

of the nine most important jurists in the country? Is there a man among us who can say that he is impressed with Judge Carswell's prudence, his sensitivity, his intellectual capacity?

Mr. President, there have been many things said about the record of Judge Carswell. I would cite only one more, a specific item that I think is of interest. The hour is getting late.

Mr. President, in this morning's newspaper, I read a reference to a memorandum that had been submitted to some Republican Senators last fall. I would like to expand a little bit on that memorandum, because now that it has been revealed, I believe that its full import should be understood.

Mr. President, the President of the United States, in my opinion, has been poorly served by those in the Justice Department particularly in the office of the Counsel to the Department, who were to do the investigatory staff work on prospective nominees for the Supreme Court. Those staff members failed to disclose to the President the total Haynsworth record, and their negligence has now once again resulted in his being caught by surprise on the Carswell segregationist speech, the golf course incident, and the restrictive covenant on his house—and others, factual details in the background of Judge Carswell that are distinctly relevant to his qualifications to be one of the Supreme Court Justices.

As far back as November 1969, Mr. President, some Republican Senators were fearful that the President would not be fully informed of the background of his next nominee to the Supreme Court. Our forebodings, unfortunately, proved all too accurate. I would like to read to you from a memorandum prepared for some Republican Senators last November, dated November 5, 1969. It is labeled "Southern Judgeships" and reads as follows:

As moderate Republicans appointed by Eisenhower retire from the Fifth Circuit and as Haynsworth prepares to leave the Fourth, the Nixon Administration is choosing segregationist Democrats or Dixicans to replace them. Since these judges are being named by Mitchell and approved in a perfunctory way,

Nixon may well not be fully aware of their record or probable impact.

The most recent appointee, pushed through the Senate Judiciary Committee and confirmed on the floor on Moratorium Day, is Charles Clark, a leading strategist in Mississippi's resistance to desegregation and close associate of William Harold Cox, segregationist District Court judge.

Clark defended Mississippi's segregated jury system at the time of the Philadelphia Klan murder trial; he proposed indictment of James Meredith in order that the University could exclude him as a criminal; he was the chief legal adviser in the challenge to unseat the first black elected to the Mississippi legislature in recent times. A Democrat, he is described by Jack Greenberg of the Legal Defense Fund as a "young, smart, effective lawyer, who has devoted his entire career to the segregationist cause." He joins the court at a time when Emmett Tuttle and other pro-civil rights Eisenhower appointees are retiring.

Nixon's other recent appointee to this crucial court, George Harold Carswell of Florida, is described by Southern lawyers as an even more unfortunate choice than Clark, since Carswell is older, less intelligent and more set in his ways. As a district judge, he has been repeatedly reversed and reproached by the Fifth Circuit for his rulings in cases involving desegregation of everything from reform schools to theaters. But his chief technique, say civil rights lawyers, is prolonged temporization.

Mr. President, these are all new contributions to the debate which is arising over this important nomination. I am confident there will be more revelations as this debate progresses. And I intend to participate further in this debate in the hope that we can convince the Senators who are now uncertain and who have not fully made up their minds that it is in the best interests of the United States that the Senate reject the nomination of Judge Carswell.

I believe it is critical that my Republican colleagues view this issue in perspective and recognize its full import for our country.

This is not a matter of party loyalty. This cannot be a matter of partisanship. Each Senator should look to his own conscience and should not vote on the basis of who made the nomination and what party he belongs to.

The Supreme Court is an independent branch of Government. Every judge, once he is placed on the bench, becomes

immune from politics. It is not significant whether a Justice of the Supreme Court is a Republican or Democrat. He is past party affiliation.

It is significant that a Justice of the Supreme Court in 1970, in the last one-third of this century, should be a man of wisdom, sensitivity, intelligence, and a man who understands the importance of the basic issues that face this country.

I do not believe on those standards that Judge Carswell qualifies, and I urge my colleagues to reject the nomination.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Cook). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADJOURNMENT TO MARCH 23, 1970, AT 11 A.M.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, pursuant to the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment, as in legislative session, until 11 o'clock Monday morning.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 15 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned, as in legislative session, until Monday, March 23, 1970, at 11 a.m.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate, March 20, 1970:

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

Charles D. Baker, of Massachusetts, to be an Assistant Secretary of Transportation.

DIRECTOR OF SELECTIVE SERVICE

Curtis W. Tarr, of Virginia, to be Director of Selective Service.

IN THE COAST GUARD

The nominations beginning Michael Ray Adams, to be ensign, and ending Merle L. Cochran, to be chief warrant officer (W-4), which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on March 18, 1970.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ADDRESS BY HEW SECRETARY FINCH BEFORE THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on February 7 HEW Secretary Robert H. Finch addressed the National Association of Secondary School Principals. The Secretary emphasized two challenges which face our secondary schools: student unrest and effective education. While realizing that to a certain degree

student unrest reflects the tensions within our society as a whole, Secretary Finch rightly pointed out that the educational process has often failed the student and that the Nixon administration is committed to learning much more about education techniques and the development of cognitive skills. Part of this challenge lies with developing an awareness and concern for our environment. "And in this battle," the Secretary states, "there is no weapon more critical than education."

I think my colleagues will find the Secretary's remarks of interest. The complete text follows:

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ROBERT H. FINCH

As my own first item of business, let me convey to you, at his personal request, Presi-

dent Nixon's greetings. Even though the press of business has prevented his personal attendance, he asked me to express his concern and close attention to your endeavors.

Your convention theme, "What's Right With American Education", provides a healthy concern with the positive. I don't think by that focus that you are ignoring the problems and tensions which secondary schools are experiencing. Since you are at the eye of the storm, you obviously know that there are no rugs big enough to have some of your problems swept under.

It is in that same spirit of the positive that our own efforts are proceeding. And when we look at what is wrong with education, we do it in the sure knowledge that self-examination is the indispensable first step toward the achieving of the quality education Americans have always expected.

But to assess both what is wrong and what is right with American education—to es-

establish some benchmarks for analysis—we must go back and ask the basic and intimidating question of what education is all about.

Let me suggest that it is individual liberation. It is to prepare the individual for the expansion of personal options.

If a person has not mastered the basic language of words and numbers, his choices are limited because he can neither understand nor communicate with his society.

If he has not been exposed to a variety of jobs and experiences, his choices are limited by narrow horizons.

If he has not rubbed shoulders or at least rubbed minds with a variety of people, it is likely that his choices will be limited by his stereotypes of race, class, and region.

I think we know then what the goals are. We are not just training people for jobs. We must also cultivate the life of the mind for the joys and freedoms which that life gives. But we must set these as goals for the majority students who will not continue their education as well as for the minority who do.

These goals may be unattainable, for certainly there are no finite limits to knowledge. Certainly each generation born anew must be educated anew. But these are directions in which we always should be tending. And the promise of American education will never be fulfilled so long as our expectations and our capabilities outrun our performance.

Even if we are agreed on goals, the consuming question becomes "how do we fulfill them?" And this is the spirit in which the most sincere of critics have raised their voices about American elementary and secondary education.

The symptoms of breakdown are all too clear. One report of a four-month period in the last school year documented 341 protest incidents in high schools in 38 different states. By May 25, 1969, Alan Westin of the Center for Research and Education in American Liberties estimated the total number of protests at around 2,000. The disturbances were not just traceable to racial tensions in urban schools, nor were they limited to secondary institutions infamous for their outmoded educational techniques. Apart from violence, the increasing problem of narcotics and drug abuse has received the anguished attention of citizens in inner-city and suburb alike.

And another index, not marked by violence but by despair, is the silent increase in the dropout rate of young, incredibly mobile, but profoundly unhappy students.

But this is not the whole story. The increasing tension and violence is an index of the tensions within our society itself. In part, precisely because our society as a whole expects so many—and sometimes inconsistent—missions of our schools, they are the focal point for tremendous pressures brought to bear from all quarters: community, government, taxpayers, parents, teachers, and law enforcement officers. We can not expect our schools to be free from these tensions when our society as a whole is not. And yet, I know that the conflicts engendered by such opposing forces probably focus on your collective desks more often than any other—with the possible exception of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

I think, however, that to focus totally on problems of violence and disruption would be to distort our inquiry both in to what is wrong with American education and with what is right with it. The passive acquiescence of boredom is just as much an index of trouble as vandalism and disruption, even though one receives the headlines and the other does not. And the basic truth that the existence of both shows is, in fact, how little we do know about success or failures of our American educational system.

We are trying to find out through such vehicles as the monumental Coleman Report, and many of its subsequent critiques. We are beginning to learn a great deal about the strength and weaknesses of various educational techniques. Through the present Administration's comprehensive reassessment of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, we are focusing hard thought on how really to reach the disadvantaged human service target areas that such programs were designed to foster.

We need to know much more about educational techniques and the development of cognitive skills. This Administration's budget requests will increasingly reflect our concern for upgrading substantially the research, experimental and evaluation techniques in education across the board. This entire vital component has been shortchanged in budgets at all levels for years—particularly when compared to all of the other massive endeavors of our nation.

Currently only about one quarter of one per cent of all education spending goes to research and development. The Defense Department spends 10 per cent and the health industry 5 per cent on research and development. We can no longer afford to disgorge billions into the system without a game plan.

We do, of course, know some things. We observe schools which work very well. We sense intuitively that the first thoroughly televised generation in the history of the world cannot simply be passed into and through the same rigid institutional structures that its parents and even grandparents traveled. We know already that the 1970s will show significant changes in the ethnic and demographic characteristics of high school students. And we know that there must be a fantastic and sophisticated proliferation of skills which those students must possess simply to cope with the world of the 1980s. By 1975, the unskilled will constitute less than 5 per cent of the labor market. This all means that we must get on with our business of reassessment in education, and get on with it fast. We must recognize that we are preparing people for jobs which do not even exist today—even by description.

I am well aware that however visionary or urgent the long-range goals are, they must still be seen in the constricting context of short-range day-to-day crises: crises of disruption, of financing, of community dissatisfaction, of teacher morale. I am certainly not here today to dictate a monolithic federal master plan about how each of you in the context of your own particular situation should proceed to address these crises.

I am reluctant most of all to dispense a Guru's advice because the channels should also be open in the other direction. We in Washington need to know much more. We need the communication and interchange. And if there is one single message I would want to impart today, it would be our commitment to communication and to working together to address ways of better meeting the needs of the more than 20 million young American citizens whom you today directly represent.

I am, indeed, encouraged to see the spirit of self-examination which pervades your program for discussion. And with respect to the increasingly difficult problems of discipline in the schools, I am excited to see the booklet entitled "The Reasonable Exercise of Authority" which your organization has published and disseminated.

This is preventive medicine at its best. The title and contents suggest your strong emphasis on a style of leadership, not just a rigid code of behavior. It explains for the layman the difficult and rapidly evolving area of student's rights and constitutional due process in the schools. I commend you sincerely for this effort as an Association.

Students, after all, are citizens and full members of the community. They are increasingly numerous as well as vocal. A hypocrisy gap can make our civics classes meaningless unless the environment experienced in our educational institutions reinforces lectures on constitutional precepts. We know, from the *Gault* decision and others that young people in trouble have legal protections and constitutional rights. How much more important, then, for the student *not* in trouble with the law to experience his rights as a young citizen rather than merely the law's sanctions as a delinquent.

I repeat that I have no magic formula for solving crises of disruption. We do know results are constructive when a community—be it a city or an educational institution—sits down to examine itself through dialogue by its constituent elements. I know, too, that your interchange at meetings such as these, and vehicles such as the *Education U.S.A. Special Report on High School Student Unrest*, can give you the benefit of the experience of others. The Federal Government has no more desire to play policeman in the high school corridor than it does on the college campus. We respect a long tradition of local and academic freedom. We are acutely aware of the administrative nightmare which such an intrusive process would entail. We have limited our role to the positive steps we can take to ease the pains of transition and institutional reform. Our Office of Education studies and research efforts have increasingly been directed toward methods of easing tensions in the American high school. And in a special message to the State School Officers last September, Commissioner Allen and I suggested both short- and long-range steps which might be adopted by school systems as methods of averting violence and disruption.

In addition, we have initiated changes within the organization of the Office of Education in an attempt to respond to crises of the American secondary school system. We have, for example, established an Office of Students and Youth as one way of letting young people serve other young people. A continuing Task Force on students and social change is making additional studies of the problem and has embarked on further contracts for research and analysis on problems of change at the secondary school level. The Office of Education has given a major priority to funding of student-run and student-sponsored education projects. Announcements of other activities can be anticipated in the near future.

While these activities are necessarily small in light of some of the crises facing American high schools, they are designed to create a new atmosphere of communication and trust among all parties in secondary education.

There is one final item on my agenda which I deem intimately related to all I have said this morning. By discussing it as an educational vehicle for the channeling of student energies, I do not mean it as a cynical technique of crisis management. I refer, of course, to the compelling problems of restoring the Nation's environment. This is not, and it cannot become, a political fad or a passing bit of heavy rhetoric. We mean business. Environmental considerations—a sense of responsibility for this planet and for each other—must become a permanent component of every decision—governmental, legal, industrial, and personal—from here on out.

The burning question about the degradation and abuse of the environment is no longer the catalogue of ecological horror stories, but rather: "what are we going to do about them?" And in this battle, there is no weapon more critical than education.

The teacher we intend to send into our public schools in 1980 is today a sixth grader somewhere in America. He or she must be

taught—beginning right now—along with every American boy and girl, about environmental quality, about ecology and about all of the complex and interacting elements that go to make them up.

We and they must learn together—and in the spare time we have left, we must begin to write the textbooks for this new educational enterprise. We must think about America as it will be in 1980—a Nation with some 250 million citizens with different kinds of schools and different kinds of teaching and learning programs, and we must do this right now. That future teacher will enter college in 1976 and new textbooks will have to be written and published, courses mapped out and instructors trained in these new disciplines.

When we turn these brand-new teachers loose in 1980, they must know much more than any of us do right now about the problems involved in human survival—or else the war may well be lost, although the battles may go on for a few decades longer.

Departments devoted to the environmental sciences are being started at many of our Nation's universities. Many seminars have been held. This is an excellent beginning—but we must also begin now to develop similarly oriented programs in our grade schools, in our high schools and in our junior colleges.

These same basic courses must be developed and put into action at every stage of adult education. Logically, this should include not only adult education sponsored by formal school systems, but also the educational enterprises conducted by business and industry, by unions and by other organized groups. The future of society lies in its ability to respond to crisis. And we are in a situation with regard to our environmental preservation that calls for a clear and vigorous response by every sector of American life.

We need in our schools to counteract the idea of environment as being something "out there" that can be visited and then left behind at the end of a field trip. Our goal must be to see that every school has access to an environmental study area where youngsters of all ages can grow up with the concept of environment as being everything that makes up their world, and with an understanding of the interdependency of all its numberless elements. Whatever Marshall McLuhan meant by telling us and the media that we live in a "global village," the analogous message for environmental education is clear: "The world is the classroom."

Through the development of what Dr. Allen has called EEE—environmental/ecological education—at every level of learning, I see some very exciting things:

—Pre-schoolers will more and more be using the out-of-doors as a classroom—for it is urgent that our children early begin to understand their environment.

—High school students will use civics courses to engage in work study programs with city and state officials and environmental quality professionals. They will focus on all sorts of urban problems to which solutions must be found—waste disposal, water supply, pollution and population.

—Undergraduates will participate in multidisciplinary classes under the guidance of master teaching teams to allow them to work out the great intellectual synthesis of the 1970's—the still unexplored area that lies among the humanities, the natural and social sciences, and the broad-based environmental studies that must be undertaken.

Education in this issue is not just something for kids. The entire level of mass citizen understanding and participation must be raised if we are to reverse the environmental skid. In this effort, we must rely on educational television, on community colleges, on business, on labor—in fact, on a total fusion of individual and group effort.

Action on this issue calls for both skills and passion: for disciplined scientific techniques and the emotional commitment to utilize them. If our communications do not fall us in this crisis, all Americans will, to some degree, become eco-activists.

Let me close my remarks on the note struck by your conference theme. If there were to be one crucial thing that is right among the many things that are right—about the American educational system, it would be its historic capacity to respond creatively to challenge. This is the decade of challenge; and in your constructive introspection, the response has already begun. To that I can only echo the words I quoted last spring at a White House meeting of the best of your own students—the Presidential Scholars. The words were uttered by my predecessor, John Gardner, and they apply to education, to political leaders, and to each one of us.

"A nation is never finished. You can't build it and leave it standing as the Pharaohs did the pyramids. It has to be recreated in each generation by believing, caring men and women. It is now our turn. If we don't believe or don't care, nothing can save this nation. If we believe and care, nothing can stop us."

WHAT IS A FIREMAN?

HON. JOSEPH P. ADDABBO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, the firefighters of New York City responded to nearly a quarter of a million fire alarms during 1969, yet we tend to take their bravery and dedication for granted. The forgotten heroes of our city deserve our support and appreciation 365 days of the year.

I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article entitled "Inside Fire Lines" written by Mr. Michael J. Maye, president of the Uniformed Firefighters Association. The article appeared in the March 3, 1970, edition of the Civil Service Leader and presents a meaningful picture of New York City's 12,000 firemen. The article follows:

[From the Civil Service Leader, Mar. 3, 1970]

WHAT IS A FIREMAN?

(By Michael J. Maye)

A big red truck turns the corner, lights blazing, siren blaring and the chilling blast of a horn cutting through the night. Men with oversized hats and yellow-striped coats cling to the side of this monstrous piece of machinery. If it is not heading for your house—or even your block—it may be just another sound of the City, loud and frightening, which quickly blends into the thousands of other street noises which melt into the night.

But if it is your house or your block which is involved—perhaps with billowing smoke and roaring flame leaping from a building—and the red truck appears with its passengers in oversized hats and yellow-striped coats, you will never again live through such an experience without recognizing the components of the dramatic scene for exactly what they constitute: the very best the City has to offer to help you.

There are 600 miles of streets in this City with more than 400 miles of waterfront along its shores. New York is hundreds of thousands of buildings, ranging in age from brand new to well over 200 years old; one-

story taxpayers to 102-story skyscrapers—and not one is completely and truly "fire proof." By the same token, eight million people live here and another 1.5 million commute here daily—and not one of these human beings is "fire proof," for there is no such thing as an "Asbestos Man."

These people and buildings are protected around-the-clock—and the responsibility for supplying this protection is entrusted to 12,000 firefighters.

What, then, is a fireman? Who is he and why does he do what he does, risking his life and limbs daily?

The qualifications for a New York City firefighter are the highest of all civil service jobs. Their training is the most intensive and never-ending, their dedication is unquestioned and their record unblemished.

These firefighters answered 240,000 alarms of fire in 1969—and 4,283 of them sustained injuries!

Who is this man?

The average firefighter is 27 years old, married, with 3.5 children. He is familiar with all types of buildings, construction and other tools and equipment. He likes to read a lot, probably more so than the average. He loves his country and is proud to say so.

The New York City firefighter is unique in many ways. He is in the job because he loves it. He fights for assignment to the "action houses" because he knows from the first minute of his appointment that danger and risks are part of the job.

The New York City firefighter is unique even in his approach to fighting fires. Almost everywhere else, the motto is "surround it and drown it" when fighting a fire. Because of the way New York City itself is laid out physically, with giant buildings next to small ones and almost everything attached to something else, the New York City firefighter must "go in and put it out—don't let it spread."

This, then, is what firefighting and firefighters are all about—and New Yorkers are justly proud of the men and the job they do.

DO NOT TRANSFER LORTON REFORMATORY COMPLEX, SAYS WRC-TV—NBC CHANNEL 4

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial on WRC-TV set out several sound arguments against taking the Lorton facilities out from city administration. These are excellent reasons for removing title V from H.R. 16196.

The editorial is as follows:

WRC-TV 4 EDITORIAL

There is a move on Capitol Hill to take away still another function of the city government. Included in a House District Committee bill is a provision to transfer the Lorton Reformatory Complex from city administration to the Federal Bureau of Prisons.

Lorton is in Virginia—almost all of its inmates are from the District. There is resentment among some residents of the Lorton area that the District's problems are being brought into Virginia.

The reformatory is in the Congressional District of Representative William Scott. He has received letters and visitations from his constituents, some of them employees at Lorton, citing alleged abuses and irregularities. They asked for transfer of control of

Lorton, and in response, Representative Scott introduced the measure. After hearings it was approved in committee.

It should be defeated on the House floor because—

It is a diminution of the structure and authority of the District government. There is no more reason to permit the Federal government to run Lorton than to run the prison systems of Virginia, Maryland, or any other state. The Director of the D.C. Department of Corrections, Kenneth Hardy and his staff have done an excellent job in terms of a low recidivism rate and progress toward a model system called for by the President. There is no indication the Federal Bureau of Prisons wants the responsibility of running Lorton.

It would be better for the Congress to fully support the D.C. Corrections Department with funds, personnel and authority than to reduce its scope with no certainty of achieving a better result.

ABM OPPONENTS BOXED IN

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, as history has shown time and time again, a nation's ability to defend itself against foreign enemies is of primary importance if it is to survive. And while it is regrettable that the huge sums needed for our national defense cannot be spent curing the Nation's domestic ills, we must have adequate strength to deter or repel a foreign attack or any other programs or plans for the Nation will be meaningless.

A recent column by John Roche in the Detroit News outlines the harsh facts of world politics and power today. And although many would prefer to ignore them, those facts include a realization that, in Mr. Roche's words, "the U.S.S.R. is launched on an extremely dangerous, hard-line course" and that "the Soviets have an operational ABM system." In light of these and other realizations, it is imperative that the United States have an ABM system, too, as Secretary of Defense Laird and the President well know. I commend Mr. Roche's column to the attention of my colleagues:

ABM OPPONENTS BOXED IN

(By John Roche)

If one accepts a conspiracy theory of politics, the strategy of the Nixon Administration is a cunning plot against the liberal Democrats. If one assumes, as I do, that no administration could organize a three-man cabal without a fourth, from the *Washington Post*, getting into the act, it's just bad news. But either way, the liberal Democrats are trapped in a grinder—the Soviet Union on one side and Defense Sec. Mel Laird on the other. Laird, a man of first-rate ability, has been quietly setting the Democrats up. While Vice President Spiro Agnew has been drawing the headlines and the fire of the opposition, Laird has been laying the trap. He has been genial; the soul of reason. He has avoided all the clichés of messianic anti-communism. But his message has been clear: the Soviets are arming to the teeth and the Congress (read: liberals) has refused to meet this challenge to our national security. It would be some consolation to think that President Nixon and Laird lured the liberals into the trap but the fact is they rushed in under their own steam.

The bait was, of course, the anti-ballistic missile (ABM), which various liberal senators have denounced because (1) it wouldn't work, (2) it would work but would provoke the Soviets, (3) it wouldn't work and would provoke the Soviets and (4) whether it worked or not, we should spend our money cleaning up slums. Laird, placidly ignoring this static, has simply gone ahead building the record. He has emphasized the incredible Soviet production of the monster SS-9 missile and hinted that it soon may be equipped with MIRV's, four or five independently targeted missiles that travel on the same bus. He has announced that the Russians have developed a "killer satellite" which could wreck our surveillance system. He has urged the expansion of the Safeguard ABM system. The liberals, busy chopping away at the defense budget, have dismissed all this as the theme song of the "military-industrial complex."

After all, the Soviet Union did agree to arms limitation talk. And any rational man will admit that Moscow has a strong interest in stabilizing the arms race. (It is, admittedly, a bit difficult to explain Soviet policy in the Mideast on this basis but that can be treated as an eccentricity.) Those of us who insist on arguing that the USSR is launched on an extremely dangerous, hard-line course are written off as relics of the Cold War, men who have lost the capacity to adapt to changing circumstances. Laird just sat and waited. Then the trap was sprung. Not by Laird but by his Soviet counterpart, Marshal Andrei A. Grechko, minister of defense of the USSR. Writing in *Pravda* Grechko stated: "We possess weapons capable of reliably hitting enemy aircraft and missiles, irrespective of height or speed of their flight, at great distances from the defended targets." In short, the Soviets have an operational ABM system. True, it may not be very extensive but it is in place. And Soviet statements of this sort tend to be very reliable. They know, for example, that our radar has been monitoring their tests. Now what? Somebody undoubtedly will say that we provoked them into setting it up but that is sheer nonsense. The lead time on a weapons system like that is five to 10 years; the first Safeguard units will not be in place until 1975. The initial step must be a reappraisal of the whole liberal outlook on defense and security. For this is not just a bad dream; the Soviets are prowling in the Mideast, supporting Hanoi playing with the noose around Berlin and moving toward preponderant strategic power. The American people cannot and—as Mr. Nixon and Laird well know—will not permit this to happen. If the liberals continue their fixation on the "military-industrial complex" and ignore the perilous shift in the balance of world power, they will consign themselves to oblivion.

TRIBUTE TO ROBERT HOWARD OF THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

HON. JOHN N. ERLNBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. ERLNBORN. Mr. Speaker, before I served in this House of Representatives, it was my privilege to serve in the Illinois House of Representatives for four terms; and it was my privilege there to know Robert Howard, the Springfield reporter for the Chicago Tribune.

Bob is retiring now and I do not want him to leave without public notice that the fourth estate is losing a good reporter and an honest one.

He had those traits of perceptiveness and understanding which made all of

us comfortable in turning over our precious legislative ideas and our political fortunes to his journalistic treatment.

The Illinois Legislature and the people of Illinois are richer for the work that has been done by Bob Howard.

CIVIL DEFENSE

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, John T. Wheeler, Associated Press writer, has done, in my judgment, a great service by his article, "U.S. Civil Defense: 'An Absolute Farce'." This article was carried in the Detroit Sunday News, March 15, 1970. When I first came to Congress, I served on the Government Operations Committee and as a member of CHET HOLIFIELD's subcommittee. On that committee we studied civil defense. Mr. HOLIFIELD made a detailed study of the weaknesses of our own civil defense and the strength of other nations, including Russia's defense.

When you read Mr. Wheeler's article, you will find that after 15 years we still have no civil defense whatsoever, while Russia has an excellent civil defense. Our lack of civil defense undoubtedly is due to the fact that there is no organized lobby in this country of manufacturers requesting such defense.

The article follows:

U.S. CIVIL DEFENSE: "AN ABSOLUTE FARCE"

(By John T. Wheeler)

WASHINGTON.—If it came tomorrow—earth's first and probably last atomic war—almost half of America's 200 million people would die. Period. No way to save them.

An estimated 33 million more would die also. Needless.

There is a way to save them. But it hasn't been done.

Those are the hard figures of the Office of Civil Defense (CD), entrusted with overseeing the sheltering of the nation's citizens for The Bomb. About 35 cents a year per person is being spent towards that end.

A proper, full-scale shelter program could save 48 million American lives by CD estimates. That same estimate says present shelter programs would save only 15 million. Thus the cruel arithmetic: 33 million lives wasted.

John E. Davis, national CD head, concedes Americans are poorly protected and that in some cases civil defense is nonexistent.

A survey that reached from coast to coast and from small towns to Washington and Detroit showed:

There are stocked public shelters for only 61 million Americans.

Shelters are concentrated in cities.

Some federally-approved shelters do not meet minimum standards.

Many shelters are poorly marked.

Trained shelter managers are not assigned specific shelters in most cases.

Water barrels are empty in many shelters.

Radiation monitoring equipment is sometimes not in place, or without batteries, or not working.

(More than 800 buildings in Detroit have been designated as fallout shelters by the Army Corps of Engineers, but the local Civil Defense office believes more would be needed in the event of a nuclear attack.)

(Building fallout shelters here is not considered feasible, they said.

(Meanwhile, the city's air raid system is being kept in operation, a public information program is available and there are various plans to meet other type of disasters.

(However, the local Civil Defense staff has been greatly reduced over the years. The only training program is for government employees—on radiation monitoring.)

Omaha Civil Defense Director William Noyes' judgment that American civil defense amounts to "criminal negligence" was one of the most forceful condemnations of the present program.

A Pentagon official called the national program "an absolute farce based on hope."

One reason advanced for America's unpreparedness is that a fully effective civil defense program would "provoke" Russia by upsetting the implied balance of death between the two superpowers.

Federal officials say more could be done under the present budget if state and local officials would organize properly. Top federal officials, including Davis, say Congress won't boost the federal budget of \$69 million.

Local officials say organization is impossible given present public apathy, and that only strong federal leadership, including the influence of the President, can lead to a full fallout shelter program.

CD estimates 65 million Americans live in remote enough areas to survive in any event.

In the South and Southwest, the civil defense shield is more like a fishnet. An Atomic Energy Commission source said these areas are so unprotected that they virtually are written off in case of attack.

Throughout most of the Nation there are no local maps giving the location of fallout shelters or assigning persons to specific areas to insure against overcrowding.

Federal literature shows Washington with spaces equal to nearly 600 percent of the capital's population. District of Columbia officials say that while this is the number of potential shelter space, present spaces with emergency stocks cover only one-half of the capital's daytime population of 1.4 million.

Spot checks turned up school buildings, federal buildings and other structures—even the main fallout shelters at Strategic Air Command's (SAC) Omaha headquarters—that were approved but do not meet federal minimum standards.

A SAC spokesman assumed SAC bases would be attacked immediately and destroyed.

But one of the command's civil defense officials stationed at Offutt Air Force Base said, "I can't see why an enemy would bother wasting a missile on this place. We don't have any attack craft or missiles."

The theme was one heard repeatedly in talks with Civil Defense officials in areas which Pentagon sources say can expect to be hit by many bombs.

Carmine G. Novis, head of New York City's Civil Defense: "There is no reason to destroy us. I assume New York will not be hit."

Charles Willowby, of Colorado Springs, Colo.'s Civil Defense office: "I don't think it would be logical to hit us. NORAD—North American Air Defense Command—will already have given the warning."

NORAD is centered one-third of a mile inside a mountain because it is one of the prime targets.

Melvin M. McBride, deputy director of Washington's Civil Defense: "We don't plan on Washington being hit. Why would they bomb us anyway? The President and other key leaders would be safely out of the city."

A far different view was expressed in California where a senior state official said, "The Russian targeting concept is to attack the cities and carry out massive destruction. We consider San Francisco and Los Angeles to be prime targets."

In Russia, civil defense training for civilians is compulsory and extensive and includes sections on bacteriological and chemical warfare, something ignored by the U.S. program. Moscow has instituted an active shelter building program; the United States has none.

Russian civil defense is headed by an army marshal and has military men in command positions.

There are limited and realistic exercises at the local level, and the public repeatedly is warned that population centers are certain to be hit.

The Pentagon assumes major communications, administration and industrial centers would be smashed. A tremendous communications system would be needed just to identify bottlenecks and the most needy areas.

City and county civil defense units lack radios. It is hoped that the nation's ham or amateur radio operators could fill the gap. But there is no detailed master plan for this.

A New York official, when asked how the problem of several million dead might be solved in his city, said: "Oh, that's a problem for the sanitation department."

A sanitation department official said as far as he knew there were no plans for the handling of masses, perhaps millions, of bodies. "But it is certainly something to think about," he added.

In his letter to Chairman Fisher, the senator suggested the possibility of speeding up traffic by prohibiting passing by slow or bulky vehicles such as trucks or denying use of the highway entirely to such vehicles during the rush hours.

"During peak traffic hours, this high speed highway is clogged with traffic moving at a snail's pace. The point of merger of highway traffic and beltway vehicles is a scene of confusion with large numbers of cars trapped behind slow moving vehicles," he said.

As Senator Mathias well points out this condition prevails in both lanes of what was projected to be a high speed highway. He suggested that the SRC chairman pay a visit to the highway during a peak traffic hours and see for himself the almost incredibly congested conditions prevailing.

And if conditions are bad today, what of the future? "Projections of future traffic density often seem to be so astronomically high as to be unbelievable," the senator declares.

Noting that the SRC has long-range plans for widening the portion of the highway between Gaithersburg and Bethesda, he inquired into the feasibility of expending this project before the highway some day in the not too distant future bogs down entirely.

WOMEN'S LEAGUE READIES FOR ANOTHER 50 YEARS

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, women of America are celebrating this year, August 20, their 50th anniversary of the ratification of the 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the amendment which insured the right of women's suffrage.

Among the leaders in the amendment drive were many who in 1920 founded the League of Women Voters. The league has been active throughout its history and has expanded its political role and increased its emphasis on voter registration and an enlightening of the electorate.

Efforts are also being made to deal with issues of communitywide importance. In Los Angeles, for example, the league is working in the suburbs to explain housing needs and to assure residents that low-income housing does not necessarily result in slums and ghettos.

The league has an active membership of over 160,000. In beginning its second half century, it hopes to increase that figure and continue the recruitment of minority group members. Some members have also indicated that they hope to reach more young people and persons from both ends of the economic spectrum.

What goals are being set and how the league hopes to accomplish them were discussed in the February 21, 1970, issue of the Christian Science Monitor. So that my colleagues may be aware of their future directions, I am inserting the article in the RECORD. With the article also goes my congratulations to the League of Women Voters for its 50 years of suc-

TRAFFIC CONGESTION ON INTER-STATE HIGHWAY 70-S

HON. J. GLENN BEALL, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. BEALL of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest annoyances to the people of my district is the intolerable congestion during peak traffic hours along Interstate Highway 70-S, the western Maryland area's primary link with Washington and points south. A recent editorial which appeared in the Frederick Post of Frederick, Md., addresses itself succinctly to this problem and commends the stand taken by U.S. Senator CHARLES McC. MATHIAS in a letter to the chairman of the State Roads Commission, David H. Fisher, in which he points out the pressing need for immediate remedial action. The March 10 editorial follows:

70-S TRAFFIC PRESSING PROBLEM

Biggest problem facing the State Roads Commission in the Frederick area is to solve the chaotic traffic problems on Route 70-S, the area's sole link with Washington and points south.

Timely indeed is the strong letter of Senator Charles McC. Mathias to David H. Fisher, chairman-director of the SRC, in which he minces no words in pointing out the necessity for early action if a complete stoppage of traffic during the rush hours is not to occur.

The Mathias letter will be particularly welcomed by the several hundred from this area working at either the National Bureau of Standards or the Atomic Energy Commission, both of Gaithersburg, or employed by the many research and development companies located along the channel of Route 70-S.

Both in reporting to work and returning to their homes they find that the traffic congestion is so great as to greatly lengthen their journeys over a highway ironically posted for a 70-mile an hour speed limit.

cess and best wishes for many, many more years of success.

The article follows:

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS: AFTER 50 YEARS, WHICH WAY WILL THE LEAGUE MARCH?

(By Susan Hunsinger)

BOSTON.—"When the league was founded 50 years ago, it was thought that every woman should join," says Mrs. Bruce B. Benson, current president of the League of Women Voters of the United States.

The founders, who had just won the 72-year-old battle for women's voting rights, felt responsible for educating the 20 million people they had helped enfranchise.

But the idea that the league was something for everyone was unrealistic, says Mrs. Benson. "Many people don't want to be involved even in a peripheral way with a citizens' government-oriented group."

Nevertheless, Mrs. Benson thinks "the potential of the league is infinitely greater than its present membership" of 160,000 women. In 1970—the 50th year for the league and women's suffrage and the 100th anniversary of Negro suffrage—the league is trying to achieve a more representative membership.

MORE BLACK MEMBERS

In the past few years the league has been concentrating on increasing its membership among minorities. Black membership has risen—nationally.

The Alabama league president, Mrs. Sarah Cabot Pierce of Montgomery, says about one-quarter of the attendance at her league meetings now is black.

But, in essence, says Mrs. Benson, the wife of an Amherst College physics professor, "We are missing the two ends of the economic spectrum. We have very few wives of corporate executives and we have very few poor women."

The Alabama president, whose husband is in the insurance business, explains "there are not very many businessmen who approve of their wives getting involved in controversial issues. The native boys prefer the Junior League."

The lag in membership among the poor is in part attributed to attitudes unintended but nevertheless expressed. The league has always been officially integrated.

But members of minority groups—as well as poorer whites—may have felt uncomfortable at the meetings, often held in the homes of the well-to-do. Similarly, Catholics may have been reluctant to attend meetings held in Protestant churches. Now the league favors holding public meetings in public places.

Perhaps the most important determinant of league membership is the nature of league activities, which focus on broad issues and the structure of government.

"I think we have to accept the fact that we are a primarily white, middle-class group," says Mrs. Mary Grace Smith, former president of the Boston league. "Some people can't afford to be volunteers of [the league] sort. It's more important for them to use what leisure time they have to work on matters of immediate community interest"—such as upgrading the ghetto school rather than trying to abolish the Electoral College.

Even the middle-class, well-educated women who have always formed the league's hard core now have less time for volunteer activities. For many of these women—upon whom the league has depended—are going to work.

"This trend has already had a tremendous impact on the league," says Mrs. Benson. In an attempt to adapt itself to the schedules of working women, the league now holds more meetings at night and at lunchtime downtown.

And the league has for the first time embarked on a nationwide fund-raising drive for \$11 million—in part to pay professionals to do the routine office work formerly done by volunteers.

The league also wants the money to reach young people. "We have learned by experience that young people, even the biggest activists, are interested in using democratic processes to bring about change," says Mrs. Benson.

Last summer the league used \$100,000 of its education budget to recruit and transport 150 "highly politicized" young people—ranging from Black Panthers and SDSers to the Young Americans for Freedom—to a conference in Denver. The purpose was to allow them to pool experience on how to get things done.

