did not intend going down the road of wage and price controls. He left unsaid of course "the road to Socialism." He did not realize that Socialism is not at the end of a road but right in his Council of Economic Advisors' planning and in his own economic planning.

In a United States of America whose President admitted his true economic identity—that of a Capital Socialist—no one would dream of advising economic planning which threw hundreds of thousands out of work and did little to free all Americans from spiraling inflation in preference to restricting the economic freedom of those who can best afford it and ensure inflation was curbed. Both actions are Socialistic economic planning. To presume that planning an economic recession as Nixon has done is Capitalism is sheer nonsense.

Nixon is as much a Capital-Socialist for having planned an economic recession as he would be if he took effective action against inflation by instituting wage and price controls.

It does not matter what their original philosophies were or are in theory, economics makes all pragmatic government leaders either Capital-Socialists, or, if people mean more to them than capital, then they are Social-Capitalists.

Finally I freely admit that both these categories wish for both economic and political freedom for those they govern. How much they are prepared to work or economic freedom is a measure of their liberalism because the increase in economic freedom need not in any way restrict political freedom. What is traded is a small part of the economic freedom of a few for an increase in the economic freedom of the majority—or—in the case of curbing inflation—the economic freedom of all Americans.

Surely it is time for America and Americans to admit their correct economic identity. All Americans who are not extremists are either Capital-Socialists or Social-Capitalists.

#### *The only way to eliminate communism*

In April, 1970 the AVCO Corporation in a full page ad in the San Francisco Chronicle stated "If you have something important to tell America, we'll put you on national television to say it." In today's San Francisco Chronicle (August 21, 1970) on page 10 they have another ad on the same subject.

I wrote to AVCO on April 28, 1970, and only received a printed non-committal reply. I am sure that what I wrote them is the only answer to Communism and therefore will quote from that letter:

We have been so brainwashed in the last four decades that, as a nation, we honestly believe Communism is our greatest enemy. Having focused our attention on this "fact" for so long we apparently are oblivious to the truth.

Communism, unpleasant and dangerous, is nothing more than a parasite. Communism has no base of its own. It has no power of its own. It has no vitality of its own. It has no attraction of its own—except as one way to get rid of that element on which it feeds.

The one and only element on which Communism stands, on which Communism thrives, from which Communism takes all its strength and without which Communism would wither, collapse and die is well known to all of us.

Communism is nothing more than a parasite which is wholly dependent on poverty.

Without poverty who would listen to the Communists' arguments? Without poverty as the spur who would take an interest in Communism? Without poverty as the living force for Communism who would work for the Communist cause? Without the abject poverty of Asians, which of them would want to risk their lives and the lives of their families for Communism? Without poverty as the restrictor of all basic freedoms—freedom to eat, freedom to gain an education—who would give Communism a second thought?

What is our duty then as Christians to our country and Western civilization? It is to rid the world of poverty—to spend our previously wasted billions of dollars on the military on a crusade against world wide poverty and thereby destroy Communism!

This is the only road to the destruction of that parasite Communism—attack and destroy its base. The reason is simple. The people, once poverty is eliminated, will on their own remove the restrictions of Communism—without one American boy dying.

I am aware that the political views given in the last two sections are unusual and may be not easily acceptable to conservatives. They are not fixed views and are open to change as my knowledge of American and world affairs increases. However, they are given to substantiate my present feeling that wage and price controls are necessary and no more Socialistic than Nixon's planned recession. I am sure that I am not alone in feeling we can eliminate Communism without destroying people and property.

The important thing is to use what knowledge we have both of possible solutions and political realities to gain the greatest public support for the Democrats in this and ensuing election years.

Your letter, Mr. Congressman, has certainly stimulated my thinking on an important subject. For this I am most grateful to you.

Yours sincerely,

CYRIL BELL.

#### TRIBUTE TO MR. BOYD CRAWFORD

#### HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join my colleagues to pay tribute to the retiring staff director of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mr. Boyd Crawford.

As a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee during my years in Washington, I have come to know and respect Boyd Crawford. None of us, I am sure, could function here in Congress without dedicated and competent staff assistance and Boyd Crawford exemplifies the qualities which permit us to fulfill our responsibilities. When the issues became technical, when wise advice was necessary, when the long-range interests of our Nation threatened to be distorted by transitory passion, Mr. Crawford was a tower of calm and skilled expertise. When the demands of time became paramount, he devoted long hours to his tasks and when tempers became frayed, his was the cool voice of

reason which often restored order amid tumult.

Mr. Speaker, Boyd Crawford has labored long and well in a frequently unrewarding position. All of us who have been privileged to know and work with him are grateful for his splendid accomplishments and certainly the cause of peace has seldom known a more selfless champion. I wish Boyd many long years of richly deserved rest and the House Foreign Affairs Committee will miss his wise counsel.

#### THE CUTTING EDGE IN CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

#### HON. DAVID PRYOR

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. PRYOR of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Daniel R. Grant was recently inaugurated the 12th president of Ouachita Baptist University, Arkadelphia, Ark., in ceremonies on the Rockefeller Fieldhouse Quadrangle. Prior to coming to Ouachita, Dr. Grant was professor of political science at Vanderbilt University and director of its urban and regional development center.

A native of Arkansas and a 1945 graduate of Ouachita, Dr. Grant received his doctorate from Northwestern University. He began his professional career at Vanderbilt in 1948. He has gained national recognition as an authority on urban and metropolitan government and intergovernmental relations. He served as visiting professor of municipal government and planning at Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand, in 1958-59. He prepared the original draft of a plan for the unique metro form of government for Nashville, Tenn., which was adopted in 1962. He served as consultant for the U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations from 1962 to 1967 and as a member of the Advisory Committee on Federalism and Metropolitan Government, which was established by the National Committee for Economic Development.

His more recent research projects include a comparative study of metropolitan governments in Toronto, Miami, and Nashville, financed by a grant from the Ford Foundation, and a study for the U.S. Department of Agriculture on the Relation of Metropolitan Government to Rural Areas.

Dr. Grant is a member of the American Political Science Association, Southern Political Science Association, American Society for Public Administration, and American Association of University Professors. He has been a member of several committees and commissions of the Southern Baptist Convention and is a frequent contributor of articles to the Baptist Student Magazine and other Baptist periodicals.

He is the second Dr. Grant to head this fine institution of higher education. His father, the late Dr. J. R. Grant, served as president from 1934 to 1949.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate your affording me the opportunity to direct to the

attention of my colleagues some of the highlights in the career of this distinguished Arkansan. I include at this point in the RECORD Dr. Grant's challenging and inspiring inaugural address:

THE CUTTING EDGE IN CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

(By Daniel R. Grant)

In this day of rapid turnover and short tenure among many college and university presidents, I feel under heavy obligation to apologize to the out of town guests, especially those representing other colleges, for the imposition of yet another inauguration to attend, and to justify the decision even to have one. In recent months some colleges have simply voted not to have an inauguration, and have mailed out announcements which seemed to say, "There will be no inauguration until we find out how long he lasts." Others have sent announcements with a stinger attached, "Send a check to your favorite charity for the amount you would have spent attending this inauguration."

I must admit that there was much appeal in the idea of not having an inauguration. My colleagues at Ouachita who insisted that we have one have probably long since repented. But we were urged by no less than the chairman of the examining committee for the North Central Association which accredits us, President George Starcher of the University of North Dakota, that there should be an inauguration. Chairmen of examining committees can be most persuasive at times. President Starcher insisted that an inauguration ceremony is just as important as a wedding ceremony. He reminded me that it provides for the institution a public statement of vows constituting good instruction and inspiration for the individual and for society, and a good reminder for friends and family.

There is a danger of pushing the matrimonial analogy too far. For example, Ouachita Baptist University has now been married twelve times in the past eighty-four years, which sounds strangely like polygamy on the installment plan. Were it not for some invidious connotations, I might suggest that since Ouachita is known as "The queen of the college world," the queen has outlasted the king on eleven different occasions. But in the temper of these times, to refer to the university president as king is either inaccurate reporting or unwise strategy or even suicidal strategy, or all three. In the midst of our financial pressures at Ouachita there is some comfort in the realization that I am the twelfth president, for I understand on good authority that they are cheaper by the dozen.

I would like to pause to express my deep appreciation for all who have had a part in this inauguration, both in its planning and the carrying out of plans, and to those who have come a considerable distance to participate in the events of the day.

Of the many purposes which an inauguration serves, I want to focus on one in particular. I should like to state some goals for us—for me as president, and hopefully for all who make up the great institutional family called Ouachita—students, faculty, the administrative staff, Arkansas Baptists, alumni, and many other friends.

THE INTIMIDATING CONTEXT FOR EDUCATIONAL GOAL SETTING

In the present turmoil of higher education it seems to be at the same time absolute foolishness and obvious wisdom to try to formulate goals for a college or university. The educational crisis in confidence is an octopus that reaches its tentacles in all directions. The public at large tends to distrust the whole academic community—students, faculty, and administration. The popular image of "the campus crowd" is a composite kaleidoscope of hippies, riots, demonstrations, immorality, incivility, long hair, intel-

lectual arrogance, self-righteousness, and dogmatism, at least as a start.

But the crisis is not merely town versus gown; it is also gown versus gown. Students are experiencing a growing confidence in their expressions of lack of confidence in college administrations for being a part of or tool of the conservative establishment; and in the faculty for being too busy to see students, and more interested in research, graduate students and consulting, than in the teaching of undergraduate students.

A few years ago I thought I had made a remarkable discovery in Bangkok, Thailand, that such student grievances are not a universal trait. I observed a Thai student ceremony called "Wun Wai Kru," which means literally "Worship the Teacher Day." But even this day ended on a familiar note as the student body president, before the faculty and several thousand students, brought to the University president incense, lovely flowers, and a list of a dozen complaints about the faculty and the way the university was being run!

There are also the dilemmas concerning higher education for the poor, underprivileged, and academically unprepared, especially the black young people. The historic "high-standard" colleges and universities which once prided themselves on closing the door to those who fell below certain test scores and grade point averages (and branded as low-standard those colleges which admitted and struggled to educate many of these young people) now are giving priority to the admission of a certain quota of these young people, in the name of righting the wrong of some 300 years of racial discrimination.

There are also old issues in new accents. How can the college or university serve the community, region, and nation in extra-curricula ways to help solve pressing social problems? How can the college classroom keep pace with the technology explosion and incorporate the latest audio-visual techniques, automation, the computers, and information storage and retrieval? What can we do about the growing loss of the concept of "a community of scholars" in giant universities and the fragmented "multiversities" and "megaversities"? Is it really true that administrative efficiency in an educational institution is the original impossible dream? Are we, as Andrew Hacker has recently suggested in his book, nearing "the end of the American era?"

To complete the intimidating context for goal setting it is becoming increasingly obvious that there is a crisis in the place of religion and morality in the purpose of the college or university. Any honest observer will admit that we in the South have had for the most part a Christian Protestant public school system for elementary, secondary, and higher education during most of the past century. It has become increasingly clear, especially in the light of recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions on separation of church and state, that a state college or university is prohibited from having as one of its purposes the promotion of any religious faith or practice as such. Even before these Supreme Court decisions, an increasing number of college educators and administrators had begun to say that the sole purpose of the college is to liberate or train the mind. It seems that the Supreme Court may have unwittingly caused church-related colleges to face up to an embarrassing question. "Just what does it mean to be a distinctly Christian college?"

Against this backdrop of educational crises and the shifting sands lay and professional sentiment concerning whether we have lost our way or, more particularly, where we ought to be going in the first place, let me share with you some thoughts on where Ouachita should fit in to the higher education scene; that is, what she should be and do, and where she should go.

The answer, in a capsule, is that Ouachita should be on the cutting edge in Christian higher education. To use the term "cutting edge" before a sophisticated audience today is to risk being tuned out quickly for having fallen into a kind of secular "language of Zion." Some may even suspect that I'd rather be trite than president. However, after an honest effort to coin a fresh phrase, I repeatedly returned to this as the best way to describe what Ouachita should be and what she should be doing. I ask you to consider with me what it means to be on the cutting edge in Christian higher education.

There are two principal thrusts of the cutting edge—one is for educational excellence, and the other is for Christian excellence. There is a problem of deciding which should be named first because of the danger of being misunderstood. In this context each has no meaning without the other. Ultimately Christian excellence is of primary importance, but in chronological order educational excellence is first because, by definition, we are not even in the business of Christian higher education if we are not engaged in genuine higher education. So let us begin by considering what it means to be on the cutting edge in educational excellence.

ON THE CUTTING EDGE IN EDUCATIONAL EXCELLENCE

Obviously this opens up a universe to consider, but I want to suggest just a few specific things that it means at this juncture in Ouachita's history.

1. It means first of all *fighting the good fight to insure the individual dignity and identity of the student as a person*. It means making sure the name of the game is educating individuals—not masses, groups, or numbers. I am sure we have all heard horror stories concerning the loss of identity in the large universities, but I still managed to be shocked recently by an incident described to me by the president of a large northern university. He told me of a recent honor graduate of his institution who came to him in distress upon realizing that there was not a single faculty member able to write a letter of recommendation based on a personal knowledge of his character and personality, or on anything other than the record of his class grades. It is ironic that the growth of our monstrous multiuniversities which make it so difficult to give individualized instruction has taken place at the very time progress in racial integration makes individualized instruction so important.

Private, church-related colleges can be justifiably proud of their strong tradition of concern for the individual student. This is certainly one of our strongest claims as a reason for existence. But it won't just happen in coming years. As we make progress in racial integration, we must beware of the pious goal of educating black students as such, rather than of educating human beings, some black, some white, some brown, and some yellow. Similarly, we must avoid falling into the de facto goal of segregated education for ministerial students, football players, or musicians. They are persons first, and particular kinds of students only secondarily.

2. It means also *creative concern for making the classroom relevant to current problems of society*. Our teaching simply must have meaning for the "now generation." At Ouachita, I have already heard success stories of social science students discovering for the first time the poverty of the all-black Arkansas community of Mitchellville; of chemistry students becoming heavily involved in the drama of the effects of DeGray Dam on the Caddo River; of psychology students learning about mental retardation in a class actually taught in the Arkadelphia Childrens' Colony; and of future teachers learning about interracial teaching from the black and white staff members of our

own ATAC Center. All of these should only be starters as we seek to make the community and the region a laboratory learning experience that makes the ivory tower image obsolete.

This will inevitably mean being on the cutting edge in academic freedom. Ultimately the Ouachita faculty and students will have no more academic freedom than Arkansas Baptists understand and appreciate. I would like to pledge here and now that I will do all that is within my power in coming months and years to lead our many publics, both on and off the campus, to a healthy support of both the rights and responsibilities of academic freedom. I believe very deeply that the faculty member at a genuine Christian College will have just as much academic freedom, and perhaps more, than the faculty member at a government-operated college. No Christian professor should be afraid to look through a microscope—as was the case in the Middle Ages—because he might see something that would disprove his faith. The difference in academic freedom on the Christian college campus is not that there is less freedom of inquiry, but that the inquiry is done with all of the institution's resources dedicated to helping the student relate the results of this inquiry to the Christian faith. This means on occasion hearing a speaker with whom we disagree, or reading a book or article diametrically opposed to our belief. The Christian college does not exclude books by Adolph Hitler or Karl Marx from the library, or refuse to let students read them, simply because we disagree with them.

3. But the cutting edge in educational excellence in the Arkansas setting means something else. In the Arkansas setting it means *new approaches to intercollegiate cooperation, public and private, to find ways for more effective use of Arkansas' scarce educational resources.* One only has to look at the ranking of Arkansas among the fifty states on almost any economic or educational indicator to become convinced that the case is overwhelming for cooperative and joint ventures in higher education to use wisely and creatively the resources of this state. For example, my own perspective as a political scientist tells me that there is a crying need in Arkansas for a college program in city and regional planning. Although the resources at no one college seem adequate for such a program there is no reason at all that Ouachita should not combine with one or more other colleges at a minimum expense to any one institution to provide an excellent program.

It is well to remind ourselves that the academic community of faculty and students in Arkadelphia, separated only by the ravine, is exceeded in size only by the University of Arkansas and Arkansas State University, and is obviously second to none qualitatively speaking. I want to pay personal tribute to Dr. Martin Garrison, the new president of Henderson State College, for his interest in working together in ways that will be mutually helpful and beneficial to our region. Each of us has already expressed to the other at least a preliminary commitment to the idea that, where we have common goals but limited needs and limited resources, it is simply good sense to have joint employment of professors, visiting lecturers and artists. Similarly, greater specialization would be possible for each institution by expanding our present policy of student interchange across the ravine to take classes not offered on the other side. Cooperation between two or more of the private colleges in the state or region also offer many exciting and beneficial possibilities.

A corollary to our cooperative role is the role of constructive critic of public higher education, just as the state colleges can and do provide constructive criticism for private higher education.

Three of the key words, then, in being on the cutting edge in educational excellence, are individualism, relevance, and cooperation.

#### ON THE CUTTING EDGE IN CHRISTIAN EXCELLENCE

While these are important justifications for our existence, I personally believe that in 1970 the case for Christian churches or for the Arkansas Baptist Convention to be in the business of higher education is still a relatively weak one if educational excellence is the only goal. We need also to be on the cutting edge in Christian excellence. Just as educational excellence is an almost undefinably broad term, so is Christian excellence. But let me suggest at least three things that it means to me for Ouachita to be on the cutting edge in Christian excellence.

1. I believe this means first of all *concern for authentic Christian morality on and off the campus.* This is a kind of morality that should start at home—that is, the institutional home—the campus—including students, faculty, and administration. But it should be a concern that extends to the local, regional, and world communities in which we live. I am personally convinced that there are some traditional concerns that are of minor relevance, or no relevance, to an authentic Christian morality. In the case of some of these traditional concerns, as a political scientist turned college president, I think I can recognize the requirement for institutional survival, and I appeal to students and faculty to respect my judgment in these matters. I think none of us want to be on the cutting edge of institutional suicide.

But there are some other traditional concerns which, in my opinion, continue to be highly relevant to an authentic Christian morality and I would be so bold as to name a few of them as beverage alcohol, narcotics, and the secular exploitation of sex. I can assure you that Ouachita will make no apologies for its persistent efforts to find Christian solutions to these very real problems, both on our campus and in the rest of the world.

In addition, I believe there are some new concerns that deserve increasing attention of the Christian college. We need to be applying our intellectual and spiritual resources to the question of what Christian morality specifically means in a day of growing emphasis on the organization man, a day of increasing power of the mass media of communication, (and I notice that Marshall McLuhan recently blamed the Canadian French separatist crisis on concentration of power in the field of television), a day of new dimensions to the moral issues of racial discrimination and integration, a day of puzzling questions of selective conscientious objection, a day of problems of environmental adequacy at home and abroad.

2. *It also means being on the cutting edge in special service to the denomination.* Some may say this is redundant because any Christian service at Ouachita is obviously a service to the denomination. But I believe Ouachita has both the opportunity and obligation to be of service in certain special ways to our Baptist constituency. This means providing an atmosphere of respect and nurture for God's call to the preaching ministry, to home and foreign missions, and to other church related vocations. It means finding ways to encourage in all students a sense of the vital importance of the local church. I firmly believe this is where the action ought to be and I am happy to say that in the local churches of Arkadelphia this is increasingly where the action is. This makes our job so much easier.

Our faculty, students, and physical facilities have been an invaluable resource for a variety of purposes to Arkansas churches, and we need to explore new avenues of denominational service.

Ultimately one of our greatest services to the denomination can be through the role of constructive critic. If students and faculty can criticize as loving servants, and not as an intellectually arrogant master, our denomination will be much the better for it and Ouachita will live to serve another day. And the role of constructive critic implies citing the good as well as the bad in us.

3. Finally, and most nebulous and difficult, I'm afraid, but no less important, it means *new efforts to relate the goals and methods of higher education to those of the Christian faith and life.* I will be the first to admit that this is not easy. But I believe it is not impossible and, not only that, it is essential for the Christian student (whether in a Christian or secular college) to work out this relationship. As I mentioned earlier, a state institution cannot have this as one of its explicit purposes because of the requirements of separation of church and state. All too often the private colleges which are not limited in this respect simply do not undertake this task. I believe Christian excellence demands that Ouachita give top priority to this task.

I hope it is obvious that I am not suggesting that we must teach special courses in "Christian Math" or "Christian Spanish." But I also hope it is clear that academic and administrative business as usual will not get the job done. Why shouldn't the Christian college institute a semester-abroad plan that is designed especially for students willing and able to combine standard academic course work with unique Christian witnessing opportunities? It is fraught with many political, religious, and academic pitfalls, but I am convinced the value is well worth the risks. The distinctly Christian college needs to find new ways to increase student understanding not only of the world in which he lives, but also of the Great Commission as the Christian imperative in this world.

The Sermon on the Mount should mean more to the Christian, not less, as a result of a college education. The love chapter of First Corinthians should mean more, not less, as a result of a college education. It is my personal commitment, and I am convinced it is the institutional commitment, to make this true for students at Ouachita Baptist University.

I am happy to associate myself with the stated theme of this inauguration ceremony, "Commitment to Educational and Christian Excellence." I hope you will join me in a pledge to this academic community, to the Arkadelphia community, to Arkansas Baptist, and to God, that we will work together and devote all of our energy to its fulfillment.

Chairman Hampton, I suspect that you have no lingering doubts about my decision, but, for the record, I should like to say that I accept the job.

MAN OF THE YEAR AWARD TO  
JUDGE CLEMENT F. HAYNSWORTH

HON. JAMES R. MANN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, my admiration for Judge Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr., chief justice of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, is a matter of record. Recently, the Greenville, S.C., Society for Advancement of Management honored Judge Haynsworth as the society's 1970 "Man of the Year." I would like to direct my colleagues' attention to the citation which was presented to Judge Haynsworth at the society's annual dinner.

## CITATION

To: Clement Furman Haynsworth, Jr., a South Carolina Gentleman and Scholar.

As a public spirited citizen, for your unselfish and valuable participation in community activities;

As a successful lawyer, prior to your elevation to the Bench, for your devotion to the law, for your example of integrity and diligence in the demanding practice of your profession and for your wise counsel in contributing to the growth of industrial enterprise and its responsible management in your community and state;

As a distinguished Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit since 1957, for your scholarly and lucid opinions and for your judicial temperament and restraint;

As Chief Judge of the Fourth Circuit since 1964, for your dedication to reform in judicial procedures in order to improve and expedite administration of justice in the Courts of the United States;

Your achievements, performance, and potentials were duly recognized in your nomination as a Justice of the United States Supreme Court. As the object of politically motivated attack, for the endurance, restraint, and dignity you exercised during this period, and for the resiliency and dedication with which you returned to your work as Chief Judge of the Fourth Circuit, you have reflected credit upon yourself, your Courts, your native state, and all people who value justice and integrity.

Not only for what you have done, but also for what you will do in advancing the management of justice, the Greenville Chapter of the Society for the Advancement of Management proudly recognizes you as its "Man of the Year for 1970."

CYRIL O. SHULER, Ph. D.,  
President.

Mr. Speaker, I know that many of the Members who are admirers of Judge Haynsworth join me in commending the Greenville Society for Advancement of Management on their choice for "Man of the Year." This honor which has been bestowed upon Judge Haynsworth is a testimonial to his personal and professional stature. I am particularly impressed by the recognition of his continuing effort to serve mankind through the improvement of the administration of justice.

GODLEY, ET AL. AGAINST KNUDSEN  
CREAMERY CO., ET AL.

### HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, at the request of the Rural Legal Assistance, Senior Citizens' Project of San Francisco, Calif., I want to introduce for the RECORD the pleadings, exhibits, points, authorities, and order in Godley, et al. against Knudsen Creamery Co., et al., a law suit commenced by certain individuals and the senior citizens' project in California in the Superior Court of California. The suit has been commenced by an order to show cause and complaint for declaratory judgment and injunctive relief against deceptive labeling and unfair competition. The plaintiffs seek an order enjoining large milk processors doing business in California from printing the pull dates on milk car-

tons in unfair and deceptive codes. The basis for this suit is threefold:

First, a California statute prohibiting unfair competition and unlawful business practices;

Second, an implied civil remedy from a California public policy statute prohibiting deceptive and misleading labeling on milk cartons; and

Third, the general equitable powers of the court to enjoin a wrong to the public.

An examination of the declarations and depositions attached to the complaint will show the experience of many individuals with dating codes in food centers. Part of the complaint is contained in Extension of Remarks inserted by me in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on September 2, 1970, page 30788 and October 7, 1970, pages 35384 and following, which I am omitting as part of my remarks.

I am bringing this matter to the attention of the Members to show the Congress and the Nation that the campaign which I commenced requiring the open dating of packaged foods is still vigorous; that by one means or another the peoples' health must be protected, if not with the help of Congress then by the citizens themselves:

#### ORDER TO SHOW CAUSE

[In the Superior Court for the State of California in and for the County of San Francisco, No. 625-183]

Lillie Godley, Lana Stephenson, Laurs Laursen, Helen Diaso, Jean Barker, and Esther Talavera, individuals on behalf of themselves and others similarly situated; Centro de Salud, California legislative council for older Americans, unincorporated associations; and San Benito County Consumers Corporation, a nonprofit corporation, all on behalf of themselves, a class of persons too numerous to mention, and the general public, Plaintiffs, v. Knudsen Creamery Company, Christopher Commercial Corporation, and Challenge Cream and Butter Association, all California corporations; Carnation Company, Foremost-McKesson, Inc., Arden-Mayfair, Inc., and The Southland Corporation, foreign corporations doing business in California, and Berkeley Farms, a California partnership; and Does One through One Hundred, Defendants.

Upon the verified complaint filed herewith, the annexed exhibits and the accompanying memorandum of points and authorities,

You are ordered to appear before the above-entitled Court at City Hall at the Law and Motion Department thereof on January 6, 1971, at the hour of 9:30 a.m., then and there to show cause, if any you have, why you, and each of you, and your officers, agents, servants, employees and representatives should not be enjoined during the pendency of this action, as follows:

(1) From continuing to affix a deceptively coded pull date to containers of milk you process;

(2) From refusing to print on containers of milk you process an inked, clearly legible and understandable "open" pull date that either uses a standard number or an accepted abbreviation for the month of the year and the numbered date of the month that the milk should be pulled from the shelves (so that a pull date for November 30, 1970, would read as either NOV. 30 or 11-30);

(3) From refusing to provide the Court, for inspection by the plaintiffs, a translation of all coded pull dates used by defendants on market milk.

It is further ordered that service of this Order to Show Cause, together with copies of the verified complaint filed herein by plain-

tiffs, declarations attached hereto as Exhibits 1 through 20, and the accompanying memorandum of points and authorities shall be served on you not later than December 24, 1971.

Dated: December 2, 1970.

/s/ CARL H. ALLEN,  
Judge of the Superior Court.

#### POINTS AND AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORT OF INJUNCTIVE RELIEF

[In the Superior Court for the State of California in and for the County of San Francisco, No. 625-183]

Lillie Godley, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Knudsen Creamery Company, et al., Defendants.

I. THIS COURT HAS JURISDICTION PRELIMINARILY AND PERMANENTLY TO ENJOIN ACTS OF UNFAIR COMPETITION AND DECEPTIVE LABELING

Plaintiffs seek an order from this Court preliminarily and permanently enjoining defendant milk processors from printing in deceptive codes on milk cartons the milk's freshness.

The Constitution of the State of California provides, in relevant part, that

Superior Courts have original jurisdiction in all causes except those given by statute to other trial Courts. [Cal. Const., Art. VI, § 10]

Since the Legislature has not empowered municipal or justice courts to issue permanent injunctions (C.C.P. § 89(a)(8) and 112), a fortiori superior courts are trial courts with this exclusive jurisdiction.

II. VENUE IS PROPER AS THIS ACTION IS BROUGHT IN A COUNTY WHERE MORE THAN ONE CORPORATE DEFENDANT HAS ITS PRINCIPAL PLACE OF BUSINESS

The named defendants herein are seven corporations and one partnership doing business in California. Two of the corporations have their respective principal places of business in San Francisco.

Section 16 of Article XII of the California Constitution provides:

A corporation or association may be sued in the county where the contract is made or is to be performed, or where the obligation or liability arises, or the breach occurs; or in the county where the principal place of business of such corporation is situated, subject to the power of the Court to change the place of trial as in other cases.

The purpose of the above Constitutional provision was "to benefit the plaintiff, who otherwise would be obliged to travel to a corporation's principal place of business to commence his action." *Hale v. Bohannon*, 38 Cal.2d 458, 479, 241 P.2d 4, 16 (1952).

Moreover, where, as here, "a corporation and individuals as co-partners are joined as defendants the action is properly commenced in the county where any of the defendants is a resident." *La Mirada Community Hospital v. Superior Court*, 249 C.A.2d 39, 57 Cal. Rptr. 42 (1967). (Emphasis added)

III. THE AFFIXING OF A DECEPTIVELY CODED LABEL ON MILK CARTONS THAT REPRESENTS THE FRESHNESS OF SAID MILK IS AN UNFAIR AND UNLAWFUL BUSINESS PRACTICE PROHIBITED BY CAL. CIV. CODE § 3369

California law permits any member of "the general public" to bring a class action to enjoin "[a]ny person," including "corporations, firms and partnerships," who engages in "unfair competition." [Cal. Civ. Code § 3369]

"[U]nfair competition" includes virtually any "unfair \* \* \* business practice." Cal. Civ. Code § 3369(3); and what constitutes such a practice is always a question of fact. *People ex rel. Mosk v. National Research Co. of California*, 20 Cal. Rptr. 516, 201 C.A.2d 765 (1962).

It is not essential that actual competition exist for plaintiffs to invoke Cal. Civ. Code § 3369:

We refrain from construing the language [of § 3369] narrowly in a field where the trend is opposed to unfair trade practices which affect the public interest \* \* \*. It is also to be borne in mind that the rules of unfair competition are based, not alone upon the protection of a property right existing in the complainants, but also upon the right of the public to protection from fraud and deceit. *People v. Mosk, supra*, at —.

Indeed, in actions to enjoin unfair competition "the ultimate test is whether the public is likely to be deceived." *Silvero v. Russell*, 113 F. Supp. 119 (C.D. Calif. 1953).

Thus, the defendants' use of coded labels to identify the freshness of market milk constitutes an unlawful business practice, one that is "likely to deceive" the public and is in fact deceptive.

#### IV. STATE LAWS PROHIBITING MISLEADING AND DECEPTIVE LABELING ON MILK CARTONS IMPLICITLY PROVIDE CIVIL REMEDIES FOR MILK CONSUMERS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC

California law provides that

No false, misleading, or deceptive name, picture, symbol, mark, word, or other representation shall appear on any milk bottle, bottle cap, can, or other container \* \* \* for market milk. [Cal. Ag. Code § 36061]

A "label" is a "display of written, printed or graphic matter upon the immediate container of any article." Cal. H. & S. Code § 26452.

A "label" is "misleading or deceptive" if "in any particular it is untrue, or by ambiguity or inference creates a misleading or deceptive impression regarding the \* \* \* quality, composition, merits or value of such market milk." Cal. Ag. Code § 36062.

All the above statutory provisions were clearly enacted to protect the milk consuming public from buying milk that bore deceptive or misleading labels as to its quality. See also, Cal. Ag. Code § 32917. California has recognized and firmly established the principle enunciated in Restatement of Torts 2d, 286-287 that a cause of action is created by any legislation—criminal, or without specified remedy—which protects the particular interest of the class intended to be benefited by said legislation. *Sapiro v. Frisbee*, 270 P. 280, 281, 98 Cal. App. 299 (1928), *McIver v. Mercer-Fraser Co.*, 172 P. 2d 762, 76 Cal. App. 2d 247 (1946).

Thus, plaintiffs cause of action against defendant milk processors for using deceptively coded "freshness" labels on milk is "necessarily implicit" in the California statutes prohibiting such deceptive labeling. E.g., *Wetherton v. Growers Farm Labor Association*, 275 A.C.A. 1888, 79 Cal. Rptr. 543 (1969).

#### V. AN INJUNCTION CAN BE GRANTED PURSUANT TO THE COURTS' GENERAL EQUITABLE POWERS

In order to grant injunctive relief, this Court need not consider Civil Code § 3369 or the civil remedies implicit in statutes prohibiting deceptive labeling, since injunctive relief can be granted pursuant to the Court's general equitable powers, specifically Civ. Code §§ 3523 and 3368.

Section 3523 of the Civil Code states that: "For every wrong there is a remedy." The California Supreme Court has broadly interpreted this section to provide protection even in the absence of any statute.

[It] is established that, where persons are subjected to certain conduct by others which is deemed unfair and contrary to public policy, the courts have full power to afford necessary protection in the absence of a statute. *Williams v. International Brotherhood*, etc. 165 P.2d 903, 905, 27 Cal. 2d 586 (1946). (Emphasis added)

The case that perhaps best exemplifies the California court's willingness to sustain equitable relief despite the absence of specific statutory authority is *Bisno v. Sax*, 346 P.2d 814, 175 Cal. App. 2d 714 (1960):

California recognizes that: "Equity does not wait upon precedent which exactly squares with the facts in controversy, but will assert itself in those situations where right and justice would be defeated, but for its intervention." [Citation omitted.] \* \* \* As has been well said, equity has contrived its remedies "so that they shall correspond both to the primary right of the injured party, and to the wrong by which that right has been violated," and "has always preserved the elements of flexibility and expansiveness, so that new ones may be invented, or old ones modified, in order to meet the requirements of every case, and to satisfy the needs of a progressive social condition, in which new primary rights are constantly arising, and new kinds of wrongs are constantly committed." Emphasis added, at page 823. See also Civil Code Section 3368 "prohibiting a party from doing that which ought not to be done."

Respectively submitted,

FRED J. HIESTAND,  
Attorney for Plaintiffs.

#### COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY AND INJUNCTIVE RELIEF AGAINST DECEPTIVE LABELING AND UNFAIR COMPETITION

[In the Superior Court for the States of California in and for the County of San Francisco, No. 625-183]

Lillie Godley, Lana Stephenson, Laurs Laursen, Helen Diaso, Jean Barker, and Esther Talavera, individuals on behalf of themselves and others similarly situated; Centro De Salud, California Legislative Council for Older Americans, unincorporated associations; and San Benito County Consumers Corporation, a nonprofit corporation, all on behalf of themselves, a class of persons too numerous to mention, and the general public, Plaintiffs, v. Knudsen Creamery Company, Christopher Commercial Corporation, and Challenge Cream and Butter Association, all California corporations; Carnation Company, Foremost-McKesson, Inc., Arden-Mayfair, Inc., and The Southland Corporation, foreign corporations doing business in California, and Berkeley Farms, a California partnership; and Does One through One Hundred, Defendants.

#### FIRST CAUSE OF ACTION

Plaintiffs allege as a First Cause of Action:

##### I

This is a truth in labeling action brought to guarantee the right of low income consumers to buy fresh milk. A date indicating the freshness of milk is now printed on the pour spouts of all milk cartons by defendant processing-distributors, but in unfair and deceptive codes. To assure that milk is safe to drink, plaintiff consumers seek to enjoin defendants from using deceptively coded labels to show when milk should no longer be sold to the public, and to compel defendants to print these dates in a legible and easily understandable form ("open"). (These labels are referred to hereinafter as "pull" or "expiration" dates.)

##### II

Plaintiffs initiate this action pursuant to California law which provides that "[a]ny person performing \* \* \* an act of unfair competition within this State may be enjoined \* \* \* by any person, corporation or association \* \* \* acting for the interests of itself, its members or the general public." (Cal. Civ. Code § 3369)

##### III

The named defendants are eight of approximately 200 milk processing-distributors (hereinafter "processors") doing business in California. These defendants, on information and belief, process more than fifty per cent (50%) of the milk sold in northern California stores in cartons bearing deceptively coded pull dates. Defendants, described more

specifically in paragraph 12 herein, affix deceptive pull dates on all fluid milk products in order to deny consumers the free choice of buying the freshest milk sold in retail stores. (Fluid milk products, referred to herein as "milk," means all varieties and combinations of milk and cream including imitation milk drinks and fruit punches.)

##### IV

The deceptive nature of the coded pull dates used, while they vary between milk processors, is illustrated by the following code of one defendant to show that milk should not be sold after November 30, 1970:

The translation of this code into the November 30 pull date requires ignoring two letters and one number, converting one letter to a month of the year based on the ordinal position of the letter in the alphabet, and correctly combining, but not adding, the two other numbers. However, codes used by other defendants can only be translated into pull dates by ignoring some numbers, adding others to get a day of the month or month of the year, and converting certain letters, whose ordinal position in the alphabet has no direct relation to the number represented, into either months of the year or days of the month. Even if consumers are successful in "breaking" one or more codes, they cannot determine the freshness of milk for long as many defendants change their deceptive codes periodically. (For example, plaintiffs are informed and believe that two of the defendants, Christopher Commercial Corporation and Berkeley Farms, change their basic codes once a week.) In addition, many defendants' codes are unlinked, stamped impressions that cannot be read by persons, including a substantial number of the elderly, who have less than average eyesight. Defendants customarily stamp these unlinked codes on only one side of the milk carton pour spouts and then the cartons are stacked on store shelves so that the codes face away from consumers.

##### V

Milk is estimated to have a shelf life of between seven and ten days. As milk ages, its bacteria count increases and its nutritional value decreases. Pull dates are highly important because they represent the freshness and wholesomeness of market milk. Coded pull dates, however, effectively prevent consumers from knowing the freshness of the milk, forcing them to depend upon processors, retailers, and state milk inspectors to guarantee their right to buy fresh milk.

##### VI

Milk processors do not remove milk from the stores they supply when they should as shown by random investigations of markets in California found to be selling milk past the processors' pull dates. (These investigations are found in the declaration of Helen Stratten, the affidavits of Aurora Parreno, Pennie L. Capps, Ruben Rodriguez, and John Contreras, and the study by Helene Lippincott published in the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* of August 31, 1970, and reprinted in the *Congressional Record*, marked Exhibits 1 through 6, respectively, and incorporated by reference as though fully set forth at this point.)

##### VII

Defendants' deceptively coded pull dates are so numerous and complex that many clerks of retail stores carrying defendants' milk neither understand the codes nor know how to translate them. (See Exhibit 6, herein, and the affidavit of Aurora Parreno, marked Exhibit 7, incorporated by reference as though fully set forth at this point.) Not even the California State Department of Agriculture, charged with inspecting the freshness and quality of milk sold in stores, has custody of the translations of defendants' coded pull dates to provide State milk inspectors.

## VIII

Defendants persist in using deceptively coded pull dates on milk despite widespread evidence that use of a clearly readable and understandable "open" pull date benefits consumers without harming defendant processors, to wit:

(1) Three milk processors (Lucerne, Lady Lee, and Ralphs) that each provide milk exclusively to three of the seven largest California supermarket chains use open pull dates. These open dates are clear inked impressions of either an abbreviation (e.g., Nov.) or number (e.g., 11) for the month and another number for the day of the month (e.g., 30) that the milk should no longer be sold. (The letter of Richard Ralphs, Chairman of the Board of Ralphs Grocery Company, to State Senator Anthony Bellen-son, attached hereto as Exhibit 8, is incorporated by reference as though fully set forth at this point);

(2) Jewel Food Stores in Chicago, Illinois, have open dating on milk and have found that their profits, but not consumer costs, have increased (see Exhibit 6 herein); and

(3) At least four western European countries—Switzerland, Spain, Italy, and Denmark (Copenhagen)—require that milk and cream sold in markets have a clearly legible open pull date on the cartons. These countries have not experienced any marked wastage of milk as a result of consumers buying only the freshest open dated milk, leaving fresh milk on the shelf to be later discarded. (The letter from Raymond A. Ionas, Administrator, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Foreign Agricultural Service, to Representative Leonard Farbstein, attached hereto as Exhibit 9, is incorporated by reference as though fully set forth at this point.

## IX

Three of the plaintiffs herein are organizations, either primarily composed of or serving low income and elderly persons. They want open dating on milk because clearly readable and understandable pull dates will improve the health and well-being of their members and other low income persons, to wit:

(1) Centro de Salud is a community health clinic operating in the Mission District of San Francisco. Its doctors have treated several severe cases of diarrhea caused by sour milk. This plaintiff is informed and believes that open dating would substantially reduce the incidence of diarrhea caused by sour milk. (The declaration of Edward Bernstein, M.D., physician at Centro de Salud, attached hereto as Exhibit 10, is incorporated by reference as though fully set forth at this point);

(2) San Benito County Consumers Corporation is a nonprofit corporation representing more than ten per cent (10%) of all low income families in San Benito County, California. Since many of its members receive food stamps twice a month to purchase all of their food, they buy milk and other supplies infrequently and in large quantities for home storage before consumption. It is, therefore, extremely important for these members to know the freshness of milk they buy and store. (The declaration of John S. Zamora, President of the San Benito County Consumers Corporation, is attached hereto as Exhibit 11 and incorporated by reference as though fully set forth at this point); and

(3) California Legislative Council for Older Americans is an unincorporated association primarily composed of elderly, low income members. The Council wants open dating because many of its members are immobile and find grocery shopping difficult. Open dating will enable the elderly to know the freshness of milk so that it can be purchased to last the optimum time at home before spoilage. Numerous and difficult shopping trips for milk can then be minimized as is

presently impossible with deceptively coded pull dates. (See the declarations of Reverend Edward Peet, Chairman of the Council, and Ruth Samiee, Senior Case Worker at Lutheran Social Services, attached hereto as Exhibits 12 and 13 and incorporated by reference as though fully set forth at this point.)

## X

Six of the plaintiffs herein either are or serve elderly, low income persons and, for health and economic reasons, need to know that the milk they buy is fresh. They can only be sure that this milk is fresh if the pull dates on the cartons are correct and open instead of coded and unintelligible, to wit:

(1) Lillie Godley, Lana Stephenson, Laurs Laurson, Jean Barker, and Helen Diaso, are all elderly and low income residents of San Francisco. They have all bought milk of defendant processors in the recent past that was either sour at purchase or soured right after purchase despite proper handling and refrigeration in their homes. (Their declarations, attached hereto and marked Exhibits 14 through 18 respectively, and the declaration of Katharine W. Rider, attached hereto as Exhibit 19, are incorporated by reference as though fully set forth at this point); and

(2) Esther Talavera, a resident of San Mateo County, works in a local hospital. She has observed patients at this hospital served sour milk because the hospital personnel were unable to decipher the deceptively coded pull dates for the patients' benefit and protection. (Her declaration, attached thereto as Exhibit 20, is incorporated by reference as though fully set forth at this point.)

