

GERMAIN, Mr. VIGORITO, Mr. WHITE-HURST, and Mr. WOLFF):

H. Con. Res. 551. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the Secretary of the Interior prescribe and implement regulations for the harvesting of Northern fur seals to insure quick and painless death before skinning; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. DIGGS (for himself, Mr. DENT, Mr. HARRINGTON, Mr. BUTTON, Mr. GILBERT, Mr. VAN DEERLIN, Mr. RYAN, Mr. JACOBS, Mr. VANIK, Mr. TUNNEY, Mr. ROYBAL, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. WADIE, Mr. MIKVA, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. REID of New York, Mr. BRADEMAS, and Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia):

H. Res. 882. Resolution restricting Governor Maddox as a guest in the House of Representatives dining room; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. MORGAN:

H. Res. 883. Resolution providing for expenses of conducting studies and investigations authorized by House Resolution 143; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. SMITH of New York:

H. Res. 884. Resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives to create a standing committee to be known as the Committee on the Environment; to the Committee on Rules.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

334. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to continuing Penn Central rail service, which was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

419. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the common council of the City of Mount Vernon, N.Y., relative to a national holiday in honor of the memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

DR. EDMUND B. BOATNER AND  
THE AMERICAN SCHOOL FOR THE  
DEAF

### HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, the American School for the Deaf in West Hartford, Conn.—the oldest such school in the Nation—was founded in 1817 by the famous Thomas Gallaudet. During the past 153 years it has provided broad educational, recreational, and specialized training programs for many thousands of young deaf children. Moreover, it has supplied the type of pioneer leadership that has led to the establishment of other schools for the deaf throughout the country.

This week in Hartford, community leaders and educators of the deaf gathered for a testimonial dinner to honor the retiring Superintendent of the American School for the Deaf—Dr. Edmund B. Boatner. Dr. Boatner came to the American School in 1935. Spearheaded by his driving initiative and boundless energy, the school has grown and flourished during these past 35 years of his leadership. Wide community and public support has been mobilized and directed toward the improvement of the quality of education for the deaf at the American School. The physical plant has more than doubled. New staff, courses, and educational techniques have been added. Dr. Boatner pioneered with the late Walt Disney the use of captioned cartoons in deaf education. With his wife he collaborated to produce an idiom dictionary that has been used in deaf educational programs everywhere.

Dr. Boatner has also been a national leader among deaf educators, appearing as a frequent and persuasive witness for the Convention of American Instructors of the Deaf at hearings over the past decade that have resulted in new Federal programs for the deaf such as the Captioned Films Act, the National Tech-

nical Institute for the Deaf, and other measures.

Mr. Speaker, Dr. Boatner has not only rendered long, faithful, and distinguished service in our community and State, but has also helped to make possible a better, more productive life for countless young people with hearing difficulties. I join in saluting him for his significant achievements in his profession and wish Dr. Boatner and his wife, Maxine, much happiness in their retirement years ahead.

#### A WORLD SALES TAX

### HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, I was critical recently of reports that the United Nations was considering a world sales tax.

Mr. Bob Ward, a highly skilled and informed columnist for Howard County News & Observer, in Greentown, Ind., has written a column on this subject which should be read by all Members of Congress.

Bob makes some excellent points in this article and I offer it for the RECORD. The article follows:

[From the Howard County News & Observer, Feb. 26-27, 1970]

#### LOOKING AROUND

(By Bob Ward)

#### UN WANTS TO TAX YOU

A couple of items in the news recently suggest that the United Nations may soon become something a bit more onerous than the expensive and impractical joke it has been for 25 years.

One of these is a proposal due to go before the international organization soon, for a world sales tax on certain items.

By some easily explained irony, most of these items are things which are produced, distributed and purchased chiefly in the United States.

Suggested for a one-half per cent sales levy are automobiles, power boats, television

sets, dishwashers, washing machines and other large ticket household gadgets.

The overwhelming bulk of these items are American made and bought so this so-called sales tax amounts to nothing more than Uncle Sam—that's you—to bankroll even more heavily than now the useless and wasteful projects dreamed up by that highly unrepresentational world body.

There are things calling themselves nations in the UN that don't have enough souls to make a medium-sized city in America. Yet each of them has one vote, which is all the 200 million Americans have.

Yet the Liberals—who would cram one man-one vote down the throats of state legislatures—object not at all to this inequity.

Americans once fought a war about taxation without representation yet we will be asked now to accept a tax imposed by a minority on the goods produced for the majority and the proceeds to be used for the benefit of the minority.

Aside from the blatant theft involved here there is the matter of American citizens being taxed by a body other than their own government. Under this plan Americans would be asked to yield power to a body wherein they have virtually no representation and whose members they do not elect.

Most important at all, no limits have been established on the amount of authority the U. N. would have over individual American citizens. This sales tax would be the first instance of the UN acting on individuals instead of dealing with the member governments. How far and to what areas of life would this authority extend?

This issue of UN authority within the borders of a nation has been spotlighted by the revival of the antigencide pact.

This misnamed treaty which the U. S. signed in 1949 but the Senate failed to ratify, brings the police power of the United Nations into every small town of the nation.

Its definition of genocide is so broad as to create the crime of group libel so that to insult or degrade any nation, ethnic, racial or religious group would be punishable by law.

If a signing nation fails to enact the appropriate laws, the accused could be tried by the UN itself.

It is clearly time to take a look at what this international bauble is up to. When the freedoms that you and I enjoy as individuals under our Constitution may be voted away by people you never heard of, you didn't vote for, and represent a tiny minority of humanity, it seems that more than just talk is called for.

RESPONSIBLE PROTEST SHOULD NOT BE SUPPRESSED

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, in his customary level-headed manner, R. J. Bruning, editor of the North Idaho Press, has dealt with the twin menaces of revolution and reaction—each of which tends to pull the country apart.

In his column entitled "Stream of Thought," published in the Boise, Idaho, Statesman of March 8, 1970, Mr. Bruning discusses these menaces and the proper response to them. His strictures about avowed revolutionaries and those who react to them unwisely constitute good advice to all who wish to preserve a free land.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Bruning's column be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

STREAM OF THOUGHT  
(By R. J. Bruning)

Last week this column said that today's self styled revolutionaries "have on all counts proved themselves irresponsible in their judgment of history, incapable of governing if they should attain power, and lacking in justification" for their revolutionary aims.

This may or may not represent majority opinion in this nation.

If it does, the opinion does not justify moving aggressively against such activists, as Vice President Spiro Agnew seemed to suggest in an address to the National Conference of Governors.

The first duty of any government, free or authoritarian, is to protect its existence. A corollary duty of free government is to protect the rights, lives and property of its citizens from unlawful acts. To carry out these responsibilities, governments should use such force as is necessary.

But to move aggressively against protestors before any such acts of violence, are committed puts in jeopardy the most sacred freedom of our form of government—the right to protest and dissent.

Agnew, it seems to us, is deliberately, and with increasing tempo, striving to set the majority of Americans against those who protest and dissent. In doing so, he takes the risk of provoking violence and counter violence, and he endangers freedom of thought.

If this is his intent, and if he should attain any degree of success, he will drive many people to the defense of the protestors—for the freedom to protest must be protected against efforts to stifle that freedom. Freedom is not divisible.

Legal governments have the duty and responsibility to protect their subdivisions and their citizens from violence, but not from the opinions of minority groups or from unpopular opinions.

Nor can we agree with Agnew that today's activists will simply disappear if television and the newspapers ignore them. This was another suggestion the vice president made. The violent protests are not new to American history, nor to the history of any nation. Certainly we should know that in this district, where federal troops have been called in to put down armed insurrection of miners, where pitched battles have been fought, and mills blown up.

Violence has not been a stranger to other efforts of workers to organize into unions, or in protest against draft laws; and the worst race riots in our history did not occur in this century.

That does not justify violence. Neither does it justify governmental or vigilante efforts to put an end to legitimate protest.

William O. Douglas, associate justice of the Supreme Court, has written a controversial book, "Points of Rebellion," in which he says:

"We must realize that today's Establishment is the new George III. Whether it will continue to adhere to his tactics, we do not know. If it does, the redress, honored in tradition, is also revolution."

It must be emphasized that Justice Douglas is predicting, not expressing support for a revolution such as George Washington led against King George III.

The so-called Establishment has in the past met the challenge of new ideas, of new demands, of changing times sometimes, admittedly, when forced to by violence, but most often without such pressures.

The most recent example has been the change of government policy in the conduct of the war in South Vietnam. Protests of anti-war groups played a major part in President Johnson's decision not to run for reelection, in the defeat of Vice President Humphrey by Richard M. Nixon, and in President Nixon's decision to begin withdrawal from South Vietnam. It must be remembered that as vice president, Nixon was the most hawkish of the hawks.

Protests beginning in Selma, Ala., led to granting of civil rights to Negroes, and protests have led to the current emphasis on protection of the environment.

Vice President Agnew has said he does not want government in the streets.

When established government is unresponsive, that is where government is made.

When it is no longer possible to make government in the streets, then government is no longer free.

The problems are not corrected by ignoring them on television or in the newspapers. The problems are not corrected by mounting an attack against those who protest.

The problems are corrected only by a responsive and a responsible government. This has been the basis of this government's success for nearly 200 years.

We can not defend the irresponsibility of protestors, but it is far more difficult to defend the suppression of protest. Freedom is endangered not so much by the irresponsibility of the few, but by the narrow, self-righteousness of the many.

CALIFORNIA ZEPHYR

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 17, 1970

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, the ICC, after long months of deliberation and controversy, has ruled in favor of the discontinuance of the California Zephyr on the grounds that its cost does not warrant its need.

This is the climax of a long and complicated series of hearings and debate. I know the ICC's decision is a disappointment to many people. Not only does it mark the end of an important mode of

transportation to a certain segment of our population, but it also marks the end of an era—railroad passenger service, once a flourishing and popular means of transportation is now a dying entity. How long before all such service will be relegated to a page in the history books?

This action coming at a time when we are focusing in on environmental crises and population crises should give us much to think about. Why, when our highways and skys are continually being overcrowded, why, when air pollution resulting from automobile emission is reaching critical proportions, why, when our urban planners are crying for modern and more efficient mass transit systems, are we eliminating rail passenger service?

I know that under the present circumstances, the railroad companies are suffering great economic losses, but I am not convinced that all alternatives to discontinuance have been fully investigated. I understand that this decision has already been appealed and that the case is now pending in court. I also understand that the railroad companies involved will try to work out some sort of compromise between the Zephyr and the City of San Francisco by combining these trains so that one train will run at least three times a week between Chicago and San Francisco. I sincerely hope that a more reasonable and responsible decision regarding the Zephyr will be reached.

Mr. Speaker, I recommend for the attention of my colleagues a recent editorial from the Washington Post on the Zephyr case, as follows:

R.I.P., CALIFORNIA ZEPHYR

Now that the California Zephyr is about to become a fond memory, perhaps the administration and Congress will get down to work on the problem of what to do about passenger trains. There is not much life left in long-distance passenger service and perhaps that service ought to die on the grounds it is no longer needed and is an uneconomic use of resources. But it ought not to be allowed to die by default; there should be a national policy—one way or the other, a policy either of abolishing non-commuter passenger trains except in one or two heavily populated corridors or of saving this means of transportation as one of the alternatives to the automobile.

The death warrant for the California Zephyr, signed last week by the Interstate Commerce Commission, is symbolic of what has happened to the passenger trains. The Zephyr went on the rails in 1949 to compete with the City of San Francisco for traffic between Chicago and San Francisco. The Zephyr had the scenic route, the City of San Francisco, which had gone into service in 1936 and switched from a three day a week to a daily schedule in 1947, had the faster route. They were joined in 1954 on the long run to the Coast by the Santa Fe's Chief. Now, the Zephyr has been killed west of Salt Lake City and cut to three days a week west of Denver. The City of San Francisco is going back to a three-day-a-week schedule west of Salt Lake City and the Santa Fe hopes to abolish the Chief soon.

The direct cause of the deaths of these trains, and dozens of others around the nation, is economic; they lost money heavily. The indirect causes are, perhaps in this order: automobiles, airplanes, bad management, and outdated labor rules. Unless the

federal government acts, those causes are going to lead to the end of non-commuter passenger service, except in the East Coast corridor and perhaps in a similar Midwestern corridor, within a few years. We think that this should not be allowed to happen until after a substantial effort has been made to save the trains; it makes no sense for the country to be discarding a basic means of transportation because of its current love of automobiles and airplanes at a time when substantial overcrowding of both highways and skyways is easily foreseeable.

What is needed are revolutionary changes in the railroad passenger business—changes that provide a mechanism through which new equipment, better schedules, new management, new labor contracts, and new reservation systems can be injected into one of the most old-fashioned businesses in existence. The Railpax plan put forward by the Department of Transportation has run into heavy criticism at the ICC largely because it isn't revolutionary enough. If inter-city passenger trains are to survive, more will be required than just \$100 million of federal money and a device that lets current railroad management largely determine the fate of the trains.

Maybe this administration and this Congress aren't bold enough to take the drastic steps that are needed. Or maybe they think these steps will cost more than saving the passenger trains will be worth. Nevertheless, the railroads and the public are entitled to know what national policy is going to be. The death of each crack train, like the California Zephyr, speeds the day when the next one will die and before long there will be nothing to save. We were saddened to see the Zephyr go under, although we cannot blame the railroads for asking that it be discontinued or the ICC for granting their requests. But we do hope that its death will spur the kind of action that the deaths of other great trains leading up to it—the Twentieth Century Limited and the Royal Blue, for example—never did.

#### WAR AND THE CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE

### HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, no philosophical problem is more agonizing to civilized men than the problem of what, if anything, constitutes a "just" war. Particularly is this true for the professing Christian, who faces a wealth of sometimes contradictory teaching in Holy Scripture and in the pronouncements of church authority on this very question.

A distinguished Lutheran scholar and pastor, Dr. Martin L. Cole, recently addressed himself to an aspect of the dilemma in a short, incisive article entitled "The Enigma of War," published in the *Lutheran Standard* of March 3, 1970. A former president of Texas Lutheran College, Dr. Cole concludes that "Our survival may depend on getting rid of the 'great illusion' that war is at times a positive good."

I ask unanimous consent that this thoughtful and provocative article be printed in the *RECORD*.

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

#### THE ENIGMA OF WAR

(By Martin L. Cole)

The Mylal incident demands that we examine boldly the enigma of war. War has been always an agonizing problem for the sensitive and the intelligent. It is especially so for the Christian, and perhaps more intensely so for the Lutheran Christian.

The Lutheran has accepted Holy Scripture as the norm for life and faith given to him by God through the enlightenment of the Holy Spirit working in and through the Word. The Lutheran has also accepted the Augsburg Confession as a valid interpretation of Scripture as it relates to the Christian life. Article XVI proclaims that "civil ordinances as are lawful are good works of God." It implies that government is of God and not only exhorts the Christian to obey and do his duty as a citizen, but also to participate actively in government. He may "engage in just wars, act as soldiers, etc." Article XVI concludes: "Christians therefore must necessarily obey their magistrates and the laws, save only when they command any sin; for then they must obey God rather than men."

Is there a Lutheran who has not sweat over this clause about a just war? Horror and brutality is the bitter fruit of all wars, and on both sides. The historian knows that all wars are "just" if you accept the sources and documents of both sides. Never in man's experience has there been a war of aggression according to the official declaration of both sides. No doubt many of the German officers in World War II believed the *God with Us* on their helmets; and on both sides people sincerely prayed to the same God for victory and peace.

Paul, in the 13th chapter of Romans, states: "Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God. Therefore, you must be subject, not only to avoid God's wrath, but for the sake of conscience." So there can be conscientious obeyers as well as conscientious objectors! This, indeed, poses the enigma of war to the Christian.

A sentence should not be pulled out of context in this inspired and moving description of what is the true Christian life, which Paul summarizes in these words: "Owe no one anything, except to love one another; for he who loves his neighbor has fulfilled the law." The neighbor to Paul or to Christ was not only a Jew or a Roman, but any human being in need of help, understanding, and love. Aren't we all tortured with the haunting thought that the murdered old men, women and children in Mylal are our neighbors, needing love, understanding, and food—not bullets.

There is not much evidence in history that governments are of God or that they operate in the spirit of love and compassion. Yet Paul was eager to have his beloved Christians in Rome obedient to their government for the sake of Christ.

Shortly before the outbreak of World War I (1914) Norman Angell published his amazing book, *The Great Illusion*. Neither Europe nor America was ready for his concept that war was man's most costly illusion; costly in wealth, costly in death (the survival of the unfit), a cancer eating at the vitality of man's attempt to live better and happier lives.

This scholarly volume, representing a lifetime of intense historical study and research, was pounced upon by the critics, abused and misunderstood, frequently misquoted or quoted out of context. The more scathing the reviews, the more the book was desired by the masses. Sold in many editions, translated into all the principal languages of the world, the thesis of this remarkable book

has had wide influence. Perhaps it is no mere coincidence that Norman Angell's conclusions are shouted loudly and fiercely by the more intelligent student leaders of the "Moratorium."

After the four awful years of bloodshed, terror, and waste of World War I he wrote two other books which were in a sense, "I told you so, but you wouldn't listen."

He analyzed and sifted the vast war propaganda on both sides and then wrote *The Unseen Assassins*. The unseen assassins were not the Kaiser of Germany or the war lords of France and Britain, but the average men and women, who were too lazy or too stupid to know and think for themselves, and who accepted the slogans and half-truths without critical analysis. It is a haunting thought at this moment that perhaps we also are unseen assassins and unaware of it.

This book was followed with *The Fruits of Victory* in which he argued that war was not a solution to any economic problem. He found in the smoking ruins of Europe ample evidence to prove the utter futility of war. A defeated Germany was not a blessing to a victorious and hateful France or England. It soon became apparent that the prosperity and economy of Europe was dependent on a restoration of Germany to a position of production and consequent purchasing power and economic health.

The United States came out of World War II victorious, only slightly scarred, and prosperous. Europe was chaos. Germany was a smoking ruin. Noted economists were again agreed that a prosperous Germany was the key to the economic recovery of Europe. The war-stimulated economy of the United States needed the markets of a prosperous Europe. We poured billions of dollars into Germany and loaned them our technical experts. From an economic point of view, it is better to be the loser than a winner in modern war.

We sent billions to Europe to restore what we had helped to destroy. We had, as now, our rat-infested slums of which we seemed unaware. The economic justification of war, any war, would be funny, if it were not so tragic.

Our 300,000 casualties in Vietnam will not be entirely in vain if we have learned the utter futility of war. Is there ever a just war. At this moment when man's power to destroy is so awesome that it is incomprehensible to the unscientific mind, the next war may be the last. Our survival may depend on getting rid of the "great illusion" that war is at times a positive good. Jesus said, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they are called the sons of God."

#### UNDERSTAND ME

### HON. ORVAL HANSEN

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 17, 1970

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, Idaho State University which is located in the district I am privileged to represent in Congress has not experienced the trouble that has afflicted many other universities across the country. Credit for this success belongs to the students, the faculty, and the university administration. The lines of communication are kept open.

Idaho State University is blessed with one of the ablest university presidents in America. Dr. William E. Davis combines the talents of a great educator and a skilled administrator with a deep insight into the needs of students.

During my recent visit to the Idaho State University campus at Pocatello, President Davis called my attention to an example of the responsible leadership within the ranks of the students. On March 8, 1970, the Idaho State Journal at Pocatello published an editorial by Clayton Vann, a black student at ISU. Mr. Vann is an 8-year Army veteran, which includes service in Vietnam. He is a football player and member of the student senate. He makes an eloquent plea for understanding.

Mr. Speaker, in order to bring my colleagues' attention to Mr. Vann's timely message, I include the editorial from the Idaho State Journal as a part of my remarks:

#### UNDERSTAND ME

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following guest editorial is written by Clayton Vann, a black student at Idaho State University who is a member of the Student Council and a football player at ISU for the past two seasons. Mr. Vann comments upon the black demonstration at a recent ISU basketball game.)

Understand me and hear my black voice. I am the black man who has been pleading to the white world to hear me for over 300 years. Before you condemn me for my actions, understand me. Understand why I act like I do, be interested, "give a damn!" I am black, not white, I have my own way of doing things. Maybe it's not the way you think is right, but if you check yourself out, you will see we have that right to think for ourselves.

Realize that, that everybody is not the same, all people are different but they are still people. We are all human beings that God has made in His own image, and likeness. Understand that we are all the same; no one is any better than anyone else—just as good, but no better.

Realize that I, too, have something to be proud of, that I have a history. I have a heart, I have a culture, I am black and proud. Stop and think that I have worked, and built this country right along you. I have fought and died right by your side. I have been instrumental in making America strong. Understand that I have wants, and needs, just like you. Understand that although I am black, I am still an American. Understand that this is my home. I have no other, I want no other, I need no other. Understand that America is my home, my land, and that I'm here to stay. I am proud to be here in this great land of ours.

But there is one thing that you don't understand. And you must start to understand that in America, the black man is not free. The black man can't understand why when there are such famous documents as the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and the American Flag, that state that "all men are created equal and have certain inalienable rights . . . liberty and justice for all."

So whenever the black man reads the Constitution, and looks at the Flag that stands for all of these things and sees that he is still not free, how is the black supposed to feel? What is he to do? How is he supposed to act? I'll tell you what we do. We unify, come closer together. We come up with symbols, and sayings, such as "Black Power" signs, and the clenched fist. That means that we as a people are finally together, strong and proud. We have our own thing, after so many years of having nothing.

The clenched fist stands for the oppressed black America. It means to the black man that he must unify, and be strong. It is a sign of welcome, pride victory over oppression of any kind.

We must understand each other. So I feel that I should tell what happened pertain-

ing to Black Liberation Week. Black students wearing the black band signifies a symbolic protest, or a gesture to the world that the blacks are observing something important to blacks. And the blacks want it known. At the game with Montana State, the black students were observing Black Liberation Week, and the commemoration of slain black leaders. It meant that, and only that, and no more.

Also we want the world to know that the black man will not be satisfied as long as his basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one, and we will not be content until Justice rolls down like waters, and Freedom like a mighty stream.

And when we raise the clenched fist toward the Flag with our heads down, we are paying the highest respect a black man can pay to anything. It means that we are saluting the Flag and giving it the respect that it is due. It means that the black man is proud to be an American, and the Flag stands for freedom for all. But what gets us up tight is that we are still not free. So we blacks raise our fists toward the Flag as a unified and proud people, still striving in America for freedom. The black man of America wants the world to know that he is still in an oppressed position, but proud and together. We want liberty and justice for all mankind. And when we get this, there won't be a need for the black power sign.

As the black man sees it, whenever he does do something as a protest against our oppression the white man gets shook, or upset. Why? Because in his heart and mind he knows the black man is right. And that long ago, his forefathers fought, and died for the same kind of freedom that the blacks want now.

On July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence gave us a right as Americans: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of the government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government laying its foundations on such principals and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness."

These lines were written for all Americans, and are kept and treasured by all of the white Americans. All the black man wants is that white Americans stand by their sacred promise and live up to the words that their forefathers made history so many years ago. If this is done and the black man has his freedom and rights that he so richly deserves, then together we'll stand, one nation for all.

#### RESOLUTIONS ON ENVIRONMENT

HON. JOHN H. DENT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 17, 1970

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, the communications workers are showing the way for all of us to participate in the clean up of the environment.

Nothing can be more important for the salvation of national and natural heritage.

I compliment Joseph A. Beirne, president and the entire membership of the Communications Workers of America for getting into the battle full force.

I submit the letter of transmittal as well as the meaningful resolution adopted by the organization:

COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS OF AMERICA,

Washington, D.C., March 6, 1970.

HON. JOHN H. DENT,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. DENT: For some time, we have been aware of the great need for the Nation to revise its basic attitude of toleration toward pollution, if an environmental catastrophe is to be averted. Consequently, the Communications Workers of America is determined to become involved in efforts to both bring about a revision of attitude and a knowledge of what is needed to regain environmental purity.

As initial steps, we have adopted two Resolutions on environment. The first urges our nearly 900 Locals to participate in the campus Teach-Ins which will be held on April 22. The second specifies a series of substantive environmental goals. I am enclosing them.

I am aware of the context of responsibilities you have as a national legislator, but I would like to emphasize the great need for real action in the environmental area.

A shooting war can be stopped instantly with a cease-fire. The war pollution is waging against the people cannot be halted quickly by any known means, so real solutions of the most stringent and effective nature must be devised and put in effect as soon as possible. I hope you can participate meaningfully in this.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH A. BEIRNE,  
President.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY—MORE THAN SLOGANS NEEDED

The United States is encountering severe problems in the quality of its environment. The problems are largely due to the tremendous success of our mass production-high consumption economy.

Concepts currently prominent in the thinking of government and other public bodies and the information media include "ecology," "total environment," "quality of life," "urban decay" and "pollution." The magnitude of these concepts is at long last being recognized.

The scope of the problem has not been adequately defined. It must include air and water pollution, the ever-growing masses of solid wastes, the abuse of natural resources, and the inability of the individual citizen to do more than protest.

Advances in technology and increases in the Gross National Product have not been accompanied by sufficient efforts to ensure that they are truly forward steps.

For instance, the coming of a paper mill or chemical plant is an event often welcomed by a community, because of the many financial benefits. But the price subsequently exacted on the community can be high—in ravaging of the landscape and waters, in noxious discharges into the air, in congestion.

DDT and other toxic chemicals have greatly reduced the number of insects which have plagued mankind through history. However, these substances are not selective: Bees, birds, fish and other animal life also have been threatened, and there is medical evidence that human health may be harmed by the continued use of these chemicals.

A drilling accident in the Santa Barbara Channel and the wreck of the tanker *Torrey Canyon* in the last two years fully illustrated the dangers inherent in the petroleum industry, and the substantial economic losses by individuals and businesses not directly involved.

For a final instance, the installation of a nuclear power plant can be a source of ade-

quate electricity for a large area. But the price paid by the area can be hazardous radiation, thermal pollution of large expanses of publicly owned waters and difficulty in disposing of radioactive nuclear wastes.

Heretofore, the individual or local group alarmed at water and air pollution by local industries has been in danger of being an outcast because of "anti-business" attitudes. Opposition to strip-mining has been viewed as somehow "anti-American," because the protester would be denying a company the use of its own minerals. Questioning the "unquestionable assumptions" of the use of nuclear energy has been equated to impeding progress. Open advocacy of modern and adequate mass-transit systems can be offensive to the gigantic automotive industry and its natural allies—the oil industry, tire makers and paving contractors.

In his first State of the Union Message, President Nixon focused attention on the goal of "a new quality of life in America." While the message lacked specific steps to reach that goal, the President promised to send the Congress "the most costly and comprehensive program in this field in the Nation's history."

If the Nation's goal is to become more than another set of slogans coined for political purposes, full commitment must be made—and honored.

While it is impossible to find anywhere in this land a single individual who says he prefers polluted air and water, junkyards on the streets, traffic congestion, ravage of the natural resources, and any of the other indices of a breakdown of the environment, there are natural and artificial sources of inertia which would prevent action. Therefore, be it

Resolved: That the Executive Board of Communications Workers of America wholeheartedly endorse efforts by the Administration and the Congress to take all needed steps to achieve "a new quality of life in America"; and be it further

Resolved: That this Executive Board express this Union's sense of urgency in the following aspects of the National goal:

1. Definition of the problems of the environment, especially those which require legislative action.
2. Enactment of the most stringent of Federal laws with clear standards, providing adequate funds for the strictest enforcement, and setting criminal penalties against individuals who refuse to obey the law.
3. Permitting the public at large by "class actions" in Federal courts of competent jurisdiction, to secure its rights to an unpolluted and otherwise undefiled environment.
4. Unification of the jurisdiction of Federal agencies and Committees of the Congress in environmental matters.
5. Establishment of a policy that city streets are to be used primarily for the movement of traffic, not vehicle storage.
6. Taxation of slum properties on a formula that favors maintenance and penalizes those who traffic on misery.
7. Expenditure of Federal and other public funds for more useful and practical purposes than up to the present.
8. "Open Spaces" programs meaning more than shopping centers and parking lots.

#### ENVIRONMENT TEACH-INS RESOLUTION

The era of indifference which saw the pollution of our air and water and the defiling of our cities and countryside can be brought to an end if the people of the nation join together in pushing good environmental programs to the forefront of our national priorities. We, the Communications Workers of America, acting as citizens and as Unionists, accept our responsibility to participate in this effort for the betterment of our lives and the lives of our children.

A method of participation for CWA has become available through the announcement that a nationwide program of teach-ins on environment will be held on many college campuses on April 22. Sponsored by Senator Gaylord Nelson, a Democrat, and Rep. Paul McCloskey, a Republican, the teach-ins are non-partisan, and are designed to develop community awareness of the great risks and great costs of continued lack of improvement in the environment. Those participating in the teach-ins will select issues which are of importance in their particular area, and devise procedures to implement correction of area environmental problems. Therefore, be it

Resolved: That the Executive Board of the Communications Workers of America endorse the teach-ins to be held on college campuses, and urge all Locals to participate in the teach-ins. And be it further

Resolved: That Locals participate in helping organize the teach-ins, conduct the teach-ins, follow through on necessary post-teach-in programs to secure environmental improvements, and publicize their participation. And be it further

Resolved: That Locals not located near a campus which is the site of a teach-in aid in this effort for a better environment by informing elected officials in their communities and states, members of the Congress, and the news media, of their support for measures to improve the environment, by noting situations in their areas which need correction. And be it further

Resolved: That the President's office endeavor to obtain and distribute a list of the campuses where teach-ins are being held so that contact may be facilitated by the Locals. And be it further

Resolved: That Local officers call the membership's attention to the extensive coverage of environment in the March issue of the CWA News, and that Local officers use this information as the basis for developing arguments on behalf of environmental improvements.

#### IS TIME RUNNING OUT FOR PRESIDENT NIXON?

#### HON. VANCE HARTKE

OF INDIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the most precious resource President Nixon possesses is public patience. His scarcest resource is time. The question that must surely agitate Mr. Nixon and his advisers is: Has he begun to dissipate his resources more quickly than he dare?

This is the underlying point of an article written by Prof. Harvey A. Stegemoeller for the student magazine of Concordia College, Indiana. I believe it will repay the careful attention of all those who are concerned with the quality of leadership in America.

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

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

PRESIDENT NIXON

(By Prof. Harvey A. Stegemoeller)

One wonders, "Did Richard Nixon become President because the people rejected the Democrat legacy of LBJ?" Acceptance of Nixon might well have been an acceptance of a desired antithesis to what was believed to be the record of history under President

Johnson—war, overextended foreign policy, crime, chaotic episodes of racial explosions and student demonstrations, loose ends and uncertainties of unfiled Utopianism, overheated economy, and inflation. Priorities were judged to be wrong, or at least confused. But, "Nixon's the one, he can provide new priorities, the new Nixon."

As President, Mr. Nixon has let the first year go by on the strength of what elected him—public assumptions about the Nixon antithesis to the Johnson record. With calm and pious mood, and with the help of some very capable p.r. and advertising men, he has helped to make the assumptions believable. He has not ended the war, but he has slowed it down in a number of ways. He has not really changed our foreign policy, but he has given assurance that his Nixon doctrine will not let it get any worse. He has not decreased crime nor ushered in an era of law and order, but he has quieted fear and criticism by saying things firmly and in the semantics of traditional morality. He has not promised much nor programmed much, but he has kept the aura of positive thinking and expectation. He has not stopped inflation, but somehow he has kept confidence that, since there has been no serious recession, he must be succeeding. All this has made the first year a good year for President Nixon.

Where is President Nixon at the beginning of his second year, where as related to priorities and expectations of the public? Will he try to continue with priorities which are inarticulate Nixon antitheses to what people have not liked? Will he try to continue his success built on a euphoria which is dependent on his keeping things quieted down?

The first year record and the recent State of the Union address did not include much in the way of priorities—a reassessing of our resources as they are to be rededicated to the needs of the nation which believes in an improved quality of life. Some of the rhetoric is there, including "the quality of life." But the reassessing and rededicating are not there in tangible programs and passionate leadership. The most tangible and most passionate would be the preferred "generation of uninterrupted peace." Yet the only plan (remember, there was a plan for peace promised by Mr. Nixon almost two years ago) is a Vietnamization which is what we were there for in the first place. On the domestic scene the most tangible and most passionate would be the antipollution campaign. Yet the mechanics are dependent on overburdened local bonding capacity and unknown levels of bureaucracies.

Priorities which are essential to an improved quality of life must involve allocating national resources to the "sore spots." Before making the well-to-do more affluent, before increasing the comfort margin of the already comfortable, priority must be given to the voids in our quality pattern. The hungry, the sick, the aged, the disenfranchised, the unskilled and ill-educated, the homeless, the badly housed—these are the voids. To shape, increase, and renew quality in American life effects changes of varying degree for all. Transportation efficiency, safety standards, consumer reliability, pollution control, crime control, good housing—these and others in the scheme of human interaction are essential to any meaningful use of the term "quality." The rhetoric of intention must be followed by priority decision. So far even the talk has not been too promising.

The above paragraph sound typically negative for a cynical Democrat reviewing Republican Nixon's priorities. Yet I hear faint sounds and see glimmers of light that are more hopeful for the future of the Nixon administration. Mr. Nixon is Mr. President, and he may be getting used to the title and aware of the power. In spite of both the pub-

lic's reaction and the vested interests' backing which made him a president, Mr. Nixon is the President of the United States. He knows that euphoria is not productive in the history books. He knows that euphoria is not dependable through the election of 1972. He knows that euphoria is not the base of motivation for celebration in 1976. He knows. He knows that priorities have always been prerequisites for greatness. He knows that he must determine, state, program, and execute in such a way that progress can be measured.

If the office makes the man, then these demanding days for the President of the United States can make much of Richard Nixon. But what if the man makes the office? To know what is happening, keep listening and watching. Listen to hear whether the President appeals for acceptance rooted in euphoria or whether he appeals for following based on his priorities for America. Watch for program proposals to see whether the President is soft-stepping over and around the realities of our needs or whether he is leading us with our resources into direct action for solutions and improvements demanded by his stated priorities.

One year is only one-fourth of one term, one-eighth of two terms. Granted, there is time for the President to decide priorities and to determine his leadership. But in American politics today the virtue of patience is fragile. Non-leaders talking about non-issues are quickly pushed aside.

MAINE'S 150TH BIRTHDAY

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, as of this past Monday, Maine has officially been admitted into the Union for 150 years "on equal footing with the original States," according to act of Congress and proclamation issued by our State's first Governor, William King.

It is with great pride that my State's citizens celebrate Maine's sesquicentennial this year. I hope that many Members of the Congress will have the opportunity to visit Maine this year, to join the people of my State and from other areas of our Nation in the sesquicentennial observations and the matchless recreational opportunities that Maine offers.

As Maine pauses to recognize the contributions which our State's citizens have made to State and Nation, so we also reflect on those measures through which our State motto—"Dirigo," or "I direct" may become more meaningful.

I think that my State is going to direct, through example, our renewed national commitment to the preservation of our natural environment. Maine's 104th State Legislature has recently attracted national attention in passing two measures which we believe will be very effective in this regard. Our Governor, Kenneth Curtis, is similarly committed to programs which will alleviate pollution. I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in this morning's Washington Post, which reads as follows:

MAINE PLANS POLLUTION DRIVE

(By George C. Wilson)

MILLINOCKET, MAINE, March 17.—Gov. Kenneth M. Curtis said here today that Maine "is about to embark on the greatest antipollution drive in our history."

The two-year drive, to be detailed in two weeks is designed to alleviate "almost half of the municipal pollution problems in the state," the governor said.

Maine voters last year voted a record \$50 million for this cleanup, an amount to be supplemented by federal grants.

The Democratic governor, who is emphasizing environmental reform in his re-election bid this year, made the pledge as the Great Northern Paper Co. dedicated an advanced waste treatment plant.

MAJOR IMPACT

The process is likely to have a major impact on other paper companies as enforcement agencies press for cleanups all over the country.

Great Northern's new facility will cost between \$10 million and \$17 million, but company executives here said the cleanup will pay for itself in recovered chemicals.

Curtis praised the company's step toward a cleaner environment, and said that "pollution problems can only be solved by a partnership effort" that includes industry as well as government.

"An elementary truth," Curtis said, is that "pollution control can be good business."

Great Northern is the biggest paper company in the state. The new process is known as magnesium oxide chemical recovery. The waste sulfite liquor, toxic to marine life, is cooked in the advanced process here to remove most of the harmful chemicals.

EIGHTY FIVE PERCENT

Paper company officials said that their recovery plant would cleanse 85 per cent of the waste going into the Penobscot River here.

Magnesium and sulfite compounds are transformed in the process to oxide dust and sulphur dioxide gas—most of which is recovered within the cleansing cycle and used over again.

The company's huge boiler, a key part of the cleansing process, is the biggest in the world. Its temperatures of over 2,000 degrees burn some of the waste as well as convert chemical compounds.

The new plant can handle 600 tons of waste per day. If it works as well as Great Northern executives assert it will, many other paper companies in the United States and other nations are likely to be pressed to try the same system to reduce pollution from waste sulfite liquor.

Also, if the magnesium oxide system does indeed pay for itself, rather than lead to an increase in paper prices, enforcement pollution officials will have an added argument for insisting on such advanced treatment of wastes from mills.

MODULAR HOUSING UNITS EASE URBAN RENEWAL PROBLEMS

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, the enormous problem of rebuilding decaying communities within the cities has been recognized; and proper legislation, budgetary provisions, and manpower have been made available as a starting point in assuring decent habitation for all. While

progress has been made in the implementation of programs directed to this end, it is apparent that the pace must be quickened by broadening the methods now being employed by municipal planners and the construction industry.

The complexities of urban renewal are centered in the logistics of the orderly replacement of buildings and people. The magnitude of this task is enlarged by the factors of space and time. Construction is an uncertain area, at best one might estimate within a broad time span the actual date that a building might be completed as a replacement for another. Housing the occupants of the old building until this completion date is costly. And until this transition is completed, others who are awaiting their turn to be phased out of slum dwellings continue to rot within old walls.

A solution to many of these problems have been offered by a manufacturer of modular housing units, United Research Homes, Inc., of Hazleton, Pa. Their concept is based upon a two-part program. Utilizing a series of "relocator units" which are modular apartments that can be placed upon vacant or public land, the company has made provision for comfortable transient housing for the tenants of the buildings which will be demolished. Clearing the old building from the land is a comparatively short chore, even shorter is the time required to install modular residences or townhouses as the second step in the program. In mere hours after the permanent modular units have arrived at the site displaced families can move from their comfortable "relocator" into fully equipped domiciles which are ready for occupancy in every manner. The "relocator" units are then easily moved to another sector to serve its purpose as often as needed.

To demonstrate this capability, United Research Homes, Inc., has erected a model house at the corner of Maine Avenue at L Street here in Washington, D.C. The house was set in less than 2 hours. All appliances and fixtures were installed at the factory.

Mass production of modular homes through assembly line techniques is the most efficient approach yet to meet the Nation's housing needs. Of equal importance is the structural integrity and traditional design which make this appropriately named "Now House" a welcome addition to any community. I believe a visit to this exhibit would be time well spent by all.

Attached are some remarks made by my colleague, the Honorable DAN FLOOD, in whose district these homes are made. I believe you will find them of interest.

REMARKS BY HON. DAN FLOOD

Our sociologists keep reminding us—and how well we can plainly see—that by the year 2000 our nation will be so tragically short of adequate housing—that an urban crisis may well develop in America which could weaken our society, smash our existing health standards, and give rise to continued discontent within the ghettos.

It is most encouraging to witness today the example of a revolutionary method of fabricated, reasonable cost, almost instant home building which may mark the first vital

step in attacking the monstrous problems of adequate housing for middle and low income Americans.

It is likewise gratifying to realize that there is an organization which has recognized the enormity of our housing crisis—and made an obvious determined effort to do something about it. Realizing that conventional housing was not the answer, United Research Homes, Inc., designed, developed, and produced a modular home that maintains the quality standards of traditional builders, and exceeds F.H.A. minimum requirements.

I salute United Research for their innovative attempt to do something concrete in coping with our society's problems. I think it is a great example of bringing the mountain to Mohammed.

While we observe here today the chartering of a bold, new course on the road to better and more adequate housing for all Americans—I see within the framework of our endeavors an even greater challenge—for really our task has just begun.

The challenge is to our President—to make our government and the great American institutions realize that this housing crisis will get much worse before it gets better; to the Congress, as our commitment and costs in Vietnam decline, to make additional billions over the next 10 years available for federal construction cost participation and an intense study of the conditions that led to this crisis; to construction firms and designers, who must hold in the forefront our national priorities in housing, to exert a determined effort to keep staggering costs down, and prevent continuing inflation; and the challenge, lastly, is with the banking fraternity, since it is becoming impossible for an American earning less than \$15,000 a year to even think about purchasing suitable housing.

It is most gratifying to witness this great moment my dear friends, because nearly 50 percent of the "now" houses will be manufactured in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, a thriving industrial city which I have represented for over 25 years.

I know well the fine people of this organization, and I wish them every success in their future endeavors.

**HORTON CONGRATULATES 29 CARDOZO RESIDENTS WHO GRADUATE FROM PARAMEDICAL TRAINING COURSE**

**HON. FRANK HORTON**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, the poverty programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity are, unfortunately, the subject of controversy simply because they are not fully understood. Or they just are not known about.

Job training and providing medical assistance to the poor are just two of the many endeavors of OEO. Sometimes both of these activities are fruitfully combined.

Recently 29 residents of the District of Columbia participated in a commencement exercise that concluded months of intensive study and training. If this does not seem usual to my colleagues, I invite them to look into this graduating class more closely. Just 1 year ago these 29 residents of upper Cardozo were hard-core unemployed, underemployed, or welfare recipients. Today they have completed an 11-month paramedical train-

ing course which will enable them to become health aides, laboratory technicians, dental assistants, or medical clerks. Technicians of this nature are in seriously short supply.

The training program which they attended was sponsored by Community Group Health Foundation, Inc., a community medical and dental center—a clinic for the poor—funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity. There is no doubt that medical and health facilities are urgently needed by the urban poor. But this OEO project has carried this service one step further by also offering useful job training to hard core unemployed in a field in which there will always be a demand. The members of the community are being given an opportunity to become educated, employable people with the ability to use their skills to help meet the community's health needs.

I insert into the RECORD an article from the Washington Evening Star which discusses this training program. And I would like to offer my personal congratulations to these fine people who have walked off the welfare rolls and into paying jobs. The article follows:

[From the Washington Star, Mar. 9, 1970]  
PARAMEDICAL COURSE A CARDOZO SUCCESS—  
29 ARE GRADUATED

The graduates passed no written exams, there were no grade sheets and there was no valedictorian. And instead of white gowns and mortar boards, the graduates wore blue hospital uniforms.

But then, it's not every day that hard-core unemployed, underemployed or welfare recipients get a degree. But that's what happened yesterday afternoon when commencement exercises were held for 29 Upper Cardozo residents who graduated from an 11-month paramedical training course.

The training program was given by Community Group Health Foundation, Inc., at 14th Street and Park Road NW, a community medical and dental center.

**A \$1.5 MILLION GRANT**

The clinic started more than a year ago with five people, a \$1.5 million grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, and an idea—to give useful jobs to the hard-core unemployed. In April the clinic advertised for community residents who were interested in being trained as medical aides and technicians. The only qualification required was that the trainee present evidence that he or she was disadvantaged—underemployed, unemployed or on welfare.

The office was inundated with 250 responses. "I guess that's evidence of the size of the need for a program like this in this neighborhood," Dr. James D. Shepperd Jr. commented. Shepperd, the director of the project, said 42 applicants were selected.

The average age of the trainees was 29, and their average schooling was Grade 10—although one was a qualified nurse and one man partially qualified as a physician.

During the course, the students were paid \$2 an hour for training as health workers, laboratory technicians, dental assistants or clerks.

"It was an idea whose time had come. It resulted from a community's desire to do something for itself—to give something to the community and do for itself," one enthusiastic community resident said.

Freedmen's Hospital and the College of Medicine at Howard University were among area participants in the training project, along with Change, Inc., and Group Health Association.

Dr. Shepperd admitted that relations with OEO were not always cordial: "We caught a

little hell now and then," he said. But in spite of critics, mistakes and program changes, the project managed to continue dropping 13 trainees along the way for a variety of reasons ranging from personal problems to better job offers.

"It took dedication for them to carry through," Shepperd said of the 29 graduates. "And commitment and will to make a success."

**GET GS-3 JOBS**

The project's first graduating class walked down the aisle to receive their certificates to the strains of Mendelssohn's "War March of the Priests." Their graduation was based on approval by clinic personnel, and they were not required to pass written exams, nor were they given grade sheets.

As they proudly accepted their diplomas yesterday in the basement of the Shrine of the Sacred Heart Church, 16th Street and Park Road NW., the paramedical graduates walked off the welfare rolls and into \$4,900-a-year GS-3 positions.

The medical clinic's project—which now handles 80 patients a day—has recently been refunded with \$1.8 million OEO grant, Shepperd said.

"It's been one of the more successful of OEO projects, and it's been a big success," he reflected. "We've just had an increase in money and we'll continue for at least another two years."

**STATEMENT OF EUGENE P. CONNOLLY**

**HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the Tamawa Democratic Club, located in my congressional district, recently issued a reply to an editorial broadcast by station WNBC in connection with the need to provide meeting places for American Indians.

The statement was issued on behalf of the organization by Mr. Eugene P. Connolly, a well-known, public-spirited citizen of the area who has long interested himself in causes beneficial to the citizens of this country, regardless of race, creed, or color. I commend both Mr. Connolly and his organization on the offer of their premises to our Indian brothers. The statement follows:

**STATEMENT OF EUGENE CONNOLLY**

In response to an WNBC editorial urging interested organizations to provide meeting places for American Indians, the Tamawa Democratic Club has offered the use of its facilities at selected times for such use.

The offer was made to Mrs. Willard Hines, a leader of the American Indian Community House, Inc.

The plight of the American Indian who inhabited our land before the advent of the white man should arouse the sympathy of all those pledged to remove the inequities in our democratic society. This group of our people has probably suffered more discrimination than any other in our society and, together with the fight for all minorities, it should be aided in its valiant struggle.

Unfortunately the American Indian was too often the victim of the greed of those who sought his land to enrich themselves at the Indians' expense. Our government which sustained for long years a system of so-called Indian Agents, many of whom should have been called White Man's Agents, is much to blame.

It is not too late to give the American Indian his rights and aid him in preserving in a viable way his culture which has much to give us all. Let us never forget that one of the four men who planted our flag on the top of Iwo Jima was an American Indian. We are proud that our club bears an Indian name and to offer them use of our headquarters.

LAKE COUNTY, IND., TURKEY CREEK DEVELOPMENT

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to commend the Soil Conservation Service for the special interest they are taking in the development of the long delayed needs for soil and water conservation throughout the Nation. In the Calumet Region of Indiana, the department has made surveys which will bring about many needed installations when funds are provided for the project.

I have today submitted the following statement to the Subcommittee on Appropriations of the House Agriculture Committee. The statement follows:

LAKE COUNTY, IND., TURKEY CREEK DEVELOPMENT

Mr. Chairman: Two years ago I personally presented a statement to this Committee in behalf of the Soil Conservation Service. My remarks made at that time are even more appropos today. The following sentences are a direct quote from a portion of my previous testimony: "The amount of technical assistance to Soil and Water Conservation Districts throughout our Nation has continued to decline over the years until today there are 600 man-years less technical help available to them than in 1959. This regression must stop. Let us move forward in a forthright manner and give our constituents the technical help they need by appropriating \$140 million for assistance to Soil and Water Conservation Districts."

Now here we are, two years later, in even worse shape for man-years of technical assistance than we were at the time I made my statement. Two years ago the metropolitan areas of my own Congressional District were not included within the boundaries of the Lake County Soil and Water Conservation District. Today, by act of the Indiana State Legislature, all of my District is included. This Act recognizes that the conservation of soil and water, and good land use is just as important in urban and suburban areas as in rural areas.

All of this is to the good, but it merely provides the mechanism through which technical assistance can be provided. The current meager staff of SCS personnel in Lake County was already overwhelmed with requests for technical assistance prior to the addition of this new acreage into the Lake County SWCD. This same situation exists in numerous other Indiana Counties. Recently, two new Soil and Water Conservation Districts were created in Indiana—Hamilton and Marion. There were no funds provided for technical assistance to new SWCD's formed in fiscal year 1969, 1970, nor are there any in the proposed budget for fiscal year 1971. This same situation exists in many other states in our great Nation. Couple this together with the increased cost of salaries and operating expenses of today's world, and you come up with overwhelming evidence that the technical assistance provided by the Soil Conservation Service through local Districts

is becoming diluted more drastically every year, and this in the fact of more and more demands from an ever increasing population.

If we are to reverse the trend of a deterioration of the quality of our environment, the Soil Conservation Service, working through local Districts can help us do it. I urgently request you to favorably consider a budget of \$140 million for the SCS to assist Soil and Water Conservation Districts in fiscal year 1971, and to designate an additional \$2 million for new Districts created in 1969, 1970, and 1971.

I would be derelict in my responsibilities to my constituents if I did not take up the matter of funding for both planning and construction of small watershed projects. In the southern part of my District there is considerable interest in the Deep River—Turkey Creek Watershed. The people want and need a Watershed Work Plan so they can move forward into construction. Funds for watershed planning are so limited that the SCS could not make the necessary field surveys. The local people were so anxious to move forward with this project that they have actually made these surveys themselves. Even with this, the SCS is operating on such a frugal amount of funds that planning cannot move ahead as it should.

Yet, to my utter amazement, the budget estimates for fiscal year 1971 not only reflect a \$1.3 million reduction in watershed planning funds, but also propose a limit of 60 new planning starts over the entire nation or slightly over one per state. This is ridiculous! In my own great State of Indiana, the Soil Conservation Service receives approximately eight applications a year for Watershed Work Plans.

Mr. Chairman, I urge you and the other forward looking member of your astute committee to remove the numerical limitations for new starts in both watershed planning and construction and permit the funding to be the limiting factor. But at the same time, we need to provide realistic funding for watershed planning to the sum of \$7.5 million and \$75 million for watershed works of improvement. I feel confident the Indiana delegation will support you in all of the positions I have outlined, and you have my assurance that I will.