BOMBARDED BY REQUESTS

There was "a lot of rhetoric," and some Mexican-American students upset the dinner tables when the university cafeteria inadvertently served grapes. But, Mrs. Benson says, these same young people went into workshops to work out the practical techniques of community organization.

Since then, according to Mrs. Benson, the league has been bombarded by young people who want to know how to do things. "At times we know the answer but don't have a staff member to phone or type the answer."

The league's activities have a two-fold thrust: (1) efforts to clarify issues and encourage more voting, and (2) study and action on a specific league program selected nationally every two years.

As for the league program, many of its past objectives are legislative history. The league takes part of the credit for the following:

Social welfare—the Sheppard-Towner Act in 1921 for maternal and child health, the Social Security Act of 1935, and the Muscle Shoals proposal for public-controlled power facilities in the Tennessee Valley in 1933.

Government reform—establishment of the merit system of hiring federal employees, 1934-40, and revision of state constitutions in Pennsylvania, Michigan, California, Iowa, Hawaii, and Florida.

Foreign policy—every renewal of the Trade Agreements Act beginning in 1934, and recent U.S. efforts to ease trade restrictions with Communist China.

Water—the Water Resources Planning Act of 1965 and the Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966.

When asked what the concerned citizen could do about water pollution, chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Policy, Russell B. Train, replied recently, "Join the League of Women Voters."

IMPLEMENTATION STRESSED

But why join the league rather than a strictly conservationist group? The league, says Mrs. Benson, works to see that federal legislation gets implemented on the state and local level.

"It's not enough to lobby in Congress," says Mrs. Benson. "You have to follow it through. . . . You have to know who the polluters are, how much money they need to stop, what to do with the sewage, and you have to press all government levels for the money for treatment plants."

The league has always tackled highly political, or controversial, issues, but rarely those divided on a clear-cut party basis.

One of the league's problems is finding room for new issues, since the old ones don't fade away, they just expand. Water resources, for example, has been on the league program for 14 years. As if a sign of the program to come, the Massachusetts league board already includes an expert on thermonuclear pollution.

Equal opportunity also presents a never-ending number of public problems for league study. One of the most appropriate places to work for equal opportunity, league women are learning, is in the suburbs, where most members live.

"Our essential effort must be focused on ourselves . . . and on our own community institutions which are racist and exclusive

and which perpetuate poverty," said Mrs. Smith, now legislative chairman for the Massachusetts league board. She referred to school textbooks, suburban industry and church rosters, and the exclusion of low-income housing.

Leagues all over the country are studying zoning laws and how to make them more flexible. The November, 1969, issue of Current Review, a national league publication, identifies the various exclusionary zoning practices and suggests ways to curb them.

The Los Angeles league is working to reduce the suburbanites' fear of the "invasion" of low-income housing and multiple family dwellings. "The league has joined with realty groups and fair-housing councils in sponsoring seminars to explain housing needs, to show that low-income housing does not mean an instant slum or ghetto," says Mrs. Barbara Margerum, Los Angeles league president.

NOT FEMINIST GROUP

So far the national league has focused on the rights of minorities, but not, interestingly, on those of women. However, three state leagues—Alaska, Iowa, and Tennessee—have recently expressed interest in studying women's rights.

"It's a little hard to say why the league has not been interested in these issues pertaining to the legal and financial status of women," says Mrs. Benson. "There has been a conscious, and perhaps unconscious, effort not to be a feminist organization, but to be a citizens' organization in the broad sense."

One of the broadest citizen concerns—the Vietnam war—has also escaped League study. "It's too bad that the League didn't get involved in studying the whole problem of national liberation way back in the 1950's," Mrs. Benson says. By the time the general problem had become specific in Vietnam, she thinks public—and perhaps league—attitudes were already too polarized.

The absence of these issues may result partly from league procedures—which are as time-consuming as they are democratic. Before an issue can be added to the league program, a substantial majority, or "consensus," must agree on its importance for league study. At the local level, the only opportunity to suggest an issue is at the league discussion meeting.

League procedures, according to Mrs. Benson, should allow for the member who cannot be present at the meeting, and, perhaps, for the suspicion that "meetings are getting more and more out of style." But the league is reluctant to introduce any mechanism which might lead to the mere registration of opinion rather than considered judgment.

Some of the league's traditional procedures—such as the parliamentary meeting—are proving inappropriate in the inner city. League members find that voter registration is no longer equivalent to voter service: many inner city residents have to be convinced of the power of the vote, or of testimony before the city council—or housing authority—techniques which are second nature to the league.

Some members disagree about the group's primary function. "The league has one of the same divisions as the church," says Mrs. Benson. "The individual salvation-types vs. the social activists."

Some think the league's purpose is to educate the individual citizen to decide which action to take. The other trend is to say, yes, the role of the league is education, but you won't get needed changes unless you act in an organized political fashion.

DEMONSTRATIONS ARGUED

How organized is the league ready to be? The Massachusetts league closed its office last October 15 and urged members to participate in Vietnam Moratorium Day discussions. The national league participated in the June, 1968 Poor People's Campaign march when it got to Washington.

"As league president I feel that demonstrations are a useful political tool, guaranteed under the Constitution," says Mrs. Benson. But she has been severely criticized by some members who feel that demonstrations are not a "league-like" way to influence public policy. "They seem to forget we got the vote by demonstrating," she adds.

No matter what emphasis league members put on political action, they agree that numbers make a difference. The Massachusetts league, which has the largest number of local leagues and 12,000 members, has more influence than the Mississippi league, with 375 members, or the Alabama league, with 700.

At the national league convention in May, there may be a move to speed up league procedures to allow for a little more action, a little less discussion. While the Alabama president feels her league would prefer not to move so fast, she says, "Maybe that's the kind of world we live in."

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, recently, Mr. Luther F. Cobb, a 17-year-old student at Overton High School in Nashville, Tenn., submitted an essay to the Tennessee competition for the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its Ladies Auxiliary Voice of America contest. Mr. Cobb's essay was written on the theme of the contest, "Freedom's Challenge," and was subsequently judged to be the best entry from the State of Tennessee.

Mr. Speaker, in reading Mr. Cobb's essay, I was profoundly impressed. Here is a young man who undoubtedly will be one of our leaders in the future. It seems to me he speaks for the broad middle spectrum of responsible youth of today.

In doing so, he admonishes those of the extreme left and the extreme right that the cure for the ills of democracy is not found in destruction but in construction. For, as he quotes the late Al Smith, "All the ills of democracy can be cured by more democracy." Thus, rather than advocating the destruction of the system and the so-called establishment, Mr. Cobb acknowledges that there are problems facing the United States internally, but the solution of those problems lies in extending our democratic processes and rights to all citizens and permitting them fuller participation in our Nation's bounty and harvest.

Also, to generations which have preceded him, Mr. Cobb demonstrates that those young Americans for whom he speaks do have an understanding of our problems. Even more importantly they wish to solve these problems within the framework of our Constitution and democratic institutions. He asks that his generation be understood in this light and be allowed to participate. I feel that it is incumbent upon us to pay serious attention to this request and open the avenues of participation to this new generation, which will soon be engaged in the difficulty of steering this country through very difficult seas.

Mr. Speaker, I include Mr. Cobb's winning essay, "Freedom's Challenge," in the RECORD at this point, and highly recommend it to my colleagues for their consideration:

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

The freedom of every citizen of the United States hinges upon the conduct of the United States in the next few years in world and domestic affairs—and this conduct depends directly upon the attitudes and actions of the American people. We, as concerned young people, should examine the challenges presented to us by our heritage and our present world, and act responsibly to meet these challenges.

The United States faces crises both at home and abroad. In Southeast Asia we fight against the encroachment of the Communist menace as it attempts to close in upon millions of helpless people. The challenge which faces Americans is not to shirk the responsibility forced upon us by our role as world leader, nor to let a vocal few dissuade us of the rightness of the cause to defend freedom, militarily if necessary, against aggression by outside powers.

At home, disagreement, often violent, grows in frequency and scope. Many Americans, fulfilling the basic right of freedom to express their opinions, protest against domestic conditions of poverty, hunger, and discrimination; as well as conditions abroad. The challenge which exists here is not to allow a reaction against vocalism to result in the abolition of our time-honored freedom, but to combat a false opinion with the truth, knowing that the minds of rational men will make the final choice for the right. We must not allow ourselves to be drawn to the militant radicalism of either the right or the left, but to chart the rational course between, insuring the continuation of the right to settle public issues by open public discussion.

We as concerned citizens and future leaders of America, must, however, avoid the pitfalls that lie in wait for the unwary. Rather than being emotionally drawn to one side or the other of an issue, we should weigh carefully all the arguments, both pro and con, before reaching a conclusion. We should always be willing to discuss and reason, keeping an ever-open mind to the opinions of others.

We must also realize that inevitably with freedom come grave responsibilities—both for the preservation and reasonable use of our liberties. We should realize that freedom does not imply a license to hurt or take advantage of others, but a mandate to help them. Also imperative is the realization that we must always bear the consequences of our own actions; accordingly we should never in the heat of emotion abolish an institution without providing for a replacement which will insure a more effective system. Our democratic government is the end product of thousands of years of human experience, and is undoubtedly the best form of government on earth today—allowing for individual freedom to guide one's own destiny. Naturally, democracy, like any institution, has defects—there has never been a human creation which did not. However, as Alfred E. Smith said, "All the ills of democracy can be cured by more democracy." In addition, it is important to remember in the midst of attacks upon our government that, for any improvement to be made, a more effective system must be devised. So far, none has.

As citizens, then, of a free country, we must shoulder the responsibility to keep it free. Perhaps the greatest challenge of democracy is that it cannot remain as a viable institution unless its citizens are willing to keep it so. The sacrifices in war and peace of years ago cannot stand by us today—democracy requires a constant sacrifice for the perpetuation of its immeasurable benefits.

If we become indolent and apathetic, our country, the paragon of freedom, will slide backwards into decay and absolutism as did ancient Rome in a similar situation. Thus, as citizens, we must be impelled to become involved in our future; to take a voice in our government and a part in its maintenance; to stand firmly for what is right and to work to promote that which is right; and to proudly accept the challenge of freedom in our world.

NORTHEAST PUBLIC POWER ASSOCIATION BACKS DICKEY-LINCOLN

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. HATHAWAY. Mr. Speaker, the membership of the Northeast Public Power Association, an organization comprised of power companies from the seven Northeastern States from Maine to New York, recently approved a resolution exhorting members of the New England House and Senate delegations "to wholeheartedly support an appropriation of \$807,000 for continued development of the Dickey-Lincoln School hydroelectric power project."

The resolution and an accompanying letter sent to me from the association's executive vice president reaffirm this outstanding organization's faith in Dickey and reassert its hope that the project will soon become a reality.

I join in these sentiments, and in the exhortation addressed to my New England House colleagues urging their full support. I am hopeful they will review the case for Dickey closely, paying special attention to those elements which clearly indicate that the project would save New England power consumers at least \$9 million a year.

I am hopeful that those who have yet to voice their support for Dickey will then join those of us who have in bringing the prospect of reliable and low-cost electric power for the people of the Northeast to fruition.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I insert both the resolution and the letter from the Northeast Public Power Association in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I additionally insert a second resolution approved by the association's membership, regarding the present trend toward private-utility monopoly in the energy field, and specifically calling for congressional investigation of this trend and its manifestations:

HON. WILLIAM D. HATHAWAY,
Congressional Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HATHAWAY: We are glad to see that the President has again included \$807,000 in his budget for resumption of planning for the Dickey-Lincoln School project. As you realize, former Presidents Johnson and Kennedy also included funds for this purpose in all budgets that they submitted to Congress.

Today, as you know, the New England power supply situation has become dangerous, a danger due largely to inadequate planning. Problems of pollution and environment are added to the continuing hazard of power shortage; energy of all types is costly in New

England. Shortage and high costs rather than abundance and low costs seem to plague the area. If these dangers are not corrected in the near future, the damage wrought on the whole area will take years to correct.

Dickey-Lincoln School should be made a reality. It is one of the last practical river-sites in New England for development of hydroelectric energy. It can be a yardstick for utility operations as well as a deterrent to spiralling energy costs. Dickey-Lincoln will not add to the pollution problem.

Our members are hopeful the project will become a reality. We enclose our resolution in support of Dickey-Lincoln.

Sincerely,

FRANK SAHLMAN,
Executive Vice President.

RESOLUTION: DICKEY-LINCOLN SCHOOL PROJECT

Whereas, the power companies of the Northeast had to reduce voltages 25 or more times last summer because of shortage of power; and

Whereas, by their own testimony, the power companies will have serious power shortages for the next several years; and

Whereas, a crisis exists which may well develop into a regional disaster of blackout proportions in 1970 and beyond; and

Whereas, the Dickey-Lincoln School project, though opposed consistently by the investor-owned power companies, would provide some of the badly needed power capacity; now therefore

Be it resolved, that the Northeast Public Power Association exhorts the New England Delegation of the United States Congress to wholeheartedly support an appropriation of \$807,000 for continued development of the Dickey-Lincoln School project.

RESOLUTION: CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF UTILITY ACTIVITIES

Whereas, about forty years have elapsed since the Congress of the United States has thoroughly reviewed the activities and operations of the privately-owned electric utilities, and

Whereas, there is much evidence that former illegal practices, brought to light in previous investigations, are being resumed under new forms, and

Whereas, there is developing power shortage due to insufficient planning by the private utilities in matters of reliability and power supply, and

Whereas, there are indications of a conspiracy to hamper the healthy growth, or to put out of existence, the consumer-owned plants in the Northeast by activities contrary to the anti-trust laws, and

Whereas, previous Congressional action culminated in the Federal Trade Commission investigations of the 1930's and the Public Utility Holding Act of 1935.

Now therefore be it resolved that the Northeast Public Power Association urge Congressional action to investigate the current activities of the privately-owned electric utilities in the Northeast to determine if they are properly meeting their responsibilities in the public interest and for essential national security, and to determine if further legislation may be necessary to accomplish these ends.

LITTLE LOGIC IN LORTON TRANSFER—SAYS WASHINGTON POST

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 18, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, another voice has been raised against section 501

of the District of Columbia Court Reform and Criminal Procedures Act of 1970—H.R. 16196.

The Washington Post in a recent editorial had this to say about the section that transfers the city workhouse, the juvenile center, and the penitentiary from the city to Federal control:

THE LORTON TRANSFER

There is little logic to the provision of the bill which would make the Lorton prison complex a part of the federal prison system. Lorton has been greatly handicapped by lack of funds for staff and facilities, a weakness that Congress has only recently moved to correct. Its strength is that it is near to the community it must serve and to which its prisoners will return. It is part of a unique correctional system which includes the city jail, the parole organization, and a developing network of halfway houses, work release and narcotics rehabilitation programs.

In spite of its difficulties, Lorton has been able to do a better job of curbing recidivism (the tendency of released criminals to resume a life of crime) than the Federal Bureau of Prisons and a number of highly touted state prison systems.

An imprudent move to split off the police department and place it under congressional control was defeated in committee. The move to split off Lorton similarly should be turned back by the House.

DETROIT RECEIVING HOSPITAL

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, Receiving Hospital in Detroit is one of the great hospitals of this country in the care of emergency cases. A recent article written by John Peterson of the Detroit News uses the words of Dr. Floyd H. Lippa to show the similarities between this hospital and a field hospital in a combat zone. This is an interesting story and it shows, among other things, that Detroit Receiving has a better rate of cure from gunshot wounds to the heart than the highly touted hospital at Houston, Tex.

The article follows:

SURGEON REMINDED OF VIET SERVICE: RECEIVING CALLED COMBAT ZONE

(By John Peterson)

For Dr. Floyd H. Lippa, Vietnam is out of sight but not out of mind.

Memories of that war-stricken land are reinforced continually during the 10-to-12-hour shifts he spends as a Wayne State University assistant professor of surgery at Receiving branch of Detroit General Hospital.

Dr. Lippa, 32, returned from Vietnam last May expecting to enjoy a peaceful respite at a big city hospital—far from the whining rockets and the booming mortars of the Central Highlands.

What he found instead he said, was a situation strikingly similar to the 71st Evacuation Hospital at Pleiku where he was stationed for a year as an Army surgeon.

"At first it was hard to believe," he said. "But I soon came to accept the fact that there is a war going on here every bit as vicious as that in Vietnam."

Receiving could well be dubbed Detroit General War Hospital, he suggested in a recent article in Conception, the monthly

magazine of the Detroit Student Health Organization.

There are differences to be sure, he conceded, but gunshot wounds are basically the same whether they are inflicted in southeast Asia or southeast Michigan.

"In Vietnam," he said, "days and even weeks would go by when there would be few emergency operations. But then there would be months when large-scale enemy offensives would flood the hospital with up to 500 battlefield casualties.

"At Receiving, in a busy month, we handle only about 130 emergency operations but the place still resembles a combat zone hospital."

Why? Dr. Lippa believes one of the major reasons in the difference between emergency room procedures. And he believes Receiving could profit by employing some of the techniques used in Vietnam.

"When emergency operations were required in Vietnam, the normal daily life of the hospital would be interrupted. Emergency rooms were not allowed to be congested with other less serious medical and surgical cases unless all battle casualties were treated. Nurses and doctors stood ready to work 16 hours at a time, if necessary."

Receiving's daily routine, he said, is not brought to a standstill by emergency cases.

"Our emergency room is often cluttered by less seriously ill patients. This sometimes makes conditions virtually unworkable and proper care of the many patients who come here each day more difficult."

Despite overcrowding, Dr. Lippa believes Receiving ranks among the best emergency facilities in the nation.

"It is still the 'place' in the city for care of the trauma patients," he said. "We have a national reputation for being innovative in the care of the shock patient and for treatment of stab and gunshot wounds to the heart."

Recent statistics show that Receiving had a mortality rate of only 15 percent in 26 cases of gunshot wounds to the heart as compared with 35 percent for similar cases in Houston.

Dr. Lippa credited much of Receiving's fine record to the ready availability of well-qualified personnel and the speed with which police transport gunshot victims to the emergency room.

But he believes improvement is needed, and offers these recommendations:

Expansion of emergency space to four times its present size. To function at 100 percent efficiency the emergency room should occupy the entire first floor of the hospital.

More privacy for patients, including separate, soundproof cubicles in the female area so students, interns and residents may take histories and perform examinations without interruption.

Four times as many nurses and orderlies to relieve doctors of routine chores such as starting intravenous feedings, taking blood tests and performing minor sutures.

To accomplish the latter, he suggested, it may be necessary to relax requirements for licensing returned Vietnam medics as paramedical personnel.

And finally, he asserted, the enactment of strong gun control legislation would go a long way toward reducing the heavy volume of gunshot victims Receiving treats each year.

Dr. Lippa, who took his residency in surgery at Receiving before entering the Army, said there is a tremendous difference in trauma patients now as compared with then.

"Six years ago, most of our emergency cases were for stab wounds," he said. "Now the overwhelming majority are gunshot victims. In most cases they were shot by an acquaintance—a friend or relative."

"When people carry guns as part of their everyday life, there is a great temptation to use them. That's probably the main reason our emergency room reminds me so much of Vietnam."

LET US AVOID A NEW WAR

HON. ARNOLD OLSEN

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. OLSEN. Mr. Speaker, if there is any consolation to be derived from the sorry plight in Laos it is that the American people will not now be again dragged unknowingly into another hopeless military fiasco such as Vietnam. The press is keeping the people informed of the events in Laos and, I might add, to a much more illuminating degree than the administration.

The fourth estate was on the job in the early Vietnam years, reporting the simple facts of the transition from advisory status to combat status. However, the people, and perhaps the journalist on the scene, were unable to comprehend the terrifying reality of our Vietnam commitment. Seven long incredible years of hell have made our people chary of future military engagements in that area once known as French Indochina.

I think the Eastern News and Libby Times, published in Libby, Mont., by Paul Verdon, accurately expressed the sentiments of most Montanans in a recent editorial entitled "Let Us Avoid A New War." The Western News pointed out that in 1962 one would have been answered only by incredulity for predicting that the next two Presidents would find their most difficult problem in the war in Vietnam. As improbable as it seems, few people apparently recognized the self-defeating nature of our venture into Vietnam.

Once again we find ourselves poised on the threshold of a still further involvement in Southeast Asia. Are we willing, let alone able, to sacrifice our most precious resource, our young, to a war we will not even be committed to win? The Western News answers that question as well as anyone:

Nixon was elected mainly because most Americans hoped for a new Administration that would find some way to extricate this country from the war in Southeast Asia. The United States public will not accept extension of our involvement into other countries.

The time long ago arrived when the book should have been closed on our military efforts in Vietnam. It is a bad book and there is no demand for any future sequels on Laos, Cambodia or Thailand.

The editorial from the Western News follows:

LET'S AVOID NEW WAR

At the end of John F. Kennedy's first year in the presidency, South Vietnam was a strife torn nation in Asia where several thousand American specialists were trying to train the nationalist government's army to resist the communist attackers from the north.

In 1962, you would have been answered only by incredulity if you had predicted that not only John Kennedy's successor but also the second man to succeed him in the White House would find as his most difficult problem the war in Vietnam. So we wonder if in 1978, the President (whoever he may be) will have to deal not only with an undecided

conflict in Vietnam but also with war in Laos, Thailand, or Cambodia.

The extension of the hostilities into Vietnam's neighbors, and particularly Laos, is following a pattern generally similar to the escalation of the war that now requires an American army of half a million men plus costs approaching \$30 billion annually.

President Nixon last week assured the nation that no American ground troops are involved in Laos. Less than 2,000 Americans are in Laos, the President said. Those who are there are only advisers or pilots who fly the transport planes required to supply the native forces and maintain communications. The President did admit that about 300 American airmen have died in combat in Laos.

So far as we know, Congress has never authorized U.S. involvement in hostilities in Laos. Diplomatic commitments or treaty obligations may make it necessary for us to aid the Laotian government against the North Vietnamese intruders.

A more realistic reason, however, for providing air support to Laotian government troops is protection of our own forces in South Vietnam. If North Vietnamese troops were allowed to advance without restraint through Laos and Cambodia, they would eventually outflank the South Vietnamese and their American allies. Protection of our own people and property in South Vietnam, as long as we are involved in that war, requires that we resist Communist advances in neighboring countries.

As we learned in South Vietnam, it's only a short step from military advice and assistance to participation in actual combat.

If we fly now into Laos, American soldiers may soon follow.

The sequence of events could also take us into Cambodia and Thailand.

Nixon was elected mainly because most Americans hoped for a new administration that would find some way to extricate the country from the war in Southeast Asia. The United States public will not accept extension of our involvement into other countries.

We must stop spilling American blood and expending our material resources in regions where we stand little chance of final victory and where our national security is not directly at stake.

America is learning that it cannot defend the world alone. Unless other nations of the West are willing to share the heavy cost of worldwide policing, America must concentrate on strengthening and defending its homeland and avoid further overseas involvement.

COMPLAINTS ABOUT AUTO REPAIR PROBLEMS

HON. FRANK E. MOSS

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, as we all know, the senior Senator from Michigan (Mr. HART) has had the Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly at work trying to bring down the costs of owning and operating an automobile.

The subcommittee work in auto repairs, auto insurance, and the oil industry has turned up some rather shocking figures about the overspending the consumer may now be forced to make for his transportation.

Senator HART figures that if there were reforms in these three areas, the total potential savings could approach \$20 billion yearly.

The significance of this work is apparent from that one figure. But that the work would be significant is no surprise to those of us who know the thoroughness—as well as the fairness—characteristic of Senator HART's output.

Because so many of us have received complaints about auto repair problems, it seems fitting to have placed in the RECORD Senator HART's proposals for improving this service.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that a speech by Senator HART to the Society of Plastic Engineers on January 19, 1970, be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

THE CONSUMER AND HIS CAR

(Remarks of Senator PHILIP A. HART)

It has come to my attention that the Senate investigation of repair costs is not going to get the auto industry's nomination as "Most Valuable Governmental Contribution of 1969."

But neither will the senior Senator from Michigan declare it "Most Pleasant Experience of 1969."

But, as we draw near the end I am happy for the chance to discuss with you some of the conclusions that seem to make sense—and to ask your help to make another such inquiry unlikely.

As you may know, the auto repair investigation is part of a trio. All are aimed at greasing the free enterprise system so it will deliver a lower-cost transportation system for the consumer.

The other two parts zero in on auto insurance and petroleum.

(As you see, when we think "consumer transportation" we think "auto." On that, score one for the industry that put together a product, production system and sales team that turned a plaything into a necessity in a relatively few years.)

The trio of studies was undertaken because of concern that the total cost of owning a car—both in dollars and frustration—was keeping some consumers out of the market. For others, the hardships were unacceptable.

The problems in the auto insurance area are simple—although I don't expect the solutions to be.

We are trying to give the consumer better odds for getting insurance coverage at a reasonable price—and for keeping it. The problems we uncovered have been extensively reported. So I'm sure you are familiar with those denied insurance because of occupation, marital status, housekeeping or some such arbitrary criteria. Perhaps you have had experience closer to home with policies that were canceled—or not renewed—for no apparent reason. And, unfortunately, any group this size contains those who have been socked with premiums up to the stratosphere for reasons other than a bad driving record.

In a few days all the statements for these hearings will be filed, the exhibit material catalogued and the record closed. Then will come a period of sorting out. In a couple of months, I hope to have ready legislative proposals to make this aspect of owning a car more pleasant.

In the petroleum hearings, we sought to nail down the true cost of government protection programs—such as the import quota—and to determine if they buy the protection promised.

So far we know the cost is high—and the protection is low.

The import quota has cost American consumers \$40 to \$50 billion in higher prices since it started in 1959. Yet it has been a

failure in protecting the national security by assuring a large safe domestic supply of oil. Instead of enlarging our reserves by stimulating exploration and discovery at home, almost coincidental with the imposition of the quota, such indications of domestic activity as new oil found, number of wells started and the number of years' supply began to turn downward.

More meaningful to consumers is the fact that if the quota were eliminated gas at the pump could be five cents a gallon cheaper.

After another set of hearings, we will be ready to make recommendations for a more prudent way to protect our national security—while cutting consumer costs.

Which brings us back to auto repairs—and some tentative conclusions.

While many nuts and bolts need to be adjusted on these ideas, I think it is appropriate to let you take a look now at the broad-brush picture of what we are designing. At this stage you can contribute constructive criticism—which seems far better than having a finished government program later pronounced from on high.

There are two ways to look at the consumer and his car. One is to focus on all the commuters wending their way back and forth on the Ford Expressway daily and decide cars that run prove we have a satisfactory system.

The other is to look at the mail the subcommittee has received the past year or so. The latest figure is about 6,000 complaint letters. Commenting on this, Bob Irvin, auto editor of The Detroit News, noted that television networks estimate one letter equals the views of 1,000 persons. Applying that formula, the 6,000 letters could reflect six million unhappy car owners.

Focusing on the 58 million who didn't write is a poor way of guaranteeing the six million will disappear. More likely that approach would encourage the six to become seven, then eight, then nine or perhaps more millions of discontented.

The result of that isn't good for the industry. And when things aren't good for the industry they aren't good for employment—or Michigan or the nation.

So if we want to ease the problems that have grown up all along the line—from drawing board to service station bay—what do we do?

In problem solving, of course, the first step is to define the problem. This is what the subcommittee has been working on for 18 months.

Consumers put their overall complaint concisely: When the darn thing doesn't work right why can't someone simply tell me what is wrong and fix it—the first time?

Studies showed that this complaint was well-founded. The figures for unsatisfactory repair jobs ranged from 36 to 99 percent. But it was clear that the consumer who got his car fixed right the first try may be just plain lucky.

A second major concern of the consumer was the total cost he encountered in keeping his car operating. Too familiar was the situation where the car was hard to start so the shop replaced the battery. That didn't do it so they replaced the points and plugs. Then the wiring harness. And finally the distributor rotor for only \$1.50—and magically it worked. Many times consumers suspected that if the rotor had been changed in the first place they could have saved \$100 or so.

Other cost complaints zeroed in on the fact that the body of the car needed extensive cosmetic surgery every time bumpers kissed in a parking lot.

Solutions to these consumer complaints seems to require three things:

1. Cars designed to need less repairs—especially crash parts. Seventy-five percent of all collision claims are for \$200 or under.

Yet, in a recently study when cars were run into a wall at five miles an hour—easily parking lot speed—damage ranged from \$134 to \$305 and averaged out to \$200.

2. Cars and systems which make it easier to make more accurate diagnosis of a car's ills. This should raise the batting average for satisfactory repairs.

3. Ways to cut total repair costs.

At this moment I see a four-front attack on these consumer problems.

The fronts are standards, inspection, licensing and training.

Standards: These would be minimum performance standards for both new and used vehicles. They would be established by the Department of Transportation under the Motor Vehicle Safety Act. Standards for new cars would be federally set and federally administered. Standards for used cars would be federally set and administered by both federal and state governments.

Included in the standards, I think, must necessarily be means to more easily use the present—and developing—diagnostic equipment to check on performance. Wouldn't it be great if the consumer could save costs because say the steering mechanism could be checked out by attaching the equipment to one point instead of maybe seven or eight? We know that Pontiac already has designed the Grand Prix so that its electrical system can be checked with one connection at the end of the assembly line. And methods are on the market—but not on all cars—for warning if the brake system is falling below a safe level of performance. One way is a red light that flashes on the dashboard.

Obviously if we are to cut consumer costs by keeping cars out of accidents, not to mention saving lives, the method of checking safety must be simple or inexpensive enough to assure cars on the road are sufficiently safe.

While cars are being designed to be more easily diagnosed for safety factors, I would hope the industry could smooth the way for checking other aspects of the car's performance.

This leads into point two:

Inspection: There are two types of inspection that seem necessary. We need to provide a system of inspection stations with up-to-date diagnostic equipment that can be used for periodic check-ups. This is the best way to assure safety—for the passengers and fellow travelers sharing the road. Also these diagnostic centers could be utilized by consumers who wish to know in advance of going to the shop what shape their car is in.

The inspection stations, I think, should be privately owned. Ideally they should not be tied in with any repair shop. I recognize that in the rural areas of our country that would not always be possible. However, where possible this seems like the best way to get the credibility necessary for any diagnosis made.

A network of diagnostic centers also would increase the likelihood of a consumer getting an accurate diagnosis on his car. Equipping such a center now, I'm told, runs about \$200,000—or about the average investment an auto dealer makes in his entire plant. It would be unrealistic to expect every gas station or alley garage or dealer to have this equipment. Yet the possibility of having the car checked out completely for a few dollars—could save the consumer many needless repairs. A conservative estimate is that today consumers are wasting \$8 to \$10 billion paying for work not needed—or even not done. If the car-owner discovers after diagnosis that the bill might run high he has two choices—opt for replacing the car, or shop around for the best price on the needed repairs. It's tough to shop around now once a garage has your car in pieces all over the floor.

Also needed, I think, is post-crash inspection.

Under this system, any car that suffers damage to safety-related equipment in a crash would be labeled. That car could then not go back on the road until it has passed a safety inspection. There has been much conversation about accidents caused by drivers, bad roads or bad weather. But no statistics are available for those caused by badly repaired cars. Yet if 36 to 99 percent of repairs are incorrectly done now it is reasonable to suspect some of this work ends up in a heap further down the road.

Licensing: The night before we opened our hearings—based on staff investigation—I said here in Detroit that licensing of mechanics seemed a good way to make sure repairs were being done by someone who should be able to do them right. It has been made clear since that licensing of all mechanics may cause more problems than it would solve—such as raising the overall repair bill by prohibiting the use of trainees and apprentices for simpler repair work. So—my quality control having proved imperfect on that idea—I am recalling it.

Therefore, I am now thinking along the lines of licensing of shops, with at least one master mechanic in each. The remaining mechanics could be certified as competent by the automotive industry.

The shops would be required to have equipment capable of doing the work which would be attempted. This requirement, of course, would be less for a service station doing minor jobs than for a dealer offering full-line service.

The master mechanic would be responsible for overseeing—and/or reviewing each job turned out and ascertaining that the work was competently done.

Training: Today we are at least 70,000 mechanics short. And while the vehicle population continues to explode the rate of increase in skilled mechanics is not keeping pace.

Obviously we need a massive training program. And I am happy to report that discussions are underway now between the industry and various governmental departments which could help organize this.

We will have a report on the progress during our final set of hearings in March.

But even a massive training program may not turn up the number of mechanics necessary. That makes other parts of this plan more essential. For given a network of diagnostic centers which can pinpoint the problems scientifically we will be able to use lesser-skilled persons to do some of the repair work.

This might have social benefits far beyond getting consumers' cars repaired more quickly—and better. For it could help cut into the unemployment rate for many of our high school dropouts.

In brief, that is the way thoughts are now running for solutions to the auto repair complaints.

This program isn't expected to deliver utopia. Nor can it be put to work overnight. However, if we get moving in the next few months, I would expect significant progress in three years. The full plan may be implemented by 1975. And I think all four parts are essential. The absence of even one would weaken all.

The best part of these four points is that I think most of them could be accomplished without new federal laws.

But there is a fifth part which is necessary if consumer complaints are to ebb. This one deals with the design of the car—design that will directly effect the frequency of repairs and their costs. This is one where the industry itself, I'm sure, can take the necessary steps and avoid the possibility of the government regulating design with "repair standards".

There is no doubt in my mind that the consumer today is deeply concerned over the fragility of his car. Having laid out anywhere from \$2,000 to perhaps \$9,000 for a beautiful machine he is a little sick to see it a few weeks later looking as if it has been in a bar-room brawl with all the parking-lot nicks and creases. Worse, of course, is the discovery that the cosmetic touches on the front or rear end will cost him \$300 or \$400 to replace when he nudges the car ahead in the traffic jam.

News that some 1971 models will have bumpers that will absorb up to five miles per hour of impact without body damage is a big step in the right direction. Insurance experts told us a bumper which absorbed 12 miles per hour would cut repair bills by 25 percent. That's one-billion dollars worth.

It seems to me that this group is especially equipped to help deliver the consumer a car which will stand up to normal wear and tear.

Plastics could have a great role in providing the beauty that consumers value in their cars without putting too high a price tag on its upkeep.

Clearly in mind is a picture I saw some time ago of a plastic-bodied car that had been crashed headlong into a tree. As we all know, if we did that with our own family buggy the body repair bill alone would total several hundred dollars—not to mention the cost of repairing the machinery under the hood. Yet this plastic job suffered only a six- or eight-inch separation where the right and left body components were glued together. The repair was simple: clear out the debris and re-glue the two pieces. The cost, I presume, would be equally easy to bear.

Maybe plastic bodies do not make sense at this time. I don't know. But I know you do—or you can dream up something that will make sense.

One thing is certain: the consumer and his car isn't today exactly the greatest love affair of the century. Yet he must rely on it in order to conduct his life.

Let's build escape machines—but let's remember that the one thing the consumer wants most to escape from are the frustrations of maintenance.

I know steps will be taken to make the consumer and his car a more pleasant relationship. If the right things are to be done, we need the benefit of your expert advice.

PRESIDENT TORRENCE OF TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, one reads in the newspapers today with all too alarming frequency reports of disorders and disruptions on the campuses of our American colleges and universities. Therefore, it is heartening to read of positive measures which, though less publicized, are being taken to alleviate the causes of unrest through positive means and maintain the equilibrium on the campuses. Recently, I received a letter from Dr. A. P. Torrence, the president of Tennessee State University at Nashville, Tenn., who said in part:

In recent years there has been considerable concern in Tennessee and in the United States generally about unrest and disruption on the campus of universities and colleges.

Over the past few months Tennessee State University has taken positive action to reduce the possibility of disruptive negativism and unrest on our campus. The steps taken include complete administrative re-organization to facilitate policy formulation and communication among the various constituencies of the University; revised committee structure which provides for greater involvement of students, faculty, and staff in policy formulation; updated student regulations which are more specific regarding penalties for disruptive acts. In addition, the President and other administrative officers regularly schedule small group meetings of students and larger group meetings in residence halls.

In addition, President Torrence outlined in his spring convocation address of March 31, 1969, the general thrust of the new policies at Tennessee State University, an address entitled "New Directions at Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University."

Mr. Speaker, I include President Torrence's remarks in the RECORD at this point and commend it to the consideration of my colleagues:

NEW DIRECTIONS AT TENNESSEE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL STATE UNIVERSITY

(By A. P. Torrence)

There is a crucial period in the life of every institution—a time of supreme importance to its continued health, progress, and development; a period when the institution holds its finest potential for success or its greatest potential for failure; when it may ascend or descend, climb up or crawl down, go forward or slide backward. These alternatives constitute ironic paradoxes for any institution and its people.

We at Tennessee State University are charting a course, outlining a path, plotting new directions which hold the potential and, hopefully, will result in great progress and achievement for this institution. I am pleased this morning to talk very briefly about these new directions at our University.

One important new direction is a changing of our thinking about what Tennessee State University is. Conceptually, our University is not to be perceived as a family consisting of parents and children but rather as a community, as may be defined from a sociological point of view and which may have several aspects: (1) It is a population aggregate or a group of people, (2) they inhabit a contiguous territory or a particular area, (3) they are integrated through past experiences, (4) they are conscious of their unity, (5) they are able to act in a corporate capacity, (6) they have some common mode of life, and (7) they live under a common set of laws. There is a real distinction between the concept of a family and that of a community. While both are characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation, the latter is joined voluntarily and formally organized with goals and objectives, while the former is not. The latter, and especially in our situation, considers all as mature, responsible persons while the former does not.