## XI

Defendants' use of unfair and deceptively coded milk pull dates prevents plaintiff consumers from intelligently determining the freshness of defendants' milk and thereby removes the quality of that milk from competition. Unfair competition also exists because defendants can sell non-fresh milk to a misled and undetecting public while those milk processors using open pull dates necessarily subject their milk to informed consumer scrutiny. In addition, defendants use of unfair and deceptive codes constitutes an unlawful business practice in violation of Cal. Civ. Code § 3369.

## XII

Three of the named defendant milk processors using deceptively coded pull dates are California corporations: Christopher Commercial Corporation, Challenge Cream and Butter Association, and Knudsen Creamery Company. All of these corporations do business in San Francisco County; and one of them, Christopher Commercial Corporation, has its principal place of business in San Francisco. Four of the named defendants, Arden-Mayfair, Inc., Foremost-McKesson, Inc., Carnation Company, and The Southland Corporation, are foreign corporations doing business in California and San Francisco. One of these, Foremost-McKesson, has San Francisco as its principal place of business. Berkeley Farms is a limited partnership that does business in San Francisco, but its principal place of business is Alameda County.

## XIII

The true names and capacities, whether individual, corporate, associate, or otherwise, of defendants named as Does One through One Hundred, are unknown to plaintiffs, who therefore sue such defendants by such fictitious names, and plaintiffs will amend this complaint to show their names and capacities when same have been ascertained.

## XIV

Plaintiffs are informed and believe and allege that at all times herein mentioned Does One through One Hundred are milk processors doing business in California. Together with the named defendants, they process and

distribute over ninety per cent (90%) of the milk sold in California stores in containers bearing deceptively coded pull dates. These defendants print deceptively coded pull dates on the cartons of milk they process and distribute in order to deny plaintiffs the free choice of buying the freshest milk for sale on store shelves.

## XV

Plaintiffs initiate this action on behalf of all low income consumers who want to have open dating on market milk. This class consists of members too numerous to mention. There are questions of law and of fact common to all members of the class. The claims of the representative plaintiffs are typical of the class and plaintiffs will fairly and adequately represent the interests of the class.

## XVI

Defendant milk processors' unfair and unlawful actions have caused, are causing and will continue to cause serious, substantial, permanent and irreparable harm to plaintiffs in that they unfairly and unlawfully deny plaintiffs the free choice of buying the freshest milk for sale in markets, compel many plaintiffs to travel to distant markets that have open dating so that they can be guaranteed the right to buy fresh milk, restrict a free and open economy by removing the quality of milk from competition, and place milk processors who have adopted an open pull dating system at a competitive disadvantage to defendants, thereby harming the public through unfair competition.

## XVII

Unless restrained by this Court, defendant milk processors will continue to use deceptively coded pull dates on market milk. Plaintiffs and the class they represent and the general public will be irreparably injured by said defendants' unlawful practices. Plaintiffs have no adequate remedy at law for said injuries in that defendants' conduct will constitute a continuing hardship.

## SECOND CAUSE OF ACTION

As and for a Second Cause of Action, plaintiffs alleged as follows:

## I

Plaintiffs refer to and incorporate by reference herein all of the allegations of paragraphs I, III through X, and XIII through XVII of the First Cause of Action.

## II

Cal. Agric. Code § 36061 provides that "[n]o false, misleading or deceptive name, picture, symbol, mark, word, or other representation shall appear on any milk bottle, bottle cap, can, or other container, nor on any advertisement for market milk."

## III

The above statute sets forth a statutory standard of conduct and duty that defendant milk processors have, upon information and belief, willfully and knowingly breached. This statutory standard was enacted for the benefit of plaintiffs and those they represent. As a proximate and direct result of said defendants' breach of a duty owed to the plaintiffs, plaintiffs have been unlawfully and wrongfully injured in that they have been deceived as to the freshness of market milk that they have purchased and will continue to purchase.

## THIRD CAUSE OF ACTION

As and for a Third Cause of Action, plaintiffs allege as follows:

## I

Plaintiffs refer to and incorporate by reference herein all of the allegations of paragraphs I, III through X and XIII through XVII of the First Cause of Action.

## II

As a result of the business practices of defendant milk processors set out above plain-

tiffs have suffered and will continue to suffer irreparable injury in that they will be denied the opportunity to buy the freshest market milk for sale that has been processed by defendants and that they are forced to travel distances to markets carrying open dated milk in order to guarantee their right to buy fresh milk.

## III

Plaintiffs invoke the Court's general equitable power because they have no adequate remedy at law for the injuries described above in that defendant milk processor's conduct will continue unless restrained by this Court and plaintiffs will continue to suffer irreparable injury.

Wherefore, plaintiffs pray for the following relief:

(1) For an order preliminarily and permanently enjoining defendants Knudsen Creamery Company, Christopher Commercial Corporation, Challenge Cream and Butter Association, Arden-Mayfair, Inc., Carnation Company, Foremost-McKesson, Inc., The Southland Corporation, and Berkeley Farms, their officers, agents, employees, assignees, and successors:

(a) From continuing to affix a deceptively coded pull date to containers of milk they process;

(b) From refusing to print on containers of milk they process an inked, clearly legible and understandable "open" pull date that either uses a standard number or an accepted abbreviation for the month of the year and the numbered date of the month that the milk should be pulled from the shelves (so that a pull date for November 30, 1970, would read as either Nov. 30 or 11-30);

(c) From refusing to provide to the Court, for inspection by the plaintiffs, a translation of all coded pull dates used by defendants on their market milk;

(2) For an order from this court declaring the defendants' practice of using deceptive coded pull dates to be unlawful;

(3) For costs of suit; and

(4) For such other and further relief as this Court may deem just and appropriate.

By: FRED J. HESTMAN,

PETER D. COPPELMAN,

ROBERT GNAZDA

Attorneys for Plaintiffs.

## VERIFICATION

[In the Superior Court of the State of California in and for the County of San Francisco]

Lillie Godley, et al., Plaintiffs, v. Knudsen Creamery, et al., Defendants.

I, Edward L. Peet, say:

I am the Chairman of the California Legislative Council for Older Americans and as such I am authorized to verify the within complaint in my capacity as chairman.

I have read the above entitled matter; the document is true of my own knowledge, except as to the matters which are therein stated on my information or belief and as to those matters I believe them to be true.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed this 25th day of November, 1970, at San Francisco, California.

Rev. EDWARD L. PEET.

## DECLARATION

I, Helen Stratten, depose and say: That I am an investigator for the Senior Citizens' Project of California Rural Legal Assistance, located at 942 Market Street, San Francisco, California;

That on October 29, 1970, I made a visit to three small San Francisco grocery stores where I selected at random one or more cartons of milk from the shelves for purchase;

That at two of these markets, namely, the Revere Market, located at 1490 Revere Avenue, and Super Save Market at 4517 Third Street, the cartons of milk I purchased at random were properly on the shelves accord-

ing to the coded pull dates translated in the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* of August 31, 1970;

That in the third market, however, I selected two cartons of milk that should not have been sold on the shelves. This was at Bing's Market at 1740 Fillmore Street in San Francisco. One of the cartons I picked from the shelf was a quart of buttermilk for which I paid twenty-six cents. I attached the receipt to this quart of buttermilk and saved the carton. This quart of buttermilk was processed by Borden's and had a pull date reading "S.F. 72J4." According to the article in the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*, this code translates to mean the milk should have been pulled from the shelf on October 24, or five days before I bought it at Bing's Market. There were sixteen other quarts of buttermilk on the shelf when I selected this at random from Bing's Market; all of the quarts had the pull dates facing away from the shoppers. The other purchase I made was a quart of half-and-half. It was also processed by Borden's and had a pull date of 002J3. Again, according to the translation in the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* of Borden's Code this means that the half-and-half should have been pulled from the shelf on October 23, 1970, or six days before I bought it. When I bought this quart of half-and-half for sixty-three cents, there were only five quarts on the shelf; all had the coded pull dates facing away from the shopper;

That in my capacity as an investigator and community lay advocate representing elderly low income persons seeking adequate health care, I have learned that many of the elderly poor are greatly concerned about the freshness of milk they buy. My experience in representing elderly low income persons has convinced me that fresh milk is extremely important to their health. Several older people who I know are advised by their doctors to drink milk for medical ailments such as ulcers. For them to drink sour milk is not only distasteful but harmful. Elderly low income persons are generally not very mobile, so when they shop they do so with the intent of storing their goods for as long as possible before complete use. It would be of great advantage to them to have open pull dates on their milk, as this would tell them about how long they could keep it under refrigeration in their homes before it spoiled. Under the present system of coded pull dates, most elderly persons are kept ignorant of the freshness of the milk that they buy.

I declare the foregoing is true and correct under penalty of perjury.

Executed at San Francisco, California, on November 23, 1970.

HELEN STRATTEN.

## AFFIDAVIT

I, Aurora Parreno, first being duly sworn, depose and say:

That I in my capacity of legal secretary for California Rural Legal Assistance, located at 529 South "D" Street, Madera, California, on November 13, 1970, went to numerous stores in Madera to check pull dates on milk cartons and milk products;

That I found the following items that should have been pulled off the shelves:

At Ripperdan Market, 6820 Hwy. 145, Madera, California, I found two ½ gallons of Knudsen Extra Rich Milk with the pull date or code of 341k2, which according to the "code" translations published in the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* should have been pulled the 12th of November;

At Family Food Center, 6895 Hwy. 145, Madera, California, I found one ½ gallon of Borden's Milk, out of approximately 19½ gallons, with code 341k2, one quart of Borden's Milk with (only quart of Borden's Milk in dairy case) coded 241k2, three ½ gallons of Quality Milk, out of approximately 17 one-half gallons, with code 12, One Knudsen cottage cheese, out of approximately 6,

coded 1k0, one quart Quality Buttermilk with code 122 0 9;

At Farmer's Super Market, 216 Madera Avenue, Madera, California, I found one ½ pint of Quality Sterilized Whipped Cream with code 11 4; 10 quarts of Danish milk coded 122 0 8 and 9 quarts of Challenge milk coded 122 0 8;

At Bridge Market, 748 North "D" Street, Madera, California, I found two ½ gallons of Knudsen Buttermilk with codes 1k1, 18 quarts of Challenge Buttermilk with code 12209, One quart of Challenge Buttermilk coded 122 0 8 and two quarts of Challenge milk with code 122 0 10. I purchased one quart of Challenge milk with code 122 0 8 for \$.27. I also found one quart of Borden's Non Fat Milk without a code;

At Starks' Grocery, 731 South "B" Street, Madera, California, I found three quarts of Challenge milk coded 122 0 9;

At Sure Save Market, 823 F Cleveland Avenue, Madera, California, I found 12 quarts of Challenge milk with code 122 0 9, four pints of Challenge Half and Half coded 122 0 11 and four pints of Challenge Chocolate Drink with code 122 0 8;

At Mearl's Grocery, 13384 Rd 29, Madera, California, I found three pints of Challenge Half and Half with code 122 0 9. I purchased one pint of Challenge Half and Half for \$.25 with code 122 0 9.

I declare the foregoing is true and correct under penalty of perjury.

AURORA PARRENO.

## AFFIDAVIT

I, Pennie L. Capps, first being duly sworn, depose and say:

That I, in my capacity of legal secretary for California Rural Legal Assistance, located at 529 South "D" Street, Madera, California, on November 13, 1970, went to two markets to purchase cartons of milk and milk products which should have been pulled off the shelves.

At the Family Food Center, 6895 Hwy. 145, Madera, California, I purchased a one-quart carton of Quality butter-milk with the pull date or code of 122 0 9. Attached hereto is the receipt of said purchase.

At Farmer's Super Market, 216 Madera Avenue, Madera, California, I purchased one ½ pint of Quality Sterilized Whipping Cream with a pull date of 11 4; the receipt from this purchase is also attached.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed this 20th day of November, 1970, at Madera, California.

PENNIE L. CAPPS.

## AFFIDAVIT

I, Pennie L. Capps, state as follows:

That on November 2, 1970, in my capacity as legal secretary for the office of California Rural Legal Assistance at 529 South D Street, Madera, California, I did go to numerous liquor and grocery stores and did compare milk carton "codes" using the *San Francisco Bay Guardian* article, a copy of which is attached hereto, as a guide for determining the pull dates.

That I did find the following violations: At Toni's Liquor, 601 South C Street, Madera, California, a pint of chocolate milk of Quality brand with a "1" pull date; At Ace-Hi Liquor, 114 South "C" Street, Madera, California, 1 quart of buttermilk of Quality brand with a "28" pull date;

At Monty's Liquor Store, 1301 W. Yosemite Avenue, Madera, California, two quarts of Quality buttermilk dated "28"; and

At the Family Food Center, No. 2, at the corner of Avenue 7 and Highway 145, ½ gallon of low fat milk of Quality brand dated "27", and approximately 10 quarts of Quality milk dated "31".

Executed this 2nd day of November 1970 at Madera, California.

PENNIE L. CAPPS.

## AFFIDAVIT

I, Ruben Rodriguez, being first duly sworn, depose and say:

I am a community worker for California Rural Legal Assistance, working in the Madera office located at 529 South "D" Street, Madera, California.

On Friday, November 13, 1970, I was sent out to check some markets and liquor stores to find out if the milk that was being sold had not exceeded the pull dates.

During my investigation, I visited the United Food Center located at 119 South "C" Street in Madera. At this store they had three brands of milk. I found that the Quality Milk brand had 18 cartons of milk with the pull date being the 12th of November still on the shelves. The code on these cartons were 122-0-12 which I believe meant it should have been pulled on the 12th of November. I also saw at this store 19 cartons of challenge milk with pull code being 122-0-9, which I believe that the pull date was the 9th of November.

I then went to Monty's Liquor Store located at 1301 W. Yosemite in Madera. Found 8 cartons of Quality Low Fat milk with the pull date being 12000, which should have been pulled on the 12th of November.

I then went to Ace Hi Liquor located at 114 So "C" Street, Madera, California. I found that they had 2 cartons of Quality milk with the pull date code being 1-22-05 which meant this milk should have been pulled on the 5th of November.

I then went to Smith's Emporium which is located at 813 North "D" Street, Madera, California. Here I found 2 cartons of Quality Milk with the code date being 1-22-0-12 and 2 cartons with the code date of 1-22-0-11.

I declare the foregoing is true under penalty of perjury.

Dated: November 16, 1970.

RUBEN RODRIGUEZ.

## AFFIDAVIT

I, John G. Contreras, being first duly sworn depose and say:

I am a community organizer for California Rural Legal Assistance, working in the Madera office located 529 South "D" Street, Madera, California.

On November 13, 1970, I went to Ace-Hi Liquor located at South "C" Street, Madera, California. There I purchased one quart of Quality Buttermilk for \$.28. I have purchased a quart of buttermilk that has spoiled after being kept in my refrigerator for less than a week.

I shop at Ace-Hi Liquor because it is close to my job and I buy my newspaper, cigarettes, liquor, milk, etc. There is only one brand of milk carried by Ace-Hi Liquor.

On at least two occasions in the past three months, I have purchased a quart of buttermilk that has spoiled in less than a week and I kept it in my refrigerator. If I could read the codes I would buy the freshest buttermilk and would not have to throw away spoiled milk.

I declare the foregoing is true under penalty of perjury.

Dated: Nov. 13, 1970.

JOHN G. CONTRERAS.

## AFFIDAVIT

I, Aurora Parreno, state as follows:

That on November 2, 1970, in my capacity as legal secretary for the office of California Rural Legal Assistance at 529 South "D" Street, Madera, California. I did go to numerous liquor and grocery stores and did compare milk carton "codes" using the San Francisco Bay Guardian article, a copy of which is attached hereto, as a guide for determining the pull dates.

That I did find the following violations:

At Family Food Center, No. 2, at the corner of Avenue 7 and Highway 145, nine quarts of Quality milk dated "31", three quarts of Quality milk dated "31";

At United Food Center at 119 South "C" Street, Madera, California, one ½ pint of Quality Whipped Cream dated "30".

At Mayfair Markets at 313 West Olive Avenue, Madera, California, one cottage cheese, brand Arden, dated "10-30".

That while I was comparing the milk "codes" at Family Food Center one of the employees (a woman) asked me what I was doing and after I explained that I was checking the "codes", she asked how I could tell the pull dates. I mentioned that I had the above mentioned guide and showed her a few codes as examples. She seemed surprised, but satisfied with my explanation.

That while I was comparing the milk "codes" at United Food Center one of the employees (a man) asked me what I was doing. After I explained he said that he couldn't read the codes, but that "they" took good care of the milk.

Executed this 2nd day of November, 1970 at Madera, California.

AURORA PARRENO.

## GROCERY COMPANY,

Los Angeles, Calif., October 22, 1970.

Senator ANTHONY C. BEILSON,  
State Capitol, Sacramento, Calif.

DEAR SENATOR BEILSON: I am pleased to supply you with the answers to your questions regarding our new consumer program of "open date" coding. On August 27, 1970 we inaugurated the program of open date coding all fluid milk products on an experimental basis in conjunction with the introduction of our Price/Per/Measure (dual pricing) program.

The products contained in that category were all fluid milk and cream products (including imitation milk products), orange juice, and fruit punches.

Surprisingly, there has been little reaction by our customers to the addition of this service, which leads us to believe that over the years they have developed a confidence in the freshness of the products we sell. Those comments we have received have been extremely favorable.

There has been a negligible number of instances where customers have actually sorted through product to find the freshest item. The instances of relatively old product, as you refer to it, being on sale has never been a problem in Ralphs stores in the past as well as the present. The reason for this is that we have an order, production and delivery system which provides almost daily supplies of product to the retail stores. Therefore, there is no reason for creating backlogs of product at either our manufacturing plant or in the retail stores.

We do not feel there has been any increase in costs due to unsold product resulting from this change since, as mentioned above, carry-over inventories are minimal in our type of operation. We feel our customers sincerely appreciate this service and therefore, by November 1 we will have expanded open date coding to include the following sensitive, perishable items: cottage cheese, yogurt, eggs, Ralphs label pizzas, Ralphs manufactured salads, and Ralphs packaged luncheon meats.

You may be interested to know that also by November 1 we will have expanded our Price Per/Measure program to include additional categories of items. This program has been received with overwhelming enthusiasm by our customers.

If I can be of any further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely,

RICHARD RALPHS.

## STATEMENT OF EDWARD BERNSTEIN, M.D.

I am a physician at the Centro de Salud at 2990 22nd Street, San Francisco which is a community health center established by community people of the Mission District to provide medical services, health education, and preventive medicine programs

when so needed. In the last three months we have provided medical services to over 1,000 people.

One of the most startling health problems we have encountered has been the inadequate nutrition and inferior quality of food consumed within the community. Many people lack funds to purchase sufficient food, but many times the food itself is of inferior and inadequate quality. There have been several severe cases of diarrhea caused by soured milk. As a doctor I am aware that the bacteriological count of milk becomes higher the longer the milk is on the shelf awaiting sale.

The lack of readable "pull-dates" on milk and dairy product cartons makes it impossible for persons to know the age and potential preservation time of the dairy product they buy. Failure to correct this situation would constitute a health hazard within the community. Based on our experience at the Centro de Salud it seems that the problem of sour milk is especially prevalent in the Mission District, and adversely affects the poor and the aged whose circumstances force them to shop infrequently and to buy in larger quantities.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.  
Dated: November 13, 1970.  
San Francisco, California.

EDWARD BERNSTEIN, M.D.

## DECLARATION

I, John S. Zamora, am a resident of Hollister, San Benito County, State of California, and have eight children. My primary occupation is farm work. I am President of the San Benito County Consumers Co-op. The San Benito County Consumers Co-op is a non-profit corporation representing more than 10% of all low-income families in San Benito County.

During the last two years the Co-op has worked to bring food stamps, school lunches, and milk to low-income people in our county and we have on a number of occasions engaged in surveys of the population's milk and food consumption.

A large number of families in our Co-op use food stamps. This means that many of them make purchases only once every fifteen days. It is therefore extremely important for us to have information as to the freshness of milk and other dairy products. It is also important to us because many of our members live long distances from stores and cannot afford to buy dairy products or milk on a day-by-day basis.

Right now the only way people in our county can be sure of getting fresh milk is by purchasing it directly from the dairy. Many of us do not understand why the law is such that we cannot buy fresh milk directly from the dairy at half the price that we are forced to buy it in the store when the stores will not even let us know if the milk is fresh. We are law-abiding people and are willing to pay higher prices for milk than are necessary, but at least we should be given a chance to know before we buy the milk whether the milk is fresh.

As President of the San Benito County Consumers Co-op, and in preparation for this lawsuit, I polled a large number of our members. Many of them stated that because of the absence of dating as to freshness, they had, on many occasions, purchased sour milk and that despite their poverty there were occasions when they could not afford to return the milk for a refund due to the fact that the cost of gasoline exceeded the value of the milk.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.

JOHN S. ZAMORA.

## DECLARATION

I, Reverend Edward Peet, say and declare:

My name is Reverend Edward Peet and I am the Chairman of the California Legislative Council for Older Americans, an unincorporated association.

Our organization is composed of approximately 375 members. The majority are from the low income levels of the retired population of California. Many of our members require some form of public assistance in order to attempt to meet their basic needs. Our organization is essentially concerned with organizing low income senior citizens, so that collective pressure can be brought to secure a unity of interest of senior citizens with other segments of the population.

Our organization has taken particular interest in the open dating of food products. Many senior citizens encounter difficulties purchasing groceries. They are forced to rely on public transportation to visit the supermarkets. For many, this is a difficult task, and they attempt to limit their shopping to once or twice a week. Furthermore, many food products are marketed in large quantities, designed for family consumption. So it is vitally important to the senior citizen that he be assured of the freshness of the products he purchases.

On October 30, 1970, we discussed the problem of open dating of perishable foods at our regular meeting. Our discussion largely concerned the open dating of dairy products. At this same meeting, a resolution was passed authorizing our organization to bring legal action to enforce the open dating of dairy products.

I declare, under penalty of perjury, that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed at San Francisco, California, on November 1970.

Reverend EDWARD PEET.

#### DECLARATION

I, Ruth M. Samiee, declare and say:

I am the Senior Caseworker at Lutheran Social Services, 3208 16th St., San Francisco, California. This agency offers an intensive service to the aged, low-income client in Northern California. I meet and work with many senior citizens who have unique problems relating to their age and decreased activity level. One of these problems is the fact that it is impossible for them to shop everyday; consequently perishable foods which they do purchase must be fresh at purchase time or they will be spoiled before they are used. This is particularly true of dairy products. It is also true that most aged persons require dairy products, especially milk and coffee cream to sustain a healthful diet.

It is therefore essential that dairy products, especially milk, be clearly marked as to the pull date. May I emphasize "clearly marked" because another problem of the aging person is declining eyesight. Unless the milk containers are clearly marked with month and day, and not marked in a code which only those so trained are able to read, the aged customer is unable to determine the freshness of the milk. Again because the aged person cannot always accept his poor eyesight and beginning loss of independence, he will not, as a matter of pride, ask to have a code deciphered for him. So to code the milk containers does not give the aged customer the information he needs. Besides, I should think it would be no more expensive for the distributor to clearly date the milk container than to code the container, as is now being done by some firms.

Since the clients served by this agency live in all areas of northern California, including the Bay Area, I feel it is necessary to standardize the dating system on milk throughout the State of California. All distributors and markets should be required to have a uniform dating system which is easily read and applicable to all milk containers, irregardless of which market has sold the item.

I declare, under penalty of perjury, that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed at San Francisco, California, November 16, 1970.

(Mrs.) RUTH SAMIEE, MSW, ACSW.

#### DECLARATION

I, Lillie Godley, declare and say:

I live at 1319 Paula Street, San Francisco. I am a recipient of an Old Age Security pension and am 70 years of age. I do not have a car so I must walk to the market when I purchase food. I generally shop at the Lee Market at Jennings and Revere Streets in San Francisco for perishable things, including milk. This market is about 1½ blocks from my home. I also go to the Revere Market at Keith and Revere Streets in San Francisco sometimes. This is about 3 blocks from my home.

For some time I have been aware of the numbers on the milk cartons, but am unable to read what they say. I would like to be able to do this because milk is an important part of my diet. I would like to be sure that the milk I buy is fresh because I cannot afford to buy milk which spoils and waste the money. In September, 1970, I remember buying a carton of Borden's milk from the Lee Market which spoiled before I could use it. However, as it is difficult for me to go to the market I did not return it. If I could read the codes on the milk carton I could be sure not to buy milk that will spoil before I can use it. I do go to the Safeway store at Third and Williams streets once a week, but this is about 8 blocks away and I cannot go more often. It is very important to me that the local markets stock fresh milk, therefore, and that I should know how fresh the milk is by reading the pull dates printed on the cartons.

I declare, under penalty of perjury, that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed at San Francisco, California, on November 13, 1970.

LILLIE GODLEY.

#### DECLARATION

I, Lana Stephenson, declare and say:

I reside with my husband at 204 South Ridge Road, San Francisco, in Apt. 25A.

Both my husband and I are recipients of Aid to the Totally Disabled (ATD) grants. I am 60 years of age.

My husband and I cannot go far to do our grocery shopping because his legs are bad and he cannot walk far, and I have a bad shoulder and arm. We usually shop at the local markets near our home, either Lorina Market at Third and Paula Streets or Esposito's Quality Market at 5039 Third Street. I usually walk to the stores and they are about three blocks from my home.

I have, in the past, purchased milk in both of these markets which has soured before we could use it. I remember one time near the end of September I bought a carton of Marin Dell milk which spoiled. I have noticed that the milk cartons have numbers and letters stamped on them but I do not know what these codes mean. I would like very much to be able to read and understand these codes so that I could tell the milk we buy is fresh. When I have gotten sour milk in the past I have not taken it back because it is too difficult to have to go to the markets again. If I could read the dates on the milk then I would be able to save money by buying only fresh milk which will keep until we need to use it.

I cannot go to a supermarket very often because the nearest one is a Safeway which is about 12 or 15 blocks from my home. I have to depend on the local markets, therefore, and since they do not do as much business as a supermarket, I think it is very important that they be required to keep only fresh products on their shelves. This is especially true since many of their regu-

lar customers are people who, like myself, use these markets because shopping is difficult and they are unable to go long distances to bigger markets.

I declare, under penalty of perjury, that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed in San Francisco, California, on November 13, 1970.

LANA STEPHENSON.

#### DECLARATION

I, Laurs Laursen, declare and say:

I live alone at 225 Hyde Street, Apt. 621, San Francisco, California. I have lived there since April, 1970. Earlier I lived a few blocks away at 957 Mission Street for four years. I am 76 years old and my only income is from Social Security and Old Age Security.

I generally purchase my groceries at the Safeway market at Market and Post Streets. This market is about two miles from where I live and I have to take the bus to get there. One of the main reasons I shop there is because I can usually understand the shelf dates on some of their products.

I have been aware of these shelf dates for a long time. Some years ago when I was living in Mendocino County, I lived a great distance from the nearest market. When the milk I bought began to sour often, I began to carefully look at the shelf dates. But I could only guess about what the numbers on the carton meant. At Safeway they mark their Lucerne milk pretty clearly: there is one number for the month and another number for the day. Although I sometimes shop at Lucky also, I never could understand their codes. Now I understand that Lucky Stores have marked their dates clearly on milk. But when I bought half-and-half there two weeks ago, I could not find any marking at all.

Sometimes I have to buy milk at the local "Princess Market" on the corner of Hyde and Eddy because I am in a hurry. There they sell only Borden's and Berkeley Farms milk. I can't understand these codes because there are many letters and few numbers marked on the carton, so I have to take my chances and sometimes this milk has gone sour.

I declare, under penalty of perjury, that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed at San Francisco, California, on November 10, 1970.

LAURS LAURSEN.

#### DECLARATION

I, Jean Barker, say and declare:

I am 59 years old and I receive Aid to Totally Disabled. I live alone at 696 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, California.

Since I am disabled, the welfare department has provided an aide to assist me in my shopping. I try to do all my shopping during the hours when she is with me. I usually buy milk every two or three days at the B and H Grocery, at the corner of 19th and Guerrero. I also buy milk when I do my weekly shopping at Safeway, which is at 21st and South Van Ness, about five blocks from where I live.

I have always had trouble with milk going sour only a couple of days after I bought it. About four months ago the girl that shopped with me showed me that Safeway marks the date on their Lucerne milk. Since then, I have always been careful to read the dates, and I have had no problem with sour milk from Safeway.

When I tried to read the dates at the corner store, I found it to be impossible. At Safeway they have two numbers, one for the month and another for the day. At the corner store they sell Borden's and Foremost, and their numbers don't jibe like Safeway's. Sometimes there aren't even any numbers on the milk—just letters. I wondered what they were trying to do—hide things from me? And this milk, as I have said, has gone sour. But I still have to buy milk there, since I can only get to Safeway once a week.

JEAN BARKER.

## DECLARATION

I, Helen Diaso, say and declare:

I am a widow living at 308 Eddy Street, San Francisco, California. I am 65 years old. My only sources of income are Social Security and Veterans' benefits. I buy all my milk at the Crown Market, which is at the corner of Jones and Ellis streets, a block from where I live. I buy milk at this market because I know it is always fresh. I also know the days on which the Foremost truck comes and delivers the milk, and I usually buy milk on those days. I drink milk regularly, as I feel it is important to my health, and I always want it to be fresh.

I also like to shop at the Safeway Market on Polk and Eddy streets, because the prices are usually lower. But I don't buy any milk there, because I can't be sure it is fresh. I understand that Safeway does mark the date on their milk, but if they do it mustn't be very large, because I have never found it.

Before I started shopping at Crown Market, the milk I bought went sour many times. Now that I have found one market which sells fresh milk, I will not buy milk anywhere else. But if the markets put the dates on the milk, I then could feel safe in buying it other places. I understand that Lucky Stores now place the date on their milk. But since there are no Lucky Stores near me, I cannot buy milk there.

HELEN DIASO.

## DECLARATION

I, Katharine W. Rider, declare and say:

I am a retired elementary school teacher. I live alone at 401 Hyde Street in San Francisco. Kitty-corner across from where I live is the Serve-Well Market at 595 Ellis. Since I do not have a car I would prefer to do most of my shopping at this market. However, Serve-Well only carries Bordens and Spreckels milk, cream, and half-and-half. Both of their dairies use a tricky code on the pour spout of their milk and cream cartons that supposedly, if you can translate it, tells you when the milk and cream should be pulled from the shelf. I cannot understand the code, so there is no way for me to tell how fresh the milk or cream is that I buy at Serve-Well. Because I live alone, I often keep milk for several days before I drink or use it all. The fresher the milk is, the better for my purposes.

On Geary Street in San Francisco, about two blocks from where I live is a Safeway market. Safeway now has a fairly clear pull date on its milk and cream. There are just two numbers stamped in a wax impression on the pour spout. The first number is for the month and the second number, the day of the month. Safeway has only recently used such open dating. Eleven months ago, for example, I bought a pint of half-and-half at the Safeway store on Eddy and Polk Street in San Francisco. Though I took the half-and-half home right away while it was chilled and opened it that night, it was still sour. I did not know then that pull dates were on the pour spout of milk cartons. Had I known, however, it wouldn't have made any difference as I understand Safeway was using a code then instead of the open dating they now have. Though the Serve-Well is closer to me than the Safeway on Geary Street, I prefer to shop at Safeway because prices are somewhat cheaper and I can tell how fresh the milk is that I buy there.

On October 14, I bought a quart of Challenge low fat milk at the Giannini Food Fair, 75 5th Street in San Francisco. I brought the milk right home and put it in my refrigerator, which is quite cold. That evening I opened the milk, and it was sour. I didn't take this quart of milk back to Giannini's as I did the pint of half-and-half to Safeway's, because Giannini's was farther away and it was just too much trouble.

Sometimes when I need just a few items I go to the Serve-Well Market closest to my

apartment. However, when there are only a few quarts of milk left in the stall at Serve-Well, I am afraid to buy one of them because I suspect they may not be fresh. If there was open dating on the Bordens and Spreckels milk then I would know just how fresh it is and would feel safe about buying it.

A couple of times within the last two weeks, I have taken the bus and gone to shop at the Lucky Store on Eddy Street between Octavia and Laguna. This store I feel has the best kind of open dating on its milk, an abbreviation for the month and a plain number for the day of the month in large blue or purple letters on the pour spout. I like their open dating best because it calls the shopper's attention to the pull date and helps her to think if she is going to use the milk right away or keep it in her home for a few days before use. However, even Lucky Stores have not gone to open dating on cream and half-and-half; they still use a code that I cannot figure out so if I want to know how fresh the cream or half-and-half is I have to go to Safeway. If there was open dating on all milk and cream then I could shop more intelligently and without fear that the milk I was buying would go sour on me before I could use it.

I declare, under penalty of perjury, that the foregoing is true and correct.

Executed at San Francisco, California, on November —, 1970.

KATHARINE W. RIDER.

Esther Talavera, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

As a consumer I feel I should be informed about the packaging of food products, especially dairy products so that I can know which are freshest. Products should be labeled clearly with a simple "pull" date as opposed to a code.

Sometimes I buy products that do not last as long as I expect them to when I buy them. The quality of dairy products is especially important to me because I have six children.

I work in the kitchen at a hospital and I have noticed that on occasion patients have received sour milk because the workers in the kitchen failed to rotate the milk purchases. If the "pull" date was clearly marked the kitchen workers would obviously be able to serve fresh milk only. I do not wish to name the hospital which employs me for I fear I may lose my job. However, I will give this information to the Court if I can be assured that my testimony will not get back to my employer.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true.

Esther V. Talavera.

## TRIBUTE TO BOYD CRAWFORD

## HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues in expressing my high regard for Boyd Crawford upon the occasion of his retirement as staff administrator of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

In the almost 18 years that I have served on this committee, I have come to admire Boyd Crawford, both for his skills as a professional and for his qualities as a human being.

In his role as staff administrator, I always found him to be eminently fair in his dealings with members of the com-

mittee, regardless of their political persuasion. He possesses many talents that were invaluable to the committee. He is skilled at human relations, at working with people of diverse views, at expressing ideas orally or in writing, and at parliamentary procedure. In short, he possesses a combination of talents that were unique for a man in his position. In addition, Boyd is a fine human being, a man of character and integrity, and a good friend.

Capitol Hill has long been home to Boyd Crawford. He was born in a house located at the site of the Taft memorial and most of his career has been devoted to serving the House of Representatives. I trust that from time to time he will interrupt his many hobbies to visit his friends on Capitol Hill, and permit them to benefit once again from his warm spirit and his incomparable fund of legislative knowledge.

## PRIDE ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES ON THE VERGE OF BANKRUPTCY

## HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, Pride Economic Enterprises, Washington, D.C.'s 2½-year-old experiment in black capitalism, is on the verge of bankruptcy. Unless the fledgling corporation raises \$50,000 immediately, it will have to fold. Conceived as an independent, profitmaking venture, PEE is an offshoot of Youth Pride, Inc., a manpower program entirely funded by the Department of Labor.

Pride's directors blame the economic recession for their failure, but admit that topheavy payrolls have had a great deal to do with it, too. Pride has consistently followed a policy of overhiring, partly in order to employ as many young ghetto residents as possible, but partly because it takes three hard-core unemployed persons to do the job of one experienced worker.

Pride has other problems as well. The General Accounting Office reports that sloppy managerial and accounting practices are also responsible for Pride's penury. The GAO is unable to trace almost \$150,000 of a \$1.2 million Federal antipoverty grant awarded to Pride Economic Enterprises a year ago. Mismanagement rather than theft is thought to be responsible for the discrepancy in accounts. Nevertheless, Pride has had its share of troubles with dishonest employees as well. Last February, as the result of a previous GAO investigation, 17 Pride employees were indicted for fraud. Workers at Pride's gas stations, moreover, have been known to pull guns on their customers. Not surprisingly, the corporation's public relations have suffered, and public confidence in the enterprise is at a low ebb.

Sympathetic though we may be with the difficulties encountered by inexperienced black capitalists, it is difficult to see why a little commonsense could not

have been applied to the undertaking. The Federal Government spends millions of dollars a year to train the unemployed and unemployable precisely because such people require extensive preparation to perform effectively in a business environment. It would be more logical to employ ghetto residents who have graduated from such a program than to attempt a training program and profit-making enterprise in one, especially where sound managerial expertise is lacking, as is obviously the case with Pride. The management in this organization is apparently as much in need of basic training as its employees.

Pride's problems, however, cannot be attributed entirely to shortsightedness on the part of its managers. Government bureaucrats who encourage the notion that massive infusions of Federal funds alone will solve all problems are equally to blame for Pride's fall. The failure of this enterprise was entirely predictable in view of the way it was handled. The Federal grant, supposedly designed to help Pride become self-sufficient was administered in the usual way—that is, not at all. There was little or no control, supervision on review of the program. Consequently, this expenditure of the taxpayers' money accomplished nothing constructive. Few, if any, of the trainees have gone on to permanent jobs in the private sector. Pride is back where it started—broke—and the taxpayers are the poorer by a million dollars. Sooner or later, they will demand an accounting. Once, just once, the people who pay the bill would like to hear a success story which could justify the constant drain on their limited resources.

#### MOVEMENT TO ABOLISH COMMITTEES ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

**HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, due to the recent controversy which has arisen over the activities of the House Committee on Internal Security I think it would be appropriate at this time to insert in the RECORD a summary analysis of the formation and operations of a group known as the National Committee To Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee/House Internal Security Committee. This excellent report was prepared by the California Senate Factfinding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities.

Over the years this subcommittee, under the leadership of Democrat Hugh Burns, has done yeoman work in keeping the people of California informed about the activities of various subversive organizations and individuals. This report on NCA-HUAC/HISC is extracted from the California Factfinding Subcommittee's 15th report which was issued in 1970.

The purpose of the organization calling itself NCA-HUAC/HISC, as docu-

mented by the California Senate Factfinding Subcommittee, is exactly what its name implies. It was organized and today operates to destroy that committee of the House of Representatives whose duty it is to investigate and report to the Members of the House on matters dealing with internal subversion.

The national executive director of NCA-HUAC/HISC is Mr. Frank Wilkinson. Mr. Wilkinson has been identified under oath as a member of the Communist Party. In 1952, when he appeared as a witness before the California Senate Factfinding Subcommittee, he invoked the fifth amendment in response to all questions dealing with his Communist affiliations and activities.

In another instance he was cited for contempt by the House Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives for refusing to answer all questions concerning his Communist membership and, at the same time, refusing to invoke the fifth amendment as justification for his refusal to answer. For this contempt he served 1 year in a Federal penal institution.

The California Factfinding Subcommittee points out that "mere membership in a Communist-front organization does not necessarily imply that a member is pro-Communist." The subcommittee goes on, however, to say that—

It is hard to conceive of a person of intelligence belonging to . . . NCA-HUAC/HISC under Frank Wilkinson's leadership, however, without being fully aware of the real nature of these groups.

I would recommend that my colleagues familiarize themselves with the operations of this organization and the individuals connected with it. It is quite likely that its activities will pick up as the Communist Party fights against the internal security legislation necessary to preserve the freedoms of the majority of our citizens.

The analysis follows:

#### MOVEMENT TO ABOLISH COMMITTEES ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

In 1959 the late Aubrey Williams set about to organize a national movement for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; to unify the isolated and uncoordinated local groups dedicated to attack the Committee, which we will hereafter refer to as HUAC.

HUAC convened at San Francisco in May 1960, and during its hearings there was a mobilization against it by thousands of defiant young people, led by members of SLATE, from the Berkeley campus of the University of California, and by other radical groups from the Bay area. The highly controversial film "Operation Abolition" resulted from these demonstrations, which were forerunners of succeeding activities, such as those on Van Ness Avenue and at Sheraton-Palace Hotel, and that were to culminate in the Berkeley rebellion of 1964.

On Wednesday, August 17, 1960, Professor and Mrs. Joseph Morray held a meeting in their home at 2963 Magnolia Street, Berkeley. Mimeographed copies of the minutes of the meeting were widely distributed in an effort to arouse interest in bringing these anti-HUAC organizations together in a formidable unit that would have the political strength and the necessary membership and financial ability to make a determined effort against the reconstitution of HUAC by the House of Representatives of the United States Con-

gress. The House Committee, which has been functioning since 1938, issued numerous reports as a result of its hearings, and took testimony from many undercover informants who were members of the Communist Party and its galaxy of front organizations. In these reports the exposure of Communist activities and organizations throughout the United States was made available to the American people, and kept Congress accurately informed as to the extent of domestic subversion. It was natural, of course, that it would be met by determined opposition from the elements it exposed.

Forty-eight people were present at the home of Professor and Mrs. Morray and represented the following organizations: East Bay Community Forum, Students Civil Liberties Union, Friends Committee on Legislation, Grassrooters Club, Democratic Party, Berkeley Community YWCA, SLATE, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Associated Students of Social Welfare, University of California, North California American Jewish Congress, Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice, National Lawyers Guild, California Democratic Council, Trinity Methodist Church Committee on Christian Social Relations.

The meeting adjourned after deciding to call a Bay area conference, to establish a speakers panel, and to coordinate all California groups opposing HUAC.

Among these groups were two in Los Angeles that we devoted considerable space to in previous reports. They were the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms and the Constitutional Liberties Information Center. A letterhead of the first organization discloses that its address was 555 Northwestern Avenue, Los Angeles, and that its office coordinator was Betty Rottger. Others who were active in the organization included Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Dorothy Marshall, Frank Wilkinson, Jack Berman, Frank Spector, Martin Hall, Raphael Konigsberg, James Burford, William Elconin, John Howard Lawson, Rose Chernin, and Albert Maltz. Dr. Herbert Aptheker, the father of Bettina Aptheker Kurzwel, was scheduled to be the main speaker at a meeting of the organization which was held on July 8, 1955, in the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles.