THE RICK MOUNT STORY

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, Indiana has long enjoyed a national reputation as the producer of outstanding basketball players, but the close of the collegiate season this year signals perhaps the finest 4 years of any Hoosier court product.

I refer to the incomparable Rick Mount, of Lebanon, Ind. Rick has racked up every scoring record in the history of Purdue University and the Big 10 Conference.

His feats at Lebanon High School and with the Boilermakers will be the measure of performance for many, many years to come.

All Hoosiers are delighted that Rick's career will be continued with the Indiana Pacers of American Basketball Association, and I am sure that we can safely anticipate new heights of achievement for Rick.

An editorial recalling Rick's career at

Lebanon and Purdue has appeared in the Lebanon, Ind., Reporter which explains why all of Indiana is proud of Rick the Rocket.

The editorial follows:

THE RICK MOUNT STORY

One of the finest chapters in Lebanon's history has just been closed out . . . that which involves the Rick Mount Story."

Mount has just ended a marvelous basketball career at Purdue University which began in the schools of Lebanon 12 years ago. During that time he has brought many thrills to those who have followed him either in person or via television during the carrying of Purdue games.

Each fan has his favorite moment to recall. For one it may be the afternoon game in the Semi-state against Logansport when Rick took charge and personally rallied the Tigers from 12 points back to eventually win by a point. In that he scored 47 and many have described The Rocket's feat as the greatest single effort ever to be witnessed in Indiana High School basketball.

Others will remember their favorite moment as being that split second when Mount let fly a last ditch effort to swish the nets for an NCAA regional win over Marquette.

Still again there was the 61 points he scored in a losing cause against Iowa this year which broke a single game mark in the Big Ten.

We could go on and on about Mount's accomplishments. He has set a new Tuesday evening and Saturday afternoon pattern for Lebanon residents and his magnetism has spread throughout the entire state.

But, like all good things, Rick's college career must come to an end. Much too quickly, it seems to us, but not soon enough his opponents would say.

We congratulate Mr. Mount for not only his basketball exploits but also the refined way he carried himself off and on the court during his collegiate career. In the face of continued harrassment and much jealous abuse both from opposing fans and players, Rick has kept his cool. He has been courteous and above all a gentleman. This his family and friends can respect.

We wish him well in the pro ranks. We have no doubt he will prove equally at home on the pro floor as he has on the college scene. And certainly his signing with the Indiana Pacers is welcome news for Boone County fans who have kept their fingers crossed that they just might be able to personally follow their hero.

Mount's signing by the Pacers is a wise investment for that ball club, we believe. And it shows the zeal that professional basketball has for the young man from Lebanon.

Another chapter in the Rick Mount story is about to be written and we hope even more unbelievable than those before.

THE STUDENT IN THE UNIVERSITY AND SOCIETY OF TODAY, NO. 3

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, apparently, not everyone is aware that the year 1970 has been designated by the United Nations as International Education Year. As a part of my remarks today, I call attention to the following items: First, IEY Bulletin No. 2, September 1969, containing an interview with Mr. Raymond Rodriguez, chief of the special unit set

up by UNESCO to stimulate and coordinate action for International Education Year, together with a list of some plans and projects already in progress, the text of U.N. General Assembly Resolution 2412, and the text of the resolution adopted by UNESCO; second, an article in National Business Women entitled "Why International Education Year?" by Richard Greenough of the press division of UNESCO's Office of Public Information in Paris; third, U.S. Education Commissioner James Allen's news release of October 6, 1969; fourth, President Nixon's proclamation of February 12, 1970; and fifth, a message on IEY by UNESCO's Director-General, Mr. Rene Maheu, in the UNESCO Courier of February 1970.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION YEAR AND AFTER—  
IEY BULLETIN No. 2, SEPTEMBER 1969

(Interview with Mr. Raymond Rodriguez)

Question. Perhaps you could first begin with some comments on the 12 priority themes for International Education Year set out by Unesco in the resolution of the General Conference?

Answer. First of all, I should say that while each of the priority areas speaks for itself, together, they open up a wide field of possible action. What is more important than simply redefining these themes is what they represent to people at this point. Certainly in the months to come, as Member States and organizations concerned with education and IEY prepare their plans and programmes, we shall assist and guide them with position papers on each of the 12 priority areas in question. We shall try to make these papers a valid summing-up of the problems involved. At this stage our primary aim is to alert everybody to the importance of these objectives. Another point, and it is not unrelated, is the fact that IEY must be an occasion for stocktaking on the one hand and creation on the other. To merely indulge in academic exercises with such issues as functional literacy, or democratization of learning, would be quite insufficient and would lead to a sterilization of the real aims for IEY.

Q. After the 82nd session of the Unesco Executive Board, in April last, two points became clear. First, Member States are vitally interested in IEY. Second, its success will depend upon action taken at the national level. Could you comment on what your Unit hopes Member States will do?

A. This was in fact suggested in concrete terms in the second or two letters sent by Unesco's Director-General to Member States on 23 June. It ranges from legislative action aiming at the eradication of discrimination in education, to television programmes geared to greater public involvement in educational matters. Two observations in this regard: neither the IEY Unit, nor the Unesco Secretariat as such, intend to preach at Member States. We shall not preach on the significance of an International Education Year they themselves have decided to mark in 1970. But we certainly hope and believe that 1970 will be significant and useful. We believe that if each nation clearly and fully takes stock of the present situation with respect to education, then IEY will have been worthwhile, because a truly conscientious reappraisal is bound to bring about new answers to old problems, as well as radical new departures.

Q. What would you say to those who—either in government or in the fields of education itself—might claim that they are already doing all that is needed for education at national and international levels?

A. Even those who devote an impressive and sometimes overwhelming part of their resources to education could in all frank-

ness consider the following questions: Are we spending our money properly? Should we not explore new systems of education on which investments would prove fully 100% productive? Shouldn't we listen more to what youth is saying about inadequacies in education in relation to everyday life? Need one add the appalling and frequently cited comparison made between what nations spend on education and what they allocate to military purposes.

Q. How do you see the role of the United Nations agencies vis-a-vis that of Member States, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations in relation to IEY?

A. As no fresh resources have been made available to organizations within the United Nations system, we cannot promote new international undertakings—to implement specific IEY projects. The role of Unesco and its sister United Nations agencies must be to inspire and stimulate activities at the national level. We also must organize an adequate system which will enable us to inform all active in IEY what Member States and organizations are doing. Also, because of our special and central position, Unesco must detect the most useful directions to be followed.

Q. Much of Unesco's work in education at present is devoted to helping developing countries. What about the developed countries and their existing educational programmes? Speaking generally, what might be some of their particular priorities for IEY?

A. In the context of IEY, the priorities for the developed countries are not substantially very different from those of developing ones. In no country can it be said that educational systems are perfect. It is imperative that a new definition of the aims of education be found. What forms, structures, content and end-product, should the educational process have in the decade to come? Change in education is not only a question of more of the same and better, or of money, but also a question of more imagination and courage. Unesco believes that the concept of lifelong education offers the right working hypothesis on which to base continuing efforts. This concept I would like to return to later.

Q. The crisis in education throughout the world is bringing into question the quality even more than the quantity of education. This is especially so in the developed countries. What account should be taken of this crisis during IEY?

A. Full account. Actually my belief is that if all countries represented at the United Nations General Assembly decide to have an International Education Year, it is precisely because of the existence of what has been called "the world crisis in education". This decision has come at an opportune moment. Opportune, because to focus attention on education in 1970 is not an arbitrary or lightly taken decision. It is indeed in line with history itself.

Q. At this point would you comment on what is meant exactly by education in the term International Education Year? Unesco has stated that education should be taken in its broadest sense to include all forms of instruction and training.

A. This again raises the difficult game of definitions. You are right, however, that we must be clear about what we mean by education. It will be one of the purposes of IEY to bring to light not only new approaches and policies for education, but perhaps even a new definition of what education is or should be all about. In this regard I would like to quote part of a statement made by the Director-General of Unesco:

"With regard to life-long education, it is now a matter of common knowledge that this is a concept which explains the real meaning of modern education and which should inspire and sum up all efforts directed towards reform. Education is no longer confined to a particular age, that is, only a part

of life; coexistent throughout its length, it represents an attitude and a dimension of life. This radical change in outlook ruthlessly reveals all the difficulties encountered, which spring up on every side, and at the same time provides the only path to their solution. But life-long education must not remain a mere slogan. Indeed, no reconversion requires so vast and complex a forward planning. For what is involved is no less than a merging of school and university education in a global system within which out-of-school education and so called adult education, now generally regarded as marginal, are destined to appear as the very core of the discipline of the mind. . . . In the period following International Education Year, which we have reason to hope will give an impetus to global thinking and the will to reform, this ought to be the main line along which should be planned, over the next decade, Unesco's activities in all matters pertaining to education".

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Some plans and projects already announced for 1970.

*International Association of Universities.*—Fifth General Conference in August–September 1970 at Montreal, Canada. Two items related to IEY on agenda: "International University Cooperation" and "The University and Society's Immediate Needs". These items are expected to lead the Conference to discuss the themes and objectives which have been drawn up for International Education Year.

*International Federation of University Women.*—National associations are being urged to cooperate for IEY. Regional Conference from 20 to 22 April 1970 organized by Turkish branch. Theme chosen for this conference, in regard to IEY, is "Literacy, means of education". This theme will be developed under three headings: 1. What is a developing country? 2. The status and problems of illiteracy in developing countries and adult education in developing countries. 3. The evolution of family life in relation to education in developing countries and children's elementary education.

*Women's International Democratic Federation.*—Regional seminar in Sudan planned for 1970. Subject: "Functional Literacy and the Professional Training of Women". It is hoped that libraries and educational centres will be set up in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Also, that functional literacy and professional training seminars for women in the framework of IEY will be held in Africa and Asia.

*International Council of Jewish Women.*—IEY, including the work of Unesco, will be the major programme emphasis for its approaching triennial period.

Q. A real and continuing dialogue between educators and policy-makers on the one hand, and those receiving education or training on the other, is needed. To what extent do you think this might begin in earnest during IEY?

A. Well, it has in fact begun already. This should really make the IEY a veritable "bridge year", in that on the basis of what has already begun and should continue we shall be able to build a new meaning for education. With regard to the dialogue, we will only achieve that if, to begin with, we stop talking of those who "give" and those who "receive" education, and talk more of an "educative society" where everyone is in fact engaged in both operations.

Q. As a result of the studies and stocktaking carried out during IEY by the United Nations agencies, to what extent is it likely that Member States will be further guided or influenced in matters of education for the decade to come?

A. The United Nations agencies will certainly help prepare the frame for the future orientation of world educational programmes.

But the framework for action is one thing; even more important is the concrete action to be taken by Member States themselves. That is what really matters.

Q. More than two thousand years ago, the sage Kuan-Tsu is reputed to have said: "When planning for a year . . . sow corn. When planning for a decade . . . plant trees. When planning for life . . . train and educate people". Does this saying sum up United Nations and Unesco philosophy for International Education Year?

A. Yes, apart from the fact that we must get things moving during the year itself and not, as it were, during an International Education Lifetime. The departure point is now. So far, we have mostly heard of trees being planted and corn being sown. In other words, we are still very much at the appeal stage. Apart from this, Kuan-Tsu and Twentieth-century Unesco agree on the fact that education is a life-long process, which calls for adequate, continuing and imaginative deeds rather than mere words.

*World Association of World Federalists.*—Education workshops in Canada during August 1970, to prepare ground for large international congress in 1971, on the introduction of a global perspective into syllabuses everywhere.

*World Federation of Democratic Youth.*—To contribute to IEY with seminars and conferences on: 1. Access of rural youth to education) a regional conference is to be held at Dahomey, Africa). 2. Study research on the rights and responsibilities of Youth. 3. Children and international education. 4. Young workers.

*Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.*—March 1970 Conference at Asilomar, California. Topics: "In the minds of men: educating the young people of the world" and "Men for tomorrow": a challenge to education."

*World Education Fellowship.*—Among activities planned for IEY are several concerned with primary education and the role counselling plays in education. In honour of the centenary of the birth of Maria Montessori, a conference will be held in July 1970 in London. This conference will be concerned with the primary stages of education.

*World ORT Union.*—Studies and courses for 1970 and IEY include; studies on the relationship between general and technical education through the introduction of technology and practical work in general education and the guidance of students towards further technical studies. Courses: experiments in courses for secondary education, and the issuing of materials developed experimentally. Two IEY objectives to receive special attention: 1. Middle and high-level manpower for development. 2. Transition from selection to guidance in secondary and higher education.

*World Union of Catholic Teacher.*—Congress to be held from 3 to 8 August 1970 in Montreal. Theme "The school and the teacher in this changing world." During this congress special emphasis will be given to IEY.

UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION YEAR

The Resolution 2412 on the International Education Year adopted unanimously by the general assembly on December 17, 1968 reads: The General Assembly,

Recalling its resolution 2306 (XXII) of 13 December 1967, by which it decided to observe an International Education Year and provisionally designated the year 1970 for this purpose,

Noting with satisfaction Economic and Social Council resolution 1355 (XLV) of 2 August 1968, particularly the invitation to all the United Nations agencies, bodies and organs to participate in the preparation of programmes of concerted action within the context of an overall strategy for development during the next decade and in close co-

operation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Noting with appreciation that consultations between the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the interested Specialized Agencies have taken place and that the International Education Year was reviewed at a meeting of the Administrative Committee on Co-ordination in October 1968,

Noting with appreciation the resolution on the International Education Year adopted on 19 November 1968 by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization at its fifteenth session, and in particular the fact that the Organization would assume primary responsibility for the preparation and execution of an international concerted programme,

Recognizing that education in a broad sense is an indispensable factor in the development of human resources which is essential to ensure the attainment of the goals of the Second United Nations Development Decade.

1. Decides to designate 1970 as International Education Year;

2. Endorses the programme of action for the International Education Year set out in the resolution adopted by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and described in the reports submitted by the Secretary-General to the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly;

3. Recommends States members of the United Nations and members of the Specialized Agencies and of the International Atomic Energy Agency to take stock of the situation with respect to education and training in their countries and to plan and initiate or stimulate action and studies linked to the objectives and themes of the International Education Year in the context of their preparation for the Second United Nations Development Decade;

4. Requests the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the organizations of the United Nations system concerned to provide within available resources all possible assistance to governments, especially those of the developing countries, in their efforts to pursue the objectives formulated by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for the International Education Year;

5. Further requests the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, to report to the General Assembly at its twenty-fourth session, through the Economic and Social Council at its forty-seventh session, on the progress achieved by the organizations of the United Nations family in the preparations for the International Education Year.

UNESCO AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION YEAR

*Resolution on the International Education Year, adopted by a unanimous vote of the general conference of UNESCO at its 15th session in November 1968*

1.111 Member States are invited, should the General Assembly of the United Nations declare 1970 as International Education Year:

(a) to take stock of the existing situation in their respective countries with respect to education in its broad sense;

(b) to initiate or stimulate studies on problems relating to improving the situation with particular reference to the objectives and themes which will have been adopted for special attention under the International Education Year;

(c) to encourage educational authorities, public and private, to initiate such new activities as may be needed for the same purpose;

(d) to make a special effort in order to increase financial resources for educational development;

(e) to participate effectively in the international programmes to be conducted by the United Nations system under the auspices of the International Education Year;

(f) to launch a programme of action comprising practical measures for the elimination of all forms of discrimination and for the promotion of equality of opportunity and treatment in education, and to integrate it in their educational development plans.

1.112 The Director-General is authorized:

(a) to assume primary responsibility, in collaboration with the other organizations of the United Nations system and taking into account the suggestions presented by them, for the preparation and execution of an international concerted programme;

(b) to advise Member States, in co-operation as appropriate, with other agencies, bodies and organs of the United Nations system, on the principal objectives on which they should focus their attention and concentrate their efforts, so as to contribute to the framing of a global strategy for education for the Second Development Decade;

(c) to propose for this purpose to Member States, the International organizations of the United Nations system and the other governmental and non-governmental international organizations concerned, the following objectives, concepts and practices:

Objectives

- (i) functional literacy for adults;
- (ii) equal access of girls and women to education;
- (iii) training of middle and higher level personnel for development;
- (iv) democratization of secondary and higher education;
- (v) transition from selection to guided choice in secondary and higher education;
- (vi) adaptation of education (both general and technical) to the needs of the modern world, especially in rural areas;
- (vii) development of educational research;
- (viii) pre-service and in-service training of teachers.

General concepts and practices

- (ix) educational technology—the new methods and media;
- (x) life-long integrated education;
- (xi) reconciliation in education of a spirit of tradition and preservation of the intellectual and moral heritage with a spirit of renewal;
- (xii) promotion of ethical principles in education, especially through the moral and civic education of youth, with a view to promoting international understanding and peace;

(d) to orientate specific projects provided for in the Programme and Budget for 1969-1970, such as studies, operational programmes, regional and international conference and public information activities, so as to make them contribute fully towards the realization of the above-mentioned objectives of the International Education Year;

(e) to turn to account the studies conducted on the occasion of the International Education Year for defining the principles of long-term educational planning;

(f) to transmit to the General Assembly of the United Nations the text of the present resolution;

(g) to report to the General Conference, at its sixteenth session, on Unesco's participation in the International Education Year and the general outcome of the activities undertaken in that connexion.

WHY INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION YEAR?

(By Richard Greenough)

The year 1970 has been officially designated "International Education Year" by the United Nations.

Why another special Year? We've just had International Human Rights Year; we've had International Geophysical Year, International Years of the Quiet Sun, International Co-operation Year, International Tourist Year, International Mental Health Year and a number of others. Why, then, International Education Year?

One main reason goes back to just over ten years ago when UNESCO—the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization—published a historic study: "World Illiteracy at Mid-Century."

This was the most comprehensive global view of the status of education, or lack of it, ever undertaken. The study covered 198 countries and territories. It showed that a little over 44 per cent of the world adult population of over age 15—then estimated at some 700,000,000—were totally illiterate, the great majority in developing countries.

Using the higher yardstick of functional literacy that, more than simply the ability to read and write, is also to play some useful role in today's society, UNESCO's survey then estimated that 65 per cent of this adult population was illiterate. For good measure, it was further calculated that 250 million children were not even attending school.

The survey helped to focus world attention on the status of the education situation three years before the UN's first Development Decade was launched in 1960. It led to a series of efforts in which UNESCO and the UN's then Special Fund and Technical Assistance Programs, as well as inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations, helped states launch their own national programs seeking to close the education gap.

One reason was an increase of 10,000,000 children attending primary school in Latin America, and Mexico started a major drive, creating new schools at the rate of 90 a week, and training over 10,000 primary teachers annually.

The survey led, too, to regional conferences and, subsequently, a World Congress, of ministers of education, held by UNESCO.

In all its activities toward expanding and improving education in the new states of the world, UNESCO laid great stress on help in teacher training and educational planning. Planning missions of UNESCO experts have helped set up in all the developing countries—at their request—education systems, educational planning machinery geared to local needs, education budgets and literacy programs. Help is currently being provided to seven states for selective projects in an experimental world literacy program—in which 52 other countries have already asked to participate—and nearly 30 more countries are now receiving technical aid in their literacy activities.

Some immediate results of this first gentle pressure on the panic button of a world education emergency were impressive. Between 1960 and 1965, school enrollments rose by 27 per cent in primary, 22 per cent in secondary and 40 per cent at the higher level. Education expenditures also rose at an impressive rate.

Why then is there need for an International Education Year? Because, despite all these strides, education in both the industrialized and the developing worlds is in a crisis, as was fully recognized at the Conference of European ministers of education convened by UNESCO in Vienna in 1967.

Reasons for this start perhaps with the population explosion which, especially in developing countries where orderly growth of education is so vital for economic and social expansion, has made it almost impossible to build enough schools, train enough qualified teachers, produce the necessary textbooks and other materials in order to hold one's own, let alone grow. While the 44 per cent figure (world's totally illiterate) has declined in just over a decade to 33 per cent, the actual number of illiterates has increased

from 700 million to between 740 to 750 million and rises steadily each year.

Add to this the lack of good jobs, the information "explosion" (new ideas, new concepts and new uses for the old, being churned out in floodlike indigestible quantity) and the "credibility gap" between what the young are taught in school and what society practices, all of which have created tensions, dissent, often disorder. The sum is further reason why education is now in a crisis.

Some of the underlying causes of student unrest help to explain this crisis even more. Again, there is an unprecedented growth in the number of young people. Those under the age of 24 are in an absolute numerical majority today, forming 54 per cent of the world's population.

Furthermore, the head of the family, or the average teacher, is no longer an accepted fountainhead of knowledge—unless he is a very exceptional parent or teacher. The chances are that a university student of today, or even an ordinary computer, knows more than they do. Finally, there is the "credibility" or morality gap facing the student who is urged to look deeply and honestly into such things, as, for example, the causes of war and injustice, only to graduate into a world where such problems are all too often veiled in hypocrisy, or at least in dubious reasoning.

That the international community is acutely aware of the necessity of focusing world attention on this crisis in education was seen when the UN General Assembly of December 17, 1968 unanimously adopted a resolution proclaiming 1970 "International Education Year."

Therefore, in view of the UN's long concern over the situation and its determination to work out a remedy, it is hardly surprising that Mr. René Maheu, Director-General of UNESCO, warned that "International Education Year must be more than a mere celebration. Its purpose should be to promote concerted action by Member States and by the international community toward four main objectives: to take stock of the present situation throughout the world; to focus attention on a number of major requirements for both the expansion and the improvement of education; to make greater resources available for education, and to strengthen international cooperation."

Three principles underlie the proposal for I.E.Y. First, education should be taken in its broadest sense to include all forms of training and the giving of the learning experience to all ages and for all purposes, emphasizing the concept that education is not just an end in itself, terminating with the final school year, but is a lifelong process. Second, though action programs will be nationally executed, I.E.Y. should be conceived as a concerted activity by the whole United Nations system and with the idea of the essential contribution of education to economic and social development. Third, I.E.Y. should have a practical focus on promoting reflection and action by governments themselves as well as by the international community at large.

Generally speaking, the goal of I.E.Y. is to foster national education in the training and education field so as to produce a new, dynamic approach to the development of human resources at the outset of the second Development Decade.

Objectives and fields of activity proposed for attention during the I.E.Y. include: functional literacy for adults; equal access of girls and women to education; the training of middle and higher level personnel for development; the adaptation of all education, both general and technical, to the needs of the modern world especially in rural areas; the pre-service and in-service training of teachers.

Action will be along three lines: (1) study

and stock-taking through expert UN surveys to assist countries in assessing their education and training system; (2) an operations phase, in which specified pilot projects, related in one way or another to some of the above-mentioned objectives, will be developed, and (3) information, vital to the success of the I.E.Y., will be dispensed through coordinated efforts of mass media, national and international non-governmental organizations.

Finally, policy making. The real goal of I.E.Y. is to bring about changes in policies and practices in respect to education and training. Regional and international conferences held during I.E.Y. will provide one means of bringing forward some of the policy consequences of I.E.Y. These include the Food and Agriculture Organization's World Conference on Agricultural Education and UNESCO's International Conference on Public Education, both to be in the summer of 1970. In addition, in a more general form, the 16th session of UNESCO's General Conference at the end of the year may be expected to address itself to a critical reappraisal of modern education, and to adopt a report for submission to the UN General Assembly.

However often it may have been used, H. G. Wells' statement that human history is a "race between education and catastrophe" well applies to the crisis today. But education can win the race if educational resources are mobilized to meet the pressing needs of a better world all are trying to create. And that is the aim of I.E.Y.

#### NEWS RELEASE

U.S. Education Commissioner James E. Allen, Jr., today issued the following statement on International Education Year:

The United Nations has designated 1970 as International Education Year and has placed upon UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) responsibility for guiding its implementation at the international level. UNESCO in turn has invited each Member State to reflect on the status of its own education. It has called for an examination of both past achievements and present problems, and for intensification of domestic efforts to plan the expansion and improvement of their educational systems.

International Education Year affords us a splendid opportunity, and in fact imposes upon us an obligation to join with other Nations of the world in making a careful assessment of the condition and the objectives of education. For our part, I solicit the participation of every member of the educational community in this self-analysis. I urge that activities be planned that will focus the attention of all citizens on the state of education in their community, engage them in a thoughtful review of its successes and failures, and enlist their energy and support in pursuing the highest standards of educational excellence. In this way we in this country will be working in concert with people in other countries in pursuit of improved education opportunity for all, a university valued goal.

I hope that the following issues will be given high priority in both plans and actions:

1. Making our educational system truly responsive to the individual needs and aspirations of every young person and truly relevant to the realities of the society in which they will live their lives.

2. Expanding educational opportunity to insure that all our children—rich and poor, black and white, urban, suburban, and rural—receive the best education we can possibly give them.

3. Increasing the scope of experimentation, planning, and evaluation and placing greater emphasis on the rapid dissemination of information so that the fruits of our education-

al research will be readily available to all educators and will be applied in our educational programs.

Our responsibility in support of International Education Year is a serious one. By meeting its challenge, we can take long strides toward the creation of an educational system which will provide the best possible preparation to all Americans for full and productive lives in the modern world.

#### INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION YEAR

PROCLAMATION 3962, DATED FEBRUARY 12, 1970,  
RELEASED FEBRUARY 13, 1970

By the President of the United States of America a Proclamation:

The United Nations Charter expresses the determination of the peoples of the United Nations "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights," and "in the dignity and worth of the human persons. . . ."

Education is a fundamental human right, one that recognizes and helps to preserve the dignity and the worth of human beings. With this in mind, the United Nations has designated 1970 as International Education Year and has called upon each member state to intensify its domestic educational efforts.

It is to that end that I, Richard Nixon, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim 1970 to be International Education Year in the United States.

I call upon all Americans to join our fellow citizens of the world in making this year one of reflection on the state of education as it exists and of action directed toward making education what it should be.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twelfth day of February in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-fourth.

RICHARD NIXON.

#### 1970 INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION YEAR

(Message From Mr. René Maheu, Director-General of Unesco)

At the beginning of the New Year, I should like to remind all the countries of the world that, at the suggestion of Unesco, the General Assembly of the United Nations has designated 1970 as International Education Year; and I would ask them to do everything in their power from now on to make this a year of significant achievement, both qualitative and quantitative, in the field of education.

In many countries, at the present time, both the forms and the content of education are being seriously challenged. Instead of indulging the illusion that controversies and passions will eventually die down, we shall do better to make a bold attempt to understand and grapple with the crisis—a crisis in which we should, moreover, discern not so much the threat of some unthinkable collapse as the promise of a necessary renaissance.

We live in a world that is changing before our very eyes—a world in which the population explosion, decolonization and the profound economic and social transformations resulting from technological development are so many forces making for the democratization of education. At the same time the acceleration of scientific progress is resulting in the more and more rapid obsolescence of knowledge, while the development of mass communication techniques and audio-visual methods is revolutionizing the traditional bases of communication. With all this it is out of the question for education to be confined, as in the past, to training the leaders of tomorrow's society in accordance with some predetermined scheme of structures, needs and ideas, or to preparing the young, once and for all, for a given type of existence. Education is no longer the privilege of an elite or the task of a particular age; to an increasing extent, it is reaching out to em-

brace the whole of society and the entire lifespan of the individual. This means that it must be continuous and omnipresent. It must no longer be thought of as preparation for life, but as a dimension of life, characterized by continual acquisition of knowledge and ceaseless re-examination of ideas.

But how is education to broaden its bounds in this way if it remains divided in its internal organization and isolated as a whole from life and society? Not only are the various elements involved in the educational process often poorly integrated, but education as such is still all too often cut off from the rest of human activity. In too many cases, the school, the college and the university, far from living at one with the community, constitute worlds of their own.

That an electronic engineer—for example—should have no properly organized means of sharing his knowledge with those of his colleagues, friends and neighbours who would like to bring their information up to date; that an educational establishment should be used for a maximum of only two hundred days in the year, and then for eight hours a day at the very most; that young people who have studied for several years at school or university should be unable to turn the skills they have acquired to account on the labour market because they have failed in some competitive or other examination: all this is waste—waste of material resources, waste of human potential—which must no longer be tolerated anywhere, and least of all in the developing countries.

And since I have referred to those countries, how can I pass over in silence the most scandalous of all the many instances of wasted human potential: namely, illiteracy, which still, at the present time, keeps more than one-third of the human race in a state of helplessness, below the level of modern civilization? When shall we make up our minds to eliminate this scourge from the face of the earth?

These are the sort of problems to which the world community is invited to address itself on the occasion of International Education Year, in order that bold and inventive solutions may be found and applied. And it is towards the universal and life-long education I have referred to that Unesco asks governments, institutions and individuals to direct the necessary effort of reflection and promotion.

No one can be blind to the immense difficulties of the structural and intellectual conversion that this idea of life-long education implies if it is not to be allowed to sink in a bog of empty verbiage. For what is needed is nothing less than the organic integration of school and university education with out-of-school education and adult education—two branches which, even today, are all too often regarded as peripheral when it is obvious, if we take an overall view, that they are bound to play an essential part in the continuing and many-sided moulding of the human mind. Naturally, no one supposes that all this can be achieved, anywhere, in the course of a single year. But the time has come for all of us to advance boldly together along this path, which is the path of the future of mankind.

The great crises of education have always coincided with profound changes in society and in civilization. I believe that we are approaching one of those moments in history. The need for new human models, both for society and for the individual, is making itself felt almost everywhere. And while inventions of such complexity are beyond the power of education alone, we all realize that without education they would be quite impossible. For, when all is said and done, no progress has reality or meaning for man except in so far as it is projected and reflected in his education.

It is therefore in the name of the right of every human being to education, as a right to

progress and renewal, that I declare International Education Year open and appeal to peoples for that generous emulation and to States for that beneficent co-operation on which its success depends.

#### UP WITH THE COUNTRYSIDE

### HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, in the March 1970 issue of the Farm Journal, there appeared an editorial which I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues. There is no question but what the rural areas of this country are going to become increasingly important in our everyday life, not only because of their role in providing the food we eat, but because of their projected role in what President Nixon has called a "national growth policy." I think that "Up With the Countryside" is a fitting description of the future of our rural America. The editorial follows:

#### UP WITH THE COUNTRYSIDE

Take a good look at the 1970s, and you can't help but feel that farmers are going to be "where the action is" during the coming 10 years.

If we do nothing more than duplicate the changes of the 1960s, that will be something. Although you might not feel it in your own billfold, farmers' cash income from farming climbed 49% between 1959 and 1969; income from off-farm sources jumped 79%; total production expenditures increased 48%; and net for family spending rose 56%.

This pie was cut into fewer pieces as the result of a 27% decline in the number of farms. This helped hike the average gross income per farm by 108%, the average production outlays per farm 103%, and the average net per farm for family living 115%.

Surprising to some people, commercial "economic-sized" farms actually grew in number. The farms selling \$10,000 or more of products per year increased 22% between 1960 and 1968.

*Farming is clearly a growing business—and one which is undergoing enormous changes.*

But, as the man said, "You haven't seen anything yet." The 1970s promise even greater changes.

For one thing, farmers will enjoy nearly a one-fifth increase in U.S. customers during the '70s—along with who-knows-how-many-more overseas. Farther down the road, the U.S. population is expected to increase 50% and the world's population is expected to double by the year 2000—and the 1970s will take us a third of the way.

Here at home, exciting changes are coming for rural areas. The President signaled them in his State of the Union message the other day. He said we needed a national growth policy. He announced a campaign to clean up the environment. And he spoke of a quest "for a new quality of life in America" that would carry this concern "to the farm as well as the suburb, and to the village as well as to the city."

"We must create a new rural environment which will not only stem the migration to urban centers but reverse it," the President said. And he promised a "new kind of assistance" for rural America.

*Farm and rural life haven't been treated so importantly, and at such length, in a Presidential State of the Union message in a long while.*

As events unfold, it will become clearer

how much our national goals for the '70s intimately involve farms and rural areas. Take a national growth policy, for instance: About 70% of the nation's people are presently packed onto only 2% of the nation's land. A growth policy will certainly involve spreading out the nation's people and its industries. And where do you spread to? To the nation's rural areas—the small towns, villages, communities and farms.

That means that more of the nation's industry, jobs and activity are headed toward countryside rural America. The President clearly aims to move that along. He said: "In the future, government decisions as to where to build highways, locate airports, acquire land or sell land should be made with the clear objective of aiding a balanced growth for America."

*A national growth policy will have all of America looking toward rural areas during the 1970s.*

If we are going to clean up the nation's air and water, this, too, turns to the countryside. First, it is much easier and cheaper to maintain and conserve the clean air and clear water that already exists in the countryside than it is to clean up dirty water and dirty air.

The environment also has a better chance to clean and restore itself when people are spread out instead of being jam-packed into central cities. Any farmer who has raised livestock on pasture and in a drylot understands the difference. When it comes to waste, livestock and people have some similarities—except that people create more total pollution than livestock do.

People will also be clamoring for more room to roam, see nature and have recreation out-of-doors in the '70s. That, again, is out in the country.

The quality of living that the President spoke about embraces the mutual respect, tranquility, and good living that you find in farm areas and rural towns. There, you don't have to be afraid to walk about at night. Neighbor helps neighbor when in trouble. You can count on a man's word, and you don't have to hire a pack of lawyers to go around enforcing every agreement. People do things together quietly and with a purpose—building churches, schools and libraries; and teaching values to young people.

Stick around. The 1970s in farm and rural areas are going to be exciting—with a new kind of country living.

#### NOT BY YEARS ALONE

### HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following thoughtful editorial in a newspaper published in my congressional district which endeavors to put the merits of ideas by youth and adults on the same basis and may be of interest to the membership.

The editorial follows:

[From the Fredericksburg (Va.) Free Lance-Star, Mar. 16, 1970]

#### NOT BY YEARS ALONE

It is fashionable in some quarters to carry an uncritical torch for the young. Those so minded seem to feel that the mere circumstance of being under 25 gives one a tall-hold on the truth.

We are not among these torch bearers; we feel that when the young spout foolish thoughts they deserve their comeuppance,

just like the rest of us. This does not mean, contrariwise, that in our judgment people of middle age and beyond are always right. In fact, on balance the young generally come off better than their elders, if only because the latter tend to be so inflexible in their outlook.

We are moved to quote from a letter printed by a Southwestern newspaper. The writer, who acknowledged being "what is vulgarly called a senior citizen," said this in comment on the question of giving 18-year-olds the vote: "I am beginning to think the country might benefit if all of us at ages 45, 50, 55 and 60 should have to give evidence of having acquired at least one new or discarded at least one old idea in the preceding five years in order to retain the privilege of voting."

That puts the matter neatly. It hurts to discard a long cherished idea; it may hurt even more to take on a new one. But maturity involves more than carrying the weight of a certain number of years.

#### AID AND COMFORT TO THE ENEMY

### HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, it is getting a little late to condemn those who have been giving aid and comfort to the enemy in Laos. It must be apparent to those people, however, that they have done a good job in strengthening the position of the enemy on their drive against another free country.

Columnists William S. White and David Lawrence have articles in this connection which are of interest to all Americans which follow:

#### AID AND COMFORT TO THE ENEMY (By David Lawrence)

There are two ways for members of Congress to conduct themselves during a war. One is to seek answers to their criticisms privately from the executive branch of the government, and the other is to denounce policies openly and, in effect, give "aid and comfort" to the enemy.

Unfortunately, too many examples of the latter method—presumably a means of seeking popularity with uninformed citizens—have occurred recently in connection with America's alleged entry into "another war" in Laos.

President Nixon found it necessary to issue a 3,000-word statement giving the facts. But most newspapers printed only a summary, and the critics already had created disturbing impressions with fragmentary charges.

Why is it that some members of Congress consider their political speeches more important than the effect these utterances may have on the enemy, who has obviously been encouraged to believe that the United States will surrender in Southeast Asia? Military problems are not readily explained to the general public. Nor are the risks and dangers of letting the Communists believe the United States will throw in the sponge fully realized.

Nixon in his statement on Laos made these significant points:

1. North Vietnam in the last few months has raised the number of its troops in Laos to more than 67,000.

2. The North Vietnamese have been involved in Laos since 1961, when President Kennedy said:

"Laos is far away from America, but the world is small . . . the security of all Southeast Asia will be endangered if Laos loses its neutral independence."

3. In 1962, fourteen nations—including North Vietnam—signed the Geneva accords providing for the neutralization of Laos, but Hanoi has steadily violated the agreement.

4. Since 1964, over half a million North Vietnamese troops have moved down the Ho Chi Minh Trail in Laos to invade South Vietnam. This infiltration route "provides the great bulk of men and supplies for the war in South Vietnam."

5. The Nixon administration, on coming into office after six years of seasonal Communist attacks in Laos, continued the assistance program which dated back to 1963 and the air operations which began in 1964.

The President reiterated that the United States "has no ground combat forces in Laos," and that "we have used air power for the purpose of interdicting the flow of North Vietnamese troops and supplies on that part of the Ho Chi Minh Trail which runs through Laos."

The President made it clear that he has "no plans for introducing ground combat forces into Laos." He declared the total number of Americans directly employed by the U.S. government in Laos is 616. On the subject of air operations, the President asserted:

"As Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces, I consider it my responsibility to use our air power to interdict this flow of supplies and men (through Laos) into South Vietnam and thereby avoid a heavy toll of American and allied lives. . . .

"In every instance our combat air operations have taken place only over those parts of Laos occupied and contested by North Vietnamese and other Communist forces. They have been flown only when requested by the Laotian government."

Nixon stated that he is continuing "the purposes and operations of two previous administrations," and that this has been necessary "to protect American lives in Vietnam and to preserve a precarious but important balance in Laos."

Certainly every member of Congress, irrespective of party, has a responsibility to use his influence to prevent what he thinks is an unnecessary American participation in a war. But there is a right way and a wrong way to do it. Each house of Congress has a foreign affairs committee. When a majority of a committee thinks a resolution should be adopted limiting the power of the executive branch of the government to carry on any military operation, this can be adopted by a majority vote of Congress.

Under present practices, a small number of members of the House and Senate attack defense policies and give the enemy the impression that American public opinion is not supporting the executive. This encourages the Communists to prolong their warfare against American troops in Southeast Asia.

#### NEW DOVE CAMPAIGN ON LAOS PERILS WAR POSITION OF UNITED STATES

(By William S. White)

The hour of maximum peril to any possibility of effective American prosecutive of even a limited war in Vietnam is now at hand.

The long and short of it is that here at home the all-out anti-war doves have opened a campaign whose real and ultimate aim is to force a halt to all American bombing operations over Laos. End this bombing and you make a privileged sanctuary of the most vital of all the supply lines of the North Vietnamese Communist enemy—the Ho Chi Minh trail running southward from Red China.

And, as so often before, the Communists themselves are simultaneously exploiting these domestic political pressures upon President Nixon toward the same end—"halt the bombing." The Communist Pathet Lao, the

fifth-column Laotian equivalent of the Communist Vietcong in South Vietnam itself, is extending "peace proposals" to the neutralist government of Laos—provided, that is, that first of all the American air arm is withdrawn.

Nobody is suggesting that the Senate doves are consciously cooperating with the enemy for what would amount to a catastrophe to the American and allied military position in all Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, the fact is that this drumfire from the more extreme doves over Laos is the most damaging of all their endless clamors over all the years in which they have so doggedly fought to bring about what would amount to American surrender in Vietnam.

For if all the bombing action over Laos should be foreclosed—and all this bombing is done with the consent and request of a Laotian government to which the Communists themselves once agreed and helped set up—it would mean the beginning of the end. It would mean, specifically, the beginning of the end of any hope, however remote, for any negotiated settlement that would not come down to an American defeat.

If the President should be forced into this action of folly and disaster, he might as well bring the troops home from South Vietnam on a far faster schedule than any heretofore ever contemplated.

The precariously neutral state of Laos would become Communist within 30 days. Already, and quite apart from the Pathet Lao fifth column, at least 50,000 North Vietnamese troops are in Laos.

"Stop the bombing" was, of course, the cry for years, and at last the successful cry, of the American doves when they spoke of North Vietnam. This concession by the United States was in itself deeply dangerous; but it could be borne, if barely, because of the presence in nearby Laos of American air power. If our pilots could no longer attack our enemies in North Vietnam, they could at least interrupt their line of men and guns coming down the Ho Chi Minh trail. If "stop the bombing" in Laos is also to be a successful cry—and this columnist hopes and believes it will not be—that, as the saying goes, will be the ball game so far as Vietnam is concerned.

The form of "criticism" now coming from the floor of the Senate is all but unexampled in that repeatedly it compels the disclosure of strictly military information.

Mr. Nixon, in summary, faces as to Laos a suddenly and vastly escalated dove attack just when it had begun to appear that his policy of gradual but honorable disengagement from Vietnam was going to be given some chance to work itself out.

**LAKE CRYSTAL JAYCEES OPPOSE DAM**

**HON. ANCHER NELSEN**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, Donald R. Mennenga, president of the Lake Crystal Jaycees, Lake Crystal, Minn., has provided me with a resolution which was unanimously passed by his chapter and which expresses firm opposition to the dam on the Blue Earth River proposed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The chapter has requested that its resolution be brought to public attention through inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and I am pleased to honor its request.

The Lake Crystal Jaycees believes other alternates for flood control are available, and they oppose the proposed high dam project for the following reasons:

**RESOLUTION**

Whereas it will diminish—not increase the recreational value of the Blue Earth River Valley.

Whereas it will destroy the wildlife habitat and natural beauty now existing within the Blue Earth River Valley.

Whereas it will destroy countless homes and farms, and substantially lessen the income of merchants, businesses and others within the county.

Whereas it will cause disruption and destruction of school districts, railroads and highways within the county.

Whereas it will inundate the town of Garden City, Minnesota.

Whereas it is a temporary solution in terms of years which does not solve the problem of water runoff, erosion and siltation.

Whereas it will substantially reduce the tax revenue of Blue Earth County for the benefit of downstream flood plain occupants.

Whereas it has not been proven that studies have been exhausted concerning other flood control methods and appears to be another typical U.S. Army Corps of Engineers project to justify their existence.

**THE WATER AND WASTEWATER TECHNICAL SCHOOL**

**HON. DURWARD G. HALL**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, the President's recent message to the Congress calling for an all-out attack on air and water pollution has brought to the fore companies, and organizations, as well as individuals who have already been working at this problem for years.

I cite as one example, the Water and Wastewater Technical School, located in Neosho, Mo.

To my knowledge, this is the only non-profit school in the world, whose single objective is to provide training to water and wastewater utility technical personnel.

To those who would desire more information about this unique school I offer the following:

**WATER AND WASTEWATER TECHNICAL SCHOOL**

NEOSHO, MISSOURI.—The Water & Wastewater Technical School of Neosho, Mo. has inaugurated a policy of accepting students four times a year for 36-week intensified training in the water and wastewater industries Rollin J. Benton, newly elected president of the school, announced today. An additional 16-week training will continue to be offered to graduates of the 36-week course. Special short courses will also be held throughout the year for the benefit of those already in the water and wastewater industries.

Study programs in water supply and water pollution control will begin in January, April, July and October. The programs had previously been scheduled to begin monthly.

President Benton said, "The new schedule is a part of a total reorganization program at the Water & Wastewater Technical School. It will permit us to make more efficient and economic use of our faculty and facilities and

permit us to better serve industry's need for qualified technicians."

Benton also said that Lloyd Caughran, former president, will continue to serve as a member of the school's board of directors, along with Charles P. Brooks, president, Brooks and Associates, St. Louis, Mo.; Harold Ensley, television and radio personality, Kansas City, Mo.; Wendell H. Flanery, manager, Jackson County Water District No. 1, Grandview, Mo.; Dr. M. L. Gentry, director, Medical Care Section, Missouri Division of Health, Jefferson City, Mo.; Dr. Riley N. Kinman, professor of environmental health engineering, University of Cincinnati, Ohio; Bill Lee, president, First National Bank of Neosho, Mo.; James R. Nichols, partner, Nichols Bros., Southwest City, Mo.; and Charles R. Wolfe, engineer, Levitt & Sons, Chicago.

In other developments, Benton announced the appointment of Robert J. Illidge, a 1958 graduate of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, who was advertising and public relations manager for a major company in the water pollution control industry. Prior to that he was associated with one of the largest advertising and public relations agencies in the Midwest.

Since January 1, Illidge has assumed responsibility for student recruitment, job placement, and community, government and industry relations. He is a member of the Association of Industrial Advertisers.

President Benton also announced several new faculty appointments. Robert R. Wright has been named chairman of the water department. Wright was awarded a master's degree in sanitary engineering from Washington University, St. Louis, in 1962, and a master's degree in civil engineering from the Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta. He is a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, The American Water Works Association, and the Water Pollution Control Federation.

Newly appointed chairman of the wastewater department is Ronald Layton, a Ph. D. candidate in environmental health engineering at the University of Cincinnati, Ohio. He has been a chemist with the Union Carbide Corporation, Charleston, W. Va., and with Emery Industries, Inc., Cincinnati. He is a member of the American Chemical Society, American Water Works Association, and the Water Pollution Control Federation.

Dr. Darshan Saral, a 1966 doctoral graduate of the University of Alberta, Canada, was appointed to the faculty to teach microbiology and chemistry. Dr. Saral joins the school with extensive experience in industry and education, including seven years with the Bombay Chemical Company, India; six years as assistant professor at Khalsa College, Amritsar, Punjab, India; and two years with the Missouri State Division of Higher Education. Dr. Saral is a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences and the Entomological Society of America.

Also appointed to the faculty is Wayne L. Booe, a bachelor of science candidate at Missouri Southern State College, Joplin. Booe, an instructor in the water department, had been associated with the Joplin Water Works Company since 1959.

Other faculty members at the school are Wilborn N. Massey, a graduate of Missouri Southern State College, and Wisdom H. Stewart, who attended the University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

President Benton attended Finlay Engineering College, Kansas City. He has been an engineer with the consulting firms of Haskins, Riddle & Sharp, then Riddle & Associates, both of Kansas City, before becoming regional manager with Smith & Loveless, manufacturer of sewage transfer and treatment equipment of Lenexa, Kansas. He is a

member of the Missouri Water and Sewerage Conference.

The Water & Wastewater Technical School was organized in 1959 as a private, non-profit educational institution to meet the need for formal instruction in water supply management and wastewater control. The curricula includes on-campus courses in mathematics, chemistry, microbiology, hydraulics, water distribution and treatment, wastewater collection and treatment, stream sanitation, surveying, plant management, safety, industrial waste and electricity.

Located in southwestern Missouri, 20 miles south of Joplin, the 37-acre campus includes administrative offices, lecture halls and classrooms, laboratories, housing accommodations, cafeteria and library.

OWENS-ILLINOIS GIVEN GOLD  
MEDAL FOR OUTSTANDING  
WATER POLLUTION CONTROL

HON. JOHN DOWDY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, Owens-Illinois, Inc., was the recipient of the annual Gold Medal Award given by Sports Foundation, Inc., for water pollution control. One of the Owens-Illinois mills is in my district, at Orange, Tex., in which is incorporated the latest systems for control of air and water pollution. We are proud of this recognition received by this company.

I am pleased to incorporate in the Extensions of Remarks, the following news item, as a part of my remarks:

OWENS-ILLINOIS GIVEN GOLD MEDAL FOR  
OUTSTANDING WATER POLLUTION CONTROL

Its pioneering and continuing efforts in the development of company-wide water pollution control systems won Owens-Illinois, Inc., the annual Gold Medal Award given by the Sports Foundation, Inc., for water pollution control.

The award was presented by Dr. Leslie L. Glasgow, assistant secretary of the U.S. Department of the Interior, at the Sports Foundation's annual awards breakfast in the Palmer House in Chicago, February 3, 1970.

Established in 1968, two Gold Medal Awards for water pollution control are presented annually to members of American industry who have made outstanding achievements in that field. Owens-Illinois' award was in the multi-plant category while the other award, won this year by the Paris, Texas, plant of the Campbell Soup Company, is in the single plant field.

Owens-Illinois was cited by judges for the extent and development of its company-wide water pollution control systems and for its additional improvement of reclaimed water and land for conservation and recreational use. Of special technological interest was the company's method of eliminating odor from kraft wastes.

Judges also commented on the initiative and foresight of management at Owens-Illinois in establishing a corporate policy and program of water pollution control several years ago.

The Sports Foundation, Inc., is a non-profit membership organization designed to encourage and expand interest and participation in sports and sports-related activities.

In presenting the award, Dr. Glasgow complimented "Owens-Illinois for its recognition of the fact that man deserves a good environment and for giving as much attention to

quality control of effluents as to company products leaving the shipping room." The assistant interior secretary said he was especially impressed because it was a multi-plant award.

A major manufacturer of glass, plastic, paper and glass-ceramic products, Owens-Illinois has pursued a policy of installing new or improving existing air and water pollution abatement systems as new technologies develop. In keeping with this policy, a multi-million-dollar recovery boiler has just been completed at the Valdosta, Ga., containerboard plant. This unit, along with an accompanying electrostatic precipitator, significantly improves control of emissions to the atmosphere.

Owens-Illinois included an advanced system for control of air and water pollution in its new Orange, Texas, mill. Major items include two electrostatic precipitators to control emissions to the atmosphere, as well as a mechanical clarifier, a 37-acre aeration basin (where oxygen removed during the manufacturing process is put back into the water by mechanical aerators), and a 1.7 billion gallon holding pond to insure proper treatment of mill effluent.

Another outstanding example of the company's pollution control program is at one of the oldest paper mills in the country—its Big Island, Va., integrated pulp and paper mill. Owens-Illinois installed a new waste water treatment plant which substantially cuts waste discharges, and recovers, in usable form, more than 80 percent of the wood fibers that are normally waste material in conventional treatment equipment.

Owens-Illinois presently has more than \$15 million invested in air and water pollution control systems at its four containerboard mills. A continuing program of modification and improvement of existing systems is being implemented to insure compliance with current as well as anticipated future air and water pollution regulations.

Some of the latest developments are listed below:

**Forest Products**—At one of the oldest paper mills in the country, Owens-Illinois' Big Island, Va., integrated pulp and paper mill, the company has adopted European technology with the installation of a waste water treatment plant which substantially cuts waste discharges and can recover, in usable form, more than 80 percent of the wood fibers that are normally waste material in conventional treatment plants.

To improve air and water quality at its Valdosta, Ga., containerboard mill, Owens-Illinois has just completed installation of a recovery boiler and an accompanying electrostatic precipitator.