The concept of a community may be applied to a small local group, to a city, state, region, a nation, and sometimes we even speak of a community of nations. Community may be characterized as old or young; rich or poor; business or professional—or academic as in the case of our University. An academic community differs from all others in that its primary concern is with involvement, study, research, reason, and service. An atmosphere of intimidation, violence and disruption should be foreign to the academic community. These means of bringing about change are subordinate in the academic com-

munity to the use of intellect for the same purpose.

All that I have said falls clearly and distinctly within the realm of democratic organization, procedure, and concept. The development of our potential—both as individual members of the community and of the community as a unit—can, must, and will be attained within this concept. This is another new direction.

The type of democratic community of which I speak has three major aspects:

The respect for the personality and dignity of every individual;

The mutual responsibility of the individual and the group, and

Reflective thinking—the free-play of intelligence.

The respect for the personality and dignity of every individual in the community is cardinal. There can be no high and low status at this University except as it relates to academic performance and achievement. Each individual and all segments of the university community are essential for its effective operation and fulfillment. It is in this light that we must deal with one another—courteously, pleasantly and honestly.

The entire university community has a responsibility to each individual in it, and each individual in the group has a responsibility to the community. Through such mutual responsiveness, Tennessee State University can become the supreme enterprise for which it has such great potential.

In solving the problems that confront the University nothing will take the place of reflective thinking and free-play of intelligence. These give strength and power to each individual in the community and to the University as a whole. Thomas Jefferson had the right opinion when he said, "I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion." This is the nature of the University and it has implications for involvement as we look for the best answers to our problems and concerns wherever they may be found on the campus.

In keeping with the new directions discussed here, we are developing an organizational structure to facilitate the efficient formulation of policies. This involves faculty, students, and administrators, as well as the effective communication of university concerns and decisions. We are evaluating our university operations in an effort to identify strengths and weaknesses more precisely as a basis for building and planning programs and activities for the near future. Evaluation is needed in all aspects of the programs and operations of the University—academic policies, rules and regulations; curricula offerings as related to the needs of students and of the society; admissions, placement, and counseling services; faculty strength, effectiveness, and balance; financial needs, fiscal management and allocations; the physical plant and its maintenance and operations. In these and other areas we need and desire the advice and assistance of the faculty, staff, students, and graduates of the University.

Finally, these new directions will result in an academic program which is relevant and of high quality; in the unremitting flow of fresh ideas and new knowledge; in an atmosphere which provides for social growth as well as individual and group awareness; and in a sense of loyalty which is endemic to the academic community. Our new directions will also command the respect and support of the larger community, and most importantly they will provide the opportunity for involvement and reason—the hallmarks of an institution of higher learning.

VETERANS' LIFE INSURANCE
PROGRAM

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Veterans' Affairs has jurisdiction over the question of the various insurance programs operated by the Veterans' Administration. These programs are U.S. Government life insurance, generally available to World War I veterans; the national service life insurance program available to veterans of World War II and some later service; and the servicemen's group life insurance which covers individuals now on active duty in the Armed Forces.

I have received from the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs a letter which I am sure will be of great interest to all policy holders, but particularly those who have policies designated as "J" "JR" and those who have added the TDIP—a total disability income provision to the national service life program. In these groups it has been found possible to reduce the premiums.

I am sure that all individuals affected will be interested in the letter of the Administrator which follows:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., March 17, 1970.

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
Chairman, Veterans' Affairs Committee,
House of Representatives, Washington,
D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: As you know, our veterans' life insurance programs include a continuing actuarial review of the operations. That review indicates that in two areas it is possible at this time to reduce the premiums charged certain veterans.

The first of these is National Service Life Insurance Veterans' Reopened Insurance issued to veterans insurable under good health standards, policy prefix J. It is provided that the premiums charged these veterans may be adjusted at intervals of not less than two years in accordance with experience.

These policies are of permanent plan types and the approximately 164,000 policies in force have accumulated substantial reserves which are currently invested at a rate substantially higher than the 3½% return required as a basis for the premium charged. The increase in earnings will permit a reduction in premiums averaging about 18%. Depending on the age and plan reductions will vary from a low of about 15% to a high of about 20%. There will be a reduction of about \$5,600,000 in the present annual premium income of some \$30,000,000.

An exhibit illustrating the reduction in selected cases is enclosed. Of course it is possible that future claims and investment experience will require future adjustment of these premiums upward or downward.

The law authorizing the Veterans' Reopened Insurance program also provided for the issuance of insurance to veterans who were not insurable under standards of good health in two separate categories. One of these involved health impairments of service-connected origin and the other health impairments of non-service-connected origin. Policies in these categories are prefixed JR and Js respectively. Policy reserves for these categories are invested at the same rate as applies to the reserves for the policies issued according to good health standards. However,

these extra earnings are being used to offset the mortality losses in these groups. As soon as the losses have been fully liquidated premiums on these policies will be adjusted to reflect their experience.

The second area is in the National Service Life Insurance program Total Disability Income Provision. This optional coverage authorized under 38 USC 715 is available at such extra premium as may be prescribed.

We have found that experience on this coverage in connection with 5-year level premium term insurance policies, with one exception, indicates that premiums can be reduced. As a result, I am approving a reduction averaging 35% in these premiums.

The reduction will apply to practically all income provisions attached to World War II type term policies, prefix V and those attached to Korean type term policies, prefixes RS and W. A small number of income provisions (approximately 1,250) were issued after World War II based on a waiver of service incurred disabilities. Because of unfavorable claims experience arising from the waived disabilities no reduction can be made in these premiums.

Three types of Total Disability Income Provision are included. These are the provisions protecting to age 60 with the original \$5.00 per \$1,000 benefit and the later \$10.00 benefit as well as the current provision with a \$10.00 benefit protecting to the 65th birthday. Insureds 55 and over with the current provision will not receive a reduction because their premiums were calculated on a basis different than that for ages under 55.

I am enclosing an exhibit illustrating the reduction which will be made in selected representative cases. It is estimated that the reduction will reduce the premium outlay of the 420,000 affected veterans by \$4 million annually.

The reductions will be made effective early in the coming fiscal year. The effective month will be determined by the lead time needed to change the records of the approximately 600,000 veterans involved, print the necessary notices, and take other required steps.

Sincerely,

DONALD E. JOHNSON,
Administrator.

VETERANS REOPENED INSURANCE PROGRAM "J" SEGMENT—
COMPARISON OF PRESENT AND PROPOSED REDUCED
PREMIUM RATES FOR \$10,000 INSURANCE

Plan and issue age	Present annual premium	Proposed reduced annual premium
Ordinary life:		
35	\$144.36	\$117.16
45	228.26	186.86
55	373.56	310.96
Modified life:		
35	105.36	86.46
45	160.86	133.76
55	243.56	208.16
20-payment life:		
35	206.96	166.76
45	293.16	238.86
55	432.56	359.36
Endowment at 65:		
35	222.36	179.76
45	401.86	326.26
55	936.96	763.36

NATIONAL SERVICE LIFE INSURANCE TOTAL DISABILITY
INCOME PROVISION—COMPARISON OF PRESENT AND
PROPOSED REDUCED PREMIUM RATES FOR \$100 PER
MONTH TDIP BENEFIT ON 5-YEAR TERM POLICIES

Age at last renewal	Present annual premium	Proposed reduced annual premium
35	\$14.20	\$9.50
40	18.90	11.80
45	33.10	21.30
50	63.90	42.60

A JOINT RESOLUTION INTRODUCED
BY HON. DAVE MARTIN

HON. DAVE MARTIN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution to provide that no individual may be seated as a Representative after attaining the age of 70, and as a Senator after attaining the age of 69.

Retirement is required of civil service employees and also of the military at a certain age. Private industry also follows this same line of action and requires its executives to retire at a certain age. I feel that this rule should also be applied to Members of Congress.

At the present time, there are only 22 House Members who are over age 70, and only 13 in the other body.

My joint resolution provides that no individual may begin a term of office as a Representative if he has attained the age of 70, or the age of 69 for a Senator. Since House Members have 2-year terms, this means that someone who was seated at age 69 would then fill out his term and actually retire at age 71. A Member of the Senate could be seated up through the age of 68, and with a 6-year term, would then be retiring at age 74.

There is a great deal of sentiment of approval throughout the country for mandatory retirement of Members of Congress, and I see no reason why it should not apply to us, as well as others engaged in different areas of work.

A BILL TO PROVIDE A SAVINGS
INCENTIVE PLAN FOR PARENTS

HON. THOMAS J. MESKILL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. MESKILL. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to provide a savings incentive plan for parents to help them to meet the costs of their children's higher education.

The rising costs of higher education can no longer be ignored. Higher costs for room and board, tuition, and related fees have already deprived some gifted and talented children from advancing their education. If the present trend continues, more and more families will find financing a college education an intolerable burden.

As the costs of a higher education have skyrocketed, the demand for a college education has increased. More and more, students, as they graduate from high school, are enrolling in our institutions of higher learning. Increasingly our society demands that they do so. Our society has become so sophisticated that a college education has almost become a necessity.

The U.S. Census Bureau estimates that the present college enrollment of about

5.5 million will more than double by 1985 to 11.5 million. The capital expenditures that will be required to accommodate this expansion will press both public and private institutions of higher learning to their fullest capacities. The financing problems already faced by institutions of higher education will be compounded.

The picture for the years ahead is not rosy. State and local governments will be expected to contribute an increasing share for the maintenance and expansion of facilities of higher education. The Federal Government, undoubtedly, will be called upon to share the burden.

But present Federal programs to meet the costs of college education are sorely inadequate. What programs do exist are channeled to meet the needs of low-income groups.

Two of the four basic Federal student aid programs offer direct financial assistance. These are the educational opportunity grants program and the college work study program. Generally speaking, however, these two programs are only available to students in extreme financial need.

The other two programs—the national defense student loans and the guaranteed loans—merely put off the cost of attending college until the student can afford to assume the responsibility himself. A student who participates in either of these programs has to begin his career already \$8,000 to \$15,000 in debt.

New legislation is needed.

Most solutions that have been advanced have called for huge expenditures of public funds. These proposals have been considered unrealistic and have received precious little in the way of support. Few, however, dispute that something must be done.

The bill I am introducing today is unique because it places the responsibility for financing higher education with the families themselves. Through a system of incentives, it is designed to encourage families to plan to meet the cost of their children's education.

The bill is written to permit parents to set aside tax-deductible funds to be placed in a special education fund to pay the costs of their children's college education.

The legislation has been modeled after the Keogh Act, which permits self-employed persons to plan for their retirement by annually setting aside tax-deductible funds.

The legislation I propose today would permit parent-taxpayers to accumulate educational funds in trusts, insurance or annuity contracts, custodial accounts with banks, nontransferable face amount certificates, and/or Government bonds.

The bill sets annual contribution limits at the lesser of \$500 per qualified beneficiary, 10 percent of the contributing taxpayer's adjusted gross income or \$2,500. A deduction would be allowed only for contributions to a qualified fund.

Allowable contributions have been determined by taking into account the estimated future costs of higher education, but limiting the amount of such allowable contributions so as to avoid an unreasonable or unjustified burden upon the economy.

A qualified fund would be a fund established by the contributing taxpayer pursuant to a written plan solely for the purpose of defraying the cost of room, board and tuition at an institution of higher education for one or more qualified beneficiaries.

Each plan would, at its inception and at all times thereafter, require a specified beneficiary or beneficiaries. If a beneficiary should cease to be a beneficiary of the plan, and if there were then no remaining beneficiaries under the plan, the taxpayer would have a specified period—120 days—in which to designate an alternate beneficiary, or beneficiaries. In such a case, the alternate beneficiary could be a son or daughter of the taxpayer, or a descendant of either; a stepson or stepdaughter of the taxpayer; a brother, sister, stepbrother, or stepsister of the taxpayer or a son or daughter of a brother or sister of the taxpayer. However, only contributions to a fund having a beneficiary who is a child of the taxpayer and who: First, has not attained the age of 19 at the close of the calendar year in which the taxable year of the taxpayer begins, second, is a student, are deductible from the taxpayer's gross income. If at the end of the specified period no such beneficiary had been designated, the accumulated fund would be required to be distributed to the taxpayer and reported by him as ordinary income within a specified number of years. The taxpayer would at any time have the option to change a beneficiary or include additional beneficiaries.

The bill specifically requires that distribution of the fund commence within 5 years of graduation or separation from a secondary school, and be completed within 10 years of the same date. In the event it is necessary to designate an alternate beneficiary, distribution of the fund must be completed within 10 years of the date of designation of the alternate beneficiary. Distribution of the fund to a qualified beneficiary for the qualified purpose would be tax free. These time-spans were chosen to allow for service in the Armed Forces, 4 years of undergraduate study, and some graduate work.

If distribution of the fund is not commenced or completed as aforesaid, then the proceeds of the fund, or the remaining proceeds, would revert to the taxpayer within a certain specified number of years and be taxed to him as ordinary income as received. If the proceeds of the fund revert to the taxpayer as a result of unauthorized use of the fund, the taxpayer would include twice the amount of the fund proceeds in his income. The taxpayer would have the option to take the payout in lump sum or over a 5-year spread as in the Keogh Act, that is, including, annually, one-fifth of the total fund in his income over a period of 5 years. Should the taxpayer predecease the date of distribution of the fund and without making testamentary disposition to the contrary, the assets of the fund at the date of his death would revert to the taxpayer's estate within a period not to exceed a specified number of years.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that this bill offers the most realistic approach to the problem of financing higher education

costs. The most attractive feature of the bill is that it relies on incentives rather than direct subsidies.

Presently, we have no law which encourages savings for education. With this incentive, it is more likely that parents will put aside a portion of their income on a regular basis to finance the costs of their children's advanced education.

Unless we devise an incentive program to encourage families to plan for the funding of their children's higher education, the public will have to bear these costs in the form of increased taxes.

Currently, we are attempting to keep the lid on inflation by controlling expenditures. It would be unrealistic to expect the Federal Government to be able to finance enormous subsidies to higher education at this time.

The savings incentive plan I have proposed would be particularly helpful to middle-income groups who are unable to benefit from the scholarship programs and the student aid programs mentioned earlier which are oriented toward providing financial assistance to low-income families. This bill is unique, however, in that it makes provision for partial aid to middle-income families to help them to meet their children's higher education expenses.

The legislation encourages planning to insure that the funds for higher education are there when they are needed. By participating in this program, parents would in effect be developing an educational foundation for their children.

Mr. Speaker, unless we take bold action to meet this need we will find that many of our gifted children will not have the opportunity to advance their education. The plan I have proposed here today balances the responsibility of parents to provide their children with advanced educational opportunity with the responsibility of Government to foster and encourage education.

SENATOR SMITH OF MAINE

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of my colleagues a recent newspaper column which says a great deal about the people of my State, and the distinguished and charming senior Senator from my State, Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH has represented Maine in the Congress for 33 years, years in which she had won the firm support of most of my State's citizens, and certainly the esteem and respect of all. For those many individuals who have come to know her direct manner, her candid approach to issues, and her soft but incisive speech, there is no doubt but that the lady is from Maine.

With special appreciation to the Senator for the long and continued service which she gives to my State and our Nation, I insert into the RECORD Mr. William

Caldwell's "Downstreet" column which appeared in the Maine Sunday Telegram on March 15, 1970:

SMITH OF MAINE
(By William Caldwell)

WASHINGTON.—Six false starts to this column stare up at me, crumpled and accusatory, from the waste basket. They all fudge what I really feel.

So on this seventh try, I'll say straight out what I think, and what you'd find out by the end of this column anyway.

I think Margaret Chase Smith is the most direct and fascinating woman I know; and that she is the most unique and amazing senator I have ever met.

And, one way and another, I've met a lot of both over the years.

I say this out loud and clear today because I just spent an hour closeted with Senator Smith in her Washington office. And I have never seen her looking better. And I have never heard her speak more directly and frankly and informatively about the political and military scene in the nation and the affairs of Maine. Somehow that major surgery on her hip seems to have speeded her up instead of slowing her down.

Part of our conversation was taped; and that part of the interview appears on this page today. But I wish you could have been sitting in her office with me, so you could have heard the crisp, downeast incisiveness of her voice, seen the liveliness of her vivid blue eyes, listened to the inflexions of humor and annoyance and seriousness in her expressions. It would have done your heart good.

Maine people do not need to be "sold" on Margaret Chase Smith. Maine people have been sending her back to Washington again and again. She has represented us in the House and the Senate for 33 years! That in itself speaks volumes. I don't believe any woman has ever before in U.S. history represented her people so long, nor been held so steadfastly in their affections.

Yet the United States Senate is very much a man's club. It is a club where the nation's most serious business is done in closed sessions behind committee doors, or in the privacy of a senator's office.

The Senate is a club where long term membership, long term friendships, long term exchanges of confidences and long term exchanges of help given and help received count far more than flashy brilliance in floor debate. A senator who may spellbind the public in packed auditoriums, or who makes TV programs and newspaper headlines with provocative punch lines, is not necessarily a senator who cuts the mustard with other senators or whose advice is sought by the Man in the White House.

I recount all this because this is the background against which Margaret Chase Smith operates and must be measured. It is a masculine background which might be an insurmountable handicap to any lady, especially a lady who once had been a telephone operator in Skowhegan, Maine.

In some magic way, Senator Smith of Maine stays wholly feminine, yet cuts the mustard in the man's world of the Senate. And in the man's world of the oval office of the President, she is sought out by the Man in the White House—whatever he is, (Presidents Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and now Richard Nixon have each and everyone paid their own court to the lady from Maine).

How does she do it?

I will hazard these guesses . . . First, she does her homework. And the homework for someone on the Armed Forces, the Appropriations and the Space Committees is immense!

As a result Sen. Smith knows whereof she talks before she opens her mouth. Among Senators—let alone ladies—this is a rare quality, much respected. Second, when Sen. Smith speaks in the Senate, or at the White House, she keeps it short. Her talk is all meat and no fat. In Washington this rarity also commands attention. Third, Senator Smith goes for the jugular. That is not a lady-like way of expressing what Sen. Smith does in a very lady-like way. With a rose at her shoulder, her silver hair genteely in place, her voice modulated but delightfully from Maine, Senator Smith sometimes makes Admirals and Generals knock at the knees, makes Cabinet officers quake, makes budget directors triple-check their figures. She does this with no malice, but by going bluntly to the heart of the matter at hand, without wrapping her thrust in cotton wool.

I have been privileged to see letters which the senior Senator from Maine has sent in the past to Secretaries of Defense. They are scorches. And they get action—inside 24 hours.

Why? Why do her suggestions, questions, requests stir up action? The answer is power. Senator Smith, demure in blue dress, standing a dainty five feet tall, wields immense power in the United States Senate. A whisper from the lady from Maine can be as strong as the next man's hurricane.

Wasn't it Senator Smith whose whisper started the fall of the ranting Senator Joe McCarthy? Wasn't it Senator Smith's whisper which almost killed the ABM? Wasn't it Senator Smith's whisper which last month killed the appointment of a new Selective Service Director over the President's bold voice?

The senior senator from Maine uses power sparingly, and often out of public view. But woe betide the person who thinks the power is not there because it is not flaunted! Never has Senator Smith's power been more potent.

Witness the fact it will be Senator Smith who introduces President Nixon's bill to create a volunteer instead of a draft army . . . that it will be Senator Smith's vote which may determine the fate of stage two of the ABM. And it will be Senator Smith of Maine who will become the powerful chairman of the powerful Armed Forces Committee, if the Republicans win in November. Then, her voice will be the voice most listened to in regard to the nation's vastest expenditures. Her's may be the most influential, though soft, voice determining the defenses of the world's most powerful military system.

Margaret Smith speaks softly but incisively, behind her tidy desk in her unpretentious, uncluttered office. Her calendar this day has 17 appointments listed—beginning at 7 a.m. They range from the President at 8:30 a.m. on through to delegations from Maine plumbers and heating contractors at 4 p.m. Behind her lie 33 years of arduous work in the hub of power. Yet today she looks well and vigorous enough for 33 years more.

"Smith of Maine" . . . three words that speak volumes.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT—PART II

HON. HAMILTON FISH, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, the Preparatory Committee for the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment

is currently meeting at the United Nations in New York City working on the agenda for this important conference to be held in Stockholm in 1972.

Christian A. Herter, Jr., chief delegate from the United States to the 27-nation preparatory committee, on March 11, 1970, addressed the group stating the U.S. position.

Mr. Herter properly recited congressional policy, contained in the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, which authorizes agencies of the Federal Government to support "programs designed to maximize international cooperation in anticipating and preventing a decline in the quality of mankind's world environment."

Commenting on the importance of the global character of the coming Stockholm Conference the U.S. delegate noted that national disasters do not respect geographical boundaries. It is noteworthy that the American position stressed the importance of education to achieve the necessary governmental positive action to deal with the world's environmental problems. The advancement of information, knowledge, and experience clearly should be a major aspect of the conference.

Mr. Herter called on the preparatory committee to bear in mind four fundamental considerations. He points out that there must be continuing economic progress, but one in which man cooperates with nature. The role of the social behavioral sciences should not be overlooked. Environmental education at an early age, leading to scientific and managerial competence should get a high priority. Lastly, we are reminded of the fundamental truism that "no comprehensive understanding of environmental change can ignore the effects of a constantly growing population."

As a member of the U.S. delegation, along with Congressman MILLER, I am pleased to insert the speech by Mr. Herter in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues:

STATEMENT BY CHRISTIAN A. HERTER, JR., SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS, IN THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE CONFERENCE ON HUMAN ENVIRONMENT, MARCH 11, 1970

At the outset the Delegation of the United States wishes to say how very pleased it is by the selection, made by members of the Preparatory Committee, of officers to preside over the affairs of this Committee. We extend our heartiest congratulations to Ambassador Johnson of Jamaica, who is serving as Chairman, to Messrs. Hoveyda, Lacko and Mwaanga, elected as Vice-Chairmen, and to Mr. Billner, our Rapporteur. The leadership and efficiency of this bureau, as we all know, will make a substantial difference in the success of our efforts in the Preparatory Committee. We also wish to congratulate the Secretary General on his excellent opening statement.

I

The U.S. Delegation would like to stress the importance our government places on the deliberations of the Stockholm Conference, and on the growing international movement in which it holds such an important place—the movement to enhance the quality of man's earthly environment.

In September of 1969, President Nixon in his address to the 24th session of the General Assembly pledged "the strongest support of the United States for [the Conference that the United Nations already is planning on the environment for 1972]." The President continued by saying "I hope that even before then we can launch new national and international initiatives toward restoring the balance of nature and maintaining our world as a healthy and hospitable place for man." And in this same fashion, Ambassador James Russell Wiggins, then American Representative to the United Nations, expressed the view in December of 1968: "Indeed, let us all hope that governments will not wait for the Conference of 1972 before taking energetic action to relieve and repair the wounds we have inflicted on nature and on ourselves."

We are pleased to report, Mr. Chairman, that as a government we have not let the time go by, on either the national or international front. The first piece of legislation signed by President Nixon in 1970 is entitled the "National Environmental Policy Act of 1969." Under the terms of this law, the Congress of the United States, inter alia, authorizes and directs that to the fullest extent possible "all agencies of the Federal Government shall . . . (E) recognize the worldwide and long-range character of environmental problems and, where consistent with the foreign policy of the United States, lend appropriate support to initiatives, resolutions, and programs designed to maximize international cooperation in anticipating and preventing a decline in the quality of mankind's world environment . . ." The legislation also provides for the creation, in the Executive Office of the President, of a three-man Council on Environmental Quality, analogous to the President's Council of Economic Advisors. The Council on Environmental Quality, with a staff and money, is the President's arm in seeing to it that the policies of the basic legislation are carried out, and it serves as a central coordinating point for all domestic federal activities in the field of environment.

Realizing full well that the United States cannot effectively participate in international conferences on environmental problems without beginning to put its own house in order, President Nixon, on February 10 of this year, submitted a message to the Congress—the first in our history to be devoted exclusively to the subject of the environment—in which he advocates a comprehensive 37-point program, embracing legislative proposals and administrative action in the fields of water pollution control, air pollution control, solid waste management, park lands and public recreation and "organizing for action."

Again, in the international field, the Secretary of State, fully aware that environmental problems transcend national borders, established, a little over a month ago within the State Department, an Office of Environmental Affairs, to be directed by his Special Assistant. I, sir, have the honor of addressing you from that position. One of the major functions of this new office is to coordinate the international environmental activities of the federal government, so that in this field the United States speaks with one voice abroad.

II

The delegation of the United States would next like to make those observations designed to help put the 1972 Stockholm Conference in perspective.

First, we would suggest that this Conference is a highly visible and significant benchmark on a road that has already been travelled and will be travelled long after 1972. This Committee, and indeed, the General Assembly, are not the first bodies to be seized with the problems of the environment nor will they be the last. We would remark in passing on the excellent work already being

undertaken by certain regional organizations such as the Economic Commission for Europe, and on the expertise that is being developed in this broad field by many of the specialized agencies of the United Nations. We would also draw your attention to the highly valuable research being undertaken by such international non-governmental organizations as the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU), the International Biological Program (IBP), etc.

Secondly, we would suggest that the unique feature of the Stockholm Conference is its global character—the first such world conference on the environment in history. This means not only attendance from all regions of the world; it means also that the problems with which we will be dealing are of global concern, regardless of the social, economic, or political philosophy of individual countries or their level of economic development. This world of ours is one biosphere and changes brought about in this atmosphere, whether by natural courses or by man's intervention, are by-and-large not limited to specific geographic areas. For example, a devastating hurricane or typhoon or a sustained period of drought do not respect ideological or geographic boundaries. Yet man by 1972 may be able to predict global weather patterns two weeks in advance, a venture which will require the active participation and cooperation of virtually every country in the world. Equally, the people of many countries represented in this body are heavily dependent on the continued ability of the oceans to support life. In certain parts of the world, this invaluable resource is being depleted, or is even disappearing. Man's own avarice must bear part of the responsibility; his indifference, in permitting indiscriminate pollution of the air, the estuaries of the world and the ocean, bears another part of the responsibility.

Thirdly, we would observe hopefully that at the 1972 Conference government representatives and political leaders, as well as scientists and technical experts, will attend and be involved from the outset. If the 1972 Conference is to result in positive action, it must be recognized that it is only through educating and persuading the body politic that necessary governmental actions can be undertaken.

III

Bearing in mind these broad elements or perspectives, we would now like to make some comments on the content of the program that will be recommended by this body to the General Assembly for the Stockholm Conference. At the outset we wish to compliment the distinguished representative from Sweden for his very excellent opening statement and for the precision and clarity with which he has outlined the major considerations.

We agree with the Swedish representative that the "problems that we deal with should be urgent and require immediate action." To this we would only add two comments. First, we need some method of determining priorities of urgency. For this purpose we might consider, for example, seeking the advice of some eminently qualified scientific organization, such as the International Council of Scientific Unions.

Second, we believe this criterion of urgency should not exclude exchanges of information, knowledge and experience on aspects of the environment on which, even in 1972, we will probably still know too little to mount action programs. Such exchanges should be a major aspect of the Stockholm Conference. It is through them that we shall identify, and enable ourselves to take timely action on, the environmental challenges of the long future.

We would also agree with the recommendation of the representative from Sweden that the ongoing efforts of international organizations, governmental and non-

governmental, must be taken into strict account. We recommend that they be coordinated and given direction. There is a natural and very troublesome tendency for many multinational organizations to feel they are the first body to have heard of the problems of the environment and that they have the only capacity extant to contribute solutions to environmental problems. Not unlike the wild animals which we seek to preserve and conserve, some organizations seem to believe in what has been called the "territorial imperative." This Delegation feels very strongly that the overlap of activity, even among agencies within the United Nations family, is rapidly approaching the unacceptable.

In sum, and to refer once again to the admonitions of the Swedish Ambassador, the program for the 1972 Conference must be manageable in scope and focus.

IV

Mr. Chairman, by way of conclusion, it is the view of my Delegation that throughout the next two years of preparation and at the Stockholm Conference itself, certain fundamental considerations should constantly be borne in mind by all of us.

First, the management of the environment, a vital skill of itself, must allow for continuing economic progress while minimizing environmental degradation and pollution.

Second, man's relation to his environment is a very complicated one, and cannot be expressed purely in physical terms. The role of the social and behavioral scientists has not, in our judgment, received sufficient attention in the effort to appraise the totality of the impact of environment on man.

Third, "environmental" education, whether or not interdisciplinary, must commence at the earliest possible age. As has been noted, the problems which are the subject of our deliberations will be with us a long time, perhaps with increasing urgency as the years go by. Nothing, therefore, could be of greater importance than to start now with training for future competence—scientific and managerial—in this field, and with developing broad public understanding. We would welcome a continuing exchange of information and experience from countries who have begun or are beginning to develop school and university curricula in "environmental" education.

Fourth, no comprehensive understanding of environmental change can ignore the effects of a constantly growing population and its tendency to concentrate in large cities.

Last, and perhaps most important, ways and means must go forward to "accentuate the positive." We should not see our task merely as that of staving off disaster—although disaster would certainly overtake us if we did nothing; we should rather seize the affirmative opportunity to enhance the quality of life for man.

JOAN ELLEN RZESZUTEK RECEIVES VFW VOICE OF DEMOCRACY AWARD

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, Miss Joan Ellen Rzeszutek, of Newark, and a senior at Our Lady of Good Counsel High School, recently submitted the winning essay in the Voice of Democracy contest sponsored by the Fourth District, Veterans of Foreign Wars. Her essay, "Free-

dom's Challenge," is thoughtful and I am pleased to bring it to your attention, as follows:

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE
(By Joan Rzeszutek)

What is Freedom's Challenge? To be honest, when I first saw the words "Freedom's Challenge," sounds of stirring patriotic speeches delivered by prominent statesmen came to my mind. How could I write or speak like that? Seemingly defeated already, I sat down to think. My thoughts on freedom were of liberated slaves from Civil War times and escapees from concentration camps. Both of these I had learned about in school. My thoughts on the word challenge were of soldiers in combat and demonstrators in protest. Both of these I had learned about in life.

Then the realization came to me that I have never personally been involved in a challenge to my freedom because I live in the United States of America. My religious, educational, and personal rights were given to me as birthrights. When I was old enough to earn a living I chose a job according to my individual preferences. I'm free! I've always been free. So where is there a challenge?

I took a long, hard look around me and saw how misinterpreted this word freedom has become. Permissiveness is our era's substitute. This new "freedom" has made common such sights as pornographic entertainment, draft dodging, and the downgrading of human dignity. Society is spoiled. And I am not ashamed to admit that much of "society" in America is young people. Never having learned to appreciate freedom by being deprived of it, we must search for its appreciable qualities. That is the challenge.

All Americans must work to preserve the freedom we have enjoyed for generations not so much from a foreign enemy as from ourselves. It is our responsibility to see that laws are enforced for the cause of freedom. Someone might say, "Laws! How can you speak of laws and freedom in the same sentence?" Well, when we get to the point where everyone does as he pleases and pardons his actions that hurt others by salving his conscience, then we are off freedom's trail. Human beings want order. They want peace with their neighbor. And they want freedom. From these desires spring laws. That's the way life is. Even as children we cry out for discipline if we get none.

And right here is a good place to begin. With our children. Parents along with the schools must instill into their children the need to value the necessary intangible elements of life. Teach them by example.

Now that the challenge has been presented, will we accept it or not? Shall we let our high grade freedom fall to low grade permissiveness? Many speak and write as I have done. Only time will tell if we have acted according to these words. The challenge is ours.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE POSTMASTER GENERAL SHARE THE BLAME FOR THE POSTAL STRIKE

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, the New York metropolitan area is besieged by a postal strike threatening its economy and stagnating the principal means of communication for over 10 million people. If it continues, it will paralyze the whole country and severely cripple the entire Nation's economy. The strike is illegal and it cannot be condoned. But, while we

criticize the postal workers for not honoring the Federal injunction, we must be realistic in analyzing the seeds of discontent that have finally erupted, and we must place much of the blame for this staggering problem where it belongs—with the President and the Postmaster General.

For too long the postal workers have been asked to be patient. And for too long the Postmaster General and the President have sat behind their desks ignoring the warnings of the postal leaders that their men were fed up and were going to strike.

Postal workers in New York City are grossly underpaid. Salaries now range from \$6,176 to \$8,442. There are those on welfare who receive more money than a newly hired postal employee, and there are New York City postal employees whose income is so low that they are eligible for welfare and in fact are receiving benefits. Furthermore, the 21-year veteran postal worker is still making \$1,000 less a year than the newly hired city fireman or the transit worker employed at \$10,000. It is unconscionable for the Government to ask its postal employees to accept such low salaries in a city where \$6,771 provides only a "low moderate" income for a family of four.

But, instead of working to increase postal pay levels, the President in fact has recommended that the pay increase scheduled in July for all Federal employees, including postal workers, be postponed until January of next year. Furthermore, he indicated in his budget message that he would veto any pay increase measure that was submitted to him without being coupled with postal reform.

Is General Blount in New York City now meeting with the postal employees and seeking a way out of this morass? No. He sits in his rosewood paneled office twiddling his thumbs while the city of New York burns.

On March 10, 17 members of the New York City congressional delegation wrote to Postmaster General Blount urging that he immediately request from the Civil Service Commission authority to provide interim upward adjustment of salaries for new postal employees in New York City to alleviate the serious recruiting and retention problems now facing the postal system in that area. Currently, the New York City post office has more than 900 unfilled vacancies because of the difficulty in attracting employees—all of which makes the work more difficult for those already overburdened and underpaid employees who stay.

The President and Postmaster General's continued inaction on this problem—like so many other problems—as a means for saving money will in the long run cost the people of the New York metropolitan area hundreds of millions of dollars. What is being done on the executive level is surely not good administration, but rather a crass lack of concern for human values as well as economic considerations.

The Congress too is not without blame. We have taken too long in reaching an agreement on the pay raise/reform bill. We must move quickly in passing this legislation.

I urge, however, that the Postmaster

General and Civil Service Commission, act immediately to provide those increases in postal pay that are available under title V, section 5303 of the United States Code as an interim measure, until we are able to enact a fair postal pay raise, so as to demonstrate the Government's good intentions in meeting its obligation to give the country's postal workers the standard of living that they and their families deserve.

ENVIRONMENTAL BILL OF RIGHTS

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, the deep concern of millions of Americans about the hazards to the human environment that have resulted from our country's vast growth in technology, industry, population, and affluence, is rapidly developing into a national war against pollution.

Battles against pollution are already being waged below the Federal level, and I am glad to note that the State of Massachusetts—an area with a heritage of fresh and beautiful waters, the home of Thoreau and Walden Pond—is in the forefront of this attack.

Gov. Francis Sargent has taken a strong position on the front lines by proposing an environmental bill of rights which would become part of the constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. This constitutional amendment would guarantee the rights of all citizens to clean air, land, and water. It affirms the "right of the people to a healthy, clean, and esthetically pleasing environment, and to the conservation and protection of the natural resources of the Commonwealth," and imposes upon the Governor, the general court, and every government agency "an affirmative duty to protect that right," and assures every citizen access to the courts to enforce these guarantees.

It is with great pride in the strong role that my home State has taken to preserve and protect the quality of its environment that I present here, for the attention of my colleagues, Governor Sargent's proposal and his accompanying message to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,

State House, Boston, March 2, 1970.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives:

A clean and health environment should be a fundamental constitutional right, just as basic as the right to freedom of speech. Within the framework of our law, we must guarantee and affirm that right. The constitutional amendment submitted with this message does so.

This amendment declares that "the people have a right to a healthy, clean and esthetically pleasing environment." It does not stop there, however. It imposes upon the Governor, the General Court, and every governmental agency within the Commonwealth an affirmative duty to protect that right. And it specifically grants to every citizen access to the courts to enforce these guarantees.

The amendment achieves two other key purposes. First, it establishes that publicly owned parks, recreation areas, forest and watershed lands, great ponds and similar areas cannot be diverted to an inconsistent use except by a two-thirds vote of each House of the Legislature. This extends previous court decisions on this question. Second, the amendment will permit special tax treatment for agricultural and open space lands. Such a provision is necessary to encourage the preservation of these lands for conservation purposes.

The need for such an amendment is widely recognized. I urge your approval of the accompanying proposal.

Respectfully submitted.

FRANCIS W. SARGENT,
Acting Governor.

PROPOSAL FOR A LEGISLATIVE AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

(Relative to the right of the people to a healthy, clean, and esthetically pleasing environment and to the conservation and protection of the natural resources of the Commonwealth)

A majority of all the members elected to the Senate and House of Representatives, in joint session, hereby declares it to be expedient to alter the Constitution by the adoption of the following Article of Amendment, to the end that it may become a part of the Constitution [if similarly agreed to in a joint session of the next General Court and approved by the people at the state election next following]:

ARTICLE OF AMENDMENT

Article XLI and Article XLIX of the amendments of the constitution are hereby annulled and the following is adopted in place thereof:—The people have a right to a healthy, clean and esthetically pleasing environment. The general court, the governor, and all instrumentalities of government within the commonwealth shall make adequate provision for the protection, conservation, and improvement of the air, water, land, wildlife, and the scenic and historic resources of the commonwealth. It shall be the right of any person to enforce by legal and equitable action the rights and responsibilities set forth in this amendment.

The general court shall have the power to provide for the taking, upon payment of just compensation therefor, of lands and easements or interests therein, including water and mineral rights, for the purpose of securing and promoting the proper conservation, development, utilization and control thereof and to enact legislation necessary or expedient therefor and may prescribe for forest, agricultural and open space lands such methods of taxation as will provide for the conservation of those resources.