By 1961 the National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee had perfected its organization. Aubrey Williams was its chairman, Dorothy Marshall was secretary, Judge Robert W. Kenny was treasurer and the field representative was Frank Wilkinson. National headquarters was established in Washington at the Carroll Arms Hotel, First and C Streets, Washington, D.C. In January 1966 the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms sent a letter to all members of its executive board and its sustaining contributors to the effect that the organization now presented for consideration the following propositions:

1. The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms be dissolved.
2. A new organization to be known as "Southern Californians to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee," be established. The letterhead and literature of the new organization would carry the following information: "Formerly, Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms," and "Affiliate: National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee."
3. The Executive Board of the new organization would consist of all present members of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms Executive Board who wished to continue on the Board, and one or more representatives to be invited from each Congressional District in southern California.
4. The new organization would be responsible for all funds raised in southern California for the HUAC Abolition Campaign; develop a budget; and allocate funds for local and national abolition work. First claim on funds raised by the new organization would

be for payment of the salary of National Executive Director, Frank Wilkinson, and for the overhead, rent and telephone, of the national office in Los Angeles of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee.

5. The new organization would select a staff person, voluntary or paid, to work on a part-time or full-time program to coordinate Congressional District activities, education work, fund raising, and other duties the organization would establish to further the HUAC Abolition program in southern California.

The present executive board of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms will continue until such time as the above proposals can be acted on. Five members of the present CCPAF Board were named to implement the above program, if approved. Dorothy Marshall, chairman; Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman; Raphael Konigsberg; Betty Rottger; and Vic Shapiro; Frank Wilkinson, ex-officio.

Attached to this letter, which bore the signature of Betty Rottger, was a ballot mailed to all members, and as a result of the returns, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms was liquidated.

Shortly thereafter similar actions were taken by some of the other local organizations, and under the efficient guidance of Mr. Wilkinson, the national organization gathered momentum and strength.

Wilkinson, who had served as executive secretary of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, has been frequently mentioned in our reports. He first appeared before us as a witness during our investigation of the Los Angeles Housing Authority in 1952 and was on that occasion represented by three attorneys: Judge Robert W. Kenney, Robert S. Morris and Daniel G. Marshall. He invoked the Fifth Amendment in response to all questions about his Communist affiliations and activities, but there was ample evidence from the testimony of those in the Party with him to establish his membership. Mrs. Anita Schneider so testified as did Robert C. Ronstadt, and other witnesses on separate occasions. Mrs. Schneider and Ronstadt both having been undercover members of the Communist Party reporting to the F.B.I. for several years.

Ronstadt testified that he and Wilkinson were selected as members of an elite security Communist unit and that when the Housing Authority investigation was under way, his "specific instructions at that time were to hold Frank up and keep him from breaking, because he was close to breaking. The hierarchy of the Party at that time felt that there was a possibility of breaking Frank, and, as a result, I used to pick him up just about every evening when he was before the Committee or waiting to be heard. Of course, I instructed him to plead nothing else but the Fifth, and give his name and plead the Fifth, and this was it, and that I hammered home to him." (See testimony of Robert C. Ronstadt, HUAC, Oct. 10, 1962.)

When Wilkinson later appeared as a witness before HUAC, however, he refused to answer all questions concerning his Communist membership, and he also refused to rely on the protection of the Fifth Amendment. He was therefore found guilty of contempt of Congress, and after his conviction was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court on February 27, 1961, he was compelled to spend a year in a Federal penal institution. (*Congressional Record*, May 3, 1961.)

#### GROWTH AND ACTIVITIES

During the late summer of 1957 Wilkinson interviewed Congressmen and some of their staff members to determine what the general Congressional attitude would be toward the reconstitution of the House Committee, and thereafter reported his findings in a detailed statement to several interested parties. He

had taken a leave of absence from the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms and was assisting another front organization in New York, The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, in making this survey. The contacts made and the responses received were of great value in his later duties, after liquidation of the Citizens Committee in Los Angeles and the launching of the new National Committee to Abolish HUAC in 1960.

Both local and national anti-HUAC offices were situated at 555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles. Dorothy Marshall, who has been chairman of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, was elected chairman of the organization that replaced it, Southern Californians to Abolish HUAC. The sponsors included James Berland, who in 1969 was an assistant to Rose Chernin in her front organization, Farrell Broslawski, Donald Kalish and Irving Sarnoff. Mrs. Marshall was also a vice-president in the national organization to Abolish HUAC.

In 1961, 23 years after the creation of HUAC and less than a year after the new anti-HUAC organization was established to abolish it, the House of Representatives re-established it by a vote of 412 to 6, with an appropriation of \$331,000.00. (*New York Times*, March 5, 1961.)

Wilkinson was hard at work in his new role, perfecting details of establishing a network of centers in strategic locations and linking them together in a powerful, smoothly-functioning chain. Two years later, the House Committee was mandated to continue its work by a vote of 385 to 20, and a top appropriation of \$360,000.00. (*Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 28, 1963). But Wilkinson's organization had been raising money, too. Envelopes were mailed soliciting contributions and signatures on petitions for the abolition of the House Committee. Recipients of these postpaid return envelopes were directed to: "Make checks payable to Robert W. Kenny, Treasurer, National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities, 555 North Western Avenue, Room 2, P.O. Box 74757, Los Angeles 4, California."

By the summer of 1964, the letterhead of NCA-HUAC (National Committee to Abolish HUAC), listed the following officers:

Honorary Chairmen: James Imbrie, Alexander Meiklejohn, Clarence Pickett.

Chairman Emeritus: Aubrey W. Williams. Chairman: Harvey O'Connor, Little Compton R.I.

Vice Chairmen: Dorothy Marshall, Coordinator; Sylvia E. Crane, Organization and Liaison, PO Box 423, Cathedral Station New York City, 25 NY; Charles Jackson, East Coast Region; Harry Barnard, Midwest Section; Rev. Edward L. Peet, West Coast Region.

Southern Region Committee: Carl Braden, John Lewis, Rev. C. T. Vivian, Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker.

Secretary: Prof. Walter S. Vincent.

Treasurer: Robert W. Kenny.

Exec. Director and Field Representative: Frank Wilkinson.

Midwest Regional Office, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 431 South Dearborn Street, Room 424, Chicago 5, Illinois

East Coast Regional Office, New York Council to Abolish HUAC, 150 West 34th Street, Room 442, New York City, 1

Legislative Office, Washington Area Committee for the Abolition of HUAC, P.O. Box 2558, Washington 13, DC.

Despite the determined efforts of NCA-HUAC, Congress continued to provide funds for the investigation of domestic subversion, and even some of HUAC's most vocal critics were forced to concede that it had accomplished some extremely valuable work. But these concessions came from the liberals, never from Communists. The liberals were critical of some of HUAC's techniques. The Communists were inherently dedicated to

the opposition of any investigation of subversion, because the principal target would necessarily be the Communist Party and its network of front organizations.

The use of the word "abolition" in the title of this anti-HUAC Front carried a concept of utter liquidation. There was no compromise in the attack by the Communists and no suggestion of reform. As the new drive picked up momentum its propaganda began to demand the abolition of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, as well as HUAC. And since 1967 the attack has been expanded to include all state legislative committees, including this one which has been in continuous operation for the California Legislature for the past 30 years.

Generally the efforts against the California Subcommittee and its predecessor committees have been run from the San Francisco office of the Wilkinson organization, and have included printed attacks, attempts to ascertain in advance what the contents of the reports would be and to emasculate them, attempts to mobilize political opposition, and the instigation of harassing tactics in general. The same tactics have, of course, been employed against the other legislative agencies, including the Subversive Activities Control Board.

This broadening of the scope of NCA-HUAC provoked some opposition among its members and staff, and when HUAC became a standing committee and thereafter changed its name to the House Internal Security Committee, the anti-HUAC organization was compelled to expand its already cumbersome name from the National Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities (NCA-HUAC), to the National Committee to Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities/House Committee on Internal Security, (NCA-HUAC/HISC).

#### NATIONAL CONFERENCE 1967

The House of Representatives appropriated \$425,000.00 for HUAC in 1966, the vote being 299 to 24. This was considerably more than had been anticipated, as the January, 1966 issue of *Abolition News*, NCA-HUAC publication, stated that the 1965 grant of \$420,000.00 had been "unprecedented", and predicted that "HUAC's 1966 appropriation request faces an increasingly critical House of Representatives." Shortly thereafter the "unprecedented" 1965 grant was boosted by \$5,000.00. This appropriation naturally provided a topic of almost continuous discussion at the National Conference, held in Chicago at the Pick-Congress Hotel, April 8 and 9, 1967. From the schedules, rosters and records of proceedings circulated at this conference, it is learned that Chairman Harvey O'Connor opened the conference on the morning of April 8, and after introducing the staff members and national officers, the balance of the two-day session was occupied with speeches, discussions and panels. A roster of those present, as issued at the Pick-Congress Hotel, was as follows:

Donna Allen, Washington representative, 3306 Ross Place, NW, Washington, D.C. 20008;

Prof. Russell Allen, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan;

Frank A. Anglin, Jr., President, Chicago Chapter, National Lawyers Guild, and Treasurer, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 33 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60602;

Rev. William Baird, Essex Community Church, Executive Director, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 7240 South Blackstone, Chicago 60619;

Simon Beagle, American Federation of Teachers, 215 East Dunhill Road, Bronx, New York 10467;

Bernice Belton, Executive Secretary, Southern Californians to Abolish HUAC; Director NCA-HUAC's Southern California Area Office,

555 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90004;

Prof. Daniel M. Berman, American University, NCA-HUAC's Vice-Chairman East Coast, 1901 F Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20006;

Barbara Bernstein, Chairman, Dayton Committee for the Bill of Rights, 1426 Katalpa Drive, Dayton, Ohio 45408;

Barbara Bloomfield, NCA-HUAC's Southern Regional Director, 3210 West Broadway, Room 4, Louisville, Kentucky 40211;

H. H. Booker, International Workers of the World, 536 North Rush Street, Room 621, Chicago, Illinois 60611;

Carl Braden, Director, Southern Conference Educational Fund, 4403 Virginia Avenue, Louisville, Kentucky 40211;

Prof. Francis Broadhurst, College of Emporia, Emporia, Kansas, Committee to Abolish HUAC;

Prof. Howard Buchbinder, Social Worker and Consultant to the office of Economic Opportunity, 7334 Dorset Street, St. Louis, Missouri, 63130;

Rev. Edwin T. Buehrer, Third Unitarian Church Board of Directors, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 132 North Menard Street, Chicago, Illinois 60644;

Edward Carey, Board of Directors, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 3630 West 13th Street, Robbins, Illinois, 60472;

Michael S. Chrisman, Student, Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Illinois, 60045;

Charles Cogen, International President, American Federation of Teachers, 535 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, 60611;

Tess Cogen, 535 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, 60611;

Milton Cohen, 5322 Kimbark Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60615;

Prof. Verne Countryman, Harvard University, Chairman, Massachusetts Committee to Abolish HUAC, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138;

Sylvia E. Crane, NCA-HUAC's Vice-Chairman, Organization and Liaison, 315 West 106th Street, Room 16B, New York, NY 10025;

Richard Criley, Secretary, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights and NCA-HUAC's Midwest Regional Director, 431 South Dearborn Street, Room 803, Chicago, Illinois, 60605;

F. Crowley, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 5047 Glenwood Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60640;

Prof. Stanton L. Davis, Clevelanders for Constitutional Freedom, 3828 East Antisdale Road, Cleveland, Ohio 44118;

Ernest DeMalo, United Electrical Workers Vice-President, 27 South Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, 60607;

Jerry DeMuth, Journalist, 1943 West Chase Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60626;

Annette Dieckmann, American Civil Liberties Union, Chicago, Illinois;

Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, Yale University, NCA-HUAC's Advisor on Constitutional Law, 2271 Ridgeroad, North Haven, Connecticut 06473;

Carl F. Farris, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1435 North Hudson Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610;

Abe Feinglass, International Vice-President, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, 2800 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois 60657;

Hugh Fowler, Chairman, DuBois Clubs of America, 180 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60606;

Peter L. Gale, Greater Philadelphia ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union), 4604 Chester Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19143;

Dale Gronemeler, Executive Secretary, Northern Californians to Abolish HUAC and NCA-HUAC's Northern California Area Director, 1842 East 25th Street, Oakland, California, 94606;

Loretta Hall, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1435 North Hudson Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610;

Freeda Harris, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Member Clevelanders for Constitutional Rights, 2445 Derbyshire Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44106;

Hazel Henderson, Emporia Committee to Abolish HUAC, 132 West Twelfth Street, Room 9, Emporia, Kansas, 66801;

Mrs. Ernest Higgins, National Board, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 834 South Kenilworth Street, Oak Park, Illinois 60304;

Rev. Herschel Hughes, Chairman, Social Action Committee, United Church of Christ, 228 West Sixth Street, Tilton, Illinois;

Solon Ice, Secretary, Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, 7947 South Woodlawn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60619;

L. H. Jackson, Vice-President, West Side Chapter, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 3450 West Jackson Street, Chicago, Illinois 60624;

David Jehnson, Coordinator West Side Christian Parish and Board Member, Chicago, Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 3101 West Warren Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois 60612;

Prof. Michael Johnson, Emporia Committee to Abolish HUAC, 1208 Beverly Street, Emporia, Kansas, 66801;

Chester Kamin, Attorney at Law, Raymond, Mayer, Jenner and Block, 135 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois 60603;

John Kerney, Director, Independent Voters of Illinois, 22 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois 60603;

Marjorie Kinsella, Secretary, Chicago Peace Council, 2552 North Southport Street, Chicago, Illinois 60614;

David LeMau, DuBois Clubs of America, 10727 Ewing Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60617;

Sidney Lens, Business Representative, Local 329 United Service Employees' Union, 5436 Hyde Park Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois 60615;

Rubin Lenske, Oregon Committee to Abolish HUAC, 7243 Southeast 34th Street, Portland, Oregon 97214;

Arnold Lockshin, Secretary, Massachusetts Committee to Abolish HUAC and New England Regional Director for NCA-HUAC, 144A Mount Auburn Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138;

Jo Longiaru, Dayton Committee for the Bill of Rights, 521 Otterbein Street, Dayton, Ohio, 45406;

Prof. David R. Luce, University of Michigan, Milwaukee Chapter, American Civil Liberties Union, 2914 North Downer, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211;

Prof. Curtis MacDougall, Northwestern University, Vice-Chairman, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 537 Judson Avenue, Evanston, Illinois 60202;

Richard J. Maiman, Student Body President, Lake Forest College, Box 499, Chicago, Illinois 60045;

Dorothy Marshall, Chairman, Southern Californians to Abolish HUAC, NCA-HUAC's Vice Chairman and Coordinator, 555 North Western Avenue, Room 2, Los Angeles, California 90004;

Ernest Mazey, Director, American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan, and an Observer for the National Office of the ACLU, 1600 Washington Boulevard Building, Detroit, Michigan 48226;

Horace McGill, Congress of Racial Equality, 5475 Cabanne Street, St. Louis, Missouri 63112;

Fr. F. J. McGraph, St. Fibarr Roman Catholic Church, 1359 South Harding Street, Chicago, Illinois 60623;

James Melton, Emporia Committee to Abolish HUAC, 512 Turner Road Emporia, Kansas 66801;

Ann Mercer, Clevelanders for Constitutional Rights, 5207 Gifford Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44144;

Lyle Mercer, Executive Secretary, Washington State Committee to Abolish HUAC, Member State Board and Chairman of Committee on HUAC, American Civil Liberties Union of Washington, and NCA-HUAC's Western Regional Director, 747 21st Avenue East, Seattle, Washington 98102;

Frances Mihelich, 37 South Ashland, Chicago, Illinois 60607;

Jay Miller, Executive Director, Illinois Division of American Civil Liberties Union and an Observer for the National office of the ACLU.

19 South La Salle, Chicago, Illinois 60603; Patti Miller, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1957 North Bissell, Chicago, Illinois 60614;

Susan Miller, DuBois Clubs of America, 4916 North Glenwood Street, Chicago Illinois 60640;

Donna Morgan, Students for a Democratic Society, 4717 North Bernard, Chicago, Illinois 60625;

Fr. Richard Morrisroe, Our Lady of Angels, Roman Catholic Church, 730 North Wabash, Chicago, Illinois 60611;

Ruth Muench, Board of Directors, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 5522 South Everitt, Chicago, Illinois 60637;

Rev. Richard Mumma, Chaplain, Harvard University, Treasurer, Massachusetts Committee to Abolish HUAC, 1785 Cambridge Street, Massachusetts 02138;

Russ Nixon, 171 Hicks Street, Brooklyn, New York 11201;

Betty Norbeck, Iowa City Committee to Abolish HUAC, 22 Montrose, Iowa City, Iowa 52240;

Prof. Victor Obenaus, Chicago Theological Seminary, Vice-Chairman Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 5757 University, Chicago, Illinois 60637;

Harvey O'Connor, Chairman, NCA-HUAC, Little Compton, Rhode Island, 02837;

Charles Ostrofsky, 670 North Tippicanoe, Gary, Indiana 46403;

Richard Orlikoff, Attorney at Law, 1371 East Park Place, Chicago, Illinois 60637;

Rev. Edward L. Peet, Methodist Church, Hayward, California, Chairman, Northern Californians to Abolish HUAC, NCA-HUAC's Vice-Chairman, Western Region, 628 Schaefer Road, Hayward, California 94544;

Reed Peoples, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 10231 South Peoria Street, Chicago, Illinois 60643;

Jesse Prostein, International Representative, United Packing House Workers of America, 4800 Chicago Beach Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60615;

Albert A. Raby, Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, 366 East 47th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60638;

Don Rose, Board of Directors, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 5006 South Dorchester, Chicago, Illinois 60649;

Prof. Theodore and Amy Rosebury, Washington University Emeritus, NCA-HUAC sponsor, 6837 South Bennett, Chicago, Illinois 60649;

Ralph Russell, Treasurer Washington Area Committee for the Abolition of HUAC, 2930 Legation, Washington, D.C. 20015.

Louis B. Rosenthal, Student, Lake Forest College, Box 618, Lake Forest, Illinois 60045;

Norman Roth, President, Local 6, United Auto Workers Union, 307 South Central, Chicago, Illinois 60644;

Judith Rudnick, Northern Californians to Abolish HUAC, 2626 Fulton Street, Berkeley, California 94704;

Dennis Schreiber, Staff Assistant, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 431 South Dearborn Street, Room 806, Chicago, Illinois 60605;

Henry Siegel, Clevelanders for Constitutional Rights, 5207 Gifford, Cleveland, Ohio 44144;

Jack Spiegel, Director of Organization,

United Shoe Workers Union; Chairman, Spring Mobilization, Chicago Area; Treasurer, Trade Union Division, Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy; Board of Directors, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, 647 Buckingham Place, Chicago, Illinois 60657;

Robert Schwartz, Students for a Democratic Society, Roosevelt University, 4821 North Paulina, Chicago, Illinois 60640;

Naomi Tabbert, Observer, Chairman, Anti-HUAC Committee, Toledo and Ohio Division, American Civil Liberties Union, 3616 Wyckliffe, Toledo, Ohio 43613;

Marnesba Tackett, Director, United Civil Rights Council, 2540 Fourth Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90018;

Eugene Tournour, Regional Action Council, Congress of Racial Equality, 204 West North Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60610;

Prof. Walter S. Vincent, University of Pittsburgh, NCA-HUAC's Secretary, 209 Sleepy Hollow Road, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15216;

Rev. C. T. and Octavia Vivian, Executive Board, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Southern Conference Educational Fund, 6836 South Merrill, Chicago, Illinois 60649.

James Milburn, Chairman, East-West Coordinating Council, St. Louis, Missouri;

Prof. L. T. and Laura Wily, Northwestern University, 1210 Gregory Street, Wilmette, Illinois, 60091;

Frank Wilkinson, NCA-HUAC's Executive Director-Field Representative.

#### POST-CONFERENCE STAFF MEETING

Apparently all of the business of the NCA-HUAC was not settled during the transactions at the Chicago Convention, because less than three months thereafter a high-level staff meeting was held at the Greenwood Lodge at Soquel, Santa Cruz County, California. It is operated by William and Elsie Beltram, who before assuming management of the Lodge, resided in Oakland where they were active in various Communist front organizations, especially those sponsored by or on behalf of the *Peoples World*. (See 1953 *California Report*, pages 278, 282; 1961 *California report*, page 30.)

Those who were scheduled to attend the Greenwood Lodge meeting were Mr. and Mrs. Frank Wilkinson; Mr. and Mrs. Rotger, Dale Gronemeier, from the San Francisco office; Arnold Lockshin, Director of the New England region; Lyle Mercer, from the Seattle office; Richard Criley from the office at Chicago; Dorothy Marshall, national coordinator and former officer of Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms; Donna Allen, from the office at Washington, D.C.; Miriam Rothschild and Judy Rudnick, from San Francisco; Carl and Anne Braden, from Kentucky; Rev. Edward Peet, Vice-Chairman of the West Coast region from Hayward, California, and Barbara Bloomfield, Southern Regional office in Kentucky.

The 1968 letterheads of NCA-HUAC disclose that Mrs. Judith Soltes Rudnick had been Director of Northern California area, and also that Robert S. Morris had replaced Judge Robert Kenny as National Treasurer. This change, we assume, was occasioned when Kenny was appointed to the Superior Court Bench in Los Angeles by former Governor Pat Brown after his defeat by Governor Reagan, and should have made little practical difference in the operation of this national organization, since Mr. Morris was an attorney in Kenny's office, and was a counsel, with Kenny and the late Daniel Marshall, when Frank Wilkinson appeared before our Committee during the investigation of the Los Angeles Housing Authority in 1952. (1953 *California Report*, page 86.) It should be observed, however, that Judge Kenny continued to occupy an official position in another Communist front organization also operated

by a Communist Party functionary, the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights.

In 1968, Dale Gronemeier, who had been Executive Director of the NCA-HUAC office in San Francisco, decided to resign following a disagreement with the majority of the national staff over the expanded activities and operational techniques of the organization. He was also embroiled in a dispute with the Department of Rhetoric on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. He was employed as a teaching assistant in the Rhetoric Department, and charged political bias on the part of the Department Head, Professor Leonard Nathan. Gronemeier also was Vice-President of the Teaching Assistants' Union, and Conn Hallinan, who was instrumental in the organizing of the DuBois Clubs, and was now President of Local 1570 American Federation of Teachers, joined Gronemeier in the attack against Professor Nathan.

Thus Gronemeier was fully occupied with his own operation to abolish the head of his University Department, and dropped away from the operation to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities. (*Daily Californian*, May 13, 1969.) Hallinan is quoted as charging that "A political purge of union activists is underway in the Department of Rhetoric, with the full knowledge and cooperation of its chairman, Leonard Nathan."

The Gronemeier disaffection from NCA-HUAC was one of several personnel changes that occurred during 1968 and 1969. The organization was originally created for the sole purpose of bringing about the liquidation of the House Committee. Then it was expanded to bring about the abolition of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and then all legislative committees, both state, and federal, engaged in the investigation of domestic subversion.

#### TENTH NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING

On March 22-24, 1969, the NCA-HUAC/HISC (it was in 1969 that the House Committee changed its name from House Committee on Un-American Activities to House Internal Security Committee), met in its tenth session, this one designated "Legislative Conference and Lobby, In Pursuit of First Amendment Principle to Abolish Inquisitorial Committees & Oppose Repressive Laws."

The purpose of this meeting in Washington, D.C. is set forth in the title quoted above from an official document circulated at the conference. Now the purposes of the organization not only aimed for the abolition of the House Committee, but it was dedicated to the abolition of all "inquisitorial committees", and for the opposition to all "repressive laws."

Headquarters for the convention was established at Dodge House, 20 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20001. Richard Criley, Donna Allen, Frank Wilkinson, Anne Braden, Mike Klonsky, David Dellinger and Attorney William Kunstler were among the featured speakers. It was not long after this convention that Dellinger, one of the seven defendants in Federal Judge Hoffman's Court in Chicago would be represented by Kunstler, whose fame prior to this spectacular trial had been confined almost entirely to radical left circles.

Most of the proceedings were conducted in panel groups on Sunday March 23. The panel on "Inquisitorial Committees" was conducted under the chairmanship of Phillip J. Hirschkop, who was also Vice-Chairman of the East Coast Region, and its principal speakers were Prof. Arthur Kinoy, from Rutgers University Law School, and William Kunstler.

The panel on "Pending Legislation and Hearings: Priorities for Action," was led by Sylvia E. Crane, Vice-Chairman and Organization Liaison for NCA-HUAC/HISC, and

Prof. Thomas I. Emerson from Yale University, and Donna Allen who runs the Washington office.

The third panel dealt with "Defense of Right to Dissent in Period of Social Crises," and its chairman was Rev. C. Vivian. He was also Vice-Chairman of the Mid-West Region for the national organization. The participants were Prof. Douglas Dowd, Cornell University; James Rowan, Southern Committee Against Repression; Anne Braden, identified Communist from the staff of the Southern Conference Educational Fund; Mike Klonsky, National Secretary of Students for a Democratic Society, and Dave Dellinger, chairman of the National Mobilization Committee to End War in Vietnam.

Rev. Edward L. Peet, is Vice-Chairman of the West Coast Region, and presided over the panel on "Opposition to Repressive Laws." Participants were Attorney John J. Abt, Dennis J. Roberts, and Prof. Sidney Peck from Western Reserve University.

The fifth panel operated under the chairmanship of Dorothy Marshall, and was concerned with the "Organizational and Political Goals of NCA-HUAC, 1969." Participants were staff members.

An analysis of these several topics discloses how the expansion of the scope of NCA-HUAC/HISC resulted in one panel on Ways and Means to accomplish the original goal of the organization, and the other four were devoted to activities of the New Left and peripheral matters.

The official roster listed the following persons who were in attendance at the Washington meeting:

#### California

Louise Bauers, 7882 Matilija, Van Nuys, Calif. 91402, Women for Legislative Action; Bernice Belton, 555 North Western Avenue, Room 2, Los Angeles, Calif. 90004, Director, Southern Californians to Abolish HUAC/HISC.

Rose Chernin, 326 West Third Street, Los Angeles, California 90013, Executive Director, Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights;

Prof. John Ellingston, 1522 Funston Avenue, San Francisco, California 94122, Northern Californians to Abolish HUAC/HISC;

Mike Harris, 5604 Dorothy Way, San Diego, California 92115;

Rebecca Krieger, P. O. Box 77221, San Francisco, California 94107, Director of Northern California Area NCA-HUAC/HISC, Executive Secretary, Northern Californians to Abolish HUAC/HISC;

Mr. and Mrs. James Krieger, Terra Krieger, 4420 Third Street, Riverside, California 92501;

Juan Carlos Lopez, 173 Peralta Avenue, San Francisco, California 94110, Teacher, Defendant, SACB (Subversive Activities Control Board) Proceeding, March, 1969;

Rev. Edward L. Peet, 350 Arballo Drive, Apt 6 C, San Francisco, California 94132, Glide Memorial Methodist Church; Vice-Chairman, Western Region NCA-HUAC/HISC, Chairman, Northern Californians to Abolish HUAC/HISC;

Miriam Rothschild, 35 Galilee Lane, San Francisco, California, 94115; Northern Californians to Abolish HUAC/HISC;

Frank Wilkinson, 555 North Western Avenue, Room 2, Los Angeles, California 90004, Executive Director-Field Representative NCA-HUAC/HISC;

#### Connecticut

Prof. and Mrs. Thomas I. Emerson, Law, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut 06520, Advisor on Constitutional Law to NCA-HUAC/HISC;

#### Illinois

Milton Cohen, 5322 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60615; Social Worker Plaintiff, Stamler, Hall & Cohen; Constitutional Challenge to HUAC;

Richard Criley, 431 South Dearborn Street, Room 803, Chicago, Illinois 60605; Executive Director, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; Midwest Regional Director NCA-HUAC/HISC;

Rev. Martin Deppe, 8712 South Emerald Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60620; Chairman, Board of Social Concerns, Northern Illinois Conference, United Methodist Church;

Abe Feinglass, 2800 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois 60657; International Vice-President, Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen;

Prof. Robert J. Havighurst, 5844 Stoney Island, Chicago, Illinois 60637; Education, University of Chicago, Co-Chairman Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights;

Dave Jehnson, 3302 Congress Parkway, Chicago, Illinois 60624; Field Trainer, Vista Program, Board of Directors, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights;

Daniel Kaufman, 1503 West 91st Street, Chicago, Illinois, 60620; Staff Member, Chicago Federation of American Hebrew Congregations;

Fr. Francis J. McGrath, 2455 North Hamlin Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60647; Board of Directors, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights;

Jesse Prosten, 4800 Chicago Beach Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60615; International Representative, Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen;

Walter Soroka, 1440 Rosita, Palatine, Illinois 60067; Board of Directors, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights;

Beatrice M. Stuart, 720 Coronet Road, Glenview, Illinois 60025; Staff Assistant, Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights;

Edmonia Swanson, 6926 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637; Illinois State Board of Social Concerns, United Church of Christ;

Quentin Young, M.D., 1512 East 55th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60615; Past National Chairman, Medical Committee for Human Rights; Plaintiff Constitutional Challenge of HUAC;

#### Iowa

Lowell Foote, 6687 Hawkeye Court, Iowa City, Iowa 52240. Student, University of Iowa Law School, Iowa City Committee to Abolish HUAC/HISC;

#### Kentucky

Carl Braden, 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky, 42011; Executive Director, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.; Southern Regional Committee, NCA-HUAC/HISC;

George Meyers, 25 West 26th Street, New York, NY 10010; Labor Secretary, Communist Party, USA;

Loren Siegel, 30 West 90th Street, New York, NY 10024;

Nancy Stearns, 296 West 11th Street, New York, NY 10014; Counsel, Constitutional Challenges of HUAC;

#### North Carolina

Jim Rowan, 1009 Burch, Durham, North Carolina 27701; Chairman, Southern Committee Against Repression;

#### Ohio

Lynda Anastasia, 1920 West Grand Avenue, Dayton, Ohio 45407; Social Worker;

Barbara Bernstein, 1426 Catalpa Drive, Dayton, Ohio 45406; Chairman, Dayton Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights;

Prof. Aaron Dindman, 628 North Wittenberg, Springfield, Ohio 45504;

Chris Buchanan, 229 West Dunedin Road, Columbus, Ohio 43214; Student;

Prof. Franklin Buchanan, 229 West Dunedin Road, Columbus, Ohio 43214; Education, Ohio State University, Chairman, Columbus Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights;

Terry Snider, 10636 West Panther Creek Road, Bradford, Ohio 45308; Social Worker;

#### Oregon

Rubin Lenske, 7243 Southeast 34th Street, Portland, Oregon 97202;

Charles Porter, 2680 Baker Street, Eugene, Oregon 97401; Chairman, Oregon Committee to Abolish HUAC/HISC;

#### Pennsylvania

Candie Black, 4714 Hazel Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19143; Teacher CORE; Katie Eastman, 4437 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104; Staff, Pennsylvania ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union);

Mr. and Mrs. Peter Gale (Barbara), 4207 Chester Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104; Former Director, Southern Regional Office NCA-HUAC/HISC (Mrs.)

Mr. and Mrs. Herman Liveright, (Betty), 200 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106; Development Director, Highlander Research and Education Center (Mr.)

Mr. and Mrs. Frank Petersen (Bertha), 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103; Resistance;

Prof. and Mrs. Walter Vincent (Helen), 209 Sleepy Hollow Road; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213; Medicine, University of Pittsburgh, Secretary, NCA-HUAC/HISC.

#### Rhode Island

Mr. and Mrs. Harvey O'Connor (Jessie), Little Compton, Rhode Island 02837; Chairman, NCA-HUAC/HISC;

#### Utah

Uda Hanson, 191 North First West, Spanish Fork, Utah, 84660;

Wayne Holley, 175 North 1600 West, Mapleton, Utah, 84663; Defendant, SCAB Proceeding, July, 1968, Steelworker;

Mr. and Mrs. Bob Sayer, (Irma), Route 1, Springfield, Utah 84663; Farmer;

#### Virginia

Thelma Deviance, 3316 North Vernon Street, Arlington, Virginia 22207;

Phil Friedman, 2994 South Columbus Street, Arlington, Virginia 22206;

Phillip J. Hirschkop, Post Office Box 234, 110 North Royal Street, Alexandria, Virginia 22313; Counsel, Constitutional Challenges of HUAC, Oct. 1968; Vice-Chairman, East-Coast, NCA-HUAC/HISC;

Steve Romines, 1715 Army-Navy Drive, Arlington, Virginia 22202;

#### Washington State

Prof. Alex Gottfried, 4811, 107th, NE, Seattle, Washington 98125; Political Science, University of Washington; Chairman, Washington State Committee to Abolish HUAC/HISC; Vice-Chairman, Washington State ACLU;

Dorothy Johnson, Route 1, Box 812, Vashon, Washington 98070; Washington State Committee to Abolish HUAC/HISC;

Lyle Mercer, 747 21st Avenue East, Seattle, Washington 98102; Executive Secretary, Washington State Committee to Abolish HUAC/HISC; Director, Western Region, NCA-HUAC/HISC;

#### Washington, D.C.

Donna Allen, 3306 Ross Place, NW, Washington, D.C., 20008; Washington Representative, NCA-HUAC/HISC;

Rick Bela, 1826 Jefferson Place, NW, Washington, D.C., 20036;

Barbara Bick, 2231 Vancroft Place, NW, Washington, D.C. 20008; Editor, W. S. P. Memo, National Office, Womens' Strike for Peace;

Lola Boswell, 1301 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C., 20005;

Margot Burman, 100 Seventh Street, NE, Washington, D.C., 20002; Washington Representative-Assistant, NCA-HUAC/HISC;

David Clarke, 1909 19th Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009;

Jim Cunningham, 1216 30th Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20006;

Leanna Eikenberry, c/o Myrtle Oliver, 1438 Iris Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20012;

Joseph Forer, 711 14th Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005; of Counsel, SACB Proceedings, Revised Internal Security Act; Sponsor, Washington Area Committee for the Abolition of HUAC/HISC;

Charles T. Gift, 5906 13th Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20011; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom;

Anthony Henry, 1909 19th Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005, Director, Tenants Right Program, American Friends Service Committee;

Mr. and Mrs. Allen Hoffard (Laura), 1422 V Street, SE, Washington, D.C. 20020;

William S. Johnson, Sr., 1236 Harvard Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009;

Julius Kaplan, 738 Longfellow Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20011;

Kenneth S. Kovack, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20063; Legislative Representative, United Steel Workers of America;

Albert Lannon, Jr., 1341 G Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005; Legislative Representative, International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union;

Carole Leavitt, 1706 S Street, NW, Washington, D.C., 20009;

Marilyn Lerch, 1816 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Apartment 908, Washington, D.C. 20036; Teacher;

Jonathan Lerner, 1826 Corcoran Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009; Students for a Democratic Society;

Jack Davis, 1826 Corcoran Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009; Students for a Democratic Society;

Mrs. Elizabeth Anne Newton, c/o Miss Stephanie Stilwell, 1484 Wyoming Street, NW, Apartment 3, Washington, D.C. 20009;

Myrtle Oliver, 1438 Iris Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20012, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom;

Jacklyn Potter, 120 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, D.C. 20002; Administrative Assistant, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom;

Martha Powers, 20001 19th Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009;

David Rein, 711 14th Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005; Washington Area Committee for the Abolition of HUAC/HISC;

Ann Ricks, 1419 Chapin Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009; Corresponding Secretary, Washington Area Committee for the Abolition of HUAC/HISC;

Rev. Charlie Rother, 1620 S Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; Chaplain, American University;

Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Russell (Margaret), 2930 Legation Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20015; Treasurer, Washington Area Committee for the Abolition of HUAC/HISC;

Fred C. Samuelson, 12013 Viers Mill Road, Silver Spring, Maryland 20906; Washington Area Committee for the Abolition of HUAC/HISC;

Francois Somlyo, 1216 H Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005; Business Agent, Cooks, Pastry Cooks & Kitchen Employees, Local 209;

Lawrence Speiser, 1424 16th Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; Director, Washington Office, American Civil Liberties Union;

Mr. and Mrs. Pulus Weissler (Ethel), 3923 McKinley Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20015; Secretary, Washington Area Committee for the Abolition of HUAC/HISC (Mrs.);

Bill Woolf, 1756 Corcoran Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009;

#### Wisconsin

Prof. David R. Luce, 2914 North Donner Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211; Philosophy, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; Wisconsin Civil Liberties Union."

#### PERSONNEL AND LEADERSHIP

In other reports we have repeatedly warned that mere membership in a Communist front organization does not necessarily imply that a member is pro-Communist. Front organiza-

tions are designed to attract the unwary liberal, and most fronts have succeeded in this respect. It is hard to conceive of a person of intelligence belonging to the Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights under Rose Chernin's leadership, or to NCA-HUAC/HISC under Frank Wilkinson's leadership, however, without being fully aware of the real nature of these groups.

We have already indicated that the Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights operates to provide bail and legal talent for members of the radical Left. This, of course, includes anyone deemed valuable to the Communist movement. There have been instances where the International Labor Defense in California (forerunner of LACDBR), provided bail for a Stalinist Communist and then withdrew it when he became a Trotskyist Communist. (Testimony of Norman Mini, transcript, Los Angeles hearing, 1950.)

A contention frequently advanced by critics of HISC and other official investigating agencies in the domestic subversion field is that they are not needed, and that all of their activities should be handled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This assertion has deluded many uninformed people, but the truth is that the FBI is not permitted to make public disclosures of its findings, it has no power of subpoena, and it reports to no law-making body. Legislative fact-finding committees have served as sources of information to law-making groups, state and federal, ever since colonial days in the United States.

The theory behind the operation of these bodies is simply that they are invested with broad investigating powers, and their sole function is to provide accurate information which may or may not be the subject of subsequent legislation, to the bodies by which they were created. Their activity is not measured in the volume of laws their disclosures initiate, but rather in the extent and accuracy of the information they provide on the matters within their jurisdiction.

Another complaint often made by Communist front organizations in general, and the one under discussion in particular, is against what has become known as "guilt by association," and a word concerning this propaganda device might not be amiss at this point. There is nothing inherently abhorrent about this term—although the radical Left has sought to give it a connotation of something evil. It is nothing more than the principle of a man being known by the company he prefers to keep, as he is known by his personal habits, the clothes he wears, the books he reads and the organizations to which he belongs. He does these things by his own freedom of choice. The law has long taken cognizance of this in its provisions concerning conspiracy.

If a man chooses to support the American Nazi Party, Minutemen, Ku Klux Klan, and States Rights Party—all militantly right organizations, and he reads Fascist literature consistently, supports Nazi Party candidates for public office, and attends meetings featuring Gerald L. K. Smith—that is working one side of the ideological street, and the Communist front organizations would be the first to attack such a person as an activist of the radical Right. If he chooses to follow the same pattern with persons and organizations of the extreme Left, he is free to do so, but he cannot escape the fact that his tendencies and habits will be judged by his actions and his associations.

It certainly would not mean that the man was either a member of the American Nazi Party or the Communist Party, but his support of these organizations of the extreme right or left would most assuredly indicate his sympathy for one or the other extreme ideology. Formal membership in subversive organizations is quite another matter and requires a vastly different sort of evidence. At this point, and in the light of what we

shall say about the leaders of NCA-HUAC/HISC, it is also appropriate that we should point out the meaning of the term "identified Communist." By that term we refer to unrefuted sworn testimony concerning a person's membership in the Communist Party by a witness or witnesses who served in the organization with the person under discussion.

Obviously, no Communist Party member is happy at being exposed in his undercover and subversive activities by witnesses before legislative committees; hence, the vituperation and campaigns of abuse that have been waged against undercover operatives for federal and state governments; and it is equally clear that the abolition of legislative committees, state and federal, would enable the Communist Party to operate with greater freedom and security.

We have already explained the Communist Party membership of Mr. Frank Wilkinson, the National Executive Director of NCA-HUAC/HISC, and the fact that he served a term in a federal penal institution for contempt of the House Committee. It remains to discuss briefly the Communist affiliations of some of the other leaders of this organization, in order to remove any doubt concerning the real control of its operations.

Richard Criley graduated from the University of California at Berkeley in 1934, and thereafter became an official of the Young Communist League in the East Bay area. He has been identified as a Communist by four witnesses who were in the Party with him and who testified before the House Committee. He was a speaker at the 1938 California State Communist Party convention, and was expelled from Local 26, United Packing House Workers of America, because of his Communist activities. At present he is Secretary of the Midwest Regional office for NCA-HUAC/HISC, at Chicago, Illinois. (See HUAC report, July, 1954; See report, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 107, pt. 6, p. 7239.)

The NCA-HUAC/HISC continues to flourish pursuant to its expanded objectives, and a familiarity with its leaders, officers, and sponsors removes any lingering doubt about the fact that this organization is under complete Communist Party domination, and has been so since it came into existence in 1960. Indeed, no sooner had the House Committee been established in 1938 than the Communist propaganda machine was set in motion to hamper its investigations and bring about its abolition. (*The Communist*, Sept., 1938; Proceedings, 14th National Convention, Communist Party of the United States, New York, August 6, 1948.)

The *Daily Worker*, May 25, 1950, describing a session of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A., on May 22 and 23, 1950, stated that:

"Joe Brandt, who is now in charge of the defense campaign of the Party, then reported that the Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of the 12 Communist leaders and the Civil Rights Congress are planning activities for the Abolition of the Un-American Committee."

This official declaration by the Party heralded the creation of the NCA-HUAC/HISC, as we have explained. The National Chairman, Harvey O'Connor has been identified as a member of the Communist Party (HUAC report, October 1962), so has Frank Wilkinson, its Executive Director, Richard Criley, who heads its midwest region, and Carl and Anne Braden who operate in its southern region. Space will not permit, nor would any real purpose be gained, by setting forth here, the detailed Communist Front activities of all the other officers and sponsors of the organization. Although it has found more support among its contacts outside of Congress than in the House of Representatives of that body, it continues to operate more energetically than ever.

CUTTING OIL PRICES IS A SURE WAY TO INSURE CONTINUING SHORTAGE OF PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

## HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, while I sympathize with my friends from New England over the fuel oil shortage in the area, I do not believe that rolling back the price of crude oil is going to help the situation. The facts prove otherwise—cutting the price of crude will only insure continued shortages of all petroleum products and, in the long run, increase costs to the consumer.