At the company's newest containerboard mill in Orange, Tex., an advanced air and water pollution control system has been installed including two electrostatic precipitators, a 37-acre aeration basin, and a 1.7 billion gallon holding pond.

**Glass Containers**—Research is underway to determine how effectively used glass containers can be substituted for standard paving materials now mixed with asphalt. The company has already paved a test street at its Technical Center in Toledo utilizing the technique. The crushed glass might even be more economical for municipalities than paying for the disposal of used glass plus the purchase of paving materials. Owens-Illinois also is doing extensive research on other means of reclaiming or recycling glass containers from municipal waste systems.

The company has converted from coal to gas-fired boilers all of its 18 glass container manufacturing plants to improve emissions.

At its new Pittston, Pa., glass television bulb plant Owens-Illinois installed a closed system for treating industrial waste water so it can be reused in the manufacturing process instead of being discharged into a nearby stream.

At Pittston and at its Levis Development Park near Toledo, Ohio, the company also has installed tertiary sanitary sewer systems which exceed the degree of treatment usually provided by municipal sewer systems.

Mr. Speaker, I was gratified to learn that Kevin Roberts, a student at Nacogdoches, Tex., High School, was the State winner of the Veterans of Foreign Wars latest Voice of Democracy contest. Mr. Roberts is a fine young man; I join his many friends in commending and congratulating him for his success. The theme of the contest was "Freedom's Challenge." I take pleasure in including a copy of his winning speech as a part of my remarks:

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

Freedom's Challenge. What is it? What does it mean? It's two unrelated and yet inseparable words. Alone, they seem rather cold and impersonal. Yet, together, they constitute a thought. Freedom's Challenge is an expression which must be assimilated as words, but which must be digested as a thought . . . as two unimposing words reflecting each other to bring some picture, some feeling to the individual mind.

Take the first word . . . freedom. It's an idea, a conception of Utopian life, a cause, but a very small and impersonal word. And for it to have real meaning, it must mean something personal to the individual. Since freedom is a personal thing, I can't tell you what it is; but, perhaps, I can give you some idea of its value, its worth, in very personal terms.

Imagine this. Gently swelling grassy hills . . . sun shining brightly on moist green grass . . . air, so fresh you can almost reach out and take hold of it. Nice picture . . . right? Now, picture this. On those same rolling hills, every ten feet there's a funny little white cross. The symmetry is perfect. From any point, in any direction you turn, every ten feet a small white cross stands. Three feet tall and eighteen inches wide. All laid out in row upon row, line upon line . . . for as far as you can see. You're in a national cemetery.

And each of the crosses will have something on it: a name, or maybe just a single word . . . unknown. And it will have a date, and maybe an inscription like KIA or DOW. A simple and painless way of saying . . . killed in action . . . or, died of wounds. But think of what each of those crosses was at one time. Because each of those represents a life. Each of those was a man. Some were old; most were young.

They didn't ask for life; but they didn't want to die. They tasted life, lived it, enjoyed it, hated it, loved it, and had it taken. They were like you and me. They sweated in summer and shivered on cold winter mornings. They had wives and lovers and children and parents. And they laughed and cried and felt pity and compassion and happiness and loneliness. Just like you and me.

And regardless of what anyone says, they didn't die for freedom or democracy. They might have gone to war for principles, but they didn't die for them. They died because of . . . fate . . . or God . . . or whatever rules such matters. But they didn't die for you, and they didn't die thinking of me. They just died.

Death didn't find them thinking of future generations and the gift they were giving them; it found them thinking of home and family and what they were losing. And they didn't all die like heroes. They died scared. And lonely. And most were dirty and hungry and miserable and some were in pain. They didn't want to be where they were . . . and they didn't want to die. But they did. And some died swearing . . . a few prayed . . . a lot of them cried.

And today, it's impossible to point to a single grave and say *I'm free* because he died. But we are. At an immeasurable cost, we are a free people. All those men resting beneath those plain white crosses in national cemeteries throughout the world, didn't give their lives for freedom, they had them *taken*, in the name of freedom. And for that which we've taken from them, there can be no payment in return.

And this is where the second word of the thought comes into play. *Challenge*. What's been done is history now. Our freedom's been paid for . . . but at a price known only to those who paid it. And the *challenge* is ours. Those who came before us fixed a price and paid it. And the only challenge given us is to hold possession of that which is *inherited*.

Freedom's Challenge. Two unrelated and yet inseparable words.

U.S. DISTRICT COURT OF COLORADO  
DECISION ON PROJECT RULISON CASE

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I commend to the attention of everyone interested in the health and safety aspects of peaceful uses of atomic energy the decision by Chief Judge Alfred A. Arraj of the U.S. District Court of Colorado, on March 16, 1970, on Project Rulison.

The background of this case is, briefly, as follows:

Several plaintiffs brought suit against the Atomic Energy Commission, Austral Oil Co., Inc., and CER Geonuclear Corp. to stop Project Rulison. The plaintiffs were comprised of a number of individuals, the Colorado Open Space Coordinating Council, Inc.—a nonprofit public benefit Colorado corporation—and a Colorado district attorney.

Project Rulison is an AEC experiment. It is being conducted with the cooperation of the Department of the Interior and Austral Oil Co. CER Geonuclear Corp. is the program manager. Project Rulison is part of AEC's plowshare program, a research and development effort to develop peaceful uses of nuclear explosive technology.

Project Rulison is essentially a study of the economic and technical feasibility of nuclear stimulation of the low permeability gas bearing Mesaverde sandstone formation in the Rulison area of Colorado. Nuclear stimulation is accompanied by the detonation of a nuclear device to create a cavity and a fracture system to stimulate the production of natural gas. Because of its low permeability, the Mesaverde formation does not produce natural gas in commercial quantities, although it does contain a significant gas reserve.

Before the nuclear device was detonated at a depth of 8,431 feet on September 1969, suit was brought to prevent the shot; however, the court denied the request for an injunction and the denial was sustained by the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals. Plaintiffs then sought a permanent injunction to prohibit the

planned flaring of the gas contained within the cavity created by the nuclear detonation. The general purpose of the proposed flaring is to determine the extent of stimulation of production, the dimensions and configuration of the cavity and fracture system, and the feasibility of the entire project.

The court's decision on March 16, 1970, was essentially in favor of the Atomic Energy Commission's position, and will permit Project Rulison to proceed. The judge found AEC's project plans to be reasonable and adequate from health and safety standpoints.

In ruling that the Atomic Energy Commission was proceeding in accordance with its statutory responsibilities and with due regard for the health and safety of human, plant, and animal life, Judge Arraj, in his more than 60-page decision, delved deeply into the technological aspects of the project and the elaborate procedural and substantive measures that were built into the Rulison project plans. His findings and conclusions are carefully focalized and then expressed with unusual clarity and incisiveness. To my eye and mind—as a deeply interested, nonlawyer, legislator—the quality of the court's written product in this case is of an exceptionally high order. I greatly admire reason in man—which St. Thomas Aquinas centuries ago said—"is rather like God in the world." One can predict, unfortunately, that the court's careful analysis of the nuclear health and safety implications—though so well reasoned, clearly stated and supported by the weight of evidence—will not be widely circulated by the communications media. The rate of environmental degradation we all decry continues on a broad front to be matched or exceeded by the spoken and written—sometimes sophisticatedly cool, sometimes emotionally thermal—pollution of falsehood or misinformation. Judge Arraj's decision is like a breath of fresh air that I wish everyone could inhale.

THE YOUTH PARTICIPATION ACT

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, recently I introduced a bill that would provide opportunities for American youth to serve in policymaking positions and to participate in National, State, and local programs of social and economic benefit to the country. I urge my colleagues to co-sponsor this measure, because it would help the youth of our Nation—and the Nation, as well. The bill is H.R. 16017.

American youth today are maturing—physically and intellectually—at earlier ages than ever before, yet technological and other advances have eliminated opportunities of work for an increasing proportion of the young, while requiring them to continue their education in order to acquire the skills and knowledge demanded by a sophisticated economy.

The extension of the period during which youth are waiting to enter society,

the unprecedented rapidity of recent technological and social change and the emergence of huge, impersonal institutions, have helped to produce social cleavages between older and younger Americans that are wider than the distances which separated past generations. These cleavages may grow unless the Nation deliberately creates a forum for a mutually respectful and meaningful exchange of opinions between old and young and develops viable means by which the young can participate more directly in American life in decision-making processes.

The purpose of the bill, which was introduced in the Senate by that dynamic and progressive gentleman from Oklahoma, FRED R. HARRIS, is to create a new program to help direct the resources of youth to the solution of critical needs of the country and encourage their fuller participation in American public life by offering them chances to take part in the planning, administration, and operation of programs which benefit our society and economy and by establishing National and State forums for the discussion and resolution of problems concerning youth.

Under the measure, the foundation on youth participation would be created in the executive branch of the Government. It would make grants to public agencies and nonprofit private organizations for developing programs involving persons under 25 years old who would be trained and employed in activities like education, health, welfare, and related fields.

Private industry would be encouraged to invest in youth participation programs and technical assistance would be provided to States. An Advisory Commission on Youth would be created to investigate issues of concern to American youth and to provide greater opportunities for them.

Mr. Speaker, the young people of America deserve this chance.

PENALTIES FOR TRANSPORTING EXPLOSIVE DEVICES IN INTER-STATE COMMERCE

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to increase the penalties which can be imposed on those who cross a State line with explosive devices, including dynamite, with the intent of unlawfully destroying property or risking injury to another person.

The outbreak of bombings throughout the land has been alarming. Certain insidious individuals and groups have realized that they have the power to paralyze the daily activities of countless persons and businesses and the government by senseless bombings.

Under our federal system of jurisprudence, the main responsibility for punishing these individuals rests with the separate States. But, the Federal Gov-

ernment can and should provide stiff sentences for those who move their devices of terror across State lines. Our present law makes the movement of explosive devices in interstate commerce illegal if such movement is not for a lawful purpose. However, the penalties are too light, in my opinion, considering the potential harm involved.

The current law provides for a \$1,000 fine and 1 year in prison for the movement of explosives in interstate commerce. My bill raises these penalties to \$10,000 and 10 years in prison. Where persons are injured as a result of an explosion, the current law provides for a \$10,000 fine and 10 years in prison. My bill would change this to a \$25,000 fine and 25 years in prison.

Mr. Speaker, I realize that I am recommending harsh penalties. But the potential risks to life and property are grave. And our news media have been filled with stories of bombings in recent weeks. The bombings in New York have shocked the Nation. Last week, two individuals, apparently transporting explosives to an unknown target, destroyed themselves before they reached their destination. Another group operating a veritable bomb factory suffered a similar fate. In my hometown of Boulder, Colo., there have been several bombings in recent weeks. Fortunately, nobody was killed or injured. In Denver, Colo., several dozen schoolbuses recently were bombed by persons who are, to date, unknown.

This morning's newspaper carried an article which stated that President Nixon would soon send the Congress a message on explosives. I look forward to that message, Mr. Speaker, but I feel we must move ahead now. Potential bombers must know that they will be dealt with harshly; that their anarchical acts will be treated as such.

I call upon the distinguished members of the Judiciary Committee to address themselves to my bill at the earliest possible date. No American should be threatened with death or injury by the thugs and criminals whose hatred for their country has caused the terrifying bombings of the past few weeks.

#### 17,000 MARCH ON HUNGER

### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, in these days when such extensive news coverage is given to protests and violent disorders, particularly among our young people, it is easy to lose sight of the high caliber and dedication of many of our youth. My distinguished colleague from Iowa, Congressman FRED SCHWENDEL, recently paid tribute to the Young World Developers, a group of young men and women who are dedicated to doing something personally to help combat the world's hunger problem. I am pleased to share with my House colleagues the ac-

tivities of some of these young people in my district.

The article follows:

[From the San Diego Evening Tribune, April 28, 1969]

#### 17,000 HERE MARCH ON HUNGER—YOUTHS' BLISTERS GIVE NEEDY A LIFT

(By Pat De Graw)

San Diego's youth marched to help those hungry in the world, and the way they did it made the whole town proud.

There were lots of blisters but no fights. There were those who dropped out for weariness but none quit in protest.

It was a youth production and Mother Nature blessed it with a beautiful spring day.

An unofficial count of 17,000 took part in the walk to emphasize that 1.75 billion people in the world are suffering from hunger.

The 30-mile walk was sponsored by the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation.

The foundation, began in 1961 at the suggestion of President John F. Kennedy, is the national committee supporting the United Nations' international freedom from hunger campaign.

David Foote, Western regional director of the foundation, said:

"The San Diego walk is without a doubt the largest such march on record in this country. The nearest any other city has come to this number of participants was 4,000 in Madison, Wis."

In sponsoring such walks, Foote said, the foundation has three goals.

First—"We want to help young people identify with the problem of starving millions."

Second—"We want to create community awareness of these problems."

Third—"We want to get financial support for specific projects aimed at alleviating hunger and poverty."

The youths set a goal of \$100,000 for their walk. During the past few weeks walkers solicited sponsors who pledged to pay a specified amount for each mile completed by each walker.

"We won't know for a couple of days if the walkers made their \$100,000 goal," Foote said. "But from my experience with a dozen of these walks, I would say they will come very close to that amount."

The Walk for Development began in Balboa Park at 6:30 a.m. After a short ecumenical service, the walkers passed through the first of 11 checkpoints where they had their registration cards verified. These cards were turned in to sponsors later so that the exact mileage for each walker could be determined.

As individuals, in clusters and in large groups, the walkers followed the police planned route of 29.8 miles. They walked in tennis shoes, Mexican huaraches, moccasins, sandals, combat boots and thongs.

Most of them ended their day-long trek barefoot and blistered.

Nurses stationed at each checkpoint administered first aid to sore feet. One harried nurse reported she had run out of adhesive bandages around 11 a.m., but continued applying cotton and tape to blisters on hundreds of feet.

At the midpoint in their journey, the walkers rested at Farnum Elementary School, where thousands of sandwiches and gallons of punch were provided by volunteers. A rock band, called Point Blank, played for the weary walkers who sat on the cool grass massaging tired feet.

Lt. R. W. Burgreen, of the San Diego Police Department, said: "We didn't count on there being this many participants, but they are conducting themselves in a very orderly manner."

Foote, who was one of the few adult organizers of the walk said: "I'm sure that the orderliness of the walk is due to organization

by the young people themselves. Another contributing factor to the orderliness was the sophisticated communications setup which coordinated checkpoints with police and emergency services.

Handling radio and telephone communications were two local groups, the Southwestern Radio Emergency Associated Citizens Team and the San Diego County Amateur Radio Public Service Corps.

One of the mobile volunteers, Doug Campbell said: "This country is in secure hands—I am convinced of this after seeing these wonderful kids turning out for this demonstration. I'm proud to have helped them."

The young people themselves were in high spirits through the afternoon, even with a bright sun on their backs and a temperature of 82 degrees. They were enthusiastic as they talked about their walk.

Paul Allen, 20, a blind student at the California Western Campus of the United States International University walked the course with his seeing eye dog, Bill. When asked if he would complete the walk, Allen said: "Nothing could make me stop now, even if it takes me until midnight."

Sue Liner, 16, of Kearney High School said: "This is real brotherhood, with everyone together doing something important. I'm tired, but it is a good tired, and well worth the effort."

People along the route were curious about the long line of marchers. Many residents had heard of the walk, however, and offered the young people water, an encouraging word or a wetted-down sidewalk for blistered feet. One group of 40 students was invited to take a dip in an apartment house swimming pool and they accepted.

About 20 participants, long-distance runners, moved at a faster pace than a walk. David Teel, 17, of Madison High School, was the first person to complete the entire course. His time was three hours, eight minutes. Entering the walk later, but completing the course with the fastest time were Bill Gookin, a teacher at Montgomery Junior High School, and Tom Bache, a graduate student at the University of California at San Diego. They cover the course in 2:55.01. Their sponsors pledged a total of \$79.30 for this time.

William Hargus, a civil engineer, finished the course in 3:30, and his son David, 9, completed the walk just a few minutes behind his father. David's time earned 70 cents per mile for the foundation.

The walkers themselves decided where the money they earned will be spent. Four agricultural projects were chosen prior to the walk. During the walk, participants voted for priorities among the four projects—Literacy House, Lucknow, India, a series of agricultural training centers in Dahomey, Africa, a 4-H club corn production project in Brazil and the San Diego India Village, sponsored by the Church World Services Commission.

A local project, using surplus food under the Federal Food Distribution program, will receive 42.5 per cent of the total amount raised in yesterday's walk.

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**\$100,000 GOAL BELIEVED NEAR**

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**FOOD, DRINK, BAND AT MIDPOINT**

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**BLIND STUDENT, DOG IN LINE**

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**HUD LOW-INCOME TENANT GUIDELINES A FARCE**

**HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues another attempt by a department of the executive branch to interpret the "intent of Congress."

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1969 passed by this Congress sought to genuinely offer relief to financially troubled local housing authorities. When the Department of Housing and Urban Development gets finished with its interpretation and guidelines for the new program of Federal subsidies to public housing residents, there will be nothing to cheer about. Indications are that HUD will all but destroy the thrust of the new law which was meant to relieve deficit-ridden housing authorities and public housing residents.

The legislation which I sponsored in the House—and the Brooke legislation which subsequently became law—specifies that no public housing tenant will pay more than 25 percent of his income for rent. It also calls for subsidies to relieve local housing authorities of their deficits and to contribute to improve operating and maintenance services for tenants.

If HUD has its way, there will be a national uniform definition of tenant income which will include even the income of part-time students attached to the household. There will be no deductions for medical expenses—not even provisions to allow for emergency medical problems or needs. HUD will allow only a \$100 deduction for each dependent, even though several housing authorities, including St. Louis, now allow \$200. HUD will require the rents to be fixed on an income amount estimated by tenants, with no flexibility for tenants who may become unemployed or otherwise lose income.

HUD has further stated in its guideline draft that local housing authorities will receive Federal funds only if they meet some yet undefined "satisfactory standards of management and tenant

responsibility." This means HUD can deny funds at will and arbitrarily impose a requirement which was not included as the law. HUD would be at liberty to determine what constitutes satisfactory management standards or "tenant responsibility."

HUD does not intend to eliminate public housing deficits. It has requested \$13 million for fiscal 1971 which will be applied to only those cities in the most dire financial straits. Facts are that \$100 million would be required to wipe clean the slate of public housing deficits in this country.

Finally, HUD intends to spend no money to improve operating and maintenance services for public housing. It has conveniently chosen to ignore that directive of the law.

The sum of \$75 million was authorized by the Congress to carry out those sections of the HUD act of 1969 known as the Brooke amendment. But the 1971 budget, in accordance with the request by HUD, requests only \$33 million. And HUD is drawing its guidelines to conform with the minimum funding it has sought.

The guidelines are expected to be made final and public this week. Senator Brooke continues to seek consideration from HUD for the intent of his amendment. As the Member who sponsored similar legislation in the House I have met with HUD officials. HUD has been unyielding in its inflexible position. Public housing residents—and local housing authorities who had reason to believe relief was in sight—are well advised to protest this latest attack by HUD.

Mr. Speaker, the following are the proposed HUD guidelines, which I bring to my colleagues' attention:

**IMPLEMENTATION OF SECTIONS 212 AND 213 OF THE HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1969**

**1. PURPOSE**

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1969 establishes important new policy and authorizes additional financial assistance for dealing with housing authority deficits, levels of operating and maintenance services, and amount of income which may be paid by tenants for rent. The purpose of this Circular is to outline the Department's policies and requirements with respect to implementation of Sections 212 and 213 of that Act.

**2. GENERAL**

a. The Act provides that the rent of a public housing tenant may not exceed 25 percent of the family's income, as defined by the Secretary. (Section 213(a)). This limitation on rents becomes effective no later than March 24, 1970. (Section 213(b)).

b. The Act also provides authority for HUD to pay annual contributions in excess of debt service requirements up to the statutory annual maximum (Section 212(a)) and it provides for that purpose an additional \$75 million in contract authorization (Section 212(b)) which, in accordance with the Conference Report on the Act, may be used to make payments for the following purposes:

(1) To cover existing operating deficits of public housing agencies and enable them to maintain adequate operating and maintenance services and adequate reserve funds.

(2) To make up the amount by which the proportionate share of operating and maintenance expenses attributable to a dwelling unit exceeds 25 percent of the tenant's income, provided the tenant is paying 25 percent of income for rent.

## 3. MEETING EXISTING OPERATING DEFICITS

a. The Secretary may, in his discretion, make payments to cover existing deficits of Local Housing Authorities, taking into consideration the adequacy of operating and maintenance service and reserve funds, in these cases where the LHA has demonstrated that satisfactory standards of management and tenant responsibility have been or will be achieved.

b. An existing operating deficit means a deficit including the deficiency in the normal maximum reserve existing for the LHA's fiscal year which includes December 24, 1969. Such payments do not apply to future deficits which may arise.

c. As the Conference Report stated in part: "The Committee is deeply concerned over cases of lax management in many public housing projects which have led to high operating costs, deterioration of property, and an intolerable environment for the families who live there. . . .

"The Conferees wish to make it clear that the benefits of subsidized public housing, including those provided by this Section, cannot be achieved without tenant responsibility, including responsibility for the protection and care of property."

In seeking assistance under this provision of the Act, LHA's should be prepared to provide specific information on the positive actions they have taken or propose to take in cooperation with the tenants, to meet the concerns of the Conference Committee as stated above.

## 4. PAYMENTS OVER 25 PERCENT OF INCOME

a. The Secretary is authorized to provide payments to make up the amount by which the proportionate share of operating and maintenance expenses attributable to a dwelling unit exceeds the contract rent derived from a gross rent based on 25 percent of the tenant's income, as defined by the Secretary.

b. The Conference Report states that these payments may not be made with respect to a dwelling unit unless the rent paid for the unit is 25 percent of the tenant's income. The Report also states that the Conferees do not intend that all tenants in public housing should pay 25 percent of income for rent. In other words, if some of the families are paying more than 25 percent of income for rent and the remainder are paying less than 25 percent of income for rent, it is not necessary to increase all rents to 25 percent of income in order for the LHA to obtain assistance on behalf of those families which are paying more than 25 percent of income for rent.

c. In order to compute the amount of subsidy to which a LHA is eligible, three definitions are essential—a definition of the term "operating costs", the term "rent", and the term "family income." These definitions are set forth in paragraph 7 below. Although it is recognized that many state laws and local practices provide for differing interpretations of "family income", the Act provides for the Secretary defining the term for purposes of Section 213.

d. Except as the Act requires that no tenant pay more than 25 percent of income for rent, as defined by the Secretary, it does not otherwise affect the authority contained in Section 2(1) of the United States Housing Act with respect to the establishment of rents and income definitions for eligibility purposes by the LHA's.

e. The definition of family income which is described below, and which must be used to determine eligibility for the subsidy provided by Sections 212 and 213, is a simple, and easily administrable formula which LHA's may wish to consider adopting for purposes of administering their local programs.

## 5. EXAMINATION OF INCOMES

a. LHA's should commence immediately to examine incomes for purposes of determining

eligibility for rent adjustments. Adjustments in rent should be based, to the extent possible, on family income data obtained in connection with regular or special re-examinations now in process or recently completed. In other instances, adjustments should be based on the latest verification of family income available to the LHA, and affected tenants should be notified of the basis for such adjustments.

b. If the required rent adjustments cannot be made by March 24, 1970, they shall be put into effect at the earliest date possible, retroactive to March 24, 1970.

## 6. TENANTS RECEIVING WELFARE ASSISTANCE

a. Section 213(b) of the Act states that the limitation on rents at 25 percent of income shall not apply in any case in which the Secretary determines that limiting the rent of any tenant or class of tenants will result in a reduction in the amount of welfare assistance which would otherwise be provided to such tenant or class of tenants by a public agency.

b. The Conference Report explained this provision with the statement:

"The conferees are disturbed by the growing practice of stretching an inadequate welfare budget by placing in public housing increasing numbers of families who cannot pay even the operating costs of the unit they occupy. The Conferees are hopeful that within the context of the welfare program, some means can be found to provide as much support for a welfare family in public housing as would be provided for that family in private housing."

LHA's should, therefore, keep careful records of the amount of welfare payments received by tenants whose rents are adjusted under this Act, both before and after such adjustment. A separate Circular will provide instructions as to actions which should be taken with respect to tenants receiving welfare assistance.

## 7. DEFINITIONS

a. *Rent.* "Rent" shall mean Gross Rent as defined herein.

b. *Gross Rent.* "Gross Rent" means Contract Rent plus the LHA's estimate of the value or cost to the tenant for responsible amounts of utilities purchased by the tenants and not included in the Contract Rent.

c. *Contract Rent.* "Contract Rent" means the rent charged a tenant for the use of the dwelling accommodation, equipment, services and utilities supplied by the project. Contract Rent does not include charges for utilities which may be purchased by the project and sold to the tenant as a transaction separate from the payment of such rent, charges for excess utility consumptions, or miscellaneous charges.

d. *Utilities.* Utilities means water, electricity, gas, other heating, refrigeration, and cooking fuels, and other utilities. Other utilities include, but are not necessarily limited to, sewage and garbage or trash collection for which a separate charge is made to the tenant by the LHA or others. Telephone service and electricity for tenant-installed air conditioners may not generally be included as a utility.

<sup>1</sup> The following are not considered as income by HUD:

(1) Casual, sporadic and irregular gifts, earnings of minors attending school full time, and amounts which are specifically received for, or are a reimbursement of, the cost of illness or medical care.

(2) Lump-sum additions to family assets, such as inheritances, insurance payments, including payments under health and accident insurance and workmen's compensation, capital gains, and settlements for personal or property losses.

(3) Amounts of educational scholarships paid directly to the student or to the edu-

e. *Family Income.* "Family Income" means income<sup>1</sup> from all sources of each member of the family in the household, including minors, anticipated to be received during the twelve months following admission or re-determination of family income (as the case may be) less:

(1) a deduction of 10 percent of family income; and

(2) an exemption of \$100 from family income for each minor other than the head or spouse.

f. *Operating and Maintenance Costs.* Operating and maintenance costs attributable to a dwelling unit for purposes of determining the maximum subsidy payable under Section 213 means costs computed pursuant to the following formula:

(1) Compute the sum of Total Operating Expenditures and additions to Operating Reserve and divide by the number of rooms. This gives the cost per room. (Rooms as used herein means all rooms in all projects under a single Annual Contributions Contract except for leased housing which shall be separately calculated.)

(2) Multiply the cost per room by number of rooms in the dwelling unit. (The number of rooms for each size unit shall be computed in accordance with Low-Rent Housing Preconstruction Handbook, RHA 7410.1, Chapter 3, Section 1.) This gives the cost attributable to each unit by size.

(3) For leased housing the cost attributable to the dwelling is the sum of the rent paid to the owner and LHA costs less the fixed annual contribution payable per unit.

## 8. LEGISLATIVE CITATIONS

## a. Section 212

(1) Section 212(a) of the HUD Act of 1969 (PL 91-152) amends Section 10(b) of the United States Housing Act of 1937 to make clear that HUD has authority to pay annual contributions in excess of debt service requirements up to the statutory annual maximum.

(2) Section 212(b) increases the amount of annual contributions authorized under Section 10(e) of the United States Housing Act of 1937 by \$75 million.

## b. Section 213

(1) Section 213(a) provides that the rent of a public housing tenant may not exceed 25 percent of the family's income as defined by the Secretary.

(2) Section 213(b) provides that the above limitation on rents shall be effective not later than 90 days following its enactment. It also provides that the 25 percent limitation shall not apply in any case in which the Secretary determines that limiting the rent of any tenant, or class of tenants, will result in a reduction in the amount of welfare assistance which would otherwise be provided to such tenant, or such class of tenants, by a public agency.

(3) Section 213(c) amends Section 14 of the United States Housing Act of 1937 to

include educational institution and amounts paid by the United States Government to a veteran for use in meeting the cost of tuition, fees and books, to the extent that such amounts are so used. (Any of such amounts not so used and any amounts available for subsistence are to be included in Family Income.)

(4) The special pay to a serviceman head of a family away from home and exposed to hostile fire (e.g., Viet Nam); relocation payments for moving expenses to families and individuals displaced by urban renewal or other governmental action; and pursuant to the Food Stamp Act of 1964, as amended, the value of the coupon allotments for the purchase of food in excess of the amount actually charged the eligible households.

make it clear that the Secretary is authorized to amend annual contributions contracts to provide rates of contribution based on the current going federal rate of interest.

CURIOUS NAMES IN INDIANA

HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH  
OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, Indiana is a charming State and one of its most interesting features is the wide variety of names attached to Hoosier towns and villages.

Rex Redifer, associate editor of Indiana Rural News, has written a delightful article listing some of the more amusing and colorful names given our communities.

The article follows:

THAT REMINDS ME  
(By Rex Redifer)

Indiana is a State famous for many things—its parks, its lakes, its literature—but one of the more colorful items of our culture is the curious names given things and places.

Ourselves, for example. . . . We might understandably have been known as Indians, Indianites, Indianians, or anything—but no, we are Hoosiers.

Nobody seems to know exactly why. Some say that as the settlers wandered over the mountains and through the forests into the territory the traditional greeting was, "who's here?" Which in Indianese sounded like "Hoosier?"

At any rate, take Kokomo. That's a nifty name for a town. People like to stand around and chant KO-ko-mo-IN-di-ana . . . sounds good in songs, too, but it really ain't shucks to a name like Punkin Center, Indiana.

A particular pastime of mine is to sit around and ponder on those peculiar people who put such peculiar names on such peculiar places.

Think about Gnow Bone. Things must have been bleak there for those first folks, and it could not have been better at Cope. Needmore must have lacked something, and if Rainsville and Graysville didn't dull the spirit, what about Stoney Lonesome?

Antiville must have been a hard little town to please. . . .

Daylight, Bright, Hope and Prospect must have seen better days, and you'd have to believe Cumback was a welcome little town.

It's hard to imagine just what DID happen at Hard Scrabble???

There were some neat little spots like Groomville and Correct; but Boggstown, Roachdale and Crawleyville make you squirm a little.

Onward, Advance, Long Run and Speed kind of keep you moving along, but Alert is a "pick-you-up" place on the map.

Judyville and Daisy Hill sound enticing, and Ballsville and Beehive had to be jumping joints.

Farther north there are Bourbon and Brimstone, but where is Fire?

There are Bramble, Bloomfield, Burr Oak and Bud, and how about Bean Blossom for a place to just go and sit?

Bear Wallow, Buffalo and Rabbit Hutch are self explanatory, but who knows about Birds-eye?

We'll just duck Pigeon Roost. . . . Solitude, Windfall and Willow Valley fairly beckon until you run into Cementville.

There are Floyds Knobs, Flat Rock, French

Lick and Fruitdale, and Grammer sort of punctuates the map.

Everyone has heard of Santa Claus, Indiana, while Hanging Tree and Buzzard's Roost are less popular places to visit.

There is Patriot and Pecksville, Deputy and Free, Harmony and Friendship. . . . Unless, perhaps, you'd prefer Dinwittie or Ging?

And finally, there is that city at the very northern most tip of the state called, of course, South Bend.

MURDER IN THE AIR

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN  
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, what do you do to build a fire under the chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on getting out a law that will help prevent hijacking of aircraft in this country? Last night Eastern's shuttle jet to Boston saw a criminal with a gun get into the pilot's compartment, kill the copilot, and wound the pilot. Had the pilot died, the plane would have crashed with all 73 passengers on board.

If my bill—H.R. 821—which has been pending 6 years before the Commerce Committee, had been law this criminal could not have gotten into the pilot's compartment. No criminal ought to be able to do this.

The pilots are up in arms on this. The public is seriously concerned, as well they should be, because some one of these days we are going to lose a plane and everybody on board unless something is done to prevent murder in the air inside the cockpits of commercial airliners.

In this connection I am including in the RECORD at this point the report of what happened on this Eastern flight as it appeared in this morning's Washington Post:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 18, 1970]  
RIDER KILLS COPILOT, INJURED PILOT LANDS  
(By Harry Eisenberg)

BOSTON, March 17.—The copilot of an airliner carrying 73 persons was shot to death and the pilot wounded tonight when a man entered the cockpit and ordered the plane flown eastward.

The would-be hijacker was critically wounded.

The pilot—though shot in both arms—managed to land the plane safely.

Capt. Robert Wilbur Jr., 35, of Fairlawn, N.J., radioed the airport tower from about 5,000 feet altitude and south of Boston that his copilot was dead and that he and one other person were badly wounded.

Wilbur said an armed man had come into the cockpit, ordering them at the point of a gun to fly the plane to the east, but that when he was told they would have to land the plane at Boston first, he began shooting.

The airline said that after the plane landed successfully the first officer was found slumped over his seat, the captain at the controls and the assailant lying on the floor.

Eastern said the plane, a shuttle bound for Boston from Newark, N.J., was a DC-9 with 68 passengers and 5 crewmen.

Three stewardesses were collecting fares when one of the passengers said he had no

money and that he wanted to see the captain, an airline official said.

The man pulled out a pistol, strode to the cockpit and soon thereafter the shooting broke out. The copilot who was killed was First Officer James E. Hartley, 31, of Fort Lee, N.J., Eastern said.

At that point the plane was over Franklin, Mass., about 30 miles south of Boston. Eastern said that in all probability no one else aboard the plane would have been able to land it had the pilot been unable to do so.

The third person wounded was identified at Massachusetts General Hospital as John J. DeVivo, 27, of West New York, N.J., a passenger. He too was in critical condition with two arm wounds and another gunshot wound between the abdomen and chest.

Police in West New York said DeVivo had been living with his mother and sister for 10 months and listed his occupation as a short-order cook.

Lester T. White, an Eastern official, said that DeVivo was shot in a struggle for possession of the gun. Police said DeVivo was placed under guard at the hospital.

Donald F. McGuire, another Eastern airline spokesman, said a stewardess accompanied the man to the cockpit and informed the captain of what was happening.

Capt. Wilbur told her he was busy landing the plane, said McGuire, and the stewardess replied, "You don't understand. He has a gun."

McGuire said the captain then told her to bring the man in, and instructed her to go back and tell the passengers everything was all right. She did as directed.

When the plane landed, McGuire said, the stewardess went up to the cockpit, opened the door and saw the assailant lying on the floor, the first officer slumped in his seat, and the captain busy taxiing the plane in.

It was believed to be the first time a death or injuries resulted from attempted takeover of a plane in this country. However, a passenger was killed and a hijacker was wounded during an attempted takeover of a DC-4 during approach to Cartagena, Colombia, on March 11, 1969.

The stewardesses aboard the Eastern plane tonight were identified as Christiane Peterson, Arlene Albino and Sandy Saltzer, all based in the New York area.

INFORMATION AND THE CONGRESS

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE  
OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to tell our colleagues about a truly exciting program called Info-Expo '70 being offered at the second national meeting of the Information Industry Association on March 23-25 in Washington.

The timely and imaginative symposium to be conducted on March 23 entitled "Information and the Congress" will deal with a critical area for all legislators and those concerned about the legislative process. We are involved in an exciting age. Technology has developed new and vast inventories of information, and the full impact of the changes now going on needs much greater emphasis and focus.

I know that my colleagues are increasingly concerned with the information problems faced in each congressional office, just as the committee staffs and the

Library of Congress are almost overwhelmed by the constant input of relevant material. As you know, the House Subcommittee on Electrical and Mechanical Office Equipment is presently involved in studying the needs of the Congress in this important area and the subcommittee chairman, JOE WAGGONER, will be meeting with the Info-Expo symposium to discuss information systems for the Congress.

The program being offered at the meeting is carefully balanced to deal with several of the most important problem areas faced in the Congress, and I feel it will make a substantial contribution by furthering the process for understanding the needs of the Congress for information services.

The program follows:

**INFO-EXPO '70: THE INFORMATION INDUSTRY, WHAT IT IS, DOES, AND MEANS TO YOU**

Info-Expo '70 is the 2d national meeting of the Information Industry Association. The meeting and trade show are scheduled for March 23-25, 1970, at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C. The meeting is open to the public, to registered non-members and members alike.

The six symposia, each dealing with a major concern of the evolving information age, include:

**Information Industry in Perspective.—**Utility of Information to the Consumer. A new industry needs resourceful people to help sharpen its focus, define its mission and enlarge its future. These are the goals of the roster of speakers leading off the general session Monday, March 23. Dr. Norman Martin regularly shares the Lecturn with Professor Peter F. Drucker at The Graduate School of Business at New York University on the subject of his paper: *The Next 20 Years*. Dr. Lawrence C. Kingsland, uniquely educated with both engineering and medical doctors degrees, also has unique experience in operating a medical information center. The program, assembled by Symposium Chairman Dr. I. E. Block, Vice President and General Manager of Auerbach Info, Inc., of Philadelphia, concludes Tuesday afternoon.

Following the opening session Monday morning and with the exception of the evening Tax Workshop, attendees at Info-Expo '70 will have a choice of two parallel sessions. The program has been arranged to make the alternative program subject choices clear.

**Information and the Congress.—**Wrapped up in the way Congress and Congressmen handle information are the *sineus* of political power, the keys to the operation of the Committee system and the substance of the seniority system.

Information entrepreneurs interested in working with Congress on its information problems will be given a comprehensive review of the problems Monday afternoon from a distinguished forum of insiders. Chairman of this symposium is Walter Kravitz, Senior Research, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress.

**The Government as a Source and User of Information.—**Near the head of the list of victims of the information explosion is the use of government-created, tax-supported information. More and more is available but it is used less and less. Should government "reprivatise" the task of aggressively getting this information to use by taxpayers?

The other side of the coin carries the question: What right does government have to proprietary information of others which it needs to fulfill its many missions? An authoritative list of spokesmen for various views on this subject has been assembled

for the symposium chaired by Herbert White, Leasco Systems & Research, Bethesda, Md., and past-president, Special Libraries Association.

**Tax Workshop.—**Late in 1969 Congress passed a Tax Reform Bill affecting many taxpayers. How do the provisions covering unrelated trade or business activities affect the commercial marketing of information by tax exempt organizations? Is it limited to taxing advertising in journals, or does it extend to information products as well? Symposium No. 4, chaired by David Link, Esquire, Chicago attorney, and chairman of American Federal Bar Association Committees relating to automation and the law, will explore the effect of technological change on the tax-related rules of the information age environment.

**The Respective Roles of the Commercial and Not-for-Profit Sectors of the Information Community.—**Is it an "Anything you can do, I can do better" sort of argument between the "for-profit" and "not-for-profit", or is there a symbiotic relationship already developing? The viewpoint on that question will begin with, but not be limited to, that of Symposium No. 5 Chairman Joe Kurney of the American Chemical Society. He has assembled a double session of speakers to express their own opinions and to answer that and other questions about the relationships between the several sectors of the information community.

**Turning a Corner, Proprietary Rights and the Evolving Information Technology.—**At a time when Copyright Law Revision efforts are reaching a decision point, the information industry talks of turning a corner. Is the corner to be turned toward unrestricted use of proprietary data, or toward a recognition that the information techniques on which the information industry is built require new rules to facilitate its fuller application to the information handling problems of society? A late addition to this symposium is Glenn De Kraker, Executive Vice President and General Manager of International Digisonics Corporation, speaking on "The Missing Information in Commercial Television." His remarks will detail his company's proposal, the subject of FCC Proposed Rule Making in Docket No. 18605, to permit the inclusion of coded information in TV transmissions for the purpose of logging performances, a development directly relevant to this symposium. Symposium No. 6, chaired by Gerald Sophar, Washington Representative for the Institute for Scientific Information, will throw new light on this increasingly difficult issue area.

As a bonus to attendees, the meeting will feature a trade show offering highlighted activities of information industry firms. They will show the ways their products and services are assisting individual scientists, government workers, financial experts and many others to efficiently handle otherwise increasingly burdensome information overloads. No separate registration fee will be charged to visit the exhibits.

The Information Industry Association, sponsoring this major conference on the first anniversary of its creation, will also hold a review session covering the activities of and challenges facing the industry, tied in with a "dutch treat luncheon" on Wednesday, March 25.

Among other items on the agenda for the business meeting is the election of a slate of nine board members to direct the activities of the Association. Firms interested in actively participating in the control and direction of the Association will have an unusual opportunity to do so through this election. The terms of the nine board members will be staggered so that in future years only one-third of the board will be elected each year.

**A FARM LABOR AND RURAL ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR CALIFORNIA**

**HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, a very worthwhile study concerning farm labor and rural economics was recently completed by a broadly based group under the auspices of the California Church Council.

To my knowledge, this is the first effort of growers and union representatives to reason together in an attempt to find areas of agreement, and I believe it is therefore worthy of insertion into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

**A FARM LABOR AND RURAL ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR CALIFORNIA**

(By the Committee for Economic Justice for the Agricultural Community, California Church Council)

**INTRODUCTION**

The Committee for Economic Justice for the Agricultural Community (EJAC) is an ad hoc advisory committee of the California Church Council. The Council, in turn, is the vehicle for statewide projects of the Council of Churches in Southern California, and the Northern California Council of Churches.

The thirteen member EJAC Committee includes a minimum of three grower members and three labor spokesmen, in addition to clergymen and other community representatives. The Committee also consults and maintains contacts with a great many other growers, union representatives, legislators, and informed community leaders.

Much of EJAC's discussion and work in the past several years has been directly concerned with the farm labor struggle for recognition and collective bargaining rights. Issues of greatest concern to the Committee have included the strike and boycott actions of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, and the legislative proposals at both state and federal levels, which have sought to guarantee organizing and bargaining rights to farm workers.

In EJAC, as in the state of California, the positions of growers and labor representatives on the disputed economic and political issues have continued in deadlock for some time. In an effort to find a means of breaking this deadlock, the Committee began looking beyond the economics of the boycott and the politics of proposed legislation, to see if it could define the interest and responsibility of the broader community in the issues raised by the farm workers.

A sub-committee of two was assigned the task of drafting a "first position paper" on the broader economic and social and community implications of the farm workers' struggle, and proceeded with this task on the assumption that its parent committee mirrored the community impasse on the deadlocked issues in contention between labor and the producers. Accordingly, the sub-committee defined a series of propositions, which it thought should be supported not only by EJAC's community and clergy representatives, but also by the other labor and grower members of EJAC—and hopefully, by the community at large.

The sub-committee's "first position paper" was discussed and modified by the full EJAC committee, and a final report was discussed by EJAC on August 19, 1969. While specific exceptions were recorded, the propositions themselves, and the implementation action

called for by the sub-committee, were accepted "in principle" by all present.

Basically, the final report concluded that the inability of labor and the producers to resolve their labor-management relations problems, and their inability to establish a basis for a more peaceful and productive relationship, is largely due to the failure of the wider community (a) to come to grips with basic economic, planning, and conservation problems in the agricultural areas of our state, and (b) to understand the relationship of these problems to our contemporary urban crisis issues.

The August 19 EJAC Report was presented to the California Church Council on December 16 and was discussed at length. The Council received and commended the Report, and encouraged its widespread dissemination for discussion and study. The Council also urged implementation of the Report's recommendations for further action and follow-up, but asked for assurance that all sectors of the agricultural community, specifically farm workers and small farmers, will become involved in the process of economic planning, which will be essential to further the proposals and programs outlined in the Report.

The following is a condensation of the full report, developed by the co-authors to preserve the central concepts and thrust of the much longer EJAC draft of August 19. Preparation of both the full report and this condensation were greatly facilitated by research services and staff assistance made available to EJAC by the Center for Labor Research and Education, University of California, Berkeley.

HOWARD HARRIS.  
BRUCE FOYER.

#### PROPOSITION I

"One of the most fundamental elements in the farm labor problem is the seasonality factor in California agriculture."

#### Introduction

California is the world's leading natural locale for the production of diverse specialty crops which are highly labor intensive—especially at harvest time. California's fertile crop producing areas also cover a vast territory. These simple facts give rise to a specialized and complicated agricultural labor market. The structure—or lack of structure—of this labor market has always presented special problems both for producers and for the workers in the market.

California producers have usually emphasized the "seasonality factor" as the basic concept dictating both their definition and their approach to labor market problems. More specifically, to the producers, the labor part of the "seasonality" problem is primarily their need for harvest labor, in particular quantities, at particular times, and in particular places throughout California's vast producing areas.

To the workers, the key problem of "seasonality" is defined primarily in terms of needs—particularly the needs of low-skilled workers—for more dependable job opportunities extending beyond the harvest peak periods; for higher annual earnings (depending partly on better wages, and partly on better job opportunities); and for a complete range of community services and facilities, such as education, health care, and housing, which at best are only partially available to them, and at worst are not available at all.

Further understanding of the "seasonality factor" as it structures the California agricultural labor market requires analysis from the producers' point of view, the workers' point of view, and the community point of view.

1. How have California Producers responded in the past to the labor supply problems, which they identify primarily with the "seasonality factor"?

(a) The primary producer response over the past 100 years has been to rely on vast importations of labor, particularly to handle harvests. Beginning in the 1870's, the waves of importation went through phases concentrating on Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Mexicans, migrants from other parts of the U.S., and ending with reliance on an "emergency war time" treaty arranged to bring vast numbers of Mexican nationals to work in California fields. The "emergency" continued through the 1950's, and attempts to end the treaty with Mexico finally succeeded in 1964. Only 7,800 Mexican workers were admitted to the state in 1966.

(b) Another important response of California producers to the "seasonality factor" as it affects labor supply has been the impersonalization of the employer-employee relationship. The labor contracting system, which was originally designed to place an intermediary-interpreter between domestic growers and foreign workers, grew in the 1920's and 1930's to the point where most traditional employer functions were arranged by contractors—including recruiting, transportation, assignment of tasks, supervision of field work, payment of workers, arranging for camp sites, and even providing drinking water. The usual requirement for workers and employers to determine their own employment relationship was absent in agriculture, and the grower or producer or owner saw no real need even to deal with the seasonal farm laborer as an individual. The nature of the understanding between contractor and producer was seldom if ever actually known to the seasonal farm laborer.

Institutionalizing the labor contracting system had two other important consequences: First, when the predominant piece rate payment system was combined with the labor contracting system, producers did not have to be concerned whether 2 workers or 10 picked the crop, as long as it got picked, or whether yesterday's crew appeared again today, as long as a crew was there. Secondly, the labor contractor system grew to become a far more significant factor in the seasonal agricultural labor market than the public employment agencies of the state. Public agency services, based primarily on recruitment, fell far short of the services required and regularly rendered by the contractor.

(c) A final producer response to the "seasonality factor" in agricultural labor overlaps the various responses summarized above and may be the most important response in the future. This is increasing reliance on mechanization and technological change, discussed in greater detail in Proposition II.

2. What are the primary worker problems that have resulted both from the "seasonality factor" in California agriculture, and from the producers' past responses to that factor?

(NOTE.—The EJAC approach to this question was based on thorough analysis of the most reliable statistical data available, and particularly on *California Assembly Committee on Agriculture: "Report on the California Farm Labor Force in 1965."*)

(a) Chronic, involuntary unemployment is almost a way of life for farm workers, including those who are "attached" to the farm labor force, and including those who are able to find some non-farm work to supplement their farm income.

Excluding all farm workers who made \$100 or less in 1965 (students, housewives, local residents), there were still 486,000 farm workers in that year. Only 41% of them were "fully" employed for 27 or more weeks. Excluding one-fourth of these workers, on grounds that they were not actually "attached" to the farm labor market, we can still identify 121,500 "attached" workers who were unemployed more than half the year. Most of them were able to work and available for work and in need of income from work which was not available to them.

Most of them were anxious to join the "select" ranks of the 70,000 workers who were fully employed for 50 weeks or more—but they were unable to bridge the transportation, communication, seasonality, and community facility and service hurdles, so that they could be where the jobs were when they were needed.

(b) Most of the 121,500 chronically underemployed "attached" farm workers in 1965 were also unable to supplement their poverty level incomes adequately with non-farm work.

For the total farm labor work force of 486,000 in 1965, median annual income was \$783 for those who worked in agriculture only, and was \$1,388 for those who worked both on and off the farm.

There were only 70,000 farm workers in 1965 who were employed the year round, usually at the same location. Only about 22,000 of them made \$5,000 or more.

Their work was supplemented by 277,000 short-term workers who made less than \$1,000 in farm income in 1965. They were students, housewives, local residents, and a large group drifting in and out of the farm labor force—perhaps on their way to more permanent non-farm employment. These were the workers who were able to find non-farm employment to supplement their farm earnings.

In between these two groups were 140,000 farm workers who were "attached to the farm labor market, who could not arrange for regular employment on California farms, and who were unable to obtain non-farm employment to supplement their farm incomes to any significant extent. As we have seen, about 121,500 of them were involuntarily unemployed for more than half the year.

(c) Within the group of 140,000 workers continually searching for farm job opportunities, and with little hope of increasing their earnings from non-farm employment, available data indicate that their success in finding 27 or more weeks of farm work a year increases with their increasing mobility. However, in all such cases, the percentage of workers who can find year-round employment decreases steadily as mobility increases. The practical cut-off point for increasing annual income by increasing the mobility of the worker is probably reached at about 27 weeks of work a year, even though the worker may be more professional and more attached to the labor market than most of the 277,000 short-term workers.

Increasing the mobility of attached or professional farm workers, up to any point, also reduces the amount of farm work available to the large supplementary or short-term farm labor force. More importantly, it adds to other poverty problems of this chronically underemployed group. A point of diminishing returns for the workers is quickly reached: greater mobility means more losses in time between jobs, in transportation expenses, and in the kinds of benefits that traditionally go only with regular and continuing employment—such as better housing, pay or support or alternative work in slack seasons or in bad weather, continuity in the education of the worker's children, and access to needed health care services. Those with ethnic and language problems pay a higher price still for the mobility required of them. Finally, the real costs to the worker of increased mobility add to the tendency to permit over-utilization of child labor in farm work.

(d) The primitive organization of the farm labor market is another significant factor contributing to unemployment and to chronic underemployment. The Farm Labor Service, unions, growers' associations, labor contractors, and individual growers try to direct workers to those areas where their skills are needed. Most farm workers,

however, have little contact with these efforts. Available data indicate that the primary source of worker information about job openings is still the informal, word-of-mouth, communication grape-vine, and more job information still comes from relatives and friends than from any other source.

3. What are the primary community problems and responsibilities resulting from the "seasonality factor," the producers' past response to that factor, and the workers' problems related to that factor?