Park, conservation, recreation, forest and watershed lands, and wetlands, tidelands, great ponds and kindred areas in public ownership shall not be taken or diverted to an inconsistent use except by the enactment, by a two-thirds majority vote of each house, of a special act of the general court which clearly describes the land, its existing public use and new use.

MRS. IRENE ARNING HONORED BY AMERICAN NURSES ASSOCIATION

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, the American Nurses Association has singled out

Mrs. Irene Arning, of Taylor, Tex., as one of the finalists from 39 States in a nationwide search for talent, dedication, and professional competence.

For more than 20 years, Mrs. Arning has devoted her energies as a school and public health nurse in Williamson County. She is typical of the devoted professional who gives unselfishly of herself for years and years with no thought of personal recognition.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to honor this woman by reprinting her story in the RECORD. The following news article is from the competent and picturesque Taylor Daily Press of March 9:

TAYLOR NURSE HONORED FOR OUTSTANDING WORK

A Taylor nurse, concerned with improving the quality of life in Texas, was honored today by the American Nurses' Association (ANA) for making an outstanding contribution to this community.

The ANA announced that Mrs. Irene L. Arning has been selected to represent Texas as one of the finalists from 39 states in a nationwide BE-Involved Nurse Search. Honors went to registered nurses who have been actively participating in raising the level of social or health services in their communities.

Mrs. Arning was nominated by the Texas State Nurses Association in Houston.

If selected as the national winner among the 39 state finalists, she will be eligible for a \$2,000 award from Schering Corporation, an international pharmaceutical company. One-half of this award would be contributed by her to a Taylor community project in which she is involved.

Mrs. Arning, a school and public health nurse in East Williamson County and Taylor for more than 20 years, has been active in promoting community health through community education.

Since May 1969, she has presented 41 films and talks to schools, churches and civic groups in Taylor concerning drug abuse.

As an active member of the American Red Cross, she has been teaching mother-baby care and first aid to high school students and community groups. She also has taught and trained the Taylor Fire Department in first aid emergency care for ambulance service. In 1969, Mrs. Arning was awarded a 20 year service pin by the National Red Cross for active service to her community.

Mrs. Arning has volunteered to teach mother-baby care and to encourage immunization at the migrant camps that move into the area during the harvest season. In 1953, she received recognition from the "Women of the Church" for her services to the migrants.

A motion picture documentary on ANA's national winner and five finalists is being produced by Schering. Both the cash award and the film will be presented at the ANA's biennial convention at Miami Beach in May 1970.

All registered nurses, including the 207,000 members of the ANA, were eligible for nomination in the BE-Involved search for exceptional performance either on-the-job or after work. The final winner will be selected by ANA's Honorary Committee headed by John D. Rockefeller, IV, West Virginia's Secretary of State; and Margaret B. Dolan of North Carolina, president of the National Health Council and former ANA president.

Mrs. Arning has also been very active in the Cancer movement—being President of the East Williamson County Society, as well as a District Director.

HEARINGS ON CREDIT REPORTING BILLS

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs of the House Committee on Banking and Currency began hearings this week on bills dealing with the practices of credit reporting firms which amass personal or financial data on millions of Americans and sell that information to businessmen to aid them in deciding whether to give or deny credit or employment or insurance coverage to a particular person. This is a very important part of the mammoth credit industry in this country and performs a necessary service.

Some credit reporting firms do a better job than others in assuring the reliability of the information they sell, and in protecting the confidentiality of that information. All of them, I am sure, try to keep false information out of their files, but the evidence is strong that much erroneous information nevertheless gets into credit files with distressing regularity, and often is impossible to root out, while doing irreparable damage to the reputations of countless Americans.

That is why I have nicknamed the bill I have introduced on credit reporting, H.R. 16340, as the "Good Name" Protection Act.

Mr. Speaker, because of the tremendous barrage of mail and telegrams received by Members of Congress on this issue, much of it indicating that H.R. 16340 would destroy the credit reporting business in this country and thus lead to sharp curtailment of credit to millions of moderate income families, I think it would be useful to place in the RECORD at this point the statements I made Tuesday morning as chairman of the subcommittee in opening the initial hearing, and this morning when we resumed the hearing.

I think any Member who knows of my work on legislation in my committees will recognize that in pursuing a complex and highly controversial legislative issue, I try to bring out all of the relevant facts, pro or con, so that in recommending a bill to the House for passage I can explain and defend its provisions. In order to have a full and comprehensive discussion in our hearings of all of the issues involved in a piece of legislation, I believe we should work from a broadly based bill which sets these issues out squarely. H.R. 16340 is such a bill—a very comprehensive and very controversial one.

What comes out of committee will depend upon an objective analysis of the testimony we receive from all sides of specific provisions this bill now contains. Parts of it may go too far, as some witnesses contend, or not far enough, as others claim.

STATEMENT IN OPENING THE HEARING

Following, Mr. Speaker, is the statement I made Tuesday morning in opening the present hearings:

STATEMENT BY CHAIRMAN LEONOR K. SULLIVAN IN OPENING HEARINGS OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY, ON FAIR CREDIT REPORTING BILLS, TUESDAY, MARCH 17, 1970

The Subcommittee today begins a series of hearings on legislation which I call the "Good Name" Protection Act, but which is officially known as the Fair Credit Reporting Act. Our purpose will be to determine whether Federal legislation is needed in this field, and if so, what form it should take.

I think there is general agreement that American citizens applying for credit, insurance or employment should not be denied these essentials because of erroneous, incomplete, obsolete, misleading or malicious information about them contained in a secret file maintained by a firm which makes a business of selling personal data about individuals to other businessmen.

One's reputation remains today, as it always has been, the most precious thing we own, and he who damages our reputations—whether by willful action or by stupid error in pushing a computer button—can hurt us irreparably, particularly if we never catch up with the existence of the damaging report while continuously suffering the consequences of its existence in a credit or investigative file somewhere.

Undoubtedly, the computerization of personal information about millions of individuals gives this subject greater importance and urgency than it had in the days when the average businessman knew his customers personally and knew the good credit risks from the bad, and the insurance agent was an old acquaintance who knew the good actuarial risks from the bad ones.

Today, the data is almost completely second hand, third hand or even more distant and impersonal, and it is almost impossible to find a human being to unravel a computer error once it is made. When the computer is half a continent away and connected to the store by electronics, the remoteness of the customer from the real arbiter of his credit worthiness becomes even more pronounced.

These are situations I am sure our witnesses will develop for us as these hearings proceed. We are all generally aware of the problem. But what are proper solutions for the problem? None of us wants to end the extension of credit, or make it so difficult for businessmen to obtain accurate relevant information about an individual that it becomes easier to deny credit than to go through onerous procedures. At the same time, we cannot continue to countenance slipshod practices in credit reporting which destroy the reputations of innocent people seeking credit, insurance or employment.

My statement this morning, Mr. Speaker, at the start of our second session on this legislation was as follows:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSWOMAN LEONOR K. SULLIVAN, CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSUMER AFFAIRS, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY, IN OPENING SECOND DAY OF HEARINGS ON BILLS DEALING WITH CREDIT REPORTING PRACTICES, THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1970

This morning, we resume the hearings we began on Tuesday on H.R. 16340, S. 823, and other bills dealing with the sale of information to businessmen on the personal affairs, character or financial status of individuals applying for credit, insurance or employment.

On Tuesday, at our opening session, we heard testimony from groups and individ-

uals, including a Member of Congress sponsoring one of the pending bills, urging strong Federal legislation to protect consumers from "arbitrary, erroneous and malicious credit information" and specifically endorsing most of the provisions of H.R. 16340—a bill which I have nicknamed the "Good Name" Protection Act. All of our witnesses on Tuesday testified that they would prefer to have us pass no legislation at all in this field at this time rather than pass the less comprehensive bill passed by the Senate last November, S. 823.

In this second meeting in the series of hearings, we will hear representatives of two of the major credit reporting agencies take what I am sure will be a much different look at this issue. Both witnesses have submitted prepared statements which support the idea of Federal legislation in this field, and support S. 823 as passed by the Senate.

I want to express my appreciation not only for getting copies of their testimony in advance, so that we could study them prior to the hearing, but also for giving us such excellent and incisive comments on the issues in controversy and their reasons for supporting S. 823 and opposing H.R. 16340.

Following the procedure we adopted Tuesday, we will limit each of our witnesses this morning to 10 minutes for uninterrupted oral presentation of their viewpoints and for summaries of their statements. But the entire text of each of the statements will go into the record and appear in our printed transcript, plus additional factual or analytic material they may wish to submit which would make our record more useful to the Committee and to the House in the subsequent consideration of credit reporting legislation.

By the time we have completed this series of hearings, I hope and believe we will have all the facts we need, from every affected industry and from the public and from appropriate government agencies, to enable us to legislate intelligently on this complex subject.

On Tuesday I read aloud a letter I received from a credit reporting agency executive in my home city of St. Louis whose criticism of H.R. 16340 consisted in full of calling me an idiot. As I said then, while the gentleman's letter might have made him feel better for having gotten off his chest his intense feeling of opposition to a particular bill, it is not the kind of criticism which helps us write technically complex legislation. Our witnesses today, I know, will be far more specific in their comments.

Believe me, we welcome critical analysis by those who have studied this issue and know the problems from first hand experience.

But along those lines, I would like to say that the mail deluge coming into the Congress from credit reporting firms all over the country raising an alarm that we are imminently about to destroy the credit reporting industry, and make it impossible for businessmen to obtain reliable information about individuals they are considering dealing with—information they definitely need to have in order to make informed business judgments—those letters of alarm, I might point out, are a little premature.

We are not about to act on any bill; we have barely begun the hearings which are intended to get us all of the relevant facts necessary in order to be able to legislate. I am sure no one would seriously suggest that this Committee blindly accept the Senate bill and pass it without our own detailed study. So if any Members of the House are being frightened by the flood of alarmed constituent mail from businessmen on this issue into thinking we are about to report out some monstrous and unworkable piece of

legislation, I suggest they wait to see what we actually develop in these hearings. The industry witnesses we are hearing today, and those we will hear later, are certainly capable in explaining the problems they think they would encounter under any of the bills.

AFTER 70 MILLION YEARS OF LIFE,
DDT IS A BIG THREAT

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, one of my constituents, Mr. Percy V. Bantten, of 1875 Pelham Road, Dearborn, Mich., recently sent me a clipping from the Detroit News of March 2, 1970, dealing with the threat which DDT poses to the continued existence of animal life on the earth.

I feel that the Detroit News article by James L. Kerwin provides an excellent insight into the perils of improper use of insecticides. So that my colleagues may have an opportunity to read this article, I include the text at this point in the RECORD:

AFTER 70 MILLION YEARS OF LIFE, DDT IS A
BIG THREAT

(By James L. Kerwin)

Man's chemical warfare against pests has imperiled a rare and priceless lizard-like creature that has survived the age of dinosaurs 70 million years ago.

The threat posed by DDT and other pesticides to the ancient jungle-dwelling tuatara—along with polluted air—is only one of the problems of contaminated environment concerning officials at the Detroit Zoo.

A prized tuatara in the Holden Reptile House died after digesting cockroaches laced with DDT, an autopsy disclosed.

To protect the lone survivor, zoo officials sealed the tiny, drab green reptile in a chamber to keep bugs and other intruders out.

"Just think, they lived through all of the cataclysms of millions and millions of years in time only now to be knocked off by DDT," grumbled William Austin, zoo curator.

The plight of the tuatara, which virtually are impossible to import today from New Guinea's steaming jungles, is typical of the environmental crisis created by man's carelessness.

Eggs from valuable birds are too thin to be hatched.

Fish fed to bears and members of the cat family have to be selected carefully so that the DDT and other dangerous residues found in fatty tissues are not ingested by the diners.

Last year, veterinarians found in an autopsy on a rhea—a skinny ostrich-type bird—that brain tissue was saturated with DDT to the point it caused death.

Rattlesnakes also have died at the zoo from eating insects loaded with pesticides.

Officials constantly worry that the famed penguin colony, forced to live in an outside pool while its quarters are refurbished, will fall ill and perish from respiratory ailments caused by polluted air.

Alligators are threatened with poisoning from ingesting pennies tossed into their pools.

"Most of our problems can be traced to people pollution," complained zoo director Dr. Robert F. Willson.

DDT has been singled out by zoo and other scientific researchers as the major villain in environmental contamination.

"We're certain that it causes birds to lay eggs that crack when they sit on them to hatch," Dr. Willson said.

Residue from chemical compounds, he said studies show, also cause severe muscular problems with several species of birds.

The zoo imports only herring from certain areas of the Pacific for feeding animals because of the high level of DDT found in similar fish in the Atlantic.

Trees in the shady 126-acre park no longer are sprayed because of the contamination of soil by the fallout. Chemical residue does not break down for years.

"We'd rather lose a few trees than our prized exhibits," said Dr. Willson.

Live mice fed to snakes and other reptiles are checked to make sure they aren't loaded with pesticides when they arrive from "mouse farms" in crates.

"If possible, we'd like to shut up our tenants in air, dust, waterproof quarters to protect them from our contaminated ways," said one zoo staffer.

So far, Detroit's crisp and clear winter weather has spared the zoo from any deaths among its 54 penguins who normally live behind glass walls in air-conditioned and air-filtered quarters.

"Penguins who live outside usually have a high mortality rate because their natural environment in the Antarctic is so pure," explained Austin.

Neither Austin nor Willson feel enough is being done to protect the environment and would like to see tighter restrictions on the application of garden pesticides.

"In a sense, we're trying to make life easier, but death is quicker," argued Austin.

"For the moment, there's not much more we can do than just hope we don't destroy everything around us."

ON POSTAL WALKOUT

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I am very concerned over the unprecedented work stoppage of postal workers in the metropolitan area.

The New Jersey congressional delegation has always worked diligently to improve pay and working conditions for postal employees, with solid support from the press, and the general public.

One shortcoming of the present postal situation is that wages are determined on a national basis. This means that a postal worker in some sections of the country may have what he considers a fair wage, but the cost of living in many other States—especially those in the metropolitan area—is much higher. This, in itself, creates a problem.

I have met with postal carriers, clerks, supervisors, and postmasters on many occasions and I am certainly familiar with their economic problems and their goals. Many of these goals are justified.

I strongly urge postal workers to remain on the job. By doing so, it would improve the chances of Congress taking effective action to help resolve the problems that exist—in wages, and working conditions. I have been informed that

over 50 percent of postal workers have to take additional jobs, and that many of them also depend on their wives working, in order to help support their families.

Mr. Speaker, it is obvious to me and to many other Members of the House, that the postal workers of America need help. I will continue to do whatever I can to help provide that assistance.

TEXAS LEADS NATION IN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, although it is no secret, the State of Texas leads the other 49 States in industrial development for the year just ended. During 1969, despite a nationwide slump in development, Texas moved to the forefront and leads the Nation in this field for the first time in history.

This information was made public March 12 by the Honorable Preston Smith, Governor of Texas. Governor Smith revealed this news at a meeting with the accompanying statement. I include his remarks at this point:

"It is my pleasure to announce today that Texas has just been named the Number One state in the nation in industrial development for the first time in its history," the Governor said. "The good news comes to us, not from our own figures, but from the Dun and Bradstreet Corporation, in a report published by the Fortune Magazine Marketing Research staff."

The Governor noted that Texas' total of 901 new plants in 1969 represented industrial growth more than 42 percent greater than that of second place California.

Texas, according to the Fortune report, was the only Southwestern state to rank in the top ten of new industrial locations.

Other states in the top ten were Georgia with 609 new plants, Illinois with 290, Alabama with 289, Florida with 224, Minnesota with 224, Ohio with 212, and North Carolina with 189, and Indiana with 240.

Only six other states exceed Texas' total of 15,576 manufacturing plants. "The 901 new plants established in Texas in 1969," said the Governor, "constitute a 6 percent increase in the total number of manufacturing plants in the state—a 6 percent increase in the total number of plants in just one year."

The Governor credited the remarkable increase in industrial development over the past year to the efforts of the Texas Industrial Commission, "the close-knit alliance between local, regional and state development groups that we have in Texas," and "the partnership of industry and government that we have in Texas to promote a better life for all our citizens."

He said, "It is this concept and this practice of teamwork which makes our state unique."

The top ten states in industrial development invested a total of \$7,967,500 in programs to attract industrial growth. Texas investment in 1969 was only \$385,570, or less than 5 percent of the total. Altogether, these ten states accounted for 3,813 new plants, of which Texas earned 901, or 24 percent.

"Thus, for an investment of one-half the average, Texas has been able to accomplish nearly three times the results," the Governor said.

WHAT IS OVERPOPULATION?

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, a great deal is heard today about the dangers of overpopulation, both of our own Nation and of the world. There are those whose grim forecasts point to famine and chaos in only a few years unless we act immediately to regulate population growth—even to expand the authority of Government into the totally personal matter of family planning.

The proponents of legislative action, or even of Government-sanctioned moral suasion, in this area fail, I believe, to recognize an important point. The problem of population is, in reality, far less one of absolute numbers than of the ability of a society to provide food for its people.

That fact has been recognized, however, by the Reverend Rousas J. Rushdoony, in the "Myth of Over-Population," a perceptive and challenging book in the "University Series of Historical Studies" published by the Craig Press. Reverend Rushdoony, a writer and scholar and authority on American history, is also president of the Chalcedon Foundation in California. A chapter from his book, titled "What Is Overpopulation?" was reprinted in the Freeman, magazine of the Foundation for Economic Education. It calls attention to some of the commonly overlooked questions that any serious and rational discussion of population must answer, and demonstrates the capacity of a free market economy to maintain a food supply adequate to the needs of its population, however great.

The chapter follows:

WHAT IS OVERPOPULATION?

(By Rousas J. Rushdoony)

Increasingly, modern man has come to believe that he faces a serious problem in the near future because of the so-called population explosion. The world, he is told, is running out of room and out of food for man, and, as a result, drastic measures may be necessary in order to prevent disaster.

Before the question, "Does the world face overpopulation?" can be answered, another question must be faced: "What is overpopulation?"

Perhaps the best answer to this latter question is that overpopulation is an imbalance between the number of people living and their food supply, which results in hunger and even famine because the available production of food cannot match the population's needs.

In terms of this definition, it must be recognized that the world has had the problem of overpopulation several hundred times at least, and probably almost consistently during much of its history. This ancient problem of overpopulation can best be understood by a few illustrations, and first of all, its history in North America. North America had a continuing problem of overpopulation before the coming of the white man. The Indian population was small, perhaps at most 250,000 to 300,000, and perhaps even less than half that number. Nevertheless, overpopulation was a continual problem, and it led to hunger, famine, and cannibalism. The very word "cannibal" comes from the Americas.

It is derived from the Spanish *Canibales*, which came from the Carib *calina, galibi*, literally, strong men, i.e., those who practiced it. Both among the tribes contacted by Columbus and in the areas now a part of the United States, cannibalism was fairly prevalent. Its purpose was certainly often religious and magical, but it was also clearly economical as well, often dictated by the shortage of food. Among some tribes, its magical use continued into the nineteenth century:

From time immemorial the Skidi Pawnees had offered a human sacrifice to the morning star each spring in order to insure the success of their crops of corn, beans, and pumpkins. The victim was always a prisoner of war, and usually a pure young woman. She was treated kindly by her captors and kept in ignorance of her fate until the morning she was led, painted from head to foot in sacred red and black colors, to a scaffold in the center of the village, tied to the crossbars, and, just as the morning star appeared in the sky, killed by a medicine arrow shot through her heart.¹

This is clearly a case of human sacrifice; human sacrifice was often accompanied by a ritual act of cannibalism. But there also existed extensive cannibalism as a remedy for hunger. Indian cannibalism is very little reported or studied. Older Indians who recalled it were unwilling to discuss readily a subject which brought much disrepute to them. Modern writers, prone to a romantic view of the Indians, tend to mention it only in passing and then to justify it by unfavorable references to cruelty in Western civilization.² Most general works give us only a brief, passing reference to such facts as this, concerning a South American people: "Some of the many bands of Tupian people bred their women to captives of war and raised the resultant children like veal calves for butchering."³ In most cases, however, cannibalism for economic reasons was a last resort, although not an uncommon last resort.

HUNGRY HUNTERS

Why were the Indians hungry, when they had the wealth of the Americas at their disposal? The answer is that their food supply was severely limited. A few animals, like the passenger pigeon, were seasonally plentiful, but they were not always available. Before the white man brought the horse and the gun to the Indians, buffalo were much more difficult to hunt, and smaller game was normally depended on. In forested areas, game was scarce. Living off the land is a poor way to live and makes only a marginal and precarious existence possible. It was rarely done by white men. The fur trappers went into the wilderness with food and equipment as their capital: a grubstake made survival possible. Settlers moved out in large groups, with at least two years' income as capital, to clear, plant, and develop the soil. As the settlers developed the soil, the nearby game increased, because the food supply increased. Game drew close to settlements and multiplied, and Indians drew close to settlers to get the game as well as the settlers' produce and animals. The coming of the white man increased the food supply, because the white man developed the earth.⁴

Here is the key to the problem. The total Indian population in North America was not greater than many an average-sized American city, and yet the Indians were unable to produce enough food to avoid famine. Some counties in California today produce more food than perhaps the Indians of North, South, and Central America ever saw in a year. For hunting tribes, famine was a normal thing.

From the Abnaki of Maine through the Micmac of Nova Scotia and the Montagnais and Naskapi of Quebec and Labrador, hunger

was increasingly a part of life and legend, in direct proportion as farming dwindled and hunting became the only gainful occupation. Even in a country teeming, as the saying goes, with game, the chase is bound to be a shaky provider, there being nothing stable about a supply of wild meat.⁵

Agriculture, then, was a preventative to famine, but it was not a certain preventative. Repeatedly, the farming peoples of Europe have undergone famine. Thus, in England alone, during the thirteenth century, hunger and famine struck in 1203, 1209, 1224, 1235, 1239, 1243, 1257, 1258, 1271, 1286, 1289, 1294, 1295, and 1298. In 1258, for example, it was reported that the poor ate the bark of trees, and horseflesh, and that 20,000 starved in London, which was the report also for 1235. In 1239, we are told that people ate their children, and 1286, a 23 years' famine began, with the years cited above being simply the severest years.⁶

The Plymouth colony in New England faced famine immediately as a result of its farming. The cause for this is stated candidly by Bradford: it was the socialistic system of farming which created the famine:

At length, after much debate of things, the Govr (with the advice of the cheefest among them) gave way that they should set corne every man for his owne particular, and in that regard trust to them selves; in all other things to goe on in the generall way as before. And assigned to every family a parcel of land, according to the proportion of their number for that end, only for present use (but made no devisison for inheritance), and ranged all boys and youths under some familie. This had very good success; for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corne was planted then other wise would have bene by any means the Govr or any other could use, and saved him a great deal of trouble, and gave farr better contente. The women now wente willingly into the field, and tooke their little-ones with them to set corne, which before would aledg weaknes, and inability; whom to have compelled would have been thought great tiranie and oppression.

The experience that was had in this comone course and condition, tried sundrie years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanitie of that conceite of Platos and other ancients, applauded by some of later times;—that the taking away of propertie and bringing in communite into a comone weath, would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser than God. For this communite (so farr as it was) was found to breed much confusion and discontent, and retard much employment that would have been to their benefite and comfort.⁷

The problem at Plymouth Plantation was thus a restrictive form of farming, one imposed from London, which undercut initiative and production. Basic to sound farming, therefore, is freedom from statist controls. As Montesquieu observed, "Countries are not cultivated in proportion to their fertility, but to their liberty."⁸

FAMINE WAS NORMAL

Not nature but man is the major cause of famine. Natural disasters such as storms, droughts, and frost can indeed destroy crops, but their effect is local, not total. Free production elsewhere can alleviate a shortage in a stricken area. In 1967, killing frosts in the San Joaquin Valley of California in some cases destroyed all the fruit on many farms. Farms sometimes within sight of a devastated farm came through the frost with minor damage. Some produce was in short supply, but other produce supplied the lack by bumper crops. Farmers whose crops were destroyed did not starve. Those who had savings used them to weather the year; many wives went to work to alleviate the financial crisis. The uses of freedom and industry saw

these farmers through a crisis without any famine, nor with any proclamation of a national disaster calling for Federal funds.

Walford listed, among the causes of famine, the following factors which are of particular significance:

1. The prevention of cultivation or the willful destruction of crops;
2. Defective agriculture caused by communistic control of land;
3. Governmental interference by regulation or taxation;
4. Currency restrictions, including debasing the coin.⁹

The world, during its least populous eras, suffered most from hunger and famine. As statist controls receded in the nineteenth century, hunger also began to recede, and Western civilization increasingly saw famine banished and hunger successfully dealt with. A far greater population enjoyed far greater supplies of food.

The reason for this increased supply of food was not simply technology nor the Industrial Revolution. The application of technology to Russian farming since 1917 has not seen an increase in the food supply. On the contrary, food production has declined, and the Ukraine, once the breadbasket of Europe, has been unable to feed the Soviet Union. Technology has not increased the food supply of Red China nor of any other socialist regime. The reason for the increased supply of food was the growth of freedom. Now "thanks to Socialism, famine again stalks the earth. . . . Like a horse and carriage, 'socialism and hunger' inevitably go together." As a result, "much of Eastern Europe, once a granary in its own right, lives off U.S. surpluses, while the fertile farmlands of Algeria, which produced so bountifully for the hard-working colons, have turned barren."¹⁰ In the United States, as a result of the increasing socialistic controls of farming, food production is declining to the point that civil government officials can speak of future food problems, and a conservative writer can describe the policy as planned famine.¹¹

HUNGER ENDEMIC TO SOCIALISM

The answer, then, to our problem is in essence this: socialism always creates ultimately an imbalance between the number of people living and their food supply which results in hunger or famine. There is in this sense, therefore, always a problem of overpopulation under socialism. Hunger is chronic and endemic to socialism.

Socialism, moreover, affects both the food supply, by limiting it, and also the population, by both expanding it at one stage and limiting it at another. Socialism grows in a country by catering to a group or to various groups by subsidies. These subsidies penalize the taxpayers for the benefit of favored groups who are termed "needy" but are now in actuality an undeservedly privileged group.

A subsidized group experiences a "population explosion." Being released from the responsibility of work, it lacks inhibitions and feels no constraint about rapid increase. Since more children may be a means of increased subsidy, the inhibition of financial accountability and responsibility is removed. Absorption with sex, and irresponsible sex, are products of a welfare economy. Zoo animals have a different sexuality than do wild animals.¹² A zoo is a welfare economy, and the zoo animals are privileged—and enslaved—animals. A welfare economics gives a privileged and enslaved status to a segment of the population. Again, America gives us a familiar and telling illustration. The American Negro, under slavery, existed in a welfare economy, because slavery is a form of welfare economics. The possession of slaves gave social status but it was not an economic asset. The slave gained cradle to grave security for a minimum of work. His

Footnotes at end of speech.

living conditions were sometimes good and sometimes bad, but, on the whole, far superior to those of the peoples of Red China and the Soviet Union. . . .

The census of 1860 estimated that the total population of the United States would reach "about a hundred million" by 1900, but it estimated that, with emancipation likely, due to the start of the Civil War, "so many (Negroes) will be transferred from a faster to a slower rate of increase," that "nine millions of the colored, in the year 1900, appears a large estimate."¹³ The Negro population in 1900 reached 8,833,994, the total population, 75,994,575. There was thus a marked decline in the ratio of the colored population after 36 years of freedom. Slavery, as a welfare economy, had encouraged the birth rate. The further the Negro left behind slavery and plantation patronage, the more his population statistics indicated a declining birth rate. The following statistics are revealing.¹⁴

[In millions]				
Year	White	Negro	Indian	Total
1860	26.9	4.4	0.044	31.4
1900	66.8	8.8	.237	76.0
1930	110.3	11.9	.332	122.8
1960	158.8	18.9	.524	179.3

The above statistics do not list Chinese, Japanese, and other groups. The Indians are included to indicate that an Indian population greater than ever existed in pre-Columbian America now lives with millions of Americans without famine. Indian America was overpopulated; modern white America is not.

The statistics are also important in that they show the marked decline in the ratio of Negroes to whites from 1860 to 1930; the Indians showed some increase in the same time, because the reservation system provided them with a welfare economy. The census of 1860 did not include Western Indians, but their numbers at that time were limited in the West. Their strong resistance has created the illusion of great numbers in men's minds. The Negro ratio declined to 1930 but returned to about the same ratio as 1860 in 1960. In other words, a generation of welfare, beginning with the New Deal of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, provided a return to the subsidized conditions of the Negro of 1860.

THE WORST ELEMENTS SUBSIDIZED

Thus, a welfare economy, up to a point, increases a segment of the population. Whether in ancient Rome or modern America, this increase is of the worst segment of the population in ability, intelligence, and character. The worst elements of the white and Negro populations are subsidized to the detriment of the nonsubsidized whites and Negroes.

In 1965, in the cities, nearly one-fourth of the Negro women who have been married were now divorced or separated as against a 7.9 per cent rate for white women. "Nearly one out of every four Negro babies born" was illegitimate, a Negro illegitimacy rate of 23.6 per cent as against a white rate of 3.07. More than half of all Negro children in 1965 were helped by Federal-state Aid to Dependent Children, as against an 8 per cent rate for white children. The birth rate for Negroes was 40 per cent higher than for whites, so that it was estimated that by 1972 "Negroes will make up one-eighth of the U.S. population."¹⁵ The situation since 1965 has become rapidly worse.

However, with full socialism, the need to gain votes by subsidy gives way to totalitarian controls over all the people, and population figures then show a frequent decline. Population figures for the U.S.S.R. are estimates only, in that the data is carefully

guarded by that state, and the indications of population decline and famine are many.

The answer to the question, "What is overpopulation?" is that it is an imbalance between the number of people living and their food supply. This is a condition the world has faced during most of its history. As a result, we can answer the question, "Does the world face overpopulation?" that it indeed does face overpopulation, hunger, and famine progressively as it becomes more and more socialistic. Socialism has a poor record when it comes to eliminating problems: its answer adds up to eliminating people. In fact, one of socialism's major and chronic problems is simply *people*. Socialism on the one hand destroys production, and, on the other, breeds up the least desirable elements. Its answer is to find the people at fault. Socialism always faces overpopulation; a free economy does not.

FOOTNOTES

¹ John C. Evers, *Artists of the Old West*. (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1965), p. 48.

² Oliver La Farge, *A Pictorial History of the American Indian* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1957), p. 56.

³ William Brandon, with Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The American Heritage Book of Indians* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., 1961), p. 56.

⁴ See James C. Malin, *The Grassland of North America: Prologomena to Its History*, pp. 138-140, Lawrence, Kansas, 1947; and Malin, "The Grassland of North America: its Occupancy and the Challenge of Continuous Reappraisals," p. 10, Background Paper No. 19, prepared for the Wenner-Gren Foundation International Symposium, "Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth," Princeton Inn, Princeton, New Jersey, June 16-22, 1955. See also Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782*, vol. I, p. 79f., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963.

⁵ Brandon, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

⁶ E. Parmalee Prentice, *Hunger and History, the Influence of Hunger on Human History* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1951), p. 6f. See also Prentice, *Farming for Famine* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran, 1936), p. 7f. Prentice's data comes from Cornelius Walford, *The Famines of the World: Past and Present*, March 19, 1878, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, vol. 41, p. 433; vol. 42, p. 79.

⁷ William T. Davis, editor, *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, 1606-1646* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), p. 146f.

⁸ Montesquieu, *Spirit of Laws*, Bk. xviii, ch. 3.

⁹ Cited by Prentice, *Hunger and History*, p. 4.

¹⁰ *Barron's*, December 20, 1965, p. 1.

¹¹ Dan P. Van Gorder, *Ill Fares the Land* (Boston: Western Islands, 1968).

¹² Robert Ardrey, *African Genesis* (New York: Atheneum, 1961), p. 118.

¹³ *Eighth Census*, 1860, p. 8.

¹⁴ Ian Golenpaul, editor, *Information, Please Almanac*, 1967 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), p. 324.

¹⁵ "Negro Revolt—The Big City Crime," in *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, Saturday, August 14, 1965, p. 2.

BOSTON-ALBANY RAIL SERVICE

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the decline in passenger rail service throughout the country. Re-

cently the Penn Central asked the Interstate Commerce Commission for permission to discontinue its service between Boston and Albany.

I oppose such a discontinuance, and I said so in a letter to the ICC after the Penn Central request was announced. In this regard, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues a resolution adopted by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts on March 11, 1970, in opposition to this action, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

Resolution requesting the Interstate Commerce Commission not to grant a discontinuance of Penn Central rail service

Whereas, There is pending before the Interstate Commerce Commission an application of the Penn Central Railroad to discontinue rail service between Boston and Albany; and

Whereas, If this is granted, there will be a termination of rail passenger service from Pittsfield and Springfield to Boston for the first time since 1841; and

Whereas, If this is granted, rail commuters from South Station to Back Bay, Newtonville, Framington and Worcester will be severely inconvenienced and forced to use other congested modes of transportation; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts respectfully requests the Interstate Commerce Commission not to grant the desired discontinuance of railroad service by the Penn Central Railroad; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to John A. Volpe, Secretary of Transportation, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to the members thereof from this Commonwealth, to the Interstate Commerce Commission and to the Penn Central Railroad.

Senate, adopted, March 11, 1970.

NORMAN L. PIDGEON,
Clerk.

Attest:

JOHN F. X. DAVOREN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

COST GAP PUTS GLASS INDUSTRY AT IMPORT MERCY

HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, before the end of this Congress, we will consider legislation regarding America's international trade policy. Many of our key industries are vulnerable to the burden of foreign imports which is of great concern to us in the Appalachian States.

While many industries enjoy considerable advantage from our trade policies because of the foreign markets opened to their products, many industries in West Virginia bear the burden of this advantage by being subjected to the stiff competition from foreign industry.

As the excellent editorial which appeared in the *Wheeling Intelligencer* pointed out, this policy is extremely

short-sighted. I commend the editorial to the House, as follows:

COST GAP PUTS GLASS INDUSTRY AT IMPORT MERCY

Under existing law the President can go either way when the Tariff Commission divides evenly on a question of import restriction.

It has done just that on the proposition of restoring duties on sheet glass, and Congressman Mollohan has asked the President to accept as a Commission recommendation the views of the three members who are in favor of providing the protection.

"Last year," the First West Virginia District Representative wrote Mr. Nixon, "imports cornered over thirty per cent of the domestic market for sheet glass, and since late last fall more than 1,100 employes have been laid off in sheet glass factories alone.

This is bad enough. But according to Mollohan, worse is to come. "Housing," his letter continued, "uses sixty per cent of all sheet glass and the automotive industry uses another twenty per cent, both imports and domestic production. With the severe cutbacks in both housing and automobile production we cannot tolerate the same level of imports we have had in the past."

Free trade is excellent in theory and a practical policy when production costs are comparable. The hard fact is, however, that there is no such thing as free trade in competitive goods in those foreign markets we must invade if we hope to do business abroad. So long, then, as this is so and imported sheet glass can undersell our own here in the United States because it costs less to manufacture, it is extremely poor public policy, it would seem to this newspaper, to deny our glass manufacturers the protection they need to hold their own in a shrinking home market.

NOTICE OF 1970 CENSUS

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the letter which I am sending to my congressional district regarding the coming 1970 census:

THE 1970 CENSUS COMING
WASHINGTON, D.C.,
March 21, 1970.

DEAR FRIENDS: I am writing to let you know about the coming United States 1970 Census in our District on Wednesday, April 1, Census Day. The population census is required every ten years under the U.S. Constitution, Article 1, Section 2.

I find that this year the Census is both a population and a housing census. The requirement for information on housing has been added by Congress in order to have facts to work out legislation to meet the current housing shortage caused by high interest rates and inflation.

On Saturday, March 28, each home receives in the mail a census form to be completed—to be mailed in the return envelope on Wednesday, April 1. Every fifth household will receive a longer census form, with extra questions so that a fair sampling both on population and housing can be obtained for our Country. Census questions must be answered truthfully and to the best of one's knowledge.

Our Census District consists of our South Hills 27th Congressional District in Allegheny County, and all of Beaver County. In this large area, I have been able to recom-

mend that the head office be located in a central location for our District, 250 Mt. Lebanon Boulevard, Mt. Lebanon, Pa., 15234, which intersects Castle Shannon Road. This office is open Monday through Friday, from 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. The telephone number is 343-4833 if you would like to inquire for further instructions to learn procedures.

I am glad to advise you that this Federal Census office in our District is being set up on a bi-partisan basis, consisting of 35 office workers and 300 field workers. These workers are carefully selected people residing in our area and are full time Federal employees during the time of the taking of the Census. Sincerely,

JAMES G. FULTON.

P.S.—I know it will interest you to learn that the first Census was taken in 1790 when the United States had 3,929,214 citizens. In 1860 our U.S. population had risen to 31,443,321. By 1900 we had 75,994,575 people and in 1930 122,775,046. Already the computers in the U.S. Department of Commerce in Washington, D.C. are estimating as of April 1, 1970 the population will be 205 to 211 million people! What a wonderful nation this is, isn't it! It is our Country, and we are all proud to be United States Citizens.

Regards,

JIM.