Rather than being a mistake, the 25-cents-per-barrel increase is a step in the right direction. It begins a trend—that if continued—will result in an upsurge in domestic exploration and production activities. Stepped-up domestic activity will insure adequate supplies of domestic petroleum at reasonable prices for every section of the Nation, including New England.

Therefore I am in disagreement with the administration's decision to try to roll back the price of oil by a short-term increase from foreign sources and U.S. offshore fields.

To further explain the reasons for my position I insert a letter I wrote to the President along with a letter from the Independent Petroleum Association of America at this point in the RECORD:

DECEMBER 10, 1970.

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

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I can appreciate your concern over the inflationary trends in the United States economy. I support your strong efforts to bring price stability. Nonetheless, I feel very strongly that your decision to roll back the recent increases in the price of crude oil and gasoline was made for the wrong reasons.

Petroleum shortages and the price increase are not consequences of the import quota system nor of state conservation laws. Increases in the price of imported oil and a sharp decline in petroleum exploration within the United States are the reasons.

The decline in domestic exploration is due to several factors. These include low prices and low industry profits caused by shortsighted and misguided actions of Congress and the Federal regulatory agencies.

An examination of the cost of crude oil compared to other factors of production shows the following:

The price of crude oil before the 25 cents per barrel increase was only 4 percent above the 1957-59 base period. With the increase it is only 11 percent above the base period. In the same period, the cost of living has jumped more than 37 percent. Hourly industrial wages are up 53 percent. Wholesale prices are up 18 percent; the cost of other crude minerals has jumped 45 percent.

While the demand for petroleum and petroleum products increases, and while additional domestic sources are known to exist, exploration activities to locate more domestic oil continue to decrease.

Clearly a paradox exists.

Estimates put possible recoverable reserves of crude oil in the United States at two trillion barrels—enough to last 200 years at anticipated rates of consumption. The fig-

ures do not include the tremendous oil shale reserves of Wyoming, Colorado and Utah.

Exploration is decreasing because the return to the industry is not adequate. Investors prefer to put their money elsewhere—causing a further decline in exploration activities.

The United States is caught in a vicious circle. While domestic exploration and production continues to decline, domestic demand increases. To relieve the shortage, strong pressures have been growing to fill the increased demand through foreign supplies.

Too great a reliance on foreign supplies of oil, however, is a threat—to the domestic industry, to the consumer, and to the national defense.

We all remember the recommendations of the Cabinet Level Task Force on Oil imports that proposed scrapping the present quota system in favor of a system of graduated tariffs and dropping the price per barrel of oil by 80 cents to \$1.50.

Recent happenings in the Middle East and the resulting increase in the costs of imported crude have proved the need for strong domestic oil industry.

The events have further shown that even if we can import foreign oil, it will not always be cheap. The consumer cannot save money by destroying the domestic energy industry and reducing the U.S. to a state of energy dependency. We need a strong, active domestic industry.

Government and industry studies show that the increase of 25 cents per barrel will mean additional domestic supplies of 1,125,000 to 1,375,000 barrels per day by 1980! Greater increases will mean correspondingly greater increase in domestic production.

Clearly, the U.S. can meet internal demand from domestic supplies if given the incentives and reasonable government policies.

The increase in the price of crude is a step in the right direction. It must not be threatened by shortsighted policies which jeopardize the national security and the domestic industry.

Therefore, Mr. President, I urge you to reconsider your recent actions.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

JOHN S. WOLD,  
Member of Congress.

INDEPENDENT PETROLEUM  
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,  
Dallas, Tex., December 7, 1970.

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

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: This is to convey to you our deep concern about your actions to rollback the recent increases in the price of crude oil and gasoline.

I most respectfully submit that your actions are based on misinformation and are not justified by the facts. The price of crude oil before the increase was 4 percent above the 1957-59 base period and with the increase it would be only 11 percent above the base period as compared with the cost of living which is up more than 37 percent; industry hourly wages up 53 percent; wholesale prices up 18 percent; other crude minerals up 45 percent; and during the past 12 months alone the increase in hourly wage for the private nonfarm sector was 7 percent. In the light of these simple facts and by singling out one industry, your actions against the 8 percent increase in crude oil prices can only appear to us to be discriminatory and therefore punitive. We are also dismayed that you would condemn this 8 percent increase while it is under study by the Director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness.

Also, analysis of the history of the state conservation laws will show that you have been misinformed in your statement that

such laws "interfere with the freedom of our domestic market system." There is no evidence to support this statement or the inference that as a result of the conservation laws consumers have paid higher prices. The long history shows that crude oil prices have been stabilized at declining levels under state conservation laws. For 40 years prior to these state laws the average price in constant 1958 dollars was \$2.88 per barrel; for the first 25 years under these laws the average was \$2.67; and for the past 11 years the average has been \$2.63. The state laws are administered by personnel with much expertise and long experience and their replacement with less experienced federal employees involves training and added expenditures at a time when you are striving for a reduction of deficit spending.

Your actions condemn consumers of gasoline and home heating oil to the same ill-fate and hardships now being experienced by consumers of residual fuel oil on the East Coast who are faced with shortage and substantial increases in prices. Residual fuel oil is the only product that is not under the Mandatory Oil Import Program and as a result the East Coast has become 95 percent dependent on imports. Your actions will ordain that consumers of all other oil products will become increasingly dependent on imports and the accompanying uncertainties of supply and price. A shortage of domestic production can be predicted because already the cash flow of the industry is inadequate to do the necessary exploration to meet growing demands. The 25 cent increase in crude oil prices perhaps will not even offset the 20 cents per barrel of additional tax imposed on the industry by the 1969 Tax Act. If the crude price increase is not permitted to stand, the impact will be primarily on independent producers who do most of the exploratory drilling because they are dependent substantially on internally generated funds. Furthermore, consumers are already faced with shortages of natural gas. This is widely recognized as being caused by the unrealistically low prices set by the Federal Power Commission. Your actions on crude oil will aggravate the natural gas shortage because the exploration of oil and gas are inseparable.

We are confident that if you will order a reevaluation of the facts, you will find them as we have outlined. In the interest of protecting U.S. consumers from shortages and inordinate price increases for both oil products and natural gas, and so as to provide assurance of the availability at all times of oil for the security of the Nation, we respectfully and earnestly appeal to you to do so and to reconsider the actions you have taken.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT E. MEAD.

#### STATEMENT ON OIL PRICES

(By the Independent Petroleum Association of America)

This statement is submitted, in accordance with the November 17 notice in the Federal Register, to provide information pertinent to the OEP investigation of "Increases in prices of crude oil and gasoline recently announced by certain producers and refiners of petroleum."

The detailed information on oil prices contained in this statement may be summarized as follows:

#### NATIONAL SECURITY

1. Two World Wars, and recurring disruptions of Middle East and other Eastern Hemisphere oil supplies, have established the fact that expanding domestic oil supplies in keeping with growing U.S. requirements are indispensable to national security.

2. For more than a decade, unfavorable trends have persisted that imperil the Nation's strength as to both oil and natural gas supplies. For example:

(a) Total U.S. oil consumption has out-

run additions to domestic reserves to an increasing extent, with the result that the ratio of reserves to consumption has declined dangerously by one-third since 1957-59.

(b) Domestic exploratory activity has become progressively inadequate, as shown by the decreases since 1957-59 of 48 percent in geophysical work, 12 percent in acreage leased, and 30 percent in wildcat tests drilled.

(c) Expenditures for domestic exploration and development (averaging \$4.6 billion per year for the past six years) are insufficient and should increase to more than \$8 billion annually by 1980.

(d) The vital and leading role of independent producers in exploration and drilling has deteriorated, with exploration and development expenditures by independents down more than \$1 billion yearly, or over 45 percent, since the peak year 1956.

3. The threat to national security stems from economic conditions. Oil supply is highly elastic to changes in crude oil price levels. For example, Government and industry studies show that U.S. oil production by 1980 would be increased by 450,000-550,000 barrels daily for each 10¢ per barrel increase in crude oil prices. On this basis, the recent increase of 25¢ per barrel would result in additional domestic supplies of 1,125,000 to 1,375,000 barrels per day by 1980, over and above the supply that otherwise would be available.

#### CONSUMER'S INTEREST

An expanding, healthy domestic industry has been proven to be the best assurance of supplying the needs of consumers at relatively low prices:

(a) An hour's average wage for all industrial employees bought 9.2 gallons of gasoline in 1969, or 44 percent more than 15 years ago.

(b) The price received by the industry for gasoline in 1969 was only 10.5 percent higher than the average 1957-59 price, as compared with an increase of 27.7 percent in the cost of living as measured by all retail prices.

(c) Greatly increased dependency on foreign oil and natural gas would increase the total cost of petroleum energy to consumers. For example, the average price of crude oil and natural gas, combined, in 1969 was about \$1.90 per barrel, converting gas to barrels on the basis of Btu content, as compared with over \$2.00 per barrel for the lowest cost foreign oil imported under normal conditions. Under today's conditions, with foreign oil prices increasing and greatly increased tanker rates resulting from Middle East disruptions, the cost of imported oil is substantially higher than \$2.00 per barrel.

#### INDUSTRY PRICE PERFORMANCE

The performance and record of the domestic industry shows clearly that U.S. crude oil prices have been relatively low, as measured by accepted tests:

(a) The price of crude oil has followed the same general trend as the wholesale price level for all U.S. commodities for the past 80 years.

(b) Since 1957-59, the relative position of the industry has deteriorated because U.S. crude oil prices increased less than 4 percent by 1969, in contrast to an increase of 13 percent for all commodities.

(c) The real price of crude oil, expressed in constant 1958 dollars, has declined during the period of import controls since 1959 by 44 cents per barrel, or 15 percent.

(d) The price of other crude minerals increased 20 percent<sup>1</sup> by 1969 above the 1957-59 base period, or more than five times the increase of less than 4 percent for crude oil.

(e) The cost-price squeeze suffered by the domestic industry is illustrated by the increases by 1969 above the 1957-59 base period, of more than 40 percent<sup>1</sup> in wages and

Footnotes at end of article.

24 percent in oilfield machinery, compared with the increase of less than 4 percent in crude oil prices.

(f) The domestic industry's rate of return has been below most other industries, averaging 10.2 percent for the past 15 years as compared with 11.1 percent for all manufacturing industries, reflecting the relatively low level of oil prices.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The recent increases in crude oil prices are justified, in the interest of national security, as an essential step toward correcting the unfavorable trends that have imperilled the Nation's strength as to oil and natural gas supplies.

The recent increases are justified, in the consumer's interest, as an essential step toward assuring a healthy, expanding domestic industry that can continue its record of supplying the consumer's needs for both crude oil and natural gas at relatively low prices, in fact, lower than from any other source.

The recent increases are justified by the price performance of the industry that shows crude oil prices have been, and are, relatively low by accepted tests.

The recent increases are justified in recognition that for the next decade and beyond, petroleum (crude oil and natural gas) can be expected to constitute the primary source of energy for national security and growing peacetime consumer requirements; industry and government policies should be responsive to this situation if the Nation's historic position of an abundance of energy is to be maintained.

The recent increases are more than justified in light of the fact that they restore less than half of the 44 cent decline in the real price of crude oil since 1959; and are substantially insufficient to bring the price in line with prices and the economy in general, which will be necessary if the industry is to be enabled to do the job of finding and developing the tremendous quantities of reserves of oil and natural gas that our growing economy and the national security will require.

The recent increases in the price of both crude oil and gasoline (the industry's primary consumer product), assuming they are fully extended nationwide, are justified by the fact that they would then be at a level above the 1957-59 base period of 11 percent for crude oil and about 20 percent for gasoline, thereby still remaining depressed when, for example, measured against the increases<sup>1</sup> that have occurred since 1957-59 in (1) the cost of living, up 37.4 percent, (2) wholesale prices, up 18 percent, (3) other crude minerals, up 45 percent, (4) industry hourly wages, up 53 percent.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> As noted hereinbelow, by 1970 crude minerals had increased 45 percent and industry wages 53 percent.

<sup>2</sup> These increases are based on the latest data available for 1970.

LAOCOON, 1970

### HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Chicago Tribune. It is self-explanatory.

I should only like to add as a footnote, growing concern in and out of the Government with the complete inertia that exists among the bureaucracy. I believe

the time is rapidly coming when the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service ought to address itself to this problem and find out why it is that so many Federal programs which we enact here in Congress never reach the grassroots level for whom they were intended.

Mr. Farmer's departure from the Federal Government, albeit understandable, will not help change the system, but he made a notable contribution when he called attention to the weakness of the system by his resignation.

The Tribune editorial follows:

LAOCOON, 1970

James Farmer, highest ranking black official in the Nixon administration, has resigned as assistant secretary for administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Representatives of the "liberal" media tried to get him to say that he quit because of some innate racial animus of the administration, but Farmer refused to go along.

No, sir, he said; that wasn't it at all. After 20 months of wrestling with muscle-bound bureaucracy, he simply concluded that it was impossible to register much visible movement. He said there was "a built-in resistance to change and a slow-moving machinery government which blocked it."

Almost every high official in Washington becomes familiar with the vexations Farmer encountered. President John F. Kennedy complained that trying to get action out of the State Department was like trying to spur a bowl of jelly into action. Earl Smith, a former ambassador to Cuba, said that "the fourth floor," comprising bureaucrats of the lower echelons, stymied all of his warnings and recommendations.

Administrators in Washington are as helpless as Laocoon and his sons in the tentacles of the snakes.

### A PRAYER THAT POW RELEASE TALKS WILL BE PRODUCTIVE

### HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the announcement from Paris this morning that the South Vietnamese had offered the return of all North Vietnamese being held captive in exchange for American prisoners of war is good news, indeed. It also was comforting that our negotiator joined the South Vietnamese in this offer.

Nothing could brighten so many homes this holiday season as the release of our men held captive by the North Vietnamese. The Christmas season is one of hope to the Christian world, and I pray that this move to obtain the release of Americans being held by Hanoi will be successful.

The plight of the families of these men is clearly and emotionally displayed in a Christmas card prepared by Mrs. Arthur S. Mearns of Los Angeles, Calif., the wife of Lt. Col. Arthur Mearns who has been missing in action since November 11, 1966. The card simply states on the cover:

My name is Frances. My daddy is a pilot prisoner in Hanoi. We miss him very much. Please God, bring him home.

Mr. Speaker, I appeal to all Americans for their support and prayers so that this Christmas wish of Frances Mearns might be answered.

### A REAL NEED FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

### HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, there are 65 million people who live in non-metropolitan America, and yet the migration from the rural to the urban areas is a documented fact which is adding to the threat to our urban centers. About 70 percent of our people are jammed onto 2 percent of the Nation's land. These are not idle statistics, they are contained in the urgent message to the President from his Task Force on Rural Development. They concisely explain the trend as follows:

A hundred years ago, the Nation was 85 percent rural and 15 percent urban. Today it is 65 percent urban and 35 percent rural. (The Report of The President's Task Force on Rural Development—A New Life for the Country—March 1970).

One of the proven saviors of the small American farmer is the Farmers Home Administration of the Department of Agriculture. Our former colleague in the House, James V. Smith, has been serving as an outstanding head of these efforts. As Administrator of FHA, he recently summarized FHA accomplishments in fiscal 1970. He reports that during the year, FHA directly served a record 6.4 million rural Americans. FHA loan programs made available more money for these rural citizens than in any year in its history.

I have consistently supported FHA programs, particularly those for rural water and sewer facilities and those for housing, farm ownership and operation, and disaster assistance. This Congress has recognized the need for increased funds for the FHA programs. Today we have before us a bill which would make an important advance in the farm ownership loan program.

H.R. 11547, as reported by the Agriculture Committee, is belated statutory recognition of an unfortunate fact—inflation. Since 1961, the FHA program for making loans available for the purchase of small farms, has had a maximum limitation of \$60,000. While that figure may have had some relation to economic reality in 1961, it certainly does no longer. The average value per acre of land has increased about 80 percent and related costs have gone up as well. But the maximum limitation of \$60,000 has not gone up.

Most of the ownership loans are guaranteed loans rather than direct loans and thus the effect upon the Federal budget should not be substantial. But the effect upon a young man faced with the staggering task of fulfilling his desire to go into the business of farming, will be substantial. Instead of send-

ing him off to the big city, the increase in the maximum will permit him to obtain enough financing to purchase a small farm and become a productive part of the agribusiness economy.

The average age of the farmer is increasing. We are finding it difficult to get young people to go into farming. They are migrating to the cities, much to the dismay of their farmer fathers. It is too expensive for them to get started in the business of farming. One of the purposes of the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act was to make it possible for young people to go into farming. But in the past decade, there has been a 28-percent decline in the number of farms. Of the 65 million total rural population, less than 10 million are actively engaged in farming. We must stop the migration to the cities and we can help by passing this bill today.

The farm ownership loans at 5 percent interest over a 40-year period make it possible for young farmers to make the awesome initial investment in farming land. Without such help, it would be nearly impossible for a young farmer to get a start without already being rich beyond the family farm level. In 1969, there were 34,388 applications for farm ownership loans. Of this total, 293 direct loans and 13,409 insured loans were granted at values of \$4,999,000 and \$272,121,000 respectively.

The bill before us today is worthy of our support.

#### MARYLANDER AWARDED DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS

### HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, November 20, Capt. Terrence M. O'Connell, a fine young soldier from Baltimore, Md., was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. I should like to honor Captain O'Connell by including the following article in the RECORD:

#### CAPTAIN O'CONNELL AWARDED DSC

Capt. Terrence M. O'Connell, a 25-year-old Infantry officer, received the Distinguished Service Cross during ceremonies conducted by Major General Carl W. Hughes, commander, Walter Reed General Hospital. Representative Clarence D. Long of Maryland, a friend of the O'Connell family, also participated in the presentation.

The many people who had gathered in the general's office surrounded the young officer and his wife and were talking amiably when the command "Attention to Orders" dominated the room.

The voices fell silent as the general's aide read the citation: "By direction of the President . . . for extraordinary heroism involving conflict with an armed hostile force in the Republic of Vietnam, Captain (then first lieutenant) O'Connell distinguished himself while leading a combat patrol in search of enemy soldiers near Cu Chi."

#### ENEMY ENCOUNTERED

While the audience listened, the story of Captain O'Connell's actions were revealed. He and his patrol heard voices coming from

the mouth of an underground enemy tunnel so he directed his interpreter to instruct the enemy soldiers to surrender. Three of the enemy responded but as the third one left the tunnel opening, a grenade was thrown from the hole and exploded harmlessly among Captain O'Connell's patrol members.

Taking advantage of the momentary confusion, one of the three enemy soldiers drew a grenade he had concealed and threw it toward Captain O'Connell and two patrol members.

#### PROTECTED BUDDY

Captain O'Connell saw what happened and shoved one of his soldiers to the ground and fell on top of the second man as the grenade landed and exploded. His action caused him to take the full blast of the grenade wounding him critically.

While the 25th Infantry Division officer was standing at attention listening to the citation awarding him the Army's second highest award, one couldn't help remember conversations with this 1967 graduate of the University of Michigan.

When he graduated from college, he tried twice to get into the Army and was turned down both times "for bad knees." The third time he attempted to get in, he "conveniently" forgot to mention his knees and came on active duty in January 1968.

#### SLATED FOR OCS

The company he took Basic and Advanced Individual Training with at Ft. Dix, N.J., was headed for Infantry Officer's Candidate School, Ft. Benning, Ga.

Between AIT and OCS, Captain O'Connell took time out to marry his wife, Cyndy. (Without knowing it, his wife also was standing at attention beside her husband while he was being honored.)

Graduating sixth in his OCS class, Captain O'Connell was turned down on his request for immediate assignment to Vietnam. Instead he was assigned to work with the officer candidates in the classes which followed. He remained in this assignment until June 1969 when he completed airborne training and then went to Vietnam.

#### FULFILLING ASSIGNMENT

Captain O'Connell wanted those present to know that he had had a choice about coming in the Army. He went on to say that he had never been bored in the service and that his assignment in Vietnam was a kind of fulfillment to him because it taxed his every ability, mentally and physically.

When asked about his plans, he was quick to say that he wanted to remain in the Army as an Infantry officer. Whether this will happen cannot be determined until his full physical abilities can be evaluated.

Captain O'Connell's parents, Mr. and Mrs. John M. O'Connell, live in Eggertsville, N.Y.

#### EIGHTY-ONE PERCENT OF THE NEXT-OF-KIN OF POW'S APPROVE RECENT RESCUE ATTEMPT

### HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, a recent survey which has gone virtually unnoticed in the press is certainly worth calling to the public attention.

It is a survey taken by the respected Opinion Research Corp. of Princeton, N.J.

That survey shows that 81 percent of the next-of-kin of prisoners of war and

those missing in action in Indochina approve of the recent attempt to rescue prisoners, then thought to be held at Sontay prison.

Only 10 percent reacted unfavorably. Eighty-four percent of those interviewed would approve of another rescue attempt or of the Government taking whatever steps are necessary to obtain the release of American prisoners of war.

Mr. Speaker, we have heard much criticism of the Son-Tay raid from those knee-jerk loves to oppose anything President Nixon may do short of all-out surrender.

It is good to know they remain a minority.

#### A DEVOTED FEW STRIVE TO SAVE THE WILD HORSES

### HON. WALTER S. BARING

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. BARING. Mr. Speaker, I believe it would be of interest to all horse lovers to read an article which appeared in the New York Times on November 15 entitled "A Devoted Few Strive To Save The Wild Horses."

Mrs. Velma Johnston, mentioned in the article, is one of my constituents who is a dedicated worker, diligently striving to protect the remaining wild horses in this country and is largely responsible for the public awareness of this issue today.

I insert the following article:

#### A DEVOTED FEW STRIVE TO SAVE THE WILD HORSES

(By Anthony Ripley)

DENVER, Nov. 14.—Hounded by human enemies, America's once huge bands of wild horses are disappearing from the Western plains and mountains.

In remote gullies, mesas and deserts where only the hardest survive are the remaining descendants of the tough, small Spanish mustangs brought to the horseless New World by the conquistadores 400 years ago.

At the turn of the century, there were an estimated two million wild horses ranging through the immense grasslands that run west of the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, past the Continental Divide and through the deserts beyond to the Pacific Coast.

Today, the Bureau of Land Management of the Department of the Interior estimates that only 16,000 are alive, scattered in 11 Western states. The wild horse is hunted down for sport or slaughtered for pet food or killed because it competes for grass with antelope, deer, cattle and sheep.

The plight of the horses has touched off a growing movement among conservationists to protect the last of the vanishing bands. But the efforts so far have brought only slight advances. Mustang hunters in airplanes still stamp the wild horses till they drop from exhaustion, capture them and sell them as horsemeat for 6 cents a pound.

The story of the horses, and the efforts to save them, is told in a just-published book, "America's Last Wild Horses," by Hope Ryden of New York, a documentary film producer for ABC News.

Miss Ryden said, "They need protection from cruelty and extinction. Many livestock people want to remove all predators and com-

petitors. If there is no economic gain, then they feel the animal has no right to exist."

Only rarely does a traveler in the West catch sight of a wild stallion standing on a hilltop, a half mile or more off the road, his mares downhill out of sight, testing the wind and watching for enemies.

"You occasionally see one and it's the thrill of a lifetime," said Mrs. Velma (Wild Horse Annie) Johnson of Reno, Nev., who has been an almost lifelong defender of the animals.

"Mostly all you ever see is a cloud of dust after they are gone. It's their stubborn ability to survive that makes them so remarkable."

In their argument for saving the horses, the words of defenders are filled with such emotion and wonder. They believe the horses are part of American history and should be preserved as much as Plymouth Rock, the Gettysburg battlefields or the giant Sequoia trees.

#### A HUNTER'S VIEWPOINT

But sentiment does not move Chester (Chug) Utter, an airplane pilot and mustang-er who lives near Reno. He said he captured 40,000 horses over 14 years for the Bureau of Land Management before quitting two years ago. In those days, the bureau sold the animals at auction to all comers.

Mr. Utter said wild horse preserves should be set up on Government land by those who wish to save them.

"Otherwise there'll be 50,000 running around the mountains and the average tourist will never get to see them," said Mr. Utter.

"You need every spear of grass for deer, antelope and cattle. I don't have any ax to grind either way. But I'd much rather have wild game than a bunch of horses you can't do nothing with. You can't reach them on horseback."

Professor C. Wayne Cook, head of the range sciences department of Colorado State University, said the horses should be saved because of their history and their place as part of man's natural surroundings. They played a large role in the life of the plains Indians and in the development of the West.

Dr. Cook acknowledged the emotional factor in the movement for preserving them. "We have so many horse lovers and the majority don't want to see the horse abused."

But Dr. Cook cautioned that there should be some control over the numbers of wild horses lest they multiply too quickly and become too competitive for grazing lands.

Mrs. Johnston says that at the present rate of hunting mustangs, they will all be gone in eight years. She is president of the International Society for the Protection of Mustangs and Burros, which has its headquarters in Badger, Calif.

It was largely through her efforts that the so-called Wild Horse Annie Law was passed by Congress. It prohibits hunting of unbranded horses by motor vehicles and airplanes on public lands.

Mrs. Johnston said hunters get around the law by putting a branded mare out with the wild horses and then gathering up the whole group a year later, a practice which is allowed by the Bureau of Land Management.

Mrs. Johnston wants to secure Federal protection for the few remaining wild horses. A bill introduced by United States Senator Clifford P. Hansen, Republican of Wyoming, which would have given the Department of the Interior custody over the animals, died in committee this year. Mrs. Johnston and those associated with her hope to get a similar bill considered in the next session of Congress.

#### PRESERVES ESTABLISHED

Thus far, there are only two wild horse preserves on the Federal land controlled by the Bureau of Land Management.

A group of citizens of Lovell, Wyo., started a fight to save 200 horses in the Pryor Mountains of Wyoming and Montana. Through

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their efforts, the bureau set up a 35,000-acre preserve for the horses.

Another 200 horses are roaming in a 300,000-acre site in the southern desert of Nevada. This preserve, however, is less than ideal. The land is part of the Nellis Air Force bombing and gunnery range and the Nevada test site of the Atomic Energy Commission.

In Oshoto, 120 miles east of Sheridan, Wyo. Robert E. Brislawn, an 80-year-old rancher, began searching out pure-blooded Spanish mustangs 50 years ago from herds that even then were beginning to decline.

Mr. Brislawn's special interest was in horses of Barb or Andalusian ancestry that were carried to the North American continent by the early Spanish explorers. The horses can survive on next to nothing in the remote areas to which man has driven them. The direct descendants of the Spanish horses are marked by their small stature, Roman noses and the lack of a sixth large lumbar vertebra that is found in most modern horses.

Mr. Brislawn, called the "Wyoming Kid," is every bit as small and tough as the horses he keeps on his 3,000 acre Cayuse Ranch near Oshoto.

#### A DAY ON THE RANGE

After a midmorning drink of bourbon, cut with 7-Up, and swallowed in the bunk house filled with newspaper clippings, sleeping cats and dogs and mountains of odds and ends, Mr. Brislawn and his son, Emmett, set out with the family to find some of the horses.

The animals roam free on his land and the stallions choose their own mares as they do in the wild.

A black stud was seen first, only a silhouette on the hilltop, head up and alert, watching to see if it was a friend or foe who stopped the pickup truck on the gravel road below him. Sensing no danger, and apparently remembering past snacks of oats, he moved downhill toward the Brislawns. A harem of eight or 10 mares and their colts appeared, moving over the top of the hill, and followed him, breaking into a trot.

Soon the small, excitable horses were milling around a laughing Mrs. Emmett Brislawn, who dodged and ran to keep from being trampled as she dumped coffee cans of oats on the ground. The animals' long manes and tails were matted with burrs and they danced away on unshod hooves at any unexpected movement.

The Wyoming Kid was in among them, wearing his smooth-top 10-gallon hat, shouting to his son about the merits of one of the mares.

Later, bouncing over the roadless grassy brown hills in the truck, he reflected on how men seek beauty, size and conformation in their horses today.

"They've bred the horse out of the horse," he said. "Barb is all of it. Man o'War was supposed to be part Barb, only they called it Arabian. Big old homely rough-headed Barb will do it. That's the daddy of them all. There's not many left."

#### AFTER THE WAR IS OVER

### HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, for many years Walter Lippmann has shared his informed views with many Americans on a multitude of pressing domestic and foreign policy matters. While on occasion I have not agreed with Mr. Lipp-

mann's analysis of an issue, his cogent presentations and deft analysis has always contributed to reasoned discourse.

In a recent article entitled "After the War is Over," Mr. Lippmann reiterates some themes concerning the war in southeast Asia. It is the author's view that much of the trauma about our withdrawal from this area is because this situation has been defined in terms of defeat rather than the liquidation of an unnecessary military commitment.

I recommend the reading of Mr. Lippmann's article to my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD. At this point, Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert "After the War is Over":

#### AFTER THE WAR IS OVER

(By Walter Lippmann)

When the war in Indochina ends, it will matter a great deal how we understand what happened, and why. For this country can tear itself apart if it falls into bitter quarrels about what happened. There will be those who say that we have been defeated although we could have won. There will be others who say that we should not have intervened but that we were deceived and seduced. "There are two things that will always be very difficult for a democratic nation," said Alexis de Tocqueville, "to start a war and to end it." The heavy losses of the dead and wounded and the enormous costs and frustrations of the war will be tolerable only if we can come to some common understanding as to what went wrong, and why it happened.

I must begin by insisting on a point that President Johnson and President Nixon have needlessly obscured and confused. It is the difference between a mistake and a failure on the one hand and a defeat on the other. The United States has not been and cannot be defeated in Indochina even though we withdraw our armed forces and realize that in the longer run the South Vietnamese Government is not likely to be able to stay on a course that is independent of North Vietnam. For the United States this will have been a large and costly failure to do what we said we were going to do. But the United States will not have been defeated. For defeat is what happened to Nazi Germany and to Japan; to surrender, to have the armed forces lay down their arms, to have the country occupied and governed by the enemy. No such thing can happen to us in Indochina, which is proof that it is not a vital area to the United States. And therefore President Nixon would do the country a service if he would cease to confuse a mistaken war with the downfall of being defeated.

"ARMED PEASANTS WHO ARE WILLING TO DIE ARE A MATCH FOR THE MIGHTIEST POWER"

We need at the same time to explain to ourselves what at first seems to be absurd. Here we are, some 200 million of us, with the greatest armaments that any country has ever possessed and there are the North Vietnamese, some 20 million of them, with a primitive industrial system. Yet we have been unable to make them do what we want them to do. Why not? Because armed peasants who are willing to die are a match for the mightiest power. Elephants cannot clear the mosquitoes from a swamp. The United States has been unable to conquer the armed guerrillas of the vast Asian continent.

Why, we are asked, have we not used all our weapons and bombed them back into the Stone Age? The answer is that the United States had compelling reasons to believe that China and the Soviet Union would not stand idly by if we did, and that nothing that was at stake in Indochina was worth another world war.

Thus, our failure in Vietnam sprang from a great mistake. We asked the armed forces to do what it was not possible for them to do. Our senior military leaders, the men who were the commanders before and during the second world war, knew better. They had always believed that the United States' military power was on the ocean and that Asian land wars were to be avoided studiously. The men who did commit the United States to a land war in South Vietnam had to ignore the precedents and override the advice of men like Dwight D. Eisenhower, Douglas MacArthur and Matthew B. Ridgway.

"THERE FLOURISHED THE FANTASTIC NOTION THAT ONE NATION COULD ACT AS GLOBAL POLICEMAN."

If we are pacifists and doves about Vietnam, it is because of the old American view of a land war in Asia. The opposition to intervention on the Asian continent begins with the teachings of our senior commanders in the second world war, long before Senator Fulbright and his colleagues in the Senate began to dissent. The question is why the United States ever violated its own military doctrine.

The reason for the mistake which led to the failure was certainly not the villainy or the ambition or the profit-seeking of anyone. The reason was the global confusion which existed when the second world war came to an end. The two principal enemies of the United States, Germany and Japan, were utterly defeated and all the principal allies and friends, the Soviet Union, China, France and Britain, were prostrated. Only the United States was uninvaded, powerful and rich, unhurt and invulnerable.

The recovery of our allies and of our enemies was greatly helped by wise and beneficent measures like the Marshall plan and NATO, and for a few years it looked as if we could do anything anywhere in the world. The whole world seemed to depend on the United States for protection and for recovery and reconstruction, even for food. Never, it seemed, was there such a total victory, and never before, therefore, was it so difficult to judge with any accuracy what needed to and what could be done. In these circumstances there flourished the illusion of American omnipotence, the fantastic notion that one nation could act as global policeman.

It was not, I think, the United States which yearned to police the world, though there were a few intoxicated imperialists among us. Events and the pleading of our friends abroad nourished the illusory role of world policeman and world benefactor.

While that illusion flourished during the late '40s, it became exceedingly difficult to measure wisely the extent of our power and of our responsibilities. Although the postwar distribution of power in the world has proved to be short-lived, the postwar situation was complicated by the first appearance of nuclear weapons. They were unbelievably destructive and for a time the United States had a monopoly of them. It was difficult to understand the limitations of nuclear weapons, and to realize that though those weapons would destroy anything, they could not do anything in particular. We have learned gradually the limitations of nuclear power, but it has been difficult for most people to understand why, if we are so powerful, we do not succeed in anything we attempt to do.

And then, last but not least, there was a third novelty in the postwar world which made it difficult to judge foreign policy accurately. This was the emergence of the Russian empire as the citadel of a world revolution against established order everywhere. Americans had never before confronted such a state of affairs. The consequence was the cold war to contain Communism, to roll it back and to insist that the confrontation with Communism would have

to precede not only stable recovery, not only peace and harmony in the world, but the recognition of the balance of power.

It is very easy in retrospect to see that the war in Vietnam was a great failure owing to a great mistake. It is also easy to see that this great mistake was made by a new generation of men who were faced with the unique conditions of the postwar world—the total victory of the United States, the unmeasured nuclear weapons, and the Soviet Communist crusade which, for living Americans, was unprecedented.

When the Vietnamese war ends—we pray without a catastrophe—there will be only one salve for our wounds, for our pride, for our honor and for our dignity. Honesty and no pretenses. It is to recognize the mistake as being a mistake, to refrain from pretending that it was not a mistake, and to find the remedy in the universal human knowledge that to err is human.

#### THE 1970 POPULATION CENSUS COUNT

### HON. AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. HAWKINS. Mr. Speaker, on November 30, 1970, the Secretary of Commerce and the Director of the Bureau of the Census announced the results of the 1970 census.

While those figures were impressive, the National Urban League, as spokesman for the Coalition for a Black Count, contends that the figures are not accurate and that millions of black and other minority citizens were not counted.

Several of my congressional colleagues have already raised questions about the accuracy of the census. A drastic undercount has broad and serious implications for all American citizens, transcending its racial implications. Cities which are hard pressed to stave off economic disaster will suffer, as will individual citizens of all races who will be denied proper congressional representation, and a variety of Federal services based on the inaccurate 1970 census count.

In view of this, the following statement by Mr. Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, is of particular interest, and is directed to the attention of my colleagues:

STATEMENT BY WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

We are distressed by the President's announcement of the final population count for the Nation based upon the 1970 Census. Although the Census Bureau's expectation that no less than two million blacks were missed in the 1970 Census is a matter of public record, no adjustment for the black undercount was made in these final counts. These figures were released in full knowledge that large segments of the American population were not accurately counted; thus, they are in violation of the Constitutional mandate which requires a decennial census of all groups and not just some of them.

If these inaccurate figures are allowed to stand over the next decade, blacks and other minorities will once again be deprived of the political representation and economic assistance to which they are entitled. The two million blacks missed in 1960, alone, could symbolize the loss of five Congressmen and scores of state legislators to the black community.

But, in fact, it will really be the Nation, not its racial minorities, that will suffer because of deficient census procedures. At a time when cities across the country are pleading to the state and federal governments for fiscal relief, many cities will be forced to assume an even greater responsibility for the support of the residents in low-income areas where the undercount is likely to be most acute.

If these inaccurate figures are allowed to stand, another decade of racial and economic divisiveness will result from inadequate funding of domestic problems. Moreover, another decade of insufficient school, hospital and housing facilities will also result from miscalculated projections of population size.

It must be made emphatically clear that the responsibility for the undercount is that of the U.S. Census Bureau. Contrary to the statements of census officials quoted in the press, blacks were not hostile to the census. The experience of the Coalition for a Black Count (sponsored by the National Urban League) in the 1970 Census clearly demonstrated that blacks across the Nation were eager to participate in the census. Yet we take small comfort in the fact that the undercount would have been greater had it not been for the Coalition's efforts.

In fact, there were greater hostility and suspicion to the 1970 Census from whites who were concerned about invasion of privacy. But despite the organized resistance in the white community, the Census Bureau succeeded in counting them. Thus, alleged hostility cannot be used as an excuse for underenumeration.

The fault clearly lies in an insensitive census operation that prints all the census forms in English, knowing that thousands of Spanish-Americans and Chinese-Americans will not be able to read them.

The fault lies in inadequate mailing procedures that resulted in thousands of persons never receiving their forms.

The fault lies in a patronage hiring system that prevented many minority persons from holding supervisory census positions.

The fault lies in a census that was planned so poorly that it had to be extended from two-and-a-half months to five months because of the break-down of its so-called innovations in ghetto areas.

Clearly, the outmoded census procedures must be radically reformed. But the Nation and its racial minorities should not be required to suffer in the interim. It was not until 1965 that the Nation was informed that two million blacks were missed in 1960. We cannot wait until 1975 to learn that three or four million blacks were not counted in the 1970 Census. Immediate redress is in order.

Therefore, we call upon the Federal Government to immediately adjust the final population figures to reflect the underenumerated segments of the population. In this way, localities can receive the political representation and economic assistance to which they are entitled and proper planning over the next decade at the Federal, state and local levels can be based on accurate figures and not on an ad hoc compilation of numbers.

#### CONGRESS GOES DOWN TO THE WIRE TRYING TO STAVE OFF A NATIONAL RAIL STRIKE

### HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the fact that this body was

forced to remain in session right down to the wire last night in a fruitless effort to stave off a potentially paralyzing national rail strike, symbolizes better than anything else the utter bankruptcy and ineffectiveness of our current railway disputes machinery. Indeed, crisis, emergency and a flurry of 11th hour activity have come to be the norm in these negotiations. Since the passage of the Railway Labor Act four decades ago, the emergency provisions have been invoked a total of 187 times—an average of four times yearly. We have reached a point, I think it is fair to say, where genuine collective bargaining between the parties in this dispute, without the threat of Government intervention, has become nearly impossible.

Mr. Speaker, recognizing that this atrophy of the collective bargaining process is absolutely intolerable in an industry that comprises a vital artery of the American economy, President Nixon proposed a fundamental reform of our disputes settlement machinery in the transportation industry in his national emergency labor disputes message of March 2, 1970. His message outlined a three-point proposal for the creation of more effective disputes settlement procedures that I believe could well have averted the morass in which we presently find ourselves. The essence of the President's proposal was the establishment of a procedure known as "final offer selection" by which the Secretary of Labor would choose among the final offers of the two parties in a dispute in the event that an impasse in private bargaining had been reached.

The objective of this new procedure would be to reverse the incentives of the present act which tend to undermine bargaining by encouraging the parties to stubbornly hold out for extreme demands in the expectation that an arbitration panel will split the difference. As the President succinctly put it:

Expecting that they might have to split the difference tomorrow, both parties find it to their advantage to widen that difference today. Thus the gap between them broadens; the bargaining process deteriorates; Government intervention increases; and work stoppages continue.

Mr. Speaker, is that not the precise situation we face today. How much better would it have been if the President's excellent proposal would have gotten prompt committee hearings and floor consideration by this body? I, for one, believe that the time spent in committee deliberation and floor debate on this proposal would have been to considerably more avail than the midnight oil we burned last night.

So as we become mired in debating the merits of the positions of each side in this dispute or the kind of emergency actions that the President or Congress should take, I would urge that one fundamental question not be forgotten or overlooked: Why did this proposal for long overdue reform of disputes settlement machinery not get prompt attention and hearings from the committees on both sides of the Capitol? Why do we continue to drift and make do with archaic bankrupt laws and

procedures when sound proposals for reform have been laid on the table by the President? I would hope we get some early answers to these questions and some speedy actions on this proposal next session.

CONGRATULATIONS TO MR. AND  
MRS. FREDERIC E. MANSFIELD

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to note recently that two former constituents of mine, Mr. and Mrs. Frederic E. Mansfield of Daytona Beach, Fla., celebrated their 55th wedding anniversary in August.

Mr. Mansfield was employed by the Southern New England Telephone Co. in New Haven, Conn., until his retirement in 1947. A Mason for over 50 years, he is a past master of Olive Branch Lodge No. 84, A.F. & A.M. in New Haven. He served as secretary of that lodge for 19 years.

I would like to congratulate Mr. and Mrs. Mansfield on their anniversary and convey the best wishes of the members of Olive Branch Lodge No. 84. Mr. Samuel Mann, Worshipful Master of Olive Branch Lodge, has submitted a newspaper article concerning the Mansfields' anniversary. He has also sent two poems which reflect Mr. Mansfield's attitudes toward life and friendship and show why he was respected and loved by all who knew him in New Haven. I wish to insert the newspaper article and the two poems at this point in the RECORD:

MANSFIELDS OBSERVE 55TH ANNIVERSARY

Mr. and Mrs. Frederic E. Mansfield, 2417 N. Oleander Ave., will celebrate their 55th wedding anniversary Sunday.

The Mansfields were married Aug. 23, 1915, and lived in New England until coming to Daytona Beach in 1963.

Mr. Mansfield is a graduate of Wesleyan University and was connected with the Bell Telephone System in New Haven, Conn., until his retirement in 1947. Subsequently he served as alumni secretary of Kents High School, statistician at the Augusta State Hospital and, finally as acting manager of the Auburn Parking Dist., all in the state of Maine.