(a) From the community point of view, the primary problem of farm labor in California is the abject poverty suffered by the majority of farm workers. Our analysis suggests three chief sources of that poverty: (a) Low wages, particularly for the great majority of unskilled workers; (b) Irregularity of employment, occasioned by the heavy swing in demand for labor from the winter low to the harvest peak, and the consequent short-term nature of most farm jobs; (c) Chronic underemployment, due also to the fact that useful and productive work is simply not available to workers who are ready, willing, and anxious to perform it.

(b) The history of producer responses to the farm labor problems associated with seasonality has produced no long term solution in a period of more than 100 years, during which one expedient approach was added to another. Since the end of the bracero treaty program, there have been continued attempts to revive it, or to extend the use of Mexican nationals in other ways. These attempts have proceeded without regard to the fact that we have had chronic underemployment of a huge segment of the domestically available farm labor force, at least since 1965.

(c) Farm workers unions are pursuing goals based primarily on elimination of low wages as a fundamental source of farm worker poverty. In addition, the unions pursue the goals of full application of unemployment benefits to the farm labor sector, and more effective hiring and work referral procedures, as a means of reducing the impact of irregular employment at least on those workers who can qualify for such benefits.

Believing that unionization is the only practical way to achieve such goals, and being without power to create new employment opportunities (either farm or non-farm), the unions have not been in any position to come to grips with the chronic underemployment part of the poverty problems of all farm workers. Indeed, we believe that no single group in our society can solve this problem alone, because it is a social and community problem as much as it is an economic problem, and because its solution demands re-evaluation of many of our basic assumptions, values, and prejudices.

(d) We believe that much more basic solutions must be sought by the entire community to the problem of increasing the aggregate demand for a more flexibly structured rural labor force, which could be profitably utilized in both farm and non-farm employment, on projects of unquestioned social and economic value, and of unquestioned benefit both to urban and rural California. We further believe that "solutions" which seek to structure the agricultural labor force in different ways—including any more foreign labor imports, or any traditional kind of union-management structure that might be carried over intact from the industrial sector, or any additional efforts to increase labor mobility in the present unstructured labor market—will miss the point of coming to grips with the basic problem of providing more job opportunities for rural labor. If we continue to miss this point, we will have another hundred years of solutions which do not solve the economic problems of farm workers or of farm producers, and which frequently magnify the problems of workers and of rural communities and of small pro-

ducers, as we pile one kind of short term expedient on top of another.

#### PROPOSITION II

"The present trend toward increasing reliance by producers on mechanization and technological innovation in agriculture, can be expected to continue and to accelerate in the future. The corporate giants of California agriculture will continue to increase their productive advantages gained through their greater ability to mechanize and to take competitive advantage of technological change. As in the industrial sector of the economy, there may be many long run benefits both to consumers and to society in the continuation of this trend. But there will also be increasing short-run problems for most workers, for the independent, non-corporate agricultural producers, and for most agricultural communities. The corporate giants of agriculture will also increase their influence on economic planning, investment, and policy decisions affecting not only agriculture, but all future growth and development of rural areas in California."

#### Introduction

The EJAC Committee concept of "mechanization and technological innovation" is an extremely broad one. It encompasses the use of machines like the tomato harvester, but also the development of varieties of tomato plants that will grow tomatoes that can be picked by the machine. It includes changes in processes, like cold storage or freezing, which change both field and shipping operations. It includes innovations in plant physiology, chemistry, and genetics, which have an impact not only on farming techniques but also on the types of agricultural production that can be profitably undertaken. It includes those changes in the technology of transportation and food processing which affect the way crops are planted and harvested, because they are stored, shipped, or marketed in new and different ways. Most importantly, our concept includes changes in agricultural production techniques as they have been measured over a long period of time by changes in farm output per man hour.

It is this kind of technological change that has resulted in a 60% increase in U.S. farm production between 1940 and 1963, while the number of farm workers dropped in the same period from 11 million to 6.5 million, and while the total farm population dropped in the same period from 30.5 million to 17.1 million. Most of the displaced rural people migrated into the towns and cities.

It is this kind of technological change which now permits each farm worker in the nation to produce enough to feed 42. In 1940, one farm worker could feed 17. In 1900, he could feed only 7.

And it is this kind of technological change which has brought about a decrease in the number of U.S. farms, from 5.2 million in 1949 to 3.4 million in 1964. In California, the number of farms decreased from 137,000 in 1950 (averaging 267 acres) to 80,000 in 1964 (averaging 458 acres). In both the state and the nation, the decrease in number of farm units took place almost entirely among the small, part-time, technologically inefficient and noncommercial holdings. This trend was so strong in California that by 1960, 15% of California's farms accounted for 75% of the total agricultural production of the state, and some 7,000 farms were employing two-thirds of all hired farm laborers.

#### 1. From the worker's point of view:

(a) In U.S. industry generally, and in both public and private service sectors of the economy, workers have shared the increasing productivity that results from increasing mechanization and technological change. Although agricultural industry in California has increased its productivity over the years far more than industry generally, agricultural labor in California has not shared the increase. California trend data on the com-

parative wage rate increases of farm laborers compared to other unskilled labor groups, does not tell the story. The comparison must also be drawn in terms of the availability to workers of important services and benefits, such as education, housing, health care, unemployment compensation, social security, which are generally available to industrial and service workers in California, but are only partially available, or not available at all, to farm workers.

(b) It is frequently argued that mechanization and technological change increase the demand for workers with higher skills, who can then command higher wage rates. The argument can be applied only to a very small minority of farm workers in California. As we have seen, only 70,000 California farm workers in 1965 were employed for 50 weeks or more, and of these, only 22,000 made \$5,000 or more. These select few represent less than 5% of the 486,000 workers who earned more than \$100 in California farm work in 1965. Their comparatively "high" annual farm earnings were related more to regular, full-time employment opportunity, than to "high" wage rates.

(c) That unskilled jobs continue to disappear as mechanization and technological change proceed has been documented in output per man-hour studies in many manufacturing industries, in all food processing operations in California, and in many farm field operations (cotton, carrots, lettuce, tomatoes).

With the primary impact of all technological change falling on the unskilled, there will be even less opportunity for that segment of the farm labor force to find alternative employment opportunities either in farming or in industry—even though industry continues to disperse and to open new plants and operations in rural areas.

(d) Retraining programs permitting the unskilled to qualify for new opportunities have been developed and concentrated primarily in the urban areas, in response to tremendous need for such programs there. Even if industry continues to disperse to rural areas, the skilled manpower required to keep wheels turning will be drawn more from the urban areas than from the ranks of the untrained and unskilled rural poor.

(e) The trend toward more rapid technological change in farm operations also affects the entire question of union organization of farm workers. The larger and more mechanized agricultural producers use more skilled labor, and become easier targets for union organization. In fact, many unionized packing and shipping functions, previously performed on the edge of the fields where non-union pickers labored, are now being transferred into the fields to be performed there by machines. The union often follows along with the transferred functions (carrots, lettuce, tomatoes, and other fresh produce). However, the total number of jobs involved in these operations continues to decline in relation to total output, even though the total amount of agricultural work available in the entire state may not decline. Thus the union can score its "easy" victories only on behalf of the smaller part of the farm labor force—a part needing protection less than the unskilled need it. Further, if manufacturing experience is any precedent for agricultural labor, it is probable that success in union organizing and collective bargaining will by itself speed the process of technological change, and hasten the addition of more labor-saving methods, processes, and equipment.

#### 2. From the producer's point of view:

(a) Even though much of the producer's research and development work is subsidized by taxpayers, investments in mechanization and in other technological innovations require capital. The larger and more successful the enterprise, the more easily capital becomes available to it, either from internal sources or by recourse to lending agencies.

Thus the economic squeeze on small producers is intensified.

(b) Greater advantages are available to larger enterprises through federal tax subsidies, such as the 7% corporate tax credit for investment in new plant and equipment, and the accelerated tax write-offs which favor those with greater costs from depreciation of capital equipment.

Even federal income tax laws favor larger agricultural producers and intensify the economic squeeze on the smaller producers. For example, losses from farming have long been allowable as offsetting deductions against income from other sources. This has encouraged mass movement of money to farm lands by people who are not concerned about the effects on farming, but only about their taxes on other profits. Such farm land investments are not only stimulated by tax policies, but are also calculated to take advantage of increased land values, which accrue over time from the pressure of population increases, the development of new communities, and the land values added by other government investments—such as water projects.

(c) It is not surprising that tax subsidy, and investment policies favor agriculture's large corporate enterprises, or that land speculation is uncontrolled. The rules of the game are heavily influenced, if not actually written, by those with the greatest legislative influence and staying power. This requires a heavy financial commitment to lobbying and political campaigning. Such financial and political power is not available to small producers, or to farm workers, or to the consumers of land for housing, or to the consumers of food for living. Agriculture's corporate "establishment", on the other hand, has carefully organized and nurtured its legislative power, and like most establishments, exercises that power skillfully in its own interests.

The term "agri-business" has been so abused in the past that it no longer facilitates common understanding. In this report, we prefer to use the term "agopoly," by which we mean to refer to the corporate giants and conglomerates directly involved in farming and/or food processing operations in California; plus the combines, corporations, and conglomerates who own or speculate in agricultural land, usually in huge holdings; plus all of the corporate giants who play an enormous service role—such as banks, investment and financing agencies, the corporate fertilizer and insecticide producers, the chain and "brand-name" wholesalers, brokers, and distributors, etc. In short, we mean to include as "agopolists" all of the large-scale private organizations which are usually managed by non-owners for the purpose of maximizing profits from business undertakings directly involved in or affecting the production and distribution of farm products. The profits from such operations usually go to stockholders.

We do not mean to include in the term "agopolists" those independent, noncorporate farmers who obtain their livelihood from the investment of their own management effort, and often their own labor effort as well, in their own operations. Such producers may hire farm laborers, and may add whatever capital investments they can obtain to their labor and management efforts. But they manage their own operations, which are usually farm operations, and they seek to preserve their independent status and their freedom from "outside" corporate controls and organizational structures.

California's agopolists have led the trend to greater mechanization and technological change, and have developed many other practices which have improved their productive efficiency. In the process, they have also continually bought out or squeezed out the independent, non-corporate farmers. In the process, they have also gained greater con-

trol not only of agricultural markets, but even more importantly, of land and water resources, of legislative processes, and of economic planning and capital investment policies relating to future growth and development of rural areas.

3. From the community point of view:

(a) Both the federal government, in its agricultural research programs, and the State of California, in its generous support of agricultural programs in the land grant colleges, heavily subsidize the basic research and development work which speeds technological change in agriculture. The producers who get the benefits of this taxpayer support, and particularly the large corporate producers, can argue that the subsidies do not serve their interests exclusively, but are enacted in the wider social interest. The producers, with the subsidies, theoretically become more efficient and productive, strengthen the economy, and bring a wider variety of better foods to the consumer's table, at costs that may not be lower, but which would otherwise undoubtedly have been higher.

However one evaluates the producer argument on "social" subsidies, it remains true that there are virtually no unified subsidy programs, or special legislative programs, or even research and development programs, that can be described as primarily responsive to worker needs. The Farm Labor Employment Service provides a network of job information centers which have been severely criticized as responsive primarily to producer needs by favoring an over-supply of labor. There have been some experimental housing programs with government subsidies, but they have hardly made a dent in worker needs, and they have not been related to meaningful educational programs for the children of farm workers. There have been some subsidized health care programs for migrant farm workers, which again have not scratched the surface of a tremendous backlog of worker needs.

None of these efforts to meet special farm worker needs should be criticized. But they are so minimal, fragmented, and intermittent, in comparison with the poverty problems that exist, that they can only be described as pathetic.

(b) At the local community level, the social costs of dislocations from technological change accrue most directly. The greatest social cost of all is in terms of the loss of productivity of workers who are ready, able, and willing to work, when work is not available for them. Obviously, tremendous and measurable costs also accrue to the state and local welfare system, by virtue of the poverty problems of 121,500 farm workers who can be absorbed into the working mainstream only half of each year. And even more real costs accrue and are absorbed by these workers as human beings, who are robbed of dignity and self-respect, forgotten in our economic and social policies, and deprived of the most essential of all social values, an opportunity to demonstrate their ability and to prove their worth as individuals.

The dislocation problem at the local level extends also to the independent non-corporate producers who are squeezed out by the corporate giants of agriculture. Having resources beyond the work they can do with their hands or with strong backs, their plight has been lamented less than the plight of the displaced or chronically under-employed farm worker. But their complete absorption by the corporate giants would have social and economic implications far beyond the individual displacement problems which many of these producers will be able to solve for themselves.

(c) A third group of community implications involved in Proposition II involves the relationship of California's agricultural and urban "communities." The primary problem here is migration. Current national data in-

dicates that the mass migration of unskilled labor from farm to central city, characteristic of population movements for the past 100 years, has now slowed significantly.

Our beleaguered cities will be able to use the breathing time to catch up on their incredible backlog of unresolved needs and problems. But the farm to central city migration pattern of the past will not be California's migration pattern of the future.

The primary population migration in California since the 1950's has been from central city to suburbia. The primary migration wave already under way for the future is from farm, and from central city, and from suburbia, to the new cities and towns of California's vast central valley. The public water supply is just beginning to be delivered to support the new cities and towns, the highways are being built to transport the people and the products they will produce and exchange, and much of the land on which the new cities and towns will be built is already in the hands of speculators or agopolists who are already shaping the profile of the future.

There are many questions that small producers, workers, and consumers should be joining together to raise about this profile: Will sufficient valley land be reserved for farming? If so, for what kind of farming—large scale, corporate farming only? What provisions will be made to avoid present urban area problems in housing, in public transportation, in pollution, in health care, in education, and in welfare? What voice will small farmers, workers, and consumers have in the planning of these new cities and towns? Will all the planning be done by the agopolists and the land speculators? Will they plan corporate leasehold cities and towns, on the model of the Irvine Ranch? Or will they plan for tax write-off or land speculation cities and towns? Or will they plan a revival of the "company towns" infamous in labor history?

These questions are raised more specifically in later sections of this report. Here, the point is that California's future development is now being plotted out, not in any democratic planning process, in which the views of small farmers, workers, and consumers can be heard and considered, but through the unchecked exercise of agopolistic control of land, water and community development policy.

Price and market control by agopolists may perhaps represent a price we are willing to pay for efficiency in production. But control of the future of California's rural and urban development, and the balance between them, is another price to pay. It is a much higher price, and we believe there is no meaningful exchange to make it worth paying.

#### PROPOSITION III

"There is no shortage of useful, constructive, and necessary conservation and environmental development work to be done in agricultural and rural areas and on the fringes of metropolitan areas. The work is of a social or public or community nature, and it has special importance in terms of preserving and strengthening an essential ecological balance between city and country.

"The first requirement for carrying out such conservation and environmental development work is a plan and a program. The second requirement is a regular and continuing source of labor to do the work involved.

"The labor supply exists in the unutilized potential of farm and rural workers who seek to enlarge their employment opportunities without migrating to the cities, but are unable to do so.

"What does not exist is a plan, and an organized rural labor market structure, which would make possible the full utilization of available labor resources, to meet both agricultural needs, and conservation and environmental development needs."

### Introduction

In previous sections of this report, we have focused attention on the incredible waste we have long tolerated in California of the most valuable of all of our state's natural resources—people. The waste is not only in terms of the chronic under-employment of workers attached to the farm labor force. There is also an immeasurable waste of the seasonal and casual farm labor which appears on the scene every year at harvest time, and which would appear at other times to take advantage of other kinds of employment—if such employment were available. This short-term and casual harvest labor supply would not be readily available to agriculture if we did not have chronic underemployment and poverty in the entire rural economy. Further, the total waste of human resources which we continue to tolerate must also be calculated to include much unemployed manpower in the urban centers, which appeared there in the course of the mass migrations from rural areas, primarily because productive job opportunities were not available in rural areas.

Our waste of manpower has been rationalized in many ways. Many would like to believe that the people who do not have job opportunities are lazy, or irresponsible, or interested only in living on welfare. Since it is impossible to prove these mass indictments, they must serve only to assuage the collective social conscience. What we attempt to rationalize with moral judgments is our own failure to provide bold and imaginative programs for the future economic and social development of the kind of state most of us would prefer to live in. Thus, we fall easy prey to any prejudice about our waste of human resources, including racial prejudice, because we are unwilling to meet the leadership challenge confronting us.

The first requirement of any plan or program designed to make working opportunities available to a rural labor force which is ready, willing, and anxious to work, is to delineate the conservation and environmental development projects which should have priority in meeting urgent social needs. Such a delineation could be accomplished only through a statewide planning process, sufficiently comprehensive to cope with future land and water use and future community development, and sufficiently authoritative to plan for the complete restructuring of the rural labor market.

It is not our function in this report either to design the needed planning process, or to assign priorities to various conservation and development needs and projects. It is our function (1) to outline the broad scope of planning that would be required to come to grips with these needs; (2) to list some of the conservation and environmental development projects for which need now exists; and (3) to emphasize the necessity of restructuring the rural labor market in order to make any plan or program serve our primary need for full utilization of available human resources.

1. The scope of planning required to meet our conservation and environmental needs:

Comprehensive and coordinated water and land use planning and development is fundamental to a wide variety of inter-related environmental needs, including (a) the need for more adequate flood control systems; (b) the continuing need for water storage and delivery systems for both agricultural and urban uses; (c) the need to open up vast new recreation areas; (d) our needs for land reclamation, (e) fire prevention, (f) power generation, (g) reforestation, and (h) preservation of open spaces and wild life.

Coordinated water and land development projects elsewhere in the country, especially in the Tennessee Valley, have clearly demonstrated the feasibility and economic advantages of long range, multi-use planning for land and water conservation on a regional

basis. In California, however, the need for such an approach is even greater.

Here, the chief challenge to proper water and land use planning is not posed in terms of resource conservation and development alone, but in the broader terms of ecological balance. Here, the primary planning challenge of the future will be to define sane and rational community development patterns, to meet the emerging needs of our state's increasing population, as it expands from present urban areas into new cities and towns in rural areas. Here, the highest priority for planning must be given to the problem of restoring a proper balance between urban and rural growth and development, with full consideration not only of resource use and mis-use, but also of migration patterns, and the poverty problems both of the urban poor, and of the rural poor—particularly, the seasonal agricultural labor force.

We do not at present have any planning process in California sufficiently comprehensive to cope with future land and water use and community development. What we have in lieu of a rational and democratic planning process, which should be able to cope with all three of these subjects, is the predominant influence of agopolistic interests, who largely determine our public land and water policies, even though these policies involve the vast expenditure of public funds. The agopolistic interests include huge land combines and many individual land speculators, who are often interested not in agricultural uses of rural lands, but in future development of new cities and towns in rural areas.

For example, the West Side of the San Joaquin Valley, which was mostly dry wasteland until recently, is nearly 150 miles long and 25 miles wide. By the early 1970's Feather River water will be available to this area from the San Luis Project of the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation and the California Aqueduct. In addition, a new freeway, Interstate 5, will soon extend all the way down the Western edge of the San Joaquin Valley to the Ridge Route, and will become the main line of transportation from the Bay Area to Los Angeles. These two arteries will bring the forces of growth and change to the West Side with an impact probably greater than that ever felt by any comparable region on earth.

It is noteworthy that no public transportation system has been proposed or discussed for the future development of this area. The 46 interchanges planned for Interstate 5 will therefore probably first give birth to facilities serving private automobiles and trucks. Then will come housing and business to serve the increasing labor force. Then there will be farm-based industries, heavy industries, speculation and real-estate promotions to dwarf all of California's previous land booms.

Will this coming development of new cities and towns, which would not be possible without the planned delivery of a public water supply involving vast outlays of tax funds, be guided by any kind of democratic planning? The portents are ominous. The transportation system for the area has already been decided upon in the absence of any planning process to consider alternatives to an automobile-oriented future for the people coming to the West side.

Again, we resort to rationalizations to avoid coming to grips with the coming problems. We would like to believe that we can leave the economic and environmental future of the West Side to the impersonal checks and balances of the free enterprise marketplace, and be guided only by Adam Smith's famous invisible hand. Perhaps unfortunately, the kind of economy Smith described does not exist in California today. Our state's rural economy, in particular, is already guided more by agopolistic planning than by impersonal market forces.

Planning is not the question. The only

questions that remain open are: Will the planning that is done be comprehensive enough to come to grips with the environmental issues and the ecological problems that confront not just the rural areas, but the entire state? And who will do the planning? And whose interests are to be represented both in the planning and in carrying out the programs which are planned?

2. Conservation and environmental development projects needed now:

Comprehensive water and land use planning of California's rural areas would give rise to a vast array of resource conservation and development projects. One of the chief functions of the planning process would be to develop priorities for such projects, in terms of our most pressing social and environmental needs. However, present needs are demonstrable for the following kinds of projects, which by themselves could utilize much of our available rural manpower:

(a) Land reclamation and improvement projects, which can be accomplished by scientific planting and control of both surface and deep-rooted vegetation, to increase water retention and land yield; extending such planting to the fringes of metropolitan areas can both reduce fire hazards, and reduce expenditures for expensive flood and drainage control systems; extending such planting programs to mountain areas can both reduce fire hazards, and add to the proper upstream control of flood waters;

(b) Forestry projects, to build new timber reserves; to improve and expand public parks and recreation areas; to develop new greenbelt areas around present metropolitan areas, and around the sites of future new cities and towns; to provide for greater fire control in remote areas; and to control insects, pests, disease, and blight;

(c) Recreation projects including both parks and the special facilities required for a wide variety of major outdoor activities (including operating and maintenance personnel for these facilities and activities);

(d) Building and construction projects in connection with the above, including the development of access roads, bridges, and rights of way; grading and terracing work for fire, flood, and erosion control; building of control dams and water storage basins in upstream areas; building of campground and other recreation area facilities; developing and maintaining hiking trails, greenbelts, and landscape work in both rural and urban areas; historic site restoration; development of water delivery systems from holding and storage reservoirs; development of more comprehensive fire prevention systems, permitting easier access to remote areas, and adding more firebreaks;

(e) Other conservation projects, including algae control work in ponds and lakes; development of public and/or private nurseries to raise needed vegetative stock for planting programs; carrying out a vast extension of tree shelter belts, which could be planned in connection with green belt areas interconnected by a statewide system of riding and hiking trails and campgrounds.

3. Structure of a rural labor market capable of utilizing available manpower to meet both agricultural needs, and our broader conservation and environmental needs:

We believe that most of our needed conservation and development work could be planned and organized to take advantage of the "off season" availability of farm workers. In fact, much of the work we have described above must be done in the late fall, winter, or early spring seasons.

Further, we believe that our farm and rural labor supply is sufficient to fill all agricultural needs—including harvest peak needs—and to carry out the conservation and development work which must be planned.

However, the labor supply would not be

sufficient unless we also plan to structure the rural labor market so that it can meet both needs. Creating the necessary structure would require the development of resident labor pools in centers geographically situated so as to permit the working residents in each center to have easy access both to the farm labor markets in the area of each center, and to the special conservation and development projects which are undertaken in the area of each center.

We believe that the most feasible way to restructure the chaotic farm labor market would be by locating, planning, and developing from six to twelve new cities or towns in key agricultural areas, to serve as the labor centers whose residents would form the core of the continuing labor supply for both the agricultural needs in each area, and the conservation and development project needs in each area. Proper location of sites for the proposed new towns may dictate use of an existing city or town, in which case our proposal would be to rebuild sections of the existing town and to add needed facilities to accommodate the larger working population to be located there.

Location of new town sites would depend on a service area concept related both to the need for manpower in a service area, and to the requirements of workers for the essentials of decent shelter, health care, education, recreation, and continuity in home life. As an illustration, the boundaries of an appropriate service area might be set at 100 square miles, with transportation pools and mobile housing facilities used to permit workers to fan out from the central residential core area during harvest peak periods, or during special phases of conservation work. Guaranteeing opportunities for full use of labor resources in the new towns would necessitate advance hiring and job referral arrangements with all agricultural producers in the service area, with all agencies and private groups involved in conservation and development work in the area, and possibly with area industries as well.

The development of adequate housing and community facilities in the new towns would constitute a primary source of continuing demand for much of the labor of the community. Decent housing is only a starting point, for a central concept of new town planning must be establishment of more adequate educational, health care and other community facilities than farm workers and many rural workers have ever had in the past.

In such a planned program of community development based on maximization of employment opportunities and stability in the home and community life of farm and rural workers, the kind of unionism that could be expected to emerge would be neither craft nor industrial, but community unionism. The most important service function of such unionism might be operation of an effective work referral system. The traditional "bargaining" function might find as much scope in negotiations to extend work opportunities, as in negotiations to determine wage rates.

#### PROPOSITION IV

"Many groups and organizations interested in conservation of resources and in environmental problems in California have called for immediate adoption of a planning mechanism comprehensive enough to permit development of a state-wide land use plan for the future of all areas in which publicly subsidized water is to be delivered (whether the public subsidies are direct or indirect). Such a planning mechanism could incorporate the authority both to delineate the priority conservation and environmental development projects which are needed now, and to locate and develop new towns.

"In addition, a feasible basis exists in California for public acquisition of lands that

could be utilized for broad community purposes, including the development of new towns.

"We believe that all church groups affiliated with the California Church Council should join in common purpose with other conservation and planning groups interested in establishing a state-wide planning process with authority to acquire and to maintain new public properties. We believe that the kind of planning mechanism proposed and advocated by such groups would be the most feasible and appropriate mechanism for incorporating the special planning needs and approaches we have identified in this report.

"Further, we believe that EJAC should take the initiative in developing and coordinating a practical program to demonstrate the feasibility of one or two new town projects, which would be organized specifically to achieve maximum productive utilization of working residents in the demonstration areas."

#### Introduction

The problems of inadequate housing and community facilities, of water and air pollution, of chemical contamination, of waste disposal, of public health and of transportation, are all obvious problems. The question of adequate life space, and other elements of human ecology, will now be even more important in terms of providing a liveable environment for an increasingly dense and affluent population.

The challenge to planning which is involved in this simply phrased "question of adequate life space" is the major challenge to mankind at this particular historical juncture, and may yet prove to be the major challenge of all of man's time on earth.

Various groups and institutions in California—including the Northern California Council of Churches, the Sierra Club, the Planning and Conservation League, the California Labor Federation, Californians for Land and Water Conservation, California Rural Legal Assistance, the Public Policy Research Organization (University of California consortium), and others—have approached the challenge from a specific frame of reference—the federal reclamation law. This law was designed to insure that large public expenditures and investments in water resources are made consistent with the principle of the greatest good for the greatest number, to promote conservation, and to prevent speculation in land at public expense. When public water is made available to land without water, or with limited water supply, the value of such land accrues enormously. Who should reap the increased values—the agopolists and speculators, who did not bring the water to the land, or the public, which did?

The answer contained in reclamation law is that the owners should reap the increased values, but that large owners and speculators should not be allowed to reap windfall profits from accruals in land values. The Supreme Court has interpreted the law as intended to insure that the benefits from enormous public expenditures for water "will not go in disproportionate share to a few individuals with large landholdings."

To carry out this intent, the law specifies an acreage limit per individual owner, and specifies that when water is delivered to lands owned in excess of the acreage limitation, the excess land must be sold.

Groups like the Northern California Council of Churches, Sierra Club, and Californians for Land and Water Conservation, are urging that when such excess lands become available, they should be purchased by the federal government. Such groups then seek, in the words of the resolution of the Northern California Council of Churches:

"To establish a democratic planning process, which will call upon all interested parties to participate in the development of an

overall land-use plan for the future of all areas in which federally financed water is delivered, including both urban and rural land uses. We also urge the California State Legislature, administration, and local governments within California to help facilitate the democratic planning process, in cooperation with the federal government;

"To develop, on the basis of an established master plan, a policy for the redistribution of the lands purchased by the federal government in parcels which are in keeping with the original intent of federal reclamation law but also related to the most economically and socially feasible use of the land;

"To create a procedure and system by which government purchase and resale of excess lands will provide funds for Water Grants for Education and Conservation while preserving open spaces and agricultural greenbelts."

1. Cooperating in the effort to establish an effective state-wide planning process:

We believe that EJAC and the California Church Council should lend full support to the common goals of the various California conservation and planning groups seeking federal support for public and community development programs of broad scope, with the stipulation that provision must be made in such proposals for a democratic planning mechanism. We believe that the goals of these groups are intimately related to the planning needs described in this report, for these reasons:

(a) As the California valley areas are developed in the future, both EJAC and the California Church Council must remain committed to the kinds of policies that (a) will improve the lives of farm workers, and especially will meet their urgent needs for community facilities and services, such as housing, education, and health care; and (b) will preserve a place in the future for the small, non-corporate, independent, family-size farm—however large or small such a farm may now be.

We believe that these commitments can only be made effective if the church groups properly evaluate current developments in state water and land use policies, as these policies affect the environmental issues of our time. We wish to emphasize that the evaluation of present policies must be in terms of the present commitments of EJAC and the Church Council to "economic justice for the agricultural community." Neither group should lend any support to any program which goes only part of the way toward meeting these commitments. For example, there should be no support of any program to plan and create new cities and towns in rural areas, if the program then leaves the new town residents to sink or swim in arranging for their own employment in a surrounding sea of agopolistic organizations and special interests. Similarly, there should be no support of any program to restructure the rural labor market if the program is not organized to meet the primary needs of workers for community facilities and services, and does not seek to provide a more stable home life than farm and rural and seasonal workers have been able to achieve in the past.

(b) We believe that existing commitments of EJAC and the California Church Council, both to workers and to small farmers, can only be made effective if both groups take an active role in insisting on the public's right to have its public interest expressed and heard in planning for the future use of publicly financed water supplies.

(c) We believe that an unprecedented educational and leadership effort will be required to establish the kind of state-wide land use plan envisioned in the resolution of the Northern California Council of Churches, quoted above. Neither EJAC, nor the North-

ern California Council, nor the California Church Council can provide all of the leadership and education necessary to achieve widespread public understanding of the issues involved, and widespread public support for the establishment of the necessary planning mechanism. Careful coordination with other groups interested in the same goals will be essential. Even the more limited purpose of establishing priorities for the kinds of conservation and development projects outlined above, in order to begin utilizing human resources to meet social and community needs, will require careful coordination among all groups interested in the future of California's valley areas. In the process, no single group with special purposes, no matter how salutary, will be able to carry any special planning program alone.

2. Determining the question of public vs. private ownership and control:

In the ghetto areas of our cities, there has been much experience in recent years in the development of practical mechanisms to achieve greater democratic participation and involvement in programs for housing and for the construction and operation of various community facilities—including schools. Progress has been slow, and fraught with controversy.

However, in a framework of rural new town planning and development, the problems are much different and much more manageable. The possibility exists at the outset for community ownership of land to be used for housing, for service and trade establishments and for community facilities. Utilizing this possibility would give an important initial impetus both to planning, and to the immediate development of new town demonstration projects.

We believe that public or community ownership and control of lands and sites for new cities and towns in California's rapidly developing rural areas will prove to be the only feasible way (1) to avoid the inflationary effects of private land speculation in these areas, and (2) to reduce the tax impact of constructing and operating extensive new community facilities in these areas. The latter objective could be achieved by insuring that the communities themselves benefit from future accruals in land values that are basically the result of community development.

Within a framework guaranteeing long-term community benefits from increasing land values, we also believe it would be possible to insure adequate opportunities for individuals home ownership, and to preserve incentives to guarantee efficiency in service and trade enterprises. An initial emphasis on democratic planning and on public acquisition and control of land does not rule out all other alternatives to future development.

In fact, we believe it would be the function of a democratic planning mechanism to come to grips with the question of the proper mix of governmental, cooperative, and private functions in the developing economies of new cities and towns in California's vast central valley areas. These questions can no longer be consigned to the guidance of Adam Smith's "invisible hand."

In the process of deriving practical answers to some of the fundamental economic questions raised here, the democratic planning approach we urge would also have to develop much new information needed for proper evaluation.

For example, what is the present level of taxpayer subsidy and support of existing programs benefitting rural areas, including agricultural research and development programs, and including public water programs? In the provision of this tax support, how are tax burdens distributed, and how are the direct and indirect benefits of these tax programs distributed? To what extent do we now rely on free, private market mechanisms

in the operation of our agricultural and rural economy, and to what extent are we already involved in mixed public and private sector "partnership" programs?

Answers will continue to be given to many of these questions—for example, in ballot propositions involving interest rates on bonds for water projects and other public facilities—even in lieu of authoritative data on the economic implications. Our greatest need is to extend the range of cost accounting information we usually rely on, to comprehend the real economic costs which accrue to society in the absence of democratic, rational, planned public approaches to the enormous growth and development of new cities and towns that will occur in California in the next few decades.

3. Taking additional steps to advance the concept of "economic justice for the agricultural community":

(a) In addition to cooperating with other groups on the common goal of establishing a much needed, state-wide, comprehensive and democratic planning process, EJAC and the California Church Council should seek to influence legislators at both state and federal levels on our need for planning, on our need for action on conservation and environmental issues, and on our need for a thorough restructuring of the rural labor market—as these needs have been described above.

(b) EJAC should also begin immediately on a project designed to demonstrate the feasibility of one or two new towns on the west side of the San Joaquin valley. The first step here would be to seek funding to support a feasibility study for the location of the new towns. This step should be taken in conjunction with other groups already working on general projects which could incorporate this approach—for examples, (a) Californians for Land and Water Conservation, (b) West Side Development Group (an Association), and (c) Public Policy Research Organization (University of California, Irvine).

Until it is possible to develop a viable state-wide planning mechanism, the key elements in such a feasibility study or demonstration project would be (a) availability of land on which the new towns could be built; (b) willingness of agricultural producers in the area to make binding arrangements for use of residents for agricultural needs, through a referral system developed for agricultural labor services; and (c) availability of housing and community facility funds through existing federal and state programs, which would have to be coordinated in their focus on new town development, rather than fragmented by function or by area.

CONGRESSMAN COLLIER INTRODUCES LEGISLATION TO RESTRICT THE SALE OF EXPLOSIVE DEVICES

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, the bombings that have terrorized many communities throughout the Nation have intensified demands that something be done to stop this manifestation of anarchism.

All levels of government—local, State, and National—have responsibilities in this area. All three branches of the Federal Government likewise have responsibilities.

The executive branch must do all in its power to apprehend and incarcerate the perpetrators of these dastardly acts. The judicial branch must quit releasing dangerous criminals so they can commit more crimes.

What, you may ask, responsibility does the legislative branch have regarding bombings? Have we not passed enough laws which, if properly enforced, would enable law-enforcement officers to jail all the bombthrowers they catch?

Mr. Speaker, the answer, surprisingly, is: No, we have not passed enough laws. We need at least one more. I was surprised and shocked to learn that there is no Federal statute that would effectively curtail or at least limit the sale or other distribution of dynamite and other high explosives or make mandatory the keeping of records of the sales of such items and their ingredients. If we were operating under the laws that apply during a state of national emergency or during a war constitutionally declared by Congress, the Federal Explosives Act would be in force.

Unfortunately, the act does not apply under present circumstances, because we are not now in a state of national emergency and our participation in the war in Vietnam was begun during the Kennedy administration without a declaration of war by the Congress.

In order to strengthen existing laws on the subject, I have today introduced a bill that would amend the Gun Control Act of 1968 to include explosives. Anyone who sells explosives would be required to record the names, addresses, and ages of the purchasers. Sellers would not be permitted to sell explosives to persons under indictment, to those who are under the influence of alcohol or narcotics, or to any one who appears to be mentally unbalanced.

Mr. Speaker, it is imperative that we do all in our power to bring the wave of bombings to a halt. One of the best methods of accomplishing this goal is the cutting off of supplies at the source, as my bill proposes to do.

#### SMOKING CONTROVERSY

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, those of us who attended last year's lengthy hearings on this bill were amazed to find, from the scores of scientific experts who appeared before us, that virtually no significant progress has been made in research to resolve the smoking controversy since the Congress last acted on this matter 5 years ago.

Last month, just as the conferees were about to meet on this bill, the American Cancer Society held a news conference to announce results of certain smoking experiments involving beagle dogs, in which some manifestations of lung cancer were said to have been observed. One witness before our committee had been Dr. Victor Buhler, one of America's

most distinguished pathologists and a former president of the College of American Pathologists. Recalling his testimony regarding animal smoke inhalation studies, I wrote to Dr. Buhler and asked him to comment on this latest report. His reply strikes me as a perfect illustration of the difficulty of deriving real meaning from research results which are publicly reported, with great fanfare, before there has been any opportunity for critical scrutiny by qualified scientists.

Dr. Buhler's letter speaks for itself, and, without objection, I would like to share it with our colleagues, as follows:

St. JOSEPH HOSPITAL,  
Kansas City, Mo., February 21, 1970.

HON. TIM LEE CARTER,  
House of Representatives, Longworth House  
Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR DR. CARTER: Thank you for your recent telegram in which you inquired about an animal smoke inhalation experiment announced by Drs. Auerbach and Hammond earlier this month.

In connection with my testimony before your Committee last April (which, of course, was long before Drs. Auerbach and Hammond announced their results), I stated that in some inhalation experiments "there has been considerable trauma to the respiratory system of the animal by the procedures used." I went on to say that if lung cancer were produced by this experimental method, "I would have to question the effect which the trauma itself might have had in the result."

The method used by Dr. Auerbach is just such an experiment to which I made reference. He used dogs (beagles) who "smoked" in an unnatural way by means of a surgical incision in the neck tissues and trachea which was permanently kept patent by use of a foreign body (a hollow tube). This is certainly much different than the way in which a human being smokes a cigarette.

As you know, a scientist usually informs his colleagues and shares the knowledge of his experimental work by publishing the result of his experiments in a reputable scientific journal. The results of the latest Auerbach experiment have not been so published. My first knowledge of these experiments came from a front page article in our local newspaper.

Immediately after the newspaper article appeared, I obtained a copy of the report which was the basis for the newspaper publicity. I have read this report several times and carefully reviewed its contents. In responding to your request for my comments, I am compelled to say that the report raises several important questions. For example:

1. Experimental results offered as scientific evidence are only as good as, and can be no better than, the experimental model used. With this in mind, how can anyone claim that this experiment approximates the natural method of smoking in humans? The method used by Dr. Auerbach involves the direct delivery of cigarette smoke to the lower trachea, the bronchi and the lungs, thereby bypassing the oral cavity, the pharynx, the larynx and the upper portion of the trachea. A tracheotomy is a most unnatural way for an animal to breathe and certainly introduces the possibility of infection, both bacterial and viral, not only from the tracheotomy, but also by the constant irritation of the hollow tube used to keep the tracheotomy patent. I should think that such a technique would arouse extreme skepticism. Not only were all of the protective mechanisms of the upper respiratory tract not allowed to function, but also the mixing of air and smoke which occurs under normal smoking conditions could not have occurred. In earlier beagle dog experiments, Dr. Auerbach re-

ported that five successive inhalations of smoke were taken in by the dog without intervening inhalation of air. The dog's mouth and nostrils would presumably have to be closed by physical force so as to allow for inhalation through the hollow tube in the throat. These indisputably traumatic conditions could in themselves be causative and therefore create extreme doubt as to the meaning of the reported results.

2. It may well be that the dog is not a suitable animal for lung experimentation. For example, McLaughlin, Tyler and Canada have warned experimenters in their article entitled "A Study of the Subgross Pulmonary Anatomy in Various Mammals", American Journal of Anatomy 108(2): 149-165 (1961), that "... great caution should be exercised in the choice of an experimental animal for pulmonary studies if they are to be applied to man. This is especially so if the dog, cat, or monkey are to be used, in view of their marked anatomical differences from man."

3. Why were there only eight control dogs out of a total original population of ninety-seven dogs? Were the control dogs subjected to simulated smoking and otherwise treated in every way as were the other dogs? It does not appear that a properly controlled air stream directed through the tracheostoma was substituted for "smoke" and unless this was done I am inclined to question whether these eight dogs could be deemed adequate controls.

4. It is not at all clear what Dr. Auerbach means by the word "early" in his reference to "early squamous cell bronchial carcinomas." This is not standard terminology so I do not know whether he has reference to "carcinoma-in-situ" or to some other lesion. Since Dr. Auerbach's results have not been published, including adequate photographs, and since the criteria utilized are not clear, one should exercise great caution in drawing any conclusions at this time from the descriptive phraseology used.

5. Most of the "invasive tumors" reported in the dogs that "smoked" were described as being of a bronchioloalveolar type. This is a type of cancer which is infrequent in human beings. Even the Public Health Service has not associated this type of tumor with cigarette smoking. Does Dr. Auerbach refute his previous reports of a relationship of squamous cell carcinoma and smoking in humans by now claiming that the bronchioloalveolar type is more prevalent? [I should add that I cannot determine from the report how many "invasive tumors" in all were observed. Nor does it appear that any of the tumors deemed malignant, whether bronchioloalveolar or squamous, had metastasized.]

6. Dr. Auerbach has reported tumors in over sixty percent of the "smoking" dogs in the groups sacrificed. Based on my knowledge and experience, there is no such incidence, similar to these statistics, in any human population.

7. Similarly, an amazing twenty-five percent of the non-smoking dogs were reported to have developed tumors. What might the percentage have been if the dogs had been allowed to live out their entire lives? Serious questions are raised by this reported finding with respect to the use, not just of dogs generally, but of the beagles in this particular experiment. Was any real control of genetic, viral, environmental and other factors imposed?

Medical "breakthroughs", usually announced in newspaper headlines, often turn out to be disappointments when subjected to careful scientific scrutiny. For example, a December 1967 article by Harris and Negroni reported the production of lung tumors in cigarette smoking mice. It was hailed by an American Cancer Society sponsored bulletin, widely distributed to dentists and physicians,

as undermining "one of the long-standing defenses of the tobacco industry." The headline on the story read "Lung Cancer: Another Experimental 'First'." But in the published article, the authors cautioned that "the mouse lung cannot be equated histologically with the human lung, and so 'degrees of carcinogenicity' derived in one system may have no validity for the other." Even HEW's 1968 Supplement to The Health Consequences of Smoking summed up this "scientific breakthrough" as follows: "Harris and Negroni, in experiments with C-57 black mice, some of which were inoculated with viruses, achieved some enhancement of adenocarcinoma, but did not produce any proven squamous cell cancers."

WILLIAM LYNCH

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to place in the RECORD today the remarks made by my close friend, William J. Lynch, at the annual St. Patrick's observance of the Sons of Irish Kings.

Mr. Lynch has been a credit to my State and a leader of a host of private organizations over the years.

I am sure that my colleagues will read with interest Mr. Lynch's remarks concerning the Irish and their accomplishments.

Mr. Speaker, without objection, I place in the RECORD Mr. Lynch's remarks:

THE DAY WE CELEBRATE

It is indeed an honor and a privilege to have been selected by King Ray Fogarty to be your speaker on this occasion and to join with my brother sons of Irish Kings in celebrating the great feast of the national apostle of the land of our fathers—the Great St. Patrick. Surely this feast must rank unique among all of the national festivals of the world. It is probably the oldest of its kind, for the Irish nation and its sons and daughters, have celebrated it consistently and continuously from year to year for nearly 1500 years. This is no local festival honored in a small island off the west coast of Europe. No, it is a feast-day marked with solemnity and attended with great rejoicing throughout the length and breadth of this planet of ours, wherever and in whatever corner of the globe the sons and daughters of the Gael have found themselves a home and a haven. It is a day—or rather it is a season—acknowledged and welcomed by people of all nationalities and many creeds—and is it not characteristic of the warm-hearted generosity of the Celt that the Irish people in their homeland do not endeavor to appropriate the spirit of this glad day all to themselves? Instead, they rejoice mightily to see the countless numbers of their fellowmen participate in the commemoration of the saint they honor and revere, partake of the happiness, and join in the joyous and traditional ceremonial of the seventeenth of March of each year—that day of days when from all the world over millions upon millions of thoughts center on the green isle of Erin and its national patron.

And so we are gathered here this evening, some of Irish birth—all of Irish blood and heritage, on the eastern shores of this favored and predestined land of America—a land which for so long was indeed a land of promise for the sons of St. Patrick in their

days of sorrow and tribulation—to recall once again to our minds the significance in time and in eternity of the glorious apostle of Ireland, of whom it has been said that he brought to the noble Gaelic people a soul and to their chieftains a conscience, and to pledge anew our abiding fidelity and loyalty to that faith and to those traditions which the Saint so firmly implanted in our forebears 15 centuries ago. The strong emotions that each one of us feels tonight are blended inextricably with the joys and sorrows of our ancestors over the years.

All the world has felt and benefited from the love and the loyalty of Ireland for the things of the mind and the spirit. Here in America we can say with all modesty that the Irish role in the development of the American spirit has been an exceptional and exalted one. Out of the sweat of their brow successive Irish generations have studded our country with works that breathe their love of God and of their fellowmen; with churches and schools; with hospitals and homes and houses of fraternal service; they have come in due time to participate in the leadership of our country, in its national life, its administration, in the professions. They have fought and bled and died to make secure their ideals of American society and its precious values.

America today is engaged not only in a struggle to overcome the economic drive of communist imperialism and its aggressive purposes in the political field. We are also involved in an even deeper battle: the struggles for the minds and hearts of millions of men and women in new nations that are just emerging from the colonial stage. At home, too, the warfare of ideas goes on and the pressures of materialism mount around us.

In that conflict the faith and devotion of America's citizens of Irish origin provide an abiding source of interior strength. Grounded upon fixed principles of morality, humbled by a true sense of the limitations of man's nature, enlightened by the truths of religion, the Irish mind seeks to put all things in their true and proper order under God. Out of that proper order, that habit of putting first things first, comes real spiritual strength, the kind of strength that is so vital to our endurance in the modern war of nerves, the daily battle for the souls and the hearts of men.

Side by side with our own United States, Ireland annually makes her unique and glorious contribution to the struggle to win the fight against Communism's insidious program to enslave the mind of all humanity. I refer, of course, to the vast missionary endeavor that is one of little Ireland's biggest contributions to mankind.

Last year almost one thousand Irish missionaries, priests, nuns and brothers went to the mission fields of Africa and Asia. They are teachers, doctors and nurses to staff schools, hospitals, training centers of many kinds in these primitive areas, in which at present 15,000 other Irish missionaries are working. Try to imagine the total value of the work involved in all this. It goes on every minute of the day, year in, year out, and—the record indicates it is always expanding. It cannot be measured in terms of money because only dedicated men and women can possibly perform it. We could estimate, however, that the cost of maintaining the same number of lay men and women in the same areas would run, I am sure, to not less than 10 million dollars a year. Yet these Irish missions are maintained by a country of 3 million people with a per capita income one fifth that of the United States. I mention this single example of Irish international activity because so few of us think about it, and because it is so characteristic of the greatheartedness of the Irish people. The peoples of Nigeria, of Ghana, of Korea and China, of India and Ceylon know of the

Benign Irish presence in their midst with affection and gratitude.

In our own hearts and minds we must keep ever alive that deep Irish sense of the primacy of things spiritual, which is our most precious distinction, and while we do so, we may look to Ireland with hope for her role in the future of mankind. Once Ireland led a great cultural and spiritual revival as the early middle ages emerged from the darkness of the barbarian invasions. Still in the world of today she is a burning and a shining light. Her cause is not only vital to the realization of international justice and the principles of the United Nations, but out of a united and strong Ireland of the future, another great spiritual dawn may be looked for in the world.

It seems to me that in our preoccupation with our own problems here we may have permitted our relations with Ireland, that great motherland of the Christian millions, to have become remote and nebulous. If that is the case, it is a calamity that it should continue for we can only impoverish ourselves thereby. Think for a bit how meager has been the contribution to Ireland from the world at large and how immense her own contribution.

How strange it is, that this land that sent her sons as soldiers to the defense of every stricken nation should receive so little outside help in her struggle for independence and statehood. France, Spain, Austria, Canada, and the United States felt the rallying force of the Irish volunteer in every fight for freedom; and more, Washington felt not only the power of Irish manhood in the Continental Army, but the might of important financial contributions when they were needed most.

And this same intrepid, dauntless devotion to the ideal of nationhood lived through the centuries, until on July 11, 1921, Ireland became a nation. Alone, unaided, an unarmed people, against the might of an empire, won for itself recognition and independence. Army without banners, is the description given to the gallant little band that won that age-old fight. Army without banners indeed—army without adequate arms equipment—army poor in everything material with which wars are won. But army rich in courage, rich in the justness of its cause, rich in the spirit of its patriots, transmitted to them by their heroic fathers; rich in the consciousness of nationhood; rich with the determination to live like heroes, and die like men; rich in the armor of justice and christianity; rich in the teachings and prayers of Saint Patrick; and rich in the graces of Almighty God.

I would like to close this short tribute to St. Patrick, to Ireland, and to the great Irish people by recalling from the works of the famed Robert L. Taylor, a few words which in my opinion have achieved the status of immortality.

"If I were a sculptor, I would chisel from the marble my ideal of a hero. I would make it the figure of an Irishman, sacrificing his hopes and his life on the altar of his country."

"If I were a painter, I would make the canvas eloquent with the deeds of the bravest people who ever lived; whose proud spirit no power can ever conquer, and whose loyalty and devotion to the hopes of free government, no tyrant can ever crush. And I would write under the picture—Ireland."

"If I were a poet, I would melt the world to tears with the pathos of my song. I would touch the heart of all humanity with the mournful history of Ireland's wrongs and Erin's woes. I would weave the shamrock and the rose into garlands of glory for the Emerald Isle, the land of martyrs and memories; the cradle of heroes; the nursery of liberty."

Surely these sentiments, must find an echo and touch a responsive chord in the

heart of every liberty-loving American of today. This evening, in this month of Patrick, let us in whose veins flows the blood of the Gael, dedicate ourselves anew to bringing to complete fruition in our day that solemn but long deferred hope of generation upon generation of Irishmen—"that all of Ireland must be free, from the center to the sea."

#### DRAFT LOTTERY A DECEPTION

### HON. ANDREW JACOBS, JR.

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, news commentator Paul Harvey has the uncommon talent for expressing commonsense ideas clearly. For example:

DRAFT LOTTERY A DECEPTION

(By Paul Harvey)

How easily we can rattle some capsules in a big glass bowl and draw lots to see who goes to war and who does not.

With righteous wrath we outlaw gambling with dollars yet proclaim this gambling with human lives as "the only fair way."

There's a much fairer way: Draft us old guys and leave these enlightened young ones free to try to work us out of the multiple messes their parents got them into.