MORE REAL WORKERS AGAINST POLLUTION

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, as the April 22 environmental teach-in grows nearer, I believe it is an appropriate time to give credit to those persons who are the real workers for a quality environment.

I often become distressed when I see that while just about everybody mouths opposition to pollution, when the time comes when sacrifices must be made to achieve environmental quality, the shouts die down to whispers.

The beauty of the environmental issue is that everybody can be for it; its tragedy is that very few are willing to really do anything about it.

I am proud that three of my friends can be counted among the real workers against pollution. Paul Ehrlich, Alan Sieroty, and Garrett Hardin all have been in the forefront not only over the past year or so when the environment suddenly became a major issue, but all three of them have devoted great time and energy dealing with these problems for many years.

We need more Paul Ehrlichs, more Alan Sierotys, more Garrett Hardins if we are to achieve environmental quality.

Recently, I have come across a series of newspaper articles about and by these men. I am inserting the articles in the RECORD because I believe that what Ehrlich, Sieroty, and Hardin do and say must serve as examples for all of us.

The articles follow:

[From the Los Angeles Times, Feb. 13, 1970]

TOO LATE NOW TO AVOID FAMINES, EXPERT CLAIMS

(By Maggie Savoy)

Prof. Paul R. Ehrlich is a scary guy. He doesn't look scary. He doesn't even look like a professor. He looks more like a

jovial Abraham Lincoln—not so tall, but darkly scrawny.

It's not how he says what he says. He's quick and snappy, and can turn out a quip (with a poison tip) faster than Godfrey Cambridge. He has a rat-a-tat delivery that puts your mind out of breath.

It's what he says that's scary, even in these gloomy-doomy days.

"It is already too late to avoid famines that will kill millions, possibly by 1975," he says. "We are playing environmental roulette, overbreeding, putting crud in the atmosphere, poisoning our water, killing our fish, sloshing pesticides which kill the insects that kill the pests (sheer idiocy!), heading straight into the worst crisis mankind has ever seen.

"Politicians are talking about it. But they hardly know what they're talking about and won't do a thing about it once the pressures hit them.

"Already half a billion people are slowly starving, another billion are malnourished. If population control measures are not initiated immediately and effectively, all the technology man can bring will not fend off disaster."

He shakes his craggy head. "Unfortunately, the decision for population control will be opposed by growth-minded economists and businessmen, by nationalistic statesmen, by zealous religious leaders and by the myopic and well-fed of every description."

Dr. Ehrlich, 40ish director of graduate study for the department of biological sciences at Stanford University, is a man in a hurry. He's one of the speakers at Sunday's "Stanford Goes Public" conference at the Century Plaza. And he's making lots of speeches, "now that people are suddenly beginning to listen to me."

One reason for his hurry is on the cover of his book, "The Population Bomb" (paperback, Sierra Club-Ballantine).

OUT OF BREATH

"While you are reading these words four people will have died from starvation. Most of them children."

"It's already too late," he says. "Now was years ago."

He's doing what he can: Making speeches, writing articles, publishing another book, "Population Resources and Environment," founding Zero Population Growth (a nontax deductible pressure group trying to "save the world with 50-cent dollars, dedicated to stop population growth now, clean up environment, take political action. Tell your readers the address is 387 State St., Los Altos, Calif., and they can write to Shirley Radl.")

And frankly, he's out of breath. "And so we're all going to be, in one gigantic killer smog, if we don't do something now."

As the world rushes pell mell toward a population of 7 billion in 2,000 ("which means we'll have to triple agriculture in the next 30 years, theoretically possible but totally impossible in practice"), Dr. Ehrlich spares a few minutes for a rush interview.

"While I'm talking to you thousands of people are starving," he snaps. "We are breeding one entire United States of America every three years in the world. We had 600,000 battle deaths in all of America's wars. The world makes that up in three days.

"Where are we going to put all these people? Float new cities in the ocean? We'd have to haul a city big enough for 600,000 out into the sea every three days. That's one big public works program!"

But it's not so much where we're going to put them. (We already stack people 75,000 to the square mile on Manhattan, and all but 18.5% of them already suffer from some degree of neurotic or psychotic disturbance.)

It's how we're going to feed them. Where we're going to put their junk. And how we're going to find water, power and air for them.

TECHNOLOGY FAILURE

Technology, he says, will not begin to solve the problem. And he's impatient with those who think we can pull some technological rabbit out of the hat. Not even nuclear power is the answer.

"Waste has to be kept out of circulation for thousands of years," he said. "So you bury it in salt mines. By the year 2,000 it will take 3,000 6-ton tank trucks at a time, heading for the mines. I hope every one of them is a good driver!"

What we need right now, he says, is an "ombudsman for humanity."

"We're stupid. America is completely run by pressure groups. The oil industry keeps right on drilling the oceans (destroying food that feeds the fish).

"Citizens insist on their right to own Cadillacs—even though we junk 5 million cars a year. Zealots deny people the right to control their own birthrates; laws force women to bear children they don't want.

"The petro-chemical people aren't interested in controlling insects. Why? They sell insecticides. Bugs build resistance, but that's all right. That sells more insecticides. There are better ways to control pests—but they won't research them. They want to sell insecticides."

"Society," he said, "didn't invent the birth control pill while it still had time."

Still, the ones on the market are used, even though there are dangers, "because they are fall-safe."

"If we permitted abortion, we could use a safer pill. In the few times it failed, a woman could have a relatively safe abortion."

India, with a population of nearly 550 million and a birth rate of 43 per 1,000, has long been a disaster. Thirteen years of birth control measures have doubled the birth rate.

"They talk about compulsory sterilization for males who have sired three or more children," he says, "but they'd better hurry up. It would take 1,000 surgeons operating eight hours a day, five days a week, eight years to sterilize the existing candidates! And by that time look how many more there would be."

The population bomb keeps ticking, and to read Dr. Ehrlich's book is to all but stop your own heart ticking from fright.

Still, the woe-sayer has some suggestions.

1. "Face it: this earth is a spaceship with a limited carrying capacity."
2. "America must set the example to the world by establishing a crash program to limit its own serious population explosion. (Among a random sampling of 12,000 American men, women and children in Texas, New York, Louisiana and Kentucky about 17% were "real risks" nutritionally).
3. "Tax laws should discourage reproduction (eliminate deductions for children)."
4. "Federal laws to make instruction in birth control methods mandatory in all public schools."
5. "Rush federal support to research population regulation, environmental sciences, behavioral sciences."

Ehrlich is in a rush ("I haven't spent four days in the same time zone since the public learned the word 'ecology'"), and he's off to catch a plane.

"We've got to help the underdeveloped countries. Saying that the population explosion is their problem is like telling a fellow passenger his end of the boat is sinking."

He, for one, is concentrating most of his efforts on college and university kids.

"A lot of establishment people think ecology is a safe argument to turn the kids on. They'd better watch out. They're in for a dramatic surprise. The kids dig."

"They're not just looking at the war, for instance. They're looking at who benefits from it. Pretty soon they'll discover where war comes from and how we get into it."

Earlier he urged action on 1,000 cheering UCLA students. "Stuff envelopes, plan rallies (there's a nationwide teach-in on April 12), go door-to-door. You don't have to convince anybody."

"A group of kids no larger than this one could elect any senator in America. Don't worry about the Silent Majority: They've never done anything. At the Boston Tea Party, at the American Revolution, they were home sitting on their hands.

"The American system has been taken over by sloth. The average American does not pay attention, won't even read the fine print of his tax bill. Pay attention to your elected officials, go to hearings, read the bills. Become a counter-pressure group.

"Argue with your parents. You probably know more than they do—but don't let that give you a fat head. You don't know everything, either. Inform yourself.

"After all, it's your future."

PROFESSOR LEAPS FROM BUTTERFLIES TO BIRTH CONTROL

(By Mary Hager)

PALO ALTO, CALIF.—Not long ago, a Stanford University business professor finished what he thought was a successful speech to some mortgage bankers in Dallas and waited for the questions. The first question was, "Can you tell us about that fellow Ehrlich you have out there?"

It had nothing to do with the speech, but it was a good question, for in the past few years Paul Ehrlich has moved from the relative obscurity of studying butterflies on Stanford's Jasper Ridge to becoming a leading figure in the international crusade for population control. In fact, the 37-year-old biologist with a passionate concern for the future of man may become to the environmental movement what Ralph Nader (whom he faintly resembles) is to the consumer movement.

Ehrlich was thrust into his role in 1968 with the publication of "The Population Bomb," a slim volume he wrote in less than three weeks, in which he foresaw the end of life on earth by famine, plague or thermonuclear destruction unless drastic measures were taken—first and foremost, a halt to the spiraling population growth.

Ehrlich says the world population is growing by 70 million a year and will double in approximately 35 years. The world food output will also have to double to meet the demand, but even now some 2 billion people are not properly fed, he contends.

Ehrlich is in such demand these days for lectures, television appearances and interviews that his time is literally scheduled to the minute. His life is governed by the little red datebook he keeps in his shirt pocket. He is willing, eager and available, but so busy that people may have to be content with a minute or two between appointments, or meeting him at the airport at 8 a.m., before he catches a plane.

HE'S NO CRUSADER

The tall, lean Ehrlich, who might be mistaken for a student but for his close-cropped hair and slight professional slouch, maintains that he is not a crusader by nature. "This is not my thing," he says.

He explains his dedication: "I have a 14-year-old daughter and I would like to see a decent world for her to live in, not to have her face death from emphysema or plague or famine or worse. This was a calculated, rational choice."

His daughter, Lisa Marie, is his sole contribution to the population explosion. He has had himself sterilized.

Ehrlich intends to keep up his crusading through the 1972 election in hopes some drastic changes will be made. "If we have to wait another four years after that, it will be too late, if it is not already," he predicts.

He says he is cautiously optimistic about the progress of the movement, but pessimis-

tic about the prospects of reducing the world's population.

"We are moving slowly in the right direction but the world is moving fast in the wrong direction. Getting a man on the moon was child's play compared to limiting population," he says.

Ehrlich, who pictures himself as a biologist who "grew up chasing butterflies and dissecting frogs," dates his concern with population problems back to high school days when he read a book called "The Road to Survival" that, as he recalls, warned "if we don't get on the ball, we'll go down the drain."

While studying at the University of Pennsylvania and later doing graduate work at the University of Kansas, he became involved with studies of insect populations. To a biologist the problems of insect and man are not that far apart, and it was only logical when he came to Stanford in 1959 that his concerns for man's deteriorating environment and rampant population growth should creep into his lectures.

"By the mid '60s the students were listening and they began telling their parents," he recalls. He received an increasing number of invitations to speak to parent and alumni groups.

STAR ON CAMPUS

The real turning point came in 1967 when he was invited to speak before San Francisco's Commonwealth Club. The talk was covered by radio and TV and Ehrlich's involvement grew. He was in demand for interviews, lectures and TV appearances.

"The Population Bomb," written the following year at the suggestion of David Brower, then executive director of the Sierra Club, was a compilation of Ehrlich's lectures and concerns. The book, which has now sold more than 375,000 copies, did get tremendous publicity.

Articulate, witty and with a flair for the dramatic, Ehrlich has scored well with personal appearances. Campus appearances invariably draw mobs. Recently, an estimated 2000 were turned away from a lecture at Berkeley after the university administration had first assigned him to a seminar room for 30, then moved his talk to an auditorium that seated 500.

After a full hour guest spot on the Johnny Carson Show, the show received a record response of more than 5000 letters, not counting the letters Ehrlich received personally, which still averaged 20 to 25 a day several weeks later. "They were all positive," he says. "I never get flak any more. When I started, the reaction was about 50-50."

Occasionally his ideas are subject to attack. Not long ago San Francisco Chronicle columnist Charles McCabe aimed three columns at Ehrlich, calling him, among other things, "a latter day Malthus" and "worse than Hitler." Ehrlich's biology colleagues immediately drafted a letter voicing their unanimous support.

Crusading is time-consuming—16-hour days are routine—and Ehrlich says his biological clock is often upset by the constant traveling.

While he worries that he doesn't have enough time for his family, Ehrlich does see his wife, Anne, who works with him and has a desk just outside his office.

NO PROFIT IN INSECTS

Together the Ehrlichs have just completed a "thinking man's Population Bomb," tentatively titled "Population, Resources, Environment" to be published in late spring.

The Ehrlichs collaborated once before, in 1960, when he wrote a field guide to butterflies and she did the illustrations to earn money for a trip to Europe. They didn't get the book done on time, but went anyway.

In addition to the book, Ehrlich has numerous commitments for magazine articles and does his writing at nights and on planes.

He has found no time lately for his real business, writing textbooks.

His research has suffered but he does keep it up. His specific interest is the intelligent control of insect pests, "an area that has lots of applied significance if you don't want to make a profit," he says.

His hobby, flying, also has suffered. He used to fly more than 100 hours a year. Last year he flew only 32 and lost his instrument rating. He rarely finds time to read these days—military history and anthropology are favored topics—or to go to movies, where he finds he "can really lose myself." He does, however, run 1½ miles every day.

Before he began his crusading, Ehrlich was on his way to becoming a formidable figure in the biological world. He is the author of more than 70 scientific papers, the first written some 20 years ago. Describing a new species of butterfly was "red hot science in those days," he recalls. His field research is usually conducted on Stanford's Jasper Ridge Biological Experimental Area and in Colorado, but he has also done research in such far-flung areas as New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Malaya, Cambodia, Kashmir, East Africa, the Canadian Arctic, Australia, Alaska and Mexico.

OCEAN THOUGHT OF AS DUMP: IT IS TIME TO STOP DRILLING OFF THE COAST

California is endowed with great natural resources: the fertile Central Valley, the grand Sierra Nevada mountains, vast deserts, thousands of acres of forests, redwoods and giant sequoias, miles of rivers and streams and thousands of inland lakes. But nowhere in this state is the demand for space so great, the competition for use so intense as it is along the shoreline.

Last year approximately 82 million people-days were spent along the California shoreline. In Orange County alone 22 million people-days were spent at the beaches—that's two and a half times greater than the number of visits to all of California's 4.2 million acres of national parks.

As the population multiplies and as leisure time expands, the public's need for the esthetic and recreational resources of the shoreline will continue to increase. It is estimated that in 1980 the crowds at Los Angeles' 34 miles of beaches alone will almost equal the number of people who used the entire coastline last year.

People are not the only ones seeking space along the shoreline. Also using the coastline's resources, but for their own limited, one-dimensional purposes, are economically and politically powerful industries. The operations of these industries are frequently in conflict with the public's interest, and the effects of their economic exploitation of the coastline has often been disastrous.

On Jan. 28, 1969, oil well A-21 blew out off the Santa Barbara coast. Within a few days 800 square miles were covered with oil. The spill continued unchecked for more than a week. It soon reached the beaches, bathing them with black waves, gumming 40 miles of white sand and shore.

The Santa Barbara disaster was met with public outrage. Within days the President, secretary of interior, scores of congressmen and legislators were on the scene.

However, despite this "environmental Bay of Pigs" as former Interior Secretary Udall called it, despite the occurrence of subsequent major oil leaks off Santa Barbara, despite the continuous ooze of crude oil from the drilling areas and despite evidence that the potential of another environmental disaster exists at any of the platforms in the channel, the drilling continues.

In addition to polluting the ocean and desecrating its beaches, visually offensive oil drilling platforms despoil the view of the shoreline from Pt. Conception to Huntington Beach.

I recall seven years ago, as an assistant to former Lt. Gov. Anderson, asking the oil industry to place their drilling platforms below the ocean's surface. The oil companies said subsurface drilling was not then feasible at most of their drilling sites but assured us engineering studies were under way.

It's worth noting that at the same time engineering studies were being made on how to fly man to the moon. We have since landed on and returned from the moon, but those ugly platforms are still above the surface, in everyone's view.

Visual pollution caused by oil operations is not restricted to off-shore platforms. The shoreline is marred by oil refineries and oil storage tanks—unsightly and unwanted landmarks. And in the backyards of homes in Southern California beach cities, oil pumps stand where trees once grew and black crude oil stains the land.

The shoreline belongs to the public. Oil development ought not be allowed to obliterate the rights of people to enjoy uncluttered ocean views, unpolluted surf, unimpaired fisheries and unspoiled beaches. It is time to stop oil drilling off our coastline!

Posing as serious a threat to the shoreline ecology as oil pollution are the effluents and wastes discharged by power plants.

DEMAND FOR ELECTRICITY WILL DOUBLE IN 10 YEARS

To set this problem in perspective it is first necessary to focus on the magnitude of California's future power needs. Within the next 10 years the peak demand for electricity in this state will more than double, and in 30 years it will increase almost 10 times. To meet this electrical demand we will need more than 100 additional power plants by the year 2000.

Conventional, fossil-fuel plants emit huge quantities of pollutants and because of this, their future use, particularly in Southern California, is very limited. The alternative, according to the power industry, is atomic energy.

However, due to the effluents discharged by nuclear power plants, they, too, pose a very severe threat to the environment. The coastline is particularly endangered because it offers the most economical location for nuclear plants. Plans are already under way to site about a half dozen nuclear power plants along the California shoreline—that's in addition to the atomic energy plants now operating on the beach at San Onofre and on Humboldt Bay.

Nuclear power plants discharge greater quantities of heated effluents than conventional plants, and they discharge these hot water effluents at higher temperatures. In fact, the average nuclear power plant discharges hundreds of thousands of gallons of hot water every minute. This river of heated water may be 30 to 40 degrees higher than sea water.

According to scientists and ecologists, there is no question whether this thermal pollution will affect the aquatic ecology. The question is, how much?

Nuclear power plants also discharge radioactive wastes. Though the release of radioactive contaminants is regulated by the Atomic Energy Commission, there are growing numbers in the scientific community who are deeply concerned with their potential hazard.

Dr. John Gofman and Dr. Arthur Tamplin, both of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, have completed studies which indicate that the allowable limits for radioactive wastes set by the AEC are too high—and pose a severe public health hazard. They estimate that present allowable radiation levels from peaceful atomic activities could cause in excess of 16,000 additional cancer cases per year in the United States. Gofman and Tamplin have called for a reduction to not

more than 10% of the AEC discharge standards.

We should require power companies to install cooling towers or other closed circuit cooling systems, which have the potential of greatly reducing the amount of heated water effluents. And we must reduce the AEC standard of allowable radioactive wastes, as has been done in Minnesota and is being considered in other states.

In addition, we should not allow power plants to be located on our beaches—their structures are not compatible with the natural esthetics of the shoreline. Instead, we should look to underground sites and to inland sites away from population centers, where a number of plants could be clustered together, thereby making it economical to pump water over long distances.

It certainly is not uncommon to find industries, such as the power industry, looking to the ocean as a convenient dump.

Government has done far too little to ameliorate this problem. In fact, government agencies themselves dispose of wastes along the California coastline, and they bear part of the responsibility for the deterioration of the shoreline environment.

A few years ago a chemical company, planning on mining phosphate 40 miles off the San Diego coast, found unexploded U.S. Navy projectiles in the area. The chemical company never did proceed with phosphate mining there.

Recently the State Narcotics Office dumped "accumulated evidence" off the San Francisco coast. Soon after, seashell collectors on a San Francisco beach began finding bottles of methadone. More than 200 bottles were picked up. The narcotics office never did assume responsibility for the methadone but they have since stopped their procedure of dumping "evidence" into the ocean.

Over the years, government and agriculture have left uncontrolled the drainage of pesticides into the ocean. As a result we are poisoning ocean food supplies, threatening the existence of wildlife, and interfering with the oxygen-producing processes of oceanic plankton—which, on a worldwide basis, accounts for 60% of the earth's oxygen supply.

BEACHES CLOSED; CLAM BEDS STILL QUARANTINED

Last year six miles of ocean along Newport and Huntington beaches were closed to the public due to improperly treated sewage. The Pismo clam beds off those beaches are still under quarantine.

Inadequate sewage treatment also forced the closing last year of another stretch of shoreline, six and a half miles long on the Monterey coast.

The detrimental effects of waste dumping are nowhere as stark as the inner harbor of Los Angeles. For years the harbor has been dead—all animal and plant life having been destroyed by indiscriminate discharges of domestic and industrial effluents.

Government, as well as industry, must treat the ocean not as a dump for its refuse but as the state's most important recreational resource. The notion that society's wastes can be diluted and absorbed by the ocean without any deleterious effects on the shoreline ecosystem is simply not valid.

We have suffered long enough the destruction of the coastline environment by oil, sewage and pesticide pollution, industrial wastes, oil discharges, power plants, unsightly structures, unconcerned governmental bodies, and insensitive land developers.

I hope, as we hear so often, that this is truly the year of ecology—the year that man begins to question technology simply for technology's sake, the year that man begins to take meaningful action to preserve and improve his environment, the year that man begins to treat with gentler hands the place in which he lives.

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 22, 1970]

WE TROUBLE THE EARTH
(By Garrett Hardin)

One of the maddening aspects of a cultural revolution is that those who take part in one have a hard time telling what the revolution is about until it is over. They often do not know what is taking place until the change has progressed to a "point of no return."

Rachel Carson started a revolution when she published "Silent Spring" in 1962. True to form, this revolutionary work was widely misunderstood at first. Some critics complained that Miss Carson had not presented all of the evidence—which was true. Others said that pesticides were not necessarily so bad as her horrendous examples implied—which also was true. But most of the nit-picking critics missed entirely the revolutionary meaning of "Silent Spring."

What Miss Carson was trying to tell us was simply this: The world can no longer afford to ignore what has been called "ecologic ethic." The ethical system under which we operated in the past was possibly adequate for an uncrowded world, though even this is debatable. But it is not adequate for a world that is already critically overcrowded, a world in which it is increasingly difficult for anyone to do anything at all without seriously affecting the well-being of countless other human beings.

In castigating pesticide sprayers as monomaniacs, Rachel Carson was alerting the world to what has been called the fundamental principle of ecology, namely: We can never do merely one thing. A monomaniac, by definition, is someone who thinks he can do just one thing, whether it be killing pests with pesticides, creating law and order with naked force or bringing Utopia into being with uninstructed love.

INTRODUCING A CAT

We can never do merely one thing, because the world is a system of fantastic complexity. Nothing stands alone. No intervention in nature can be focused exclusively on but one element of the system. More than 100 years ago, Charles Darwin gave an amusing example of an ecologic system in his classic discussion of the consequences of introducing a cat into rural England:

"The number of humble-bees in any district depends in a great measure upon the number of field-mice which destroy their combs and nests; and Col. Newman, who has long attended to the habits of humble-bees, believes that 'more than two-thirds of them are thus destroyed all over England.' Now the number of mice is largely dependent, as everyone knows, on the number of cats; and Col. Newman says, 'Near villages and small towns I have found the nests of humble-bees more numerous than elsewhere, which I attribute to the number of cats that destroy the mice.' Hence it is quite credible that the presence of a feline animal in large numbers in a district might determine, through the intervention first of mice and then of bees, the frequency of certain flowers in that district!"

This story, from "The Origin of Species," was later embroidered upon by others, who pointed out that, on the one hand, it is well known that old maids keep cats and that on the other, red clover (which requires humble-bees as pollinators) is used to make the hay that nourishes the horses of the British cavalry. From all this, "it logically follows that the continuance of the British Empire is dependent on a bountiful supply of old maids." (Should a Ph.D. thesis be done on the relation between the marriage rate in England from 1920-60 and the loss of India, Suez, and the African colonies? Worse topics have served.)

Despite the verse by Francis Thompson opening this article, the stirring of a flower

on earth may not quite trouble a distant star. But it does trouble the rest of the earth to a surprising degree. Let's look at a particular example, one among many.

CONSEQUENCES OF ASWAN

Everyone has heard of the Aswan Dam in Egypt. It has been built high up in the Nile for two purposes: to generate electricity and to provide a regular flow of water for irrigation of the lower Nile basin. Ecology tells us that we cannot do merely one thing; neither can we do merely two things. What have been the consequences of the recently built Aswan Dam?

First, the replacement of periodic flooding by controlled irrigation is depriving the flood plains of the annual fertilization it has depended on for 5,000 years. (The fertile silt is now deposited behind the dam, which will eventually have to be abandoned.) Consequently, artificial fertilizers will soon have to be imported into the Nile valley.

Second, controlled irrigation without periodic flushing salinates the soil, bit by bit. There are methods of correcting this, but they cost money. This problem has not yet been faced in Egypt.

Third, the sardine catch in the eastern Mediterranean has diminished from 18,000 tons a year to 500 tons, a 97 per cent loss, because the sea is now deprived of flood-borne nutrients. No one has reimbursed the fishermen for their losses.

Fourth, schistosomiasis (a fearsomely debilitating disease) has greatly increased among Egyptians. The disease organism depends on snails, which depend on a steady supply of water, which constant irrigation furnishes but annual flooding does not. Of course, medical control of the disease is possible—but that, too, costs money.

Is this all? By no means. The first (and perhaps only a temporary) effect of the Aswan Dam has been to bring into being a larger population of Egyptians, of whom a greater proportion than before are chronically ill.

What will be the political effects of this demographic fact? This is a most difficult question—but would anyone doubt that there will be many political consequences, for a long time to come, of trying to do "just one thing," like building a dam on the Nile? The effects of any sizable intervention in an ecosystem are like ripples spreading out on a pond from a dropped pebble; they go on and on.

Before the Aswan Dam was ever started, there should have been a thorough study of the costs and benefits to be expected. There was a study of a sort, of course, but it was myopic on the cost end: All it included was the cost of building a concrete dam, implicitly assuming that it is possible to do just one thing. There was no mention of the costs of a new fertilizer industry, of a far-flung medical program, of a soil reclamation program or of developing a new occupation for displaced fishermen; and nothing at all about controlling pathological processes in the body politic. What was missing in the preliminary cost-benefit analysis was the ecologic view. The analysis was merely economic, in the narrowest sense.

ECOLOGY TO TAKE OVER

I think one of the few predictions that we can confidently make as we move into the 1970s is that economic analysis is going to become ecologized; or perhaps we should say ecology will engulf economics. Whether ecologists will become economists or vice versa is of only secondary importance. What is important is that the more inclusive science will encompass the less inclusive, which has proved too narrow a base for carrying out cost-benefit analyses.

It is interesting that the roots of the words "ecology" and "economics" are similar. The first part of the two words comes from the Greek *oikos*, meaning house or

home. Both studies have something to do with a house or household. *Logos* means words or discourse and by tradition is used to indicate any field of study. So ecology is the study of households—or perhaps, in modern terminology, we should say of orderly or organized systems.

The second part of the word "economics" comes from the Greek *nomos*, which means law or custom. Economics might be defined as the study of the customary arrangements of a system.

It would be indefensible to claim that the etymological difference between the two words sprang from a profound perception of the distinction between the two fields. Nevertheless, by accident as it were, the names are unusually apt.

Economics, as it has been practiced by most economists since the time of Adam Smith, has had as it purview the customary arrangements of systems. The systems in question have been the subsystems of individual business enterprises. Those who paid the piper called the tune. With some exceptions, economists have assumed that "whatever is, is right," to quote William Graham Sumner, who was quoting Alexander Pope.

Ecology, neither so fortunate nor so unfortunate as to have patrons, has taken a larger view. The ecologist studies all inputs and outputs, regardless of who pays for them or who benefits by them. In the past, the ecological eye has been focused only on non-human economic situations. The focus is now changing as ecology engulfs economics.

Logic dictates this engulfment, but logic alone does not determine history. Power relationships also must be favorable. I think the power relationships now favor a change. In the past, economics was to a large extent the handmaiden of business. The vast majority of economists were either employed directly by business, or had jobs in university departments of economics that were unusually sensitive to business interests.

In recent decades, the steady increase in the number of economists employed by governmental and quasi-governmental agencies points toward the day when the tunes played by economists will be different. A different sector of society is paying the piper. Whether this means that economists will enjoy greater intellectual independence is not clear and may well be doubted. However, the shift in the balance of power should favor the development of a broadly ecological view among economists and that will be a social gain.

ABORIGINAL THINKING

But even as the thinking begins to become ecologized in one sector, old patterns of nonecological thinking continue in others. I can cite no more striking example of aboriginal economic analysis projected into the future than that now supporting the SST, the supersonic transport airplane. One might suppose that an innovation that will cost some \$5 billion would be rigorously justified by an exhaustive economic analysis. What are the facts?

The first and most significant fact is that no business concern has ever proposed to finance the SST. The government will pay at least 90 per cent of the cost. As far as the prime contractor is concerned, this is like writing "Santa Claus" on the assets side of the ledger book—very nice, but not economics.

Since we, the people, are financing the SST, presumably we are doing so because we have carried out a cost-benefit analysis ahead of time and have found that the balance is favorable? Not so. No one has ever carried out a cost-benefit analysis for the SST. Still our legislators propose to spend \$5 billion of our money in ignorance of economic realities.

Yet the elements of a cost-benefit analysis are easy to lay out. Just as the cost of the Aswan Dam includes far more than the cost

of the concrete and steel that went into it, the cost of the SST will be far more than the special alloys and engineering skills required to make it.

The true cost of the operation of the SST must also include the cost of building giant new airports far from major cities, the cost of new transportation subsystems to take passengers from cities to distant airports, the cost of the deterioration of the home environment for wide areas around new airports and so on.

No economist has drawn up a balance sheet showing all these costs. Only the design and manufacture of the plane itself is counted as an essential cost. All other costs are conveniently labelled "external costs," or "externalities." New airports, new ground transportation, and the decay of communities of homes are all part of the "externalities" of the SST program. They are seldom mentioned, even under this invidious name, by the proponents of the supersonic plane.

MAGIC OF WORDS

It will be useful to pause to examine the role of language in controversy. Language serves many functions, and of these, two are most important: description and coercion. The descriptive function of language is generally frank and open, but the coercive function is usually hidden under the disguise of putative descriptiveness.

When a pesticide sprayer speaks of the "side-effects" of his actions, he is making use of the coercive function of language. But effects are effects. In calling certain effects "side-effects," the apologist is implying that they are secondary, that they don't really count, that you shouldn't be concerned about them. He is trying to coerce your attention in other directions. "Side-effects" is a bit of word magic by which the user seeks to control the world, or people's perception of the world.

Similarly, the economist who refers to the destruction of home environments and to the need for added airports and ground transport as "externalities" in the SST program is seeking to coerce the public's attention away from an open, honest accounting of all the costs. "Externalities" is not description; it is word magic.

Perhaps the worst of the "external" costs of the SST, and the most difficult to deal with, is sonic boom. The seriousness with which it is viewed depends on one's age, perhaps one's sex, the noisiness of the environment in other respects, previous conditioning, temperamental characteristics and perhaps even one's political predilections. Inside a building the effect is generally much worse than outside; a room may vibrate like a musical instrument. The aural experience is like being inside a drum beaten on by an idiot.

"Well, that's the price of progress for you," says the cheerful apologist. O.K.: What precisely is the price? What does a cost-benefit analysis tell us about the SST?

The only benefit in sight is saving time. (Don't tell us that it will employ people; the same can be said for peddling heroin.) The current model of the American SST is planned for a capacity of just under 240 passengers. Whisked coast-to-coast, they will save two hours each at the most optimistic estimate. So 480 man-hours will be saved. What are they worth? Let's assume that everyone who is so eager to save this time is an important executive, making an average salary of \$60,000 a year. Such people probably work at least 60 hours a week 50 weeks a year, or 3,000 hours a year. Their time is, then, worth \$20 an hour. The time saved by a planeload of such people is worth 20×480 , or \$9,600 for each plane load. This is the benefit.

IRRESPONSIBLE DECISION

What is the cost? The cost is borne not by the passengers, but by people on the ground. Occasionally plaster is cracked or

even windows broken; the prehistoric cliff dwellings at Mesa Verde National Park, in Colorado, may be damaged; a surgeon performing a delicate eye operation may be startled and botch his work; invalids troubled with insomnia may become more troubled. But let's ignore all that. Let's think only of the ordinary citizens who don't like sitting inside a drum beaten by an idiot; let's ask exactly how much diseconomy they must suffer to wipe out the economy of \$9,600 enjoyed by the people on the plane. Where is the break-even point?

It has been estimated that a typical flight from the West Coast to the East Coast of the United States would produce a traveling cone-shaped boom that would disturb 20 million people. Dividing \$9,600 by this number we obtain 4.8 mills. That is, if the discomfort of each person receiving a boom has a negative value of \$5 mills or more, the aggregate value of the transcontinental supersonic flight is negative. And remember, this calculation ignores the more spectacular damages and assumes that all the passengers earn \$60,000 a year.

The diseconomy of the flight is even more striking if some of the passengers are society women flying from one coast to the other to attend a garden party, or officials in the Federal Aviation Agency going out to give lectures on the national importance of the SST.

As one who has been often boomed by military supersonic planes—which are not so large or as obnoxious as the commercial plane will be—let me say that I would regard 5 mills a boom as inadequate compensation.

I think most people who do not get all dewy-eyed when hearing the word "progress" would agree with me. Why, then, must we put up with such a behemoth? The reason, I think, is simple: The decision-making processes have only the loosest of couplings to the social control mechanisms that we hint at by the word "responsibility."

"A decision is responsible," the philosopher Charles Frankel says, "when the man or group that makes it has to answer for it to those who are directly or indirectly affected by it."

Putting the most charitable possible construction to the decisionmaking in the SST affair, we might say that the decision to have such a facility is made by the 240 high-salaried passengers who will ride the plane from coast to coast. But they don't have to pay the cost. The cost is paid by the 20 million people on the ground who suffer each time some 200 passengers save two hours. The decision to produce and fly the SST is, in the deepest sense, an irresponsible decision.

In passing, let it be noted that a responsible decision in the SST matter would be easily reached if all airline executives, all 45,000 employees of the FAA and all 535 members of Congress were compelled to live in the path of SST sonic booms, thus making them answer for their decisions as Frankel recommends.

Economics employs *partial* analysis to reach its decisions. This defect is not essential to the subject of economics, but it is traditional. Because of the increasing pressure of population and because of our greater knowledge of the consequences of our actions, economics is being rapidly altered away from its classical mold in the direction of ecology. The public interest in every proposal will in the future weigh more and more heavily in reaching decisions on the expenditure of public moneys.

Cost-benefit analyses must be carried out within an intellectual framework that comes closer to incorporating the total system—not, certainly, all the way from Thompson's flower to the troubled stars, but certainly over a broad swath of earthly interrelationships. The myth of "externalities" must be abandoned. Economics must become ecological.

ABORTED DREAMS

When ecology engulfs economics, many of the dreams of imaginative engineers will be deliberately aborted because cost-benefit analysis will indicate an aggregate value that is negative. Many a dam will go unbuilt.

The SST and many other technical marvels will never be realized or will be subsequently abandoned. Does this mean that all material "progress" will come to an end? Does it mean that we will be so inhibited by complete ecological-economic analysis that we can never again take a new technological step?

I think not. "We can never do one thing," and we can (in principle) never carry out an absolutely complete analysis, but it is nonetheless possible to institute changes safely.

Two intellectual tools make this possible. The first is model-building, as mathematicians understand the term. With an intellectual model, one works out the feedback consequences of alterations in the system in an immaterial realm where the "costs" can be borne without pain.

The second tool is dynamic programming, that is, the use of an adaptive logical system that can correct the model (or its real life analog) rapidly, before runaway feedback processes take control. Every order-of-magnitude improvement in the state of the art of computers brings with it a corresponding improvement in the efficacy of model-building and dynamic-programming. Such improvements in turn increase our confidence in our ability to foresee the consequences of interventions in ecological systems, and our willingness to undertake innovations.

The engulfing of economics by ecology thus will reintroduce responsibility into the political system, though at the risk of putting an end to all change. Fortunately, however, the powers of modern computers give man the capability of dealing with almost incredibly complex systems and thus regaining confidence in his ability to alter the systems in which he lives in a creative and responsible way.

DR. VOLODYMYR HORBOVYI

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Detroit-East and Hamtramck Branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., has forwarded to me an appeal on behalf of Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, who is held as a political prisoner in the Soviet Union. So that my colleagues may be aware of this situation, I insert in the RECORD:

DR. VOLODYMYR HORBOVYI'S APPEAL

(We would appreciate if the Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, the U.N. Commission of Human Rights, the European Council in Strasbourg and the International Court in The Hague turned their attention to the plight of political prisoners in the Soviet Russian concentration camps. Special consideration should be given to the case of Dr. Horbovyi, who, being a citizen of Czechoslovakia, has been illegally sentenced by the Russians to 25 years. We hope that the above-mentioned organizations will do everything in their power to demand his release.)

Herewith I have the honour to state my situation.

My name is Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi. I was born on January 30, 1889 in the town of Dolyna, Galicia, formerly Austro-Hun-

gery, by nationality Ukrainian. My citizenship was first Austrian, then Ukrainian, afterwards Polish, and in 1947 I became temporarily a Czech-Slovak citizen. I was never a Soviet citizen and as a free man never lived in the USSR. Before World War II, I was a member of the Council of Advocates of Lviv (Lvov), during the war a judge at the Polish Appeal Court in Cracow, and after the war a legal consultant at the Ministry of Agriculture of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

My imprisonment has no legal basis, and it occurred as follows: In July 1947 the government of Poland proclaimed me a "war criminal" for alleged collaboration with the Germans during the war. For this reason, upon the demands of the said government, I was arrested in Prague on August 1, 1947, and extradited to Poland on August 7, 1947. In the note which was issued by the Polish government it was said that I would stand trial. Unfortunately, the trial was never held, and could not have been held, for a whole year of persistent investigation failed to produce any incriminating evidence. On the contrary, I proved that I had been critical of Hitler's political course and in general was not guilty of any crime, and that the "document" which provided argument in support of the demand for my extradition was ineptly fabricated. The Polish authorities were embarrassed, but instead of sending me back to the Czecho-Slovak Republic, they handed me over to the Soviet authorities in Warsaw on July 9, 1948. For this purpose they fabricated a new "document" which this time accused me of being a Ukrainian nationalist.