He is a 32nd degree Mason, a past master of Olive Branch Lodge 84 of New Haven, and served as secretary of that lodge for 19 years. A past grand master of the Masons of Connecticut recently came to Daytona Beach to present a 50 year membership pin to Mr. Mansfield in Ormond Beach Lodge 326.

Mrs. Mansfield nee Anna Potter, is a graduate of Smith College.

The Mansfields have three children. Lucy, the eldest, also is a graduate of Smith College and received her master's degree at the University of Maine. She is the wife of Dr. Vincent H. Whitney, a member of the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, and the mother of three children. Dorothy is a graduate of the University of North Carolina's Women's College and was an Ensign in the Navy during World War II. She is the wife of Edwin B. McDaniel, president of the Bank of Belle Glade, and the mother of two children. Frederic Jr. was graduated from Bates College and, after two years in the Army,

received his master's degree in library science at Simmons College. After two years at the library at Harvard, he transferred to the library at the University of Illinois.

IT MATTERS

My philosophy through life is best expressed by a poem that only recently came my way. I do not know the author as its source was anonymous when I received it. But it reads like this:

"It matters little where I was born,  
Or if my parents were rich or poor;  
Whether they shrank at the cold world's  
scorn,

Or walked in the pride of wealth secure.  
But whether I live an honest man,  
And hold my integrity firm in my clutch,  
I tell you, brother, as plain as I can,  
That matters much.

"It matters little how long I stay  
In a world of sorrow, sin and care;  
Whether in youth I am called away,  
Or live till my bones and pate are bare.  
But whether I do the best I can  
To soften the weight of adversity's touch  
On the fading cheek of my fellow man  
That matters much.

"It matters little where be my grave,  
Or on the land or in the sea,  
By purling brook or 'neath stormy wave,  
It matters little or naught to me.  
But whether the Angel from on High comes  
down  
And marks my brow with his loving touch  
As one shall wear the victor's crown,  
That matters much".

And as I look out and see our many friends gathered around us, I am reminded of another little poem that recently came across my desk. It describes friends and I would like to share it with you:

"Friends are people who think of others more than themselves . . . Who uplift, encourage, praise and criticize with loving honesty . . . Friends are people who know the worth of silence . . . And of having a talent for listening . . . Who accept without trying to reform and understand with their hearts . . . Friends are living examples of the Golden Rule and are strengthened by giving . . . Friends are life's greatest treasures, found by only the most fortunate. . ."

I feel that way about you, my friends, and may I close by giving you my favorite toast:  
"May the road rise to meet you. May the wind be always at your back. May the sun shine warm upon your face, the rain fall soft upon your fields and, until we meet again, May God hold you in the palm of His Hand."

WILLIAM J. KUHFUSS, NEW FARM  
BUREAU PRESIDENT

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, William J. Kuhfuss, Mackinaw, Ill., was elected today in Houston, Tex., as the seventh president of the 51-year-old American Farm Bureau Federation. He succeeds Charles B. Shuman, another Illinoisan and a familiar name in American agriculture for many years, who announced on Monday his retirement after 16 years as head of the Nation's largest general farm organization.

Bill Kuhfuss is an agricultural leader of great respect in Illinois and already

known and respected on a national basis and certainly felt by the Congress. His frequent appearances on Capitol Hill have been impressive. He knows agriculture, the organization which elected him its president, and knows the operation of government.

He is a highly respected representative of the Angus beef breed and produces prize livestock on his Tazewell County farm operated with his brother. Few men I know more fully enjoy their farm and livestock than he.

Because of his strong love of the farm on which he was born and reared, early in life he felt the need to contribute to the improvement of his profession—agriculture.

He has served since 1958 as president of the Illinois Agricultural Association. During that period of time the organization has continued to serve the needs of its more than 190,000 family members through expanded marketing programs and successful efforts in the State legislature. As IAA president, Kuhfuss led three agricultural trade missions to Europe, the Orient, and an around-the-world mission in search of new markets for farm products. Illinois leads the Nation in farm and commercial exports with many of the markets for these expanding sales located and developed through the efforts of Bill Kuhfuss.

He is an agricultural leader without question, but his outstanding devotion to service does not end at his farm's gate. In 1967 he was appointed by Illinois Governor Otto Kerner to serve as downstate coordinator of a campaign for revenue reform for Illinois.

He was named by Governor Kerner in 1968 to serve as cochairman of the Illinois Committee for a Constitutional Convention. That drive was successful, the new constitution has been drafted, and with Mr. Kuhfuss again serving as cochairman of the drive to seek approval of the new document.

Illinoisans will vote next Tuesday on that constitution.

He brings with him to the presidency of the American Farm Bureau broad experience as a farmer, a leader, and an administrator. I am confident all Members of Congress will find him an eloquent, thoughtful, dedicated spokesman for American agriculture as he begins a new era of leadership for the American Farm Bureau Federation.

#### RAID ON POW CAMP

### HON. SAMUEL L. DEVINE

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, the recent U.S. air strike against North Vietnam and the prisoner-of-war rescue attempt are the subject of a November 24 article by the Wall Street Journal.

The Journal writes that the United States halted its bombing of the North following an agreement on unarmed reconnaissance flights, infiltration of the demilitarized zone and shelling of major

South Vietnam cities. The November 13 downing of an unarmed reconnaissance plane and the recent shelling of Saigon and Hue resulted, in the form of air strikes, the "strong and effective" U.S. retaliation about which Mr. Nixon spoke last fall.

In addition, in response to information that some of our men were dying in prisoner-of-war camps, a carefully planned rescue was attempted.

Surely, in light of these two actions, Hanoi now understands that the United States will not let broken agreements go unchallenged.

I ask unanimous consent that "Commando Raid on POW Camp, Air Strike Add Muscle to Nixon's Retaliation Threat" be printed in the RECORD.

COMMANDO RAID ON POW CAMP, AIR STRIKE ADD MUSCLE TO NIXON'S RETALIATION THREAT

(By Robert Keatley and Richard J. Levine)

Staff reporters of the Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON.—Last November, President Nixon warned North Vietnam that any escalation of the Indochina war would bring "strong and effective" retaliation from the Americans.

Last weekend Mr. Nixon tried to prove he wasn't bluffing.

In response to what Washington calls violations of the "understandings" that ended U.S. bombing raids over North Vietnam two years ago, some 250 American planes blasted Communist air defense and staging areas in the southern part of that country over the weekend in what the Pentagon terms "successful" attacks.

While that was happening, the U.S. staged an unprecedented commando raid near Hanoi in an effort to free American war prisoners held there. This effort wasn't successful—the prisoners have been evacuated several weeks before the attack—but the audacious strike so close to home may have unnerved the men who set North Vietnam's war policies.

That may have been the main reason for the closely coordinated attacks. Mr. Nixon and his chief security affairs adviser, Henry Kissinger, have tried hard to persuade the Communists that the Americans aren't predictable, that the U.S. is strong and won't let provocations or broken agreements go unchallenged. The message to Hanoi seems clear: negotiate peace in good faith or face reprisals whenever military escalation or violation of agreements is attempted.

Although the immediate issues involve North Vietnam, the message of toughness and unpredictability also may have been aimed at Moscow. Soviet-American relations have been strained recently, mainly because—in Washington's view—the Russians aren't living up to the spirit of understandings about Berlin, European detente, Mideast peace and, perhaps, a missile base in Cuba, among other things. Thus, the sharp U.S. response may be a signal to the Soviets that they, too, would be well advised to honor any future agreements with the Americans. This is part of what White House officials call establishing "credibility" in foreign affairs.

#### PRESS SPOKESMAN'S STATEMENT

As part of this, Defense officials yesterday carefully carved out grounds for possible future air strikes against North Vietnam if the U.S. decides they are justified. "We remain ready to take appropriate action in response to attacks on our unarmed reconnaissance aircraft, in response to major infiltration across the demilitarized zone (which separates North Vietnam and South Vietnam) or in response to the shelling of major South Vietnamese cities," warned Jerry W. Freidhelm, the Pentagon's chief press spokesman.

The U.S. contends it originally stopped bombing the North after reaching agreement on these three matters with North Vietnam. It says the weekend attacks were ordered because Hanoi's gunners shot down a reconnaissance plane on Nov. 13 and because its troops recently shelled Saigon and Hue, the main cities in South Vietnam.

Hanoi has consistently denied making these or any other agreements with the U.S., an assertion that doesn't carry much weight in Washington, where officials claim otherwise and act accordingly.

These U.S. operations come at a time when the Nixon message may, in fact, be getting through to North Vietnamese policymakers. According to foreign diplomats who have frequent contact with Hanoi officials, serious doubts about the future of their war effort are arising and, for the first time, these Communist Vietnamese are beginning to wonder if "time is on their side after all," these sources say.

#### REPORT OF ENEMY DISAPPOINTMENT

According to these sources, the North Vietnamese are dismayed by the recent American elections. They expected the Indochina war to be a major political issue in the U.S. and thus expected Mr. Nixon to suffer serious reverses because of his policies, forcing major new American concessions at the Paris peace talks. These sources say that the Communists, despite their propaganda statements to the contrary, concede privately that the Nixon Administration didn't lose much political ground because of the war and that the war itself is a declining political issue in the U.S.

This faces Hanoi with the possibility of two more years of costly and inconclusive war until the next American election, a prospect the Communists don't welcome, the sources said. This is especially true because, it's claimed, Hanoi expects the combat to remain a relatively minor political issue as American troop withdrawals continue and casualties decline. Thus Hanoi's leaders are said to concede the 1972 elections may have less impact—rather than more—on U.S. policies in Southeast Asia than did the Nov. 3 midterm voting.

According to American analysts, Hanoi has been counting on war protests within the U.S. as a major restriction on the Nixon Administration, one that could force it to accept much or all of the eight-point "peace plan" surfaced by Communist negotiators several weeks ago. As relayed by the foreign diplomats, however, the Communists are losing faith in this thesis. They are disturbed by the fact that Mr. Nixon has branded their peace proposal unacceptable, and responded with his own quite different program last month, which the Reds say they won't accept.

None of this means Hanoi is about to change war strategy, the diplomats caution. North Vietnam, since the death of President Ho Chi Minh, has been ruled by a committee of dedicated Communists who remain committed to gaining political control of South Vietnam. They make decisions slowly and view political compromises as a form of surrender, something the experts say they still want to avoid. But this Communist pessimism could eventually lead to some basic rethinking of policies, the diplomats conclude.

#### REPORTED RESULTS OF RAID

In any case, the American weekend raids have given North Vietnamese officials something new to think about. The air raids, according to Pentagon statements, blasted enemy missiles, antiaircraft guns and, more important, staging areas for men and supplies bound down the Ho Chi Minh trail to Cambodia and South Vietnam.

More than 100 secondary fires and explosions were spotted in the three areas where bombs were dropped, Mr. Friedhelm said,

and more than 100 trucks were hit. He said the raids had hindered Hanoi's ability to man and supply new ground offensives in the South, where the fighting has already been going badly for the Communist side. Fuel, ammunition and troop barracks are believed to have been among the targets struck by U.S. planes.

The raid on the POW camp may have been even more disconcerting to Hanoi's leaders. At 2 a.m. last Saturday (Hanoi time), American helicopters unloaded troops—the Pentagon wouldn't say how many—in the prison compound, only 20 miles from the North Vietnamese capital. Although nothing similar had been tried in this war, plans for such raids had been drafted months ago.

"A key factor in the final decision to launch the rescue attempt, Defense Secretary Laird said at a news conference, "was new information we received this month that some of our men were dying in prisoner-of-war camps."

The U.S. raiders didn't find any American hostages; apparently they had been removed several weeks before the raid was ordered. But the Army troops searched buildings, destroyed locks on prison cells and left without suffering any serious casualties. One U.S. helicopter crashed, however, and was destroyed by the Americans.

The attack proved that U.S. forces "were able to get in and get out," Mr. Laird said, something that might cause Hanoi to wonder about its defenses.

White House spokesman Ronald Ziegler, speaking for Mr. Nixon, warned Hanoi not to take any reprisals against U.S. prisoners because of this raid. He said the U.S. "would hold the North Vietnamese leaders personally responsible" for their continued safety and to reinforce the message—said again that "we stand ready to move to meaningful negotiations" as an alternative to continued warfare.

#### PITTSBURGH FAMILY OPENS HEART AND HOME TO KOREAN BOY

### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, children often bear the brunt of their elders' mistakes.

Broken homes, fatal accidents, wars, and other major and minor catastrophes, always leave a toll of children—children without parents, children without homes, and in too many cases, children without futures.

These youngsters often spend their childhood years in institutions or orphanages.

It is always heart stirring when we come across a case of a family who opens its heart and home to one of these waifs.

Mr. and Mrs. Jay Schaff, of Pittsburgh, are typical of those unselfish people who have found room in their lives for a homeless child. In the process they have given their adopted son, Bill, a heritage and a boost that, without the Schaffs, he never would have had.

In 1962, the Schaffs adopted a young Korean boy.

Eight years later, now 13 years old, they saw him celebrate his Bar Mitzvah, the traditional Jewish ceremony that welcomes a boy into the world of men.

In saluting the Schaffs, and their son

Bill, I would like to introduce into the RECORD an article from the Pittsburgh Press that tells their story:

#### KOREAN FORSAKES BACKGROUND FOR U.S. JEWISH ADULTHOOD

(By Ray Steffens)

Eight years ago, Tom Kim was a little Korean boy.

Today, he is William Franz Schaff, an American.

Nothing too unusual about a name change, maybe, but there is an important reason.

#### ADULT RESPONSIBILITIES

Because, come Saturday, William will push aside his Korean background and accept adult responsibilities in the Jewish community.

At ceremonies at the Tree of Life Synagogue, he will become a bar mitzvah, an honor bestowed on Jewish boys when they become 13 years old.

Bill, as he prefers to be called, is the adopted son of Mr. and Mrs. Jay B. Schaff of 13 Dunmoyle Place, Squirrel Hill.

Today he is a typical American boy.

#### PLACED IN ORPHANAGE

But he didn't have too much going for him in 1962 when his mother, unable to provide for him, placed Bill in an orphanage in Seoul.

Fortunately, his future was assured six months later when the Schaffs got custody of him through the Welcome House sponsored by the Pearl Buck Organization.

Schaff recalls his first meeting with the little Korean boy at an airport in New York.

"I didn't understand the Korean language and he couldn't understand me. Everytime he said something I hauled him off to the rest room just in case, but everytime he shook his head 'no.'"

Mrs. Schaff also admitted that the communication problem was acute for a while, but a mother has a way of knowing. The Schaffs also have two daughters.

#### "MOMMY" FIRST WORD

She fondly remembers the first English word he spoke.

It was "Mommy."

Since the boy had no religious ties at the orphanage, it was only natural that he would be brought up in the faith of his Jewish parents.

Bill began his studies for the bar mitzvah when he was eight years old and often spent four afternoons a week at the Hebrew Institute.

Mrs. Schaff related one incident that perhaps typifies the unexpected presence of an Oriental child in a Jewish community.

"The first day Bill got on the bus to the institute, the driver couldn't believe his eyes. He yelled: 'Tell that Chinese kid to get off the bus. These kids get on any bus that stops.'"

Being a Korean in America hasn't created any special problems for Bill. But, once at Shady Side Academy, where he is a student, he admits he had "to straighten out" an upper classman.

#### AN HONOR STUDENT

Bill is an honor student at the academy and plans to be an architect some day.

He is very happy with his family which also includes two sisters, Pam, 16, and Elizabeth, 11, and they "enjoy" a typical brother-sister relationship.

He would like to go back to Korea some day, but just to see if he could find his natural mother. He also thought he had a brother, who was adopted by another American family.

The boy doesn't think his mother had abandoned him, but as Mrs. Schaff puts it: "She gave up her child for noble reasons."

Schaff is president of Robinson Pipe

Cleaning Co., of Canonsburg. Mrs. Schaff is a music teacher at Shady Side Academy.

What did he think of adopting a Korean child?

"We'd recommend it to anyone."

Mrs. Schaff's comment:

"It's been a real pleasure."

#### APPROVAL OF BUILDING MATERIALS IGNORES CONSUMER INTERESTS

### HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, during the course of the 91st Congress, the Subcommittee on Small Business Problems in Smaller Towns and Urban Areas, of which I am chairman, has investigated the effects on small business and the general public of certain policies of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The policies to which I refer relate to the approval of certain building materials and methods, and to HUD's requirement that every local government having a workable program for community improvement approve model codes which contain these materials.

A well-known organization with a deserved reputation for representing consumer interests, the Consumer Federation of America, has responded to certain questions I raised in a letter of September 29, 1970. The replies were contained in a letter of November 30, 1970, signed by Mrs. Erma Angevine, executive director of Consumer Federation of America.

Mrs. Angevine makes the point that HUD should adopt performance standards for building materials and then proceed to establish by independent inquiry and independent testing which materials meet these standards.

It is my understanding that this is precisely what HUD is not doing at the present time.

Mr. Speaker, members of the consuming public have a far greater stake in their homes than in any other goods or services on the market. This is obvious in the case of the homeowner. It is also true for those who rent their homes, since the monthly rent payment normally exceeds every other item of domestic expenditure in the family budget.

For the rest, Mrs. Angevine's letter speaks for itself and in view of the importance and timeliness of the subject matter, I am placing it in the RECORD:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

November 30, 1970.

Hon. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI,  
Chairman, Subcommittee No. 3, Rayburn  
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN KLUCZYNSKI: I wish to commend you and your colleagues on the very valuable work you have undertaken to explore federal, state, and municipal construction requirements and their effect on U.S. consumers of housing. I wish also to comment, as you requested, on four specific points raised in your September 29 letter, as follows:

1. The acceptance of new materials, without testing either by a federal agency or an independent laboratory. Apparently, Federal Housing Administration is willing to accept materials purely on the basis of representations of the producer of material.

CFA comment: Obviously, the public interest requires that an independent party test new building products and materials. Whether a federal agency or an independent laboratory should do so must depend on their capabilities. FHA's acceptance of any material "purely on the basis of representations of the producer" is not satisfactory from the standpoint of the consumer or the public interest.

2. Although sometimes paying lip service to the concept of performance standards, FHA continues to opt for products of specific standards. In other words, rather than defining the minimum performance of a wall, a pipe, or similar component, which would allow any material complying with these performance standards to be used, FHA follows the somewhat dubious policy of listing those products which are acceptable.

CFA comment: We vigorously support performance standards. Such standards tell the consumer how the product will perform under various conditions and thus enable him to choose among many similar products that may vary considerably in price.

For example, our goal is not to describe a wall in terms of the materials used in its construction but to describe it in terms of its rigidity, its strength, and its effectiveness as a barrier to cold, heat, moisture, noise, and so forth. An acceptable standard, from the consumer's standpoint, would establish minimum requirements for each of these characteristics. A federal, state, or local agency that approves materials without first, establishing performance standards and, second, determining if the material meets these standards is not acting in the public interest.

3. The above two paragraphs must be viewed against the background of an increasingly vigorous insistence by the Department of Housing & Urban Development that materials approved by them must be accepted by local communities.

CFA comment: We understand the Department's desire to encourage use of newly-developed building materials when these function as well or better and cost less than more traditional materials and to open up such state and municipal building codes as may bar use of these newer materials. However, the solution is not for the Department to prescribe new materials untested by independent parties for their performance characteristics. The solution is for the Department to adopt performance standards and establish by independent inquiry which materials, new or traditional, meet these standards.

4. Even though upon occasion FHA requires that a guarantee or warranty be given the consumer if certain products, such as plastic pipe, are used, this does not appear to result in increased consumer protection. In fact, I am concerned that it may detract from the consumer's total position. The warranty gives the appearance of protection without any of the undergirding benefits usually associated with warranties. You will find enclosed a copy of such a warranty. I am sure you can decide for yourself whether it actually protects the consumer. Further, the Subcommittee is the recipient of numerous complaints that all too often the warranty is not actually delivered to the home buyer. I am enclosing for your information the transcript of hearings recently held in Chicago on this subject together with the printed hearings and report of proceedings held last spring on related matters.

CFA comment: A manufacturer must, of course, deliver his warranty to his customer if the warranty is to have any value. If the person who buys a house in which plastic

pipe is installed has no knowledge of the Acrylonitrile-Butadiene-Styrene Institute warranty, it is of course useless to him.

I understand, under the standard ABS Institute warranty, that a plastic pipe manufacturer promises to repair his product in event of failure and that the Institute's decision regarding the necessity of such repairs shall be final. This raises the question whether the Institute can deal at arm's length with its manufacturer members so as to render an independent judgment. Unfortunately for consumers, the history of industries' policing members of those industries is a dreary story.

I appreciate your work, Mr. Chairman, and I hope you will continue to insist that federal, state, or local approval of construction materials be soundly based on independent judgment of the ability of those materials to perform their function. In this direction lies the consumer's interest.

Sincerely,

ERMA ANGEVINE,  
Executive Director.

AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY HONORS ITS DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA DIVISION FOR THE OUTREACH PROGRAM

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure for me to bring to the attention of the Members of this House of a recent award of the coveted 1970 National Honors Citation by the American Cancer Society to the District of Columbia division of the American Cancer Society for their outstanding outreach program. This award was one of the five divisions in the United States to be selected for this high honor.

The award was presented to Dr. La Salle D. Leffall, professor and chairman, Department of Surgery, Howard University, by Mrs. Wilfred D. Keith, national vice president of the American Cancer Society and chairman of the Public Education Committee, at the semiannual dinner of the District of Columbia Division, held at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Thursday evening, November 19, 1970.

Mrs. Keith congratulated the division and praised the outreach program as "a wonderful example of what the American Cancer Society can do through people power." She went on to commend the 530 volunteers who took part in the 1-year volunteer program to train and develop paraprofessional personnel in the field of health education.

The outreach program is an outgrowth of the Scheuer amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1966. This act aims to fund programs which will provide to the disadvantaged: First, entry level opportunities to human service fields; Second, the prospect of advancement and permanent employment, even when Federal funding stops, and third, any technical training and supportive services that may be needed to prepare an individual for a new career.

Thus, the "creation" of the concept "new careerists." With the help and sup-

port of the UPO—United Planning Organization—the District of Columbia Division of the American Cancer Society hired and trained three new staff members who came from and would work with the low economy segment of the population of Washington, D.C.—the people who heretofore had been labeled "hard-to-reach" through the usual methods of communication.

The society's new careerists went door-to-door, person-to-person carrying the message of cancer education. They conducted meetings and film showings in homes, schools, and churches. Doctors and nurses gave their time to perform examinations; patients were referred to clinics; and families were referred to the appropriate agencies for financial assistance.

Mrs. Keith emphasized, "due to the person-to-person approach—the most effective approach—more than 100,000 people in Washington, D.C., were reached with the Cancer Society's lifesaving message. That should prove there is no such thing as hard-to-reach."

Mrs. Keith said:

Reaching people is the Cancer Society's top priority in the 1970's. An estimated 1,200,000 lives may be needlessly lost, unless we continue to reach out to people with our educational programs involving person-to-person communication. Your Outreach Program is leading the way.

YOUTH AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, recently the town of Oyster Bay Republican Committee in Nassau County, N.Y., held an unprecedented, day-long youth workshop at Harrison House in Glen Cove, N.Y. The event drew much praise from the Republican National Committee and various youth organizations as a method of attuning our political party to the needs of young people. With the accent on youth in our Nation's domestic problems today, this workshop was quite appropriate. A number of fine speakers participated in this gathering.

One speaker, Dr. Patrick M. Boarman, who many of my colleagues know as the former director of research for the House Republican Conference, gave a very moving and inspirational address on "Youth and the Republican Party." Dr. Boarman presently serves as a Special Consultant to the Secretary of the Treasury, and teaches at Long Island University in New York where he is a professor of economics. I believe his remarks are quite astute and something from which everyone might gain some insight concerning youth and politics. Dr. Boarman's remarks are submitted herewith for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

YOUTH AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

(By Dr. Patrick M. Boarman)

It is a genuine pleasure to be here today and to have this opportunity of sharing with you some of my thoughts on the subject of

"Youth and the Republican Party." I am especially grateful to my good friend Danny Frank, himself a student at Long Island University (Post College), for having extended this invitation to me to participate in your deliberations. Danny, who recently turned twenty, is an example of the kind of youth we could use more of in this country. He and Angie Roncallo (Comptroller of Nassau County) are to be congratulated for their initiative and enterprise in bringing this distinguished group of citizens together to discuss the role of youth in the political processes of our country.

I do not need to dramatize to this group the singular importance of this topic. That has been very effectively done in the last few days by the President's Commission on Campus Unrest in a report—now being called the Scranton report—which embodies the Commission's findings. That report said in part, and I quote: "The crisis on American campuses has no parallel in the history of the nation. The crisis has roots in divisions of American society as deep as any since the Civil War. The divisions are reflected in violent acts and harsh rhetoric, and in the enmity of those Americans who see themselves as occupying opposing camps. Campus unrest reflects and increases a more profound crisis in the nation as a whole." And the report continues: "Most of its members [i.e. of the student protest movement] have high ideals and great fears. . . . They see their elders trapped by materialism and competition and prisoners of outdated social forms. . . . They feel they must remake America in its own image. Less and less do students and the larger community seek to understand or respect the viewpoint and the motivations of the other. If this trend continues, the very survival of the nation will be threatened."

That is a grim, an alarming, one might even say apocalyptic analysis. Personally, however, I do not see Apocalypse around the corner. And I am also deeply disturbed by the intimation in the report that the outdated social forms to which students object ought to be abolished. What are the social forms in question here? Are we to interpret this as meaning that, say, the Constitution, or free speech, or private property, or the market economy, or perhaps even the family itself have outlived their usefulness and will need to be junked if student disaffection is to be overcome? Failure to specify the social forms which are allegedly outdated is at the very least to be dangerously ambiguous. The report criticizes the "divisive and insulting rhetoric" of some public officials but in turn has provided some fevered rhetoric of its own, implying that among other catastrophes which are likely to occur, the nation is on the verge of plunging into a generational civil war. But I have yet to see any hard evidence that the generation gap is as deep or universal as the report suggests.

More importantly, I quarrel seriously with the assumption of the President's Commission that all or almost all of the nation's college youth are embroiled in this titanic struggle with the system and against the system. If we are talking about those who are actively engaged in fomenting unrest and in perpetrating acts of violence, then—if the recent *Fortune Magazine* polls on student unrest are at all close to the mark—we are talking about perhaps 30% of the students in the elite schools and probably substantially smaller percentages of students in institutions of lower rank. In other words, the vast majority of American students, and a *fortiori* of American youth in general has not taken up arms against the system. So here is immediately a fact of enormous significance to us all, especially to the major political parties. American youth is not irretrievably lost to the forces of unreason and fanaticism. But it is clearly vulnerable to the spreading infection of unrest and it is

this which raises a challenge and an opportunity of overarching importance to all of us as citizens and more especially as members of a political party, the Republican Party. For it is the Republican Party which currently holds the reins of power in the national government as well as in a majority of state and local governments, and to whom our still unradicalized youth will naturally look for leadership and reassurance in the perilous months to come.

But these qualifications to the Scranton report—important as they are—should not divert attention from the undoubted fact that a significant segment of American youth is going through a grave spiritual and moral crisis which has profoundly shaken, if not yet destroyed its belief in the very premises on which this country and this society is founded. Nor can we overlook the fact that 30% of a student body of 10,000—if that is the relative size of the radical core—comes to 500, a group fully capable of finding and attacking the vulnerable pressure points of any university and even of the larger society around it.

The most immediate task which confronts us is the prevention of further radicalization of our youth and the containment of those who are irrevocably committed to revolutionary solutions to the problems of our society. But this task has no hope of being accomplished unless we searchingly analyze and dispassionately diagnose the sources of the unrest. These were only hinted at, indeed some of the most important were totally ignored in the Scranton report. Let me mention just a few of the facts which in my judgment have contributed to the disaffection of some of our youth with the values of American society and of Western civilization itself.

First, to use the words of the Scranton report and with which I tend to agree: ". . . they [college youth] see their elders trapped by materialism and competition." Now there can be no question but that a kind of obsession with material things, with the quantitative as opposed to the qualitative, with output per se, with the fellefic calculus of dollars and cents has marked the U.S. from the beginning. There can be no question but that the marketplace, a free enterprise system, and the production of ever greater quantities of bigger and better products, of more telephones, TV sets, toasters and toothpaste has been for many the be-all and the end-all of American life.

For those of us in prior generations for whom the availability of these things was not at all self-evident, who had to work very hard to supply themselves with even the minimum comforts of life, this preoccupation with the material side of existence—with the standard of living in a purely material sense—was entirely understandable. The irony of the present situation is that the very success of our economic system in supplying the material wherewithal of life—the miracles of industrial growth and efficiency which have made this nation the world's mightiest economic power—have simultaneously created the leisure time within which other values can take hold. But our system—economic, social, political—has been excessively slow in adjusting to newly felt needs for the qualitative versus the quantitative ingredients of well-being. And related to this difficulty is the price that has had to be paid by many since the onset of the Industrial Revolution in the form of the destruction of the work content of many jobs, for example, of the production worker in an auto plant.

While the latest state of the Industrial Revolution—automation—has to some extent reversed this trend by transferring the most onerous and boring tasks to machines, it has simultaneously required greater technical competence and therefore constantly higher levels of education for the operatives in this

sophisticated system. This development in turn has necessitated that increasingly complex and increasingly rigid structures—a kind of "organizational harness" in Daniel Bell's words—to be dropped on young people at an earlier and earlier age. Youth today rebels against this, much as the early enemies of factory discipline rebelled against it and went about the country smashing machines. What many youth fear today is the "industrialization of the mind," the submersion of personality in organization. And youth enjoys the luxury in our so-called affluent society of resisting or criticizing these alleged evils, again because of the still greater leisure and wealth that constitutes the second phase of the Industrial Revolution.

Along with our material progress, then, has gone a kind of spiritual anemia, a sense of boredom stemming from the relentless depersonalization of work and the erosion of the spiritual and moral values of the past and the disintegration, as a result, of the very foundations of authority. "Boredom," notes Robert Nisbet, "is one of the most dangerous accompaniments of the loss of authority in a social order. Between boredom and brute violence, there is as close an affinity historically as there is between boredom and inanition, between boredom and cruelty, boredom and nihilism. Nothing so engenders boredom in the human species as the sense of material fulfillment, of goals accomplished, of affluence possessed."

I may add that sheer ignorance of how all this affluence came to be, ignorance of how the economic system produces the impressive results all can see—this leads to contempt for the system as well. "Don't sell out to the system," is the motto of not a few students in the class of 1971. "I don't want to sell out," said one graduating senior in a California college. I don't want to take a 9 to 5 job and escape with the kids to the mountains on the weekend." Said another: "Making money has never been a challenge for me. I come from a poor family but I've always been able to get the things I want through hard work. As I go into life, I want something challenging. Making money was a challenge for my parents, but, for better or worse, it's not that way any more."

I give here just a few instances of what in fact appears to be a widespread view of how our economy works, and of the rejection of that system, at least to the extent that it seems indifferent to the spiritual and moral issues that concern students. But in the nonchalant dismissal of the accomplishments of the free economy and in the questions raised even about the legitimacy or value of such things as competition and production there is, of course, a vast amount of ignorance. The average student, like the average non-student, knows next to nothing of economics, does not realize that the economic problem has to be re-solved every hour of every day, that our economic system is a wondrous mechanism which provides us with both maximum output and maximum freedom, that it can be destroyed and that its destruction would entail untold suffering for all Americans and force students, as well as everybody else, to concern themselves twenty-four hours a day with the material requisites of life, or else die. Most students, not understanding the functioning of the economic and social system in which they live, take it for granted, are blissfully unaware of how fragile the system is, of how it can be lost, and of how the magic cornucopia from which all the things flow that are taken for granted, can be made to vanish through stupidity and wrongheadedness. What is not understood is generally despised or feared, and in the end destroyed. The likelihood of such an outcome being realized is made the more likely when such luminaries of the economics profession as John Kenneth Galbraith assures us in successive best sellers that con-

sumer sovereignty is a myth, that we are all being manipulated by the producers for their selfish ends, that scarcity is no longer an issue, that the problem of production has been solved once for all, that the market economy is dead, that the conventional wisdom, that is to say the wisdom of all except Mr. Galbraith, is dead.

It is no exaggeration, I think, to say that a vast amount of the antipathy to the traditional values of the nation has its roots in ignorance of economics and of the nature of the economic problem. Hence, a very first order of business in the struggle to regain the allegiance of our youth is a greatly expanded program of economic education. To the youth, it has to be emphasized that this nation is not endlessly rich, that government is not some kind of fourth dimension, a cornucopia of goodies that can be endlessly tapped, and that only the perverse workings of the stupid capitalist system prevents everybody from having everything he wants all the time, that scarcity is still the law of economic life, that everything we have and hold is likely to go down the drain if our social and economic system is destroyed.

But it is also true that this effort by no means relieves us of the need to recognize and deal with the charge that our system is excessively materialistic, impervious at many points to meta-economic values. The most important things in life do, in fact, lie beyond supply and demand, and while man must have bread, he cannot live by bread alone, and this in effect is what many of those who are copping out of this society are trying to tell us.

A soulless mechanistic emphasis on production per se, on engineering per se is pernicious, because it denies man his very reason for being. In criticizing the life-view that finds its meaning exclusively in goods and services, students are right. But it is our great task—and opportunity—to preach and teach the truth that the market economy must be the core of any economic-social system which proposes to provide maximum amounts of the material things man requires and yet leave him the room for the spirit without which a material plenty is a bitter fruit. What must in any case be avoided as equally futile and destructive approaches to the tasks of social reconstruction are, on the one hand, an economically ignorant moralism which tries to shape the good society in ignorance of or even in opposition to economic realities, and, on the other, a morally and spiritually obtuse "economism," uncaring or contemptuous of the things which lie beyond supply and demand.

In another sense, the crises on the campus—the alienation of many students—reaches far beyond the narrower domains of the economic system, even though economic know-nothingism is an important input to the frame of mind in which disaffection grows. What has been happening is that the very core of values on which Western culture rests has been crumbling. This core of values—truth, justice, reason, liberty, beauty, excellence—is the amalgam of the best things passed down to us under the aegis of the Judaic, Greek and Christian traditions, and it has been remarkably resistant to all the assaults made upon it through the centuries. Out of this amalgam of values has come the indispensable cement of any enduring social order: authority—the authority of the family, the Church, the university, the government. And it is only with the advent of authority—which is not at all the same thing as power as many student activists believe—that there comes the possibility of freedom. "Men are qualified for civil liberty," wrote Edmund Burke, "in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains on their own appetites."

For the past fifty years or so, the values of which I speak have been under relentless at-

tack by the so-called liberal intellectual elite, and this has borne its inevitable fruit. A confused babble of unreason, a fierce anti-intellectualism in which feeling and emotion have replaced cognition and reasoned discourse, a furious contempt for the past and a rage to destroy have in truth descended on many campuses across the country, including some of the most distinguished. And those who appear most astonished by all this are grotesquely these self-same liberal intellectuals who year in and year out have laid their literary and philosophical hatchets on the great trunk of the tree of Western freedom and culture. There they stand, wringing their hands, clucking their dismay, that their preachments have for once been taken literally by their students.

It is, to say the least, a depressing spectacle to see professors who for years have promoted and incited the vertical invasion of student barbarians, falling back in fright from the yawning moral abyss opening before them and in a paroxysm of guilt and of maudlin self-pity abjuring their students not to despise them. The students for their part speak in phrases frighteningly reminiscent of those uttered by German youth in the pre-Hitler era who declared themselves nauseated by liberalism and all its works. Meanwhile, the universities, have been all too successful in undermining student beliefs in the received values of the Establishment, and thereby in creating a vast moral and spiritual vacuum, find themselves ironically transformed by value-hungry students into ideological hot-houses wherein emotion runs riot and every political and social nostrum—however weird—is assured of a respectful hearing so long as, in someone's opinion, it is "relevant."

The dismal scene has been well described by Irving Kristol: "On practically every campus of this country," he wrote earlier this year, "learned professors are vociferously demanding the prohibition of cyclamates or DDT or whatever, while in the same breath arguing for the legalization of marijuana or hashish or whatever. Similarly, most professors and college administrators have concluded that they have neither the obligation nor the capacity to supervise the sexual habits or elevate the moral characters of their students—but they appear to have concluded simultaneously that they do have the obligation and capacity to solve our urban problems, conduct American foreign policy, reshape the American economy and perfect the American national character. They will abolish violence from American life, but they will stoically tolerate it on the campus rather than take "repressive action." They will protect their students from air pollution—but not from venereal disease, drug addiction, pregnancy, or psychedelic psychosis." And Mr. Kristol adds: "Never has one had better cause to appreciate the cogency of William F. Buckley's observation that he would rather be governed by the first 2000 names in the Boston telephone directory than by the Harvard faculty."

Let us be under no illusion. This country, indeed much of the Western world, is in the grip of a total spiritual crisis, the result of a massive "trahison des cleres" that exceeds in intensity and scope even the vision of betrayal by the intellectuals that haunted Julien Benda. Unless and until the crisis is resolved, unless and until there is a renaissance of the humanist ideals now rapidly falling into desuetude, any merely institutional arrangements that can be devised, be they economic, social, political or other, will be of little use.

But I am hopeful that the crisis of the spirit among American youth can be resolved, that the 70% who are not yet in the camp of the enemy will stay in our camp and that one day, patriotism, love of country, will again be respectable, nay admirable words. But this will require that we all do our share

to faithfully represent the ideas that have made our nation great. And I refer specifically in the context of this meeting to the involving of as many young people as possible in the day to day operations of government at all levels.

Let me append a brief word on the dangers to our youth which are implicit in the manifestation and practice of political cynicism. It requires diligent study for the average student to grasp the basic principles which will permit him to clearly understand and accept our economic and social system and the socio-political-legal framework in which it is situated. But it requires no sophisticated insights at all for him to be aware of when he is being had by politicians. I am not in any sense here criticizing the great game of politics—only the way in which the game is sometimes played by some of the players, with a visible cynicism that is guaranteed to turn youth off, insofar as youth itself has not already been drawn into the circle of corruption. I am thinking of the man seeking public office who, for the sake of votes, not money, can as easily change his principles as he can change his underwear, who in effect uses principles, ideals, causes, for purely personal political advantage, who is expedient and nothing else, who instead of leading the mob, follows the mob and adapts to the prejudices of the mob and sanctifies them, and who puts his finger to the political winds in any and all situations. We have some blatant examples of this breed now in public life who have nevertheless been remarkably clever in hoodwinking a lot of people, including our youth. But you can't fool all the people nor all our youth all the time, as a great Republican pointed out a long time ago. So that in addition to the need to enlighten our youth on the basic principles of our socio-economic system and the need to reassert and reaffirm the values on which this nation and the whole of Western civilization rests, political integrity must be substituted for political cynicism, and principles must be substituted for expediency. The youth of America wish to be and demand to be inspired and led by those of us in education, business, and politics who have the means and the talents to do so. To fail our youth would be a tragedy of unimaginable proportions. On the other hand, to succor them in the hour of crisis, to win them back for America will turn out to be more important for the country and for the Republican Party than anything the Party has ever done.

#### TRADE ACT OF 1970

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago the House passed the Trade Act of 1970 in an effort to give some protection to the Nation's shoe and textile industries which have been severely hurt by foreign imports. I supported the bill, although I felt it should have included the steel industry, among others, under its protective umbrella.

I am concerned, gravely concerned, over the future health of the steel industry for it is the economic heart of the 20th Congressional District in Pennsylvania, which I represent. Thousands of men and women depend directly on the industry for jobs; thousands more depend on it indirectly.

I have repeatedly said I have little faith in the voluntary arrangement with Japan and ECSC nations to control imported steel. I warned, and unfortunately it came true, that Japan would not abide by the provision in the arrangement concerning the product mix of the imports. She said she would try not to change it. She did change it, substantially. She is concentrating on importing high price specialty steels, reaping a greater profit while not affecting the tonnage limit allotted under the arrangement.

I have maintained the steel industry has enjoyed a certain degree of prosperity and employment only because of an unprecedented demand for steel in Europe, a demand so great the European producers could not meet it. They had to buy from us. Now, there is every reason to believe the boom is over. My fears of rising unemployment in the industry are not lessened by reports present cutbacks in working forces are due to the recent auto strikes.

In its latest report the American Iron and Steel Institute points out steel imports into the United States in October was the highest monthly total since July 1969. At the same time our steel exports slipped to their lowest point since June of the same year. In fact, Mr. Speaker, our exports have dipped steadily since May. In October, we exported 379,000 tons of steel, nearly 20,000 tons below the September figure of 398,000 tons.

On the other hand, steel imports are up. They totaled 1,334,000 net tons in October, an increase of 57,000 tons over September and 223,000 tons over August. It was the sixth consecutive month in which imports went over the 1 million ton mark. October's tonnage was the highest for any month since July 1969, when 1,412,000 tons were shipped into the country.

Through the first 10 months of 1970, steel imports total 10,303,000 tons; our exports total 6,398,000 tons over the same period.

In the face of reports such as this and in the face of ominous warnings coming from leaders in industry and labor, I cannot see the rose-colored world viewed by those who find it distasteful to protect our domestic industries through legislation. I cannot understand how they can admit we are being victimized, yet insist we do nothing about it. They tell us the U.S. Government must be mindful of the image it presents to the world's population. I believe it is about time the Government becomes mindful of the image it presents to 200 million Americans and does something about it.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert into the RECORD an article dealing with the threat of imported steel to the "sitting duck" American market. The article was written by Jack Markowitz, business editor for the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. I believe it to be most interesting and informative and deserving of the attention of my colleagues:

**SPECIALTY STEELS CITE "KILLING" TIDE OF IMPORTS**

(By Jack Markowitz)

The United States—and the Pittsburgh district in particular face the possible death of several steel companies and the loss of

tens of thousands of jobs unless the government takes action immediately to stem the rise of specialty steel imports into the "sitting duck" American marketplace.

The warning was issued—in strikingly more persuasive terms than ever before—by fired-up spokesmen for individual steel firms and the American Iron and Steel Institute yesterday at a press conference in the Press Club.

**RULES ONE-SIDED**

They pictured the U.S. state and commerce departments as taking a suicidally stiff-necked position for "free trade" in the face of what they call open violations of that principle by competing nations.