Already the draft lottery is falling to live up to the promises for it.

When the big drawing took place, young Americans draft-eligible the first year were told the odds were one-in-three they'd be called. Now the draft calls have been reduced but the odds have gone up to one-in-two.

Last month, young men with birthdays in the first hundred dates drawn were told they'd likely be called sometime during the year.

Now some draft boards expect to take men with numbers in the two-hundreds this first month.

The reason, we're told, is that the nation's 4,000 draft boards do not have uniform supplies of eligible men.

Again, Selective Service Washington headquarters promises somehow to "make it fair and equitable."

The best way to do that is to stop fighting today's wars with yesterday's weapons.

Masses of marching men are as outdated as the slingshot in an era of advanced technology.

President Nixon says he's willing to take "risks for peace"; then let's end the draft altogether.

There is no way our six-percent fraction of the world's mothers can produce enough boy babies to police the earth with bayonets; even if we should there is no way we could.

What's needed to guarantee our own nation's security is the most sophisticated military technology in the hands of a streamlined volunteer force of highly trained technicians.

You shove that kind of fist in the face of the world, you'll keep any enemy at arms' length.

"Young men for war; old men for counsel" has made no sense since the dawn of the nuclear age.

If 59 is not too old to pilot an airliner it's not too old to pilot a bomber.

And if we're going to fight modern wars with antique weapons, we old guys have had some experience with those.

Besides, many of us dogfaces left over from the Big War spent such a little while in safe rear-echelon jobs that we have yet to wade

through mud and blood as our young are being asked to do.

Besides, it's us older men got us into this mess; let the old men get us out. We backed into the fire, it's our rear that ought to get blistered not our sons.

Besides, most of us have enjoyed our nation's most shining hours. We have grown fat on the bountiful fruits of our beloved Republic. It is we who owe a debt.

Our school-age generation has not yet harvested the first fruits, has not had time to live a life, to love a wife, to father children.

Let's give these keen young intellects opportunity to mature and perhaps they, wiser than we, may one day lead us out of the jungle.

**WE CAN END THE DRAFT IMMEDIATELY**

The unsettling effect of the military draft has been ameliorated only somewhat by the lottery.

It's still a heck of a way to run an army, to have to push unwilling men into the front lines with the threat of a prison sentence.

We've put up with this service under duress for so long now that most Americans have forgotten what a drastic departure this is from our nation's historic antipathy toward involuntary servitude.

If, in wartime, survival requires forcing everybody into uniform, then the only fair and equitable system would be to include everybody, all ages, both sexes.

But on or about the first day of February there will be placed on President Nixon's desk a document which says the military draft is not necessary, that a volunteer army is practicable and recommends that—without necessarily waiting for the end of hostilities in Vietnam—we should get on with it.

President Nixon may well be President because of his campaign promise to abolish the draft. One of his first acts as President was to name a commission to study how and when this might be accomplished.

The fifteen member commission is headed by former Defense Secretary, Thomas Gates, Jr. Its Executive Director is Dean William H. Meckling of the University of Rochester. He tells me the commission consulted with scores of military and civilian manpower experts and the recommendation which those fifteen men will deliver to the President (next week) is to this extent unanimous: an all-volunteer Army should be tried and this is the year to consider it.

The increased cost of an all-volunteer army is projected by the commission as "about three billion dollars."

That much and more might be saved immediately by eliminating the cumbersome, costly overhead of maintaining four thousand Selective Service headquarters and the inestimable cost of chasing down and rounding up and prosecuting draft evaders.

Our Army, trying to upgrade training to match today's more sophisticated weaponry, has been frustrated by the frequently low standards of selectees and the passive resistance of many to this uninspiring involvement in Vietnam.

Despite vast improvements in basic training, we are still sending to Vietnam soldiers who are unprepared for combat.

One First Sgt. Vietnam vet, now based at Fort Knox, says he's seen G.I.'s assigned to combat "when they didn't even know how to take apart, clean and re-assemble their weapons."

Only 60% of the men who graduate from basic training go on to advanced combat training. The rest—cooks, clerks and truck drivers—are just as likely to end up in Vietnam, but with only sketchy combat skills.

If our nation's security depends on masses of marching men, we might as well start buying Russian War bonds—because our six-percent of the planet's population can't possibly match the Asiatics, man-for-man.

We can bleed to death trying. If we succeed in keeping potential enemies at arm's length, it will be with technological weaponry. That kind of Army must be staffed with professionals, not amateurs.

**FRIENDS WARM UP AS WE BACK OFF**

Pullout of United States troops from Vietnam has shifted into second gear. Now the withdrawal is sufficient to allow for cutbacks in total United States troop strength.

The number of United States troops in Vietnam is being reduced thousands each week; is already below the lows of three years ago.

Now the President intends during the next 18 months to reduce the total number of Americans in uniform.

We now have three-and-a-third million men mobilized; the goal is 2.7 million men by the middle of 1971.

That would return us to a standing military force comparable to what ours was before the Vietnam buildup.

The timetable for shrinkage of the military which I am about to relate could accelerate, but as of now the plan is to eliminate 300,000 men from our armed forces by July 1 this year, plus 72,000 civilians.

Almost inevitably this cutback will be matched by a corresponding reduction in the military draft.

That the Administration will be accused of timing a drastic draft reduction to an election year is inevitable—in an election year. However, this "civillianization" of our nation is entirely consistent with the President's position dating back to his campaign promises to end the war and end the draft.

Secretary of State, William Rogers, says the Administration program for ending the United States involvement in the Vietnam war is "irreversible" and has already "changed the tenor of American foreign policy."

And this "changed tenor of American foreign policy" is having an interesting effect on our sometimes friends in Asia.

Vice President Agnew, during his recent swing through eleven Asian nations, restated the Administration's policy of "friendship" for all nations, but with the understanding that they will fight their own wars with their own men.

And where there were some red-led demonstrations against the Agnew visit, there was none of the spitting and stoning and traffic-blocking mobs which embarrassed earlier American visitors to those areas.

Heretofore, our allies have been willing to let Uncle Sam do their work, pay their bills, fight their wars. In return for our selflessness, we got more criticism than praise, more resentment than respect.

When the moment of truth arrived in Vietnam and we sought help from the 42 "allies" we had been helping, only five responded and those with only token forces. And except for Australia and New Zealand, we had to pay for the support of their troops.

Each time since 1965 that our White House has asked for more flags in Vietnam, for more support from the "allies" we have been supporting, the reply was a deafening silence. None of our 14 NATO partners responded. Among our SEATO allies, even Great Britain, France and Pakistan pretended not to hear.

Now the United States is changing "the tenor" of American foreign policy, as Mr. Rogers says, and sure enough, as we cool off our friends begin to warm up again.

Was the draft lottery rigged? Not intentionally, certainly.

But three University of Pittsburgh students have analyzed the results of the draft lottery—with the aid of a computer—and they have found a pattern to the chosen numbers—which suggests the deck, however inadvertently, was stacked.

It would appear somebody forgot to stir the numbers.

For example, there were 17 December birth-dates in the first third of the lottery.

The lottery has perhaps served the single purpose of limiting a young man's period of exposure to the draft to one year. And this, in turn, may quiet some campus unrest.

But one would hope that the whole conception of enforced military service might soon be set aside in favor of the all volunteer force which the President has promised.

One thing I notice most among today's young—and I am on campuses somewhere two or three days every week—

One common denominator which disgusts and disillusiones today's young people is hypocrisy.

That involves Dad staggering home drunk and telling Junior not to smoke pot. It involves fighting communists on the other side of the world and tolerating them in Cuba.

And yes, it involves laws against gambling while the Government sponsors a lottery.

**API PRESIDENT IKARD ANSWERS TIMES ARTICLE**

**HON. ED EDMONDSON**

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times magazine of March 8 carried an article by Erwin Knoll, Washington editor for the Progressive, which was heavily critical of America's oil industry and some of its leaders.

The article was particularly disturbing in that the facts were misrepresented in a number of instances by neglecting to report readily available information from the other side.

Frank Ikard, president of the American Petroleum Institute, has taken issue with some of the more blatant of these misrepresentations in a letter to the editor of the Times magazine.

To my knowledge, this letter has not yet appeared in the Times. I would like to have it appear in the RECORD so that our colleagues will have the opportunity to see both sides before passing judgment.

The letter follows:

AMERICAN PETROLEUM INSTITUTE,  
New York, N.Y., March 9, 1970.

Mr. LEWIS BERGMAN,  
Editor, New York Times Sunday Magazine,  
New York, N.Y.

DEAR SIR: Your March 8 issue carried an article attacking the so-called "oil lobby", written by Erwin Knoll, Washington editor of The Progressive. Effusions such as this, which are actually propaganda thinly disguised as reporting, tend to foster public skepticism as to the objectivity of the press.

It would take a reply fully as long as the original to do justice to the superficialities, misrepresentations, and artful omissions in the article. I would like to cite a few examples, however, which clearly indicate how far Mr. Knoll's piece departs from balanced and responsible reporting:

1. A great deal is made in the article of the alleged \$5 billion "cost" of the oil import program to the public, but nowhere is it indicated that this is a matter very much in dispute. The U.S. Interior Department, for example, estimates that the real cost of the program—after taking all factors into account—is only about one-fifth of the figure cited in Mr. Knoll's article, and points out that such a cost represents very inexpensive insurance for the national military and eco-

conomic security provided by the program. A study by the Stanford Research Institute found that there is no net cost of the program to consumers, because of offsetting factors. Unless your readers had followed the debate on this question very closely, they would certainly be misled by the article into thinking that the figure cited was universally accepted.

2. Along the same lines, the article quotes at length from hostile testimony at last year's hearings on the import program. No mention whatever is made of the telling points made by many prominent witnesses at the same hearings in support of the program. As far as the reader could tell, there was no "other side" to the case. Moreover, the author of the article seems to be disturbed at prospects that committees in both the House and Senate plan further hearings on oil imports this year. Are we to infer from this that Mr. Knoll not only avoids presenting both sides of the issue himself, but objects to having both sides presented before Congress?

3. The article suggests that there is something unusual about a group of state governors undertaking to inform the White House that a proposed change in the import program would bring about severe economic loss, curtailed revenues and widespread unemployment in their states. Yet no mention is made whatever of White House visits on the part of other governors and state officials who were seeking to abolish or drastically modify the program.

4. Ironically, some of the Senators and Congressmen who are most vocal in condemning controls over oil imports, are outspoken advocates of import restrictions on other commodities that are manufactured in their states. Thus, some, for example, argue forcefully for controls over dairy imports, while others favor tight import restrictions on shoes and textiles. Apparently, however, Mr. Knoll sees nothing inconsistent in this.

5. The article carves a quotation out of context to give a misleading and distorted impression of a telegram sent by the Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee to the staff of the Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Control. The key part of the telegram, as reported in the press, was: "If, at the same time Congress is reducing depletion allowances, it develops that imports of oil are increased, the combination of the two could be injurious to the development of further reserves in the U.S." Moreover, Mr. Knoll suggests that this telegram was an example of "pressure" on the task force; in fact, it was sent by Rep. Mills in response to an inquiry from the task force staff as to his views.

6. Mr. Knoll quotes liberally the arguments and statistics cited by opponents of import controls. One would think that a reporter seeking to present a balanced view of his subject would feel obligated to take note of what was said by some of the prominent supporters of the program. Submissions to the Task Force by the governmental departments and agencies most concerned—Interior, Commerce, Defense and the Federal Power Commission—contained impressive statistical support for the program. So did a letter sent to the President by 81 members of the House of Representatives, including the majority leader and the chairman of eight committees, who opposed weakening the program on the grounds that such action would jeopardize national security. None of these submissions is even mentioned in the article. One might be pardoned for speculating as to whether they would have been similarly ignored had they opposed the program and contained extravagant estimates of its cost.

7. In treating the subject of taxes, Mr. Knoll conveniently confines his statistics exclusively to the area of federal income taxes, where oil companies admittedly pay at a lower rate than most other industries.

But he might, in fairness, have recognized that when total direct taxes paid to all levels of government are taken into account, oil companies pay heavier than average taxes, even with gasoline excise levies excluded from the comparison.

8. An interesting example of the selective use of figures occurs in the section of the article dealing with oil company profits. The author quotes figures from the First National City Bank of New York to try to build a case that oil profits are excessive, as compared to those of other industries. Ironically, the very same bank tabulation cited by Mr. Knoll, shows that the petroleum industry's rate of return on net worth—the true measure of profits—was 12.9 percent in 1968, as compared with an all-manufacturing average of 13.1 percent. In fact, for the last ten years, fifteen years, or as far back as these statistics have been maintained by the bank, the petroleum industry's return on its investment has run slightly below the average for all manufacturing. (Incidentally, a reproduction of an oil industry advertisement accompanying the article was conveniently cropped one line above where this comparison of profits would have been shown.) These data scarcely support the article's depiction of oil as a "fat cat" industry, and this may account for the failure to provide them to your readers.

9. The article quotes a Congressional source to the effect that the American Petroleum Institute "has been a pace and precedent setter . . . vigorously seeking to adapt its positions and attitudes to the wave of the future." We like to think this is true and that it is reflected in such actions as the allocation of more than \$3,000,000 annually in Institute funds to air and water pollution research. API's research program includes dozens of scientific projects conducted at universities and research laboratories, many of them with participation by government agencies. This being the case, we deeply resent the innuendo that there is something spurious about our research program, especially since the author made no effort whatever to get the facts, which are readily available.

It is ironic that writers such as Mr. Knoll, who profess to be liberal and progressive, are so intolerant of the ideas and views of those who disagree with them that they are unwilling to present those views fairly and objectively. We believe the readers of The New York Times Magazine are entitled to a more responsible and better balanced brand of journalism than is reflected in this article.

Sincerely,

FRANK N. IKARD.

#### SUPPRESSION OF THE PRESS IN GREECE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, despite the denials of the Greek regime there is increasing evidence of subtle pressures by the military junta to keep the press in line. I insert at this point a story from the New York Times, Tuesday, March 17, 1970, by Alvin Shuster, titled "An Outspoken Athens Paper Struggles for Survival":

AN OUTSPOKEN ATHENS PAPER STRUGGLES  
FOR SURVIVAL  
(By Alvin Shuster)

ATHENS, March 16.—A student walked into the offices of the afternoon newspaper Ethnos

a few nights ago and said he wanted to give it the equivalent of \$100. He said the money came from himself and his friends who knew the paper was in financial trouble.

With the help of contributions and the sale of subscriptions, a rarity in Greek journalism, Ethnos has just warded off its latest crisis. The problems of the newspaper, the most outspoken of the 10 Athens dailies, reflect the struggle now being waged between the army-backed regime, which is trying to keep the press in line through economic pressures.

#### NEW TAXES IMPOSED

The newspapers lost another round over the weekend with the denial of their appeal against one of the most severe measures—a customs duty ranging up to 100 per cent on imported newsprint. The publishers said they would try to appeal the decision by the customs authorities to the Council of State, the nation's highest administrative tribunal.

"We are now passing a crisis and our ability to publish is at stake," said one editor today.

Apart from the newspaper duty, which had been waived for the past 30 years, the regime has imposed new taxation scales that hit the large circulation "Independent" papers more than the small pro-Government dailies. The pressure also includes a demand by the journalists' union for more pay—an idea supported by the regime—and the withholding of Government and state-controlled advertising from papers that have shown varying degrees of unfriendliness.

While most of the newspapers have fallen into line, Ethnos has continued to taunt the regime with a policy that is the talk of Athens. Some say it is trying to commit suicide by undisguised hostility because it has nothing to lose in the face of back debts.

"I say we are trying to survive," said an Ethnos editor. "The people like what we're doing even if the regime doesn't. And circulation is rising."

To the delight of Ethnos's publishers and the chagrin of the Government, the paper has shown a remarkable rise in popularity since it adopted a policy of challenge that stops just short of clear violation of the strict three-month-old press law.

#### DEFIANCE IS SIGNALLED

While those demonstrating little defiance have lost sales—after recent price increases—the circulation of Ethnos jumped from 17,000 last November, soon after the disappearance of censors, to about 45,000 now in the Athens area.

One of its boldest features was the recent opinion poll for readers on the question: "What would you do if you were a dictator?" Published replies, slow to come at first, included, "I would put myself and my collaborators up against a wall and be shot," and, "I would abolish all dictators."

Just carrying the paper has become at least a gesture of defiance. But no one seemed surprised when some of its new subscribers asked that the paper not be delivered. They just wanted to contribute to the cause, but they did not want anyone to see the paper delivered to their houses. They said they would still buy it at the kiosks.

So far the regime has avoided bringing any actions against Ethnos under the criminal provisions of the act, which prohibits news designed to stir up "old political passions."

The Government has said that all its measures are designed to "cleanse and discipline" the newspapers, many of which were more than free-swinging before the army coup here nearly three years ago. It says that the papers should be taxed like other businesses and that its sliding scale of newsprint duties contribute to press freedom by protecting the small-circulation dailies.

WELFARE OF ELDERLY

**HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, there are more than 11 million people in America today, people above the age of 55, who are poor. They have little political power because they do not strike or demonstrate.

They do not march down the main street or put pickets in front of the city hall. One does not do that when one is old, gray, and not quite sure where's one's next meal will come from.

Few, if any, belong to unions or political parties or fraternal organizations.

They are the silenced minority in whose predicament our July 4 orators have shown little interest. They cannot find work to supplement their meager pensions and savings because society has made them economically obsolete.

In J. K. Galbraith's words, they are the first minority poor in history, the first poor not to be seen, the first poor whose plight the politicians apparently seem able to ignore.

But surely America owes them a living, a decent and dignified living, because they are decent, dignified people. They do not want our charity. They want work which will help them retain their basic pride, their essential human dignity, and their ability to live comfortably.

The bill I am introducing is the result of months of effort and research undertaken in collaboration with my distinguished colleagues in both Houses of the Congress and national organizations dedicated to the welfare of the elderly.

Notably associated with this legislation are Senators EDWARD KENNEDY and HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, as well as chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, CARL PERKINS, and Congressman JAMES O'HARA.

Senators KENNEDY and WILLIAMS are introducing a similar bill in the Senate.

Distinguished colleagues who are cosponsoring this bill are: Chairman PERKINS, Congressmen O'HARA, CLAY, DENT, ESCH, WILLIAM FORD, HANSEN of Idaho, HAWKINS, HATHAWAY, MEEDS, POWELL, PUCINSKI, and THOMPSON of New Jersey. All are fellow Members of the House Education and Labor Committee which will assume jurisdiction over this measure.

This bill would authorize the Secretary of Labor to provide part-time work opportunities for persons over 55 who are on low, inadequate pensions and unemployed not because they do not want to work or are incapable of work, but because there simply is no work for them.

The bill would provide funds—\$35 million in fiscal 1971, \$60 million in fiscal 1972, and \$100 million in fiscal 1973—to enable the Secretary to enter into contracts with public and nonprofit agencies to provide the elderly with appropriate employment in community service occupations.

It is ironic that the great economic growth of the past decade has bypassed the aged. They continue to exist without

hope on the penumbra of affluent America.

While the total number of the poor, including the aged, dropped approximately 35 percent—from 38.7 million in 1959 to 25.3 million in 1968—the alienation and the poverty of those above 65 increased.

In 1959, 15.4 percent of the total population of the poor consisted of those above the age of 65. A decade later, this figure had increased to 18 percent. Today, according to the Bureau of the Census, one out of every four persons above 65 is poor. Among the nonwhite elderly, 46.6 percent live in poverty; among the blacks, 47.7 percent.

The Senate's Special Committee on Aging reported last year that low income continued to be the "No. 1" problem facing persons over 65. It held that the gap was widening. The median income of families with an aged head was 51 percent of that for younger families in 1961, but only 46 percent in 1967. In the same year, about five in 10 families with an aged head has less than an annual income of \$4,000; about one in five was below \$2,000.

By 1985, the population of those above 65 is expected to rise by 50 percent and the population of those above 85 is likely to double.

As advanced age reduces their already limited earning opportunities, actual earnings will drop further. Medical needs and costs rise with declining health. Inflation erodes away their meager savings and cripples their purchasing power.

It is obvious that unless new and positive measures are adopted the Nation's elderly will face economic disaster. Social security has failed shamefully to keep up with their needs. The country is confronted with a retirement crisis. There is need for action—now.

I believe, Mr. Speaker, that though this bill will not solve the problem of the low-income or unemployed groups among our senior citizens, it is a positive step in that direction.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FUND FOR ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

**HON. RICHARD T. HANNA**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, we are fast arriving at a date when this body will be asked to consider augmentations to the social development fund for the Asian Development Bank. It is my hope and expectation that such a proposal recently given the President's support and recommendation will have our proper consideration.

It occurs to us that some persons might still hold a commitment to the practices of the past to funnel U.S. funds through our own agencies and controlled by our staff and requirements. I hope that only a few, if any, cling to such programing. All of my own personal experience and the substantial performances we can now

measure from our multilateral financial institutions. The evidence predominately indicates that there is far better use made of dollars controlled through a banking institution. Also it is clear that many of the irritants that are present in unilateral arrangements are removed in working through these international banks. U.S. money is joined with funds from many other countries. Projects are more closely supervised and more local self-help is assured. Finally and very importantly, the money advanced is in most instances paid back.

Recent reports made by outstanding commissions and study groups are unanimous in recommending new approaches to foreign aid which emphasize the advantages of an approach such as the Asian Development Bank.

Mr. Speaker, I include immediately following these brief remarks, an excellent editorial which appeared recently in the Wall Street Journal. This editorial underscores the comments I have made and I commend its good sense to all Members of the House.

The editorial follows:

NEW APPROACHES TO FOREIGN AID

Since Congress and much of the general public have become so disenchanted with present foreign aid programs, it clearly is time for new approaches. A couple of thoughtful new studies offer a number of suggestions, many of them potentially quite useful.

One study, prepared by a Presidential task force, stresses increased use of multilateral organizations, such as the World Bank. A more international approach could be an improvement if it assured wider participation by industrial countries and encouraged the poorer nations to take the steps needed to promote their own development. But no one should delude himself that internationalization is any guarantee of success.

Much of the same skeptical comment can be made about the task force proposal for two new U.S. aid institutions, an international development institute and an international development bank. Too often in the past the Government has tried to solve aid problems by creating new agencies or by grafting new names onto old ones.

The task force, headed by Rudolph A. Peterson, executive committee chairman of California's Bank of America, evidently recognizes the overriding importance of policy and philosophy. It is an awareness shared by Edward M. Korry, U.S. Ambassador to Chile, who has just submitted a report on foreign aid to Secretary of State William Rogers.

Both the Peterson group and Mr. Korry, for instance, see that U.S. foreign aid in recent years has suffered sorely from a confusion of aims. Aid projects have often been launched primarily for political purposes, to win friends and influence governments, whether or not there was any real hope for development gains. The payoff on that approach is disappointment and often active ill will abroad.

"If we are trying to obtain current political objectives," Mr. Korry says, "we will usually do better by applying resources specifically for that purpose, rather than by devoting it to development goals." Spending for political or military aims should be clearly labeled as such and carefully segregated from true foreign economic development assistance.

Both reports emphasize that the recipient nations must shoulder a heavy share of the responsibility for their own development. As the task force says, they should receive as-

sistance "in relation to the efforts they are making in their own behalf."

Every country wants economic development, but some have settled on strange ways of seeking it: Concentration on "prestige" projects like national airlines; rigid governmental planning, out of tune with economic realities; neglect of agriculture, which must be central to any nation's growth; irresponsible financial policies, which dissipate scarce resources. The unhappy list could easily be extended.

However impatient the poorer nation is, and most are very impatient, it can progress more swiftly if it relies on some form of market economy to allocate resources, domestic as well as foreign. The records of both the industrial countries and the more successful of the developing nations should provide proof of that.

Wise resource allocation will be of limited help, though, if the world's markets are barred to the products of poorer nations, as they now often are. The U.S. has urged preferential tariff treatment for such products for a limited number of years; whether preferences are needed or not, surely the obstacles should be removed.

The developing countries also should remove some obstacles, those that they often pose to private investment from abroad. In spite of the problems—expropriation for one—U.S. private investment in less developed nations has been growing rapidly; in 1968 it was \$2 billion, more than double the figure for five years earlier.

Congress recently authorized the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, designed to mobilize and facilitate the participation of U.S. private capital and business skills in international development. Properly administered, it could be highly productive.

No matter how intelligently the industrial countries and the poorer nations go at the task, however, Ambassador Korry warns that the danger of inflated expectations remains. "The resources needed to do the job in a generation, even on the unrealistic assumption that they could be applied efficiently," he says, "are well beyond those that conceivably can be made available."

The U.S. nonetheless has a substantial interest in diminishing the problems, even if no one can fully overcome them any time soon. Since that's true, it's helpful to have two such well-reasoned analyses of the task.

#### ECUMENICAL SUPPORT FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

### HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, we hear much about the new ecumenical spirit and in my city, Philadelphia, where hundreds of thousands of Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews live side by side in harmony, the ecumenical spirit is a reality.

Recently, John Cardinal Krol, Archbishop of Philadelphia, Dr. Rufus Cornelsen, executive director of the Metropolitan Christian Council of Philadelphia, and Rabbi Elias Charry, president of the Board of Rabbis of Greater Philadelphia, issued a joint appeal for peace in the Middle East.

Significantly, these three major leaders of the spiritual communities believe peace only will be achieved and served if the warring parties sit down and in di-

rect negotiations seek an unimposed peace.

With the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I insert in the RECORD a press release describing the joint action of the three spiritual leaders, followed by their open letter appealing for peace.

The open letter appealing for peace was accompanied by a separate covering letter. With the consent of my colleagues, I enter in the RECORD first the covering letter that was sent to President Nixon, Secretary of State William Rogers, and United National Secretary General U Thant; and second, the covering letter that was forwarded to UAR President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Israel Prime Minister Golda Meir, and other leaders in the Middle East:

John Cardinal Krol, Archbishop of Philadelphia, Dr. Rufus Cornelsen, Executive Director of the Metropolitan Christian Council of Philadelphia and Rabbi Elias Charry, President of the Board of Rabbis of Greater Philadelphia, today issued a joint appeal to all nations at war in the Middle East to "desist forthwith from military conflict and to begin direct negotiations with one another to seek an unimposed peace so that the peoples of the Middle East can develop their full creative potential."

The appeal, in the form of an open letter, is being sent to Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser, Jordan's King Hussein, Israel's Prime Minister Golda Meir, and to the heads of all other nations at war in the Middle East. Copies also are being sent to President Richard M. Nixon, U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers, and U. Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations.

This is the first time that the heads of the three major religious denominations in Philadelphia have issued a joint statement of concern on a moral issue affecting a great segment of mankind. In large part, this historic event is due to the ecumenical spirit to which his late Holiness, Pope John, gave such impetus when he placed the well-being of the common house of humanity above the differences of its members.

The appeal also states that "every nation has the right to exist without fear that it will be destroyed by its neighbors," and that direct negotiation is "civilization's only proven way of bringing about a peace which is just and will endure."

The declaration ends with an assertion that "common to our faiths—Islam, Christianity and Judaism—is the imperative that we live as brothers."

The three leaders of religious communities of Philadelphia view this act of common concern as another instance of their continuing effort to underscore the serious social problems existing in our own community as well as elsewhere, which disturb the conscience of those committed to a religious interpretation of life.

#### AN APPEAL FOR PEACE—AN OPEN LETTER

As religious leaders of the Philadelphia community—Catholic, Jewish and Protestant—we make the impassioned plea: Peace Must Come to the Middle East.

Every nation has the right to exist without fear that it will be destroyed by its neighbors.

We appeal to you to desist forthwith from military conflict and to begin direct negotiations with one another to seek an unimposed peace so that the peoples of the Middle East can develop their full creative potential.

This is civilization's only proven way of bringing about a peace which is just and will endure.

We speak in the name of God and out of compassion for humanity. We are brothers. Common to our faiths—Islam, Christianity

and Judaism—is the imperative that we live as brothers.

Signed by:

JOHN CARDINAL KROL,  
Archbishop of Philadelphia.

Rabbi ELIAS CHARRY,  
President, the Board of Rabbis of  
Greater Philadelphia.

Dr. RUFUS CORNELSEN,  
Executive Director, Metropolitan  
Christian Council of Philadelphia.

This open letter is being sent to: Egypt President Gamal Abdel Nasser, King Hussein of Jordan, Israel Prime Minister Golda Meir, and the heads of all other nations at war in the Middle East: President Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr, Iraq; Chief of State Nureddin al-Atassi, Syria; President Agha Mohammad Yaqya Khan, Pakistan; President Abdul Rahman Al-Iryani, Yemen, King Feisal Abdul Aziz al-Saud, Saudi Arabia; King Hassan II, Morocco; Emir Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah, Kuwait; President Charles Helou, Lebanon; Premier Mahmoud el-Maghraby, Libya; President Houari Boumediene, Algeria; President Jaafar al-Nimeiry, Sudan; President Habib Bourguiba, Tunisia.

ARCHDIOCESE OF PHILADELPHIA,  
Philadelphia, Pa., February 20, 1970.

HON. RICHARD M. NIXON,  
President of the United States,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Our concern for peace in the Middle East has prompted us as religious leaders to send the enclosed Open Letter to the heads of nations at war in that area.

It is hoped that this combined expression of our religious convictions will contribute to stimulating continuing efforts for peace in the Middle East.

With the assurance of our esteem, we remain,

Sincerely,

JOHN CARDINAL KROL,  
Archbishop of Philadelphia.

Rabbi ELIAS CHARRY,  
President, Philadelphia Board of Rabbis.

Dr. RUFUS CORNELSEN,  
Executive Director, Metropolitan  
Christian Council of Philadelphia.

ARCHDIOCESE OF PHILADELPHIA,  
Philadelphia, Pa., February 20, 1970.

His Excellency President GAMAL ABDEL NASSER,  
United Arab Republic.

YOUR EXCELLENCY: We have the honor to enclose an Open Letter to the heads of the nations at war in the Middle East appealing for peace.

This plea is accompanied by the fervent expectation that we shall receive a response to these concerns which express the yearnings of millions for peace.

With assurances of our esteem and our prayerful solicitude for the grave responsibilities you bear before God and man, we are

Sincerely,

JOHN CARDINAL KROL,  
Archbishop of Philadelphia.

Rabbi ELIAS CHARRY,  
President, Philadelphia Board of Rabbis.

Dr. RUFUS CORNELSEN,  
Executive Director, Metropolitan  
Christian Council of Philadelphia.

#### CONDEMNNS TERRORIST ATTACKS

### HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, as I read each morning's newspapers, I proceed

with increasing trepidation that one morning I will read of multiple deaths from a disastrous attempt at hijacking an airline.

Hijacking has become commonplace as a part of our news. I fear that it will take a major disaster to shake many from their apathetic view of these extremist activities on our airlines.

The increased terror tactics and bombings must be stopped. Passengers and pilots must be safeguarded. It is for this reason that I have cosponsored a concurrent resolution with 14 of my colleagues in the House designed to initiate action to meet this horrendous situation.

I welcome the support for our efforts by President C. L. Dennis of the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline, and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers and Employes.

Mr. Speaker, I include his remarks on this issue for I feel they are pertinent to our resolution and put the issue in a proper perspective:

**BRAC PRESIDENT C. L. DENNIS CONDEMNS TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST PLANES; CALLS FOR GOVERNMENT, INDUSTRY SUPPORT FOR WORLD CONFERENCE**

CHICAGO.—President C. L. Dennis of the Brotherhood of Railway, Airline and Steamship Clerks, AFL-CIO, today issued a statement condemning terrorist attacks on aircraft and supporting the International Transport Workers' Federation in its request for a world conference on ways to end the terrorism.

"The present campaign of terror directed against commercial aircraft throughout the world, and particularly in Europe and the Middle East, deserves our strongest condemnation for the wanton disregard of human lives so senselessly sacrificed," Dennis said.

"It is obvious that the international community must take immediate and stern action when murder in the sky threatens human lives and the airline industry as a whole. It is, therefore imperative and urgent that concerted action be undertaken by organized labor, the airline industry and governmental agencies to devise an effective means of putting an end to this terrorism."

Dennis announced that the Brotherhood, an affiliate of the ITF, has cabled United Nations General Secretary U Thant, supporting the ITF's request for an emergency conference to develop ways of preventing further terrorism.

Dennis continued: "Moreover, this Brotherhood calls upon responsible officials of the U.S. government and leaders of the airline industry to support our efforts for a world conference to tackle this growing menace to the safe and free operation of commercial air transportation."

**WABASH VALLEY ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY UNLIMITED**

**HON. ROGER H. ZION**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. ZION. Mr. Speaker, development of the navigation potential of the Wabash River is a dream of long standing. Men of great vision throughout the Wabash Valley of southern Illinois and southern Indiana have known of this potential and have worked and planned to imple-

ment it. Recent years have witnessed a skyrocketing growth in the Great Lakes and inland waterways traffic. We in southern Indiana are working to capture our share of this dream and the Vincennes Sun-Commercial sums up the need for that effort. The editorial follows:

[From the Vincennes (Ind.) Sun-Commercial, Mar. 10, 1970]

**GETTING A GROWTH INDUSTRY**

If a city, or county, or general area had an opportunity to encourage the location of a sound growth industry, private and public leaders normally would exert great efforts to lure the prospective business to that community.

Development of navigation on the Wabash River involves this simple principle.

For the seventh consecutive year, waterborne commerce in the United States set a new all-time high. Preliminary estimates by the Army Corps of Engineers showed an increase in net tonnage moved over the various waterways in 1969 as compared with 1968.

The volume of traffic on the Inland Waterways went up from 512 million tons in 1968 to an estimated 538 million tons in 1969. That is an increase of 5.1 percent in actual business. The dollar figure surely must have been much higher. Tonnage is measured in pounds, which have a fixed weight, while dollars have had a sliding value in the era of inflation that began almost 30 years ago.

On the Great Lakes, tonnage increased 6.7 percent, while coastwise traffic went down 3.2 percent.

The overall increase was from 884 million tons in 1968 to 913 million tons estimated for 1969, or 3.3 percent.

What should interest people along the Wabash is the fact that traffic on the Inland Waterways and the Great Lakes increased. A navigable channel on the Wabash would connect with the Ohio River portion of the Inland Waterways, while the Cross-Wabash system could provide a route to the Great Lakes in both Illinois and Ohio.

Encouraging the location of a new industry that will bring more jobs and greater economic activity to a community is generally considered to be a worthwhile endeavor. Support for the continuing effort to establish the Wabash River once more as an important link in the nation's transportation system seems to fall in that general category.

Dollars, not the romance of steamboats, is involved. The Wabash Valley should make every effort to join in the expansion of this national growth industry.

**UNITED NATIONS FIRST POPULATION PROGRAM**

**HON. MORRIS K. UDALL**

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the United Nations has embarked on a limited but important program aimed at reducing rampant population growth in the developing nations in the Middle East. What is so promising is not the relatively modest level of funding this program presently enjoys, but rather that now for the first time the United Nations has responded with materials and information to a country requesting its assistance in birth control.

In a recent article appearing in the New York Times, Kathleen Teltsch tells

how the U.N. became involved in the population fight and what promise this holds for the future.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 11, 1970]  
U.N. OFFICIALS SEE BIRTH CONTROL PROJECT AS IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD

(By Kathleen Teltsch)

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., March. 10.—Three afternoons each week, women crowd into Egypt's hundreds of health centers and wait patiently until they are given a supply of contraceptive pills.

The pills are the first contraceptives provided by United Nations agencies to a country requesting assistance for birth control.

Although the project is a modest one, involving \$300,000 for the next six months, it is seen here as a significant step forward.

United Nations officials pride in it. They see it as a new approach traceable mainly to a study last May by a panel headed by John D. Rockefeller 3d, chairman of the Rockefeller Foundation and of the Population Council, Inc. The panel criticized the United Nations' efforts as faltering and hampered by bureaucratic delays, by jealous bickering among the various agencies involved and by lack of dynamic leadership by the World Health Organization.

**ADVOCATES ARE ENCOURAGED**

Family-planning advocates outside the United Nations are moderately encouraged that there has been a change. However, one leading medical authority speaks with lingering bitterness, saying, "Tragic time has been lost because of United Nations creeping sickness—inertia."

He says this is particularly shocking because United Nations demographers were probably the first to warn that population growth was outstripping all estimates and that the present world total of 3.5 billion would double in 30 years.

No one pretends that the pilot project for Egyptian women will have startling repercussions. Its supporters feel it does open up a wide range of possibilities for practical help. The United Arab Republic with 32.5 million is considered one of the most overpopulated countries. Without family planning it is expected to reach 52 million by 1985.

Besides providing the pill, the agreement with Cairo covers the supply of plastic materials for the manufacture locally of 2 million intrauterine devices and the furnishing of technical aid by the World Health Organization.

**IN HIGH GEAR AFTER 2 YEARS**

Money for the project is coming from the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, which was set up in July, 1967, but only now is moving into high gear under the direction of Raphael Salas.

Mr. Salas is a deceptively mild-spoken administrator who won a reputation for toughness in the rough-and-tumble politics of the Philippines. He is mindful that one of his most challenging jobs probably is to get all the various commissions and agencies to pull together.

His fund operates under the United Nations development program and should have a fair measure of freedom to respond quickly to Government request. It will not need prior approval of an intergovernmental board, which could get ensnared in sensitive religious, political or cultural considerations.

The fund also can turn for help to outside groups such as the Ford and Rockefeller foundations, the Population Council or the International Planned Parenthood Federation, which since 1952 have been doing pioneering work in contraceptive research and training.

## IMPROVEMENT EXPECTED

The search for improved contraceptives is likely to be accelerated by the private groups and also by governments as a result of the recent furor over possible injurious side effects from contraceptive pills and dissatisfaction with intrauterine devices.

Neither has been regarded by medical men as the final answer to contraceptive needs—merely as a reasonably effective method that must be used until better ones are devised.

The United Nations Population Fund so far has been promised aid by nine countries. The largest was the United States, whose pledge of \$7.5 million in January would be half of the goal for this year. But the aid is to be given on condition that other sources provide the balance.

The \$15-million annual program is small, measured against the \$75-million the United States has set aside for family planning through the Agency for International Development. However, there have been hints from Washington that more money will be channeled through the United Nations if its new approach proves effective.

Sweden, among other countries, also has a significant aid program and a small, neutral state without a colonial past has been particularly effective in Africa and Asia.

Denmark also is extending help and has been receptive to the idea of setting up an international population institute in Copenhagen that would undertake research and training with the cooperation of a number of United Nations agencies.

The proposal, made two years ago, has not been acted on. It is cited by experts in the population field as one instance where inter-agency rivalries have obstructed a potentially important undertaking.

Britain, Canada, Japan, West Germany are among the other countries offering aid in birth control to poorer countries.

Until the United States spurt in foreign-aid allocations, the Ford Foundation was the largest single source of funds in the family-planning field and the first to undertake programs in India, Pakistan and elsewhere.

All specialists in the field agree that the success of the combined efforts of governments, the United Nations and the private groups depends ultimately on winning the cooperation of political leaders, particularly those from the developing countries where the population growth is highest.

Dr. Bernard Berelson, president of the Population Council, has remarked that for a political leader, family planning does not have much popular appeal. It is often difficult to sell to the public, and particularly in situations where the population has not had the benefits of education. It is also administratively burdensome and the results may not be visible for years, no help for present office-holders.

Even in countries where there is a national population policy, it may not arouse much enthusiasm from lower-echelon government officials. Consequently, Dr. Berelson feels it would help if government leaders could be persuaded to make two major speeches a year pushing the idea of family planning.

Mr. Rockefeller, who has traveled widely to seek support for the same goals, feels that some new international recognition might be an inducement—a prize of the stature of the Nobel Peace Award for contributions in the population field.

On the basis of the Ford Foundation's pioneer work since 1952 in training, Oscar Harkavy, director of the foundation's population program underscores the importance wherever possible of using nationals rather than bringing in outsiders. He also stresses the need for massive education to "fill the air with family planning."

## SHUNS "GET TOUGH" POLICY

He disagrees with the suggestion that the prosperous states adopt a "get tough" policy,

tying their foreign aid to progress in reducing population growth, saying it is certain to arouse hostility.

However, he favors a counter-suggestion to reward increased commitment to family planning by expanding aid significantly.

Gen. William H. Draper, Jr., chairman of the Population Crisis Committee and widely reputed to be Washington's most effective lobbyist for family planning, argues for simultaneously expanding both direct American aid and United States support for the United Nations Population Fund. He cites the program for Egypt as a case in point:

Cairo has had a national policy on family planning since 1965, but ran into difficulty in continuing without larger outside aid. The United States, which has no diplomatic relations with the United Arab Republic, could not give help, but the United Nations could. "It's round-the-corner aid but it works," General Draper said.

He rejects the suggestion that leaders in the developing countries would be reluctant to take foreign help in this field because they see it as some conspiracy by the prosperous whites to restrict the growth of the poor nonwhites, a kind of neocolonialism.

Advocates of the multilateral approach cite a number of hopeful developments:

The World Bank in the last year has given the population field priority status, has sent out six missions under joint arrangement with the World Health Organization and is preparing to finance programs in family planning in at least four.

The United Nations Children's Fund has given technical advice and training in the use of contraceptives and supplied transportation and related services, but no contraceptives. It is getting increasing requests for family planning activities to be included in its overall maternal and child health programs; some requests are coming for the first time from Latin America.

The World Health Organization reports that it is accelerating the training of doctors and technicians for family planning, widening its research in birth control methods and establishing reference centers to provide better information in the field.

The United Nations also has had requests for establishing a regional training center for the Caribbean area in family planning.

Miss Julia Henderson, Director of the Office of Technical Cooperation, summing up the recent developments says, "We're not being flooded with requests but we're getting more than before for staff workers, fellowships and contraceptives, and that's progress."

## GREAT BRITAIN'S ROLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

## HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join the gentleman from New York (Mr. LOWENSTEIN) in expressing concern about Great Britain's laggardly pace in resolving the social conflict threatening Northern Ireland. For a half century, Great Britain has remained stonily aloof to Northern Irish politics despite the grievances of that state's Catholic citizens. Faced with woefully substandard housing, with gerrymandered political districts that virtually disenfranchised them, with civil rights laws that constituted only a fake simulacrum of social justice, Catholics in Northern Ireland have been living in conditions tantamount to those in a

feudal fiefdom. The ruling Protestant class—a class characterized by ossified rightwing political views—has systematically exploited Catholics for 50 years. The social tumult in Northern Ireland over the past few years is the direct result of this oppression. Barricaded streets, mobs clashing on the cobblestones outside Northern Ireland's Parliament, armed soldiers standing vigil at street corners have become commonplace sights. Something akin to civil war erupted in Northern Ireland a year ago and peace is still a distant prospect.

Great Britain, to be sure, has helped institute some reforms over the past 16 months. The Royal Irish Constabulary—a paramilitary group roughly equivalent to Germany's *Sturmabteilung* of the 1930's—has been civilianized and removed from political control. And the "B Specials," a reserve police force whose dogged loyalty to their political masters might have been envied even by Machiavelli, are scheduled to be disbanded by the end of this month. Housing reforms, too, have been enacted. The distribution of new housing—and old housing as well, for that matter—is now governed by Northern Ireland's central government instead of local political satraps. Perhaps the most significant reform of all is the 1969 Electoral Act, a law equivalent to the U.S. Supreme Court's celebrated "one-man, one-vote" ruling. It scrapped the householder vote and company vote system, giving everyone 18 or over the right to cast ballots in local elections.

Everyone agrees such reforms are admirable. Yet they do not go far enough. Indeed, even the reforms I have cited here have yet to be fully implemented. The Electoral Act, for example, may turn out to be a hollow mockery of political justice: Local elections have been suspended indefinitely, and a ward redistricting project that may verge on the most arrant kind of gerrymandering is now underway.

Great Britain should—indeed, it must, if Northern Ireland is to remain a viable political entity—exert every effort to help guarantee the prompt implementation of the reforms it helped achieve. And, perhaps even more significantly, it must press for the enactment of still further reforms. One of the most pressing needs is the abolition of the 1920 Special Powers Act—a package of laws that gives political authorities in Northern Ireland veritable carte blanche any time they see fit to declare an emergency. Let me cite just a few of this act's grim provisions: Arrest without warrant, imprisonment without charge or trial, press censorship, punishment by flogging, prohibition of public meetings, seizure of private property. Certainly, Mr. Speaker, such staggering power must be abolished if Northern Ireland's citizens are to achieve even the most remote and tenuous form of civil rights.

What Northern Ireland plainly needs—and what Great Britain must help create—is a sweeping reform program that outlaws discrimination and guarantees civil liberties.

Northern Ireland's people—its Protestants as well as its Catholics—will not achieve social stability and social justice without such a program.

DISCIPLINING THE PRESS

HON. JAMES G. O'HARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times this week published an account of the heroic efforts of a newspaper in Athens, Greece, to resist the pressures of a dictatorial government.

At this moment, the very life of the newspaper "Ethnos" is threatened by the government's economic action. Oh, yes, the government says that its measures are designed to "cleanse and discipline" the newspapers, according to the Times report.

In the United States, we take a free and unfettered press for granted. Up until a few months ago most of us could hardly conceive of governmental action to silence the independent voice of our communications media.

Now many of us are not so confident.

Lest we become complacent, I would urge all my colleagues to read this article "An Outspoken Athens Paper Struggles for Survival." One will see what a vindictive and imaginative government can do to "cleanse and discipline" a free press.

The article follows:

AN OUTSPOKEN ATHENS PAPER STRUGGLES FOR SURVIVAL

(By Alvin Shuster)

ATHENS.—A student walked into the offices of the afternoon newspaper Ethnos a few nights ago and said he wanted to give it the equivalent of \$100. He said the money came from himself and his friends who knew the paper was in financial trouble.

With the help of contributions and the sale of subscriptions, a rarity in Greek Journalism, Ethnos has just warded off its latest crisis. The problems of the newspaper, the most outspoken of the 10 Athens dailies, reflect the struggle now being waged between the newspapers and the army-backed regime, which is trying to keep the press in line through economic pressures.

NEW TAXES IMPOSED

The newspapers lost another round over the weekend with the denial of their appeal against one of the most severe measures—a customs duty ranging up to 100 per cent on imported newsprint. The publishers said they would try to appeal the decision by the customs authorities to the Council of State, the nation's highest administrative tribunal.

"We are now passing a crisis and our ability to publish is at stake," said one editor today.

Apart from the newspaper duty, which had been waived for the past 30 years, the regime has imposed new taxation scales that hit the large circulation "independent" papers more than the small pro-Government dailies. The pressure also includes a demand by the journalists' union for more pay—an idea supported by the regime—and the withholding of Government and state-controlled advertising from papers that have shown varying degrees of unfriendliness.

While most of the newspapers have fallen into line, Ethnos has continued to taunt the regime with a policy that is the talk of Athens. Some say it is trying to commit suicide by undisguised hostility because it has nothing to lose in the face of back debts.

"I say we are trying to survive," said an Ethnos editor. "The people like what we're

doing even if the regime doesn't. And circulation is rising."

To the delight of Ethnos's publishers and the chagrin of the Government, the paper has shown a remarkable rise in popularity since it adopted a policy of challenge that stops just short of clear violation of the strict three-month-old press law.

DEFIANCE IS SIGNALLED

While those demonstrating little defiance have lost sales—after recent price increases—the circulation of Ethnos jumped from 17,000 last November, soon after the disappearance of censors, to about 45,000 now in the Athens area.

One of its boldest features was the recent opinion poll for readers on the question: "What would you do if you were a dictator?" Published replies, slow to come at first, included, "I would put myself and my collaborators up against a wall and be shot," and, "I would abolish all dictators."

Just carrying the paper has become at least a gesture of defiance. But no one seemed surprised when some of its new subscribers asked that the paper not be delivered. They just wanted to contribute to the cause, but they did not want anyone to see the paper delivered to their houses. They said they would still buy it at the kiosks.

So far the regime has avoided bringing any actions against Ethnos under the criminal provisions of the act, which prohibits news designed to stir up "old political passions."

The Government has said that all its measures are designed to "cleanse and discipline" the newspapers, many of which were more than free-swinging before the army coup here nearly three years ago. It says that the papers should be taxed like other businesses and that its sliding scale of newsprint duties contribute to press freedom by protecting the small-circulation dailies.

LORTON TRANSFER WOULD FRAGMENT DISASTROUSLY THE COORDINATED ANTICRIME PROGRAM OF WASHINGTON, D.C.

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Members of the House should read carefully the editorial from the Evening Star of a few days ago.

This forthright statement expresses the alarm and concern of responsible leaders of this area. They are alarmed that this House may take unwise action by adopting one section buried back on page 435 of a bill that otherwise contains many great improvements in the court system and procedures for the Nation's Capital.

Section 501 of H.R. 16196 promises not corrections, but mischief and disillusionment for the people of the Washington area. The section should be rejected from the bill. The editorial follows:

THE LORTON REPORT

Legislative Report No. 91-850, filed with no fanfare in the House last week, purports to be a factual, objective account of the investigative findings which have led the House District Committee to propose a transfer of the prison complex at Lorton, Va., from District to federal control.

Representative Fraser of Minnesota more accurately describes the report, however, as "an outrage"—wholly one-sided, which de-

picts the city corrections program and its director, Kenneth Hardy, in the worst possible light.

This is no surprise. Through the long hearings of the Dowdy subcommittee, Hardy was subjected to harassment, ridicule and abuse. So quite naturally the report, all 30 pages of it, portrays him in much the same light—as a blundering, evasive nincompoop, so immersed in "textbook theories" of permissiveness that he is incapable of doing anything right. His top aides fare little better. And their collective bumbling, according to the subcommittee, is the cause of failures which should be corrected by shifting the whole Lorton setup to the U.S. Bureau of Prisons.

This proposal, which will erupt into a major battle on the House floor in a couple of weeks, is somewhat complicated by the fact that it really involves two issues—not one.

For it is certainly not our contention that there are no administrative failures at Lorton, or that the Dowdy subcommittee has uncovered nothing of any substance to worry about. In fact, we suspect the opposite is true. The charges which have been made, therefore, deserve frank answers. And Mayor Washington would be wise to see that they are provided as quickly and as thoroughly as possible.