In the USSR the Polish story repeated itself. Another year of dramatic investigation also failed to produce the required results for the MGB (Ministry of State Security—Transl.). It is well known what atmosphere prevailed within the MGB at that time. Instead of giving me an opportunity to return to the CSSR and to continue my work there in peace, I was sent to the forced labour camps by an administrative order on the basis of a closed-door decision of the Special Conference of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR, No. 2906-49, of July 6, 1949, under Article 54-2, 54-11 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, for a term of 25 years. The Ministry of State Security does not exist any more, its "special conferences" have also been formally abolished, but their strange fruits continue to carry legal force.

In order to provide a characteristic of the legality and justice in these parts I wish to quote the following facts:

(a) The Soviet Criminal Code and the UN Declaration of Human Rights, which was signed by the Soviet Union, permit the punishment of an individual only on the basis of a decision of the court, and, at the same time, guarantee the rights of defense to the accused. Regrettably, in the USSR the above stated legal principles are only propagandistic in nature, for reality is completely different. In my case there was no trial, no sentence, no opportunity to defend myself, yet I have been suffering imprisonment for the last 15 years (22 years by 1969—Translator).

(b) According to a decree of March 24, 1956, the Commission concerned with the investigation of cases of individuals serving sentences for political, violation-of-duty, or economic crimes, should have reviewed the grounds on which each person was imprisoned at the place of confinement. This Commission summoned me and interrogated me on October 1, 1956, but a negative verdict had already been reached on September 29, 1956. On October 1, 1956 the Chairman of the Commission formally notified me that my case was being scheduled for an additional investigation.

(c) My petition in my case dated May 22, 1960 was dealt with by the Prosecutor General's Office of the Ukrainian SSR by its decision No. 01-20776/60 which said: "The Pros-

ecutor General's Office of the Ukrainian SSR can find no basis for protesting decision of the Special Conference of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR No. 2906-49, because the Committee of State Security declares that the accusations have found confirmation." Formally, the Prosecutor General's Office should watch over the activities of the security organs and not vice versa.

(d) In the period from July 2, 1960 to November 22, 1960 I was confined to the investigating isolator of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR in Kyiv, which meant that investigation in my case was being conducted. According to the regulations of the Criminal Procedural Code, an investigation can end either with an indictment and subsequent trial, or with the suspension of an investigation and the release of the arrested. In my case neither one nor the other occurred.

(e) In 1955 the Soviet authorities formally agreed to the repatriation from the USSR of all foreigners, but in practice do not make it possible to take advantage of it even though I demanded to be returned.

(f) The decree of September 3, 1955 and the order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs No. 0323 of August 10, 1956 on the release from imprisonment of invalids has not been applied in my case, even though I have been an invalid since January 11, 1952.

(g) The ChK, GPU, NKVD, KGB—are various names for one and the same institution, which is represented by one and the same element. Therefore it would be strange if the same people and the same institutions now worked for the restoration of the so-called socialist legality, which they themselves discredited. It is not hard to imagine what this restoration of legality actually looks like in real life.

I declare that never in my life did I commit any crime or was mixed up in something bad. My only blunder was that I thoughtlessly trusted Soviet propaganda about Soviet humanitarianism and legality and remained within their reach.

As early as 1921 I became interested in jurisprudence. I have years of experience and know many things. Reading the statements made by the representatives of Soviet justice about genuine renewal of socialist legality in the USSR, or listening to statements made by political leaders of that state to the effect that there are no longer any political prisoners there, and comparing it all with the situation of people like me, I cannot help but wonder at that chimerical and malicious Soviet morality, which I am unable to comprehend.

I wish to remark that one can get a true picture of the situation of a political prisoner in the USSR only on the basis of an inspection by an impartial committee of the places of his confinement, and by questioning him, and listening to explanations by myself or people like myself.

I should be grateful if you would become interested in the situation of the political prisoner in the USSR and in my case, and if you would help me to avail myself of the rights which are due to me as a man and a citizen, and most of all—to help me to free myself from illegal imprisonment, to enjoy freedom of movement and to obtain satisfaction.

Yavas, January 30th, 1962.

CRIME

HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker, no one can look at the crime statistics in our cities and, indeed, around the Nation,

without the conviction that our protection against the criminal is not sufficient.

It is apparent to everyone that there are not enough arrests being made, that our courts are not guaranteeing the public a speedy trial, and that our prisons are not reforming their prisoners.

Too many crimes are simply never solved. In Washington, in the first 10 months of 1969, only 1,000 of the 5,000 robberies were solved; and in 1968, only 25 percent of all the serious crimes in the District of Columbia were solved.

And while crimes increase throughout the country, our court system allows more and more time between arrest and trial, while those arrested are free to commit even more crimes. The results of our penal system are not better, for more than half of all those who have served time return for another crime.

It is obvious to all the need for an expanded police and court and prison system, and the sooner we realize this, the faster we can deal with the surge in crime we now face.

An editorial in the Wheeling Intelligencer deals with this subject in a particularly forceful manner, and it deserves the attention of all those who are concerned with crime and combatting it.

The editorial follows:

WE CAN'T SMOOTH PATH OF ROWDIES AND EXPECT ORDER

Police Chief Rizzo, of Philadelphia, has put into words where they might exert some influence what many worried citizens in many other jurisdictions have believed to be true—that there is a connection between shrinking prison populations and the rising crime rate.

The connection is found in the ease with which accused persons with the necessary financial connections, especially repeat performers, can make bail, and the disposition of so many trial judges to grant probation to those who have broken the law on one or more previous occasions.

"At this very moment," Rizzo told the Philadelphia Crime Commission at a Harrisburg hearing, "about three hundred criminals awaiting trial on two or more serious offenses are walking the streets of Philadelphia. Last year one of every three persons arrested for homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault and burglary was free on bail for a prior offense at the time of arrest."

With the figures adjusted for population, the Philadelphia Police Chief might have been describing the situation in most any other Community in the Country, a fact attested to time and again in the periodic crime reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

There is one other phase of the subject on which Rizzo apparently did not touch. That is the contribution to this shrinking prison population, rising crime rate, walking brigade of repeat performers situation represented by the disposition of Parole Boards to turn loose repeat performers.

While individual Judges must assume a large share of the responsibility for this general state of affairs, it should not be forgotten that they are, at least in part, the victims of a sort of be-kind-to-criminals malady that has afflicted the land. The Supreme Court, in a series of decisions, has smoothed the path of those accused of crime while making the work of both police and prosecutors more difficult. Crime Commissions have tended to blame everybody and everything but the individual's disposition to flaunt the law for the rise of crime. The bail system which Chief Rizzo says is too easy has been assailed as too severe. Skillful lawyers and crowded dockets have tended to lengthen progressively the day between arrest and trial. Prison "reformers" have assailed penal authorities

as heartless, just as apologists for the lawless accuse the police of brutality every time they come in contact with a lawless mob.

The condition the Philadelphia Police Chief complains of is the product of this whole distortion of the historic view of crime and punishment. Until there is a disposition to get tough all along the line, particularly in the Courts, little improvement need be looked for.

TESTIFIES BEFORE HOUSING SUBCOMMITTEE

HON. MICHAEL J. HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, as you know, the Housing Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee held hearings last week concerning various mass transportation proposals.

Massachusetts State Representative Michael Dukakis, who was to testify before the committee on March 12, was called to Boston to vote on a resolution relative to the war in Vietnam and thus could not appear before the committee personally. His testimony, however, has been submitted to the committee and I am most happy to be able to present his remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues, as follows:

STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE MICHAEL S. DUKAKIS, OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee: I am State Representative Michael S. Dukakis of Brookline, Massachusetts. I represent the Thirteenth Norfolk District, a suburban area that is almost completely surrounded by the central city itself.

I have come before you today to urge that you support H.R. 7006. It is my belief that this bill represents an auspicious step in the direction of providing our urban population with an efficient mass transit system.

Since 1963, a group of Massachusetts legislators, myself included, have been working towards a reversal of our state's transportation policy. It was our feeling that Massachusetts was spending far too much money and taking far too much land for the construction of highways, while ignoring Metropolitan Boston's desperate need for an expanded and improved mass transit system. Recently we won a major concession from our Governor, who agreed to ban further construction on several planned expressways in the Boston area.

I mention this because I believe that the transportation ills of Massachusetts are not unique; on the contrary, I think that the same problem is being faced in urban areas across the country. Our cities will simply not survive if they are not serviced with clean, comfortable, efficient, and reliable mass transit systems, and these systems cannot be built without federal assistance such as that proposed in the bill now before this committee.

Until now, most officials have taken for granted their assumption that the way to move large numbers of people with the smallest economic and social cost and the greatest efficiency is to construct highways for them. Our cities will not long survive if this assumption is allowed to go unchallenged. Not only are highways within urban areas too expensive economically, but they are prohibitive in terms of social cost. Desperately needed housing and jobs are often abolished; traffic congestion becomes more impossible

than ever; pollution is dangerously aggravated; and the loss of our already severely limited open space is irreplaceable. Added to this is the convincing evidence that it is fantasy to believe that more road construction will be a shot in the arm for commercial growth.

There is an alternative to the endless reflexive highway construction. In Boston, the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority, which runs our mass transit system, has drawn up a series of very ambitious plans that would overhaul their entire system by remodeling existing stations, purchasing more modern cars, improving service, and, most importantly, extending service to more and more parts of the metropolitan area. The further we can extend service and the more attractive we can make it, the more people will be persuaded that there is a more convenient way for them to commute to the downtown area than taking their cars.

The implementation of these plans has been proceeding at a painfully slow pace. A few of our most ancient stations have been renovated and a few new vehicles have been purchased. Some construction is underway that will extend the system to outlying areas. But this work cannot begin in earnest until an infusion of federal funds, such as that proposed under this bill, is forthcoming. I cannot emphasize this point strongly enough. Attractive, efficient urban mass transportation systems are here: they are ready right now. The plans have all been made, the costs have been computed, and the disbursement of the awaited funds has been approved. We are just waiting for this body to act.

In Massachusetts we have in our Constitution a provision which prohibits the use of the gasoline tax for any purpose other than highway construction and maintenance. It cannot be used for the costs of providing mass transit; in fact, its use is so limited that it cannot even be used for providing parking lots for mass transit facilities.

Since 1963, I have been convinced that by placing emphasis on highway construction we are working to the detriment of the development of a mass transit system as well as bringing the destruction of our cities more and more imminent. The well-respected Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations in their April 1969 report has said, "... complex highway and mass transit needs of an urban society call for a broadened application of highway use funds to transportation purposes in addition to the construction and maintenance of streets and roads." While it is true that this report concerns itself with state aid to local government, the principles on which it is based are equally applicable in a discussion of Federal aid to state governments.

In Massachusetts much has been said about the so-called "free money," the 90-10 money. Little has been said, however, about the misuses to which this money has been put. I do not mean that the money has been spent in an unauthorized manner, but I believe the availability of this money has led many states to a complete loss of perspective in the development and preservation of our cities.

The Metropolitan area which I represent has been part of a long fight against the construction of certain segments of the interstate highway system. We have based our objections on the projected loss of 5,000 units of housing. We have based our objection on the destruction of the environment and on the loss of our open space. But perhaps our greatest objection has been the fact that we do not see the construction of endless miles of highways as serving our transportation needs.

It has taken us seven years to reach the point where Massachusetts was willing to change its transportation policy; seven years and the destruction of thousands of housing units, the isolation of whole communities,

and a perceptibly detrimental affect on our environment. Perhaps the greatest force fighting a change in transportation philosophy across the nation has been the mistaken feeling that federal highway money is free money. I don't have to stand before you and tell you the state of most of America's urban economies. Many of our cities and states find themselves on the brink of financial disaster. The reliance upon highways and the 90-10 money continues only because there is no alternative.

Not only is this lack of alternative forcing great financial burdens on our urban areas, but it is also contributing to the decline of the city as a viable entity. Land in our metropolitan areas is becoming extremely scarce. If the City of Boston builds all of the roads projected under the interstate highway system, we would find that by 1990, Boston would have thirty per cent more of its land devoted to streets, highways, and related uses than to all housing of all types. This factor is especially significant, because Boston is a city of shrinking population. Our people are fleeing to the suburbs, and one of the prime reasons for this exodus from the central city is the lack of land available for development. As more land is taken and the tax base shrinks, the city finds itself in a spiraling financial crisis. For without this tax revenue, the city is unable to provide its citizens with the services necessary to keep them in the city.

I do not suggest that the development of a rapid transit system is the answer to all our urban problems. But I do suggest that it is imperative that the cities are given the option of developing an integrated system, one that has rail and rubber working not in competition, but in coordination. And I further suggest that this cannot and will not happen until there is adequate funding for mass transit. We must stop treating mass transit as a stepchild, a second class citizen to the highway system, and provide the states with a financial alternative to the highway fund. I believe that H.R. 7006 is the vehicle by which we can accomplish this goal, because it will establish a permanent fund to be used for mass transit and restore flexibility to transportation planning, construction, and operation.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for the opportunity of appearing before this committee. I hope you will see that the development of an economically and socially acceptable transportation system depends in great part on what the Congress does with H.R. 7006.

DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, as one who has had a long-term and personal acquaintance with our various foreign aid programs, I am familiar with the ideals and purpose that young people can bring to bear on the problems of development. For this reason, I commend to the attention of the House the following report by the Youth Task Force for International Development which contains a number of mature and perceptive proposals relating to American development assistance policies.

The report is a further example, if any are really needed, that the majority of American young people are interested in the development of creative, yet practical, solutions to the many problems

facing both our own Nation and mankind in general.

The Youth Task Force report follows:

WHAT RIGHT HAVE WE TO PEACE?

Few deny the serious problems of international development. The quality of life for two-thirds of the world's population, who now suffer intense poverty and hunger, continues to deteriorate. Problems of overpopulation, unemployment, poor health, inadequate education grow more severe. If development means an improvement in the overall quality and opportunity of life, then clearly the developing world is not developing. U.S. efforts to help reverse this trend are bogged down in a bureaucratic morass of politicking and tokenism.

And yet if these problems which frustrate development lead to world tension and conflict, and if the U.S. response to their urgency is to ignore and "wash our hands" of them, to reduce and harden our development assistance, and to refuse to adopt policies which would really benefit the developing world, then *what right have we to peace?* What right have we to peace, physical or psychological, now or in the future, if we do so little to deal with the basic causes of conflict and human disparity?

Vietnam, crime and pollution are important but surface problems, reflecting that the U.S. is also a developing country uncertain of its values and priorities. Human development knows no national boundaries. We too often ignore and even deny underlying, causal problems of development, such as the needs and sentiments of developing societies, ecological considerations, the overall relationship between the wealthy and poor, and the need for human development. Development is an extremely complex process, which we do not, and perhaps cannot, fully understand. Our response to this vital challenge will elevate or further debase human existence.

We must change our perspective of development. It is not merely economic or social: it is inherently ecological. It involves the relationships between organisms and their environment, between people and their resources, between people themselves. In their pursuit of technological advance and material gain, the "developed" countries have largely ignored these relationships, resulting in a colonial system in which people are expendable inputs rather than important, independent human beings.

The revolutionary process of redefining values and overcoming traditional barriers to independence and self-respect is global. The U.S. participation in this process cannot be limited to a response to our needs only. If we are to have any right of inheriting a better world, we must act now to help build it.

These actions should be based on the needs and desires of the developing societies themselves, on their efforts to foster development along their own cultural patterns. Each society has individual characteristics and problems. The U.S. cannot dictate that development be in our image. This policy results in an unnatural aberration when successful, and in resentment and bitterness when not. We cannot and should not expect political favors or gratitude.

In attempting to understand the views and sentiments of the developing societies and to suggest innovative, more effective alternatives for U.S. development policy, we, the Youth Task Force for International Development, urge that the U.S. adopt human development as a major national priority and submit the following proposals:

DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Need

The goal for U.S. assistance policy should be a relevant assistance program based on the needs and views of developing societies and compatible with their domestic make-up.

Current U.S. policy

U.S. efforts to help people help themselves are continually stymied by a policy of containment and fear which lacks room for dynamic change and adaptation. Assistance programs have been inadequately funded and many times ill-conceived, often reflecting a spirit of "white man's burden", and seldom assisting those in greatest need.

Proposals

(1) The potential for human development, not ideology, should be the primary consideration for assistance. Aid should help people, not status quo or racist regimes such as the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia inhibiting human development. Aid should be complementary to needed reforms within the developing society, not a substitute for them, but it should not necessitate U.S. involvement within aid-recipient countries.

(2) The U.S. must commit more of its resources to development. Both the amount and terms of assistance are important. A reasonable goal for the U.S. would be to at least double its economic aid by 1972. Such aid commitments must be for longer term and overlapping periods. That is, yearly appropriations must be abolished in favor of three to five-year commitments, with succeeding commitments being made no less than six months in advance of expiration of the preceding commitment. The U.S. might consider the establishment of 3% of its GNP as an assistance-allotment goal by 1980.

(3) Bilateral assistance should emphasize technical assistance and related human development assistance, such as the "popular participation" envisioned under Title IX. Population, employment, health, and education remain important areas for bilateral assistance.

(4) Whenever possible, bilateral aid should be in the form of grants to relieve the immense debt-servicing problems. One possibility worth thought is reduction or elimination of outstanding debts in the U.S. bilateral loans should be at lower or no interest.

(5) Development loans and other needs for foreign exchange should be handled primarily through multilateral channels. This type of aid should constitute at least 30% of total U.S. assistance. The International Development Association which gives soft loans, and regional development banks, particularly need additional funding.

(6) Especially undesirable are political "strings" to aid, which should be abolished. Tied economic aid, though more understandable, is also uneconomic, inefficient, and monopolistic. If these latter strings are to be maintained, the costs to the developing societies must be recognized (approximately 15%-20%); the aid-recipient therefor should be liable for only 80%-85% of the face value of the loan.

(7) We must be willing to redesign existing structures to meet better the needs of development. The Agency for International Development (AID), for example, is becoming a bureaucratic maze. While actual funding decreases, funding for "watchdog" functions increases, adding to rather than diminishing inefficiency. Greater emphasis on problem sectors (population, employment, health, education, agriculture, et al.) would be more effective in dealing with human development problems than the present regional structure.

(8) The United States should place as much emphasis on the solution of second generation problems of development as on first generation problems. For example, the second generation problems of the "green revolution", those of market development, diversification of crops, employment, and self-sufficiency are just as important as the development and dissemination of new, harder strains of cereal grains.

(9) The United States should considerably strengthen its support of establishment of internationally controlled and regionally

administered training centers open to all nations which will train nationals in vital infrastructure positions, including public administration, public health, education and agriculture. The resultant pool of expertise would then be open to each nation to draw upon as needed.

(10) An innovative search should be made for other sources of development financing, possible sources being related to Special Drawing Rights, ocean resources, tax incentives, world commercial taxes, etc.

TRADES

Needs

A realistic policy that acknowledges the primary importance of trade to developing societies, the serious difficulties that trade fluctuations can cause, the need for access to developed markets, and the critical need for developing societies to earn more foreign exchange through trade.

Current U.S. policy

Current U.S. action is based on protectionism of certain domestic industries from international competition. These trade restrictions, quotas, tariffs and embargoes, the result of political favoritism and backscratching, critically limit trade development in poorer countries.

Proposals

(1) An immediate goal of U.S. assistance must be the radical liberalization of trade policies, reflecting preferential treatment to developing societies. Further, these policies must provide the developing countries with greater access to developed markets in both competitive and non-competitive products.

(2) Affected areas of the U.S. society can be subsidized through internal adjustment assistance during the transition to more competitive industries, but business, labor, educational institutions, and government must help speed the transition.

(3) Long-term goals must include stabilization of international prices for primary commodities which would enable developing countries to increase export earnings.

(4) In keeping with preferential treatment to developing countries, U.S. must support regional trade arrangements and organizations in developing areas.

PRIVATE INVESTMENT

Need

In developing their infrastructure, the developing societies need considerable amounts of capital and expertise which the private sector is qualified to give.

Current U.S. policy

Private investors have for some time concentrated on extractive businesses, seriously exploiting the resources and people of developing societies. They have promoted and perpetuated conditions of inequality and have retarded the distribution of wealth within these countries. Little has been done to correct this situation; it is still far too easy for politicians and private investors to collude for personal or political gain. This situation is further deteriorated by congressional efforts to harass the poor: privately endowed, development-minded foundations.

Proposals

(1) Structures should be established to regulate international private investment to protect the investor and the developing societies from unfair practices and exploitation.

(2) The U.S. government must continually increase incentives to private businesses to encourage investment of capital and know-how in the developing countries. Such incentives should take the form of guarantees of private sector investments, and cooperation with business in pre-investment surveys and fact-finding teams, including cost-sharing.

(3) The Hickenlooper Amendment must be immediately abolished because it is in-

herently unfair and places unwanted restrictions on U.S. freedom of action.

(4) The possibility of expropriation should be accepted by foreign investors who ignore the welfare of the developing societies concerned. Such threat of expropriation may be minimized by joint foreign-domestic investments, with at least 50% coming from the developing country and the rest coming from foreign investors.

(5) Private investors should be encouraged to pursue new methods of primary investment in developing countries, such as promotion of multinational corporations that pool resources and manpower, and the creation of more jointly-owned enterprises and "development park" projects.

(6) Private investors must provide adequate cross-cultural orientation of their overseas personnel to increase their effectiveness through greater understanding of the host country.

(7) Development-minded foundations should be encouraged to continue their work, particularly in the areas of research, public health and cooperatives.

(8) U.S. labor organizations are not exempt from the development field; they have much organizational and labor training expertise to offer the developing countries, and should be equally encouraged to extend it to them, through government incentives and public opinion.

IMPLEMENTATION

We have too long removed the humanness from the peoples of the developing world and held their problems at arms length. People throughout this nation must be made sensitive to their own feelings and to the feelings of others, or there will be no basis on which to begin the vital process of human development.

To implement these and future development proposals, we must create an effective constituency supporting a more positive U.S. role in development. We must confront people with and sensitize them to the need and importance of human development. The relationship between national and global problems and human needs must be stressed.

Through both the mass-media and personal interrelationships such as teach-ins, we must create massive, sustained, and innovative educational effort to create empathy for human development needs and positive support for a more effective, adequate U.S. response to these needs.

Rather than being bullied by powerful self-interest groups obstructing development efforts, our national leaders must provide positive, far-sighted leadership. They must dare to reverse the present isolationist trend and to vote for more realistic U.S. assistance measures, and to defend and explain these actions to their constituencies.

We must recognize that the implementation of these proposals will result in temporary dislocations and hardships in the domestic economy. These must be met by appropriate internal adjustment assistance measures.

The U.S. must cease viewing aid in terms of buying allies; its purpose should be to promote human development and the quality and opportunity of life.

It is an insult to America, especially its Black citizens, that American business contributes to the perpetuation of the racist regimes in Africa, and their denial of human rights. The U.S. would, therefore, be reflecting the desire of its citizens and, indeed, the cause of racial and human justice, in calling for, and implementing effective policies which will dissolve such inequality.

Youth, whose vested interest is the future, must focus the power of its idealism on human development in a worldwide context—to mold the future in accordance with its ideals and visions. Youth is neither blinded by its idealism, nor unaware of the dismal

stream of inadequate responses poisoning its future.

CONCLUSION

There must be a basic attitudinal change and a subsequent restructuring of all U.S. policies and institutions, public and private, to reflect this change. While this demand is idealistic, it is imperative. Rhetoric is meaningless without action. Human problems need human solutions. Until we achieve greater human development and opportunity we have no "right to peace".

EMPRISE

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, at the request of Congressman ROBERT STAFFORD, I offer the following letters from Mr. Ralph A. Foote of Middlebury, Vt., and Mr. William Birrell Franke of Rutland, Vt.

Both these gentlemen are obviously sincere in their conviction that their position is accurate. The fact remains that Mr. Patriarca did deal with Emprise in an attempt to recover moneys invested in the Hancock-owned Berkshire Downs, and that as a result of Mr. Patriarca's investment he was involved in an attempt to have Green Mountain change conflicting dates of operation.

The inference that Mr. Patriarca was an investor in Green Mountain was not intended by me.

The letters follow:

CONLEY & FOOTE,

Middlebury, Vt., March 11, 1970.

HON. SAM STEIGER,
Congressman from Arizona,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN STEIGER: I am attorney for Green Mountain Park Race Track in Pownal, Vermont. In testimony of yours appearing in the *Congressional Record* recently, you have seen fit to claim the involvement of our enterprise with an alleged Mafia leader.

This action on your part has caused, and will continue to cause, our people untold amounts of damaging publicity. The anguish and grief cannot be calculated. I expect you will hear directly from the Honorable William B. Franke, former Secretary of the Navy under Dwight Eisenhower. He is a director and a member of the Executive Committee of our corporation.

I am directed to tell you, on behalf of our President and General Manager, that your accusation is completely false and we unequivocally deny the truth of same.

In the event that rechecking by your staff of your information source reveals the falsity of your accusation, may we have the benefit of public attention to the fact?

Will you extend us a further courtesy? May this letter receive, at your request, the same treatment in the *Congressional Record* which was accorded your accusation.

Very respectfully yours,

RALPH A. FOOTE.

WILLIAM BIRRELL FRANKE,
Rutland, Vt., March 14, 1970.

HON. SAM STEIGER,
Congressman from Arizona,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STEIGER: At the end of the Eisenhower administration I retired as Secretary

of the Navy and became a member of the board of directors of a number of corporations. One of these was the Taconic Racing and Breeding Association, Inc. (Green Mountain Race Track) of Pownal, Vermont. Before accepting membership on the board of this corporation I made a very careful investigation of the corporation and the individuals who were responsible for its management. I found not only that these individuals were men of outstanding integrity but that racing in Vermont was supervised by a Racing Commission that is devoted to the maintenance of honest racing in this State; that works hard at its job; and that will permit no deviation from the high standards it has set. Based upon this and liking horses and racing I became a small stockholder of the corporation, a director and later a member of the executive committee. I have enjoyed the association and have found what many people do not know, that a small track can be operated with complete honesty and can avoid the infiltration of gangsters.

You will therefore understand with what great concern I read that portion of a recent speech made by you to the House of Representatives, reproduced in the *Congressional Record*, and reading as follows:

"Sportservice loans have been made to tracks and individuals that have figured in scandals surrounding Hancock Race Track, Pittsfield, Massachusetts; Raymond Patriarca's involvement in Green Mountain Park Raceway (near Pownal, Vermont), involved a \$255,000 transaction with Emprise".

Without cause, without justification and presumably without investigation you have damaged the reputation of the Green Mountain Track and all of us who are and have been associated with it. All of this could have been avoided had you seen fit to check the accuracy of the completely false information you received and/or first communicated with us here in Vermont.

A retraction never receives the publicity that does an accusation so that there is no way in which the trouble you have caused can be offset by your further action. The most that can be done by you is to tell the House that this part of your speech was incorrect, to insert this in the *Congressional Record* and to so advise the Press. This I ask that you do.

Very sincerely yours,
WILLIAM B. FRANKE.

SIMILAR PESTICIDE TREATMENT URGED

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I am today joining the distinguished chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. POAGE), in the sponsorship of legislation designed to prohibit the importation of food stuffs from any nation unless such items can meet U.S. standards involving DDT or other chemically poisonous applications.

The Department of Agriculture and other Federal units are in the process of sharply restricting pesticides and insecticides which may be applied with safety by American farm producers. It is certainly a health hazard to consumers to permit into this country agricultural commodities treated with higher

amounts of chemical poisons than that

permitted domestically. In addition, permitting such a double standard puts American producers at a competitive disadvantage.

Therefore, the prompt passage of this bill is called for in the interests of public health and fairness to U.S. farmers.

This measure would amend the Federal Insecticide, Fungicide, Rodenticide Act to prohibit the importation of any agricultural commodity from any country unless the President has determined that such country has at least equal restrictions with respect to the use of pesticides or insecticides.

WASHINGTON REPORT

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I periodically make a report to the people of the Second Congressional District of Nebraska, whom I have the honor to represent in the U.S. House of Representatives.

This is my sixth report for the 91st Congress:

WASHINGTON REPORT OF CONGRESSMAN
GLENN CUNNINGHAM

AIR, WATER POLLUTION ONE OF MY MAJOR CONCERNS

DEAR FRIENDS: Air and water pollution is a matter of extreme importance to all of us. It has been one of my major concerns for many years. Prior to my becoming Mayor of Omaha in 1948, I chaired an Omaha Improvement Plan Committee which made an exhaustive study of the city's ecological problems; and as Mayor I administered the city's first smoke abatement program, which won national recognition. Unfortunately a succeeding city administration relegated the program to the "back burner" where it languished until the Omaha City Council has again given the program the serious attention it needs.

I am a co-sponsor of President Nixon's seven bills designed to wage a constructive and effective campaign against pollution. These bills will encourage better soil conservation and the development of parklands and public recreation areas. They also are concerned with means of disposing of trash and all solid wastes.

The Administration proposals are designed to clean up our water resources; improve the quality of the air we breathe; and to remove from our landscape the litter and trash which has become a national eyesore.

Construction of sewage treatment plants will be encouraged and the power of the Federal Government strengthened to halt stream pollution. Specific attention will be given to automotive exhaust pollution and the development of engines and fuels to curtail poisoning of the air.

Federal assistance would be extended to the States and interstate agencies to enable them to carry out and accelerate programs of water standards enforcement and implementation.

The efforts to make our environment more livable will not be inexpensive. But, as you and I both realize, if man does not do something immediately to clean up the land on which he lives and the air he breathes, he runs the risk of ultimately polluting himself out of existence.

AWARD FOR LA VISTA

When Mrs. Leta Hollis of LaVista broke her arm and was unable to come to Washington, I accepted the Honorable Mention Certificate for LaVista in the National Clean Up Contest.

Other 2nd District cities honored for their beautification efforts were Millard, Oakland, Papillion, Plattsmouth, and Valley.

PRESIDENTIAL VETO OF HEW BILL

Time and again, the President has stated that the problem of inflation is second only to the Vietnam War. Likewise, it is my opinion that inflation is our country's most dangerous domestic problem.

It was for this reason that I joined 190 of my colleagues in the House of Representatives in sustaining the Presidential veto of the HEW Appropriation Bill.

In attacking inflation, let me say the President did not single out the fields of education and health. He has drastically and materially cut back in the military, reduced the appropriations for the space program, and has requested labor and industry to be cautious and responsible in their actions as to wages and prices.

I believe you will agree with me that along with a sound dollar will come sound programs in all areas, especially health and education.

AT LONG LAST

I have been working closely with Postmaster General Blount on Postal Reform for 12 months and, at long last, Congress has taken a significant step. I received the following letter from the Postmaster General which indicates the many hours of work, day and night, it took to bring this about:

"MARCH 13, 1970.

"DEAR GLENN: I am most grateful for your vital support yesterday morning when the substitute version of the postal reform bill was ordered reported out of the Committee.

"The Committee's action fully reflects the many months of public hearings and executive deliberations. You have made a significant contribution to the improvement of the postal system and to the welfare of its employees.

"There is, of course, much work ahead. I look forward to your continued counsel and cooperation as we strive for a truly excellent postal service.

"Sincerely,

"WINTON M. BLOUNT."

PRESIDENTIAL SCHOLARS VISIT

It was my pleasure recently to have as visitors four charming young ladies who participated in "A Presidential Classroom for Young Americans." Susan Marie Loomis is a senior at Millard High School, and Cathleen Bruckner is from Mercy High in Omaha.

The other Presidential Scholars who visited my office as part of the curriculum in their study of the three branches of Federal Government were Vicki Winans, who attends Brownell Hall-Talbot School, and Lyn Wallin, a student at Westside High.

PORNOGRAPHY MEASURE REPORTED OUT

My continuing war on pornography took a giant step when the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service reported out one of three Administration bills on obscenity.

I introduced the measure at the request of President Nixon and also co-sponsored the other two parts of the package. I am hopeful final action can be taken on this package of anti-smut measures during the current session of the Congress.

THE VICE PRESIDENT VISITS

Janis and I were joined by Senator Roman Hruska in greeting Vice President Agnew on his arrival at Lincoln for a speaking engagement.

LEGISLATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

I have introduced a Joint Resolution calling for the establishment of a Joint Commit-

tee on Environment and Technology. As I stated on the first page of this Report, this has been one of my major concerns for many years. This committee would conduct a continuing, comprehensive study and review the character and extent of environmental and technological changes that might occur in the future and their effect on population, communities and industries.

Recently I sponsored a local police assistance bill to help law enforcement agencies combat crime in urban areas. This measure would allow the Federal Government to make direct grants to improve the effectiveness of police services.

The ever-growing problem prompted my introduction of a bill which would establish a Presidential Commission to examine the medical, social and legal questions pertaining to the use of marihuana. We need an authoritative study that would establish intelligent, up-to-date conclusions and recommendations. The measure calls for a "blue-ribbon" panel to complete its study within one year. Its recommendations to the President would provide the basis for legislative action at all levels of Government. This bill does not suggest in any way that marihuana be legalized nor does it prescribe the nature of penalties for its use; these questions are left to the commission to decide.

Sincerely,

GLENN CUNNINGHAM.

FORCED SCHOOL BUSING AND BALANCING ISSUE TAKEN TO COURT BY CRAMER, AUTHOR OF THE ANTIBUSING AMENDMENT TO THE 1964 ACT

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Members of the House, I believe it my duty to call their attention to my activities in attempting to get the judiciary system of this country to abide by the antibusing amendment to the 1964 Civil Rights Act, of which I am the author, and thus to order no busing to accomplish racial balance, and to prove the legality of all-black schools in the South, as well as in the North, where a de facto segregated neighborhood exists.

I intend to pursue this matter in the courts until, hopefully, it is decided by not only the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals but also eventually, and hopefully in the near future, by the U.S. Supreme Court.

I appeared before the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta yesterday in the case involving my home district of Pinellas County, in Leon W. Bradley, Jr., et al., plaintiffs, against the Board of Public Instruction of Pinellas County, Fla., et al., defendants, where the appellant, through the NAACP, is appealing a district court order where the continuing maintenance of some de facto all-black schools and all-white schools are being permitted to exist under a court-decreed unitary system finding.

This case could become a landmark case and would be poetic justice in my opinion if the case involving my home district should go to the Supreme Court

and become the landmark case for making needed decisions, hopefully consistent with the amendment which I successfully offered as the Representative of that district to the 1964 Civil Rights Act. And, hopefully, as the result of my efforts in appearing as amicus curiae before the Court with permission of the Court, having argued the case and presented briefs in support of my amendment made in 1964 relating, now 6 years later, to the integration problems presently coming into being in my own district.

I place in the RECORD at this point a UPI article by Ed Rogers, of the Washington bureau and southeastern region, which discusses properly the questions raised by Chief Justice Burger in the latest Memphis case, in which he indicated that it was essential that these questions be answered by the courts and compares his position with mine, suggesting that perhaps—and I say hopefully—our objectives could be the same; that is, consistent with my antibusing amendment, and with the preservation of neighborhood schools and quality education on a nationwide basis.

It is my intention to join this matter at the first opportunity before the Supreme Court, hoping to get the issue decided, particularly in view of the upcoming September term of school and the necessity for the school boards throughout the country to have proper judicial definitions before them so that they can make timely decisions and, hopefully, consistent with the no busing to accomplish balance mandate of the 1964 act.

I include a copy of that article which indicates that Chief Justice Burger's discussion in the Memphis case indicates that he believes a definition of a unitary system is needed and, in his view, it is a system "within which no person is to be effectively excluded from any school because of race or color." And because it appears that this definition would allow de facto segregation in the South and a construction of desegregation consistent with my antibusing amendment that mandates against forced busing of pupils to accomplish balance or to force the integration of de facto black or white schools in the North or the South where the neighborhoods are black or white voluntarily and without gerrymandering by any school board or State action.

At a later date, I intend to place in the RECORD my brief and argument before the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals for the information of my colleagues and the people of this Nation, believing it to be one of the most serious and significant questions facing America today.

This is particularly true when the President has previously spoken out on this matter, and when it appears that further Presidential guidance is likely to be offered in the next few days. I would obviously hope that guidance would be consistent with the 1964 Cramer amendment.

I have discussed this matter with the Honorable John Mitchell, the Attorney General, with the Vice President Agnew Task Force on Quality Education, and with the White House, and I would hope that my views would be considered and

adopted as administrative policy. I am appealing to the courts with the hope that it will be adopted as judicial policy, it already having been adopted as legislative policy.

The education system of America is at the crossroads and continued disruptions and the destruction of neighborhood school systems must be brought to an end; uniformity of treatment for all school districts should be the goal, consistent with the congressional mandate.

The above-mentioned article follows:

[From the Jacksonville (Fla.) Journal,
Mar. 16, 1970]

DO CRAMER, BURGER AGREE ON FORCED PUPIL BUSING?

(By Ed Rogers)

WASHINGTON.—The chief justice of the United States and a Southern congressman have set out from different points toward what may become a meeting of minds on school busing.