"We are not protectionists, we are simply survivalists," declared John L. Stewart, sales vice president at Cyclops Corp.'s Universal-Cyclops Specialty Steel Division.

The so-called "voluntary" quota on U.S. steel tonnage sales by certain foreign producers has not only not helped, it has sharply tightened the screws on the specialty firms, the conferees charged.

While Japan and the Common Market have stayed more or less in line with the agreement on tonnage sales, they along with countries that never agreed to a quota have switched their U.S. penetration to low-tonnage but high price sophisticated products, ranging from stainless sheets to tool steels for machinery to quality piping for power plants.

Such products are now inflowing at a "killing" pace, the steelmen warned.

**THOUSANDS OF JOBS**

John D. Paulus, senior vice president of the Iron and Steel Institute, said the jobs of 52,000 employes are threatened in the specialty industry.

A substantial number of these work in Allegheny, Washington, Westmoreland and Beaver counties—together the greatest single center of steel specialists.

The "failure" of some firms can be predicted, Paulus said, if the import tide goes on unabated.

However, it was pointed out that firms with broad product lines have the best chance to live.

John E. Newlin Jr., vice president-marketing of Carpenter Technology Corp., based in Reading, ticked off five companies that have gone out of existence in recent years, including this area's Firth Sterling and Vulcan Crucible Steel. This year's import surge alone translates into 900 jobs, he said, at a time U.S. firms are laying off.

The speakers agreed foreign steel makers hold an economic edge on labor costs ranging from one-quarter to about one-half of the U.S. rates.

But foreign countries also maintain trade barriers which effectively freeze out American competition in their home markets, the steelmen said.

"They've protected themselves, but they scream to high heaven if we do anything to protect ourselves," said Paul H. Carlson, a market development manager at Babcock & Wilcox Co.

Some imported items now command up to two-thirds of the U.S. market—and 42 per cent of the specialties come into the U.S. from non-signers of the voluntary quota.

**FOOLISH SEE-NO-EVIL**

Gene E. McDonald, secretary of Latrobe Steel Co., cited a fantastic instance of sacrificial high-mindedness by the U.S.

This country is one of only two in the world, he said, that is rigidly abiding by the United Nations embargo on chromium from Rhodesia. Chromium is a vital ingredient in stainless steel. Balked from buying it at, say, \$30 per unit from Rhodesia, Latrobe Steel has to buy some at \$55 from—guess where?—Soviet Russia.

And where do the Russians get it? From Rhodesia, at \$30.

The speaker declared that, at the least, the voluntary quota must be tightened up by rolling back the foreign exports to the lower levels of specific product sales of a few years ago. It also has to take in non-signing countries like Austria and Sweden, which have captured big market shares.

Cartech's Newlin said the quota system should be made "mandatory." Cyclops Stewart said it must eventually be backed up by Congressional action.

He and others stressed there is no intention to wall out all exports—but to prevent "takeover" of the market. Several said "fair trade" makes more sense than "free trade."

Iron and Steel Institute President John P. Roche said the tonnage steel producers never intended that a quota system should protect them and sacrifice the specialists.

**GROWING MARKET BITES**

Stewart said foreign mills now have 21 per cent of total U.S. stainless market or 182,692 tons, up from 17.3 per cent last year; 68 per cent of the wire rod market; 33 per cent of cold rolled sheets.

According to Newlin, 1969 imports of tool steel were 60 per cent higher than the voluntary quota outlined. In 1970's first three quarters, he said, they have shot 87 per cent higher than the agreed level: 14,000 tons versus 7,470 tons.

Foreign threats of a retaliatory "trade war" can be dismissed as propaganda, the speakers said. "The trade war is a paper tiger," said John Paulus.

It was reported that the United Steelworkers are behind the industry's campaign on imports.

When a reporter suggested later in informal conversation that the import threat may be one of the few bargaining chips the industry can use against rising labor rates, none of the steelmen seemed to agree. They expect the steelworkers to seek a stiff wage settlement—on the new pattern of General Motors—import crisis or no.

**WHERE IS VIETNAMIZATION TAKING US?**

**HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, For more than a year and a half now, I have spoken out against the fraud of Vietnamization, against a policy that appears to change the outward appearance of the war in Vietnam, while prolonging and widening it to Cambodia and Laos.

The latest bombing raids over North Vietnam, ordered as a "protective reaction" to the shooting down of an American reconnaissance plane, is just the latest indication that the Nixon administration continues to rely mainly on the use of military force in Vietnam. It is reminiscent of the overkill employed by the previous administration as it inexorably deepened our tragic involvement in Vietnam.

New York Times columnist Tom Wicker discussed these issues in a November 29 column and I urge my colleagues to give it the attention it deserves:

**WHITHER VIETNAMIZATION?**

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON.—After months of seeming quiescence in Vietnam, the news last week of

new bombing raids and a derring-do attempt to rescue prisoners of war in the North raised once again a question that is too often forgotten. Where is Vietnamization taking us?

The Sontay rescue mission is easy enough to criticize, since it failed to bring home any prisoners; but it is not as easy to say that it shouldn't have been attempted, since the actual strike was carried off without a hitch and since the Administration apparently had what it thought was solid reason to believe in the possibility of success. And it remains to be seen whether the raid will have unfortunate aftereffects.

It could, for instance, result in making life harder than it already is for American prisoners, if the North Vietnamese react by taking more stringent security measures or if they seek to punish the prisoners for the rescue effort. That effort could also make it harder for anyone to negotiate some or all of the prisoners' release, since the North Vietnamese might well fear that an agreement anytime soon would look to the world as if they had been intimidated by the aerial incursion into their territory. And if the raid dramatized to Hanoi the deep concern of the Administration and of Americans generally on the prisoner issue, it might make the North Vietnamese Government more determined than ever not to yield the prisoners without some significant political return.

But it was the bombing strikes against the North that raised the deeper question of Vietnamization. Despite Pentagon circumlocution, the extent and power of the air raids suggested a good deal more than "protective reaction" against the shooting down of an American reconnaissance plane—that, or a bad case of overkill.

These bombings almost certainly were directed in large part at North Vietnamese military preparations, transport, troop concentrations, and other targets that, if left alone, might have been or become a threat to the dwindling American forces in South Vietnam. It was also to "protect American troops" and to further the Vietnamization withdrawals that the Cambodian invasion was launched last spring, and at the same time a series of air strikes against the North.

Considerable American air activity continues in Cambodia, although American ground troops are no longer fighting there. These Cambodian air strikes, too, are justified on grounds of protecting American lives in South Vietnam, although many of them seem, instead, to be in direct support of the Cambodian army.

These events beg the question whether, as Vietnamization proceeds and American forces in South Vietnam become less and less powerful, there will not be a growing necessity for air strikes at the North, in Cambodia and in Laos. As any President would, Mr. Nixon will surely take every step he thinks necessary to protect the remaining troops.

If that proves to be the case, then the further question arises whether the prospect of a negotiated settlement could possibly be improved in such circumstances. If progressive American withdrawals force Mr. Nixon to strike more frequently at the North in order to protect an ever-smaller American force in the South, the attacks would hardly improve Hanoi's willingness to bargain.

Moreover, Hanoi's rock-bottom demands for a settlement appear to include a different government in Saigon and a fixed date for the completion of the American withdrawal—neither of which is offered by Vietnamization. For all these reasons, Vietnamization has to be viewed, not as a program leading to a negotiated political settlement of the war, but as an alternative to such a settlement.

That might be all right—indeed, it might be the best way out of a bad trip—if Vietnamization appeared to be a successful al-

ternative. But Vietnamization does not, in fact, promise to end the war.

It raises, rather, the remote possibility of the kind of destructive assault on a small remaining American force that might reverse the American momentum out of the war. More distinctly, it raises the real possibility that after most American troops are safely withdrawn, the North Vietnamese can renew the fighting at a level Saigon alone could not long withstand.

But if Mr. Nixon refuses to negotiate a change in the Saigon Government, could he permit it to be destroyed by force after a unilateral American withdrawal? Hardly. The fact is that Vietnamization implied a moral obligation for continued American assistance to South Vietnam—not in peace but in war, not with aid but with air power, not for an occasional weekend of protective reaction but for an open-ended future. How much of a continuing American establishment in South Vietnam—civil and military—Vietnamization may also imply no one ever has been willing to state unequivocally.

And in such a future of continuing war, what can ever be done about the American prisoners in North Vietnam?

ROBERT PENN WARREN

HON. FRED SCHWENDEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. SCHWENDEL. Mr. Speaker, recently, one of the literary greats of this century received the National Medal of Literature—one of this Nation's highest literary honors—at a ceremony in the Library of Congress.

The award, presented by the National Book Committee, consists of \$5,000 and a bronze medal. This year's recipient is Robert Penn Warren, the widely acclaimed poet, novelist, and critic.

In presenting the award Dr. Mason W. Gross, president of Rutgers University and chairman of the National Book Committee, said of Mr. Warren:

His revelations of identity, of mortal human interactions, and of the individual and his essential nature help us to discover ourselves.

His work glows with compassion for our cultural dilemmas; and, personifying the artist as teacher and advocate, he has never hesitated to be the burr under the saddle of complacency.

In responding, Mr. Warren discussed the relevance of the creative writer to man in periods of crisis, describing the disease of our time as being "cut off from ourselves as well as from nature and other men." He said:

We are bombarded all day long by abstractions, by the 'truths' of the advertising man, the politician, the preacher, and suddenly we are reminded that every truth that is not lived into, not earned out of experience, either literally or imaginatively, is a lie.

Personal redemption, Mr. Warren concluded, lies in learning to respect the self and respect experience. Chastened by a keener awareness of human possibility of salvation or disaster, we may be a little more certain of the terms by which the individual fate will be determined.

Also on the program was the Librarian of Congress, L. Quincy Mumford, who welcomed Mr. Warren back to the Library of Congress. Mr. Warren served as consultant in poetry to the Library in 1944. William E. Stafford, the current consultant in poetry, presented "an appreciation" of Mr. Warren.

In these trying times, it is good to stop and reflect on the very great contributions to our cultural heritage made by persons such as Robert Penn Warren.

CLUB AMERICANA, INC.: WE ARE PROUD TO BE AMERICANS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, October 14, 1968, I included in my remarks a statement issued by Mr. Robert J. Flynn of 3400 Highwood Drive, SE, Washington, D.C., in relation to the establishment by Mr. Flynn and 350 private citizens of Club Americana whose slogan is "We are proud to be Americans." I first learned of Club Americana through his son, one of my former pages—Carey Flynn, who graduated from Capitol Page School in June of 1966.

I am now pleased to include in my remarks a progress report issued by Mr. Flynn on what this new organization has been doing in the past 2 years. In the troubled times we live in, it is refreshing to hear of an organized effort by citizens who boast that they are "Proud To Be Americans." I hope that people in other sections of the country will become interested in establishing similar organizations in their own community. The progress that this organization has made and its contribution to the establishment of bonds between Americans and the citizens of countries all over the world is worthy of our recognition.

The report follows:

CLUB AMERICANA, INC.: WE ARE PROUD TO BE AMERICANS

Club Americana, Inc., is an organization of private citizens dedicated to representing America, its people and their culture. It has three basic purposes. The first is to function as a Social Club and provide its members with the means whereby they can meet and enjoy the company of others. Regular meetings are held each month; members give get-acquainted parties in their homes; and many social contacts are provided in the fulfillment of the second purpose of our club, which is to provide the members with a year round program of varied activities.

In the Metropolitan Washington area, Club Americana is known as the "Club That Does Everything." Our members are people who know how to live and enjoy life. They participate in hikes, formal dances, picnics, monthly meetings, singles club, bridge club, educational films, golf club, fashion shows, theater parties, bowling club, language courses, sports, gourmet club, dance lessons and an annual Charity Ball for the benefit of Children's Hospital.

President Lyndon B. Johnson has said, "The richest of all resources in which America abounds is the character of our people, their lively interest in the world, their friendly spirit, their generous hearts and

willing hands." This describes Club Americana members perfectly. Our *third purpose* is to harness this tremendous resource of "People Power" into a force for peace in our country and throughout the world through *understanding*. Our members have fulfilled this worthy objective by serving as "host families" to International visitors to America. They have opened their hearts and homes to these visitors and helped them understand America. In turn, they visit the various Embassies to learn the customs of other countries and persons from Embassies and other International visitors are invited to participate in our club activities to learn more about the "American Way of Life."

"Creating new friendships for America" through visits to other countries with the intention of getting acquainted with the people and their culture is a part of this *third purpose*. Cultural visits to other countries are scheduled, as voted by the membership, and arrangements are made with government or civic officials to provide the means of visiting in the homes of private citizens during our visits. It is our purpose to erase the "ugly American" image and replace it with representatives of America who are thoughtful, considerate and act courteously as guests of the countries visited. America needs such friends throughout the world if true peace is to become a reality and we feel that the best way to make friends for our country is to visit our neighbors, introduce ourselves and learn to understand and live with them. We have succeeded in this objective and we have made new friends for America because our members have visited in the homes of people in Bermuda, Majorca, Jamaica, England, Israel, Rome, Paris, Ireland, Spain, Japan, the Bahamas, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Bangkok. We received an award for our participation in the 1970 St. Patricks Day Parade in Ireland.

Club Americana also has established a "Scholarship Fund," to be awarded each year to students throughout the world competing in a contest on "How can all nations live peacefully together."

Perhaps in some small way, Club Americana is helping to solve one of man's most pressing problems—that of trying to live peacefully with one another throughout the world. We are dedicated to that objective.

#### THE 153D BIRTHDAY OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

### HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to note that today is the 153d anniversary of the admission of the State of Mississippi to the Union. On December 10, 1817, Mississippi became the 20th State to join our young Republic.

Mississippi has a fascinating history. For centuries, she was the home of Choctaw, Chickasaw, Natchez, and Yazoo Indians.

In 1540, Hernando de Soto was the first white man to see her.

In 1969, the rocket which carried the first man to the moon was tested on her soil.

The intervening years tell her story: from an age of exploration to the Age of Aquarius.

La Salle claimed her for France in 1682.

She was ceded to Britain by the Treaty of Paris.

Spain acquired her in 1781.

Mississippi flew the U.S. flag for the first time in 1798 when she became a territory.

Mississippi has known prosperity, devastation, oppression. She has known war and peace. She has known economic depression and discrimination.

Throughout her history, Mississippi has contributed ideas, ideals, and stalwart men and women to our Union of States.

On this, her 153d birthday, I salute Mississippians for their patriotism and their determination to see that Mississippi's future holds only continued glory and continued success.

#### A TIME FOR LEADERSHIP

### HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, in this morning's Washington Post, there appeared an excellent article written by Don Oberdorfer concerning the need for leadership by the President. Pointing out that the essence of Presidential power is the power to persuade, Mr. Oberdorfer urges President Nixon to assert a more commanding role particularly concerning domestic legislation. A copy of the article follows:

#### A TIME FOR LEADERSHIP

(By Don Oberdorfer)

What will President Richard Nixon be remembered for?

If he is able by adroit maneuver to dismantle the Vietnam war, he will certainly be remembered for that. If he succeeds, this will be an achievement of impressive proportions.

Beyond this, he has yet to establish clearly what he would do for the country in his tenure in its highest office. If his contribution is to be imposing and positive, he must move quickly. Time is running out in his first term, and he is by no means assured of a second.

The honeymoon, grace period and now the mid-term elections are over. A little over 12 months from now, a presidential election year will begin. The real campaign will begin sooner.

If Mr. Nixon is to make himself heard and felt as President of all the people—not just as the ranking politician in the White House—he must do so in the months just ahead, now and at the beginning of the new Congress, or the opportunity will slip by.

People around him say they understand the urgency of moving swiftly to assert presidential leadership. There are some signs that Mr. Nixon also understands.

He has cancelled his plans for a holiday at his California home between Christmas and New Year; the White House has announced he will remain in Washington to work instead. Aides report he is speaking in private as if the early months of the year will be terribly important.

Mr. Nixon reportedly told one recent visitor that if the current session of Congress fails to enact a version of his family assistance program, he will personally lead the fight next year—and that there will be blood on the floor before it is over. If so, that would

be a change. He did not personally lead the fight this year.

Mr. Nixon did speak about the family assistance program during the fall campaign, and his tactics were instructive. Face to face with the people, he often left the impression that this proposed domestic reform to put a floor under family income is largely an "anti-loading" measure against the undeserving poor.

His aides assert that the President does his bit for this positive program by appealing to negative anti-welfare sentiments. Let the Democrats and liberals bring their folks along to support the needed program; Mr. Nixon will do his part by bringing "our people," the conservatives and the anti's, into line. The alternative, in their view, is that Mr. Nixon would win headlines and hosannas from the liberals and the press but lose the conservatives and thereby lose the bill.

This kind of thinking goes to the heart of the problem. Mr. Nixon has in many respects limited his constituency to "our people." This is probably not a majority of Americans on domestic issues; certainly it does not appear to be the wave of the future.

During the fall campaign Mr. Nixon chose to concentrate on bedrock Republican areas in states in which he travelled; his appeal was to his own followers and a narrow appeal at that. He did not reach out to persuade others, except for obvious and unsuccessful overtures to "hard hats." Even here, he appealed to their anger, not to their vision of the future and that of their children.

As President, Mr. Nixon can order troops removed from Vietnam at a certain rate and he can order raids on Cambodia or a prisoner-of-war camp near Hanoi. In the grander scheme of things, however, the things he can do by fiat are few.

The essence of presidential power is the power to persuade, as Professor Richard Neustadt pointed out brilliantly a decade ago. Mr. Nixon's problem has been the effective use of that power for purposes grand enough to be worthwhile.

Communication has been among this President's greatest defects. The presidential press conference may not be his ideal forum, but it is a forum—one chance to cut through some of the phoniness and get to the man.

Some who have been critical, this writer included, would like to see him succeed—not fail. He is our President. The country has too many problems for cheap shots and partisanship.

To be remembered as more than an incidental President who also dismantled a war, he must decide what he would do, and use his power to persuade. He must act soon. Time is running out.

#### EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY STILL A MYTH

### HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order No. 8802 on June 25, 1941, establishing a Committee on Fair Employment Practices "to provide for the full and equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin."

Mr. Speaker, to show how far we have come within the past 30 years, a current survey of the Race Relation Information

Center of Nashville, Tenn., of the 50 top corporations shows that there are no blacks among the 2,522 senior executives. This proves once again that equal employment opportunity in America is still a myth and will only become a reality when effective enforcement provisions are added to our equal employment legislation.

#### MORE LEGAL PROTECTION ON THE WAY FOR ANIMALS BEHIND BARS

### HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, a brief history of animal protection legislation was published in the editorial section of the Sunday Star newspaper last weekend, December 6, 1970. The article was written by Ann Cottrell Free. It is another in the outstanding series of articles she has written about the great need for expanded animal protection legislation. It outlines briefly the abuses ended with the passage of the Laboratory Animal Welfare Act of 1966, and the coverage of portions of the Animal Welfare Act of 1970. I urge my colleagues to read it.

The article follows:

#### MORE LEGAL PROTECTION ON THE WAY FOR ANIMALS BEHIND BARS

(By Ann Cottrell Free)

The idea behind the proposed Animal Welfare Act of 1970 has been a long time coming into its own—it has been an uphill fight, often resisted by powerful forces—but it looks now as if it may come to a final vote in the closing hours of the 91st Congress.

Its passage will be a tribute to a deepened Congressional ecological conscience. More and more members of Congress are realizing that all living creatures must be treated with decency and respect—regardless of whether they are endangered species roaming in the wild or animals doomed to spend dreary lives behind bars in laboratories or zoos.

There can be little doubt that the passage of the Endangered Species Act one year ago this month and the emphasis in the past year on man's relationship with the earth and all its creatures have had a profound effect on congressional thinking.

The new legislation—which has so many sponsors that this sentence would be consumed by listing them all—has its roots in proposals first made exactly 10 years ago, in 1960. Soon after the 1958 passage of the Federal Humane Slaughter law, humanitarians started laying congressional groundwork to bring some measure of federal supervision over the care and treatment of laboratory animals.

#### HUMANIACS

The well-funded research explosion was using an unprecedented number of dogs, cats, rodents, primates and a variety of other creatures. Estimates have gone as high as 300 million annually. They were often obtained from questionable sources and treated with less care than the most expendable test tube.

Those persons, who worked for setting standard of care were immediately called anti-vivisectionists or branded as "humanitarians" by some members of the scientific community. In truth, they were violently opposed by the anti-vivisectionists, who were working for total abolition of animal use.

Though a number of bills were introduced during those years, they went no-

where. In desperation, humane organizations tried new approaches and often fell to quarreling among themselves as to bill content and strategy. (Most of the bills gave supervisory authority to Health, Education, and Welfare.)

But 1965 brought the beginning of a breakthrough. Researchers' demands for dogs and cats had grown so great that unprincipled dealers turned to stealing pets. Their boldness and carelessness trapped them.

As more and more "pet-napping" cases turned up, there came to Congress also descriptions of stomach-turning conditions within dealers' compounds. Eyewitnesses told of seeing dead and dying dogs mixed in with live ones in conditions of indescribable filth. Such testimony about this \$30 million business prompted passage of the Laboratory Animal Welfare Act of 1966. This legislation had more than 50 sponsors.

Administration of the act was given to the animal health division of the Department of Agriculture's Research Service. Dealers and purchasers were licensed and required to conform to Agriculture's standards of human treatment of dogs, cats, hamsters, primates, rabbits and guinea pigs.

More than 110 dealers went out of business during the first three years of the program. Licenses of some of the larger dealers have been revoked. Agents have been cursed, threatened and shot at. But even so, the act did not go far enough. There were huge loopholes. And it has been handicapped by lack of funds to employ more inspectors—most of whom are veterinarians and have many other Agriculture Department duties within the states where they are stationed.

Though the act has no authority over care of animals actually being used in research, some institutions have declared the animals "in research" on the moment of arrival. This clearly frustrates the intent of the act to improve conditions of the animals while awaiting research.

More federal authority was needed. In 1968 help came from an unexpected source. A 43-year-old GOP freshman representative from Norfolk, Va., introduced legislation that filled the bill. Rep. G. William Whitehurst would extend the mantle of enlightened care to animals actually undergoing research. But what's more, he asked that the same standards apply to animals in circuses, zoos and the pet trade.

Humanitarians soon learned that it was not only Bill Whitehurst they had to thank, but his wife, Jennette. "I told the people at the Norfolk SPCA, where I have helped with humane education, that I'd try to lend a hand when we got to Washington," she said the other day.

Whitehurst's bill actually was a beefing up of the "pet-napping" Act and was referred to the House Agriculture Committee, whose chairman has repeatedly shown himself a friend of animals. Texan W. R. Poage has been the key man on the House side on both the humane slaughter and "pet-napping" bills.

Testimony, presented this June before Rep. Graham Purcell's subcommittee, lifted once again the curtain of secrecy on unspeakable conditions among the creatures that perform, amuse and give their lives to man.

"We, who worked there, were always pleased when some animal died to be out of a miserable life," said June W. Badger of Middleburg, Va. She told the committee of conditions in some of the circuses and zoos for which she had worked in the last 19 years. Cramped, unventilated cages, starvation, sadistic punishments. A litany of misery.

The arrival from South and Central America and shipment to pet wholesalers of crates of birds and monkeys were described by Mrs. Christine Stevens.

She is the wife of Roger Stevens, president of the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts and the government's former cultural chief. Mrs. Stevens is president of the Animal Welfare Institute and secretary of the Society for Animal Protective Legislation.

#### IMPORTED ANIMALS

She described wretched conditions of animals that Custom inspectors have overlooked. (They are charged with checking on conditions of imported animals.) She told of continued conditions of cramped laboratory housing and of the inhumane environment in many municipal and roadside zoos. Quoting Dr. Desmond Morris, author of the "Naked Ape," she said, "If zoos are to survive the 20th century, they will have to reform." She introduced into the record a letter in behalf of the Whitehurst bill from Virginia McKenna and Bill Travers, stars of the film "Born Free" and patrons of the Captive Animals Protection Society.

The arrival of dogs and cats at animal auction sales was described by Frank McMahon, field director of the Humane Society of the United States. "I've seen them chained within the trunks of cars. I've seen them jammed in crates and cages. I've seen them sold by the pound." Humane agents of local societies are given rough treatment, he said and under the existing federal law these auctions are exempt from regulation.

The legislation now speeding toward the congressional deadline embodies many of the suggestions made by the men and women who know the problem first hand. Auctions are included. Animal categories have been broadened. Fines for resisting agents have been stiffened. But most important, the Agriculture Committee called for the use of appropriate pain-killers for research animals whenever possible.

(When Agriculture sets the standards for humane handling many humanitarians trust that life-time caging of such research animals as dogs will be eliminated.)

Some of the additions to the Whitehurst bill were called for in bills introduced by Rep. Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., and in the Senate by Warren Magnuson, D-Wash., Alan Cranston, D-Calif., and William B. Spong, D-Va. When the bill was favorably discharged from the House Agriculture Committee, it bore the name of each member. An exact copy was introduced in the Senate by Robert J. Dole, R-Kan. Hearings by Senator Philip A. Hart's Commerce subcommittee are expected any day.

Even with the evaporation of much of the scientific community's opposition to lab animal legislation and even with the good chance that this measure will miraculously pass this session, there are other hurdles. One is money.

The burden on the Department of Agriculture will be heavier, making necessary the employment of more inspectors. These men, also, have the added duty in coming years of policing the horse shows to see that no "walking horse" brought across state lines has been "sored" to make it step high, wide and handsome. The famous Tydings "walking horse" bill is now awaiting Presidential signature. Sen. Joseph Tydings, D-Md., sponsored it in this session of Congress.

As this session adjourns, left at the post are at least 10 other animal protection measures: air transportation regulations, cessation of shooting wolves and other animals from airplanes over federal lands, elimination of use of agonizing poisons in the government's predator control programs, better conditions at the ports of entry such as Miami. The list is long—but the abuse and suffering have gone on a long time, too.

But at last, what has been described as the "silent lobby" has found its voice. Or could it be that man, for a change, is listening to voices other than his own?

A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY FOR  
GHETTO STUDENTS

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, I hope every Member of this House will read the following article from the Los Angeles Times describing how students from an all-black high school were given an opportunity to write a script for a major television show.

It illustrates, I believe, how the dedication of an individual high school teacher, Marcella Saunders, can help enrich the lives of her students.

The producer of the "Bewitched" television series, Mr. William Asher, should also be commended for helping Miss Saunders in this unique project.

After reading the Times story, I am sure that all Members of this House will want to watch the "Bewitched" show to be telecast on Christmas Eve.

BLACK STUDENTS TELL A BEWITCHING TALE

(By Aleene MacMinn)

A year ago at age 22, Marcella Saunders, white, took her first teaching job—at a black high school.

She knew about ghetto schools. She had attended one in Chicago. And she remembers being told there, "Don't bother to take the school exams . . . You're only going to be a housewife."

But Miss Saunders didn't view life that way. She wanted to be a teacher because "as far as my life is concerned I feel I have a part to play in changing society. The best way to start is to teach young people how to think creatively for themselves, to think independently and question life around them."

So Miss Saunders arrived to teach English at Jefferson High School here. What did she find? A lack of textbooks and supplies, a filthy building, broken windows, pill pushers and pimps off campus, gang fights, students on drugs and students struggling to stay off, students from broken homes and low income families, students who know poverty and hunger.

She also found an acute reading problem. "In one class," she says, "only six students out of 30 were reading at the high school level. The rest went down to sixth grade level. And that was a good class. In another, the reading level was only third grade."

(Statistics on last year's ninth graders who came into Jefferson this fall showed that less than 1% were reading at the ninth grade level; 44% read on the third grade level and the other approximately 56% were either down or slightly up from that figure.)

Additionally, many of the students were not writing at high school level, nor could they comprehend. "We'd read a Langston Hughes story," for example, "and they could tell me the details but when I'd say 'what does this story mean' they didn't know."

In her English class, Miss Saunders was dealing with genres, the short story in particular. "I'd come in with my pearls of wisdom from college," she says, "but along with the textbooks, which were too hard and not relevant, they weren't working."

Where, she wondered, was the key? How does the exchange of thoughts begin between teacher and student?

She found the answer in what some have come to refer to as the vast wasteland: television.

Television plays, she reasoned, are really short stories, and television is something all the students watch. So why not make television the common ground, let it become a teaching device?

UNDERLYING STORY

She asked her students what their favorite TV show was and they selected Bewitched. "I had hoped they would pick Bewitched," she said, "because it is orally and visually oriented and often there is an underlying story, so I felt I could make my point better."

And so the Bewitched experiment began. After one particular episode she asked the class, "What were they trying to show in that story?" "And," she beamed, "they got it."

Where before there had been silence, there was now dialog. And now she had a stepping off point to discuss other questions: what they were trying to say and why, the setting, plot, time, what makes the characters tick.

"Well," Miss Saunders said to herself, "this worked, what else can we try?"

She decided trips to the studios were in order. They would serve as another type of learning process and also introduce the students to the world outside the ghetto, since most of them have little contact with white people.

She called Julia, Room 22 and Bewitched and explained how the class was using TV programs to help teach reading. Of the three, Bewitched, especially, clicked.

William Asher, producer-director of Bewitched (and husband of series star Elizabeth Montgomery) was intrigued with the TV teaching concept. He sent buses on three occasions, making it possible for 50 students to visit the Bewitched set.

Asher also gave copies of the script to all the students so they could follow the filming procedure. (He has subsequently sent 30 copies of other scripts for classroom use.)

Back at school, the teacher asked the students to write compositions describing the studio experience.

"All of a sudden," said Miss Saunders, "kids who could never write before were writing three pages. Kids who could not read were now doubling up on scripts and fighting over who would be Samantha and Darrin (the leading characters)."

In one script, they came across the word "surreptitiously." I asked the class what it meant. No one knew. So I said picture in your minds the situation where this word is used and then give me a definition. And it worked! They got it.

"The papers they were turning in now were fantastic," she continued. "They described the warmth, the feeling of being in another 'magic' world. They said they felt no racism. But, they said, now it's over and it will never happen again. Their center was zooming down to total pessimism."

Then the students had an idea. Can we write a television script, they asked their teacher? The students were dreaming big now.

"If it makes it to TV, the whole country will see it," they enthused, "so we might as well say something." What, asked the teacher, are you going to say?

Their answer was: "We want to say that racism has to be taught. That children 4 or 5 years old do not see color in racist terms. You have to teach a child how to be a racist and hate. We'd like to say that it's not what you look like but what you are that counts."

With the teacher's permission, they set about writing their story. They would have Samantha's young daughter Tabitha meet a little girl. The two would become friends and wish they could be sisters. But could they be sisters if they weren't the same color?

By using Tabitha's twitchery, the student scripters could make both girls white, but they doubted that would set too well with the black community. And if they made both black, that wouldn't set with the whites.

GIFT WRAPPED

Their solution? Make the girls polka dot, which meant they were both colors but more importantly showed that they were giving something of themselves to each other.

When the script was finished, the class gift wrapped it and sent it to Asher as a Christmas present. That was a year ago.

Asher read it . . . liked it . . . wanted to use it on the series and assigned a professional writer (Barbara Avedon) to work with him in expanding the story to the necessary half-hour teleplay length.

Since then, the Jefferson High students have participated in story conferences, the production meeting, the rehearsal and they were on hand in mid-November when their story, "Sisters at Heart," went before the cameras at Screen Gems to make the Christmas Eve playdate on ABC (8:30 p.m., Channel 7).

BOWLED OVER

With each meeting, Asher marveled at how the students were developing. "They brought up questions that bowled me over," he said, adding that "this is just one tiny example of what can happen when you reach out a hand and care."

"I'd like to see various businesses invite minority groups into their life to see what it's all about. If it worked for these 24 kids, maybe it could work for 24 million. And if that happened, maybe we'd have a better place to live."

Miss Saunders echoes the same sentiments, stressing that what these students have accomplished can be done by others, that the approach can be applied to any area and used anywhere, not just in black schools.

As for the students, they are already talking about their next stories and scripts. And it isn't idle chatter. As a direct result of the success of the teaching cum television project, Miss Saunders received permission to start a mass media course at Jeff.

The course will be supported by a foundation which is being established with the money received from the Bewitched script. Income from future sales—scripts, poems, stories—also will go into the foundation.

For two dozen black students then, where there was despair a year ago there is now hope. The students made that clear in essays written after watching the filming of their TV story.

One wrote: "As students at Thomas Jefferson High we are known for our overwhelming lack of learning. . . . But the students at Jefferson are never given a chance to prove what we are capable of doing because some feel we are too far gone to try to help. But there are people left who'll give us the chance to prove what we can do."

Wrote another: "The morale at Jefferson has been lowered by the constant talk of what Jefferson has done wrong, never any of the good things. What we have done in mass media will help tighten the spirits of our students. Thank you Miss Saunders . . . for helping us get a chance to say what we think in a nonviolent way."

One young man perhaps summed it up best: "Students in disadvantaged school areas can do just as remarkable work as any advantaged area if someone will just give them the chance, and we have it now."

THE BLAME

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, the present war in Vietnam reminds me of some of the wars in Europe which went on so

many years that the people forgot why they were fighting.

In order to refresh the memories of the Members of the House as to who actually was responsible for this terrible conflict, I include for the RECORD an article from the Parade magazine of the Washington Post, dated Sunday, November 29, 1970:

#### THE BLAME

Who is responsible for the U.S. war involvement in Vietnam?

According to Gen. Charles de Gaulle, the answer is John F. Kennedy.

In "The Renewal", fourth in his six volumes of memoirs, De Gaulle explains that Franco-American relations began to deteriorate almost from the first day Kennedy took office. De Gaulle says he warned Kennedy that if he intervened in Vietnam he would be plunging his country into a constantly escalating quagmire, but the young President simply would not listen.

"He did not hide from me, in effect," De Gaulle writes, "that the United States was preparing to intervene in Indochina.

"In Thailand it was building air bases. . . In Laos, although neutrality was about to be reaffirmed by a conference in Geneva, it was introducing military advisers. . . In South Vietnam it was beginning to organize, under pretext of assistance, the first elements of an expeditionary force corps.

"John Kennedy gave me to understand that the United States was going to establish in the Indochinese peninsula a breakwater of resistance against the Soviets.

"But instead of giving him the favorable opinion that he wished, I told the President that he was heading down a sorry path."

De Gaulle's book, a best seller in France, will soon be published in this country.

#### A LAWYER LOOKS AT THE DESTRUCTION OF THE LEGAL SERVICES OF THE OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

#### HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. KOCH, Mr. Speaker, I have received an excellent letter from a young attorney expressing the outrage that so many of us feel concerning what is clearly the beginning of the dismembering of the legal services in the Office of Economic Opportunity. I do hope that the Members of this House will oppose the actions of the administration and our former colleague, Donald Rumsfeld, reducing the services heretofore provided by one of the most successful programs of OEO. The letter follows:

New York University,  
New York, N.Y., December 3, 1970.

Hon. Ed Koch,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KOCH: I am a young attorney now serving in VISTA, working with the poor and with community groups that are trying to get themselves somewhere by acting within the law. I am writing you to tell you how discouraged I am at the firing of Frank Jones and Terry Lenzner as the heads of Legal Services in the Office of Economic Opportunity, even though my own job and my projects are not under their direction of funding.

I resent any administration's setting up political clearance for attorneys working in

Legal Services. I don't think that the administration of legal services to the poor should be a source of "jobs for the boys" any more than administration of the Federal Reserve or the Space Program.

The issue which resulted in the firing of Lenzner and Jones was the "decentralization" of legal services, previously defeated in the Senate when it was proposed legislatively as the Murphy Amendment. Whether the Murphy Amendment should or should not have been passed, it wasn't—and a backdoor enactment by Mr. Rumsfeld shows a certain contempt for the legislature.

"Decentralization" may or may not be a good thing for parts of the War on Poverty, and you may know the policy arguments better than I do. However when it is applied to Legal Services it creates a lot of ethical problems because it puts non-lawyers in positions of control and direction over lawyers' work. Disciplinary Rule 5-107 of the new American Bar Association Code of Professional Ethics, (which is binding on every lawyer in my state under pain of censure, suspension or disbarment), says:

"(c) A lawyer shall not practice with or in the form of a professional corporation or association authorized to practice law for a profit, if: (1) a non-lawyer owns any interest therein, . . . (2) a non-lawyer is a corporate director or officer thereof; or (3) a non-lawyer has the right to direct or control the professional judgment of a lawyer."

Now legal services corporations are usually organized as professional corporations or associations (as, C.A.L.S. in New York, C.R.L.A. in California), although non-profit. If these are put under the control of a layman regional director from OEO, our Code is clearly violated.

The violation is more than a formal one. The "decentralization plan," involves shifting power from lawyers to regional directors because those regional directors will be more responsive to Governors' and Mayors' offices. "Responsiveness" will undoubtedly mean that Legal Service attorneys will no longer be permitted to bring any suits or administrative complaints that cost any city or any state any inconvenience or money.

In your own office you have no doubt felt how callous a bureaucracy can be even to a legislator. Imagine the problems a poor or minority person can have with state and city bureaucracies which are to provide social services, schools, sanitation and police! Often, the only protector of little people is a Legal Service attorney. If every Governor and every Mayor gets to censor the work of Legal Services attorneys according to his convenience, rather than let lawyers respond to the suits that walk through the door of their storefronts, I can see that within a year we will have nothing left but a broad network of federally funded divorce mills. And with that you will lose the 2000 Legal Services attorneys you now have working for you (usually for much less than the "going rate" of \$15,000 that was offered them on Wall Street).

Disciplinary Rule 5-107 also prohibits not only the reorganization proposed (to subordinate lawyers to non-lawyers) but the influences that leads to:

"(B) A lawyer shall not permit a person who recommends, employs or pays him to render legal services for another to direct or regulate his professional judgment in rendering such legal services."

Direct influence has already been attempted in the states of Mississippi and California, with attempts to cut off programs which represented blacks and food stamp recipients respectively. Whether or not you agree with the demands of blacks in rural Mississippi, or starving food stamp recipients fighting a stiff-necked Department of Agriculture in rural California, trying to win a fight with them by punishing attorneys for representing them is rather underhanded

And according to this ABA Code, it would have been a violation of the attorneys' oaths to have knuckled under.

In my own VISTA work last year I was counsel to Odyssey House a drug addict rehabilitation program which exposed our epidemic of heroin addiction among adolescents. In my work I represented Odyssey when it was sued by the City for overcrowding a temporary shelter for addicted adolescents, and I pressed its case to get a state program set up. Once exposed, the adolescent addiction problem brought its own results—a state program, and private contributions to Odyssey. But I could only do this because my own VISTA program had not been "decentralized" into the hands of John Lindsay or Nelson Rockefeller. Had it been, my efforts would have been squashed early—and a lot more kids would have died. So you see, it is not just professional arrogance which makes me upset with decentralization. It is my own experience.

Funny thing—just as legal services starts to get accepted it gets squashed. On the TV there are the *Young Lawyers* and *Storefront Lawyers*. In the law schools graduate and undergraduate courses in Poverty Law are being set up.

Therefore I would ask you to see what you can do, short term and long term, to save Legal Services. Short term, would you join with Senator Mondale in investigating the dismissals and the decentralization plans in hearings this week? Would you have an aid get the story directly from Jones and Lenzner; and if you believe them, request reinstatement? Would you request that the National Advisory Board of Legal Services be convened immediately? Ultimately, it might be best to transfer Legal Services to a separate governmental corporation or independent agency (like Comsat, the Federal Reserve or the new Post Office Corporation.) I would like to hear from you what you can and will do.

Very truly yours,

JOHN M. REA.

#### LAVALAND SAFARI—HERE'S NEW MEXICO AREA UNMATCHED IN UNITED STATES

#### HON. MANUEL LUJAN, JR.

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. LUJAN, Mr. Speaker, I would like to share the following with my colleagues and others who read our RECORD.

A study and feasibility report is being compiled by the National Park Service on the proposed Malpais Park, or Lava National Park, located near Grants, N. Mex.

I hope this will be favorable and that development will be able to proceed as soon as possible. Such a determination would, I believe, be beneficial both to New Mexico and the country at large in preserving this historic and unusual area.

Undoubtedly such an undertaking will require funding and approval by the Congress, and I believe the information provided is worthwhile for this consideration.

#### LAVALAND SAFARI—HERE'S NEW MEXICO AREA UNMATCHED IN UNITED STATES

DEAR TRIBUNE READERS: You may think it is a little silly to use the word "safari" to describe a trip in New Mexico.

But the word is perfectly proper for a trip Bonnie and I made last Sunday with Ward and Jonette Ballmer of Grants.

There is an air of the romantic about the word "safari." It implies adventure—travel into remote areas—visiting a primitive region where few people ever go—a sense of discovery. This trip met all those tests.

Traveling in Ward's pick-up truck—with a "grandma" gear and special tires—we made a day-long trip over the proposed "Lava National Park."

There is literally nothing in the United States to match this New Mexico malpais. If it becomes a park it will attract many of the visitors who go to our other national parks. But it will also attract many people who will be fascinated by it as by no other park in the United States.

This is "surface of the moon" country.

Don't dismiss this just as an enormous field over which rivers of red-hot lava once flowed and then cooled and hardened into a tumbled, forbidding mass of black rock.

This is just the surface.

Sure there are the great fields, called "aa" fields, where the rock is twisted and broken and upended and scattered about—solid black with not a living thing growing or living in it. The word "aa" is a Hawaiian word, pronounced "aah-aah" and in the dictionary. I had never heard of it until Sunday.

But I wish you could have been with us. Down on the side of a great cinder cone we found what we are sure is a cave used as a kiva by the Indians in ancient days.

Ward had heard stories of this "cave kiva"—told him particularly by an old-timer who had lived in this back country as a boy. But over a period of months he had never been able to find it.

We found it Sunday by accident. Walking to the top of a mass of lava we saw two holes—the larger about the size a small boy could wiggle through.

Looking down through this hole in the rock and flashing a light we saw what we thought was a fire pit or an altar of stones.

Then Ward had a hunch that an opening in the rock higher up might lead down to this.

In a few minutes we saw the beams of his flashlight and he was under us. And soon we joined him.

A tunnel—high enough to walk in—ran about 30 or 40 yards from the hole to the cave.