But the problem of correcting District faults, to the extent that they exist, provides no justification whatever for the committee's proposal to sever Lorton from District control. Nor does the report, for all its rhetoric, make such a case. It asserts at one point that the opportunity for the Bureau of Prisons "to implement their proven penology theories as to corrections . . . is fantastic." But how, specifically? We are left in the dark.

What such a transfer actually would do is to fragment disastrously the coordinated anticrime program which the city now is trying to organize. The hope for successful prisoner rehabilitation rests, for example, largely in community-based projects, with the local government pulling together a great many resources, public and private. These are not functions which the Bureau of Prisons is set up to perform and it could not effectively do so.

The real crux of the House District Committee debate is that its leaders—as their report discloses—do not really believe in all these "home-spun ideas" and "tinkering" and "experimentation with theories" about rehabilitation. Rather, they assert: "It is well established that the major purpose of the Department of Corrections is to maintain secure control of all persons committed to its custody until such time as they have paid the penalties as provided by law . . ."

It would be nice to believe that the problems of dealing effectively with criminals and productively reducing criminal recidivism later were really as simply as all that. But it just isn't so.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

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

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,400 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

POLICE ON CAMPUS AND THE EVOLUTION OF PERSONAL COMMITMENTS

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD today a piece which was brought to my attention by Fred Dutton, executive director of the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial and a noted authority on education in California. This is an article which examines the changing attitudes and opinions of the spectators on the Berkeley campus during a strike by students in February of 1969. The author, a doctoral candidate in criminology at the University of California at Berkeley, is reputed to be an objective and excellently qualified researcher.

I wish especially to bring to the attention of my colleagues the data collected and the conclusions reached in this case study of a "campus disorder." Essentially, the data revealed that decisions of the spectators to join the strike or remain uncommitted depended on the nature of future police action as much if not more than on the goals of the strikers; furthermore, the number of strikers tripled while Mr. Armistead was collecting his questionnaires. It appeared, in the last analysis, that the existence of police on campus provoked an adverse reaction by the spectators and thereby escalated the conflict.

I recommend this article to my colleagues as an example of the possible effects of the imposition of external sanctions on campus affairs:

POLICE ON CAMPUS AND THE EVOLUTION OF PERSONAL COMMITMENTS: A SURVEY OF NON-STRIKERS' ATTITUDES DURING A BERKELEY CONFRONTATION

(By Timothy W. Armistead)

On Tuesday, February 18, 1969, one of the most violent periods in the crisis at UC Berkeley began. About one month before, members of a non-white coalition called for a strike. Events at this early stage are summarized in a comprehensive description of the strike by Rodney Stark (1969:180), a Berkeley research sociologist and consultant to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence:

"The specific protest which culminated in a series of violent clashes between students and police began peacefully and with little support in late January, 1969. On Monday, Jan. 20, spokesmen for a coalition of non-white students . . . organized as the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), announced that a strike to protest delays in the creation of a black studies program would begin on Wednesday, Jan. 22, unless the administration moved rapidly to settle their grievances. . . . Shortly thereafter the central point in the TWLF demands evolved into the creation of a Third World College, devoted to ethnic studies. . . .

"The same day that TWLF announced its intention to strike, it received support from American Federation of Teachers local 1570, made up of graduate student teaching assistants. . . .

"The University administration countered with a review of recent accomplishments to improve Third World representation. . . . But Chancellor Roger W. Heyns refused to alter normal committee actions in order to act hastily.

"So the strike was begun as scheduled."

The strike at first attracted no more than one to three hundred demonstrators at the very maximum. Beginning Tuesday, January 28, police began declaring the picket line illegal and subject to dispersal.<sup>1</sup> From this time on, the number of strikers increased following each massive intervention by the police. On February 5, Governor Reagan declared a "state of extreme emergency" (*S.F. Chronicle*, 2/6/69:1), thus giving Alameda County Sheriff Frank Madigan complete police jurisdiction over the campus. He immediately prohibited the traditional noon rallies. The campus was fairly quiet for a week. The strikers, tripled in strength since the first part of February, began to lose supporters in the second week of February. But then incidents on February 13 and 18 brought thousands to the strikers' side. Stark's (1969: 185-186) account of events on February 13 follows:

"First, four squads of police moved across Sproul Plaza and dispersed a line of about 300 pickets who had been circling on the bridge area behind Sather Gate. The pickets left without incident. Off to one side of Sather Gate was a tiny circle made up of 17 teaching assistants from AFT 1570 who were conducting an informational picket line. According to faculty witnesses, the line did not at any time disrupt normal traffic through the gate.

"Nevertheless, Sheriff Madigan, who was present to supervise a force of by now 150 officers in the plaza, plus numerous plainclothesmen, made the decision for mass arrests. Suddenly the 17 TAs were surrounded by police and taken away under arrest."

Stark goes on to note that immediately after this arrest students vandalized several buildings, police made further arrests and embroiled themselves in a brutality case by severely beating a black news reporter in sight of several secretaries in the basement of Sproul Hall. Stark does not note, however, that just before the vandalizing began, the TAs were taken from the Sather Gate area into the Sproul Hall basement, and that during this fifty-yard trip many students witnessed the police beating and shoving the strikers. One of these bystanders, a friend of the author's, a graduate student in business administration, did not support the strike and shared the disdain reputedly held by the business community for "demonstrators." He witnessed the movement of TAs by the police and recounted his version of what happened:

"I was standing at least ten yards away from the path where they'd be going. I was leaning on one foot, casually, with my books under my arm, and you know how I look. [The informant looked very "straight"—very short hair, sport shirt and slacks, dress shoes. This was in marked contrast to the appearance of many of the strikers.] All of a sudden this huge cop ran over to me—he had to break formation to do it. I didn't think he was coming for me, so I looked around, but I was alone there. Then he slammed his club into my chest and I dropped my books all over. I was shaking I was so mad. I said, "What? . . .", and he yelled "Move on!" I couldn't believe it. . . . As they got near the entrance to the basement they started to club some guy. Six cops on this guy! [He was doing] nothing! Anyway, if he'd been resisting he couldn't any more—he was on the ground, bleeding all over his head, and wasn't moving, but they still beat on him. . . . It was horrible. One guy, who must have been his friend, was out of his head, screaming and crying. Other guys had to hold him back."

In addition to this action, police were rumored to have beaten other students in the Sproul Hall basement on February 13. These rumors began spreading in the afternoon of February 13, and were alluded to in

the student newspaper the next day. Twelve University employees confirmed these rumors in a letter to the student newspaper a week later (*Daily Californian*, 2/19/69:9):

"On February 13, 1969 there were several University employees in Sproul Hall who were witness to very bloody beatings by plain clothesmen and Alameda County Sheriffs, on persons arrested Thursday between 12:00 and 2:30 p.m.

"At about 1:30 a tall man was shoved through the basement door into the basement by four officers. When he fell to his knees he was struck in the legs by a plainclothesman (sic) officer. The man was not resisting arrest; in fact, he was yelling "I'll walk, let me walk, I'm human."

"The next incident occurred just minutes later when two plainclothes officers dragged a blonde boy down the stairs into the hallway.

"There in the corner the same officer that had administered the beating was systematically beating the boy in the face and neck. . . .

"Then they dragged him by his feet all the way down the length of Sproul Hall corridor. As he passed us, we saw his mouth filled with blood.

"The police reported our room for watching these incidents. . . . Obviously, we were not meant to be witnesses to these incidents. In fact, one officer told us, "You fool with big time, you get in big trouble."

The next day, Friday the fourteenth, the strikers again increased in numbers. Monday, another strike line appeared despite bitter cold and rain, and some strikers engaged in vandalism (*S.F. Chronicle*, 2/18/69:1). The next day, February 18, another incident gathered support for the strikers. Jim Nabors, a black strike leader, was arrested and beaten by several officers when he tried to run away from them. Again there was vandalism.<sup>2</sup> This police action, a public display of the police violence that reportedly occurred days before in the basement of Sproul Hall (*S. F. Chronicle*, 2/14/69:24; *Daily Californian*, 2/14/69:1), apparently touched off an escalating series of student-police clashes lasting the next several days.

On Wednesday, February 19, there were many more strikers than on Tuesday, and three to four thousand students had gathered to watch. Further violent clashes between strikers and police resulted in twenty-four more arrests (*S.F. Chronicle*, 2/20/69:1).

On Thursday the ranks of strikers and spectators swelled to possibly six thousand. The day culminated in one of the most violent battles between police and students in the history of Berkeley. About 3:30 p.m. the police suddenly began to clear strikers and onlookers from Sproul Plaza by hurling tear gas canisters into the crowd. Some students responded by hurling the canisters back, along with stones and chunks of cement. Police repeatedly charged at the students, using tear gas and riot batons to roust them.<sup>3</sup>

Several students tipped over two police vans and damaged a few patrol cars. Until well after dark, police gassed pedestrians they encountered in a large part of the South Campus residential and business area. Interestingly, it was the "street people" and students, not the police, who helped motorists avoid the area.<sup>4</sup> The next day, Friday, four thousand strikers formed a massive demonstration, highly controlled and peaceful, to chant their opinion of Governor Reagan and the University Regents, who were meeting in University Hall.<sup>5</sup>

During these days of violence, particularly on February 18, 19, and 20, the ranks of strikers seemed to be swelled by student spectators who decided to join the picket lines. This is a report of what some of these bystanders were thinking and feeling at the time, what drew them to the scene, and how some of them came to feel their own partici-

Footnotes at end of article.

patron was necessary. It is an attempt to capture attitudes and expectations in process. At the time they were responding, none had yet stepped forward into the ranks of the strikers. But, as will be clear, many were considering such a move, and some were interviewed in the moment between the decision and the act.

#### RESEARCH METHOD

On February 19 and 20, Wednesday and Thursday, I conducted a brief survey (see Appendix A) of non-strikers in Sproul Plaza.<sup>6</sup> My purpose was to explore the non-strikers' reactions—as they were being formed, not as they might be recalled at some later time—to the massive police presence. To this end, on February 19 and 20 I distributed the questionnaires between the end of noon rallies (about 12:30 p.m.) and 2:00 p.m.

Being just one researcher, without funds at the time, and needing to accomplish the interviews before the imminent student-police clashes, I could not accomplish what I should have liked to. A truly insightful answer to my question, "What are these non-striking students thinking now and what have they been thinking about this strike?", could flow only from a sample of all non-striking Berkeley students (numbering about 28,000), or at least of all students in the general area of Sproul Plaza. But even this latter was impossible—I had no time to cover all the actual spectators and also those within earshot of the strike line who apparently chose to ignore it by reading, talking, or eating in nearby buildings. For these reasons, and because the attitudes expressed by a questionnaire respondent may not bear upon his subsequent action, the results of this survey must be considered only suggestive and certainly tentative.

A difficulty that plagued the author was how to obtain a random sample of the non-strikers. Having decided to concentrate solely on the crowds actually watching the strikers and police, I began to give one questionnaire to every third person. This soon proved to be impossible because of the rapid shifts of the crowd. I was forced to give up statistically-based sampling procedure and relied instead on some rules of thumb. I tried to give questionnaires to whites, blacks and foreign students in proportion to their actual numbers in the crowd. Similarly, I tried to establish accurate proportions of conventionally-dressed and unconventionally-dressed students. Furthermore, I covered the whole crowd of onlookers, rather than working intensively on one sector of it.

In all, I recovered 142 completed questionnaires, about 26 per cent of the 555 handed out during the two days. This raises the question of the remaining 74 per cent of the questionnaires. What happened to them? Were students of a certain persuasion angered by them? Did the conditions under which the survey was conducted limit the return? I believe the answer to both of these questions is "yes." First, in asking some onlookers why they refused to fill out the questionnaire, I was told that as a criminology student I must be pro-police, and hence not to be trusted.<sup>7</sup>

Probably contributing even more than prejudice against a criminology student to the loss of 74 per cent of the questionnaires, was that the respondents and I were not able to locate one another in the swirl of events. In sum, a 26 per cent return is discouraging, but it does not necessarily vitiate the findings. The immediacy and spontaneity in the responses obtained seem to compensate for any sampling defects.

#### RESULTS

The first two questions were designed to reveal the involvement of post-noon rally spectators with the strike. (The noon rallies were held despite the sheriff's ban on them.)

Were they passive supporters of the strike, who showed up for the rallies, or were they drawn to the plaza for other reasons? Answers to question two ("Were you here after the noon rally yesterday?") show that 65 per cent of the students had not seen the action in the Plaza the day before their attendance. And since only about half of the spectators attended the noon rally on the day interviewed (see question one, "Did you attend the noon rally today?"), it seems fair to conclude that the spectators were not in the plaza because of whatever occurred at the rally either the day interviewed or the day previous to that. Since these noon rallies are widely known as being the place to find out the day's schedule of protest, the spectators cannot necessarily be identified as established sympathizers with the strikers' cause.

Why were they there? Responses to question three give us a clue. Thirty-three per cent said their presence in the plaza was prompted by the activities there of the previous day—the student-police clashes. Another third came to see the police "in action." Thus, two-thirds of the respondents indicated that their presence was prompted by what they had learned about earlier events, no doubt through the mass media and by word-of-mouth.

Answers to questions four and five also make it clear that the large crowds of onlookers were not the residue of noon rallies or the result of normal foot traffic through the plaza. When asked (question four), "Would you be watching the strikers and picket lines if the police were not on campus to regulate pedestrian traffic?" only 3 per cent said yes, while nearly two-thirds said no. Less than half (question five) said they had in fact stopped to watch the picket lines on the days in the past when there had been no police present.

It may be obvious that the massive police presence brought the majority of onlookers to the plaza. But it is not at all obvious what these spectators were thinking and feeling as they looked on. The scene might have been alienating them from the strikers. It might have left them unaffected. It might have been increasing their support for the strike and/or opposition to the police. It was doing mainly the last, as answers to question six reveal.

Question six searches for the evolution of non-striking students' feelings about the strike: "Have you found yourself taking sides in this controversy since the police have been on campus in large numbers?" The answers ranged from one word responses to impassioned essays, and generally reflected turbulent thoughts. In a crude content analysis seven categories of response to this question have been isolated, excluding no response ("I"), and responses such as "I've always supported the strike" ("h"). Three response categories accounted for 64 per cent of the sample. These are a) Police Off Campus (33%), b) Vacillation (10%), and c) Increased Support for Strikers with Increased Hostility Towards Police (21%). Thus, the majority of onlookers were affected by what they saw and what they knew of previous events. Following are typical reactions from three categories.

"Police Off Campus": These responses tended to be short and often used the term "pig" to refer to the police. They were usually emphatic, such as the following (original emphases):

Yes. Cops off campus at any cost!  
Again: Pigs off campus!

Nearly all responses which were longer than the above slogans stressed one reason for removing the police. The following exemplifies this:

"I don't believe the police should be on campus—they seem to be provoking instead of protecting."

Another student put the same thought this way:

"There wouldn't be as many people interested in the issues if the police were not on campus. I'm amazed that the law enforcement agencies could be so stupid as to aggravate the situation."

One of the longest responses in this category summarizes a number of points that were brought out separately by many respondents:

"The police should only be here to preserve the rights of all citizens—but instead of helping anyone and removing serious law breakers they are worsening the situation: a) by creating disorder themselves—attacking students, for which the police themselves should be convicted of assault. . . . b) by refusing to talk with campus persons at all, preserving instead an air of intimidation. . . ."

"Vacillation": Respondents in this category felt torn between non-violent convictions and hatred for what they believe to be excessive police response to the situation, and unnecessary student violence. As this student said:

"I have tried to remain objective and unemotional to violence and injustices from either side. It's becoming difficult with reports of beating up (sic) in the basement of Sproul, however."

Another began his statement with ambivalence toward police and strikers, and ended with a cynical observation based on his experience in the University:

"I don't like the idea of police or soldiers or other similar 'enforcers' being on campus. But, then, I don't like some of the more 'violent' activities that have occurred. Both aspects of the strike are manifestations of something rotten in the city of Sacramento. . . . I agree with what the strikers are working for, but they seem to be batting their heads against a brick wall. U.C. is a campus of the Regents, not of the students."

Another stressed the following cause of student violence and suggested its remedy:

"Although I don't condone violence on part of strikers and agitators, I became very upset by acts of police brutality. It appears that strikers' violence is in response to police tactics."

"Police off campus would seem appropriate in solving the problem of violence."

"Increased Support for Strikers with Increased Hostility Towards Police": One-fifth of the spectators felt a developing commitment to the strikers' cause. Most often this did not mean simply an increased acceptance of the strike demands, but was instead a response to police violence and its implications for university life and principles of democracy. These responses actually fell into three subcategories. The first consists of persons for whom the major impact was, so to speak, visceral. One student said he was changing in the following way:

"I know that something is happening to me now because I would be very willing to kick someone who was beating up people with a stick. Another's developing hatred for the police overrides the finer points of the strikers' legitimacy:

"Immature and crude tactics coming from Sh. Madigan and his squad of morons has put me on the side of the strikers regardless of their demands."

In the second subcategory, responses were less "emotional." These students were nonetheless increasing their support for the strikers:

"I have become more sympathetic toward TWLF since police have used force beyond what I consider the minimum necessary to control strike."

This student wrote several paragraphs, reflecting a near-determination to carry his developing convictions into action:

"Gov. Reagan professes to represent the majority of academic people on campus, when he demands police force 'to protect our right to an education.' He does not protect me or my rights! . . . When the rights of my

Footnotes at end of article.

fellow students and faculty are denied, then my rights are denied. I begin to feel more strongly that I must take a position in opposition to the administration, the police and the government, for my inaction is being distorted into an untruth. . . ."

Students whose responses are of the *third* kind seem most likely to be tomorrow's strikers:<sup>3</sup>

"Yes sir. The Fascists come in blue helmets carrying sticks to 'educate'—where is justice and free speech? I must join."

Many of these, such as the following three respondents, have come to their vehement support after being initially opposed to the strike:

"Your \_\_\_\_\_ right. I was opposed to the strike until those \_\_\_\_\_ Alameda Pigs started venting their own frustrations on students, newsmen, faculty, etc. The conflict cannot be resolved until the cops leave."

This respondent came to support the strikers even though beaten by one. His support stems from an even greater dislike for police action than for his own beating:

"I was hit by one of the strikers—my glasses broken, etc. . . . I still support the demands and now the strike. The problems on campus must be solved by the campus—not the pigs. I now fully support the strike and want pigs off campus."

The third respondent, who exemplifies new strike supporters who once opposed the strike, gives this account of his changed attitude.

"I have so far been unable to support the issues of the strike. However, since the police have come on campus the strikers have won my emotional support. The only people who are inciting to riot or blocking public thoroughfares are the cops—get them off campus!"

#### CONCLUSIONS

In this report I have attempted to present the ongoing, immediate thoughts of people who were observing an upsetting situation. Non-strikers' statements indicate how deeply the situation was affecting them. Tempers ran high. For many students this meant simply anger at the police, but nearly as many—one-fourth to one-third, if my samples are representative—were engaged in an intense inner-dialogue regarding a commitment to action.

The decision to join or remain uncommitted depended, the respondents seemed to indicate, on the nature of future police action. Even as I collected the questionnaires, the number of strikers tripled. If my interpretation of the date is correct, this new strength did not come simply from support for the strikers' demands, but from a highly hostile reaction to police action, and a consequent empathy with strikers.

Events during the two weeks after the data were collected corroborate these conclusions. Strikers' occasional hints that a violent day lay ahead never attracted many spectators.<sup>4</sup> But soon after the police gassed and beat strikers and after the National Guard appeared with gas and bayonets, the ranks of strikers and onlookers swelled. For example, the following three-day sequence is reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. On Friday, February 28, the *Chronicle* reported that 200 strikers and onlookers at Berkeley were apparently blocking an intersection. In order to clear this intersection, the National Guard took the following action (*S.F. Chronicle*, 3/1/69:1):

"Seven troopers in battle dress—flanked by sheriff's deputies—laid down a fog of tear gas . . . to clear an intersection near the Berkeley campus.

"The guardsmen . . . then spread gas through Sproul Plaza and before long about the only people to be seen were around a hundred police, deputies and highway patrolmen—all of them masked.

"As groups of strikers and 'street people' began to gather on Telegraph Avenue, the police swept down the avenue for a distance of five blocks, spreading dense clouds of gas.

"Whenever they encountered a group, they gassed it. The same tactic was employed on the side streets leading away from Telegraph. It caught many pedestrians unaware."

The next school day, Monday, there were 500 strikers and at least as many spectators. But on that day the Guard did not repeat its Friday performance. There was no gassing or clubbing. On Tuesday, the strikers numbered 50 (*S. F. Chronicle*, 3/4/69:7, 3/5/69:30).

These data indicate that current opinion regarding the proper strategy for handling campus disorders is uninformed for at least two major reasons.

(1) First, taking a "firm stand" on disorders (e.g., calling hundreds of police onto a campus, expelling more demonstrators, suspending them on *suspicion* of illegal activity—a policy enacted during the TWLF strike (*S. F. Chronicle*, 2/22/69:1), may rid universities of the "few hardcore radicals" upon whom many college administrators want to fix the blame for all campus disorders. But this strategy may also draw more and more previously uncommitted, decidedly non-radical students into the ranks of committed protesters. In this connection, and before taking up the second major misconception regarding student-police confrontations, two points should be made:

(a) First, the consequences of meeting strikers' and strike leaders' protests with only disciplinary threats or measures have been clear ever since the forerunner of recent campus protest, the 1964 Free Speech Movement in Berkeley. (See Miller and Gilmore, 1965.) Greatly increased support for a student strike consistently follows repressive administrative action. (See Bell, 1969; McEvoy and Miller, 1969.)

(b) Second, as the Skolnick Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence concluded, the conception underlying the "get tough" policy—that a few hard-core agitators have been leading duped students into unwarranted protest—is simply false.<sup>10</sup> Rather, student protests tend to be ". . . political acts expressing enormous frustration and genuine grievance" (Skolnick, 1969:xxvii). Furthermore ". . . research indicates that activists have usually been good students . . ." (Skolnick, 1969:xxi). When combined, these facts—that protests express genuine grievances of good students and that one of the major grievances expressed in the TWLF protests, as well as in others, was the use of suppression rather than quick and effective negotiation—point relentlessly to the cycle of increased repression and increased protest that the policy of a "tough stand," which translated into the use of massive police forces, maintains.

(2) The second major misconception regarding student-police disorders is that police presence on campus either restores order once it has collapsed, or it preserves order before it has collapsed. As to the first, a recent poll indicates that a majority of Californians believe that bringing police on campus to restore order does not escalate disorder (*California Poll*, Field Research Corporation: *S. F. Chronicle*, 3/4/69:6). As to the second Governor of California Ronald Reagan seems to have suggested that police should be on campus to *preserve* order: "It isn't good enough any more to wait until rocks are flying and beatings start and then come in and restore order," (*S. F. Chronicle*, 2/6/69:28).

The first notion, that police do not escalate disorder, finds no substantiation in the TWLF strike. As Stark notes and as this report has outlined, strike support and strikers' vandalism increased after each vio-

lent police action. The second notion, that we should station police on campus before disorder begins, assumes the truth of the first notion—that police do not escalate a conflict. Since the first notion seems to be false, the second notion compounds the mistakes of the first, by advocating that we commit them sooner than we have been. This does not seem to be a compelling policy for alleviating campus unrest.<sup>11</sup>

Charles J. Hitch, president of the University of California, recently cautioned legislators that they should not use excessive force on campus, because "If, in using force, we go far beyond what the academic community considers fair and reasonable, the dissidents will find two or more recruits for every one of them we succeed in removing" (*S. F. Chronicle*, 2/6/69:14). The data in this survey and the data from other college campuses do indicate that recruitment of more "dissidents" flows from the use of excessive force. But it is not the author's intention to imply, as does President Hitch, that this is a reason why excessive force is unacceptable. Basic principles of our government, not a desire to limit numbers of dissidents, condemn the use of excessive police force.<sup>12</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> On Tuesday the strikers decided to "block" the Sather Gate entrance to the campus. This is technically illegal. Three points must be made in relation to these two facts. First, the strike leaders realized they were losing support and wanted to publicize their cause more; hence, they "blocked" the main entrance, which is adjacent to Sproul Plaza, the traditional site of Berkeley protests. Second, the term "block" is in quotation marks because two other entrances to the campus from the plaza area lie within fifty yards of either side of Sather Gate. The strikers left these and all other entrances open, clearly wishing to only symbolically "block" the entrance. Third, the highly publicized beatings some strikers gave students from Tuesday on were rendered only to students trying to actively break through the strike line, and they were repudiated by strike leaders as having been done by non-students.

This lengthy explanation should not be seen as a justification; it is merely an explanation of the illegal "blockage," and an indication that the mass arrests and police beatings that followed this blockage were not based on an adequate appreciation of the largely *symbolic* nature of the blockage.

<sup>2</sup> The reader may have noticed the paucity of reports from major newspapers to substantiate the author's version of events on the thirteenth and the eighteenth. Newspaper coverage was misleading. Compare, for instance, the author's narration of Nabors' arrest and of the role of police beatings on February 13 and 18, with that of the *Chronicle*, the "liberal" best-selling newspaper in northern California:

(a) The arrest of TA's on February 13: "As officers arrested nearly a dozen of the teaching assistants, about 250 strikes and sympathizers began a serpentine through the immediate area, overturning tables. . . ." *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 14, 1969:24.

(b) Nabors' arrest on February 18: "Nabors finally was subdued and carted off. . . ." *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 19, 1969:24.

This use of the passive voice with the acting agent understood ("was subdued") when referring to *officials'* action appears again and again in mass media reports of student-police confrontations. Its use in this context consistently implies that official behavior is not problematic, which is to say that it is "normal" and "makes sense," and that it is in response to students' behavior. Needless to say, strikers and students generally do not consider officials' actions so predictable and

reasonable. The Skolnick Report points this out too. See Jerome H. Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest*. Ballantine Books, New York, 1969:7.

<sup>6</sup> The *Chronicle*, February 21, 1969:32, gives this report of the events:

"At 3:30 p.m., a running student tossed a purple flower at one of the officers. He was grabbed, clubbed and carried off, and it was believed that this incident turned the already aroused student throng into a furious mob.

"The police, under the command of Chief Tom Houchins of the Alameda County Sheriff's Department, held a press conference late in the day.

"He blamed the students for throwing the first tear gas cannister—"it came from the crowd."

"His assertion was widely disputed by students and by campus observers, not a few of whom were reporters"

After this incident, the *Chronicle* began to resemble the student newspaper, the *Daily Californian*, in its unfavorable reports on police action. And whereas previous *Chronicle* photographs were largely of strikers' acts of vandalism, after February 21 the *Chronicle* seemed to print more shots of police arresting and gassing people and of innocent bystanders trapped by the tear gas.

<sup>7</sup> Both the use of gas without regard for shoppers and the traffic control services performed by young people were observed by the author and other members of the University.

<sup>8</sup> The *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 22, 1969: 1, gives this report:

"Striking students of the Third World Liberation Front and union teaching assistants maintained meticulously correct picket lines.

"Orders had gone forth from Third World leaders to "limit the scope of the strike." Supporters were asked to do nothing to provoke violence."

<sup>9</sup> The author acknowledges his gratitude to Professor Leslie T. Wilkins, former Dean of the School of Criminology, for financial assistance through a project grant and for encouragement to write this article. The author further expresses his appreciation for invaluable criticism given by James T. Carey, Sheldon Messinger, and Rodney Stark.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps, too, those who were pro-police thought the researcher was anti-police and hence not to be trusted. This is not too convincing; no one gave this as his reason for not cooperating, and many students who were were either partly against the students or actually in favor of the police action filled out the questionnaire.

<sup>11</sup> It is well known that we cannot necessarily predict action on the basis of expressed attitude. Nonetheless, I suspect that "tomorrow's strikers" will most likely be those like the following respondents who either say they "must join" or who have come from a position strongly opposing the strike to a position supporting it. These latter have probably had a much more stirring conversion than have others, and so could be expected to carry their new convictions into action.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, one strike leader's hint in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 22, 1969:18. And see the *Chronicle*, February 25:8, and February 26:12, for a report on subsequent strike support.

<sup>13</sup> Skolnick (1969:288-289): This view . . . attributes mass protest . . . to a conspiracy promulgated by agitators, often Communists, who misdirect otherwise contented people. This view, disproven so many times by scholars and distinguished commissions, tends to set the police against dissident groups, however lawful.

<sup>14</sup> It is not my intention to give detailed suggestions regarding what is a compelling policy for handling campus unrest. This survey does not justify such an undertaking. Nevertheless, destroying the basis of one ap-

proach to a "social problem" necessitates at least the suggestion of another. The interested reader will find what this author considers to be a compelling approach on pages 120-124 of the Skolnick Report.

<sup>15</sup> McEvoy and Miller (1969:23) point out this contradictory tendency of the Berkeley administration—particularly the Regents—to chide students for not following established procedure, but then to make *ad hoc* reactions to every new "crisis." In this instance, President Hitch's appeal was not to our Declaration of Independence or our Constitution, or to established principles of law enforcement in a democracy, but to the supremely pragmatic consideration that a given strategy for removing certain undesirables will create more of them. It could be, of course, that this appeal reflects less on President Hitch than on President Hitch's evaluation of the state legislature.

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APPENDIX A

1. Did you attend the noon rally today?
 

	<i>Percent</i>
Yes -----	56
No -----	42
No answer-----	2
  
2. Were you here after the noon rally yesterday?
 

	<i>Percent</i>
Yes -----	31
No -----	65
No answer-----	4
  
3. Are you here: (check answer(s) below)
 

(a) because of the activity here yesterday: 33%	
(b) to see the strikers: 20%	
(c) to see the police "in action": 32%	
(d) no special reason—just curious: 15%	
  
4. Would you be watching the strikers and picket lines if the police were not here on campus to regulate pedestrian traffic?
 

	<i>Percent</i>
Yes -----	23
No -----	61
No answer-----	1
Maybe -----	15
  
5. Did you stop to watch the strikers on the days in the past couple of weeks when no police were here?
 

	<i>Percent</i>
Yes -----	43
No -----	40
No answer-----	5
Sometimes -----	12
  
6. Have you found yourself taking sides in this controversy since the police have been on campus in large numbers?
 

Response Categories:	
(a) Police Off Campus: 33%	
(b) Vacillating: 10%	
(c) Increased Support for Strikers with Increased Hostility Towards Police: 21%	
(d) More Support for Strikers: 5%	
(e) Uncommitted: 4%	
(f) More Opposed to Strikers: 3%	
(g) More Support for Police: 1%	
(h) No Change: 11% (Note: 88% of these have supported the strike all along.)	
(i) No Answer: 13%	

LORTON TRANSFER WOULD DISMEMBER CORRECTIONS PROGRAM WHICH WE VOTED TO STRENGTHEN IN DECEMBER BY \$2,302,340

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, it would be ironic for the House to vote in March 1970 to dismember the District of Columbia Department of Corrections, after we just finished voting in December for an additional \$2,302,340 and 355 positions to strengthen the department.

Here is what the Appropriations Committee of the House said in the report accompanying the fiscal 1970 appropriations bill for the District of Columbia.

Many of the new and expanded programs allowed are part of the President's crime program in the District of Columbia—\$2,302,340 and 355 positions are directly related to this program and include work release, youth crime control and narcotics addicts rehabilitation.

I place my opposing views to section 501 as they appear in the committee report in the RECORD at this time:

OPPOSING VIEWS OF CONGRESSMAN DONALD M. FRASER ON SECTION 501 TRANSFERRING CITY WORKHOUSE, YOUTH CENTER, AND REFORMATORY FOR MEN TO JUSTICE DEPARTMENT

Having been a member of the Special Select Subcommittee which held hearings on the D.C. Corrections Department I wish to make this additional statement.

I oppose Section 501 (page 435 of the bill) which would give the administrative responsibility for three of the five city penal units to the Federal Bureau of Prisons and shift the employees at these penal units from the city payroll to the Department of Justice.

The city operates the following penal systems:

- 300 inmates at the city workhouse at Lorton, Virginia;
- 1700 inmates at the city reformatory for men at Lorton, Virginia;
- 300 inmates at the youth center (age 18 to 26) at Lorton Virginia;
- 90 inmates at the women's detention center at 1010 North Capital Street;
- 950 inmates at the city jail at 200 19th Street, S.E.

In addition there are cell blocks at police precinct station houses and a central cell block. The total capacity is about 700.

About 300 city prisoners—usually those needing maximum security—are placed in the federal prison system.

The alcohol rehabilitation unit which of course is not a penal facility, operated by the Department of Public Health has about 500 inhabitants at the Lorton, Virginia site.

I see no logic in the transfer of the first three of these penal units from the city government to the Federal Bureau of Prisons. The House Appropriations Subcommittee has given close attention to the Corrections Department of the city and last year reviewed in detail President Nixon's \$20 million crime program for the District of Columbia. The decision of the subcommittee and the full committee was to raise the budget of the D.C. Department of Corrections to \$15,870,000. They stated in their report the following:

The committee recommends \$15,870,000 for the operation of the department and its various institutions and programs which is the full amount recommended by the Commissioner in his revised request. Many of the new and expanded programs allowed are part

of the President's crime program in the District of Columbia—\$2,302,340 and 355 positions are directly related to this program and include work release, youth crime control and narcotics addicts rehabilitation.

For the House now to disassemble this program and send pieces over to be handled by the Justice Department does not make sense to me.

The Federal Bar Association President for the District, Mr. Louis Frana, stated their opposition to the transfer of these institutions as follows:

To be effective a criminal justice system requires a strong police department; courts which can administer swift and due process of justice; and a correctional system which provides rehabilitation. Each part of the criminal justice system is a function of local government and if this system is provided with adequate funds, it can be more effectively managed through local control.

Similar reasons have been used in statements of opposition to Section 501 by Mayor Walter E. Washington, the *Evening Star*, the *Washington Post*, the Council of Churches of Greater Washington, WTOP, and others.

Chief Justice Warren Burger has been campaigning for the improvement of our penal institutions. His views are well summarized in the following editorial in the *Washington Post*:

The burden of the Chief Justice's message is that there is a way to change the monumental contribution of our society to crime. It can be done by applying to the correction system the same "uniquely American combination of energy, brains, ingenuity, research and innovation which has made us the world's greatest industrial power." We can no longer tolerate a corrections system that does not correct. Even if people remain unmoved by the hope of curbing crime by reducing the output of graduate criminals returned to society, there ought to be wide agreement upon the humanitarian principle of not imprisoning human beings unless the prisons can give them a reasonable chance to straighten out their lives.

Section 501 of this bill should be opposed and the advice of Justice Burger and many other knowledgeable authorities should be followed if we are to make real improvements in the correctional system of the District of Columbia.

#### COLUMNIST DESCRIBES CHARACTER CRISIS

### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, Brian Bex, syndicated columnist and executive director of the American Communications Network, has made some important and penetrating observations concerning the political and social situation in America today: A state of affairs he terms a "crisis of character." His remarks, which were published in the *Bloomington, Ind., Sunday Tribune and Star Courier*, were awarded recognition as the best newspaper article of 1969 by the Freedoms Foundation. They constitute a call to Americans to accept the responsibilities of freedom and to work to restore to this Nation the dignity and sense of values that figured so prominently in our history.

I believe that Mr. Bex's comments may be of interest to my colleagues.

The article follows:

[From the *Bloomington (Ind.) Sunday Tribune & Star Courier*, Oct. 19, 1969]

#### COLUMNIST DESCRIBES CHARACTER CRISIS

Brian Bex, controversial and outspoken syndicated columnist, spoke recently on the character crisis in America today. Here is what the widely-acclaimed analyst had to say on the political situation in our country today.

Shakespeare once wrote "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, but in ourselves. . . ."

There is a tragic irony that a country and a people as great as the United States and the great body of energetic and resourceful Americans should find themselves in a dilemma which every day becomes more manifest.

The greatest, richest, and most progressive nation in all history now stands like some ancient monument which is slowly eroding away under the action of the sands, the winds, and the weather.

Ours is a country whose gross national product in goods and services has reached a fantastic level of one trillion dollars this year. It is a country with more automobiles, more telephones, more automatic appliances, more people living on a standard of comfort than any other in the world.

But ours is a country sadly vexed and greatly beset. We mass produce everything in this country: everything except character.

It used to be that when you wanted something, you worked to earn it. Now you stage a riot and get it given to you at someone else's expense.

If your father or grandfather lost his job, he took whatever work he could get. Now hordes of relief "clients" refuse a job unless it is to their liking, and they demand the job be brought to them.

This nation was built by immigrants who struggled here for opportunity, and would have scorned the false idea of "something for nothing." Now it seems to be an almost universal (and all-too-often) ambition.

It used to take a lifetime of grueling work and scrimping for a family or a country to earn a little surplus, a taste of security. Now mobs of so-called "students" and whole "emerging nations" demand they be given it, out of your earnings and with no effort on their part.

"Minority groups" all over the earth seem to think the world owes them everything they want.

Have you ever wondered what happened to the America of yesterday? Yesterday, you paid your debts as quickly as possible, and sacrificed to do so. You disciplined your children, but disciplined yourself, first. You spent less than you earned, and demanded your government do the same. You went to church, your children to Sunday school, you held daily prayers, and no court would have dared to interpose any law into your private religion. You would have been horrified at (and quick to change) men in high places who made "deals." You expected to prosper only by doing a better and better job. You obeyed the law, but took an active enough part in government to see that the laws were just. You "walked softly but carried a big stick." And that was the character which brought this country victory in three wars in your lifetime, built it back from a shattering depression and fed and saved the civilized world.

Today, America is becoming a nation of drifters so accustomed to turning to the government or someone else for help that it is losing its heritage of hard work, thrift, and above all, individual responsibility. The mood of today is to say: If we have a disaster, let the government declare us a disaster area and send help; if we get out of work, we have unemployment insurance; sooner or later, we will have Social Security, so why worry?

I do not think we can continue to function as a free society unless people take some sense of responsibility for themselves and their own future.

Morality, integrity, law and order, and other cherished principles of our great heritage are battling for survival in many communities today. They are under constant attack from degrading and corrupting influences which, if not halted, will sweep away every vestige of decency and orderliness remaining in our society.

Certain groups, numerically weak but vociferously strong, appear determined to destroy all acceptable standards of personal conduct and sane behavior patterns. They seem bent on eliminating all ethical practices relating to our established order.

It is becoming increasingly more apparent that a philosophy of the left (in all its shadings, from Communism to the welfare state to the "mixed economy" concept) can only be successfully fought by a positive philosophy of freedom. Ideas must be fought with other ideas, not emotions. It is not enough to know what one believes in, it is equally important to know why one holds certain convictions. An attack against a position is best met by a strong counterattack, whether the battle is one of physical force or the force of opposing philosophical and economic ideologies.

Clearly, it is time for each one of us to examine basic premises. It is time to re-examine our convictions and delve into the underlying reasons for them. Most of us know what our opinions are; it is just as important to discover where these opinions came from, what are the fundamental moral and philosophical premises on which they are based. It is time to stop fighting a defensive battle against leftist ideologies and turn the tide back with a strong showing of clear, rational, carefully considered ideas.

Most people are aware that our way, the American way of life, is being seriously challenged—that if something isn't done, things will get worse instead of better. There may not be agreement on which issue or issues are the most crucial, but among those most frequently mentioned are apathy, conformity, lack of a sense of responsibility, racial conflict, inflation, internationalists, socialism-Communism, juvenile delinquency, automobile accidents, government spending, monopoly unionism, foreign competition, and the like.

Yet, we find even those persons most seriously concerned asking this question: "But what can I do about it?" I'd like to have a nickel for every time I have heard this expression from those who earn more than I do. I say it this way to emphasize the fact that so many people, whose capabilities in business fields far exceed mine, plead full ignorance in the all-important business of fulfilling their duty as American citizens.

Salesmen who make hundreds of contacts before they make a sale, advertisers who are happy with a few orders per thousand broad-sided mailed, fishermen who will go to any lengths in the mere hope of landing the big one, become very different people when it comes to performing their civic duties. Here, they seem to expect immediate and overwhelming results with a minimum of effort. They underestimate the competition. The grafter, the subversive, and the special interest groups have much to gain by imposing their wills upon legislators and upon the public; and what they gain is immediate. You and I, who want the blessings of liberty secure for ourselves and our posterity, perhaps are less aware of what we gain by defending and advancing Americanism.

Whatever the reason, the fact remains: People seem to like to believe they can't do anything—so they do nothing, yet, what each person is capable of doing, and has the ability to do, is most substantial.

First, you must have an opinion, as soundly based and firmly established as possible.

Second, you must see that this opinion is expressed in public, for an unknown opinion has no more value than any other form of unknown wealth.

Most of us aren't going to hire a hall, put on our own TV show, or even write a book. But we can, at least in conversations, say we are not convinced (when we aren't), and let those who have made a good point know that we think they have done well. Even those who would remain least involved can do this much.

You are busy, but you do read widely to keep informed. Good! As you read, mark articles, underline cogent phrases, check summarizing paragraphs. Then, send these on to others. If you have the time, include a note such as, "This also confirms what you said," or "You may be right, but there does appear to be another side." Formal letters of transmittal are seldom necessary. Just mail these materials where you think they would do the most good.

You may doubt the effectiveness of this technique until you see an editor, to whom you have sent a mailing or two, permanently change his policies; or a legislator change his vote on an issue. Or, a friend who has been in disagreement with you will come around one day and say: "You know that last item you sent really has something to it. I never thought of it that way."

If most of us did just this much, the principles and institutions of Americanism wouldn't be as contorted and corroded as they are now. Of course, you could go much further. You could refrain from letting purely commercial considerations "force" you to contribute and support movements and actions that you know are wrong. You could initiate correspondence with governmental officials, trade association executives and editors.

No matter how "big" or "small" you may consider yourself, realize that you may be the sole initiator of an idea—and that if you stop, everything stops. And this works both ways; for others need support, too. This you can do. You can support those who are supporting that which you believe is right.

The big question is not, "What can I do about it?" But rather, "How can I possibly afford not to do something?"

In this business of being a citizen, start! Keep moving; And you'll find you have really begun to "do something about it."

You see—today too many of us believe in the free enterprise system until the going gets tough—

We need a new dedication, a renewed devotion to our American private enterprise system.

There is no room for a Doubting Thomas. The preacher who wishes to preserve freedom of religion must also be a fighter for our free enterprise system, without any buts!

We have a responsibility to fight against the slow erosion of our free enterprise system. To preserve the right to our American heritage we must work harder at our responsibilities. We must oppose the "gimme" pressure groups and the political "hand-outs." We must militantly challenge the philosophy that government can do everything for us and charge the bill to others. There are no others—they are you. We must stand, as individuals, for the right to own, to save, to invest in our free enterprise system. Without this freedom, other freedoms will soon be of little value.

Freedom is not hereditary.

Freedom has a price: and that price is vigilance.

The time has come for us to reestablish the rights, for which we stand—To reassert our inalienable rights to human dignity, self-reliance—To be again the kind of people who once made America great. And how shall we approach this problem? And will our answer be the needed vaccine for the rendering im-

portant of the collectivist cancer? I think it shall. I think the answer lies in this:

Today in America, everyone is a negativist, i.e., one who is anti: anti-Communist, anti-Nazi, anti-federal aid to education. Now there is little wrong with being a negativist, except when it prevents the same from being constructive. You see, the first thing a person is going to ask you when he knows you are anti-something is: "What are you for? What do you believe in?" No fairer question could be presented. Now the problem arises due to the fact that those of the anti-grouping seldom can find the answer to this all-important question. What do you propose? This is the very problem. Not what a person is against, but what he is for; not anti, but pro; an alternative, something better, not merely more of the same, under a different label.

I suggest that we become pro-free enterprise, pro-capitalism, rather than anti-Communism. Now for the person who understands the systems in question, he will readily understand and realize that to be for one, you by definition must be against the other. To be a Communist, you must be against capitalism. Rather than talking about the evils of collectivism, speak on the benefits of capitalism, the advantages of living in a free enterprise, competitive society.

You see, Americans in general regard the collectivist system, no matter what the 'ism,' as something alien and unrelated to America, and in turn we would never join the Socialist or Communist parties.

Yet, we clamor loudly for every piece of socialistic legislation which is offered—so long as it is sugar-coated with an American label or wrapped in the American Flag.

It seems to me that this must be very disheartening to sincere socialists to note the continuing impotence of their party, while, at the same time, a pseudosocialism in free enterprise wrapping has been able to command such a tremendous following from the rank and file. This is indeed a sad commentary on the political and economic ignorance of the American people.

We dismiss socialism with a wave of the hand, and then line up in droves behind Social Security, socialized medicine, industry, housing, and education. We denounce collectivism, and yet innocently and ignorantly spout its doctrines day in and day out. The reason for this is so simple that we Americans often overlook it. We just do not understand our own system. We as Americans do not understand capitalism, which just happens to be the only system devised by man which allows for human freedoms and justice in the same breath.

There is little question that the collectivist proposals seem logical, just, and humanitarian. They sound like the idealistic answer for a muddled world's prayer. In one breath, they denounce the slavery of totalitarianism and the "crazy guilt of capitalism," and offer the Utopian "middle way," which eliminates the liabilities and retains the assets of both collectivism and individualism. It is all very intoxicating and consoling—until one realizes that oil and water do not mix. When one arrives at this conclusion in the discussion, the proponent of such a heaven and earth begins to delete himself from the dialogue.

Address those who would replace our system with collectivism: Mr. Collectivist: Show me! Show me a spot on God's green earth where collectivism has increased individual freedom and eliminated poverty. Show me where it has not meant rigorous and arbitrary regulation. Show me where it has proved the road to escape to true freedom as well as to peace and plenty. Show me your Utopian, not on paper, but in reality! You admit in your writings that socialism in Germany, Italy, and Russia resulted in Nazism, Facism, and Communism, but you

say that these were perversions of true socialism—and you abhor them. That is fine; I do, too. But show me where socialism has avoided these pitfalls and led to freedom and prosperity for everyone, as your blueprints say it will. Show me!

Despite the continued emphasis on increased production via collectivism, we can find no examples of such results in proof. All on paper, nothing in reality. Show me a socialized or even a half-socialized country which has remotely approached our free enterprise record of production and plenty. Show me a socialized or half-socialized country which has produced a higher standard of living for workers than capitalistic America. Show me where socialism has produced cheaper cars, telephones, radios, movies, gadgets and comforts, and where they have been more widely distributed among the average people. Show me a collectivist society where 72 per cent of the population have life-insurance policies and 49 per cent have bank accounts. If you know a better, happier, more envied workers' republic than we have right here in America, where is it? Please show us.

To this the collectivist has no answer. And why? He knows that capitalism and free enterprise have made it this way. This system, based on individual initiative and profit, has produced the best for the most. Socialists and communists make the same mistake. They place security ahead of freedom. America is the prime example of a nation which founded itself on the basic principle of individual freedom. Our Constitution bristles with limitations upon the government—and the result has been (exclusive of the last thirty years) a greater measure of security for Americans than for all other nations. America offers unlimited rewards for initiative, enterprise, and wisdom, and she must never guarantee the same for laziness, incompetence or failure. This free way of life is a rugged, painful business at times; but it has paid the biggest dividends on earth and is well worth every weary mile of it.

You see, freedom appeals to men's strengths; socialism and Communism appeal to man's weaknesses. Freedom teaches a man to stand independently on his own feet; the others teach him to lose himself in the protective herd.

Our argument for capitalism is that America has proved beyond any doubt that she has the best economic and political system yet devised. This is proven by our glorious record, not by some hypothetical blueprint that some over-educated-under-worked humanitarian visioned in a dream. America did not become the bread-basket, the factory, the bank, and the hope of the world by following the wrong systems or believing the wrong principles. Her solution is visible in every home, in every city, in every store, in this country.

For you see, when the 55 men went to Philadelphia in 1787, they had a dream. It was with great courage and conviction that they hoped to form an enduring basis of government for the nation which had been a-borning and whose future destiny and greatness existed only in their minds as a vision. These men agreed and disagreed—there was argument and counterargument. There was anger and there was calm thought. There was prayer and there was blasphemy. Finally there was compromise, the final product of their toil being the Constitution of the United States of America—a profound composite of their highest judgment and aspirations.

The Constitution having been completed, an arduous task lay ahead: These "salesmen of democracy" had to sell their product to the people whom they represented. A man must have confidence in the value of the product he is marketing. These 55 men had faith in the Constitution, yet they knew

that it takes much more than faith to sell a concept.

Despite the many handicaps they had to overcome in communication and transportation, Madison, Franklin, Hamilton, and their colleagues, sold their product to the people of the young nation.

In the intervening years since 1789, many events of great political importance have occurred. Systems of government have risen and fallen. Yet in this time period, the Constitution of the United States has remained the most prominent expression of the American ideal of freedom and justice. Yes, the years have confirmed the founding fathers' faith in their product.

For nearly two centuries, this Constitution has been the efficient framework within which a free and vibrant people have been able to realize their fullest potential.

In every period of our history, outside forces have tried unsuccessfully to weaken our democratic structure. During times like these, past generations of dedicated Americans, including our fathers and grandfathers, have reaffirmed their faith in democracy and their devotion to country. Many Americans have given their lives so that others might be able to pick the fruits of a bounteous nation. In war and peace, they have dedicated themselves to solving the problems of a growing nation. Our democratic framework is a stimulating atmosphere for their free quest for knowledge.

In order for our nation to continue resisting destructive influences, my generation must also be willing to re-affirm its faith in America. Our men in Vietnam are fighting to preserve free choice, and our students are sharpening their minds and skills in order to deal with the problems of an increasingly complex society. Despite the overwhelmingly loyal majority, a minority of young Americans are evoking a genuine concern by their apathy and inane dissension.

You often hear it asked: But, how can citizens show America how it feels? How can the youth of America and their elders express their appreciation for the riches of opportunity and fulfillment that this country has provided? We, you and I, can participate, actively, in civil affairs. We can become operating members of the brain trust so vital to the success of our nation. For if America should fall to the collectivist disease, if she should die from bread and circuses, the epitaph of her gravestone may read as follows:

Here lies the only civilization which perished at the peak of its power, with its power unused.

Here lies a decent people who wanted love, not empire, and got neither; who tried to trade power for popularity and lost both.

Here lies a nation of advertisers who know how to change consumer tastes in cigarettes, but were themselves manipulated on all the issues that really mattered to their salvation and survival.

Here died a sort of Lancelot in the court of nations, who granting all his grievous flaws, was still somehow the noblest knight of all; except this Lancelot, crippled with an undeserved guilt complex, let his weapons and ideals fall unused, and so condemned all mankind to the thousand-year night of the Russian bear and the Chinese dragon.