In a concurring opinion on a school desegregation case "involving Memphis," Chief Justice Warren E. Burger last week listed some questions the court should resolve. These included:

"... whether, as a constitutional matter, any particular racial balance must be achieved in the schools . . . (and) to what extent transportation may, or must be, provided to achieve the ends sought . . ."

The questions are inherent in many recent decisions of lower federal courts.

Rep. William C. Cramer of Florida, meanwhile, has intervened personally in a half-dozen federal desegregation cases involving Florida schools.

As the author of an antibusing amendment adopted by Congress as part of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Cramer hopes to take the case to the Supreme Court.

He will argue before the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta Wednesday in a case involving Pinellas County (St. Petersburg).

Cramer contends the lower federal courts have misinterpreted Congress' intent in calling for wholesale busing to improve the racial balance of schools in the South.

Cramer says the courts have concluded that the amendment forbidding forced busing applies only in the North, where racial isolation results from neighborhood patterns.

Cramer quotes a floor debate involving then-Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn., to show the intent was to forbid such busing also in the South.

Humphrey, after arguing that the Constitution prohibits segregation but does not require integration, said:

"In fact, if the bill were to compel it (busing), it would be a violation, because it would be handling the matter on the basis of race and we would be transporting children because of race."

"The fact that there is a racial imbalance per se is not something which is unconstitutional," Humphrey said.

Federal policy has shifted considerably since then.

During the four years Humphrey served as vice president, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare adopted a policy that schools must take positive steps to integrate, not merely to desegregate.

There evolved a court doctrine that the goal should be a "unitary" school system. Some interpreted this to mean having schools so balanced that a former Negro school could not be distinguished from a former white school.

Burger's definition of a "unitary" system is simple.

In his opinion in the Memphis case, Burger said it is a system "within which no per-

son is to be effectively excluded from any school because of race or color." Some believe this definition allows de facto segregation—even in the South.

But before the Nixon administration disavowed a belief in busing for busing's sake, a widely held view in Washington was that the Constitution guarantees an integrated education for Negroes.

RESOLUTION CONDEMNING CONDUCT OF WILLIAM M. KUNSTLER

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I applaud the action of the Tennessee Bar Association in adopting a resolution condemning the conduct of lawyer William M. Kunstler. I would like to place in the RECORD a copy of that resolution:

RESOLUTION OF THE TENNESSEE BAR ASSOCIATION

Resolution relating to William Kunstler

Whereas, The Board of Governors of the Tennessee Bar Association holds with Daniel Webster that "Justice is man's greatest interest on earth," and

Whereas, the domestic peace and tranquility of our nation and the welfare of all our citizens is directly dependent upon the efficient operations of the courts of our land; and

Whereas, lawyers, as officers of the court, are charged with the solemn duty and continuing obligation of insuring that court procedures are conducted on a dignified and orderly basis and in keeping with the historically high standards of an honorable profession; and

Whereas, a lawyer's deliberate departure from those standards of conduct and his studious and premeditated attack upon the system of justice he is sworn to serve is reprehensible and contemptible; and

Whereas, the consistent patterns of unlawful conduct on the part of William Kunstler, during the Chicago conspiracy trials, has come to our attention; and

Whereas, we denounce his conduct as being contemptuous, contemptible and in flagrant violation of the accepted standards of legal ethics, and as disruptive of the orderly processes of the courts; and

Whereas, the conduct of the said William Kunstler, in the opinion of this Board, is wholly and utterly devoid of any redeeming social, moral or legal value and is abhorrent to every legitimate concept of court room conduct and demeanor; and

Whereas, this Board is under a duty to officially record its feelings and cannot remain silent when it is under a clear duty to speak,

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Board of Governors of the Tennessee Bar Association in called meeting assembled in Nashville, Tennessee, on this, the 14th day of March 1970, that:

1. We condemn the conduct of William M. Kunstler during the Chicago Conspiracy Trial.

2. We deplore his impending visit to the University of our State and the use of student government activity funds as a source of a substantial honorarium.

3. We urge all Tennessee trial judges in Tennessee to withhold from him the privilege of practicing law in any of the courts of our State.

4. Be it further resolved that a copy of this Resolution be spread upon the official minutes of this meeting, published in the Ten-

nessee Bar Journal and released to the news media.

Be it further resolved that a copy be sent to the Honorable Buford Ellington, Governor of Tennessee, each trial judge in Tennessee and each member of Tennessee's delegation in Congress.

BISHOP FRANCIS T. HURLEY

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 17, 1970

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, this afternoon Msgr. Francis T. Hurley will return to Holy Name Parish, the San Francisco parish to which he was first assigned after his ordination in 1951 and there, in the ancient rites of the Roman Catholic Church, he will be consecrated bishop. Bishop Hurley will fly almost immediately to Juneau, Alaska, where, on Saturday, he will be installed as auxiliary bishop of the diocese of Juneau.

Bishop Hurley is a native San Franciscan and the brother of Bishop Mark Hurley of the diocese of Santa Rosa. It has been noted in the press that this is the first time in the United States that a Roman Catholic bishop will be consecrated by his brother.

The young Frank Hurley attended St. Agnes grammar school on Masonic Avenue from 1932 to 1940. Upon graduation he entered St. Joseph's College, Mount View, and completed his priestly studies at St. Patrick's Seminary, Menlo Park. He was ordained to the priesthood by Archbishop John J. Mitty on June 16, 1951.

From 1951 to 1953 he was assistant pastor of Holy Name Church, San Francisco. The next year was spent at Catholic University, Washington, D.C., in postgraduate studies in the field of education. From 1954 to 1957 he taught at Serra High School, and lived at St. Pius Church, Redwood City.

In June of 1957, Bishop Hurley was named assistant director of the Department of Education, NCWC, Washington, D.C., a post he held until January of 1958 when he was named assistant secretary of NCWC, now the U.S. Catholic Conference.

Pope John XXIII appointed Bishop-elect Hurley papal chamberlain in November 1960, and he was reappointed July 1963 by Pope Paul VI. In April 1966 he was appointed domestic prelate by Pope Paul.

The bishop is also secretary to the governing committee of the National Catholic Community Service which is a member of the USO—United Service Organizations—and he is member of the board of government of USO.

When the National Conference of Catholic Bishops of the United States came into existence in 1966, he continued to serve as assistant general secretary of both organizations, USCC and NCCB, and was named associate general secretary of the two in 1968.

Bishop Hurley's new diocese of Juneau was established in 1951. It covers an area

of 37,566 miles and has a general population of 9,745. Catholic population is 3,200.

Bishop Hurley possesses the natural wit and charm common to his Irish-American heritage and a deep love of San Francisco which is common to all of us who are privileged to call her our home.

His own comments reflects the depth of his feeling and his concerns:

The transfer to Juneau means I will no longer be a priest of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, where my vocation was born and nourished and where the early days of my priesthood were spent. To borrow some familiar words, at least a piece of my heart will be left in San Francisco.

It will not be easy to leave Washington, D.C., but neither was it easy to leave San Francisco where I was assigned to the National Catholic Welfare Conference in 1957. I was entering a new world, an entirely different type of work, dealing with an aspect of life of the Church that can be observed only in the Bishops' national conference.

During the twelve and a half years here I found both the Bishops' conference and Washington, D.C. fascinating. Living in the Nation's Capital I learned to respect and admire the career people in the Federal government, people who from afar seem lost in a faceless bureaucracy but whose work is vital to the Nation. Working at the Bishop's national office I received my initiation into extensive interreligious cooperation with Protestants, Orthodox and Jews. . . .

Obviously there has been a touch of "Potomac Fever" but it will find its antidote in the call of the North. Once again I move into a new world, in a unique territory, for a new type of life. I look forward to working with Archbishop Ryan, to serving the people of God in that area and to enjoying the beauty of the territory (while I develop partisan's interest in ecology.)

Mr. Speaker, I call this to the attention of my colleagues in the House so that they might join with me in noting the occasion of Bishop Hurley's consecration and in extending to him congratulations and warm and sincere wishes for success in his new role.

UTAH POLICE CHIEFS URGE INCREASED FUNDS TO FIGHT CRIME

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, I testified today before a House Judiciary Subcommittee in support of legislation to authorize increased funds to strengthen the ability of local and State law enforcement agencies in their fight against crime. I asked the chiefs of police of Salt Lake City and Ogden for their views on the pending legislation for inclusion in the record of the hearings. I would like also to include their comments in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH,
March 17, 1970.

Representative LAWRENCE J. BURTON,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Re your meeting on LEAA funds: Police face problem requiring new concepts and approaches. Past methods and experience may

not provide acceptable solution. Experimentation must be encouraged for success. Federal Government must accept greater funding role. Local police limited because their community cannot provide needed match funds. We cannot meet 40 percent of one million. How do we use ten million availability?

C. C. WHITEHEAD,
Chief of Police.

OGDEN, UTAH, March 19, 1970.

Congressman LAWRENCE J. BURTON,
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Appreciate your efforts to have a committee realize Federal assistance under present system is not too advantageous to such agencies as our Municipal Police Depts. Creation of Agencies, committees, directors, etc., consume too much of money appropriated.

All efforts should be made to cut red tape and for money to go directly to our agencies to fight crime on the streets and without so many restrictions, as long as agencies account for funds spent and show accomplishments in deterring crime in our communities.

L. A. JACOBSEN,
Chief of Police.

MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO GREECE

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, reports have been circulating recently that the United States may resume military assistance to Greece, while it is still under totalitarian government, run by a small group of military officers.

Such an action would be tragic because it would signal our total acquiescence to the current regime, which continues to suppress liberties and fails to set any date for elections.

Resumption of this assistance would not affect the ability of the junta to maintain its iron-fisted control—nor would resumption appear to make much difference in the actual flow of material to Greece, since it now appears that the publicized "cutback" really amounted to very little. The following chart shows the value of deliveries to Greece under the military assistance program for fiscal year 1966 through fiscal year 1969. The takeover by the military junta occurred on April 21, 1967:

VALUE OF DELIVERIES TO GREECE UNDER THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR THE PERIOD FISCAL YEARS 1966 THROUGH 1969

	[In thousands of dollars]			
	1966	1967	1968	1969
Aircraft and aircraft support.....	23,976	12,184	6,657	18,086
Ships and ship spares.....	2,365	1,151	480	3,667
Vehicles and weapons.....	6,459	2,336	17,966	8,378
Ammunition.....	3,992	3,203	5,270	5,004
Missiles.....	22,230	3,172	2,432	3,063
Communications and electronics equipment.....	5,404	3,777	3,650	4,933
Other equipment.....	3,690	3,968	2,207	2,042
Repair and rehabilitation.....	1,402	1,474	1,029	1,770
Supply operations.....	7,650	6,189	8,440	6,735
Training.....	1,000	663	2,221	1,114
Other services.....	576	3,753	3,645	1,445
Total.....	78,735	41,870	53,997	56,237

Regardless, the United States should follow the lead of our European friends who seem to cherish democratic practices in Greece more than we, as evidenced by the recent actions of the Council of Europe.

LOS ANGELES TIMES SCIENCE
WRITER ON ENVIRONMENTAL
PROBLEMS

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, over the past years I have always found the scientific analysis of current issues done by Dr. Irving S. Bengelsdorf of the Los Angeles Times to be outstanding contributions to public knowledge in areas of national interest.

Dr. Bengelsdorf maintains a keen view of the problems of man and his environment, and during recent months, he has written an especially valuable series of articles dealing with these problems.

Today I am inserting these articles into the RECORD because I believe that they present us with the type of perspective that we must utilize if we are to solve these problems.

The articles follow:

EARTH'S RESOURCES ARE GREAT—BUT THERE
IS AN END TO THEM

(By Irving S. Bengelsdorf)

In 1650, three decades after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, world population was one-half billion people. In 1850, 10 years before the presidential election of Abraham Lincoln, world population reached one billion people. It took a 200-year interval for world population to double.

But the rate of population growth now has increased tremendously. The present world population of 3.5 billion people is expected to double by the turn of the century—in only 30 years! Between now and the year 2000 we shall ADD as many people as are alive today.

Continuing rapid world-population growth will stress and strain an already inadequate world food supply and unequally distributed mineral resources. In the introduction to a book entitled "Resources and Man," issued by a committee of the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, the committee writes, "Man must look with equal urgency to his nonrenewable resources—to mineral fuels, to metals, to chemicals, and to construction materials.

"These are the heritage of mankind. Their overconsumption or waste for the temporary benefit of the few who currently possess the capability to exploit them cannot be tolerated." And then, the committee adds, "To delay progress towards self-regulation of population size is to play 'Russian roulette' with the future of man."

Consider our energy resources. M. King Hubbert of the U.S. Geological Survey has contributed an outstanding chapter dealing with future energy supplies. One of the major sources of energy in the universe is thermonuclear fusion. Each star twinkling placidly in the heavens is a raging, seething thermonuclear fusion furnace. And, our sun, being a star, is no exception.

So, thermonuclear-produced energy from the sun slams into earth and causes green plants to grow. And animals eat the green plants. And we eat both the green plants and

the animals. So, the sun provides us with food which gives us our daily quota of energy needed to survive.

Over geological time—about 600 million years—some of the green plants have been converted into fossil fuels: coal, petroleum and natural gas. The coal in your barbecue, gasoline in your car, and gas cooking your dinner on the kitchen range, are the remnants of incredibly ancient sunbeams. The sun also causes winds to blow to provide windpower, and rivers to flow to provide water power.

The advantages of solar energy, the direct use of the sun's rays, are that it consists of enormous amounts of energy and is renewed daily. Yet, because it is so diffuse, difficult to concentrate, and interrupted daily, solar energy shows little promise as a general energy source of the future—except in farming.

Only 2% of the world's energy now is supplied by water power, and it is not likely to increase. Water power sources usually are in remote areas where people are not, and dams silt up in a relatively short time-period, energy from winds and tides, and geothermal energy released from earth's hot interior, are highly local, restricted to a few specific areas. Their contributions are very small compared to the world's future total energy needs.

So, we are left with coal, petroleum and natural gas, and nuclear energy. Hubbert, in detailed calculations, shows that the United States now only has about a 60-70 year supply of petroleum and about a 200-300 year supply of coal.

Although the world has mined coal for about 800 years, one-half of all the coal mined has been burned in the last 30 years. And although petroleum has been pumped out of the ground for about 100 years, one-half of all the petroleum pumped has been burned in the last 14 years!

Since fossil fuels are only temporary, and controlled thermonuclear fusion is not here as yet—and may not be feasible—Hubbert says we must turn to breeder nuclear fission reactors for our future energy needs. Failure to do so "would constitute one of the major disasters in human history."

But, he strongly warns that we must be extremely careful not to dispose of radioactive wastes in ways that could be "hazardous to the health and genetic security of the nation."

WILL THE 1970'S BE BETTER? THE PROSPECT
IS NOT GOOD

(By Irving S. Bengelsdorf)

At 9:40 in the morning on All Saints Day—Nov. 1, 1755—with most of its citizens praying in its churches, Lisbon was devastated by an intense earthquake. It is estimated that 60,000 people lost their lives in the earthquake and the 40-foot high tsunami and the six-day-long fire that followed.

An earthquake is considered an "act of God." And God is benevolent and charitable. Why would He devastate churches and destroy thousands of worshippers by choosing to spring an earthquake on Lisbon at precisely the moment when His faithful were worshipping Him in church? A wave of religious doubt and questioning swept over Europe, culminating in 1759 with Voltaire's "Candide." It is a brilliantly written, grisly satire that uncompromisingly pokes fun at the "establishment" of the late 18th century. Part of Candide's story takes place in Lisbon during the earthquake.

One of the characters in "Candide" is a Polyanna-like philosopher named Dr. Pangloss. Regardless of what happens to him, his motto remains: "All is for the best in the best of possible worlds."

Obviously, Dr. Pangloss is an optimist. Then what is a pessimist? In "The Silver Stallion," the American novelist James

Branch Cabell writes, "The optimist proclaims that we live in the best of all possible worlds; and the pessimist fears this is true."

What are the chance of improving our "best of all possible worlds" in America as we enter today into the eighth decade of the 20th century? Not very good, according to Dr. Philip M. Hauser of the University of Chicago and one of the country's leading sociologists.

In a most provocative speech delivered to the 46th annual Congress of Cities held recently in San Diego, pessimist Hauser emphasized:

"During the 70s, air and water pollution will continue to threaten health and life; housing supply and quality will remain inadequate; slums will continue to be centers of physical rot and social pathology; air and surface traffic will continue to congest urban areas and the commuters' crisis will not abate.

"Urban design will continue to fall far short of meeting requirements; crime and delinquency will continue at high levels; organized crime will continue to thrive with virtually the same immunity it has enjoyed for half a century; drug addiction and alcoholism will continue to serve as avenues for escape for increasing numbers of people unable to cope.

"The revolt of youth not only will continue but, in all likelihood, will escalate at both extremes—the hippies who seek escape and the activists who seek confrontation; the revolt of the blacks will also escalate as the gap between what they desire and what they have continues to grow.

"The public schools will transform the United States into a caste society stratified by race and economic status as they continue to fail to provide the poor and minority groups with adequate education; poverty will continue to remind this most affluent of nations that it has grave systemic disorders; tax reform is likely to continue to be a promise rather than a reality; welfare provisions will continue to be inadequate and constitute a continuous source of irritation both to welfare recipients and to taxpayers.

"Payments will still be made to massive agricultural enterprises for not growing crops; consumer protection will remain inadequate as 'caveat emptor' lingers as a relic of the past; the House of Representatives and the state legislatures will remain malapportioned through continued use of the gerrymander despite the 'one-man one-vote' rule; the dead hand of the South will continue its reactionary grip on the federal legislative process by reason of the combination of the one-party system and seniority rules.

"The 'New Federalism' will demonstrate the continued disinterest of state governments in urban problems and demonstrate again that state governments are more inept, more calloused, more subject to special interest pressures and more corrupt than the federal government; military expenditures will remain at astronomical levels and may continue to increase even if we manage to become disengaged from the Vietnam horror."

Hauser pulls no punches and, obviously, his outlook for the seventies does not qualify him as an optimist. For as Voltaire had Candide say, "Optimism is a mania for maintaining that all is well when things are going badly."

PROBLEM OF RAISING A GROWING WORLD'S
STANDARDS OF LIVING

(By Irving S. Bengelsdorf)

Americans account for only about 5.9% of the total world population—200 million Americans out of a total world population of 3.4 billion people. Yet, although the number of Americans is only about one-seventeenth of the total number of people in the world, Americans use up about one-half of the world's mineral and energy resources.

Thus, standing behind each and every American—silently supporting his life in an extremely complex, modern technological society—are 12 tons of steel per person, 360 pounds of copper, 310 pounds of lead, 240 pounds of aluminum, 230 pounds of zinc, 40 pounds of tin and about 1,000 pounds of other metals.

And to keep each American going in our society now requires an amount of energy equivalent to the burning of 12 tons of coal per person per year. With a population of more than 80 million automobiles, there now are 0.4 automobiles per American citizen; in California, this ratio rises to about 0.7 automobiles per Californian.

Obviously, with a growing American population demanding ever more material goods and energy—and the rest of the world demanding even more material goods and energy sources as it strives to attain a higher standard of living comparable to the high American living standard—the world competition for minerals and energy sources in the next few decades will be intense, indeed.

Even if the rate of world population growth were zero—no growth in population at all—the international competition for the world's resources would be fraught with difficulties and dangers enough. But, world population is not stagnant. It is growing at a rate of about 2.1% per year. This does not sound like very much, but at this growth rate, the number of people on earth will more than double in 31 years—about 7 billion people by the year 2000.

At a symposium entitled "Earth as a Planet," presented at the 135th annual meeting of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science held in Dallas, Dr. Harrison Brown of Caltech emphasized the enormous drain on the world's resources in the near future.

Thus, with an estimated American population of 340 million Americans by the year 2000, each American will have to be provided with 20 tons of steel per person, 1,320 pounds of aluminum, 740 pounds of copper, 640 pounds of lead, 480 pounds of zinc, 410 pounds of tin, and energy sources amounting to the equivalent of 20 tons of coal burned per person per year.

But, the rest of the exploding world population wants to emulate our high standard of living. They also will want more material goods and energy sources.

In his book "The Next Ninety Years" Dr. Brown writes, "The economic development of the poorer nations will place a tremendous drain upon the earth's available resources. By the year 2000, the population of the world might well grow to 7.5 billion persons, about 6 billion of whom will be living in the presently underdeveloped nations of the world."

"If by some miracle all these people were to be brought up to the standard of living NOW enjoyed by the people of the United States, we would need to extract from the earth over 50 billion tons of iron, one billion tons of copper, an equal amount of lead, over 600 million tons of zinc and nearly 100 million tons of tin, in addition to huge quantities of other substances.

"These quantities are several hundred times the PRESENT annual world rates of production. Their extraction would virtually deplete the earth of all high-grade mineral resources . . ."

Dr. Brown concludes, "Our basic problem, really, is not that of supporting comfortably the distressingly large numbers of people who we now know will inevitably inhabit the earth in the decades ahead. I am convinced that technically this can be done.

"Our basic problem is getting from here to there successfully, with a minimum of chaos and human suffering. We are called upon to make the most difficult transition the community of man has yet been called upon to make—that of bringing birth rates in balance

with rapidly lowering death rates on a world-wide scale.

"At the same time we are called upon to rapidly improve the economic well-being of the world's people. Although this transition is feasible from a technological point of view, it might well turn out to be impossible politically."

Many of the major problems facing our planet have been created by the applications of science and technology. But their solutions lie with people—their numbers and their attitudes.

IT'S A HUNGRY WORLD—GETTING HUNGRIER
(By Irving S. Bengelsdorf)

Almost 71% of our planet's surface is water—the oceans and the seas. And of the remaining 29% that is dry land, only about one-tenth of it is suitable for human habitation and farming. There are tundra regions, mountain chains, deserts, tropical rain forests and savannahs. This contributes to an uneven distribution of population.

Thus, although the planet's dry land now is politically divided into about 140 different countries, about half of the 3.5 billion fellow human passengers now aboard Space-ship Earth live in only five countries: China, India, Soviet Union, United States and Pakistan.

To survive, people need energy obtained from the food they eat. And food, as well as population, is unevenly distributed. Hunger is a matter of geography.

In a recent pamphlet entitled "The Dual Challenge of Health and Hunger—a Global Crisis," published by the Population Reference Bureau, Washington, D.C., Dr. Georg A. Borgstrom writes, "If all food in the world were equally distributed and each human received identical quantities, we would ALL be malnourished."

COULD FEED ONE-THIRD

Dr. Borgstrom, professor of food science and geography at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich., then adds, "If the entire world's food supply were parceled out at the U.S. dietary level, it would feed only about one-third of the human race."

Borgstrom points out that the world's peoples now are divided into three categories: There is the "Luxury Club" of almost 400 million people—the United States, Canada, parts of Western Europe, Oceania, and the La Plata countries of Latin America—who enjoy a "rich and steadily more abundant diet as well as a high standard of living . . ."

Then there are the fence-straddlers of about 800 million people—examples are the Soviet, Eastern Europeans and Japanese—who "manage well enough despite numerous handicaps and limited resources, but their diet, although barely adequate, is monotonous and their life, in general, parsimonious."

Finally, there are the poverty stricken of more than 2 billion people—Asia, Africa and most of Latin America—who live in "the most critical hunger areas."

GREAT DECEPTION

And the rich live off the poor. Borgstrom explains: "We of the rich, well-fed world are subject to a gigantic self-deception. There is, for instance, nothing wrong with our impressive dairy development, but we conveniently fail to realize that its high level of performance depends on the influx from the hungry world of millions of tons of proteins . . ."

It is incredible that Peru, a poor country that now is the leading fishing nation in the world, does not feed its high-protein catch to the protein-deficient hungry of Peru and Latin America, but exports its catch as fish meal to feed the chickens and hogs of America and Europe.

What to do? The first thing is that we must face reality. Borgstrom emphasizes, "The

most disquieting aspect of the food issue is the fact that, with few exceptions, the scientific and technical community has been signaling a green light to mankind when a stop sign would have been far more appropriate. Recent statements by leading western scientists in almost all disciplines reveal a shocking disregard for the abject conditions which enclose almost three-fifths of the human race.

"It is indeed macabre to witness the present game of calculating how many people the world COULD nourish—IF. The figures soar beyond 7 billion to 10 billion and even more. Yet, scandalously, the world has failed to provide satisfactorily for even half the 3.5 billion people alive now. To give our current population a minimally sound diet would require the immediate doubling of world food production. Whatever else happens, and whatever urgent measures are taken, food is going to be the overriding issue of the next 30 years."

Borgstrom concludes: "I would argue that the hunger crisis reflects man's inability to imagine what he already knows. We are participating in a grand-scale evasion of reality which bears all the signs of insanity. In order to bring health and restore vitality to the whole human species, nothing less is required than a global WILL to act, simple justice, true population control, worldwide food planning, effective execution by the scientists, engineers and public leaders of states and regions—and a massive commitment of funds.

"Furthermore, the resources of lands and seas must reach the larders of all mankind, not just the wealthy. It is time the West kept faith with the Atlantic Charter, which proclaims that all peoples should have equal access to the harvests of the world."

THE POMPIDOU APOLOGY

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, we all have our disagreements. One of the marks of our open society is that we can have these disagreements publicly.

On his recent visit to the United States, French President Pompidou was confronted by a lot of our fellow Americans who are unhappy with his policy in the Middle East. From press reports we learned that President Pompidou was ruffled and unnerved by these demonstrations, despite the President's warning that we live in an "age of demonstrations." So ruffled was the French President that the President flew to New York to reassure him and apologize.

I can understand the demands of diplomacy.

But I think it is time for some plain talk. I participated in one of those demonstrations right here in Washington on the eve of M. Pompidou's arrival. The crowd was orderly and well behaved. The march and rally were licensed and the Americans present were exercising their Bill of Rights guarantees to free speech and the right to petition their Government. I boycotted M. Pompidou's appearance before the joint session, because I strongly oppose his policies in the Middle East as, I might add, do a majority of my fellow Americans and the French people.

I was not in San Francisco, Chicago, or New York, but I am sure the demonstrations M. Pompidou encountered there were more orderly, more respectful, and more restrained than those that many of our colleagues confront in the charivari of American public life.

If M. Pompidou was upset by the rough and tumble of American public life, I can only fault his foreign office for not preparing him better for the culture shock. America has always be a brawling, roughhouse of manners and debate and, if the administration will let me borrow a term it has brought into currency, we are not yet effete.

Some have suggested that it was all a question of manners and to them I say consider the ethics of a French Government which takes Israel's money for goods, refuses to deliver the goods, and then has the unmitigated gall to demand, on three occasions, payments for maintenance of the goods which it refuses to deliver. That kind of conduct would get short shrift on any Main Street in this country.

The President's apology to M. Pompidou has rankled many Americans, notwithstanding the needs of diplomacy. The apology has inspired Rabbi Elias Charry, president of the Board of Rabbis of Greater Philadelphia, representing some 330,000 Americans, to write an eloquent letter to the President.

Rabbi Charry suggests that, in light of the apology, a restatement of the traditional American policy toward Israel would be welcome, accompanied by the same press attention that surrounded the apology.

I think Rabbi Charry's request is particularly significant in light of this week's alarming press reports that the State Department, acting in the name of the White House, will announce within days that the administration either will not sell Israel the arms Mrs. Meir asked for back in September, or will sell that country only some of the arms on certain conditions.

It is my fervent hope that this administration will not compromise the posture of our only ally in the Middle East and I have expressed that view in separate telegrams to the President and my fellow Pennsylvanian, the Senate minority leader.

With the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I enter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Rabbi Charry's letter to the President:

THE BOARD OF RABBIS OF
GREATER PHILADELPHIA,
March 5, 1970.

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I write as the President of the Board of Rabbis of Greater Philadelphia, comprising some 140 spiritual leaders of a Jewish community of 330,000.

In the New York Times of March 3, an official White House statement is reported as saying that instances of "discourteous and disrespectful" treatment accorded President Pompidou in this country were the acts of a "few citizens" and "do not represent the American people and this country's attitude toward France."

The protests which met President Pompidou stemmed from deeply felt anger by

Americans—both Jew and others—over the sale of Mirages by France to Libya, an act that deliberately threatens Israel. The demonstrations were not directed at the French people—but at Mr. Pompidou who authorized the sale. (You yourself expressed indignation when that fact became known). The protesters were very much aware that Pompidou is not France—and that a majority of Frenchmen are dissatisfied with Pompidou's policy toward Israel. That, at some point in the protests, acts of discourtesy by a few hot-heads took place is, of course, deplorable—yet understandable. The protesters were saying that Israel has the right to live and that they have the right to express their indignation in the face of betrayal by leaders like Pompidou. Not only is such public protest sanctified by American law and tradition, it does represent, in my opinion, the American people's attitude not to France but to Pompidou's perfidy. We trust that President Pompidou was not deluded by your courteous deference at his dinner in New York.

The demonstrators indeed were representative of the America which, in any number of Congressional resolutions and Presidential statements, has in essence said to the world: The State of Israel is our friend and ally and must live under no threat of destruction or attack despite the machinations and hatred of the people that would destroy her. We should be happy to know that in your talks with the President of France, you made this unmistakably clear.

In view of the fact that the apology by the President of the United States to the President of France may be misunderstood as having implications detrimental to Israel, we should welcome from your Administration a restatement of the traditional American policy toward Israel. Justice would require that such a statement would attract the same attention from the press as did your unprecedented flight to New York to assuage Mr. Pompidou's ruffled feelings.

Respectfully yours,

RABBI ELIAS CHARRY,
President.

MORTON L. MANDEL ELECTED
PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL
JEWISH WELFARE BOARD

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, today, a distinguished citizen and civic leader of my community, Mr. Morton L. Mandel, was elected as president of the National Jewish Welfare Board which is the national association of 487 Jewish Community Centers and Young Men's and Young Women's Hebrew Associations with a combined membership of over 800,000 men, women and young people in more than 200 communities in 34 States. Under its aegis are 250 armed services committees throughout the United States. The board also represents the Jewish community in USO.

Mr. Mandel, at the age of 48, has become known as one of Cleveland's outstanding businessmen. He is the president of the Premier Industrial Corp., a leading manufacturing and distribution agency which was founded by Mr. Mandel and his two brothers, Jack and Joseph, and is now a substantial publicly held corporation with annual sales which

are about to reach \$100 million. His outstanding business and civic contributions were recognized as early as 1956, when he was voted the "Outstanding Young Man of the Year" by the Cleveland Junior Chamber of Commerce. More recently, he has been made a director of the Central National Bank of Cleveland and of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Co.

He was president of the Jewish Community Center of Cleveland from 1952 to 1958, and is now an honorary trustee for life of that organization. He was a vice president of the Midwest section of the National Jewish Welfare Board and has served as vice president of the national board since 1964. He is the national president of the Bureau for Careers in Jewish Service.

Mr. Mandel is a long-time trustee and member of the executive committee of the Jewish Community Federation of Cleveland. He is currently chairman of its foundation advisory council. He has been an officer of its Jewish Welfare Fund Appeal on several occasions, and is one of the advisory council for the 1970 campaign. He is a member of the board of the Mount Sinai Hospital of Cleveland and of a number of its committees, including a current committee which is studying the future program for the hospital.

He is division A—big gifts division—chairman of the current United Appeal Campaign of Greater Cleveland. In prior years he has served in a variety of capacities in the campaign, and also as trustee and an honorary trustee of the Cleveland Community Chest since 1965.

Mr. Mandel is chairman of the endowment fund committee of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, and is a trustee of the council. He is a former member of the visiting committee of the school of applied social sciences of Case Western Reserve University, and is currently chairman of the leadership gifts division of the university's annual alumni fund campaign.

He served on the board of the junior achievement committee from 1955 to 1963, and as a member of its advisory council from 1965 to the present time. He is a member of the Greater Cleveland Growth Association and advisory board member of the Greater Cleveland Safety Council.

Morton Mandel is the perfect example of the type of civic and community leader that this Nation relies on—and needs more of. His activities in the business and civic affairs are a model for effective community action.

A RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE
ANNUAL FINANCIAL REPORT
MADE BY MEMBERS OF THE
HOUSE

HON. ROBERT TAFT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a resolution relating to the

annual financial report made by Members of the House to the Committee on Standards and Official Conduct. The effect of the resolution would be to amend the existing rule to provide that information now filed in confidence in part B, would become available for public inspection upon filing. While recognizing the distaste of some for any such disclosure other than to the committee, I have become convinced that it is necessary in order to maintain and strengthen public confidence in the Congress. The present rule, calling only for disclosing of the names of security holdings without amounts, seems inclined to arouse rather than allay questions and attacks upon our integrity. We must take this further step in the public interest.

THE FRED LEWIS RICHARDSON, JR., FOUNDATION

HON. JAMES H. (JIMMY) QUILLEN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. QUILLEN. Mr. Speaker, nearly 3 years ago I was privileged to participate in ceremonies to dedicate a monument to Pfc. Fred L. Richardson, Jr., of Bristol, who was killed in action in Vietnam.

When I returned to my office in Washington after this impressive ceremony, I felt strongly that the events which occurred during this memorial were of such significance that the newspaper accounts should be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. They appeared in the June 15, 1967, issued of the RECORD.

It was the excellent idea of Mrs. Clarence Burley to erect a monument in memory of Mr. Richardson and she must also be given credit for successfully directing the effort to establish the Fred Lewis Richardson Foundation, a charter organization which will administer a scholarship program for a deserving high school student each year in the Bristol, Tennessee-Virginia community.

The foundation received its charter last month and I feel honored that I was chosen to serve as an honorary member of its board of directors.

Mrs. Burley mailed a copy of the foundation's charter and I would like to make it available for the readers of the RECORD.

THE FRED LEWIS RICHARDSON, JR., FOUNDATION

Whereas, Fred Lewis Richardson, Jr., son of Mrs. Fred Richardson Delaney and stepson of Fred Delaney, was killed in action in Vietnam on May 3, 1966, and is believed to be the first Bristol Negro killed in this military campaign; and

Whereas, Pfc. Richardson, who was twenty years of age when he died while leading a platoon attack on North Vietnamese gun emplacements, for his outstanding military service record received the Purple Heart, the Military Medal, and the Vietnam Cross with palms for gallantry from the Government of South Vietnam, and the Bronze Star from the United States Government.

Now, therefore, the undersigned, in honor of Fred Lewis Richardson, Jr., desire to

and hereby do associate ourselves in the formation of a memorial foundation under the provisions and subject to the requirements of the law for such cases made and provided, and by this, our Articles of Association, set forth as follows:

1. The name of the association is to be Fred Lewis Richardson, Jr. Memorial Foundation.

2. The address wherein its principal office is to be located is Bristol, Sullivan County, Tennessee.

3. The purposes for which it is formed are as follows:

(a) To inspire youth of all races to become more active and participate in all phases of religious, patriotic, and civic organizations and to learn the value of helping others by working together for the common good of all people.

(b) To administer a scholarship program in honor of Fred Lewis Richardson, Jr. which will include the awarding of funds to deserving senior youth in the Bristol Tennessee-Virginia community to aid them in continuing their education in a higher school of learning, said award to be presented every two years.

The awards shall be \$25.00 United States Savings Bonds to one or more senior high school students enrolled in schools in the Bristol Tennessee-Virginia community chosen by a committee composed of faculty members wherein said student is enrolled and subject to the approval of the officials of this Foundation. The recipients of the savings bonds awards shall be selected on the basis of their active participation in extra-curricular activities rather than on an academic standing.

4. The Foundation shall be managed by a Board of Directors and the initial members of the Board are:

Mrs. Clarence Burley, Chairman, Bristol, Tennessee.

Mrs. Fannie Marie Delaney, Bristol, Tennessee.

Mr. Fred Delaney, Sr., Bristol, Tennessee.

Mrs. Dawn Delaney, New York City, New York.

Mr. Curtis P. Mayo, New York City, New York.

Mrs. Curtis P. Mayo, New York City, New York.

Mr. Ernie Norcross, Bristol, Virginia.

Mr. William Overbay, Bristol, Tennessee.

Mrs. Henry Barker, Bristol, Tennessee.

Mrs. Albert King, Bristol, Tennessee.

Mr. Robert Richmond, Bristol, Tennessee.

Mr. Wilfred Gillenwater, Bristol, Tennessee.

Mr. Richard Boyd, Bristol, Virginia.

Mr. Wesley Davis, Bristol, Tennessee.

Mr. Fred Delaney, Jr., New York City, New York.

The following persons shall be named as Honorary members of the Board of Directors:

Hon. James Quillen, Washington, D.C.

Judge Hal Carr, Blountville, Tennessee.

Mrs. Robert Richmond, Bristol, Tenn.

In the event of the resignation or death of any member of the Board of Directors hereinabove named the unexpired term of such Board member shall be filled by a person or persons selected by the remaining Board members.

5. The period for the duration of the Foundation is unlimited.

6. The names and addresses of the original organizers of the Foundation are as follows:

Mrs. Clarence Burley, Bristol, Tennessee.

Mrs. Fannie Marie Delaney, Bristol, Tennessee.

Mr. Fred Delaney, Sr., Bristol, Tennessee.

Mr. Curtis P. Mayo, New York City, New York.

Mrs. Curtis P. Mayo, New York City, New York.

Mr. William Overbay, Bristol, Tennessee.