We are sure that some of the flat rocks in the cavern were used in a religious ceremony. Plainly it was a kiva.

Can we ever forget this place!

Late on our "safari," Ward guided me back into a remote ice cave.

The entrance was in a great sinkhole of giant rocks. We went back through two chambers and then the third was the ice chamber.

There was ice on the floor but the fascinating thing was the ice in little knobs covering the ceiling and thick hoarfrost white and glassy on the walls.

It was early in the day that Bonnie and I were suddenly aware that this "Lava National Park" was something far different from what we expected.

We entered the area going south on Highway 117. And soon we were in the country of great sandstone bluffs to our left and the eastern edge of the river of lava to our right.

There are Indian ruins in the side of the bluffs and many ruins on the mesa tops.

Ward drove back into a cove between a great sandstone bluff and the lava, found a special tree as a landmark and then we took off into the badlands.

Soon he pointed out a cairn—a pile of lava rocks—and then ahead there was another—and then another—

It was a trail and these cairns were the sign posts.

Sometimes the next cairn was in plain sight a few feet away—sometimes we had to pause and make a semi-circle with our eyes

to find the next one. The cairns were usually about a foot and a half high and peaked—and the weathering of the ages on them.

Then to our amazement we learned that this trail crosses the entire lava bed—east to west—more than six miles.

There are other trails in the lava fields—dodging all the great cracks that are impassable. There are at least three main east-west trails and one north-south.

Ward is sure that these trails were used by the Indians traveling between what are now Zuni and Acoma.

Occasionally there is a sandstone rock on the cairn and Ward believes these had significance—that they might have been the sign that water or caches of food or a shelter or something was nearby.

But no less fascinating are much larger cairns in the lonely, lonely country south of the most recent lava flow.

These are about three feet high and are usually on a rise where they can be seen for a great distance.

Ward believes these cairns—called "monuments" by old-timers who once ranged in here—might have been built by early-day shepherders rather than by the Indians.

People from the Basque country of Spain came into this remote country and acquired ranches.

These large cairns lead to the "Hole in the Wall"—one of the most fascinating things about the lava country.

This is a great open area—covered with beautiful ponderosa and other pines—and almost entirely surrounded by the lava.

There are unforgettable campsites by the hundreds here. We picnicked in a cove right up against the lava wall—and we'll always be sentimental about that beautiful spot.

But there are so many things about this wonderland—

The long hollow tubes of lava—frequently partly above ground—sometimes cracked so the tube can be clearly seen. Often they are two and three feet in diameter.

There are many round giant "potholes" straight down in the rock. Here the lava flowed all around a great tree, cooled and hardened.

The tree died, rotted away and all traces of it were lost during centuries—but the markings of its bark and the flaring of its roots can be seen in the walls of the hole.

But here I've come to the end of my space and there are still so many things to tell you about this fantastic lavaland through which Ward and Jonette guided us.

So there will have to be a second chapter to our "Lavaland Safari" next Saturday.

GEORGE CARMACK.

A LETTER FROM THE EDITORS: FOUR GREAT LAVA FLOWS HIT AREA OF PROPOSED PARK

DEAR TRIBUNE READERS: Did you know that Mount Taylor was one of the great volcanoes in history?

Not only the size and shape of the mountain itself make this plain to students of volcanoes. The best evidence of its size and power is the fact that it is surrounded by "volcanic plugs," still standing as mountains in their own right.

Cabezon Peak is the most famous of these plugs but, you know, there are about 20 of these little "Cabezones" around the east, north and northwest flanks of Taylor.

The flow from Mount Taylor was the first of four lava flows in the Grants area now proposed as the site of the new "Lava National Park."

Ward Ballmer of Grants—who with his wife, Jonette, took Bonnie and me on an all-day tour of the lava country—filled me in on its volcanic history. You will recall that I made my first report on this lava "safari" last Saturday.

The Great Mount Taylor eruption was by far the largest.

It occurred about 4,000,000 years ago. Most of the many square miles of that great lava outpouring have long since been covered with soil and plant growth.

When Mount Taylor became quiet, there was a lapse of several million years.

Then 40,000 years ago came the "Zuni Flow."

As you travel through the lava area, you can see the volcanic cones on the horizon to the west—out in the direction of the Zuni reservation. There is a long line of these cones.

On our trip, we went through some very remote country—going there from the "Hole in the Wall" area—to one of the "Zuni cones." This was the cone on the flank of which we found the marvelous cave kiva on which I reported last Saturday.

We climbed this cone which had a cinder rim around such a pretty crater in which Ponderosa pines came up from a grassy floor.

Scientists who have been looking over this lava field for the National Park Service have renamed this cone "Grandview Crater."

It is just that. There is no better place to get a vista of the entire park area—the mile after mile of lavaland on across to the east to the great sandstone bluffs that mark the eastern boundary.

One of the most marvelous views is of the jagged dark blue silhouette of the Datil Mountains—40 miles off to the south.

Then 10,000 years ago came the "Laguna Flow."

This lava came from one of the most spectacular and best known craters in the area, the Bandera Crater, and other craters allied with it.

The Bandera Crater is just off Highway 53 at the Continental Divide. The famous ice cave, operated for many years here by Dave Candelaria, is at the foot of this crater.

We drove by the open end of the Bandera Crater late in the afternoon of our all-day trip and there are few more spectacular sights.

The Bandera Crater will not be in the park.

The final volcanic eruption—and keep in mind that all these flows partially overlapped in area—was the McCarty's Flow.

It happened from 900 to 1100 years ago. Ward reports that there are still stories at Acoma about Indian villages destroyed in that great flow.

The McCarty's Flow came from a crater out in the center of the proposed park and from fissures.

This flow—so recent in history—covers about 30 miles south to north and then turns east for about six miles. Those unusual rest areas on Interstate 40 east of Grants are in this part of the lava flow.

Bonnie and I will always have so many memories of this day.

Last Saturday I told you about the Indian trails, the ice cave and many other features of the area.

I didn't tell you about the places where the lava was twisted and stirred into shapes like great ropes.

Or about the crevasses. Many are just tiny cracks. Others are great splits that run for hundreds of yards and to a great depth.

Many are so wide and deep that they cannot be crossed. And the Indian trails, marked by the cairns of rocks, lead around them.

Down in these great cracks, ferns and other exotic plants grow.

Nothing is more fascinating than the hidden water holes in the rock.

Ward led us to one that is known to have been in existence for many years. Talk about finding a needle in a haystack—this waterhole about the size of a barrel going down deep into a rough lava area was marked by a blaze cut several years ago on a pine tree. There must be a million pines in the park area.

Park scientists are looking forward to studying the plant life in these water holes so isolated from other life—suspecting there may be forms of life here not found elsewhere.

But in telling about the trip, I have left out the real "personality" with us—the Ballmers' dog, "Young Dave."

There never was a gentler dog with quiet friendliness touching in its purity. What a day Dave had and how much he added to our day.

Dave is a wonderful story. Someone abandoned him as a puppy and he strayed into the Ballmer neighborhood—finally adopting the Ballmers as his family.

The proposed "Lava National Park" would be about 30 miles long and 18 miles wide—almost 150,000 acres.

There is one thing much in favor of the park. About 80 per cent of the land is already owned by the federal government—chiefly the Bureau of Land Management—and the state.

It is believed that trades of public land can be made that would take care of much of the other 20 per cent of the land needed.

What an asset this park would be!

It is wrong to think of it as a Grants project. It would mean much to Albuquerque. It would be a great asset to all New Mexico.

This country badly needs additional National Parks for a growing public that travels more every year.

No type of travel is growing more than "exotic travel"—travel to unusual places with unusual attractions.

How the "Lava National Park" would fill this bill!

GEORGE CARMACK.

## SOUTHERN BUT NOT STRATEGIC

### HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, I include the following article from the New York Times of December 10:

SOUTHERN BUT NOT STRATEGIC

(By Tom Wicker)

WASHINGTON, December 9.—In the 1970 elections, the Republicans lost governorships in Florida and Arkansas, failed to win Senate seats they had avidly sought in Florida and Texas, gained only one House seat throughout the Old Confederacy, suffered significant losses in the Legislatures of North Carolina and Tennessee, and watched helplessly as George Wallace was returned to the Alabama governorship. Nevertheless, first indications suggest President Nixon is clinging to the famous Southern strategy that produced such a dull thud last month.

He has just sent to the Senate the nomination of Robert E. Varner of Montgomery, Ala., to a new Federal judgeship in the middle district of Alabama—where in the last decade a great Southern Republican judge, Frank Johnson, has made or participated in most of the outstanding constitutional rulings on race questions and the one-man, one-vote reapportionment decision.

For this important judicial district Mr. Nixon has nominated a man who is president of the rigidly segregated Montgomery County Bar Association, who is believed by many who know him professionally to be incompetent to sit on an important bench, and who is so unconcerned about his solid reputa-

tion as a segregationist that he could tell James Wooten of this newspaper that in his view, "segregation is a political philosophy" upon which "a judge should not commit himself."

Mr. Varner's most important qualification for a Federal judgeship is believed to be his association with Postmaster General Winton M. Blount, who is reported to have arranged the nomination as part of his approach to running against Democratic Senator John Sparkman in 1972. Mr. Nixon's desire to help Mr. Blount is understandable, but in the Varner appointment he is running high risk of another Carswell controversy. And for what?

Let Mr. Wallace speak to that. He told a group of reporters in Washington this week that "if" he ran for President in 1972 (and he noted modestly that there is more demand for him today than there was in 1968) he would concentrate his campaign primarily in the South. His scheme would be to win enough electoral votes to influence the election, which he could best do by developing his potential strength in Tennessee, Florida and the Carolinas, none of which he carried in 1968.

For Mr. Nixon, that can only mean that the Wallace competition in the South is going to be tougher than it was in 1968. Since the Haynsworth and Carswell nominations, the various Administration concessions to Southern views on school segregation, and the personal campaigning of Mr. Nixon and Vice President Agnew availed them so little in the South in 1970, further pursuit of a Southern strategy looks rather like sending good money after bad.

Even if Mr. Wallace swallowed his vanity and, to the surprise of all who know him, decided not to run for President in 1972, a Republican sweep in the South would not be assured. The Democrats came out of the recent elections with some fresh new faces—Senator-elect Chiles of Florida and Governor-elect Bumpers of Arkansas, for instance—and better field position than the Republicans. The Ripon Society analyzed Southern voting and concluded that the Wallace voters of 1968 gave a majority of their votes to the Democrats in every Southern state in 1970; R. R. Apple of this newspaper, analyzing the precinct vote last month, also concluded that the majority of Wallace voters had gone Democratic.

Moreover, the Nixon-style Southern strategy of holding hands with Strom Thurmond and angling for the segregationist vote may not conform to the real trends of Southern politics. In November, Louis Harris has pointed out, conservative and hard-line segregationists held the governorships of the region by 6 to 5. Now the balance has gone to the moderates by 6 to 5.

A summary by the Voter Education Project found that in 1970 Southern voters elected 110 black candidates out of 370 seeking various offices, a net increase of about 75 elected black officeholders; and that black voter registration in the region was up about 212,000 since 1968. In North Carolina, so many blacks voted so heavily Democratic that the state chairman said they had "made the difference in many races" and publicly thanked them.

All in all, it makes a good deal more sense for some national Democratic strategists to be talking of a progressive Southerner for their Vice Presidential nomination than it does for Mr. Nixon to appoint a segregationist judge in a state he cannot carry, at the probable cost of another struggle in the Senate and the further alienation of moderates and independents in Northern and Western states vital to his re-election.

## THE LOYAL LEAGUE

### HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Edwin G. Roberts, president of Franklin Simon Stores, is dinner chairman of a worthy organization, the Loyal League Philanthropies.

Mr. Sanford Fribush will be the honored guest at the league's 1970 annual dinner, scheduled for December 19 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City.

In recognition of this occasion, Mr. Roberts has prepared a statement outlining accomplishments of the league which have been made possible by the generosity of its supporters. His statement follows:

#### THE LOYAL LEAGUE

Each year in December the Loyal League Philanthropies, Inc. holds its Annual Dinner at the Waldorf Astoria. This is the only fund raising activity of this organization. The dinner is held in honor of a well known philanthropist, especially one who is interested in and has contributed time, effort and money to help in some measure to improve the condition of the underprivileged.

This year we are privileged to have as our guest of honor Mr. Sanford Fribush, Vice President, Gem International, Inc., a man well known in the business, financial and philanthropic activities of the City of New York.

What do we do with the proceeds of this affair,—the only expenses of which are the cost of the dinner and the incidental expenses related thereto. We have no paid solicitors. This year we have made, among others, the following donations for scholarships to young men who otherwise would have been unable to go to college.

Among the colleges to whom this money was donated were:

- Albert Einstein College of Medicine.
- University of Haifa.
- City College of New York.
- Columbia University.
- Columbia Law School.
- Yeshiva University.
- New York University.
- The Johns Hopkins School of Medicine.
- New York Medical College.
- New York University Law School.
- Brandels University.
- Yale Law School.
- Yale Medical School.
- Fordham University.
- Rutgers University.
- Mass. Institute of Technology.
- Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration.

We also donate ten scholarships to young men on the high school level to Bronx High School of Science and Midwood High School of Brooklyn, to the Green Chimneys School and the Stephen Gaynor School.

We have supported and contributed to The Optometric Center of New York, Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, Pearl Socoloff League for Retarded Children and the American Jewish Committee.

We helped to build and continue to support Camp Loyaltown in Hunter, New York, which affords 600 poor children of the metropolitan area the privilege of spending 9 weeks in the country in groups of 200 every 3 weeks. The Ed Sullivan Recreational Building, the Lou Pitofsky Library, the Rosalie Fox Arts and Crafts Wing, the Bernard Weiss Athletic

Field Compound are but part of our continuing support of this worthy project.

We are also very happy about our Ruth Hurwitz Memorial Library at Columbia University and the Jay E. Lenley Memorial Library Room at New York University. Truly great tributes.

We have supported and allocated a good deal of money in the field of medical research, specifically the great work of Dr. Conrad Riley at the Babies Hospital of the Presbyterian Hospital which has resulted in the control of Nephrosis and Nephritis. Also that of Dr. Sidney Cohlan, formerly of Beth Israel Hospital with respect to Vitamin A and Congenital Abnormalities. Also the splendid work of Dr. Harold W. Dargeon of Memorial Center on the effect of radiation in the treatment of cancer in children.

In former years we have constructed a building in the Dr. Israel Goldstein Youth Village in Israel for the teaching of carpentry trade.

Loyal League has also provided the Brookdale Medical Center with the most modern scientific equipment to take care of children suffering from serious heart or lung ailments, gratis, in the Jewel Weiss Cardio-Pulmonary Surgical Suite.

In recognition of our many many contributions to the Beth Israel Hospital in New York City, the Chas. H. Silver Clinic has designated one of its floors, which takes care of outpatients—"The Loyal League Pediatric Floor".

All this has been made possible by our generous support and contribution and in behalf of myself and the trustees I express to you our thanks and gratitude.

A WORD (OR TWO THOUSAND)  
FROM THE PRIDE OF VINEGAR  
BEND

**HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, throughout this session of Congress I have thoroughly enjoyed my association with the Honorable WILMER D. MIZELL who ably represents the Fifth District of North Carolina. I have enjoyed his good nature and his sincerely held beliefs in God and country. He has proven himself to be a "big leaguer" in every respect.

A recent article in Contact, the Christian Business Men's Committee publication for November 1970, is colorful reading and is written with honest humility and good humor. It tells the story of a man who has achieved success in a sport we all love, but who has never lost the ability to take himself lightly while remembering that a Supreme Being determines the final destiny of men and nations.

In the belief that my colleagues would enjoy reading this article I submit it herewith:

A WORD (OR TWO THOUSAND) FROM THE  
PRIDE OF VINEGAR BEND

Vinegar Bend, Alabama, wasn't exactly the largest town in the world, but it was a real, grown', thrivin' community at one time. Then we elected a mayor, who wanted to go modern with everything.

They started by putting in one-way streets. Ended up that everybody could get

out of town, but nobody could get back. So while I was there, we were 37 people.

This was where I got started pitching baseball. We didn't have a semi-pro club, but we did have this cow pasture.

We were an unusual ball club. We only had 11 players in our club. I was the only pitcher we had. I had a brother who was catcher. A first cousin at first base. A first cousin at second base, and a first cousin at shortstop. My uncle played third base. There was a second cousin in left field, a second cousin in center field, and a third cousin in right field. Had one boy who was a third cousin and played part of every ball game. But I said we had 11 players. When I pitched in Vinegar Bend, Uncle Buck was the umpire. I didn't walk many those days, believe me!

But I got started, pitchin' baseball. If it hadn't been for baseball, I probably would be followin' that mule up and down the Mississippi and Alabama line yet.

But I moved up—to Albany, Georgia where I sat on the bench, for six weeks. Finally one night in the 6th inning of a game in Americus, Ga., I got my big chance. We were behind 15-0, and the manager, Chief Bender, looked down the bench at me and said, "Mizell, you can go warm up now."

I didn't care what the score was. This was my big opportunity. I grabbed my glove and tore out for that bullpen like a scalded dog. I was so wild in the bullpen that I got in only four warmup pitches, none of which the catcher was able to contain. He spent all the time we should have been warming up chasing the ball around the bullpen.

Before I even got to the pitcher's mound, everyone was laughing. I was about 6'2½" at that time and weighed about 170 lbs., with a stride like a plowboy carrying a two-horse plow—a typical lefthander too.

When I arrived at the mound, Bender handed me the baseball and said:

"Go get 'em, Mizell! The score is 15-0!"

I threw some warm-up pitches (not enough). Then the first hitter stepped into the batter box. He was a little bit cocky up there and dug in about knee-deep with that back foot, and rapped that bat on homeplate.

My catcher gave me a sign: fastball. I don't know why he gave the sign, unless he was just tryin' to make me look good. We both knew that was the only pitch I had!

I got that sign from Smitty, the catcher. I took that big windup and cut that first pitch loose, just a little big high—about 25 feet. I threw it right out of the ballpark!

Smitty came a runnin' out to the pitcher's mound and said:

"Mizell, are you nervous?"

I don't remember what I told him, but he trotted back behind homeplate, and everything was changed. The hitter was no longer cocky. He was way back in that batter's box! And a good thing too. Because the next pitch was a foot over and a foot behind that boy's head—and he went sprawlin' on homeplate!

Smitty told me later, after both of us had made it to the big leagues:

"Do you know, Mizell, I was just as nervous as you were that night—until I realized that I was the safest man in that whole ballpark. I'd caught baseball 12 years and that was the only time I ever actually looked behind me and saw the people hidin' behind their seats!"

That was my start. But I improved and made the majors with the St. Louis Cardinals. I was with the Redbirds for 11 years and then got traded to Pittsburgh. I got there just in time, for it was in the spring of 1960 that we went on to win the National League pennant, and opened the World Series with the New York Yankees in Pittsburgh.

We won the first game. The Yankees won the second game. Then we went to New York

City for the third game. In the Yankee Stadium, with 65,000 people, I'm the startin' pitcher.

If you didn't tune in early, you missed me! For those Yankees got me out of there in a hurry that day. But four games later, Moz (Bill Mazeroski) hit that home run in the bottom of the 9th, and we were the World's Champs.

This was really the climax to a baseball career that had started in the little town of Vinegar Bend, Alabama—because the next year the Pirates traded me to the New York Mets. That's when I first started thinkin' about getting out of baseball, back in those days. But it didn't take me long at that time with the Mets to realize you were already out of baseball!

That's no longer the case—with the Mets winning the series in 1969, and being strong pennant contenders in 1970.

I'm often asked: "How in the world did you get to be a Republican, comin' from Vinegar Bend, Alabama?" And that's a good question, because I can remember that people in Vinegar Bend thought a Republican was some kind of a strange animal.

They'd never seen one of them in any of their elections—until the year they were countin' the ballots, and after about 30 minutes of countin', they came to a Republican vote. That confused everybody. They'd never had one before.

The election judge said: "Just lay it aside and keep on countin', boy!"

So they counted 30 minutes more, and then they came up with another Republican vote. The judge said: "That settles it. Throw 'em out. The rascal's voted twice!"

I've enjoyed being a congressman. It's been a real experience as a "freshman."

But you know, it's a long way from the little town of Vinegar Bend, Alabama to the Big Leagues to the World Series and finally to the Congress of the United States—the greatest government, the freest government, and the richest nation in all the world.

The only boasting I could do before men would have to be in the Lord Jesus Christ. There is nothing that I have ever done that would have warranted me such a great salvation.

As a boy I attended a little church, and it was there that I first heard the gospel preached: the message that Jesus Christ had come and that He had died on that cross.

It was there that I first heard: "The wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life in the Lord Jesus Christ."

One day while plowing behind an ole mule on that bottom field, running around corn about knee-high, I knelt behind that plow and asked the Lord to forgive me of my sins and save me to a life in eternity. The Lord touched my heart that day and saved me. The burden of sin lifted from my heart. I've been grateful many times for that personal experience with the Lord Jesus Christ. Before I ever left that little pea-patch of a farm down on the Mississippi-Alabama border, I came to know the Lord.

The Lord has blessed me far beyond the fondest imaginations—in the things of real value. Like the fine Christian wife I have, and those two fine healthy boys. Why you can't put a price tag on these things!

Then there's the peace that comes in knowing the Lord Jesus Christ. You know what He does will be best.

For example, my being traded to Pittsburgh. I didn't want to go. I'd always pitched in St. Louis, Mo. And I thought St. Louis could win the pennant in 1960. I never thought for one minute that Pittsburgh was going to win the pennant. So I walked in off the field one evening and they said: "You've been traded to Pittsburgh."

Well, this kind of shook me up a little bit. But I went on home and Nance and I

thought and prayed about it. The next morning I took the train for Pittsburgh, leaving St. Louis with this thought in mind: Things just don't happen; they're planned. Things just don't happen to God's people. He plans it for them.

So I got to Pittsburgh. This is without a doubt the happiest season that my family and I spent in baseball. I compiled my best won and loss record ever. And then there was that winner's bonus of the World Series.

What does the Lord expect most from me in return?

I think of Acts 1 where in his last words to his disciples, Christ said: "After the Holy Spirit has come upon you, ye shall be witnesses to me," and he then gave the areas in which they were to witness, "Judea, Samaria and the uttermost parts of the earth."

As a Christian, I have had those opportunities to witness for the Lord—in all of those areas.

What opportunities we have today to tell the good news of the Gospel!

I'm not one of those pessimists who thinks that our nation is hopeless. I'll tell you why. The Lord was willing to save Sodom and Gomorrah, if Abraham could find 10 righteous men there, in those two wicked cities.

Across this land of ours today I meet and talk with Christians who still know how to pray—thousands of them in this land of ours. The Lord is not through with this country. He wants to change it. Let him start with you.

#### ROOM FOR MIRACLES

### HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, the problems of urban public education are great, and still growing. The media is full of reports on low test scores, administrative inaction, poor teacher training, overcrowding, lack of facilities, and a general discontent with our schools by everyone, including teachers, students, parents and the general public.

Therefore, it gives me great pleasure to include in the RECORD a report on something fine, heart-warming and innovative that is happening in one school in my district. "Room for Miracles" by Lois Wille was first printed in the August 1969 issue of American Education. This month it was reprinted as one of the 17 best articles of the past 5 years. It tells the story of the Independent Learning Center at Ray School.

The Independent Learning Center was the brainchild of the Ray School parents, working very diligently with the cooperation of the local school principal. It is an excellent model for other parents in other schools who would like to make some concrete contribution to their own public school.

I insert the following article:

#### ROOM FOR MIRACLES

(By Lois Wille)

In this corner there is Melvin, 15, labeled by one teacher as "absolutely the most turned-off kid in the world." When he wasn't fighting in the halls, he was sleeping in class. But more often he wasn't in school at all. The only thing that mattered was the D's, his gang.

There is Keith, only eight years old but so tormented by private demons that he can't sit still five minutes in a classroom. Rip paper, bite nails, tear, wriggle, punch. So went Keith's school day.

There is Nancy, 12, very bright but suffering from a frustrated social conscience. She wanted to do something—something more than seventh-grade homework.

And there is Tony, 13, extremely intelligent, so his IQ scores indicate. But in class he won't lift a pencil. He stares out the window, lost in daydreams. Give him an order, tell him to get to work, and you've lost him.

Put them all in one schoolroom—tough adolescent streetfighter, hyperactive child, high achiever, low achiever—and what do you get? Chaos, ordinarily. Nobody learning anything.

But when the schoolroom is the big, bright Independent Learning Center at Chicago's Ray School, small miracles happen. Nervous children find peace. Tough gang leaders find something besides fighting that they can do well. High achievers go higher, and lower achieves finally discover some stimulant to working and learning.

The secret of the center is the word "independent." There each child is free to delve into something that intrigues him—whether it's duplicating machines or fractions or writing a book. He keeps his own work sheets, selects his own equipment, paces himself. Experts help him when he wants help, and leave him alone when he wants to be left alone. No one grades him—but there is plenty of praise.

Nearly 200 of Ray School's 930 children use the center regularly, from two to three 40-minute class periods a week to several periods a day. "It depends on what the child needs," says Director Erwin Pollack, a former social studies instructor who has taught in schools that are predominantly Mexican-American, predominantly black, and predominantly affluent white—a background that fits him well for his job at the center. And that's the purpose of the center—give the child what he needs. Give him what a regular, harassed classroom teacher with 30 or 35 children cannot give him.

At first, when you look around the crowded room you marvel that no one is stepping on anyone else, or shoving someone to the floor. Each class period about 30 children work here with five staff members and several part-time consultants. They weave among the room's five staff desks, or its little cubicles where children pore over film tapes or books or typewriters; they thread through groups of small tables with colorful new tactile mathematics equipment, and between shelves stacked with books and tapes and films on numerous subjects—Afro-American history, the touchdown techniques of the Chicago Bears, Egypt's war with the Hittites, the war in Vietnam. But once you absorb the sight of all the furniture and supplies and children and staff, you realize how quiet it all is. Everyone is so busy so involved, that the crowded room radiates peace, not turmoil.

There is Melvin, crooning a rock tune softly into a tape recorder, ready with earphones to listen to the playback. Learning? "He was here only three days," says assistant director Phyllis Jones, "when he started teaching me how to use the audiovisual equipment. He has the most incredible grasp of mechanics and electronics." But he also learned fractions in the center—something he had successfully avoided for years. He did it virtually alone, with film tapes and an occasional pat from a staff member. "That's what I like about this place," Melvin says. "No teacher to make a fuss and bother you."

And Melvin, the turned-off kid who would barely grunt to an adult a few months ago, asks if you'd like him to take you on a tour of the center. "This is how the duplicating machine works," he begins—and delivers a

poised lecture, complete with demonstrations.

There is frail little Keith absorbed in a game of Monopoly with a young friend. Learning? "It's the first time we've been able to get him to concentrate," says Pollack. "It's just a beginning."

Nancy is in a quiet corner with a woman volunteer, learning Polish. She has become an after-school aide at a home for the aged, and she met an old Polish woman who can't speak English. "The first time I said hello to her in Polish," the girl says, "was the first time I ever saw her smile."

Tony, with another volunteer tutor, is studying mathematics—via the cost of antiballistic missiles. "I discovered he had read everything on the debates about defense budgets," said his tutor, a young mathematics student from the Chicago Circle campus of the University of Illinois. To which Pollack adds: "The tough part now is to transfer the enthusiasm Tony shows here to his classroom. So far, we think he is doing better."

All these small miracles have been limited to one room in one Chicago public school. But the staff and supporters of the Independent Learning Center are so excited by what is happening there that they think eventually it will have impact on the entire Chicago school system. Originally, though, the Ray Center was created to help one unusual school overcome an unusual set of problems.

Ray School is a worn, somewhat shabby, 75-year-old building close to the Gothic halls of the University of Chicago. Many of its students are sons and daughters of professors and the physicians, attorneys, and civic leaders—black and white and Oriental—clustered around the campus. Another large group—about 25 percent—comes from Woodlawn, the all-black community just south of the university. It is plagued by the typical ghetto problems of crumbling tenements, low incomes, high unemployment, and deadly teenage gang wars. Most of the Woodlawn children enter Ray School under a transfer plan that applies only to seventh and eighth grades—after they have spent years in schools that are often deficient in equipment, space, and personnel.

Because it draws from the two worlds that make up today's city—affluent and poor—Ray has a diverse student body. About 55 percent is black, almost evenly divided between affluent black and poor black. There are children of visiting foreign professors and students—African, Japanese, Arabic, European, Latin America. There are children of policemen, novelists, welfare mothers, surgeons, and social workers. A stimulating and exciting mixture—except that for a long time there wasn't much mixing.

"Ray used to group children by ability, as most schools do today," says Noel Naisbitt, mother of three Ray students and former vice president of the Ray Parent-Teacher Association. "But many parents felt this added up to segregation in an integrated school. That wasn't the atmosphere we wanted for our children."

Frank Gardner, who was then principal of Ray, agreed. In September 1967, Gardner began to group children heterogeneously for most subjects and for homerooms.

The new plan was partly successful. One parent says, "Some of that horrifying stigmatic stuff was corrected—the 'I'm in the smarty class and you're in the dummy class' attitude, which had been so prevalent in previous years and which is harmful to both the slow learners and the fast learners."

But the heterogeneous grouping also meant that many teachers had to cover a tremendous range in their classrooms, as much as 10 grade levels in reading and mathematics.

Mrs. Naisbitt explains, "A group of us, mainly PTA parents, felt that heterogeneous groups made individualized instruction nec-

essary. If the new grouping was to succeed, many children needed special attention—both the high achievers and the low achievers. We needed something to enhance and extend individualized instruction and independent learning, and at the same time produce a maximum interaction between races and classes. And we needed something to improve the whole quality of education at Ray, to attract and retain middle class families in our community."

A tall order, and for a while it looked as though it was so imposing that nothing at all would be done. Late in 1967 the Chicago school system was putting finishing touches on an elaborate plan to improve Woodlawn schools with a Ford Foundation grant—but Ray was outside the boundary lines. No special plan was mapped for Ray.

The Ray PTA leaders decided to force action, and used a little polite blackmail. They wrote a stiff letter to the Chicago Board of Education, announcing they would appeal to universities to step in and give them the help the school system had withheld.

"We got fast action," one of the parents recalls. "School officials met with Frank Gardner. Then he got a telephone call from an associate superintendent of schools asking him to present a proposal for a title III Elementary and Secondary Education Act grant and submit it within 10 days."

Gardner, Mrs. Naisbitt, and several other parents and teachers worked nearly around the clock for days, writing, editing, and re-writing a 160-page plan for an Independent Learning Center to serve Ray's highly diverse student body. The proposal was approved for a one-year grant of \$63,827 by the U.S. Office of Education.

In September 1968, Frank Gardner was promoted to an administrative job in board of education headquarters. Ray's new principal, Paul Redlich, hired Pollack, two teachers, a secretary, and a research assistant. The staff ordered the best in audiovisual equipment and books, lined up seven part-time paid consultants, four volunteer consultants, and managed to fit its load of old furniture and new learning materials into a single room. After several weeks' training in experimental learning centers in Chicago suburban schools and the University of Chicago Laboratory School, the staff opened the Ray Center on February 24, 1969.

From the beginning, the children loved it. "We have to chase them out when their period ends, and at recess and lunch," says Miss Jones. She recalled the morning one highly active third-grader with a very short attention span spent an hour and a half working intently with Cuisenaire rods. When told it was time to return to his class, he refused indignantly, saying, "I'm not finished yet."

To avoid conflict or hurt feelings, the staff decided that a child should be admitted to the center only upon referral by his classroom teacher. He may be sent because of a special talent or a special weakness—but in either case, it is something special. Because space and staff are limited, most children with no particular problem cannot regularly use the center.

One teacher complained to a center staff member, "You're making my life miserable—everyone in class pesters me to get referred to the center."

But Mrs. Naisbitt, now the center's research assistant, thinks initial jealousy among children who have not been referred has faded away. "I think they actually realize that the choice to refer is not made on the basis of how nice a child is," she says. "They've seen plenty of mean kids referred there. They realize it is for children who need it for a special reason and they no longer take a decision not to refer them as a personal slight."

Some regular classroom teachers were unhappy because the center was planned primarily by parents, not the Ray faculty, and because the staff was assembled from other schools. Initially, some wanted nothing to do with it. Others felt that referring a child to the center meant they had failed. And a few used it as a reward or punishment: "If you don't sit still, I won't let you go to the center tomorrow."

All of these attitudes had to be overcome. There were a number of group meetings between the center staff and the regular faculty. Classroom teachers were invited to exchange jobs occasionally with center teachers. Systematic reports are sent regularly to classroom teachers by the center to keep them informed of their students' progress. With the help of Redlich, who strongly supports the center, the staff feels it now has ironed out these sensitive problems.

Since materials for the high-achieving, upper-grade student are not very plentiful, the staff had to improvise. Primarily, this has meant helping the child work on a project he has conceived.

When Nancy said she wanted to speak Polish to the lonely lady in the home for the aged, Pollack arranged for her to be tutored by Mrs. Zbigniew Golab, wife of a University of Chicago professor of Slavic languages. Another girl, intensely interested in inner-city education, spends several hours a week at the center writing a book on her observations and ideas.

So far, the staff thinks the center is too young for its success or failure to be measured in hard terms—achievement scores, personality tests, IQ tests. That will come later.

"At this point, our results are measured by what we observe," says Mrs. Naisbitt. "Look at Melvin. A chronic truant, fighting, sleeping, uncooperative in class. He couldn't sit and listen to a math teacher talk about the diameter of a circle. But in the center, this boy has found a segment of school that he really likes, and where he's really somebody. At home, he and his 10 brothers and sisters live in a small flat. His mother is dead, and his father works long hours as a bus driver. Home is often chaotic. One day, amidst all our confusion and motion and activity, I asked him what he liked about the center. He said, 'It's a quiet place.'"

After less than four months in the center, Melvin brought his mathematics achievement level up several grades to the score he needed to qualify for Chicago Vocational High School, where he planned to study mechanics.

For the 1969-70 school year the center, with a title III ESEA grant of about \$68,000, expanded into a second room to serve many more Ray students. A University of Chicago history professor prepared materials and a study program on Afro-American history. Some African students attending the university were hired on a part-time basis to work with students who had been clamoring for African historical and cultural studies. Plans were for the Chicago Board of Education to give the center a computer terminal that will fill a number of needs—children will learn techniques of key punching and data processing, and some seventh- and eighth-graders plan to conduct their own research project on the Ray student body, using the new computer to correlate their findings.

The philosophy developed during the first months will continue: "We want to give the children all kinds of options they don't or can't get in a regular classroom," says Pollack. "We want to show the child who thinks he is a failure that he can succeed in another kind of arrangement. Schools shouldn't be either-or—either the child measures up to the whole group, or he's written off. We hope we have created a special place where there is no either-or, where learning can take place, with enthusiasm, for any child."

## THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS URGES RATIFICATION OF THE ODER-NEISSE BOUNDARY BY THE UNITED STATES

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently, the Polish-American Congress, which is the largest conglomerate of Polish-American organizations in the United States, presented a memorandum to President Nixon which, among other things, called for the United States to recognize the Oder-Neisse boundary lines between Poland and Western Germany as final.

This memorandum was presented to President Nixon while he was entertaining a group of outstanding Polish-American leaders in the White House.

I am deeply concerned that the State Department has advised the President to refrain from taking any official position on the treaty just recently negotiated between the Government of Poland and the Government of West Germany ratifying the Oder-Neisse boundary as the official boundary between those two nations.

It is somewhat pathetic that the Government of the United States would drag its feet in recognizing the finality of the Oder-Neisse boundary when the two parties most directly involved, namely Poland and Germany, have reached an agreement on the finality of this boundary.

It is inconceivable to me that there are still elements in our State Department who continue to use Poland and the other captive nations as pawns in an international chess game.

We saw the tragedy of this policy at Yalta, and it seems to me that we Americans would have learned something from that experience. But the fact of the matter is, that there are still those in the State Department who are unable to comprehend the geopolitics of Europe. The sooner we get rid of them, the sooner our Nation can restore its role of world leadership.

The Polish-American Congress makes a strong case for the recognition of the Oder-Neisse line, and it is my fervent hope and prayer that President Nixon will reject the naive advice of the career people in the State Department, and use his own good judgment in joining both Western Germany and Poland in recognizing the Polish-German Treaty as a final solution to this vexing problem of the Polish-German border.

For Mr. Nixon to do otherwise would be to play into the hands of the Soviet Union, for it is the Soviet Union that has most earnestly conspired over the years to prevent Western democracies from recognizing the Oder-Neisse border.

For more than a quarter century, the Soviet Union has falsely held itself out as a true friend of Poland as the only major power that has steadfastly depended Poland's historic rights to the postwar Polish-German boundary.

This Soviet deception and chicanery has now come to an end, for indeed, Chancellor Willie Brandt, through his outstanding leadership, has removed the question of the Polish-German border from the political arena.

There is no longer any reason why Poland should remain so thoroughly and totally subservient to the Soviet Union.

There is no longer any reason why Premier Wladyslaw Gomulka should not now start demonstrating some of the independence which we all hoped would be forthcoming after his spectacular victory in 1956.

The President of the United States can provide real leadership in recognizing the Polish-German agreement relative to the Oder-Neisse boundary and let us see if, indeed, after a quarter century of effort, the Western democracies cannot finally wean the captive nations away from Moscow domination.

I am including in the RECORD today the Polish-American Congress memorandum with a fervent prayer that President Nixon will respond favorably to the request of the Polish-American Congress and provide world leadership in showing the people of Poland that, indeed, the United States continues to be their best and most understanding friend.

The Polish-American memorandum follows:

MEMORANDUM PRESENTED TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS AT A WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE OCTOBER 13, 1970

Dear Mr. President, first, we wish to reiterate our solidarity with your policy known as the Nixon Doctrine and exemplified by the Vietnamization of the South Vietnam's struggle for freedom and independence, and your policy of emphasizing self-reliance of people and states involved in the crucial conflict in South East Asia. We wholeheartedly subscribe to your new peace offensive based on a cease fire in South Vietnam and a negotiated settlement of the Middle East crisis. This support we expressed unequivocally in several messages previously sent to you.

There remains, however, one vital problem which involves America's leadership in the free world and which we are submitting today for your consideration.

#### THE ODER-NEISSE (ODRA-NYSA) BOUNDARY

It is the problem of the United States interests and ideological posture in East Central Europe. Peoples of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and other subjugated nations are living under the growing apprehension that America has forsaken them and thus, by its seeming indifference, force them to accept the lot of unwilling and taciturn vassals of the Soviet communist empire.

The vital and crucial point in that area is the Odra-Nysa boundary between Poland and Germany. Recognition of this boundary line, especially by the United States and other Western powers is of paramount importance not only for the Polish nation, but for peace and stability in East Central Europe, and consequently to the peace and stability of the entire Europe, which in turn would contribute to American security.

In the past, our appeals and arguments in this matter were receiving only stock answers from the State Department, that the solution of this problem must await a general peace settlement in some indefinite future. This hiding behind the framework of International Law, however, does not take into account the demographic, economic and historical facts of life which have taken root in the lands east of the Odra-Nysa Rivers

in 1945, and have been growing into irreversible reality since then.

This fact has been fully recognized in the text of the recent Bonn-Moscow Pact, which provides for inviolability of all frontiers in East Central Europe, including the Odra-Nysa line.

It is our considered opinion, that the time has arrived for the United States to declare that it recognizes the permanence of the Odra-Nysa boundary. Such a declaration, issued by your Administration, Mr. President, would have far reaching and last effects in Europe and particularly among nations now suffering Soviet domination.

Primarily, it would substitute the ambiguity of the Bonn-Moscow Pact with a clear cut declaration, specifically recognizing the Odra-Nysa line, thus telling the people of Poland and other subjugated nations of East Central Europe that the United States has no intention of abandoning them and forsaking their millennial rights to be returned to the fold of Western civilization and culture.

Secondly, it would weaken the Soviet Union's power of black malling them, as the sole guarantor of their territorial integrity. Consequently, it would immeasurably strengthen psychological resistance of the Polish nation against communism and Soviet aggrandizement.

#### AID TO POLISH NATION

To further strengthen the traditional ties between Poland and the United States, we firmly believe that two fundamental steps in that direction should be renewed and enlarged. Namely—

Expand cultural exchanges with Poland in such a way as to provide scientific and educational benefits to Polish scholars and students, freed from communist approval or interference;

Keep Poland on the most favored nation category in trade. Imports from Poland, small as they are, contribute considerably to the welfare of the Polish people.

#### THE NATO PLAN

In presenting this opinion and views to you, Mr. President, we would be remiss in our more humanitarian and political duties, if we did not call your attention to the notorious "NATO Plan" which provides for a "nuclear barrage" across Poland and Czechoslovakia in the event of Russian aggression against West Europe. The inhumanity and irrelevancy of this plan lies in the fact, that the NATO military planners contemplate virtual annihilation of Poland and Czechoslovakia not as a decisive strike against Russia, but only as "a warning" to the Soviet armed forces as to what is in store for Russia proper if they dared to unleash a nuclear attack against West Europe.

This ill-conceived plan has no military validity whatsoever and runs contrary to America's noble tradition of humanitarianism and selfless concern with the welfare of other nations.

We appeal to you Mr. President, to repudiate this plan.

#### FOR DUE RECOGNITION

We submit that Americans of Polish origin do not enjoy full recognition in appointive offices on the federal level to which they are entitled by virtue of their significant participation in all areas of the American Way of Life. We are not ethnocentric. We do not ask for appointments to position of trust and responsibility on the basis of their Polish-sounding names. As Americans of Polish origin, we have among us men and women eminently successful in business, in professions, in scientific and educational communities. They are highly qualified people of knowledge, experience and integrity.

There has been and still is, a persistent, although unwritten and unspoken prejudice

against people "with long and foreign sounding names" which is detrimental to the best interests of our pluralist society.

In asking for an appointment of an American of Polish ancestry to a cabinet post and for appointments to sub-cabinet and other federal positions, we are not motivated by selfishness.