Ladies and gentlemen:

The future of America lies in the hands of my generation. It is an awesome responsibility, but the obligation has been accepted by generations before us. The commitment is now ours. Of the many duties in this endeavor, the most vital to America's future lies in salesmanship. We must believe in our nation enough to go out and sell its principles to those outside our domain and to the apathetic within, so that future generations will have the drive to sustain the "Voice of America."

To sell America to American youth and American youth to America—this is the op-

portunity and this is the challenge. The generation that accepts this challenge will change the history of the world.

I thank you!

MRS. ANITA POLK

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I rise to offer my sincere congratulations to a close friend and illustrious fellow Clevelander, Mrs. Anita Polk, on her recent promotion to deputy director of the Cleveland Urban League.

Anyone from the Greater Cleveland area who has sustained an interest in the betterment of our community is well aware of this remarkable lady's multitude of talents. She is equally at ease as a journalist, free-lance writer, speaker, public relations expert, or mediator of community disputes. In short, Mr. Speaker, she is a woman for all seasons.

The Cleveland Call and Post, one of the publications to which Mrs. Polk is a contributor, recently printed an article giving more complete details of her advancement. Since I feel that her story is one that would be of both interest and inspiration to my colleagues, I include the article in the RECORD at this point:

UL PROMOTES ANITA POLK

Mrs. Anita Lewis Polk, former director of community relations with the Urban League of Cleveland, has been promoted to the position of deputy director, according to Ernest C. Cooper, executive director of the local League, and Julian C. Madison, President, Board of Trustees.

"Mrs. Polk has been performing with exceptional skill, and devotion to her duties, that she warranted the promotion," Cooper said. The position had been vacant for more than one and a half years.

For the past three years, Mrs. Polk has assumed more and more responsibilities in matters relating to the projection of the Urban League's new thrust and increased Urban League's negotiation with crises, whether it was educational, labor-oriented or community conflict. She resolved many difficulties without fanfare, after hours of negotiations.

Aside from her regular duties, Mrs. Polk worked ten months on WKYC-TV reporting on Urban League's job opportunities, on a regular radio show for 50 weeks and featured a weekly column on League affairs.

Mrs. Polk's new duties will meld in with some of her current responsibilities, and provide supervisory and administrative assistance to the executive director.

A native of Birmingham, Alabama, Mrs. Polk is a graduate of Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia, and has attended graduate school at Case-Western Reserve University. She has graduated from the Urban League's Leadership Development Caucus, and the Constructive Public Relations Course of the Cleveland Advertising Club.

A journalist and free-lance writer, Mrs. Polk has written for many major newspapers including the Call & Post, The Pittsburgh Courier, and Johnson Publications.

Prior to joining the Urban League staff, Mrs. Polk served as Deputy Director of the Manpower Advancement Project, as Director of Modern Homemakers and as General Man-

ager of Lewis Sohio Service and Pilot Mutual Insurance Company, in association with her late father, John H. Lewis, Sr.

Mrs. Polk has an uncommon knowledge of the local, national and international community, based on her frequent out-of-town assignments and promotions as Public Relations Specialist.

Mrs. Polk resides with her daughter, Stacey, and her mother, Mrs. John H. Lewis, Sr., a teacher at Anton Grdina Elementary School in Glenville.

MASONIC GATHERING ATTRACTS MORE THAN 1,600 IN SAN ANTONIO

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, on the evening of March 9 there gathered in San Antonio's magnificent Alzafar Shrine Temple more than 1,600 members of the Fraternal Order of Freemasonry. It was described by the mayor of the city, Hon. Walter W. McAllister, as the largest gathering of its kind he had ever seen in that metropolis.

The occasion was a rededication to the principles of the fraternity and a reaffirmation of loyalty to the flag and the country it symbolizes. Directed by Mr. Jack Cones, dynamic Potentate of the Alzafar Shrine Temple, the meeting attracted scores of prominent officers of the fraternity, along with many of the leading citizens of that and nearby communities. It was indeed a most colorful and impressive occasion.

A stirring address was delivered by Mayor McAllister. Speaking from notes, he eloquently upheld the highest concepts of Americanism, defended the Constitution, spoke of specific attacks upon orderly government, and urged those present to unite in a mighty drive to preserve this Nation's heritage against enemies from within as well as those from beyond our borders. Unfortunately, a full text of his remarks is not available for inclusion in the RECORD.

It can be said that the long-time mayor of San Antonio is widely recognized as one of the Nation's most capable and efficient municipal leaders. He is certainly one of San Antonio's most distinguished and respected citizens.

It was also my pleasure to address the gathering. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include a partial text of what I said. The address follows:

THE TIME TO ACT IS NOW

It is indeed an honor and a privilege to attend this function and participate in this program here this evening. Particularly I am pleased to appear on the same program with my long-time friend, Mayor Walter McAllister. He is a great patriot and a great American. It is an inspiration to see so much active interest being manifested in Masonic affairs by so many members of the Order.

I wish to compliment Potentate Jack Cones and the entire Shrine membership here at Alzafar for this new edifice—certainly one of the finest and most spacious Shrine Temples in the country. And I also congratulate all of you for sponsoring this meeting and for attracting such a tremendous audience.

It is a compliment to your leadership and prestige in this community.

I should like to talk a few moments about some shocking developments in this country—with which we are all familiar—which in my judgment require extraordinary attention on the part of all responsible Americans. And I cannot think of a more responsible group with which to discuss this subject, than a gathering of Masonic brethren.

#### CHICAGO 7

A full page advertisement appeared in the March 6 issue of the Wall Street Journal. Entitled "Violence in America," the insertion was by the Bank of America. It focused attention on a virus which has attacked America's vitals, and which unless contained can be expected to weaken or even destroy our capacity for self-government.

The ad referred to several hundred student rioters from nearby University of California who on the evening of Feb. 25 invaded the peaceful suburban village of Isla Vista, burned and completely destroyed the Bank of America's branch located there. Those students had nothing against that particular bank. It just happened to be handy for their purposes.

The students' immediate excuse for violence was the verdict in the Chicago 7 trial; but in addition they left a list of protests against the "capitalistic establishment," "the war in Vietnam," "student repression," "Police brutality," and others. This sounds like a page out of a Communist dictionary.

Now, if this were an isolated case there would be no point in discussing it. But it is not isolated. I mention it because what happened at Isla Vista is happening in one form or another throughout this land—your land and my land—every day. And that's what I want to talk about for a few moments.

Ordinarily it is far more pleasant to talk about what is *right* with our country rather than what may be wrong with it. Right now, however, it seems to me we have reached a point in our history which requires all right-thinking citizens to stop, look, and listen. Indeed the time to act is now.

We have witnessed in right recent years a very definite deterioration as applied to morality, obedience to law and order, adherence to established authority, support of organized government, and even a deterioration of respect for the American flag.

Let us examine a few of these developments. During the 60's crime in America increased 10 times the rate of population increase! J. Edgar Hoover, himself a distinguished member of the Masonic Order, recently expressed deep concern because, he said, there exists in this country an amazing softness and tolerance toward those who violate laws. This is shocking, and it calls for extraordinary action on the part of all right-thinking citizens.

Today everywhere we look, right and left, ugly blotches of defiance and rebellion mar the patterns of peace and tranquility, and there is no doubt that the vast majority of our people don't like it.

I shall not belabor the crime issue. You are all keenly aware of its presence and its magnitude. We have seen the advent of the Black Panthers, the Students for a Democratic Society, and several other militant groups—white and black—devoted to anarchy and rebellion. We all know that here in this civilized land street mobs have become commonplace. And all of this being done brazenly, openly—without blush, shame or apology!

#### U.S. STUDENTS CUT CANE FOR CASTRO

Indeed, many unbelievably strange things are happening in America these days. For example, in recent times upwards of a thousand American college students have, at Communist expense, boarded ships from Canadian ports and from other places, bound for Castro's Cuba to help in the sugar cane

harvest—most of them equipped with Marxist literature and various forms of subversive anti-American propaganda. Well, it's too bad they didn't travel on one-way tickets. As Elton Cude would tell them: "Love it or leave it!"

We are all aware of marchers who display the Hanoi flag. I saw it with my own eyes during the moratorium march in Washington last fall. I am speaking of the flag of our deadly enemy which engages in uncivilized brutality toward our troops, toward South Vietnamese civilians, and toward our helpless prisoners of war.

Can you believe such things can be happening here in America, the land of the free and the home of the brave?

#### RIOTS AND CRIME

We have in right recent years witnessed more than a hundred Negro riots—all of them senseless, unprovoked, and utterly devoid of reason. Scores of lives have been lost and nearly a billion dollars in property damage left for others to clean up and pay for. And there has been such little sign of remorse. Much of the rioting was done as a means of protecting organized looters and vandals who seemed to feel the only thing that stood between them and prosperity was a plate glass window.

As you might expect, there were some bleeding hearts and apologists who claimed riots were necessary in order to bring about change. That excuse is as old as the primitive jungle. It is an alien doctrine that should have no place in American thought—and it must be repudiated. We will not deserve or long enjoy freedom if we permit any compromise of our principles on this issue.

And we all know what has happened on our college campuses—even Harvard, Columbia, Colgate, and scores of others where civilization was supposed to be present in a fairly advanced state. It's simply too sickening to talk about. Because when we talk about what has taken place on these campuses, it sounds like something that should have taken place among the hottentots of darkest Africa, where civilized conduct is hardly expected.

There, too, has been the use and abuse of politics and emotions in dealing with racial relations. Out of all this we find America slipping backward instead of forward in the search for better ways in which to live together where racial differences are involved. Even the concept and the integrity of the neighborhood public school, to which the Masonic Order has long been devoted, is under attack today on many fronts.

#### ABUSE OF FREEDOMS

In the name of freedom of speech, police in the line of duty are maligned and labeled as "pigs"; other officials are often lampooned, vilified and cursed; depravity and filth is printed, acted and broadcasted. In the name of freedom of assembly, gangs of degenerates roam the streets, cursing, burning, beating and destroying. In the name of academic freedom individuals who are dedicated to the overthrow of our nation are permitted to teach our children, under authority of a Supreme Court decision.

Don't you really think this country's been on a civil liberties binge far too long?

Only recently the sanctity of the courtroom as a seat of justice was attacked during the trial of the Chicago 7, when for five long months Judge Hoffman, who presided, was in open court subjected to abuse with obscenities and repeated insults, day after day, as the culprits and their slyster lawyers were determined to obstruct justice and prevent a verdict from being rendered.

Regardless of legal aspects of that trial which remain to be examined, in my judgment Judge Hoffman is entitled to the plaudits of the entire nation. And the jury is entitled to a lot of credit, too.

Moreover, the thousands who marched or rioted in protest against the verdict are no

better than those who were tried, because they themselves are criminals at heart or they would not be whining, ranting and destroying because five hoodlums were duly convicted in a court of law.

Now, I must not prolong this line of discussion. All these evidences of degeneracy, of sick minds and corrupt souls, add up to a condition which calls for double-duty and overtime, if you please, on the part of all patriotic and responsible citizens. In my judgment the vast majority of our people are sick and tired of this course of events. The time is overdue for a really meaningful crack-down. These hooligans must be taught, in language they can understand, that the right to enjoy freedom is not a license to abuse freedom. We have reached a point when in dealing with these characters we must not exercise that degree of restraint which we traditionally prefer.

As the prophet Isaiah put it: ". . . If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land. But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword."

Above all, let us support our peace officers, and let us reassure them of our support. It is an old Communist trick to scream "police brutality," "pigs," and other abusive expressions, as a part of their scheme to break down and erode public confidence in those who enforce the laws. As members of the Masonic Order and as American citizens, let us become more active in community affairs and resolve to give more and more support to good and worthy causes.

#### HOOR IS GROWING LATE

In terms of history, the hour is growing late. Without being an alarmist I think it is fair and correct to say that never before in American history has there been such outbursts of anarchy, crime and rebellion—to anything like the degree that exists in this country today. Truly, our capacity for self-government is being tested.

There are also disturbing signs in governmental trends. For example, during the past 10 years our nation has moved further and further away from the traditional American practice of allowing local people to deal with local problems at the local level. This is both fundamental and inherent in our system of government. But today we see the concept of local self-government being eroded, weakened and undermined. Indeed there has developed evidence of high-level distrust of the capacity of the people to govern themselves, as contemplated by the founding fathers when this Republic was established.

Along with that there has been an erosion of constitutional government. In our time there have been those who would twist and maim our Constitution and weaken the superstructure of our system.

Another source of concern is the emergence of anti-military sentiment, at a time of great national peril due to massive Communist military preparations. While constructive criticism is always appropriate, the fact is that much of the anti-preparedness attitude in this country today is an out-and-out attack on this nation's defense structure itself, and this is indeed disturbing.

#### HISTORY BEING REPEATED?

You know, the renowned historian, Arnold Toynbee, in his monumental study, has pointed out that almost all the great civilizations on earth have eventually withered and fallen from internal decay, not from external force. And the Englishman, Macaulay, who died on the eve of the Civil War, wrote:

"Your Republic will be fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the 20th century as the Roman Empire was in the 5th, with this difference: That the Huns and vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without—and your Huns and vandals have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions."

I would like to think that Macaulay,

while prophetically right about the danger, underestimated the capacity of the American people to react, face up to such challenges, keep the faith, and triumphantly uphold the majesty of the law. But it will take some doing.

#### MASONIC CONTRIBUTION

Now, if I may shift gears for a moment, let me talk to you briefly as members of the Masonic Order. As you know, our great fraternal organization, which originated on Mount Moriah by Operative Masons, during the building of King Solomon's temple, has throughout history been in the forefront of battles for honor and good government. Masonic influence was particularly significant during our early history, when the going was rough and the need was urgent.

Well, it is rough now, and again the need is urgent. Therefore, in these critical times in our history, fate again imposes upon this Order—and upon all others who are similarly motivated—a duty to assume an extraordinary degree of responsibility when the chips are down. That time is now.

Let us recall for a moment the vital role Masonry has played in the endless struggle for stability, right and decency. We know that throughout our history this Order has welded constructive influences, always—but always—dedicated to the dignity of man and the glory of God.

Masonry in America asserted its great influence most effectively during the earlier years of the Republic, and during its creation. It was a mammoth contribution and the influence exerted was probably decisive. Let us review a few evidences of that.

Two generations of Masons had been made in the first lodges of Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Savannah before the first Masonic brethren laid down their lives for their country on the village green at Lexington and the slopes of Bunker Hill. So that, by the time the Revolution was in full swing, Masonry had a strong position among the leaders of the time.

The entire revolution was marked with Masonic influence. Ten military lodges were established in the Continental Army. Washington himself officiated in the raising of LaFayette to the sublime degree, and LaFayette later said Washington never entrusted an independent command to a subordinate officer who was not a member of the Masonic Order. At least 50 of Washington's subordinate generals in the revolution were members of the Order.

At the field of Bunker Hill our immortal brother James Warren laid down his working tools of life to enter the realm of the Supreme Architect. He had refused the offer to be made a Major General, and died a private in the ranks.

His commander was Israel Putnam, a distinguished Mason. Warren became one of the first men of distinction to lay down his life for the cause of independence. He had served as Provincial Grand Master of America under Scottish authority.

Incidentally, Warren's body was identified the next day and buried and the place marked. After the British evacuation a year later, the body was exhumed, carried in a solemn procession from the State House to King's Chapel and buried with military and Masonic honors. The oration delivered on that occasion by Perez Morton has been compared to Anthony's speech over the grave of Caesar.

"Our Grand Master," said he, "fell by the hands of ruffians, but was afterwards raised in honor and authority. We searched on the fields for the murdered son of a widow and found him by the turf and the twig at the brow of a hill."

#### MAJORITY OF CONSTITUTION SIGNERS WERE MASON

In reckoning the contribution Freemasonry made to our country and its independence, it is significant that a majority of the sign-

ers of the Constitution and of the Declaration of Independence were Masons. Indeed some historians believe the Constitution would never have been agreed upon had it not been for the fraternal spirit which prevailed among so many of the more prominent men who produced it. It was touch-and-go for a long time. Some delegates despaired and left. Then the spirit of compromise gained the upper hand among the delegates.

In the interest of time I shall forego the temptation to pursue the subject of Masonic contribution to our country—particularly in times of crisis. It has been so much a part of America and its history.

#### OUTLOOK IS NOT HOPELESS

In conclusion, let me say that we have much of which to be proud. Today we lead the world in science and technology. Our gross national product is more than three times that of Russia. We have on two occasions put men on the moon, and more are scheduled to go. Our standard of living is unsurpassed by any other people. Our nation is blessed with a tremendous reservoir of ingenuity and patriotic fervor. The outlook is not hopeless—not by any means. But the hour is growing late. We have our work cut out for us.

In the uncertain and critical years immediately ahead, the hard core of the strength of America must flow from the great fraternal and patriotic organizations, along with the men and women of profound religious convictions. This, of course, includes all churches, all races, and all creeds. You can be certain that, just as it has done in other critical periods in our history, the Masonic Order will play a vital and important role in the endless search for better solutions for today, and for tomorrow. Because this Order is composed of the type of men who understand the meaning of responsibility, and are prepared to assume and implement it.

Surely this is a time which calls for rededication on the part of all loyal Americans. It is time to renew our faith in our institutions. And it is, of course, a time that requires vigilance on the part of all good citizens who still love this nation and its flag.

In finding the answers and in meeting the challenges, I have no doubt that our fraternity will contribute even more than its share.

### KANSAS CITY: LEADER IN THE 1970'S

#### HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the people of Kansas City have a good friend as well as an able Senator in STUART SYMINGTON. His recent message extolling the virtues of Kansas City was delivered before the Rotary Club of Kansas City on Lincoln's birthday. At the same time Senator SYMINGTON was honored by our Mayor Ius Davis with a special proclamation for his decisive role in bringing major league baseball back to Kansas City with the Kansas City Royals. The Senator's speech follows:

#### KANSAS CITY: LEADER IN THE '70s

(By Senator STUART SYMINGTON)

On this the 161st anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, the challenges to our country may well be as crucial as those which that great man faced when he assumed the Presidency.

Lincoln was confronted with a basic difference in the thinking of our people; and those divisions led us into a long and bloody war.

Particularly in our cities and suburbs today we are again confronted with deep divisions; not as well defined, perhaps, as those between the North and the South some 110 years ago, but nonetheless real and growing and not without violence.

The test of this new decade as well as the subsequent 20 years of this century will be: can this nation build our urban, suburban and rural areas into a land with an environment that we will be able to pass on with pride to our children and their children?

I raise this question today before this outstanding service club, realizing that we are in a city with a great past and an even greater future—a city and an area which has demonstrated time and again that planning and working together in true American tradition creates a climate which in turn can only guarantee future happiness to the Heart of America.

Never was the spirit of cooperation more evident or more meaningful than last year—cooperation of governments, business and civic leaders, across your State line here; and also with your representatives in Washington, from both Missouri and Kansas.

As but one illustration, this cooperative spirit resulted in saving our status as the Regional Center for all the Federal offices working on the problems of the people of this area.

The evidence gathered, and presented in extraordinarily able fashion, proved that Kansas City offered outstanding facilities and unsurpassed services; and therefore in every way deserved to be designated as the logical growing center from which to serve millions of our citizens in surrounding states.

Your metropolitan leaders, many of whom are here today, once again proved that Kansas City is the kind of urban area that stands experienced, strong, and ready to face any problems, any challenges, of the future. In this connection, let us note that the hard facts which won this recent controversy were in large part a result of work and investment characteristic of preceding years.

With respect to the scope and meaning of this victory in holding and adding new regional offices, may I present that in 1968, the last year for which all the figures are available, in grants, salaries, payments for supplies and services, and in benefits, 20 Federal agencies put three-quarters of a billion dollars—to be exact, \$784,454,848—into Jackson County alone.

Not only, therefore, is the Federal Government by far the largest employer in this regional center; it is also one of the biggest consumers, as well as obviously being a tremendous generator of business, old and new.

The importance of Kansas City as a Government center assures its future; but its many other assets, coupled with its natural resources of land and water and people, fully developed as planned, makes us all confident to the point of conviction that the Kansas City metropolitan area will be a true leader of the '70's and beyond.

Let us review today but a few of the numerous assets in your area, already available or to be developed; programs on which my Staff and myself are proud to cooperate, because they serve all the people, and because in the long run the Federal share in each project will be a sound investment indeed.

Kansas City was born on the banks of the mighty Missouri. With more than fifty million feet of water in upstream reservoirs, this great river assures our town ample water supply even in such severe drought years as those of 1954 and 1956.

Now controlled with flood protection that assures prevention of another Black Friday such as that of July 13, 1951—when this area suffered a billion dollars in flood loss—the

Missouri also provides a steadily growing potential for river transportation.

In addition, within less than two hours driving time, in due course Kansas City will have more than one dozen fresh water, multiple purpose reservoirs. Several are already completed; others are either under construction, or authorized or proposed; and I will never rest until they are all completed.

In these latter planned projects, in Missouri alone over the next decade or so, the Federal Government will invest more than \$500 million; and with this added four million acre feet of water, our area will then be competitive in water recreation with any other in the land.

This water development will also constitute an important resource for continued healthful and desired industrial growth.

So much for the plans to fully utilize these unparalleled water resources the Almighty has bestowed upon Kansas City.

And there is more.

Now under construction and already in partial use as the major overhaul and training base of the world's finest airline—TWA—you all are providing what is destined to be the greatest inland airport—Kansas City International.

With the high speed rapid transit from downtown to the airport, coordinated with our superb multi-lane highway system, this area will still have one of the most convenient of all airports; and when that transportation system is operating, it will help solve other transit problems.

And there is more.

The Jackson County Sports Complex will nail down this area as "Big League" in every way. We have superb and growing fan support. We have the highest type and character of ownership. It is only a question of time—and I predict not too much time at that—when our Kansas City Royals will win a World Series; and right now, today, there is no longer any argument about the fact that our Kansas City Chiefs are the finest football team in the land.

The expanding Interstate and express highway system now being constructed as the result of cooperation at all levels, local, state and national, will serve in unsurpassed fashion the entire area: new airport, sports and entertainment complexes, the downtown area, and our rapidly growing suburbs.

In addition to the above, it has long been my belief that the development of educational facilities is a prerequisite to community development; and therefore I am glad to note the expansion of strong and growing institutions of higher education, including the new dental and medical facilities of the University of Missouri on Hospital Hill. Thanks to the fine constructive work of leaders here as well as support in Jefferson City and Washington, this progress will be a pattern for others to follow.

The faith in the future of your own business leaders as represented by such magnificent new commercial buildings as Commerce Towers, Ten Main Center, and the planned Crown Center Complex, gives practical assurance to all of the faith of the community in its future.

Yes, this the Heart of America has great and growing assets, many more than I have presented today. Nevertheless, as is true of every major city in the United States, we currently also have some problems.

In the past ten years, the rate of violent crime in cities over 250,000 has increased three-fold. Right here I am told that homicides this year doubled over last year. As I have said before—crime is the working partner of waste, and to bring to fruition our potential in the '70s, all forms of waste must be controlled. This is also true of crime. Working together it will be controlled.

Unfortunately, many outside—international—adventures, primarily the war that

is dragging on in Vietnam, have dried up available funds needed on the domestic scene despite an increase in taxes. Accordingly, there is a shortage of money to do what we know is needed. More than half the tax and bond issues submitted to Missouri voters in 1968 were voted down; and 24 such issues were voted down in this city only last December.

This shortage of needed funds is by no means peculiar to Kansas City. For example, a pamphlet distributed in Washington earlier this week by the Mayor has in it this sentence: "St. Louis is bankrupt;" and it is a fact that most of our cities, our counties, and our states just do not have adequate money to accomplish what we know must be done.

These needs include:

Education—last year the Federal government provided over \$10 million to further education in this county; and although more is needed this year, I am sorry to report that, under the new budget, less will be forthcoming.

More and better housing—last year the Federal government provided this community with \$8 million for urban renewal and low-cost housing. This year the allotment was cut to \$4.7 million; but now, thanks to much work, the amount has been increased back to \$7 million. It is clear nevertheless that we are still \$5 million short of what is vitally needed to continue and expand the rehabilitation of homes in declining areas; and also to carry on a necessary and desirable proper program for new low-cost housing.

In the remaining years of this century the United States will add another hundred million to the total population—300 million in all—and by that time 90% of our citizens will be living in urban and suburban areas.

The problems this accelerating population growth will present must be faced now; and with that premise, let us examine briefly but one example of the wastes referred to previously—that waste incident to air and water pollution.

These two forms of waste will not only eat away at much of our urban progress; they will take out of your and my pocketbooks an estimated \$13 billion per year—\$65 for every man, woman and child; and this does not include the heavy toll of death and sickness which inevitably results from poisoned water and contaminated air, something that cannot be measured in dollars and cents.

There are additional requirements if we are to meet the needs of Kansas City and other urban, suburban and rural areas; and with that as a premise I have become convinced that we must work toward the establishment of new priorities with respect to our treasure. Since by far the greatest portion of our tax dollar goes to Washington, that is where we must make the most headway.

In this connection, let us also bear in mind that, equally important with the preservation of our natural resources, must be the preservation of our financial resources.

As a recent editorial in the Wall Street Journal well summarized:

"If inflation wrecks the economy, as it has before in the U.S. and elsewhere, the problems of education, housing and welfare that we have now will seem minuscule in comparison. It's the economy that provides the resources to grapple with the nation's concerns."

We have no civil war at home. But if we fail in the carrying out of whatever is needed to preserve the strength and prosperity of this nation—and above all, if we do not take whatever steps are necessary to maintain the American spirit, we will be breaking faith with the unity in this land considered by Abraham Lincoln to be the last best hope for the nation's future.

Let us pledge, therefore, on this his birth-

day, that we will continue to move forward, that in the '70s we will make Kansas City the very symbol of progress in America.

The fulfillment of that pledge will give us the dignity that is both the heritage of and the hope for our beloved country.

**KEYNOTE SPEECH BY SECRETARY HOLLIS DOLE, BEFORE THE SECOND MINERAL WASTE UTILIZATION SYMPOSIUM IN CHICAGO, ILL.**

**HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON**

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the Assistant Secretary for Mineral Resources of the Department of the Interior, Hollis M. Dole, is today delivering the keynote address before the Second Mineral Waste Utilization Symposium in Chicago, Ill. Since the work of the symposium is so timely as the Nation, following the leadership of the administration, now faces up to the hard efforts required in the task of improving the quality of the environment, I believe it will be of interest to my colleagues. Mr. Dole's speech follows:

**SOLID WASTES: A NATIONAL RESOURCE**

(Remarks by Hollis M. Dole)

Solid wastes are an environmental threat, and more so than any other environmental problem facing us today, they are everybody's concern. Householders, workers, businessmen, industrialists, State and Federal officials . . . all are confronted with the solid waste problem, and all, in varying degrees, have the opportunity, and indeed, the obligation, to curb the waste of our resources and to stem the environmental damage from solid wastes.

But when we speak of solid wastes we use a collective term—one that tends to obscure the tremendous variety of waste materials involved. Use of the collective term does not differentiate wastes according to the severity of the environmental threat posed by each, nor does it give any clue to help us rank waste problems in an order that would indicate the potential of each for economic solution.

It is necessary that we sort out our problem wastes more efficiently than we have thus far. We should seek to determine, for example, which wastes represent the greatest threats to environmental quality, and therefore, should be attacked first; where the best opportunities for turning waste into profit lie, or, at least, the best opportunities for recovering a marketable product from waste to help offset disposal costs; which problems should logically be tackled through research and development; and which are amenable only to some form of regulation. Where do the responsibilities of industry end and those of State and Federal government begin? As of now we may not have the answers to many of these questions. That doesn't mean that they shouldn't be raised. They should—for two compelling reasons.

The first is that solid wastes, in all their diversity, can represent serious threats to the quality of our environment and, more important, to the health and safety of everyone of us. If we need to be reminded of this, we need only think back to the 1968 disaster in Aberfan, Wales. One fall morning, in that little coal town, 140,000 cubic yards of waste rock and mud from a spoil heap on a nearby

mountain gave way. It buried two farm houses in its path, engulfed a school and 18 houses, and damaged a second school and more dwellings before it finally stopped its disastrous slide down the mountainside. At least 144 people were killed, most of them school children.

This example is—hopefully—an extreme one. More typical solid waste problems do not manifest themselves so dramatically, although they usually affect more people in the long run. Nevertheless, the shock of Aberfan was typical of our reactions to solid waste problems which we cause without being aware of it, and which make us wonder at our own shortsightedness.

An equally compelling reason for looking more closely at the nature of these problems is the growing realization that we are wasting valuable resources . . . resources that we need right now and will need even more urgently in the future.

Mineral consumption in the United States is increasing at an astonishing rate. It is estimated that consumption of metals, non-metals, and fossil fuels in 1980 will be double that of today. Barring a host of technological breakthroughs in finding substitutes, this trend is irreversible.

Recent demand estimates made in the Department for particular commodities are especially revealing. By the most conservative estimate, primary aluminum demand will more than triple in the U.S. between 1967 and 1968. Demand for primary copper in that same period will—conservatively—jump by almost two-thirds. We will require better than 30 percent more iron, roughly 25 percent more phosphorus, and nearly 50 percent more sulfur.

To make matters worse, increased production will have to be obtained by treating lower and lower grade ores. Supplies of minerals and metals, whether domestic or foreign, are available to us only at ever-increasing costs, and are often accompanied by the generation of greater volumes of "waste" products. New or improved technology can pay high dividends by uncovering ways to make marketable byproducts from wastes—not only to wipe out or reduce disposal costs, but to broaden our resource base too.

The Nation can expect to meet its material needs in three basic ways. The first is through primary production of mineral raw materials; second, by imports from foreign sources; and third, by recapturing secondary materials and metals in reusable forms. This last is our only growing resource.

Automotive scrap serves as an excellent illustration. It now accumulates at a rate that can provide industry with over 10 million tons of ferrous and a half-million tons of nonferrous metals annually, with every indication that this rate will increase. An estimated 16 million junk cars still remain to be reclaimed from auto graveyards across the Nation.

In 1968, nearly 300,000 tons of aluminum were used in the manufacture of cans, lids, and caps, and virtually none of it will be reclaimed if present disposal practices are continued. We throw away each year on our city dumps 25,000 tons of tin in the coating on tin cans. This is equivalent to the amount of tin salvaged from all other secondary sources.

The resource potential of such "solid wastes" is so obvious that you are forced to wonder why we call them "wastes." There they lie, tantalizingly available, needing only a few technological refinements or perhaps a slight restructuring of the scrap industry to bring them back into the manufacturing cycle . . . As with Aberfan, we shake our heads at our own shortsightedness.

We must not, however, allow the high promise of increased secondary recovery to blind us to the need for devoting equal at-

tention to other, less compliant waste substances. As I have noted, the term "solid waste" embraces an incredible variety of materials. Indeed, the term characterizes, not so much these materials themselves as our reaction to them.

As I have also suggested, the reaction is two-fold—solid wastes are sometimes deplored for the environmental threat they pose, sometimes for the waste of resources they represent. I am convinced that no discussion of the problems posed by these substances can be meaningful unless we remain aware of this duality. No proposal for new or improved disposal methods can be taken seriously unless it takes into account both aspects of their nature. For as private industry is increasingly coming to realize, environmental quality has become as much of a criterion for the design and operation of industrial processes as the more traditional ones like raw material availability, costs, and markets. And as the public at large is coming to understand, issues of environmental quality are inextricably linked to questions concerning the availability of the natural resources on which America's living standards and economic growth rate depend.

In his Budget Message to the Congress, President Nixon recognized the part that science and technology must play in resolving these issues. He said:

"Where technology has polluted, technology can purify. Solutions to many of our problems can be found only through greater understanding of our environment and man's impact upon it. We must also augment our ability to measure and predict environmental conditions and trends.

"I am confident that this challenge can be met by our leading research institutions and scientists."

It is clear, too, that industry has a major role to play. No Nation can afford wastage of its mineral resources any more than it can afford disasters like Aberfan.

I am pleased to see the excellent representation of industry at this symposium. It indicates that mineral processors, metal fabricators, chemical companies, and other manufacturers are responding to the solid-waste challenge. To me, your attendance also signifies a response to President Nixon's "New Federalism," which acknowledges need for a collective effort by industry, by our research and educational institutions, and by Federal, State, and municipal governments in seeking prompt solution of urgent problems.

Thank you for being here. I am sure that by working together we can share in the excitement of building a better America.

#### AIR POLLUTION

HON. JAMES H. SCHEUER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Speaker, it is common knowledge that our search for greater technological and industrial progress has severely damaged our planet. What may not be common knowledge, however, is the fact that huge quantities of lead and carbon monoxide—both deadly poisons—are dumped daily into the very air we breathe. This type of pollution affects both cities and towns across America.

Most gasolines contain lead and 190,000 tons of it—nearly 2 pounds for each U.S. citizen—are added to our air each

year by cars, buses, and trucks. Carbon monoxide, according to the National Academy of Sciences, is dangerous to man when it reaches the level of 10 parts per million parts of air—a level it often attains in our congested cities.

I have introduced a bill, H.R. 15754, cosponsored by 13 of my colleagues in the House, which provides for the removal of lead from all gasoline and for the installation of adequate antipollution devices for ultimately all cars. Once lead is eliminated from gasoline, readily available catalytic antipollution devices will reduce by 90 percent the emissions of hydrocarbons, carbon monoxide, and other oxides of nitrogen into the air. I have been encouraged by the appearance of four recent articles—two in the New York Times, and one in Newsweek and Time magazines—concerned with this problem of pollution resulting largely from lead in gasoline. I place these four articles into the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues:

[From Time Magazine, Jan. 26, 1970]

#### INVISIBLE KILLER

Among modern technology's more unwelcome gifts is a man-made surplus of carbon monoxide, a toxic gas that cannot be seen or smelled. One way CO is formed is by burning any substance that contains carbon—fuel oil, for example, or tobacco. As a by-product of the incomplete combustion of gasoline, CO is a prime ingredient of auto exhaust, which is the main source of air pollution in big cities.

Scientists have known for a long time that in large amounts the gas severely impairs the ability of the blood's hemoglobin to carry oxygen from lungs to tissues. The result is a loss of energy and a crippling of both mental and physical reactions. Inhaling the gas from auto exhaust has become a popular method of suicide. Now, because the highly industrialized Northern Hemisphere contains more than 90% of the world's CO, U.S. scientists are voicing new concern about its effects.

#### SMALLER BABIES

According to a recent report by the National Academy of Sciences, the gas becomes dangerous when it reaches levels of ten parts per million parts of air—a level that is no rarity in today's congested cities. At that point it can harm pregnant women and victims of bronchitis, emphysema and chronic heart disease. A damaged heart, for example, may be unable to compensate for reduced oxygen supply, and death may result. In Chicago and Philadelphia, says John Middleton, a top federal air-control official, the CO danger point "is exceeded throughout one-third to one-half of the day, and in Los Angeles more than 40% of the time." Each day in Los Angeles, cars spew out 20 million pounds of CO—enough to decrease the blood's oxygen-carrying capacity in some people by 20%.

In Manhattan last week, a three-day conference sponsored by the New York Academy of Sciences revealed that surprisingly low doses of the gas can be dangerous. Some scientists are even concerned about CO in tobacco smoke as well as auto exhaust. As they see it, the gas may explain why women who smoke cigarettes during pregnancy tend to have smaller babies than nonsmoking mothers.

Dr. Thomas Rockwell, director of Ohio State University's driving-research laboratory, also had bad news for motorists in smoggy areas, whether or not they smoke. Under some conditions, says Rockwell, a driver's perception is dangerously impaired by CO in his blood. He may have trouble detecting when a car ahead is slowing down;

he can even fail to notice when its brake lights flash on.

[From the New York Times]

#### SMOGLASS CAR MAY TAKE YEARS

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J., February 18.—Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, President Nixon's science adviser, said today that it would take 10 years to free the nation's highways of pollution-producing automobiles.

He explained that this would be the time required to develop an engine that would not pollute the air after a few thousand miles of use, and to get all the old cars off the highways. However, Dr. DuBridge assured the 25,000 educators attending the 102d annual convention of the American Association of School Administrators in Convention Hall that the automobile industry is making progress in creating a pollution-free car engine.

"We have begun to find effective ways of reducing the nitrogen oxides and we are now busily exploring ways to eliminate the lead," he said.

#### ALTERNATIVES SOUGHT

Later at a news conference, Dr. DuBridge said that the new technologies to perfect a fumeless car were expensive, and the consumers eventually will have to pay for the antipollution innovations.

Asked whether these added costs would be contrary to President Nixon's efforts to control inflation, Dr. DuBridge said: "When the higher cost improves society—if you pay another \$100 for cars that don't pollute the air, it's worth it. That's not inflation. Inflation is paying more than the products are worth."

He said that engineers were investigating the feasibility of steam or gas turbines or electric motors as possible replacements for the internal combustion engine, but they are confronted with serious technological problems.

"The fact is," he said, "that no one has yet invented a replacement for the internal combustion engine which has adequate performance, reliability, and safety, or which can be produced at a reasonable cost and requires a minimum of maintenance. Even if a promising engine were operating on a laboratory bench today, it would be a long time before it could be engineered and tested for practical use and put into large-scale production."

[From Newsweek Magazine, Mar. 23, 1970]

#### AUTOS: ETHYL'S DEFLATED ROMANCE

Time was when Ethyl was everybody's sweetheart—beloved of oil companies for raising gasoline octane ratings cheaply, favored by automakers for taking knocks out of engines, cherished by motorists for putting go in the gas buggy. But these days, Ethyl's best friends tell her that she contributes to the air-pollution problem. "I feel like 'A Boy Named Sue,'" draws executive vice president Lawrence E. Blanchard, Jr., of the Ethyl Corp., "only my father named me 'Ethyl'."

Ethyl's full name is tetraethyl lead, and her sudden wallflower status stems from President Nixon's proposed new standards of purity for automotive exhaust. The nation's automakers have decided that the first step in cleaning up must be the removal of lead additives from gasoline. The big oil companies, suddenly faced with a multibillion-dollar expenditure to change their refining techniques, at first reacted with outrage at Detroit but now are squabbling among themselves. That leaves the principal makers of lead additives (Ethyl Corp., E. I. du Pont, PPG Industries and Nalco Chemical) bereft of sponsors, and bitter about it. "There is no doubt in my mind," said Blanchard recently, "that lead has been picked by some as the

scapegoat for a host of serious problems of the automotive industry."

Spray: It isn't that simple, as a Presidential panel will soon find out as it begins 90 days of inquiry into the cost and consequences of removing lead from gasoline. Lead additives were first used nearly 50 years ago, when refiners discovered that they somehow raised the octane rating of gasoline and suppressed engine knock. In recent years, with the rise of the "muscle" car and its high-compression engine, octane ratings have risen, too; nearly half of the cars on the road won't run satisfactorily on gasoline of less than 97 octane. Without adding lead, most refineries now cannot produce gasoline rated higher than 90 or 91 octane. Thus enormous quantities of lead are added, only to spew from tailpipes as an aerosol spray—an estimated total of 190,000 tons a year, or nearly 2 pounds for each U.S. citizen.

Is this dangerous? Lead in most forms is highly poisonous, and some studies have shown that the average American body contains 2.5 to 3 parts per million of lead. The danger level: 8 parts per million. Still, nobody has proved that any case of lead poisoning resulted from auto exhaust. While this leaves the case technically open, Fred Hartley, president of Union Oil Co. of California, recently conceded: "My medical director advises me I shouldn't get into a court of law on a lead case."

Pending definite medical evidence, the most immediate problem posed by lead is that it interferes with the automakers' favored method for achieving emission-free exhaust from internal-combustion engines. Present thinking in Detroit favors the use of a catalytic converter, which would bring exhaust gases into contact with a catalyst that would convert them to harmless chemicals. Lead compounds, however, would coat the catalyst within a year of operation. Since the automakers are convinced that an exhaust-control device must last the life of the car if it is to be effective, they have decreed—somewhat autocratically, in the view of the lead producers—that lead should be barred, and have promised to produce lower-compression engines that will run without lead. Edward N. Cole, president of General Motors, led the way in a speech two months ago, warning that if emission standards are tightened, "we know of no way presently that such control can be accomplished with lead in gasoline." Growler R. V. Kerley, Ethyl Corp's director of automotive applications: "What does he care if we go out of business?"

Clean: In fact, many oilmen agree with the lead makers that Cole is flatly wrong—that a way can indeed be found to clean lead from exhaust along with the other waste products. Both du Pont and Mobil Oil Corp. have recently touted experimental systems aimed at achieving this goal. Most regulators, for their part, tend to steer clear of the issue. "If we can make a low-emission car some other way," says Dr. A. J. Haagen-Smit, the California scientist who first described photochemical smog, "what the hell do I care?" On balance, however, the trend is toward the thinking of the anti-lead forces—and early this month, at a hearing before the California Air Resources Board, Union Oil's Hartley read what seems to be the handwriting on the wall. "I know we're not going to have lead in gasoline eventually," he said flatly. "I'm sure you men sitting before me have your minds made up already."

Accordingly, Hartley proposed a solution to the transitional problems involved in eliminating lead from gasoline. More than half the cars now on the road, he said, could run satisfactorily on unleaded gasoline of 91 octane; the others could be adjusted to use either that grade or a 97-octane leaded gas. If the industry were required to make those two grades, he said, this "would adequately satisfy the current automotive population and also provide lead-free gasoline for all

1971 and later models." Thus, by 1980, there would be no more need for leaded gasoline, and in the meantime there would be no need for a crash conversion of the oil industry's refineries.

Who Pays? And this, as most observers saw it, was the nub of the case. "The fight now," says a candid automaker, "is over who pays." To Detroit, stuck with the unhappy prospect of installing emission-control systems and raising auto prices by as much as \$300 a car, it seems only fair that the oil industry should bear some of the burden. The oilmen, in turn, protest that the burden would be crippling; the American Petroleum Institute, for one, figures converting all refineries to lead-free production would cost at least \$5 billion, with an added cost to motorists of 3 cents a gallon. By other estimates, however, this one is exaggerated. John Logan, president of Universal Oil Products Co., says the institute assumes "everything being scrapped and replaced by new stuff. What we're talking about is a higher degree of refining. So you don't scrap equipment, you just add to it." Logan's own estimate: from \$2 billion to \$2.5 billion.

In any case, of course, it will be the motorist who winds up paying the bill. And if this prospect bothers the Citizens for Clean Air who recently picketed in New York with signs reading "Get the Lead Out" and "Let the Sun Shine In," it seems thoroughly reasonable to the oil industry. "The consumer ought to pay the costs," says one Houston oilman. "The public is the beneficiary. Why shouldn't the public pay?"

[From the New York Times, Mar. 10, 1970]

#### GENERAL MOTORS TO PROVIDE AN ANTIPOLLUTION SYSTEM FOR PRE-1966 CARS

(By Jerry M. Flint)

DETROIT, March 9.—The General Motors Corporation announced today that within a few months it would have an antipollution system aimed at cleaning fumes from older cars already on the streets.

The package will be offered first in California. General Motors would not say what the system would cost, but it was understood the price would be no more than \$35.

In a speech prepared for delivery to engineers in Flint, Mich., the G. M. president, Edward N. Cole, said:

"This G.M. package can be installed at a reasonable price on virtually all pre-1966 model cars. We are hopeful of making the modification available within a few months in California. If widely used, it should have an immediate and significant effect on lowering the level of pollutants attributable to the automobile."

Cars built since the 1966 models have anti-emission equipment.

The changes planned for the older cars include adjusting and sealing the idle speed mixture control, increasing the idle speed, and altering the vacuum spark advance—all parts of the fuel burning system of an engine. "The hardware required is a thermo vacuum switch to protect the engine from overheating," Mr. Cole said.

The General Motors move is the second dramatic action from the auto maker on car pollution in a month and appears to reflect two beliefs the company in the current controversy over the environment.

The first is leadership. General Motors is the biggest car maker and always the major target of industry critics. G.M. men have made it clear in interviews that they want to be above reproach. Last month the company said it would modify all its future car engines to run on less powerful, non-leaded gasoline, as an effort to control pollution.

The second belief, in the words of one General Motors man, is "to put the monkey" on somebody else's back. In the leaded fuel controversy, the company's move meant that the gasoline companies were now responsible for providing less polluting fuel. In this

latest action, General Motors said it would provide the system for cleaning old cars; the next move is up to state or Federal legislators, who would have to order the equipment on Government cars and make individual car owners pay for it.

#### COLE EXPRESSES CONFIDENCE

Mr. Cole said today: "Based on our research and development efforts to date, I am confident that the internal combustion can be made pollutant-free within current methods of measurement—and that this goal can be achieved within the next few years."

He said that to make engines pollutant-free, there will have to be changes in engine design and in emission control systems but he also said that changes would be needed in the composition of gasoline "including lower volatility, adjustments in the molecular structure, and in the removal of tetraethyl lead."

Earlier today, the Ford Motor Company said it would conduct field tests in California on emission control systems for used cars. The California Division of Highways is to deliver 30 of its vehicles and Ford said it would test the cars, tune and modify them and then retest them to see if the emissions are reduced.

The company said its own tests showed sharp reductions in emissions, similar to those reported by General Motors.

#### PLANT PROJECTS PLANNED

WARREN, MICH., March 9.—General Motors plans to begin construction this summer of \$5.5-million in modernization projects to help combat environmental pollution.

A spokesman for the Fisher Body division of G.M. said today that new projects geared to controlling industrial water pollution would be started in Trenton, N. J.; Hamilton, Ohio, and Flint and Lansing, Mich.

When the projects are completed, said John Baker, Fisher Body manager of operations, "Two-thirds of our plants will have modern self-contained 'clean water' systems to remove industrial wastes from water used in manufacturing operations."

#### BURLEY TOBACCO SOIL BANK PROGRAM

#### HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to permit the soil banking of burley tobacco allotments. As you know, the burley tobacco growers of Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, and Missouri experienced a very poor market during 1969. The Secretary of Agriculture has decided that a cut of 10 percent in their allotments is necessary and the forecast for the coming years is not good.

The legislation I have introduced is a true reflection of those farmers' desires. They have suggested this legislation, and in all ways I have tried to make it reflective of their desires. I would like to explain a few of its provisions.

This legislation in no way alters the present support price acreage control under which the farmers have elected to work. This program is completely voluntary, and since it is the work of the farmer, I believe that it will be well received by them.

For the purposes of this bill, the burley farmers' acreage allotment for 1969 will not be disturbed, that it is to say that the 10 percent cut in allotment ordered by the Secretary this year will be made null and void for participants in this program. The producers of burley tobacco are allowed to enter into a contract of 1 to 3 years to divert not less than 25 nor more than 50 percent of their allotment. But if their allotment were half an acre or less, they would be able to retire 100 percent of it for an indefinite period of years without losing any of their 1969 allotment acreage.

Section 319(c) gives the rate of payment. The amount of payment shall be such a rate as the Secretary determines to be fair and reasonable, but it shall not be less than 30 or more than 50 percent of the estimated support price for the year the contract is in force.

To determine the basis upon which a farmer shall be paid, the Secretary shall take the average yield of burley tobacco on the individual farmer's acreage allotment for the 3 preceding years of production. For example, if the farmer has an allotment of 1 acre and his average yield of burley tobacco has been 2,500 pounds, his average yield for half an acre would be 1,250 pounds. If he diverted half an acre, this 1,250 pounds would be the basis upon which the Secretary shall determine his payment. This basis shall not be decreased, but it will be increased if the national average yields increase. The amount of increase will be 50 percent of the increase in that year's national average yields.

Section 319(d) is directed toward controlling the amount of production on that portion of the farmer's allotment which is not diverted. Again, let me state that this program is completely voluntary and that the present burley tobacco program will continue to function.

With those options available to the farmer, they, the farmers who have created this legislation, have willingly agreed to limit the amount of tobacco they will produce on that portion of their acreage allotment which is not diverted under this program. Such producers will be limited to their average yield for the 3 preceding years of production and this shall not be decreased under any circumstances. It can, however, be increased if the national average yields of burley tobacco increase during the second or subsequent years of their contract. The amount of their increase will be 50 percent of the national average increase for that year. For example, if a farmer enters into the soil bank program during 1971, and his average yield for 1968, 1969, and 1970 is 2,500 pounds, and he has soil banked half an acre, he will only be allowed to market 1,250 pounds. But if in a second or some subsequent year of the contract the national average yield increases by 10 percent, his permissible marketing production will be increased by 5 percent, which is 1,322 pounds.

There are several insurance factors in this bill which take into account the effects of weather and acts of God which could affect any year's production of burley tobacco. If the farmer's production is in excess of his permissible marketing production during the first year

of his contract, he will be allowed to market the entire amount, but his permissible marketing for the next year will be reduced by an amount equal to that which was marketed the preceding year that was in excess of his permissible marketing for that year. This can be illustrated by considering this hypothetical case. Farmer Jones was allowed to market 1,750 pounds for the year 1971, but due to agreeable weather, his yield was 1,900 pounds. He will be permitted to market the entire 1,900 pounds, or he can destroy any amount of which he feels is below a desirable grade that would have the effect of lowering his average price. In the event he decides to market the total 1,900 pounds, he will only be permitted to market 1,600 pounds the next year, for he marketed 150 pounds in excess of the 1,750 pounds permitted. This also assumes that the national average yields for that year remain the same, which would mean that his permissible marketing yield for 1972 would remain at 1,750 pounds.

Similar provisions are made for underproduction, that is to say that if a producer comes under the maximum amount permitted to be marketed in any one year, he will be allowed to carry over this difference to the following year.

What these provisions actually do is to determine a permitted amount of production which can be marketed. They take into consideration over- and underproduction and the amount of production marketed for the period of the contract will total the number of years of the contract multiplied by the average maximum amount allowed to be marketed.

Mr. Speaker, as I stated, this legislation is a product of the farmers themselves, and I believe it to be a program which will alleviate the problems now present in the burley tobacco market. Sixty percent of the burley tobacco growers today have an allotment of half an acre or less. They depend upon this crop for the necessities of life. Labor supplied to produce this commodity is derived from the family, and the proceeds from its sale brings food and clothing to the household. I am concerned for their future, and I introduce this legislation with the conviction that it will save the market which is so necessary for them. It is my sincere hope that it will be given consideration by my colleagues.