We would regard these appointments as the symbols of the full participation of ten million Americans of Polish origin in the mainstream of American life and of our contribution to the viability of America in terms of social order and progress and of continuous evolution of the free and open society in the United States.

#### AN ATTEMPT AT MAKING LEARNING MORE RELEVANT

#### HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, a problem which many high school graduates have discovered upon entering the business or college world deals with the lack of relationship between what they have learned in elementary and secondary school classrooms and what the real world would seem to be about. This realization can have a detrimental effect upon a young person finding himself on his own for the first time.

Mr. Robert J. Mullen of Richmond, Calif., has become especially aware of this problem, and through a special projects program, has hoped to overcome the difficulty of relating to one's environment.

Mr. Mullen sees the need for actual learning experiences which would serve to interrelate varied fields of education. I would call the attention of my colleagues to his experimental approach, as follows:

#### STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

How can the widening gap between the public school curriculum and the real world be bridged?

#### DISCUSSION

Most offerings of our public schools, elementary and secondary, are not designed to meet the needs of our youth. The typical curriculum is primarily the product of tradition and expedience. Except for peer group social experiences a student's day at school may have little or no relationship to the critical problems of life with which he must be prepared to deal. Great portions of our youth are graduated from high school ill equipped to cope with the technical or vocational world. Most are even less prepared to handle the academics of colleges and universities.

In a recent position paper Homer Newell of NASA said, "The key word for the future is change."<sup>1</sup> Yet, as presently constituted, most schools are not geared to change. The reasons for this are many and varied. They include the weight of sheer inertia of the complex educational structure, financial limitations, the fact that the center of authority to decay change usually rests with those who are one or more generations removed from the direct participants in the educational process.

<sup>1</sup> Recent unpublished position paper written by Homer E. Newell, Associate Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Equal or greater contributors to irrelevance in education are the patchwork of unrelated courses that usually constitute a student's program and the physical design of what has come to be known as a "school."

Public schools have long enjoyed the luxury of a captive audience. Compulsory education laws have forced our youth through days spent in a series of four-walled boxes to be subject to months and years of what their elders decided was "good for what ailed them" or at least would do them no harm. Education is something of a "57 varieties" diet, the parts of which it is hoped will somehow fit and relate at some distant time or place when the youngster has joined the real world. Most schools simply do not make an effort to relate one course to another or to provide an environment for learning where the need to know is here and now.

A three-year old experimental and demonstration project, "Learning Through Aviation," conducted in the Richmond Unified School District may have developed some insights into feasible solutions or directions for solving the problem discussed above. It was designed on the premises that the best classroom may not be contained within four walls, and secondly, that skills and knowledge are best accomplished when they have an immediate value to the student and are inter-related.

The research project started with experimental and control groups of eighth grade inner city youths attending a de facto segregated junior high school. The program was designed to test the value of an aviation centered curriculum wherein actual flight in training aircraft became the nucleus for most of the curriculum. At the end of the first year the project researcher, Lee Conway, concluded, "Data collected in the first year of the Flight Project indicate that major successes were achieved in several areas. Changes in the affective domain are known to be slow, but project students were found to be more positively motivated to achieve academically, and make something of their lives. Compared with the control group, project students incurred fewer disciplinary problems, attended school far more regularly and earned better grades."<sup>2</sup>

In his second evaluation report documenting the results of the project three years after its inception, Conway concluded that, "Since the inception of the project, flight group youths have evidenced less fatalism, more optimism about the future and a greater incentive to achieve than was the case when they began."<sup>3</sup>

Enough evidence has been amassed by the Richmond Flight Project to demonstrate that unmotivated inner city youth can learn the basic academic skills—and far more, in a relatively short period. Some vital ingredients for the learning environment are learning experiences that build self image, an obvious relationship between experienced and academic skills, and a relationship between each part of the student's day—thus an interdisciplinary curriculum.

Flight provides an ideal foundation for constructing an interdisciplinary curriculum. In learning to fly a student is able to clearly understand the value of and relationship between the basic skills.

He also learns a lot of other things as well such as the value of a good strong body and a clear mind, the need to protect his safety and the safety of others, the absolute necessity for careful and accurate planning.

Talking to the control tower requires clear speech and careful listening. This is one of

the first lessons learned by the flight students. And no one has to tell them—they discover it for themselves.

The skills and knowledge that are applied at the airport are not all learned there. Much of the learning takes place at school where the curriculum can be planned around aviation and aerospace related disciplines. Flight makes education more valuable and meaningful to the student; it makes education more relevant!

At the airport inner city youth will learn about a lot of different jobs, jobs for which most of them can eventually qualify through training and education. Most of these jobs may have been completely unknown to the students.

To be a good pilot one must also be a good student. The pilot must continue to seek new knowledge and greater skills. The curriculum should be broad and deep. The process of manipulating and controlling the craft while in flight should occupy a minor part of the total learning period. The building blocks in the curriculum should include oral and written communications, reading for information and pleasure, mathematics from the basic to the abstract, physics and physiology to name a few.

Unavoidable in an aviation related curriculum are the technical areas of air frame, power plant and electronics. The social sciences are equally important, including the economics of aviation as well as its history and impact upon society.

There aren't many subjects that are normally included in the offerings of a typical secondary school that couldn't be taught, and taught more effectively, in an aviation centered interdisciplinary curriculum.

#### HOME THOUGHTS FROM ABROAD: VIETNAM COMBAT VIEWS

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, as the war in Southeast Asia continues to prod on, arguments both for and against our involvement are reechoed every day in our American papers. Yet how often are we made aware of the opinions of those doing the actual fighting? Their concerns are often lost in our—at times—naive society.

But the case of Sgt. Evan J. Wallach of Lafayette, Calif., is different. Sergeant Wallach has shown the interest and courage of one who is tired of hearing the Madison Avenue tirades of the war, and as one who lives it every day, is quite willing to venture a few "thoughts from abroad" about reality.

I call the attention of my colleagues to his most interesting and provocative appraisal:

YOUTH SPEAKS OUT: A MESSAGE—FROM THE FRONT

(By Sgt. Evan J. Wallach)

"War is Hell!" Sherman's statement has been overquoted almost to death, but believe me, it's true. Without doubt it's true of any war; but most certainly of the one we fight here and now.

The people back home mouth pious platitudes. They criticize or patronize us according to the current fashion, and whether they support the party in power.

The Democratic hawks of 1967 are the doves of today. The American ethos: find a bandwagon rolling downhill and put your

weight behind it. You vilify the boys over here, you react with shock and horror to a Mei Lai incident, you wave VC flags in our faces, and damn you all, you don't know, you can have no comprehension of what it's like.

Some of the vets: Korea and World War II. I don't doubt that they remember. How can you forget? The rest of you. Do you know what it's like to be 20 years old and walk out the door on a morning when the sky is blue with a few of the whitest clouds you've ever seen, and wonder if you'll be alive to see the sun set?

Or ride down a road with the wind in your face and wonder if they've mined the land again today? To jump off of a helicopter into grass eight feet deep, waiting for a bullet and knowing that someone out there wants to kill you? To wait in the bunker while the rockets explode and the shrapnel hits the walls, knowing you're as safe as you can get! There's no place to hide, no place to run, it's the end of the world, and when the attack is over you're still alive and five other guys are dead, but there's always tomorrow night?

The pressure builds, and you count the days, and the shorter you get the longer you have to go. You know they're going to kill you. And you stop caring. About anything.

Those at home scream about the massacre at Mei Lai. Of course it was wrong. We know that. We just don't care.

The boy who lived next door, cut your grass, broke your window with his football and dated your daughter. He's changed. He has wounded another boy and watched him crawl down the trail with his guts hanging out, and then shot him in the head. He's seen one of his buddies lie there and try to vomit up ball bearings from a Chi-Com claymore mine. He's packed up a kid's personal effects and inventoried them to send home to his mother, "comic book, Superman, August issue, one each."

Do you think we love our neighbors or turn the other cheek like those wonderful boys the Department of Defense tells you about in the press releases? We don't.

For anyone who is offended because we call the Vietnamese "slants, gooks, and slope-heads," I've got news for you baby. We also blow their heads off. The thing that amazes me is not that Mei Lai took place, but that it doesn't happen every day. The Vietnamese hate us, and we hate them. They all know enough English to say, "GI you give" when they stick out their hands. They smile, they have to smile, for we have the guns. But you see it in their eyes.

And you; you pious, holier than thou, hypocrites. You smirk and stamp and rave and feel self-righteous. Do you really think the average 19-year-old American boy is mature enough to differentiate between the smiling gooks who shot at him and the ones who didn't, between the different ideological ideals of communism and democracy, between the villages which are one day our enemies and the next our friends?

The generals are not to blame. They try to follow the politicians' orders, they really do. They court-martial kids who get the good guys and the bad guys mixed up, they tell us we're here to aid the people, and to obey the Geneva Conventions to the letter.

Whose fault then? It's yours. If you believe in this war, then support it, support us, don't be a "silent majority." If you oppose it, then fight it on a democratic level. Vote, picket, talk, write; but don't make obscene phone calls to wives, parents, widows. Don't burn ROTC buildings, and above all don't try using weapons. If you take up arms, they'll put rifles back in our hands, and believe me, we know how to do it.

A last thought. When I came over here, I supported this war 100 per cent. I still support it, but I've learned a lot about the gray shades between black and white. I guess what it boils down to, is that some of us

<sup>2</sup>Unpublished research report by Dr. Lee Conway, "Learning Through Aviation," March, 1969.

<sup>3</sup>Three year unpublished Research Report on the Richmond Flight Project written by Dr. Lee Conway.

still prefer American imperialism to Communist imperialism, and that's the only choice left.

**YOUTH SPEAKS OUT: MARIJUANA—IN VIETNAM**

(By Sgt. Evan J. Wallach)

FROM VIETNAM.—One of the facts of life in the Army in Vietnam, is the large amounts of marijuana and to a certain extent other drugs, used quite freely and openly by the troops. I have been told by a Medical Corps Captain, that he estimates fully 85 per cent of the enlisted men in the United States Army in Vietnam use marijuana. I consider this to be a safe estimate. These people do not necessarily use pot all the time, though a large number of them, probably 25 per cent smoke it at least once a day, and some stay stoned all the time. On any given night, one can walk around an LZ or a base camp, and smell the sharp acrid smoke emanating from any number of hootches.

The Army admits only partially to the huge percentage of enlisted men who use marijuana and its efforts to control them have been ludicrous. These efforts consist mainly of posters plastered around the company area which extol the evils of pot, and spot broadcasts on the AFVN radio and TV network which threaten dire punishment if a man is caught. The trouble is, a credibility gap exists.

NCO's who are responsible for supervising the men during their duty and off-hours either don't care, are sympathetic, or are afraid to do anything. This fear has a solid foundation, for numerous cases of fragmentation grenades being tossed in a lifer's hootch in revenge for a marijuana bust have occurred. Furthermore, it is extremely difficult to convict a man on a marijuana possession charge, since he must be caught with the stuff actually in his possession, and even if he is caught, the penalties are usually extremely light, consisting of non judicial punishment and a fine of approximately twenty-five dollars. The Army is not being enlightened, they simply could not afford to waste all the manpower involved if they sent everybody to jail.

The basic problem, is of course, the ready availability of marijuana, of an extremely strong variety in Vietnam. The Vietnamese workers who are ubiquitous everywhere the Army goes, smuggle the plant onto the posts in huge quantities and sell it at relatively low prices to the GIs. The Vietnamese government has outlawed marijuana, but has done nothing effective to either halt the growing or the selling of it. If they are following the patterns of the past, somebody high up in Saigon is getting very rich off the proceeds from the business, and he'd hate to see it stopped.

The attitude of the GIs varies. Some like myself, see nothing wrong with its use back in the world except for the fact that you can be arrested for it, but do not condone its use over here due to the danger it presents to a man and his buddies because of its tendency to produce temporary psychopaths with a ready supply of lethal weapons. Others feel that if used in a rear area where there is little danger of an enemy ground attack, and not much more from indirect fire, it is all right. These I think, represent the majority of enlisted men. A third group use marijuana wherever and whenever they can get it. be it the extreme rear at Long Binh, or on an LZ in the middle of nowhere. I have seen men smoking pot on an LZ which had just been established not six hours before and where the danger of attack was a distinct possibility.

Marijuana, of course, is not the only drug used by the troops, though it is the most wide spread. Large numbers of pep pills and sleeping pills, usually made in France or the United States are purchased by the men, or

sent by their friends back in the world. The drugs from France are a special problem, as they are handled, sold, and sometimes produced by the Vietnamese. These people are not extremely careful in their work, and a number of GIs have taken overdoses which can cause extremely disastrous after effects. Again, the Army has not taken a really strong stance against the use of these pills, since it would be unenforceable.

One hears, of course, that marijuana is used a great deal by the troops in Vietnam, but until he sees it for himself it is hard to believe. This is hardly the ideal condition for one to become in any way disoriented. Numbers of those who don't use drugs, drink prodigious amount of beer every night resulting in approximately the same effect. It would be interesting if the government would appoint an impartial surveying team to find out exactly how many GIs use marijuana or other drugs and what the effects have been both psychologically and morally.

One hopeful note: the problem is not confined to our side alone. A few months ago, in Cambodia, some of the guys in our unit came around a corner and ran smack into a small group of NVA sitting in the trail. Although both saw the other, the NVA fired completely wildly and were dispatched forthwith. They had been smoking . . . a joint.

**YOUTH SPEAKS OUT: A SOLDIER LOOKS AT WOMEN'S LIB**

(By Sgt. Evan J. Wallach)

FROM VIETNAM.—We were sitting around the hootch, the rain drumming down on the tin roof, looking for something to laugh about. One of the guys was reading the "Stars and Stripes," and he uttered a shout of pure joy. There they were, our favorite stand-up comics: The Women's Liberation Movement. One of them was carrying a sign which we really appreciated. It read, "You do the dishes."

Ladies, I've got news for you. If you will come over here and take our jobs, we'll be happy to do the pots and pans. We get a lot of experience in that department in basic training. As a matter of fact, we also are pretty good at washing clothes, cleaning rooms, making beds, and cooking our own C-rations. We'd rather switch than fight.

How about it girls. I'm sure you karate trained, sign wielding revolutionaries wouldn't mind lying in a bunker all night listening to the patter of little feet, rats and cockroaches that is.

The mortar attacks? Absolutely nothing to anyone who knows she's superior to those. After all, they're only men. Why you're probably even bigger than they are. And if you don't like to take baths or wear bras. Well, the guys out in the field only take a bath about once a month anyway, and you'll get used to the smell of yourself after awhile. Everything else smells so bad around here, that you'll take it in stride. As for the braless belles. Well, we don't wear shirts while we're working, and I guess nobody I know will try to stop you from getting a good tan.

You can come over here and wonder about the boy back home. We'll write to you every day, or once a month anyway and tell you how lonely it is without you, and how we hardly ever go out. And if you get a dear John letter asking you to send his photo back, no sweat, we get over them. And if you're married, you'll send an allotment out of your pay back to Bill, every month whether you think he deserves it or not. So what if your best friend writes that he's playing around and spending the mortgage payments on other girls. You're duty and right is to be over here, right beside we poor weak males.

Yes girls, we'll be glad to see you. You can pin up our pictures, read our letters twenty times, dream about us at night, and if you get really desperate go out and find yourself a Vietnamese. They don't smell that bad if

you sort of wrinkle your nose. So get out there and fight. Make the government give you all the rights we have. Picket the recruiters and demand to be accepted into the combat infantry. It's our world and welcome to it.

**YOUTH SPEAKS OUT: PROBLEM TODAY—LACK OF COURAGE**

(By Sgt. Evan J. Wallach)

From Vietnam.—When John F. Kennedy wrote "Profiles in Courage," he recounted the great determination it took for a U.S. Senator to tell the majority of the people they were wrong. The Senate of today is in a parallel situation, and few seem to have risen to the challenge. The American people are tired of war. Constant exposure to Communist aggression over the past twenty years has dulled the edges of apprehension, and created a false sense of security.

The nation for too long has not been forced to look directly into the face of war. They do not seem to consider the burning of a small grass village or the murder of a couple of minor government officials as a synonym to the bombing of Coventry; even when the incidents add up to equal a thousand Coventrys. "Pull out, turn back," the voices cry and we seem to be listening. Will this government again bury its head in the sands of isolationism while the rest of the world burns?

We refuse to recognize one of the basic lessons of our history: one can not temporize with tyranny. The events in Europe leading up to world war II should provide a clear warning. Had the Allies stood their ground in the Sudetenland or Austria, we would not have had to fight on the massive scale which we later did. When we entered Vietnam in 1965, we did so not to spread democracy, but to stop the steamroller before it gained momentum. It is an axiom of political dealings with the Communists: if you don't win, you lose.

At the present, Laos and Cambodia teter on the edge of Communist victory, while South Vietnam is just beginning to withdraw from the precipice. If we pull our troops out of Indochina, no president would dare recommit troops to a Southeast Asian land war to prevent the fall of Thailand. Perhaps we would unite with Britain to prevent the fall of Burma, but from the moral viewpoint, Ne Win is certainly more of a dictator than President Thieu. If not, India would be subjected to vastly increased pressure by Red China, and feeling unsure of the United States' determination to defend her, would surely shift her position to the left.

Where does it stop? One wonders if the voracious opponents of the war are as unprejudiced as they say. How many times have they stated that if the war was taking place in England or Australia they would not be opposed to involvement? Perhaps they feel that the Asians because of their different mores and culture are unimportant to us. Personally, I would rather fight in the jungles of Cambodia than the suburbs of San Francisco.

The idea of a Communist dream of world domination is ridiculed by many people, but the Nazis were quite serious in their intent to rule the world, and they spent a lot of time, money, and lives trying. Perhaps we have too easily forgotten names like; Wheeler, Fish, Nye, Ford, Dilling and Father Coughlin. Americans all. Their aim was the establishment of Nazi rule in America. Forgotten are the hard-learned lessons of that war. There are people who would wipe out their opposition completely, people who would either rule the world or destroy it. While those at home have been busily pulling their ivory towers down around their heads, we have been facing that reality. Hopefully, the majority of the American peo-

ple will never have to have it brought home quite so vividly.

**YOUTH SPEAKS OUT: THE ARMY SOCIETY**  
(By Sgt. Evan J. Wallach)

FROM VIETNAM.—The trouble with trying to run an authoritarian society like the Army in a combat zone, is that you have to arm the peons. This fact has brought some harsh realities to the lives of the Sr. NCO's and officers, when they awaken to the pop of a fragmentation grenade just before it goes off. In the past two or so weeks in my unit, we have had one man wounded when a frag was tossed near the "Lifers" hootch, one illegal discharge of an M-16 in the company area by a soul brother who was high on drugs, and to top off events, the apparent attempted murder of a warrant officer, by a man whom he wrestled the weapon away from, before he could fire it. I say apparent, because the man hasn't been convicted, yet.

Measures have been taken of course; measures typical of the logic of the U.S. Army. All weapons are now kept under lock and key, and an order just came down ordering all ammo locked up and accounted for after each red alert. Of course, if the gooks try to overrun us, some people just aren't going to have the time to unlock weapons in a hootch on the other side of the company area, but then we can always try hiding. I solved the problem in my hootch by using a combination lock and passing out the word of the combination to my people. I don't want to be responsible for some guy getting killed without a chance to defend himself, and I don't even intend to run all the way over there if the gooks start coming through the wire.

There are reasons for these attacks on the lifers, even though they aren't good ones. There is of course no excuse for attempted murder in a civilized society, but this isn't a civilized society and from what I read in the Stars and Stripes, neither is the one back home.

The trouble is, the "Lifers" harass the troops, putting them on extra details that aren't necessary, moving them out of a billet as soon as they start to get settled in, and retaliating with more harassment every time an incident occurs. The shake down inspections aren't a bad idea. If nothing else, they at least find a lot of pot lying around the hootches. However, after the last incident, they made everybody tear down his individual room that he had built inside the billets on the theory that too much plotting was going on behind closed doors. This created an awful lot of hostility.

There are other problems. We seem to change leadership positions with an astonishing regularity, and every new man who comes in, has to prove that he's rougher and tougher than his predecessor. This means, making everybody get up for a six a.m. formation, when they've been sleeping in till six-thirty; changing the duty rosters to give more people more duties; and coming up with new regulations which seem to have no rhyme or reason.

There may be good reasons for all these actions, but they make no sense to the troops, and when combined with the pressures one normally finds in a combat zone, and the huge amounts of marijuana consumed by the men, you find a perfect breeding ground for violence. And, when a man over here thinks violence, he means, killing someone, not punching them in the nose.

There is no pat answer for this problem. Obviously, the military can not exist without strict discipline, but just as obviously, the people attracted to the military career especially those in the noncommissioned officer ranks, tend to be authoritarian, overbearing, and not overly conscious of the rights guaranteed all American citizens by

the Constitution (one of those being freedom of the press, Lifers please take note).

It would help, if the "Uniform code of Military Justice," which is not uniform, not very just, but certainly military, were extensively revised to give the lower ranks the same rights as American citizens on the outside. The opening of more channels of communication between the men and their leaders, would be nice. The use of Sergeant Majors as "representatives of the Enlisted men," is at present so ineffective as to be laughable, mainly because of the innate hostility on the part of the two-year men towards all those stripes.

The idea of a voluntary Army will not, I fear, succeed on the basis of raising pay and living conditions, for I think there are not enough people in the U.S. willing to spend a lifetime in the present state of moral and mental degradation which is the lot of the enlisted man in the U.S. Army. Perhaps that's the answer, at least in part. Why don't they try treating us like human beings?

**THE POTENTIAL OF ELECTRIC POWER FROM NATURE'S STEAM**

**HON. JOHN WOLD**

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, nature has provided us with what may someday be a vital source of electrical power. It is not yet tapped but could be. The power is the natural geothermal steam of geysers and hot pools which abound in Wyoming and many other States.

I addressed this power source in an article for the North American Newspaper Alliance and noted that newly available geothermal energy would allow Americans to leave more of our mountain streams undammed, our virgin stands of timber undeffiled.

Equally important, geothermal power production is extraordinarily desirable in this rightly environment-conscious day and age. This is clean power—power produced in a closed, uncontaminated, and uncontaminating system.

This morning's Wall Street Journal has an excellent story by Mr. Arlen J. Large in which the point is made that "at a time of worry about conventional fuel shortages and pollution of air and water by electrical generating plants, there's good reason for growing interest in driving turbines with clean steam from the earth."

Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Large's article in the RECORD with my remarks:

**"FREE" ELECTRICITY: A PLAN TO GET ENERGY FROM HEAT INSIDE EARTH MOVES FORWARD A BIT**

(By Arlen J. Large)

WASHINGTON.—The planet earth is hot inside, and there are some hot spots close enough to the surface to make useful steam. Just aim the venting steam at a turbine's blades, and you can generate electricity for "free."

Up to now nature's generosity with this form of energy has been widely spurned in this country, partly because of technical problems. Solving these, however, may prove a snap compared with the difficulties of hurdlings an extraordinary thicket of law: Land law, tax law, bureaucrats' law, and an on-

again, off-again law that Congress last October passed and then a few minutes later unpassed.

Now the measure's about to pass again, and sponsors assert it will open the way for exploitation of an important new energy source that pollutes the environment hardly at all. That's what they said, too, before President Johnson vetoed similar legislation in 1966. Sen. Alan Bible (D., Nev.), chief backer of the new version, says he's hopeful President Nixon will sign it.

**SPELLING OUT THE RULES**

The main legal problem is that most of the nation's potential sources of geothermal steam underlie 1,350,000 acres of Federally owned land in Western states. The Interior Department contends existing law governing leasing of public lands for mining and oil drilling doesn't cover the production of geothermal steam, so it refuses to grant any leases for that purpose. Legislation that has been kicking around Capitol Hill since 1962, and which may finally become law this year, would spell out rules for granting geothermal steam leases on Federal land.

At a time of worry about conventional fuel shortage and pollution of air and water by electrical generating plants, there's good reason for growing interest in driving turbines with clean steam from the earth. Estimates vary widely on the technique's potential importance. Harrison Loesch, an assistant Interior Department secretary, told a Senate committee earlier this year he favors geothermal leasing on Federal lands but warned: "From all current information available, geothermal energy will at best supply only a small portion of the national power requirement in the future—probably less than 1%."

Others think this estimate is much too low. "This power source," Federal Power Commission Chairman John Nassikas told the same committee, "is presently viewed by geothermal experts as a possible rival to hydroelectric power and, in the long run, even nuclear power."

**HOT ROCK FORMATIONS**

Geothermal development is being vigorously pressed in Italy and Japan, but currently there's only one such commercial energy production operation in the U.S. Pacific Gas & Electric Co., has an 80,000-kilowatt generating station on privately owned land at The Geysers, Calif., 90 miles north of San Francisco. There, wells have been drilled into underground sources of water in natural hot rock formations as deeply as 8,000 feet. As the hot water rises, declining pressure causes it to flash into steam, which is piped to generating turbines on the surface. PG&E is expanding the station's capacity, and expects to be generating as much as 600,000 kilowatts by 1975.

Many geothermal specialists think there's even greater long-run potential in an approach that uses not geyser-type vents of steam, but hot water brought up from thermal formations below. Magma Power Co., a Los Angeles concern, is planning a test facility at Brady, Nev., that will use naturally hot water in a heat-exchange device to raise the temperature of liquid isobutane, which will in turn drive a generating turbine.

This technique has the advantage of allowing the use of hot water containing chemicals that might otherwise corrode a turbine if piped in directly. And some geologists think there are commercially useful hot-water sources in the Appalachian and Ozark mountains that could provide geothermally generated electricity in the East.

**A NUCLEAR PROPOSAL**

A third potential way of getting energy from the earth's heat is to set off a subterranean nuclear explosion in hot rock formations. The blast would create a "chimney" of

hot broken rock, through which water would be pumped to make steam. The Atomic Energy Commission, American Oil Shale Corp. and Pacific Northwest Laboratories of Battelle Memorial Institute are making a joint feasibility study of the idea. Their report is due next February. An actual test is possible within five years "if everything looks good," says John Kelly, director of the AEC's Division of Peaceful Nuclear Explosives.

In a way, geothermal technology has been moving faster than geothermal law. In dispute, for example, is whether geothermal steam qualifies for the same tax depreciation allowance that oil and gas enjoy. The U.S. Tax Court ruled last year that the natural steam pressure beneath PG&E's Geysers station is indeed being depleted and that the companies selling the steam to the generators can claim a depletion deduction. The Internal Revenue Service, however, doesn't agree, and it is appealing the Tax Court decision in a Federal circuit court.

The biggest legal hangup, however, involves geothermal steam leasing on Federal lands. Congress in 1966 passed a bill authorizing the Interior Department to grant such leases, but President Johnson surprised its sponsors by vetoing it. He said a principal flaw was a "grandfather" clause benefiting some geothermal steam explorers who had tried to stake out at least some claim to promising land parcels by obtaining regular mineral leases, though they really weren't interested in digging ore. The bill said anyone holding such mineral leases before Sept. 7, 1965, could automatically convert them into the new class of geothermal leases.

Said Mr. Johnson: "This amounts to a free gift of valuable public property rights to these developers and gives them an undue advantage over other prospective developers."

But Sen. Bible insists these "pioneers" of geothermal exploration should have first crack at the new class of leases, and in September the Senate again passed his bill allowing about 20 pre-1965 mineral-lease holders to convert them to geothermal status. (The measure contains several restrictions, including a flat ban on hooking up Yellowstone Park's Old Faithful geyser to a generator, or otherwise operating in parks and wildlife preserves.) A little later the House passed a bill with somewhat tighter rules on lease conversions by the "grandfather" explorers, but it rejected the Interior Department's long-standing position that the grandfathers shouldn't have any special rights at all.

In October it was more or less up to Sen. Bible to decide whether to accept the relatively minor House changes in his bill or to call a House-Senate conference to work out a compromise. He froze any further action until he could check out the mood of the White House, in hopes of forestalling another veto.

But on Oct. 14 an accident happened. Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D., W.Va.), acting as the majority leader in an almost empty chamber, was going through the cryptic ritual by which the Senate passes minor bills that nobody objects to. Not aware of Sen. Bible's "hold" on the geothermal steam bill, he moved that the Senate agree to the House changes. At that point, both Houses having approved the same language, the bill was on its way to the White House.

Sen. Bible, casually reading a news ticker in a Senate anteroom, was shocked to see a story saying his bill has passed. He rushed to the Senate chamber and explained the situation to Sen. Byrd, who amid the empty desks asked unanimous consent that the Senate's earlier action "be vacated." So the bill was unpassed.

On Sen. Bible's recommendation, the Senate last Friday went along with the House requirement that the geothermal grandfathers can convert their leases only if they meet

the highest competitive bid for the steam production rights. Now the bill's House sponsors are deciding upon the procedural steps for finally passing the bill in the next few days.

Sen. Bible says he hasn't any ironclad insurance Mr. Nixon will sign it, but believes "this bill should meet the objections raised in the past."

## MOORHEAD RAPS INJUSTICE TO POOR

### HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. MOORHEAD. Mr. Speaker, even when society provides assistance for the poor, assistance which they could never afford on their own, the negative forces at work in society seem to subvert these efforts.

My statement is a reaction to an editorial published recently in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette that refers to a study of nonjury criminal cases in Allegheny County, which contains the city of Pittsburgh.

The study compared the penalties meted out to defendants by six different judges over a period of several months.

The results of this study are disturbing. Let me quote from the article:

Based on a comparison of the handling by six judges of all but a few special categories of criminal cases (which were excluded from the analysis in order not to distort the findings), the study disclosed: (1) that Judge E and F consistently treated defendants more severely than Judges A and B, (2) that defendants represented by public defenders (because they were too poor to afford private counsel) more often had their cases tried by severe judges, and (3) that these poor defendants thus more often convicted and given jail sentences than were defendants represented by privately hired lawyers. The analysis showed that eight private attorneys with the largest caseload were much more likely to have their cases heard by the less severe judges.

Let me quote further:

Or put another way, it might be said that a defendant appearing before Judge F was twice as likely to be found guilty, and four times as likely to receive a jail sentence, as a defendant appearing before Judge A.

I have a feeling that the Allegheny County situation may not differ too much from the districts of those Members here today.

The criminal trial system—and more importantly the system of penalties—should be impartial and objective. But it seems in the case I cited, there were some discrepancies.

In many areas, we still are being confronted with evidence that the poor are not receiving equality under the law.

The Members of the Chamber should be aware of this problem and guide themselves accordingly whether on the floor of the House or informally at home in their districts.

Congress should do all it can to guarantee that there is one standard of justice—and only one—for all those brought to trial.

The editorial follows:

#### INJUSTICE FOR THE POOR

In an impartial statistical analysis of 738 non-jury criminal cases last year in Allegheny County, R. Stanton Wettick, Jr., executive director of Neighborhood Legal Services Association, has found a disturbing degree of substantiation for the belief of the poor that defendants without money suffer harsher penalties because they cannot afford to hire the "right" attorney and because they don't know the "right" people. Although Mr. Wettick's study (published in the Fall, 1970, issue of *Duquesne Law Review*) reveals unequal justice for the poor, the author takes pains to emphasize that the situation he describes arises, not from the deliberate or conscious efforts of judges or court personnel but from the nature of the system for assigning judges.

Based on a comparison of the handling by six judges of all but a few special categories of criminal cases (which were excluded from the analysis in order not to distort the findings), the study disclosed: (1) that Judge E and F consistently treated defendants more severely than Judges A and B, (2) that defendants represented by public defenders (because they were too poor to afford private counsel) more often had their cases tried by severe judges and (3) that these poor defendants thus were more often convicted and given jail sentences than were defendants represented by privately hired lawyers. The analysis showed that eight private attorneys with the largest caseload were much more likely to have their cases heard by the less severe judges.

Reflecting the results of the handling of cases by different kinds of judges, the statistics showed, for example, that 51 per cent of the defendants appearing before the two least severe judges were acquitted. Or put another way, it might be said that a defendant appearing before Judge F was twice as likely to be found guilty, and four times as likely to receive a jail sentence, as a defendant appearing before Judge A.

While there was no clear explanation of how cases get assigned to severe judges or lenient judges, the apparent answer based on interviews with involved attorneys, was that the District Attorney's office exercises extraordinary power in the assignment of cases and whenever a case is important to the District Attorney he will have is scheduled before the judge of his choice. And in those cases in which the District Attorney is not seeking a particular judge, private attorneys are frequently successful, through intercession with court personnel, in securing judges of their choice, or at least in avoiding certain judges. Public defenders, on the other hand, make no effort to influence the assignment process—which means in effort that their clients get the severe judges.

Mr. Wettick concludes, logically, that as long as the present informal and flexible assignment procedures are used, justice is not likely to be dispensed in an even-handed impersonal and impartial manner. To minimize the importance of the defendant's wealth and more importantly to preserve the integrity of the judicial process, he suggests that the procedures by which criminal cases are assigned must be altered so that they apply in the same manner to District Attorney and to defense counsel, with the objective of giving all defendants the same chance to appear before less severe judges. Unless this is done, the American principle of equal justice before the law will be meaningless in Allegheny County.

The recommendations of this study are in accord with the frequently expressed Post-Gazette view that the Criminal Court here is not adequately supervised by the presiding judge but is left to the management of the District Attorney's office.

## MUSKIE LEADS IN MIDDLE WEST

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago-Tribune carried the latest Harris poll analysis which I believe is self-explanatory.

The results of the Harris poll follow:

THE HARRIS ANALYSIS: MUSKIE LEADS IN MIDDLE WEST

(By Louis Harris)

The latest Harris Survey shows President Nixon trailing Senator Muskie in the 1972 run for the White House by 40-46 per cent. A closer look at the results, however, shows Nixon running close to the pattern of his narrow 1968 victory—except for certain key differences. The swing areas where the President now shows some weaknesses of his 1968 mark are in the Middle West and among the affluent, the young, and the Independent.

On a regional basis, in the deep South, there has been no appreciable change.

In the Border States, which were pivotal in fashioning the 1968 Nixon victory, the results two years ago were: Nixon 41 per cent, Humphrey 35 per cent, and Wallace 24 per cent. In the latest poll: Nixon polled 45 per cent, Muskie 38 per cent, and Wallace 14 per cent. Marginally, this marks a pickup for both the President and the Democrats and a fall-off for Wallace.

In the West, there also appears to be little change. The President won the region by 48-46 per cent in 1968, and in the latest poll he is ahead by 47-45 per cent. In the East, Humphrey won in 1968 by 50-43 per cent. In the latest poll, Muskie is ahead by 51-40 per cent.

## SHIFT TO MUSKIE

The big shift has occurred in the Middle West, where the Republican Party suffered some serious defeats in the 1970 off-year election. In 1968, Nixon carried the Midwest by a narrow 45-43 per cent. In the latest poll, Muskie was holding a commanding 57-34 percent lead.

At the moment, the impact of the economic slump appears to be felt most deeply there. In September, Muskie was trailing the President in the region 47-44 per cent. But in two months time, a shift of 13 points had taken place.

Viewing voters by income is also revealing. In 1968, voters with income under \$5,000 a year went for Humphrey by 47-36 per cent, an 11-point margin for the Democrats. In the latest survey, Muskie's lead over the President among this group is 44-33 per cent, precisely the same margin as Humphrey amassed in 1968. The \$5,000-\$9,999 group went to Humphrey by 45-39 per cent two years ago. Today, the standing in this group: Muskie 45 per cent, Nixon 39 per cent, Wallace 13 per cent—almost precisely the same.

## MIDWEST SHIFTS

But the \$10,000-and-over income group shows a marked shift. In 1968, Nixon won a major margin of victory in the \$10,000-and-over group, carrying it by 52-39 per cent margin. In the latest poll, the President now trails Muskie among the most affluent by a narrow 47-45 per cent.

Another key dimension is that of age. In 1968, the over-50 vote went to Nixon by a narrow 45-43 per cent. In the latest poll, he leads Muskie among older voters by 42-40 per cent—no change. Among middle-aged voters, Humphrey won by 46-42 per cent. Muskie now leads among them by 45-42 per cent.

But among younger voters, a significant shift has taken place. In 1968, Nixon edged out Humphrey among the young by 43-41 per cent. Today, Muskie leads the President among the young by a substantial 54-38 per cent.

Finally, a key change has taken place among that 18 per cent of the electorate which calls itself independent, not aligned with either party. In 1968, the Independent vote went this way: Nixon 41 per cent, Humphrey 35 per cent, Wallace 24 per cent. But in the latest poll, both Nixon and Wallace have slipped with this key swing vote: Nixon 40 per cent, Muskie 44 per cent, and Wallace 12 per cent.

## CAMPAIGN SPENDING: WHERE WILL IT END?

**HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA**

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, one of the classic maxims of Americana, usually enunciated with reference to Abraham Lincoln, is that a young American born of poverty in a log cabin can aspire to become President of his country.

In these days of exploding campaign costs, however, it seems that the youngster born in a log cabin can aspire to become President only if the log cabin happens to be a vacation home, some distance away from the palatial main family residence. To an increasing degree only the rich, or those who enjoy large contributions from the rich, can reasonably expect to be elected to national office.

Mr. Speaker, the Congress has long recognized that the situation demands action. Accordingly, both Houses passed legislation earlier this year to curb excessive television and radio advertising by political candidates. The Presidential veto of this measure, on the grounds that it was but half a loaf, was indeed unfortunate. The President put a halt to a good beginning.

Excessive campaign spending must be stopped, and quickly. This week I was privileged to take part in the hearings on campaign spending being held by the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, chaired by the distinguished and able gentleman from Illinois, Mr. MELVIN PRICE. Let us hope that the proposals to come from these hearings will gather support from both the Congress and the administration.

A thoughtful analysis of the importance of the measure which has already been vetoed appeared recently as an editorial in the Honolulu Advertiser, and I would like to share it with my colleagues and other RECORD readers:

## VOTERS LOSE

The original story on the teletype from Washington said: "President Nixon scored a major post-election victory Monday when the Senate upheld his veto of a bill that would limit campaign spending for radio and television time."

If it was a victory for the President, then it was also a defeat for the voting public and hopes for sanity in spiraling political campaign costs.

Helping sustain the veto was the president's promise to cooperate on a bill to control spending and other campaign aspects "in a direct, effective and enforceable manner."

Cynicism on the chances for such a bill is possible. Such promises are an old tactic.

Still there has to be enough public pressure to get action on campaign spending controls—not only nationally but locally. And it should come in plenty of time to take effect by 1972.

The goal of the vetoed bill was not to pick on TV and radio; nor should it be in the future. But there are these points:

November's election results nationally may have deflated part of TV's image as a miracle medium able to turn any rich unknown into a winner. But that should not be confused with either the fact TV will be increasingly important in campaigns or that it is also an increasingly expensive part of campaign costs of all major candidates.

Time magazine last week pointed out the skyrocketing campaign costs nationally—\$40,000-\$70,000 for an average House race, \$1.5 million per candidate for the U.S. Senate, \$1 million for Governor in a populous state.

And for those who don't understand the relationship of campaign costs to obligations and influence, there was this point:

"These huge sums, despite the traditional claim of politicians that every dollar came in crumpled bills from the man on the street, are raised from the wealthy few. It is estimated that 90 per cent of political funds are donated by one per cent of the population."

Whether you translate that up the scale to the presidency or down to the State Legislature or City Council, there is a growing need for campaign controls.

Action is needed both here and in Washington—and the U.S. Senate vote yesterday was hardly part of the beginning.

## AN EFFECTIVE ARGUMENT AGAINST DRUG USE

**HON. ABNER J. MIKVA**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, on November 19, the Chicago Tribune confronted its readers with an outstanding and persuasive editorial warning against the destructive effects of drugs. This was not an argument merely of words, but mainly one of pictures vividly depicting the world of the drug user; his use of amphetamines and barbiturates, his meetings on the sly with untrustworthy pushers, and his injecting of heroin—of unknown potency—into a vein, resulting possibly in death.

I want to commend the Tribune for this truly outstanding and innovative technique, and congratulate the paper and Mr. Ovie Carter, who took the pictures, on the overall effectiveness of "An Editorial in Pictures." Perhaps it takes the shock of seeing the unseemly world one enters when he joins the drug culture to prevent a potential experimenter of hard drugs from taking that initial step backward. Let us all hope the Tribune's warning will be heeded.

**BANKERS WARNED OF FOREIGN CURBS DUE TO EXPANSION**

**HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 10, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, a great deal has been written since the House enacted the Foreign Trade Act of 1970 and sent it on to the other body for final action.

I have read with amazement a number of editorials decrying our action and foretelling the horrible doom that confronts America if the law which we enacted here in the House should win final approval and be signed by the President.

The Washington Star recently carried an item which I believe places into true perspective the outcries against our efforts to deal with this whole problem of growing competition in the American labor market because of unrestricted foreign imports.

The story gives an insight into who is behind this assault on those Members of Congress who place the American worker above the profits of a handful of banking institutions.

Mr. Speaker, I am placing this article in the RECORD today so that my colleagues will see the extent to which American banking institutions have expanded their operations into foreign countries. It is becoming increasingly apparent that these banking institutions are not concerned with the American worker or even the American system because their investments and their interests reach outside the limits of the United States.

This article points out that American banking institutions have engaged in such an extreme expansion program overseas that they face retaliation by foreign banks if they persist in their present practices.

The Washington Star article follows:  
**BANKERS WARNED OF FOREIGN CURBS DUE TO EXPANSION**

**NEW YORK.**—U.S. banking institutions may face increasing foreign restrictions against them if they don't temper their expansion overseas, warned John A. Waage, senior vice president of Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.

Addressing the bank's biennial business conference, Waage said "restrictions or actions against such financial institutions could occur in lands other than those of the developing countries in South America or Africa."

He noted that U.S. banks currently operated more than 530 branches abroad up

from only 131 in 1960. So-called Edge Act subsidiaries for foreign operations, he said, have increased to about 70 from 15 in 1960.

Waage said this "sometimes gives the impression that bankers, like sheep, will follow each other into new markets or into new types of banking institutions even when the dangers of over-rapid expansion are apparent," he warned. "Therefore the expropriations, nationalizations and other restrictions imposed on foreign-owned branches and banks that have taken place in the 1960s could continue into the 1970s."

**MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?**

**HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE**

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, December 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 1,500 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?