#### OUR PATHETIC RHODESIAN POLICY

#### HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday in the United Nations U.S. foreign policy took a realistic first step concerning the Rhodesia issue in using its veto power to defeat a resolution which would have condemned Great Britain for not using force to subdue Rhodesia and which called for severing relations and communications with the former British state. Unfortunately, we have far to go in correcting the pathetically

inconsistent policy which was inherited from the last administration.

In his state of the world message last month, President Nixon stated:

Clearly there is no question of the United States condoning, or acquiescing in, the racial policies of the white-ruled regimes. For moral as well as historical reasons, the United States stands firmly for the principles of racial equality and self-determination.

Last week the administration announced that we were closing our consulate in Salisbury thus further implementing our anti-Rhodesian position.

In contrast, as pointed out by the Chicago Tribune in a March 16 editorial, the United States has relaxed restrictions on trade with Red China while continuing the embargo against Rhodesia. And just yesterday, the Washington Post carried a headline which read: "United States Eases Curbs on Travel to China."

Of course, to stomach this double-standard policy we must not apply the "moral reasons" or the principle of self-determination to the Red China regime or our inconsistencies would clearly be showing.

Walter Trohan, the veteran Chicago Tribune columnist, provided some interesting thoughts on the Rhodesian situation in the March 13 issue of that paper. That, along with the above-cited editorial, advance some compelling arguments for reevaluating our Rhodesian policy if the U.S. position on this issue is not to continue as a subject of ridicule. I insert these two items in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Mar. 13, 1970]  
**STAND ON RHODESIA QUESTIONED**  
 (By Walter Trohan)

WASHINGTON, March 12.—The state department has taken a firm stand, which it does about as frequently as a total eclipse of the sun, on Rhodesia. Secretary of State William P. Rogers announced that this country will sever its last remaining tie with the white-ruled nation in southeast Africa by closing its consulate in Salisbury.

Unfortunately the department's record of firm stands hasn't been too successful, as is evidenced by the creation of the paper tiger of NATO, the conciliation and appeasement of Russia, the refusal to declare war in Viet Nam, and the alienation of the Arab World. All of these actions have undoubtedly been well intentioned, but would seem only to have made paving blocks on the road to the place of everlasting bonfires.

The great crime of Rhodesia has been to declare independence of the fragmenting British empire, which we began in 1776 before it had reached its greatest growth. Or it may be that an even greater crime is that Rhodesia's government is white even tho its constitution provides for gradual and mounting black control.

The pious attitude of the state department is the more curious because another branch of the federal government, the United States Commission on Civil Rights, released an essay at the same time which said that almost every white American is a racist—whether or not he thinks, knows, or does anything about racial problems.

The essay might also have said, but it didn't choose to, what Otto Kerner, former head of the Kerner commission, told me; that more than 95 per cent of blacks hate whites, which means they are racists on the other side of the coin.

It is to be wondered whether the state department is seeking to wipe out Amer-

ican gullt on race relations—both white and black—by taking a fearless stand on far-away Rhodesia. If the Rogers stand is calculated to win votes for the G. O. P. in the November congressional elections and the 1972 Presidential election, it won't work.

Almost five years ago Rhodesia declared independence from Britain under the leadership of Ian Smith, a British air hero in World War II. The break came over British dictation on race problems in Rhodesia in order to quiet matters at home and in other colonies, restive for more autonomy.

The United States turned the back of its hand on its founding fathers and gave its support to Britain against the independence of Rhodesia and imposed sanctions against its government. In five years the policy, supported by the United Nations where the rising black nations have a formidable vote, has failed to bring Rhodesia to its knees.

Last week the Rhodesian government put into effect its new constitution which formalized the Smith government. It imposes white control, but also provides for growing black participation and power as more are readied for responsibility by education and training.

Rogers described the adoption of the Rhodesian constitution as "the final and formal break" with Britain, which "the United States continues to regard . . . as the lawful sovereign" in Rhodesia. Downing street couldn't have held the British flag higher.

The decision to back Britain in Rhodesia might be understandable if Britain were supporting our policies around the world, but Britain continues to do business with our enemies—Cuba, Red China, North Viet Nam, and North Korea. We have imposed sanctions against Rhodesia and never miss an opportunity to embarrass South Africa, but Britain deals with our enemies for profit.

[From the Chicago Tribune, Mar. 16, 1970]  
**DOWN WITH RHODESIA, LONG LIVE MAO**

When the United States announced the closing of its consulate general in Salisbury, Rhodesia, Prime Minister Ian Smith's government expressed regret that the Nixon administration had "allowed itself to be forced into this decision by the British government."

Whether it was intended to placate the British or the communist-supported black Africans in the United Nations or black extremists in this country—or all of these interests—is not clear, but the decision is an ironic example of Mr. Nixon's "new era" diplomacy.

In a 43,000-word report proclaiming a "historic watershed in American foreign policy," Mr. Nixon said the United States "will not intervene in the internal affairs of African nations." Now he is attempting, by severing the last vestige of diplomatic relations with Rhodesia and by cooperating with Britain's policy of economic sanctions against that country, to bring down its government. Britain with no reason to expect success, wants to topple the Smith government because it unilaterally declared Rhodesia's independence and later put into effect a new constitution establishing a republic. Both the United States and Britain are trying to strangle Rhodesia because its constitution limits the franchise to income tax payers and thus assures a parliamentary majority for the white minority. To a man of ordinary understanding this would seem to be an internal matter.

Mr. Nixon said the United States seeks "freer trade among all nations," particularly including the communist countries. Altho he has relaxed restrictions on trade with Red China, he has continued the Johnson administration's embargo on trade with Rhodesia, formerly our main source of strategically vital chrome ore. This has compromised our national security by putting

us at the mercy of the Soviet Union for chrome ore, the price of which the Russians have doubled.

While attempting to ostracize Rhodesia on moral grounds, Mr. Nixon tells the American people that our national interest demands steps toward "improved practical relations with Peking." The Chinese, he says, are "a great and vital people and should not remain isolated from the international community." He proposes to build bridges over the "gulf of ideology" that separates us from a regime which has murdered more of its own people than any government in history, not excepting the Soviet Union; which has carried out a systematic policy of genocide against the people of Tibet; and which even now is building a road across northwestern Laos to facilitate its aggression against our ally, Thailand.

The President's report descanted on "new approaches" and new "action programs for progress" in Latin America, without even mentioning communist Cuba, the source of revolutionary infection thruout Latin America and a training base for black and white guerrilla warriors from the United States. The American Castroites freely travel to Cuba and back while everybody in the state department sleeps, presumably dreaming about what Mr. Nixon calls "changes in communist purposes."

In a significant interview the other day, Sen. Barry Goldwater remarked that, with the exception of the defense and justice departments, Mr. Nixon has "failed to get hold of the government." Certainly he has failed to "get hold" of the state department. In foreign affairs, it's about time for the President to get hold of himself.

**DO NOT FRAGMENT CORRECTIONS SYSTEM, SAYS THE COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ABOUT THE LORTON TRANSFER**

**HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the Council of Churches of Greater Washington has sent a very well reasoned letter to Members of the House in opposition to section 501 of the District of Columbia Court Reform and Criminal Procedures Act of 1970.

The letter is as follows:

COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

OF GREATER WASHINGTON.

Dear Members of the House of Representatives:

We are writing to you in opposition to Section 501 of the "D.C. Court Reform and Criminal Procedures Act of 1970"—H.R. 16196.

It is our opinion that to transfer part of the D.C. Correctional System to the Federal Bureau of Prisons leaving the other part under the jurisdiction of the city government is to invite chaos within that system. We firmly believe that the interests of everyone will best be served by leaving the city government in control of the City Workhouse, the City Youth Center and the Reformatory for Men (all at Lorton) as well as the Alcohol Treatment Center (Lorton), the City Jail and the Women's Detention Center.

Last fall the President's Crime Control Plan for D.C. included funds to provide special services for counseling, halfway houses, etc. At the moment the Department of Corrections is moving forward in new directions for effective rehabilitation with particular emphasis on community involvement and to

fragment it at this time would jeopardize this process. Dividing up the entire Correctional System will not only make it difficult to provide these services in the most effective way, but will weaken the whole system itself.

Once again we state our opposition to Section 501 of H.R. 16196.

Yours very truly,

HARRY L. VINCENT,  
President.  
CHARLES L. WARREN,  
Executive Director.

#### MAYOR LINDSAY ON MASS TRANSIT

### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives is currently considering the Senate passed bill providing funds for mass transit.

At a hearing before the subcommittee 2 weeks ago, Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City, made a cogent and convincing plea to strengthen the bill. He contended, and rightly so I believe, that the measure provided too little too late. The mayor offered suggestions for amendments which would improve the legislation considerably.

Since this important bill may be before us in the not-too-distant future and its effectiveness may have a crucial bearing on the future of our beleaguered cities, I strongly recommend a careful reading of the mayor's progressive testimony:

STATEMENT OF MAYOR JOHN V. LINDSAY OF NEW YORK CITY BEFORE THE HOUSING SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY, TUESDAY, MARCH 3, 1970

Mass Transportation has increasingly become the business of telling our citizens that you can't get there from here—and certainly not in comfort.

The Urban Mass Transportation Assistance Act of 1969 (S. 3154) now before you represents a new departure intended to relieve a deteriorating situation.

The bill recognizes the need for a 12-year commitment of at least \$10 billion of Federal aid to mass transit although it obligates only \$3.1 billion during the next five years and does not require the Federal government to any set level of appropriations thereafter.

Although no separate trust transit fund is established—so is the case for highways—the Secretary of Transportation is authorized to enter into binding contracts up to the \$3.1 billion amount.

The contract authority approach does, of course, depend upon subsequent Congressional appropriations in amounts which the Secretary has obligated the government to pay. While not as secure a funding source as a trust fund, this pledge of the government of the United States should make more likely appropriations which match authorizations.

However, no more than \$80 million may be appropriated in fiscal 1971; \$310 million for fiscal 1972; and \$710 million, \$1.26 billion, and \$1.86 billion in the succeeding three fiscal years.

This may be compared to the commitment by New York City alone of \$1.3 billion over the next decade simply for the expansion of our subway system by 12 new lines.

Yet under the bill, no more than 12½ per cent of the total funds obligated can go to any one state—much less one city, except insofar as the Secretary in his discretion could allocate another 3 per cent of the total to one state. Thus, during fiscal 1971 New York State could at the outside receive no more than \$12.4 million dollars, and New York City proportionately less—perhaps \$6 million dollars.

For purposes of comparison, \$42 million are proposed in the New York City capital budget for fiscal 1971 simply to purchase 200 new subway cars for a 7000 car fleet. This state-share limit should be eliminated from the bill.

Whereas the sponsors of the bill as passed by the Senate no doubt hoped that this bill would provide a breakthrough in urban transportation, the fact is that the best we can hope for is that the obligation authority provided in this bill will serve to arrest decline in our nation's mass transit systems. It can not seriously be thought to be a significant attempt to improve mass transit in the country.

The bill simply fails to recognize the urgency of the need for mass transit—not only because the facilities we have are failing to move people efficiently and cheaply, but also because the automobile threatens to choke our cities.

Despite this fact, the rules of the game continue to be loaded in favor of the automobile. Thirty seven dollars of Federal aid have been spent on highways for every one dollar spent on mass transit. The end result is that traffic so congests our street that simple movement is sometimes impossible, while air pollution levels rise dramatically.

We simply can't get people out of their cars unless we offer an attractive, alternative means of transportation.

As Secretary Volpe put it: "It seems to me that our excessive reliance on the automobile makes the creation of better, finer cities near to impossible."

Even such Draconian measures as completely banning private cars from congested areas make no sense unless we have other means of getting people where they are going. In the meantime automobiles continue to add up to 80 per cent by weight and volume of the air pollution in our city. Even if we can get Detroit to produce vehicles reducing pollution by 50 per cent, in our high density corridors we will still be befouled by toxic air.

And while it isn't true that if you've seen one city you've seen them all, it is true that this problem is a common one. I have seen this confirmed again and again during my work on the Kerner Commission and since in my dealings with the mayors of New York State and elsewhere.

If we are really to turn around the air pollution problem in our cities and still get people to work, school, stores and home in comfort we must take some basic steps:

First, we must change the highway trust fund into a transportation trust fund, usable locally on a block-grant basis to produce the best balanced system of transportation capital construction possible. In some areas and communities, this will still mean building roads, but in our major cities, the highest priority needs are in mass transit.

Second, we must make rapid strides to provide operational subsidies. Clearly it would be desirable to roll back mass transit fares in those of our cities which have priced mass transit almost beyond the capacity of the average citizen to pay. And maintenance and employee conditions could be improved. Poor maintenance continues to plague us and is only reflected in later years through higher and unnecessary capital costs.

Third, let us write into law an expenditure authority for mass transit at the minimum level of \$10 billion originally proposed for the decade. Even this is grossly inadequate—

quote—New York City could spend \$3 billion by itself over the decade—but the Congress should not retreat from the original Administration-Senate proposals.

Fourth, we must create incentives to control pollution in all transportation modes. In particular, the Federal share of mass transit projects which reduce pollution should be increased.

If the first and second of these steps are unrealistic today, then let us at least fund this bill at the \$10 billion level immediately.

In mass transportation, as in housing, health, and education, this nation has been cannibalizing its physical plant for decades. This is especially true in the older cities. In the Thirties our justification was the Depression and in the Forties the war. Since then, we as a Nation have never really done enough to catch up with the damage done. We have certainly done even less to prepare for the future.

I cannot understand, therefore, the reluctance of the Administration and of the Senate to authorize the full expenditure authority required to meet a very conservatively estimated need of \$10 billion over the next decade.

It is a somber footnote on our times that apparently we only chose to accept advice from "experts" when it comes to military hardware. There is a sacrosanct "minimum defense level" established by "experts."

Somehow, though, no one listens when the experts propose a minimum housing, welfare or transportation level.

With this bill, the experts tell us that we should plan how to spend \$10 billion federal dollars over the next ten years to pay for mass transit projects that are already on the drawing board. Indeed, the Senate Committee Report indicates, the true figure based on the most recent estimates ranges from \$28 to \$34 billion assuming constant ridership.

There's the rub. We cannot merely assume constant ridership—we must insure increased use of mass transit both during rush hours and during off-hours. The cost in pollution, accidents, and time is too high to continue to prefer highways over transit.

A balanced transportation system is only possible if we improve mass transit on a massive scale so that it is a valid competing alternative to the private automobile. And that scale is well beyond the reach of the cities and states of this Nation.

The importance of the contract expenditure authority proposal, although a less attractive substitute for the now apparently dormant trust fund approach, lies in its symbolism as much as in its practical impact.

Not only can realistic budget proposals and capital improvement programs be developed against a firm Federal commitment, but thinking the unthinkable becomes practical. Sound proposals which are delayed or shelved because they are not possible within current budget constraints—all those consultant's studies that you and I have been paying so much for—can be brought forward from the distant future and be built today.

Finally, while we are meeting immediate needs we can, against a firm commitment of Federal funds, continue the expensive and otherwise quixotic design and development of projects needing longer-term study—for example, New York City's much-needed cross-the-bay link to Staten Island.

Why not, then, increase the level of investment to match the need? I think inflation is a spurious argument as far as the public service sector is concerned. This problem could readily be overcome by cuts in non-essential areas or by a recognition in our tax structure that we must pay for what we need.

Compared to our mass transit needs, we do

not need an SST, a \$5 billion trust fund for airports, a new carrier task force costing \$1.4 billion, or an ABM.

But if we need these items and transit too, then let's pay for it—we can't afford not to do so. Which brings me again to the false economies of delaying a full \$10 billion commitment today.

We save no money by delaying the commitment. The bill before you—by allowing early land acquisition loans—recognizes the problem: the longer we delay the more we pay.

We pay the costs of redesign, inflation, real estate speculation and, most importantly, missed opportunities for opening up large tracts of urban land to development for housing and industry. This is true even within a densely developed area like Manhattan. One small transit link can add thousands of jobs and millions to our tax base.

Local government—my city—has done all it can. We have been forced to commit so much to simply moving people around the city that our capital budget is artificially distorted. Twenty-six percent of our capital budget—which should be going for housing, schools, narcotics treatment centers, and other badly needed projects—is going just to tread water in transportation.

Without any Federal assistance until recently, we have built the world's largest mass transit system. It is creaky, dirty, late and too expensive—but it's there. It moves 4.5 million people daily by subway, one million by bus, and one million by taxi. We have 7000 subway cars and 4500 publicly owned buses.

Against this existing commitment, we have made others. We have replaced 5,860 subway cars since World War II. But 1,000 are still in service which are pre-World War II and most are still not air-conditioned.

We have committed ourselves to 12 new subway lines, expanding our services out to the growth areas of the city, at a cost over the decade of \$1.3 billion—before inflation. In fact, we can expect inflation to bring costs \$650 million higher before completion—bringing the expenditure to almost \$2.0 billion dollars for which we have \$800 million in State and City funds.

Just for these programs, then, we can use \$1.2 billion in Federal funds over the decade.

More important for purpose of the present terms of this bill is how much we could effectively commit and use before 1976 when under the terms of the bill—we could expect new Federal funds in excess of \$3.1 billion.

The answer is that New York City alone could use \$1.3 billion in Federal funds by the end of fiscal 1975 for projects in design or under construction. In fact, \$2.4 billion worth of capital construction and purchases could be undertaken.

If the Federal Treasury provided two-thirds of this amount (\$1.6 billion), the city would have \$325 million in capital funds freed for housing and schools while moving at full speed on mass transit over the next five years.

The sad fact, however, is that even with the full \$10 billion authorization we are seeking, all of New York State could expect only \$1.5 billion—and the city will do well to get half of that.

So you see why even \$10 billion would not be enough for the next five years, much less \$3.1 billion. I have appended several tables of supporting data.

Aside from immediate expenditure authority of \$10 billion, the most significant change in the bill reasonably within the power of this committee is in the area of pollution control. The Hart-Hartke-Goodell amendment to S. 3154 requiring the Secretary of Transportation to take environmental factors into account in approving mass transit projects is a basic step forward.

I would urgently recommend to this Committee, however, that we do more than exercise essentially negative controls over pro-

posed projects. We must structure the program so that a premium is placed on projects which reduce or limit pollution—including noise pollution. If Congress is willing to pay for pollution-limiting devices and projects, more will be undertaken.

I therefore propose that this bill be amended to provide that the Federal share of any project incorporating significant anti-pollution features be increased from the present level of two-thirds of "net project cost" to 90 percent, similar to the subsidy of arterial highways. Certainly if we can subsidize the polluters on a 90/10 basis, we should do no less for those who are making efforts to limit pollution.

Just as we have recognized implicit social costs in transportation in providing relocation payments to compensate for homes and businesses displaced, so should this pattern be extended to pollution. This is one way of putting money where our rhetoric is on the pollution issue—today and with fast results.

The increased subsidy is warranted not only to encourage choices among competing modes of transportation which are undistorted by artificial Federal funding formulas. It also recognizes the simple economic fact that at the moment proposals which limit pollution are considerably more expensive than those which do not. Therefore, if we are to meet urgent transit needs now without sacrificing our environment, we should be prepared to pay for it.

If we need 200 buses we should not be penalized and forced to settle for 150 more expensive but pollution-free vehicles because we cannot afford to buy any more without adding to the noxious fumes that surround us.

Or if a noiseless rubber-wheeled subway such as Mexico City's are sensible on a new line, we should not be limited to the ear-piercing shrill of metal wheels.

I know the pressures on you; I have shared them.

I also know at close hand the toll of years of neglect on a city and on a people. Mass transit today is not merely a vital key to the economic development of cities and regions, it is also a force with visible human imprints. It is dehumanizing and debasing to be crammed, shoved, pushed and pulled into long hot metal boxes with scores of other people—and still not to get to work on time.

In the long run, we will need fundings for a balanced transportation system not biased in favor of one mode over another. In the long run, we will also need federal expenditure subsidies.

At the present time, however, the greatest realistic contribution you can make toward giving our urban centers a little more of the breathing room they need—literally and figuratively—is to pass S. 3154 with the changes I have recommended.

**LT. TERENCE M. O'CONNELL  
RETURNS FROM VIETNAM**

**HON. CLARENCE D. LONG**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Lt. Terrence M. O'Connell, one of Maryland's finest young men, has recently returned from Vietnam to recover from wounds received in action.

Lieutenant O'Connell served with the 4th Cavalry in Hau Nghia Province about 30 miles northwest of Saigon. On January 8, 1970, his helicopter patrol came upon a group of Vietcong. Although three of the enemy soldiers surrendered, the

fourth tossed a grenade. Lieutenant O'Connell pushed one of his men to safety and threw himself across another, protecting them from the explosion. In spite of the severe injuries he received, he then directed his men to try to capture a high-ranking Communist officer who was attempting escape.

In risking his life to save others, Lieutenant O'Connell lost the use of an eye and an arm. His gallantry in facing these difficulties at home has exceeded his heroism on the field of battle.

Lieutenant O'Connell has been awarded the following medals: National Defense Service Medal, Parachute Badge, Vietnam Service Medal, two Purple Hearts, the Air Medal, Bronze Star with V, Bronze Star with V with first Oak Leaf Cluster, Bronze Star with V with second Oak Leaf Cluster, and the Vietnam Combat Medal.

I know you join me in honoring this brave man.

**AMERICAN LEGION COMMANDER  
PRESENTS STRONG CASE**

**HON. ED EDMONDSON**

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month my very good friend and constituent J. Milton Patrick, national commander of the American Legion, appeared before the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs with an outstanding presentation outlining the needs of American veterans.

Commander Patrick strongly made the case for adequate funding of Veterans' Administration hospitals and medical programs. He made very persuasive points in support of increased compensation for disabled veterans; increased annual income limitations; increased funeral and burial allowances; and other items of concern.

In short, Commander Patrick has pointed up some areas where we are not doing our best for our veterans, a group of people to whom we owe a heavy debt.

Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Patrick's statement in the RECORD at this point:

STATEMENT OF J. MILTON PATRICK, NATIONAL COMMANDER, THE AMERICAN LEGION, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 3, 1970

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee It is a very great pleasure for me to have the opportunity to appear this morning before this distinguished Committee.

One of the high privileges accorded each year to the National Commander of The American Legion is that of bringing to the Committee on Veterans Affairs the views of his organization on those matters of highest priority concerning the program of veterans legislation which it submits to the Congress.

One year ago, when my distinguished predecessor appeared here, The American Legion was in the midst of the commemorative program for its 50th Anniversary. I am happy to be able to tell you now that our program was completed with great success, and that it was marked by many activities throughout the country signalling the completion of our first fifty years of service for God and Country.

The American Legion is now embarked upon its second fifty years of activity, and I am sure that all here will agree with me when I say that there is much to be done.

We of the Legion are, of course, intensely concerned with the program of benefits provided by the federal government for veterans and their families. Some elements of that program I shall discuss with the Committee in the course of my appearance here today.

But beyond the matter of particular benefits to meet the particular needs of our nation's veterans, The American Legion is vitally interested also in the present and the continuing security of the nation. In numbers of men now in uniform and in amounts of military hardware available to the armed forces to enable them to accomplish their mission, we are satisfied that present requirements for national security, in the main, are being met. And we feel, too, that the Congress is providing, by and large, sufficient funds for these purposes.

It is, however, our firm conviction that a critical situation does exist in the country, occasioned by the divisive tactics being employed by persons and groups that, for one reason or another, stand in opposition to the present war in Vietnam, and that oppose the efforts of the President of the United States to bring that war to a conclusion which will achieve the objective which led us into the war and justify the tremendous sacrifices that have been made by the American people. This situation, created by the clamoring of these persons and groups, does, in our judgment, pose a very real threat to the national security, both internally and externally.

The American Legion, above all else, wants a conclusion to the present conflict which will reflect honorably on the loss of more than 40,000 American lives, serious injury to thousands of young Americans, and the expenditure of untold billions of dollars. The United States entered the war in Vietnam to assure the right to self-determination of the Vietnamese people. Any settlement which does not secure that objective will render meaningless both the purpose and the cost of the great national effort which has been made.

In November of 1969 the National Executive Committee of The American Legion, meeting in Minneapolis in commemoration of our first National Convention, held in that same city in November 1919, approved a resolution placing this organization foursquare behind the efforts of the President to bring the war to a successful conclusion. To that purpose we have pledged our every effort and our every resource.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, for a moment, on a lighter note, and before I address myself to those legislative matters which bring me here today, I would like to remind you that it will again be the pleasure and privilege of The American Legion to host the members of Congress at dinner on Wednesday, March 4th. The dinner will be held in the Grand Ballroom of the Sheraton-Park Hotel, at 7:30 p.m., preceded by a reception at 6:00 p.m. Legionnaires from throughout the United States will be in Washington for the occasion, and it is our sincere hope that all of you will be able to join us.

Turning to the important subject of veterans legislation, there are some particular matters to which I would like to direct your attention as meriting action during this second session of the 91st Congress.

#### THE VA MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL CARE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 1971

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, The American Legion is deeply concerned, even alarmed, with current and projected funding of the medical and hospital programs for which the Veterans Administration is responsible.

It is an obvious fact that if the Veterans Administration does not have, or is not per-

mitted to use, sufficient funds to carry on its medical and hospital programs, then this nation is not going to have a medical services program for the care and treatment of its veterans that is second to none. It is also an unfortunate fact of life today that even to maintain present levels of patient care requires an ever-increasing financial commitment.

The American Legion continues to receive reports and information from the field indicating that all is not well in VA hospital facilities responsible for the care and treatment of sick and disabled veterans. There are such matters as non-operating beds; special care units for heart, kidney, surgical, blind, and other life-sustaining facilities and equipment that have not been activated; shortages of vitally needed equipment; lack of critically needed hospital personnel. These matters are being brought to our attention from various places throughout the country. And the end result of this situation is that there are veterans who are not being treated by the Veterans Administration who need and are entitled to treatment, and there are others who may not be receiving the quality of treatment to which they are entitled. Some of these veterans cannot get this needed treatment outside Veterans Administration hospitals.

Of particular concern to the American Legion, Mr. Chairman, is what seems to be a long-range program to phase out the tremendous medical and hospital program of the Veterans Administration. A United Press International news story of yesterday, built around quotes attributed to the Administrator of Veterans Affairs, would make it appear that there is a continuation of such a long-range phase-out program. The American Legion continues to be determined that no needy or deserving veteran will be denied a hospital bed when it becomes necessary. Mr. Chairman, we are more in accord with the statement attributed to you in that same news story quoting you as saying—"You can't do the job with half a budget and half the personnel required."

A review of the Administrator's annual reports shows a decline from a fiscal year 1958 high of 121,201 average operating beds to an estimated 95,261 for fiscal year 1971, or, in terms of average daily patient census in VA hospitals, from 111,599 to an estimated 82,806.

In making our evaluation, we did not disregard the beds which had been absorbed by the chronic or extended-care patient in VA nursing beds or out-placement to a community nursing home. Nor did we disregard the fact that improved drugs and medicines and therapy in conjunction with pre- and post-hospital care have significantly reduced the period of bed occupancy.

This evaluation, too, recognizes the effects of Medicare and Medicaid, as well as increased coverage under surgical and hospital insurance.

But, these offsets against bed demand are balanced, we believe, by the fact that estimates for fiscal year 1971 show a net veteran population gain of about six million since fiscal year 1958. These facts lead us to suspect that staffing ratios are being increased at the expense of the average daily patient census, and that waiting lists more properly reflect the budget average daily patient census. As such they are not a measure of bed demand or needs.

Beyond this serious situation involving treatment, The American Legion is most concerned with the effective continuation of the medical research program of the Veterans Administration. It is now a well-established principle of modern medical practice that a top-flight treatment program can only be maintained when it is accompanied by a continuing and effective program of medical research. Available evidence indicates that the medical research program of the Veterans Administration is at this moment being curtailed.

There are other danger signals, such as insufficient funding of the fee-basis dental care program for Vietnam Era veterans, and the growing backlog of physical examinations for rating and treatment purposes.

The reason for these remarks I have made, ladies and gentlemen of the Committee, is that this is not the time for the government to achieve economy through the curtailment of the budget of the Veterans Administration.

It is our impression that the Congress has been willing to provide funds for the Veterans Administration to carry on these vital programs. It may be that the problem originates and extends from actions within the Executive Branch. It is our view that in the final analysis the Congress of the United States, representing as it does all of the American people, can and will have its way in this matter.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Committee, I sincerely believe that it is urgent that the Congress, acting through this Committee, give early and serious consideration to the matters I have here presented. I believe such Congressional attention is necessary if our veterans are to be assured that the American people means what they say when they pledge a veterans benefits program second to none in the world.

#### INCREASED RATES OF COMPENSATION FOR SERVICE-DISABLED VETERANS

The American Legion believes it appropriate and necessary that the Congress again give attention to the monthly rates of disability compensation payable for service-connected disabilities. By law, the Administrator of Veterans Affairs must adopt and apply a schedule of ratings based on reduction in earning ability from certain injuries or combinations of injuries. These ratings must be based, as far as possible, upon the average impairments of earning ability resulting from such injuries in civil occupations.

In recent years, the inflationary spiral has continued upward. Correspondingly, the median national wage has continued to rise. Accepting the principle that the VA 1945 Schedule for Rating Disabilities is a valid measure of reductions in earning ability from certain injuries or combinations of injuries, the present high cost of living, as well as improved living standards, demands that attention soon be given to increasing the monthly rates of disability compensation for those veterans whose service-incurred disease or injury impairs their earning ability.

The American Legion will approach this Congress in the near future with specific recommendations for increases in monthly rates of disability compensation.

#### INCREASE ANNUAL INCOME LIMITATIONS, AND LIBERALIZE RATES UNDER THE DEATH AND DISABILITY PENSION, AND DEPENDENT PARENTS DEPENDENCY AND INDEMNITY COMPENSATION PROVISIONS OF LAW

Annual income limitations and rates of death and disability pension and dependent parents dependency and indemnity compensation were restructured and increased effective January 1, 1969 under Public Law 90-275, approved March 28, 1968.

As the Committee knows, pension and dependent parents DIC are income supplement benefits. Entitlement to these monthly monetary payments is based on a needs test. In comparing United States City Average Consumer Price Indexes for April 1968 with those of December 1969, it is seen that the average advanced from 119.9 to 131.3 for a percentage change of 9.5.

Effective January 1, 1970, the Tax Reform Act of 1969, Public Law 91-172, increased old age social security and family benefits by 15 percent. According to information from the Veterans Administration, if the Congress does not act to liberalize death

and disability pension annual income limitations, as well as the monthly rates, about 1,230,000 pensioners will face a VA pension reduction on January 1, 1971. In effect, such a reduction would nullify for these pension recipients the beneficial intent of the 15 percent social security benefit increase. Also, unless there is legislative intervention, many dependent parents on the dependency and indemnity compensation rolls will suffer reductions in DIC payments as a result of the social security benefit increase.

Mr. Chairman and members of this Committee, in view of the 9.5 percent increase in the cost of living index since March 1968, and in view of the VA pension and DIC benefit loss that will ensue if Congressional action is not taken, we urge your early consideration of legislation to amend the pension and dependency and indemnity compensation provisions of law to increase the annual income limitations and the monthly rates payable.

**INCREASED ALLOWANCE PAYABLE BY THE VA TOWARD THE BURIAL AND FUNERAL EXPENSE OF A VETERAN**

Under title 38, United States Code, Chapter 23, the Administrator of Veterans Affairs may pay a sum not exceeding \$250 to such person as he may prescribe to cover the burial and funeral expense of a veteran, and the expense of preparing the body and transporting it to the place of burial.

An annual survey conducted by the National Funeral Directors Association reports that in 1967 Americans paid \$850 for the average regular adult funeral they selected. This figure did not include vault, cemetery or crematorium expense, monument or marker, or miscellaneous expenses, such as honorarium for the clergyman, flowers, additional transportation charges, burial clothing, or newspaper notice.

A comparison of the annual surveys from 1963 to 1967 reveals that the average cost of an adult funeral has been increasing at the rate of about \$30 a year. Since the burial allowance was last increased by the Act of August 18, 1958, to the present \$250, the amount authorized is clearly inadequate in the face of current costs of burial and funeral expenses. The American Legion urges consideration of legislation to increase the burial award to \$400.

While time will not permit discussion of all matters of mutual interest to The American Legion and to this Committee, I should mention, in passing, that The American Legion hopes the matter of increased educational allowances for veterans exercising educational rights under the G.I. Bill soon will be favorably resolved.

Mr. Chairman, in closing may I express again my appreciation and that of The American Legion for the opportunity to appear before you to express the concern and the interest of our organization in these items of legislation affecting the program of veterans benefits.

I assure you, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of myself, of the national headquarters staff, and of 2,700,000 Legionnaires throughout the country, of the continuing and wholehearted cooperation of this organization with the Congress in the development and maintenance of the veterans benefits program.

**ANALYSIS OF NIXON'S STATE OF THE WORLD MESSAGE**

**HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, this week the Democratic Policy Council's Inter-

national Affairs Committee, chaired by the distinguished Averell Harriman, released a comprehensive critical analysis of President Nixon's state of the world message. I insert in the RECORD at this point the statement:

**STATEMENT BY INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, DEMOCRATIC POLICY COUNCIL, AVERELL HARRIMAN, CHAIRMAN**

WASHINGTON, March 14.—On February 18, President Nixon submitted to the Congress "a first annual report on U.S. foreign policy"—a "State of the World" message. It is difficult to find in its 43,000 words much that adds to congressional or public understanding of the complex international issues we face. As a document that purports to be "a new approach to foreign policy," it lacks substance and candor in laying out the many serious issues the country faces, and it fails to offer a creative program of action to deal with them.

During his campaign, President Nixon declared he had a "plan for peace." Today American boys are still fighting and dying in Vietnam, and now after a year of heavy staff work the Nixon Administration has revealed its "New Strategy for Peace": "Peace requires partnership . . . ; peace requires strength . . . ; peace requires a willingness to negotiate . . . ; peace, we have learned, cannot be gained by good will alone . . . ; peace does not come simply with statesmen's smiles." These are singularly empty phrases when compared to other statements such as President Kennedy's analysis of peace at American University in June of 1963.

The report is filled with unstinting self-praise for all kinds of "firsts," "new" departures and "innovations":

The Nixon Administration proclaims an "era of negotiations," disregarding the fact that there has been no shortage of negotiations in recent years and that there have been significant agreements achieved, including the limited test ban treaty, the outlawing of atomic weapons in outer space and nuclear non-proliferation.

Two decades after the Marshall Plan made "self-help and mutual assistance" the guiding principle, the Nixon Administration discovers "self-help" to be an essential ingredient in economic development.

A decade after President Kennedy initiated the "Alliance for Progress" we are told that the Nixon Administration is the first to decide that "partnership" should be the basis of our relations with Latin America.

More importantly, this simplistic sermonizing is accompanied by bureaucratic congestion. What is missing is an understanding that far more important than the procedures of decision-making are the decisions themselves and people who make them. A few good appointments are worth a score of committees. One wise decision is worth more than a stack of studies.

For page after page the report describes the "new" machinery which the Nixon Administration has created to handle foreign affairs: layer upon layer of "planning", "systematic review", "analysis", and "study of options"; committees within committees; panels within panels; groups within groups. What emerges is this picture: an Administration that has confused system with substance, that has substituted institutionalized mechanics for creative action.

After dismantling the Alliance for Progress, President Nixon's phrasemakers offer "action for progress." It is clear, however, that the pious preachments of "partnership" mask a "benign neglect" for the growing crisis of democracy and development in our Hemisphere.

As to Europe and NATO the report adds rhetoric in describing a "mature partnership" but no new substance to policies long established.

To Africa the Administration offers more generalities: "Our assistance throughout the

continent will be flexible and imaginative,"—without describing the actions to be taken. The message states "the hard facts must be faced." Yet, the commendable step of closing our consulate in Southern Rhodesia, the Administration delayed for more than eight months after the British urged this action be taken.

Regarding Asia, the report implies that the region's peoples shall henceforth make do with their own "wide range of energy and genius." But the claims of new constraints on our involvement in Asia are hard to square with the Vice President's scatter-shot of promises to Asian leaders he met on his trip. However, we commend the initial steps taken toward improved relations with Communist China.

We agree with the President that, "Good U.S. economic policy is good U.S. foreign policy." Unfortunately, stumbling domestic economic mismanagement and our unfolding recession will have harmful repercussions abroad, especially among the developing nations.

Foreign aid was originally launched with wide bi-partisan cooperation, and we feel strongly that it should be continued on that basis. The recent recommendations of the President's Task Force for a new approach on international development give an opportunity for renewed bi-partisan cooperation for an effective program. The emphasis on increased support for the World Bank and the regional development institutions should be particularly welcomed. The proposals for multi-year funding are also sensible. However, careful examination should be given to those administrative proposals which divide responsibility for development among several high-level bodies for what is, in fact, one overall problem.

With regard to East-West relations, the message is one of hobbled gradualism on all fronts:

The S.A.L.T. negotiations—Despite the report's acknowledgement that these are the "most important arms control negotiations this country has ever entered," the Nixon Administration shows none of the urgency demanded by the rapid and deadly developments in the continuing arms race. A leisurely "building block" approach, which seeks to preserve all options while we move in measured steps toward "comprehensive assessments," ignores the mounting pressures on both sides for the deployment of weapons whose complexity gravely complicates the prospects for rational verifiable control.

In this connection the Administration's recent announcement of the decision to deploy MIRVs in June is deeply disturbing. This decision invites reciprocal escalation instead of mutual restraint in the nuclear arms race. It will make it far more difficult to reach a meaningful agreement on S.A.L.T.

A.B.M. System—The report tells us that the National Security apparatus "analyzed our options for proceeding with ballistic defenses on four separate occasions." But this fact of repeated consideration does not excuse the conclusion that we should build a costly system which neither offers security against a Soviet attack nor is needed to deter other nuclear threats.

Chemical and Biological Warfare—We support the President's initiatives in these fields, including the elimination of biological-toxin weapons and his submission to the Senate for action on the ratification of the 1925 Geneva Protocol prohibiting the use of chemical and biological weapons.

Improved relations between East and West in Europe—The matter is shunted aside with some cautionary phrases about the complexities and dangers of negotiations.

East-West Trade—The Administration does not seem to regard expanded trade in non-strategic goods as a commercially profitable step toward better relations. Rather the report suggests that the Soviets must pay with political concessions for the right to buy from us such products already obtainable in

large quantities from Western Europe and Japan. This is not merely fruitless but counter-productive.

Laos—It is a measure of the message's comprehensiveness and candor that Laos was not mentioned and that less than three weeks later the Administration has had to make detailed statements on this critical problem.

The Vietnam War—What might have been the vehicle for constructive initiative for negotiated settlement reveals nothing new. The report refers to the Administration's desire for a "just peace"—without attempting to define that term in any meaningful fashion. It tells us again that the Nixon Administration is placing its reliance on Vietnamization of the war as a "plan for peace" whereas this program at best can only perpetuate the fighting with continued U.S. involvement. It fails to provide either a program or a final date for the withdrawal of all American troops in Vietnam.

It continues to give a veto over U.S. efforts for a negotiated settlement to the repressive minority government of President Thieu. That Government shares neither our objective of a negotiated compromise settlement nor the deepest desires of its own people for peace. In fact, the recent arrest and conviction of Deputy Tran Ngoc Chau—in flagrant disregard of constitutional safeguards and judicial procedures—is another shocking instance of the pressure to silence all South Vietnamese who want peace through a negotiated settlement.

These views on Vietnam are not partisan ones. They are shared in major respects by many responsible people of both parties.

The "State of the World" paper is more notable for what it fails to say than what it says. Apparently, the Administration is content to substitute rhetoric and bureaucracy for effective and enlightened initiative in foreign affairs.

#### ALL-VOLUNTEER ARMED FORCE

### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to join with my distinguished colleague from New York (Mr. FARBSTEIN) in introducing a House concurrent resolution which calls for the elimination of military conscription.

The report of the President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force shows clearly and unmistakably that it is both possible and practical to eliminate the military draft in the near future.

The Commission found that an all-volunteer army would cause only a small budget increase, and would actually be cheaper in real economic terms; could be achieved by July 1971 without affecting our ability to meet existing and anticipated troop level requirements; would be adequate to defend the Nation, and that a peacetime draft is not required to protect the Nation in case of a sudden attack; is not more isolated from society than the present mixed force; and would not vary greatly in ethnic, racial, or economic makeup from the present system.

The fact that 27 colleagues, from both political parties and representing the entire political spectrum joined Mr. FARBSTEIN and myself in this endeavor is, I believe, representative of the wide public support which exists for this resolu-

tion. This support has also been expressed in a number of opinion polls and questionnaires which have been circulated by my colleagues.

I know that, as the year progresses, many Members will have occasion to discuss this subject on the floor of the House. I look forward to actively participating in these discussions and debates as we hopefully move toward an all-volunteer armed force.

Mr. Speaker, I insert a recent newspaper article by the columnist William F. Buckley, Jr., the text of the resolution, and the list of cosponsors in the RECORD following these remarks:

[From the Washington Evening Star, Mar. 12, 1970]

#### DRAFT WOULD FULFILL U.S. IDEAL (By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

It is going to require a considerable act of will to put into effect the recommendations of the Gates Commission, as we turn gradually over the next year and one half in the direction of an all-volunteer army.

The Armed Services Committee of the Senate doesn't much like the idea, and went so far as informally to reject President Nixon's proposed successor to General Hershey because of his undiluted enthusiasm for the idea.

On the American scene in general, the libertarians and conservatives are in favor of the all-volunteer military because we believe in the presumption of voluntariness in all things. The left-liberals opposed conscription less because of their attachment to individual freedom than because they see here an opportunity to deflate the military.

In between is a large group of people whose objections are roughly, in two parts. On the one hand, they argue there is a great danger in a typically military class. That the opportunity might then come to the military class to dominate the civilian executive and even, as they do on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays in Latin America, take over the government.

An additional argument is the notion that military training is good for any young man, and that moreover it does something to incorporate him into America—to Americanize him, if you will.

In the great debate on what was then called "universal military training" in the late '40s, President Truman fought to clinch the case in favor of conscription by saying proudly, "Look, I've served in the military, and look what it did for me!" That was not taken by the public as a conclusive argument in favor of UMT, but along came Korea, to make the argument academic.

Abolitionists of conscription must concede a couple of points to the opposition. It is true that a professional military class is less desirable than, say, a militia.

Arguing the point in the Federalist Papers, Hamilton wrote, "There is something so far-fetched and so extravagant in the idea of danger to liberty from the militia, that one is at a loss whether to treat it with gravity or with rallery; whether to consider it as a mere trial of skill, like the paradoxes of rhetoricians; as a disingenuous artifice to instill prejudices at any price; or as the serious offspring of political fanaticism."

But the virtues of the militia—which, like Switzerland's, stays and works at home except when in training, or when engaged in duty—are transferable to an army which needs, let us say, to keep 300,000 men in Western Europe. And the question is whether such as they should be volunteers, or conscripts.

The other objection, less often stated, is that things being as they are, inevitably the army will emerge much higher than 10 percent black. The objection is raised not because there is anything undesirable about

the black fighting man. But because we will have come up with what will strike many as a mercenary army, collected from those same ghettos fostered by our system, and utilizing the victims of those ghettos who are now invited to protect with their lives their white brothers who make life intolerable for them at home.

I grant this is caricature. But so are the rantings of Herblock—precisely because the world is full of men and women who seek to hobgobline and, if at all possible, to dishonor the motives of America. (There is absolutely no doubt that tomorrow's economic textbook will be saying that in the post-Vietnam age, America solved its unemployment problem by recruiting a highly paid volunteer army.)

How does that add up? Surely we should end conscription, and the sooner the better. The additional cost is easily compensated for in a fairly short run by the economic productivity of those who do not enter the Army, and therefore remain home and pay taxes. And, in the long run, by the lowered cost of training—the fruits of professionalization.

Meanwhile, we shall have asserted once again our devotion to the principle that that which is not required of a citizen, he should not be compelled to do.

#### HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS 543, 544

Whereas the United States has relied throughout its history on a voluntary armed force except during major wars and since 1948; and

Whereas a voluntary armed force is the system for maintaining standing forces that minimize government interference with the freedom of the individual to determine his own life in accord with his values; and

Whereas an all-volunteer force will promote the efficiency of the armed forces, and enhance their dignity; Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),* That it is the sense of Congress, in accord with the conclusions of the President's Commission on an All Volunteer Armed Force which recommends a workable framework for meeting military personnel requirements, that—

(1) compulsory military service should be abolished and a volunteer armed force established when the power to induct individuals under the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 expires after July 1, 1971; and

(2) compulsory military service should be re-established only by Congress at the request of the President.

In addition to myself and Mr. FARBSTEIN, the sponsors are: MARK ANDREWS, Republican of North Dakota; GEORGE E. BROWN, JR., Democrat of California; DANIEL E. BUTTON, Republican of New York; SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, Democrat of New York; DON H. CLAUSEN, Republican of California; DON EDWARDS, Democrat of California; BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR., Republican of California; SEYMOUR HALPERN, Republican of New York; MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON, Democrat of Massachusetts; JAMES F. HASTINGS, Republican of New York; KEN HECHLER, Democrat of West Virginia; MARGARET M. HECKLER, Republican of Massachusetts; EDWARD I. KOCH, Democrat of New York; ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN, Democratic of New York; ROBERT McCLORY, Republican of Illinois; SPARK M. MATSUNAGA, Democrat of Hawaii; ALVIN E. O'KONSKI, Republican of Wisconsin; RICHARD L. OTTINGER, Democrat of New York; JERRY L. PETTIS, Republican of California; THOMAS F. RAILSBACK, Republican of Illinois; FRED B. ROONEY, Democrat of Pennsylvania; GARNER E. SHRIVER, Republican of Kansas; M. GENE SNYDER, Republican of Ken-

tucky; WILLIAM A. STEIGER, Republican of Wisconsin; CHARLES M. TEAGUE, Republican of California; WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, Republican of New Jersey; and JOHN M. ZWACH, Republican of Minnesota.

FREDERICK B. LACEY

Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 12, 1970

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, in recent days charges have been level-

ed at the Honorable Frederick B. Lacey, U.S. attorney for New Jersey, who is leading a most effective anticrime campaign in that State.

The charges are, in my opinion, most unfair. The New Jersey State Bar Association has approved a resolution expressing its complete confidence in Mr. Lacey. I am inserting in the RECORD a copy of the resolution.

RESOLUTION

Whereas, certain stories have recently appeared in the news media reporting that an individual or individuals outside of the State of New Jersey have called for the resignation or removal of the Honorable Frederick B.

Lacey as United States Attorney for the District of New Jersey; and

Whereas, we are completely satisfied that the request and reasons therefor are utterly without merit;

Now therefore be it resolved that the Board of Trustees of the New Jersey State Bar Association express their complete, unequivocal, and unreserved confidence in the ability and integrity of the Honorable Frederick B. Lacey, and our enthusiastic support for the manner in which he has performed the duties of his office.

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to President Richard M. Nixon, the New Jersey congressional delegation, and the United States Department of Justice.

SENATE—Thursday, March 19, 1970

The Senate, as in legislative session, met at 11 o'clock a.m. and was called to order by Hon. JAMES B. ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Alabama.

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

O God, whose mercies are new every morning, take from our souls the strain and stress and let our ordered lives confess the beauty of Thy peace. Enfold us in Thy love and grant us wisdom from above. Give us understanding minds, patient hearts, and wills in tune with the infinite and eternal. Help us all in this place to lift the difficult decisions of national service into Thy holy light. Enable us to walk and work with eyes ever fixed upon that new day when Thy kingdom comes and Thy will is done on this earth.

In the Redeemer's name we pray. Amen.

DESIGNATION OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. RUSSELL).

The assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,  
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,  
Washington, D.C., March 19, 1970.

To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate, I appoint Hon. JAMES B. ALLEN, a Senator from the State of Alabama, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

RICHARD B. RUSSELL,  
President pro tempore.

Mr. ALLEN thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, March 18, 1970, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Sen-

ator from Wyoming (Mr. HANSEN) is recognized for not to exceed 20 minutes.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, will the Senator from Wyoming yield to me without losing his right to the floor or any of his time.

Mr. HANSEN. I am most happy to yield to the distinguished majority leader.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 11 O'CLOCK TOMORROW MORNING

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ORDER FOR RECOGNITION OF SENATOR COOPER FOR 15 MINUTES TOMORROW

Mr. MANSFIELD. I ask unanimous consent that immediately upon approval of the Journal on tomorrow, the distinguished Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOPER) be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar Nos. 737 and 738.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will state the first resolution.

FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WATER POLLUTION

The joint resolution (S.J. Res. 162) in recognition of the Fifth International

Conference on Water Pollution Research, was considered, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

S.J. RES. 162

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) the Congress declares that—

(1) the International Association on Water Pollution Research was formed in 1960 to bring scientists and engineers from throughout the world together in the fight against water pollution; and

(2) the objectives of the association are to contribute to a better understanding of water pollution problems, to encourage the exchange of scientific knowledge, to better enable the nations of the world to combat water pollution problems, to narrow the gap between actual and optimum use of water resources, and thus to contribute to continuing social and economic progress; and

(3) a lack of maximum communication and coordination between research programs has retarded efforts to effectively utilize all funds available for water pollution research performed in various countries; and

(4) efforts by the International Association on Water Pollution Research have materially assisted in alleviating duplication in pollution research, have fostered the exchange of scientific research data, and have significantly benefited all nations in their programs to control water pollution; and

(5) the international association has sponsored biannual conferences on water pollution research which have provided scientists, engineers, and administrators a forum for formulating an international activities program to permit concerted and cooperative water pollution research; and

(6) President Richard Nixon, in his address of September 19, 1969, to the United Nations, stated that "the task of protecting man's environment is a matter of international concern"; and

(7) in that address the President pledged the strong support of the United States for "international initiatives toward restoring the balance of nature, and maintaining our world as a healthy and hospitable place for man"; and

(8) the Fifth International Conference on Water Pollution will be held in San Francisco, California, July 26, 1970, through August 1, 1970, and will be reconvened in Honolulu, Hawaii, from August 2, 1970, through August 5, 1970, to deal with water pollution, one of the most important problems of the United States and the world.

(b) Therefore, all Federal departments and agencies, the States, and all interested persons and organizations, both public and private, are urged to cooperate with, and