GARY JOB CORPS CENTER HONORED FOR 5 YEARS OF EXCELLENT SERVICE

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, 5 years ago, the Job Corps was barely a concept, much less an action program. At this time, the Gary Center took the first cautious steps forward. In the 5 years intervening, Gary has taken bold steps and now leads the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, the San Antonio Express-News summed it up much better than I can. I insert the following article written by Jerry Deal from the March 8 issue:

GARY, TOP JOB CORPS CENTER, 5 YEARS OLD
(By Jerry Deal)

SAN MARCOS.—Exactly five years ago, 229 bewildered and on the most part reluctant young men set foot for the first time on a former Air Force base in the flatlands just outside San Marcos.

They were the vanguard—the first few of some 23,000—to undergo training at the Gary Job Corps Center, as part of a new federal effort to place into the human race flow the young who either had rejected or had been repudiated by society. The object was to take these 16 to 21-year-olds, teach them a vocational skill and place them into jobs upon completion of their training.

This novel Job Corps program, inspired by former President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society, and under the direction of an already controversial federal antipoverty agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity, immediately was the recipient of raging outbursts from the critics.

"Too expensive," "It'll never work," "It is destined to become a politically corrupted program" and "They'll just learn how to become criminals," said those opposed to Job Corps, including many members of Congress.

"It can work," "It can be the salvation for many of our school dropouts and the deprived," "Give it a decent chance and it will be successful," retorted the proponents.

Both factions in many ways were proven to be right. Some Job Corps centers became involved in serious problems—excessive training costs, lack of ability to retain the young men (and later women), inadequate programs and counseling, and trouble with members and lawmen of the communities where the often unwelcome centers were located. Many centers failed to survive, even before last year's Nixon administration cutback on the Job Corps program.

Gary has weathered the storm for the five years—and without any indication of a federal spending cutback here. Gary has certainly not been without problems and it appears will prevail as long as the program is in existence. There have been serious incidents, including the most remembered, an early episode involving corpsmen in the shooting of two young Air Force men in San Antonio. There have been many other disciplinary problems.

At first there were rumors and half-truths involving Gary corpsmen blaming them for crimes throughout the South and Central Texas area. Most were found to be untrue.

Some early problems that did arise, Gary officials are quick to blame on the lack of proper screening of the candidates where they were being recruited—and at the time they were quick to tell OEO to do a better job of it. The misfits were returned home. In one case it was an entire hoodlum gang recruited in Chicago and sent to Gary.

But what really has happened the past five years at the center, considered the elite of all? Do its administrators sincerely believe the program has saved a large number from the ghettos? Has Gary actually reduced poverty and welfare costs? Are those who completed training still working at the skilled professions they were taught? What is the future of Gary, part of a program President Nixon once said he would discontinue?

Dr. O. J. Baker, skillful but frank executive director of Texas Education Foundation, Inc., non-profit organization that operates Gary and the McKinney Job Corps Center for Women (recognized as the most efficient of 11 women's centers), declared:

"Many problems we anticipated having with the program, we had. Many successes we anticipated having, we had.

"Although we are never satisfied, we have been pleased with those successes. I anticipate our Job Corps Center for a long time will continue to be a part under a different name . . . but of a federal program, perhaps the name is not important, what is important is there still are those who need this training, with no other ways to receive it. There always will be a need for this type program, for those youngsters who did not learn the right things in school to earn themselves a living, and for the school dropouts."

Dr. Baker, formerly superintendent of schools at Dickinson, remembers those first corpsmen coming to Gary, from virtually every state.

"You could see it in some, the first thing they wanted to do upon unboarding the bus on these Texas plains was leave again, and quite a few of those first ones did."

It was he who demanded better screening for recruits and who more than once butted heads with the upper echelon OEO poverty warriors concerning Job Corps policy.

Since those first 229 skulked onto the 1,000-acre reservation, a total of 23,239 have enrolled, including the 3,000 in training now. Of that number, 15,808 completed studies in one of the vocations offered, currently 34.

About 14,000 have been processed for jobs, returned to school or went into the military, with some 800 job verifications pending (some 250 returned to high school, 32 enrolled in college and about 600 were inducted or enlisted into the military).

A total of 2,528 General Educational Development (GED) high school equivalency degrees have been issued and another 350 corpsmen are taking GED courses now.

It's no inexpensive matter to train these young men, it is averaging about \$4,500 per man a year, as it has for four years. But, of course, this includes keeping them on a 24-hour basis, and is despite the rise in living costs.

The federal limit is \$6,900, and Gary has the lowest cost of the existing 36 men's centers (four urban like Gary, and 32 small conservation, before the cutback there were 100 men's centers).

Evidence of some success in training and placement is seen in the number of firms who have standing offers for certain numbers of graduates each month, for example Brown & Root of Houston; Texas Instruments, Dallas; and Collins Radio Corp., Dallas. Todd Shipping Yard of Galveston has a standing order for 20 welders each six weeks at a starting salary of \$3.60 an hour.

There has been some concern because young Negroes not only comprise the majority of corpsmen, with 68 per cent, but because that percentage has steadily risen since the opening of Gary. Three years ago, 40 per cent of the populace was Negro. Latin-Americans (nearly all Mexican-Americans, with a few Puerto Ricans) comprise more than 19 per cent, Anglos about 11 per cent and Indians nearly one per cent.

Those instructors and officials who have ex-

pressed concern about the rising rate of Negroes are afraid it's scaring off the Mexican-Americans and Anglos. But others see the need for getting the Negroes into skills as most important. Some instructors have left Gary because of the rise in Negroes attending.

The percentage of Mexican-Americans has increased the past three years. It was about 15 per cent in early 1967.

"We'd like to get more Chicanos, but it seems like not too many sign up for the program," said Public Relations Dir. John C. Henry. "I'm a South Texas man and I know it would be a big help to many of these disadvantaged youngsters to get into such a program," he added.

About three per cent of the corpsmen get arrested for serious offenses during their stay (they get one pass a week to visit San Marcos, Austin or San Antonio), and most of these are sent home if not incarcerated where the offense occurs.

"We note with pride there have been no organized protests or demonstrations emanating from the center, in spite of such moves nationally among the same age groups," boasted Henry. "We know of no efforts to form any Negro, Mexican-American nor Anglo militant groups on center."

Of the 34 vocational courses, those involving automotive repair are the most popular, with more than 1,000 enrolled in this cluster. Welding is the second most popular with the building trades, business trades and heavy equipment operation close behind.

According to Wallace Dockall, Gary's center director, a current problem at Gary is the fact it is getting younger candidates than in recent years. "Of our enrollment, 75 per cent are 18 years or younger and 55 per cent are 17 and younger," he stressed. He attributed this to many new programs offered under the Manpower Training Act in cities where the deprived youths reside.

"This has necessitated a tremendous change in our program, partly because the young corpsmen have not been out into the world and suffered the hard knocks of being unable to make a decent living because of lack of education," he added. "Therefore, they lack the motivation some of their predecessors had."

He said Gary has especially redesigned its academic programs since it is taking the younger students longer to get adjusted, plus that in the past seven or eight months the academic knowledge of some incomers has been lower.

"Some 42 percent or 1,400 of our present trainees had a fourth grade or below reading level when they entered," Dockall asserted. "Our training programs are lasting longer in many cases because we have had to work more on the academic level, particularly reading, so they could properly be ready for their vocations."

Gary uses the phonic method of reading instruction, with audio and visual aids. In the laboratories, large electronic consoles are connected with reading booths and there is an individual tape recorder for each student. With a printed list of words before them, students listen to the instructor's voice on a master tape, record their own voices pronouncing the same words, replay the tapes to learn what mistakes they made.

The corpsmen on the average increase their reading level by one grade a month.

As for the future of Gary, both Dockall and Dr. Baker are excited about projected and possible upcoming programs. Dockall said efforts are under way to link incoming corpsmen with prospective employers—meaning a trainee taking upholstery would know shortly upon entrance he definitely had a job with, for example AAA Upholstery Co., if he satisfactorily completed the course; or an air conditioning student had a job with BBB Air Conditioning, Inc.

Among the proudest persons of Gary is U.S. Rep. J. J. "Jake" Pickle, Austin, in whose district the center is located. A long-time proponent of Job Corps, he is the first to admit the program has had its share of defects and has been highly controversial.

But he is quick to illustrate that Gary has moved consistently well in advance of the controversial surroundings behind the program and has in fact become a model center.

A REPORT TO THE PEOPLE

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, as the population in our districts grow each year, it becomes increasingly difficult to tell the people what you as their Congressman and the Congress itself are doing in their name and in their behalf.

Despite all efforts by the press to inform the public, many, many members of the voting public find it difficult to keep abreast of our activities.

Since a well-informed electorate is an absolute requirement in representative government, I have periodically published a newsletter designed to keep my constituency informed of their Congressman's activities. My current newsletter discusses some of the highlights of the first session of the 91st Congress and areas which will continue to be of concern and interest to the Congress and to my constituency. With the unanimous consent of my colleagues, I enter my current newsletter in the RECORD:

REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE

(By Congressman JOSHUA EILBERG)

The first session of the 91st Congress has drawn to a close and its achievements were many. It will be remembered in many ways. First it will be recalled as the tax relief and reform Congress. It will be remembered as the Congress which launched the most significant Constitutional amendment in the history of this country.

TAX RELIEF AND REFORM

The Tax Reform Act passed in this Congress is the most comprehensive revision of our tax system since the income tax became law in 1913. Its major provisions call for raising the personal exemption in four steps from its present \$600 to \$750 by 1973 and raising the standard deduction in three annual steps beginning in 1971 from the current 10 percent of \$1000 to 15 percent or \$2000 by 1973. Some other important features are a minimum tax which will require the very wealthy who previously had escaped taxation to pay some taxes; a reduction in the oil depletion allowance from 27½ percent to 22 percent; more liberal deductions for moving expenses; easier rules for income averaging; and the end of many corporate tax advantages and privileges. To show how these savings will affect a taxpaying, married couple with two children study the following:

For an income of \$8,000 to \$10,000 the 1969 taxes was \$850 to \$1,225. The 1973 taxes will be \$580 to \$905. This is a savings of from \$270 to \$320.

It is important to note that the savings will not be reflected in your income tax for 1969, which you are filing now, but in the coming year's taxes.

SOCIAL SECURITY INCREASE

Early in this Congress, I described the Social Security System as the "Social Insecurity System." Senior citizens on fixed incomes are the hardest hit by inflation. As part of the tax reform and relief package, the Congress voted a 15 percent increase in Social Security benefits. I heartily supported this boost and continue to press for passage of my legislation which provides for automatic cost-of-living increases the first of every year. This would mean that people on Social Security automatically would get an increase each January 1 without the need for special legislation. Additional increases still could be voted by the Congress.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE REFORM

The House of Representatives has overwhelmingly approved a Constitutional Amendment abolishing the electoral college and providing for direct election of the President. I am proud to be a sponsor of this amendment and a member of the House Judiciary Committee which initially considered it. It is my hope that the Senate will move quickly to pass the amendment so that it can be forwarded to the states for ratification. Direct election is the only way we can make certain the peoples' choice goes to the White House.

ISRAEL AND THE MIDDLE EAST

After reading Secretary of State William P. Rogers' speech of December 9, I became alarmed, as did many of you, that the Administration was abandoning the United States' long-standing policy of firm support for Israel. I helped lead a vigorous campaign to dissuade the government from such a course. I have been assured that the cornerstone of United States policy in the Middle East is the survival of a free and independent state of Israel. In light of refusal by France and England to sell Israel arms, it is equally critical that the United States continue to allow Israel to buy arms for her self-defense in the United States. Not only is Israel's cause morally just, but she remains the only true friend of the United States in the Middle East and our only bulwark against Russian expansion and influence in that corner of the world.

DRUG ABUSE EDUCATION ACT

Lately we have all come to realize that drug abuse is a problem no longer confined to the socially underprivileged or the economically deprived. It is a problem we all share. Sadly we know so little about it and much of the information we receive is wrong. Many a student today can out-lecture his teacher on the subject of drugs. Much of his information is wrong but he does not know it. The House has passed the Drug Abuse Education Act, which for the first time recognizes the need for massive education on the subject. The law provides for a wide variety of educational programs directly relevant to the needs of local schools and communities like our own. It concentrates on in-school educational programs, teacher training in drug abuse education and scientific research on the effects of various non-medical drugs such as marijuana and LSD. This is a program we need and I vigorously supported it.

CHILD PROTECTION ACT

I sponsored the Child Protection Act of 1969 and I am proud to report that it has become law. The law protects children against death or injury from hazardous toys. Specifically it extends legal safeguards to protect children against toys that explode, catch fire, produce electric shock and electrocution, fragment or cut with sharp or protruding edges, or represent a strangulation, suffocation, or asphyxiation hazard. The bill empowers the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to order such toys off the market if such hazards are determined to exist.

RUSSIA

As a member of the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality, I led a Congressional delegation to the 31st meeting of the Council of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration. ICEM helps move refugees and national migrants from behind the Iron Curtain to the West. To prepare for the meeting, I spent Thanksgiving Week in Russia. I returned a grateful and better American. Russia is stifling, suffocating. You are warned your hotel room is bugged, guards and soldiers grunt menacing instructions to you at Lenin's Tomb, you are followed, freedoms we take for granted are luxuries, the state is everywhere. And in the refugee camps at Vienna, I saw the kind of people who still clamor to cross from Iron Curtain countries. Those who bicker and quibble with America should visit Russia. I guarantee you will return as quickly as you can, a thankful, patriotic American.

FRANKFORD ARSENAL

The Army announced last year that it was transferring the research and development mission of the Frankford Arsenal to other installations around the country. The transfers would have meant the loss of jobs or uprooting of families to 2700 employees at the Arsenal. We in Congress, by refusing the Army the funds to implement the plan, were able to keep these 2700 jobs right here in Philadelphia. More recently the Army announced it was going to lay off 200 to 300 men at the Arsenal. I protested to Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird. The reduction-in-force was canceled with less than 100 vacant job slots eliminated. The first months of this year saw another announced reduction-in-force and disclosure of a proposal to transfer command responsibilities for fire control, indicating to me that continued vigilance will be required.

EDUCATION

Our schools need more money. Local tax sources are exhausted. The Federal government must assume a larger part of the cost of educating our children. Under the Administration's budget allocations, Philadelphia schools will lose \$5 million. I joined the fight to restore more than \$1 billion, including Philadelphia's \$5 million, to the health, education, and welfare appropriation. Much of these funds are in the form of impact aid which provides money schools can use to directly meet operating expenses. I voted against the President's veto of these funds because, while I agree that inflation must be curbed, I do not think we should sacrifice our school children on the altar of inflation. My bill, the School Construction Act, would assist local school districts in keeping pace with the need for new classrooms. My bill to assist children with learning disabilities already has passed the House. I am now investigating ways in which the Federal government can contribute a larger share towards meeting the operating expenses of school districts like ours. There is no higher national priority than keeping our schools open and excellent.

WHERE YOU CAN REACH ME

Some people have asked where they can reach me. I keep an office right in the heart of the Northeast. The office is on the second floor of the First Federal Savings and Loan Building at Castor and Cottman Avenues. It is open six days a week and all weekday nights. Depending on the calendar in Congress, I am usually there on Fridays and Saturdays. If I am not there someone on my staff, Russ Krawczuk, Mary Dunne, Agnes Lyons, Jessie Shore, or Bea Marks will help you. Our number is RA 2-1717. In Washington, my office is at 1130 Longworth House Office Building (225-4661) and if you get to the Capitol, stop in and say hello.

SELF-HELP HOUSING TODAY

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased when Congress included in the landmark 1968 Housing Act provisions through which self-help homebuilding and maintenance programs could be established with Federal assistance.

Self-help housing is an area which I have long been interested in, and back in 1967 I introduced legislation to set up a low interest loan program to aid low-income families in acquiring land and materials for such cooperative efforts.

I believe that the self-help concept should be encouraged and expanded if we are to meet ever-growing national needs for decent housing. I have personally visited self-help projects in California's Central Valley, and I have come away extremely impressed with the effectiveness of this approach.

Unfortunately, for most of us, the real crisis which exists in housing—especially in rural housing, and particularly in California where the rural housing situation is so bleak that I would rate the problem very high among all State issues—is largely invisible.

But, though it may not be visible, the problem is not getting any better. Economic retrenchment over the past 2 years cut deeply into home construction—and, of course, it was felt primarily by low-income families who were hurt by the massive interest rate hikes which dried up funds for low-rate programs.

Another current problem is the lack of adequate staffing for Government housing programs, and this stems from the constraints placed on staff levels by the administration in attempts to limit Government spending. For me this is false economy, and over the long run, these artificial constraints cause more problems than they solve.

Many of the issues I have discussed here came up at a meeting held last November in Asilomar, Calif., when some 150 persons got together to analyze existing programs and problems in self-help housing.

At that conference, two resolutions were adopted, and I now insert them into the RECORD as an indication of what we should be doing today to further expand the self-help housing approach.

The resolutions follow:

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION LOAN PROCESSING

A Resolution of Self-Help Enterprises Conference, Asilomar, Calif.

The continuing poverty of the Farmers Home Administration, particularly on administrative staff, is a major problem to low-income, rural people seeking credit for housing. This poverty is due to inadequate appropriations and presidential manpower ceilings, the latter aggravating the former. The financial cost of delays in loan processing is very high and the costs in frustration and demoralization are even higher. We realize that the failure to solve this problem (at a cost which would be inconsequential when measured against the total federal

budget) is in part the result of a system of national priorities which provides lavishly for the military and penuriously for domestic social programs; but we also believe that the failure arises from the fact that the common people in rural areas have little organization and poor means for expressing their own needs and frustrations.

We take this occasion to call the problem to the attention of our representatives in Congress and respectfully urge them, as a delegation, to work for a speedy solution—the lifting of manpower controls over this small agency and a supplemental appropriation aimed directly at providing the necessary funds.

SECTION 235 PROGRAM OF THE HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

A Resolution of Self-Help Enterprises Conference, Asilomar, Calif.

Whereas the shortage of adequate, low-income housing is one of this Nation's major domestic problems; and

Whereas self-help housing has in the past five years proven its value in various rural areas of the United States with Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) loans and the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) technical assistant funds; and

Whereas the urban need for this type of house is equally great; and

Whereas Section 235 of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 provides a loan source through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) which has been successfully used in a self-help program in Visalia, California, by Self-Help Enterprises, Inc. (SHE), and

Whereas in order to expand this type of program to make an impact on this national problem, other sources of funds are needed to secure and develop land to use as construction loans and as technical assistance funds similar to the provision of the Act which makes such funds available in rural areas through the FmHA; Therefore be it

Resolved, That this Board of Directors of Self-Help Enterprises and all those present at this Conference urge the Congress of the United States to enact legislation which will provide through the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) direct loan funds to nonprofit sponsors of self-help housing for land purchase and development and house construction and grants to nonprofit sponsors for technical assistance to families.

TAXES AND THE SINGLE PERSON

HON. WILLIAM L. ST. ONGE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. ST. ONGE. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced in the House a bill to extend to all unmarried taxpayers the same full tax benefits of income splitting that are now enjoyed by married individuals filing joint returns. A similar bill has already been introduced in the Senate.

I have taken this step for two reasons. There is a serious question of constitutionality in the existing system which taxes single persons at higher rates than the rates paid by married individuals. I do not feel that we should wait until an aggrieved taxpayer brings this matter to the U.S. Supreme Court for relief. It is incumbent upon us in the Congress to provide for equity of tax rates paid by the people of this country.

The bill does not discriminate against married individuals filing joint returns, whose tax rates would not be changed. It simply removes the penalty now paid by single taxpayers. The Tax Reform Act of 1969 acknowledged the existence of the problem by providing partial relief. This proposal goes all the way, as it should.

I understand that approximately 25 million taxpayers would be affected by this legislation, which is long overdue. It is interesting to note that the income-splitting provisions in our community property States were extended in 1948 to all married taxpayers throughout the country filing joint returns.

While the tax reform bill of 1969 did provide some relief for our taxpayers, there are some areas where the relief provided is not sufficient. This is one of those areas and the passage of this bill would relieve a serious inequity in our income tax laws.

SUPPORT FOR THE VOLUNTEER ARMY

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the Gates Commission report on an all volunteer army, which clearly demonstrated both the feasibility and the desirability of such a force, is now being reviewed at the White House. The release of the report has stimulated a spirited and very necessary discussion of the issues involved in eliminating the draft and instituting a volunteer army. Favorable commentary on the recommendations contained in the report has appeared in a number of newspapers and magazines. I would recommend for the attention of my colleagues two recent articles on the volunteer army which were published in Newsweek. The articles, by Stewart Alsop and Milton Friedman, follow:

[From Newsweek, Mar. 23, 1970]

CAN THE DRAFT BE ABOLISHED?

(By Stewart Alsop)

WASHINGTON.—Is President Nixon really serious about abolishing the draft?

At a recent college seminar, I was asked this question, or something like it, far more than any other. I had no confident answer. It is an interesting question, not only for the draft-age young. After making inquiries in knowledgeable quarters, I have the following fairly confident answer:

Yes, the President is entirely serious about abolishing the draft. If all goes more or less as expected in Vietnam (a big if) and if he can find the money (another big if) the President hopes to give an all-volunteer force a kind of test run. If the test run is successful, this country may have an all-volunteer force by midsummer next year.

This Presidential hope is largely based on the recent report by the blue-ribbon commission headed by former Secretary of Defense Thomas Gates. Gates himself, and several other members of the commission, including Generals Alfred Gruenther and Lauris Norstad, were initially very skeptical

about ending the draft. In the end, the commission agreed unanimously that the thing could be done, and as soon as July 1971.

REPORT

A Nixon-appointed task force, including representatives of the Pentagon, the Budget Bureau, and all other interested agencies, is now hard at work rechecking the conclusions of the Gates commission, with instructions to report to the President in the near future. Significantly, the White House representative on the task force is Martin Anderson, who first persuaded then-candidate Nixon in 1967 that the draft could and should be abolished. The betting is that the President will have a program ready to propose to Congress by late spring or early summer.

There are all sorts of very good reasons for abolishing the draft. The first and best reason is that the draft is a deeply unfair, divisive and corrupting influence in American life—corrupting above all to those who benefit from the draft system by escaping the draft. To cite a single rather stomach-turning example, the Yale Divinity School, like other divinity schools, is now primarily a haven for draft dodgers, rather than a place where young men are prepared for the ministry.

There are other less obvious reasons for ending the draft. If the war in Vietnam proves anything, it is that it is profoundly dangerous and divisive to try to fight a limited war for limited ends with conscripted soldiers. Great powers have hardly ever done so, back to the time of the Roman Empire. The United States is inescapably a great power, with a great power's responsibilities, and a great power, above all in the nuclear age, must be able to fight limited wars in a limited way. Only a good professional army assures that ability.

MANPOWER

There is another reason, too. As anyone who has ever served in it will attest, the U.S. Army uses manpower in the profligate manner of a drunken millionaire throwing his money about. This is because the draft provides the Army with an unlimited source of manpower. If the draft ends, there will be real pressure on the Army to provide what it does not now provide—a reasonable return in combat power for its manpower investment.

But will the Gates plan really work? Will enough young men volunteer?

The Gates commission answer is a seemingly confident "yes." To maintain armed forces of 2.5 million men, 325,000 men will have to enlist voluntarily every year. The Gates commission concluded—and there were no dissents—that the required number of volunteers will be forthcoming, if military pay is raised by \$3.2 billion a year, mostly for the lower ranks. But when you talk to members of the commission, they don't sound quite as serenely confident as the cold print of the commission reports suggests.

Thomas Gates himself, for example, agrees that the volunteer estimate is an educated guess, because no one can accurately predict how many young men would really volunteer. But he thinks there is at least a good chance that enough men will volunteer if they are offered "more pride and more pay."

Pride is at least as important as pay. Men do not live by bread alone, and they do not become soldiers for bread alone either. This suggests one reason why the Gates commission's educated guess may turn out to be a bad guess.

The Army, of course, is the real problem—the other services do not have much trouble attracting volunteers. The U.S. Army—unlike the Marine Corps—has never understood the importance of pride.

Other armies, back to the time of the Roman legions, have recognized the importance of battle honors and tradition; of drums and bugles and bagpipes and hand-

some uniforms; of elite regiments and stirring drill, above all of the simple atavistic admiration of men—and women—for brave men. These are some of the things that make a soldier feel proud of himself and of his unit. The U.S. Army, by contrast, has always seemed oddly determined to turn every recruit into a mere number, a thoroughly computerized, tabulated and quantified bureaucrat-in-uniform, with about as much dash and color as a codfish.

The problem of pride is complicated by the temper of the times. There has perhaps never been a time when a uniform carried with it less prestige. This is partly because the war in Vietnam has produced no victory, and no bands or bugles to welcome home the conquering heroes. It is partly because many liberal intellectuals have been at pains to foster contempt for the military.

EXPERIMENT

There is a money problem, as well as a pride problem. The Gates commission proposes that the \$3.2 billion pay raise be put into effect on July 1 of this year, so that by July 1, 1971, it will be possible to see if the experiment has worked, and if the draft can be abolished. If President Nixon does not ask for the pay raise this year, the whole experiment will have to be put off to the indefinite future. In the face of threatening inflation and a tenuously balanced budget, it will not be at all easy for the President to ask for a massive military pay raise this year.

Yet there is one reason why the President may elect to do so all the same. In one of his leaked—and eminently sensible—memorandums to the President, Daniel Patrick Moynihan stressed the need to re-establish the authority of the government and the dignity of the Presidency. He wrote: "I fear the blunt truth is that ending the draft would be the single most important step you could take in this direction."

To anyone who has had any contact with the draft-age young, there can be no doubt that Moynihan was abundantly right.

THE END OF THE DRAFT?

(By Milton Friedman)

At long last, the end of the draft is in sight.

Two months after his Inauguration, President Nixon appointed a commission "to develop a comprehensive plan for eliminating conscription and moving toward an all-volunteer armed force." That commission has now unanimously recommended a plan that it believes would permit conscription to end on June 30, 1971, when the present legal authority expires. It would retain only a standby draft to be put into effect in case of emergency by action of Congress on the recommendation of the President.

As a member of the President's commission, I was much impressed by the emergence of unanimity out of initial disagreement. As our deliberations proceeded, and especially as our knowledgeable staff developed a growing body of factual evidence, it became ever clearer to all of us how superficial are most arguments in favor of conscription and how inefficient conscription is both as a method of taxation and as a method of recruiting manpower.

MOSTLY VOLUNTEERS NOW

The often hysterical claims that an all-volunteer force is undesirable because it would be all black or all this or all that or because it would strengthen militarism or because . . . all these claims are contradicted by one simple yet overwhelmingly important fact: *our armed forces today consist predominantly of true volunteers.*

Many men "reluctantly" volunteer for a first term of service because of the threat of the draft. But we know that all men beyond the first term of service are true volunteers,

and they alone number nearly 40 per cent of the total forces. In addition, our best estimates are that at least one-third of the first-termers are also true volunteers. In all therefore, at least 60 per cent of the armed forces are true volunteers. A change in the method of recruiting the remaining 40 per cent—mostly enlisted men in the very lowest ranks—cannot produce drastic changes in either the composition or character of the armed forces.

Enforced service by a conscript is a tax imposed on him no less than the check you send to Internal Revenue is a tax imposed on you. The size of his tax is the difference between the sum of money for which he would have served voluntarily and the pay he actually receives. Currently, this tax amounts to about 50 per cent of the potential civilian income of draftees. So unfair a tax imposed on so small a minority would never be passed explicitly by Congress. It persists only because it is hidden.

The tax is not only unfair, it is also inefficient. Every tax involves costs in addition to the amount of the tax itself. For conscription, these indirect costs are the heavy burdens imposed on actual and potential draftees, their families, universities, employers—and most important, on all of us through the weakening of the political fabric of society.

Most of these costs cannot be assigned a money value. But for those that can, the commission estimates that "for each \$1 in tax-in-kind collected, an average of \$2.50 is foregone by the public"—i.e., that is costs \$1.50 to collect \$1. That is one reason why, when the books are kept properly to show all costs and all returns, a volunteer force is far less costly than a mixed force of conscripts and volunteers. But it is not the only reason.

A young man is conscripted for two years. He spends the first six months or so being trained, the last few months being processed for his discharge. We are lucky if he spends one year in active service. In addition, the time of other men must be used to train him and move him in and out of service.

To man a mixed conscript-volunteer force of 2.5 million men (the middle of the range of force levels considered by the commission) requires recruiting each year about 440,000 enlisted men (excluding officers). Even with today's low first-term pay and conditions of service, at least 250,000 would be true volunteers, leaving 190,000 who would have to be conscripted or induced to volunteer by threat of the draft.

An all-volunteer force of equal effectiveness has less turnover and uses manpower more efficiently. As a result, it requires recruiting each year about 325,000 enlisted men, or only 75,000 in addition to the present number of true volunteers.

THE REAL ALTERNATIVES

Compel 190,000 men per year to serve. Or improve pay and conditions of service to attract an additional 75,000 volunteers out of the 1.5 million who each year turn 19. These are the real alternatives.

ANALYSIS OF WORK DONE IN CONGRESS BY HON. ADAM C. POWELL THIS YEAR

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

MARCH 20, 1970.

MY DEAR FRIEND: Enclosed is the analysis of work done this year in Congress by me.

I know it is long, but I dare you to read it. With every good wish.

Sincerely, your personal Congressman,
ADAM C. POWELL,
Member of Congress.

SECTION 1: LEGISLATION INTRODUCED AND ACTION TAKEN, 1970

At least 40 other pieces of legislation are not listed, these are the major ones:

H. Res. 98: The Committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of the administration of programs carried on under the authority of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

H. Res. 277: The Committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study to determine why, though only approximately 9 per centum of the men in the Armed Forces are black, yet approximately 14 per centum of those killed in action are black.

H. Res. 278: Requesting that the President of the United States stop selecting and inducting individuals into the Armed Forces for a period of 180 days.

H. Res. 365: The Committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation of the circumstances surrounding the recent trial, conviction, and sentencing of members of the Armed Forces on mutiny charges.

H. Res. 390: Resolved, That any action to shut down any Job Corps installation be suspended until the Congress has had an opportunity to review the Job Corps program in deciding upon extension of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, as amended, and appropriations for that program.

H. Res. 457: It is the sense of the House of Representatives that the President of the United States should resubmit the Geneva Protocol of 1925 banning the first use of gas and bacteriological warfare.

H. Res. 467: That the Government of the United States should seek prompt negotiations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to reach agreement on limiting both offensive and defensive strategic weapons.

H.R. 2699: To provide for the admission to the Union, on an equal footing with the original states, of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

H.R. 3779: To limit the categories of questions required to be answered under penalty of law in the decennial censuses of population, unemployment, and housing, and for other purposes.

H.R. 4191: To provide Federal assistance to improve the educational services in public and private non-profit child day care centers.

H.R. 7761: To provide supplemental appropriations to fully fund programs to build three hundred thousand units of low- and moderate-income housing.

H.R. 11808: To amend the Small Business Act to make crime protection insurance available to small business concerns.

H.R. 11934: To extend to every person classified or processed under the Selective Service Act the right to legal counsel to the end that the rights and privileges afforded under law may be known and secured.

H.R. 12321: To provide for the continuation of programs authorized under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

H.R. 12500: To provide that the membership of local selective service boards reflect the ethnic and economic nature of the areas served by such boards.

H.R. 12779: To create a Department of Youth Affairs.

H.R. 13136: To provide for a comprehensive and coordinated attack on the narcotic addiction and drug abuse problem.

H.R. 14910: To provide a program to improve the opportunity of students in elementary and secondary schools to study cultural heritages of the major ethnic groups in the Nation.

H.R. 14012: To provide for the establishment of a Commission on Marihuana.

H.R. 15619: To designate the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., as a legal public holiday.

A CROSS-SECTION OF MAJOR CASES HANDLED THIS YEAR BY CONGRESSMAN ADAM C. POWELL ONLY: MARCH 20, 1970

Arranged through Immigration Service and the State Department to expedite entry of Peter Mangelsingh's family from Trinidad at the request of Ray Brunges, his employer. Helped his family get a pre-July appointment with the Port of Spain Consul instead of an 8 to 10 month wait.

Helped Mrs. Floyd Hunter of 172 East 112th Street to get a discharge from the Air Force for her husband due to her own serious illness and due to the death of his brother in Vietnam which changed his status to that of a "sole surviving son."

Assisted the Elmendorf Reformed Church of Harlem at 171 E. 121st Street, Rev. Don DeYoung, Minister, with the gathering of research information for one of its church committees conducting a letter-writing campaign to Member of Congress to restore the \$16,000,000 cut in funds for incoming college freshmen in the Education Opportunity Grant Program. . .

Verified this reduction of funds with the House Education and Labor Committee; sent status reports to group re pending action regarding supplemental appropriations; sent information regarding Budget Bureau's recommendations, as well as information as to where organizations may direct efforts to get funds restored.

Assisted Carl George of 211 West 117th Street with his efforts to have the Marine Officers Training Center reopened in Hoboken, N.J., where he worked as a civilian employee. Sent an appeal to Navy Department and the Department of Commerce. The Center was subsequently reopened.

Aided Cecil Layne in getting an initially requested \$9,000 Small Business Administration loan increase to \$25,000 to improve his Negro Press Photo Service at 120 East 32nd Street.

At the request of Mel C. Patrick, Assistant to Borough President of Manhattan Percy Sutton, had a Military Inquiry made of the medical condition of Cpl. Manuel X. Cotto of the 3rd Marine Division in Vietnam. Cotto's request for an assignment in the rear because of a head injury of long standing, and painful headaches which made wearing a helmet unbearable, etc. was turned down. ACP requested investigation which resulted in a reversal of the previous decision; Cotto's claims were substantiated by tests. Thank-you note received from Mel C. Patrick.

Succeeded in getting financial records straightened out for Airman Paul Mordecai stationed in Germany; he and family were having extreme difficulties because of mix-up in records. Inquiry was made at the request of his mother, Mrs. Lucille Mordecai of 350 East 124th Street.

Responded to the request of Dr. Charles Walburg of Harlem Hospital for help in getting deferments for 6 resident physicians. Succeeded in getting deferments for 5; one was definitely determined ineligible for deferment. He voluntarily enlisted, however, when so informed.

At the request of Assemblyman Frank Rossetti, assisted Patrick A. Kwame from Nigeria here on student visa from Nigeria in his efforts to get a permanent visa. Contacted Immigration Service and the State Department in his behalf, sent him all necessary information and forms, etc., and sent all status reports to Assemblyman Rossetti.

At the request of Rev. Richard P. Pease of the New York City Mission Society, 105 E. 22nd Street, requested a full scale investigation of complaints of racial discrimination communicated to him by Black servicemen stationed in Keflavik, Iceland.

Investigated denial of security clearance for the son of Professor Dan W. Dodson of New York University School of Education, Dan Dodson, Jr., stationed at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Security clearance was granted following ACP's inquiry.

Following numerous complaints about alleged brutality and beatings in stockade at Dachau, Germany, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird sent a corps of investigators to look into the situation at ACP's request. The inspection was conducted through the Provost Marshall General's Office.

Helped to get deferment for Lewis E. Barsky in order to continue teaching in the Special Services Program at P.S. 168 in East Harlem for the Education of Socially Maladjusted Children.

Requested investigation of the much publicized story regarding the death of the Black Marine whose wife believes he was slain in the stockade. His wife and daughter 2, live in District. Pvt. Jose Louis Conception, age 19 was found dead at his base station on July 1, 1969, at Parris Island, S.C. According to report received, his death was declared "accidental drowning." The wife believes his letters indicate he was beaten to death in the stockade for "his attitude."

The request for an investigation came from Carl O. Callender, Staff Attorney, "Neighborhood Law Offices" on July 22, 1969. Report of findings of the investigation received from the U.S. Marine Corps August 21, 1969, and sent to Attorney Callender.

A petition signed by 95 soldiers protesting treatment of Black Soldiers at Fort Benning, Georgia, 5th Battalion, 31st Infantry Division, was sent to the Department of Defense for investigation. The Special Affairs and Review Division of the Department of the Army reported that most of the signatures had either left service on completion of obligation or had been routinely reassigned to duties elsewhere; the complaints could not be substantiated.

Requested an investigation of complaints from servicemen in the 4th Student Battalion (Airborne) stationed at Fort Benning, Georgia, that monies were being collected from members of that unit in support of the Anne Elisabeth Shepherd Orphanage (a segregated orphanage) and that Black troops were forced to contribute to that segregated orphanage or go on K.P. The Communication of Complaint stated that men who blew the whistle on the illegal practice were quickly shipped to Vietnam or given other hardship reassignments, for unknown reasons, records were flagged, etc. . . . it stated further that collections had been maintained for five years. According to an attached Columbus News account, the Paratroopers Training Center consists of 10 or more troops totaling some 4,000, and that at each pay period "each man was told to give to the Elisabeth Shepherd Fund in which 90% did, contributing from \$1.00 up," or "go on K.P." It was also stated that these orphanage funds were diverted to build a parachute officers lounge building (No. 2195).

The Department of the Army on completion of its investigation in March of 1969 confirmed the collections and misappropriations, but the report stated that the amounts in each reference could not be determined with any degree of accuracy. It was confirmed that some monies were diverted to finance unit projects and to sponsor orphanage-related projects without required approval, and some monies could not be accounted for at all. "Fund Collections Ceased in October 1968;" the Anne Elisabeth Shepherd Association was dissolved in January of 1969," and the report further states that disciplinary action was taken against 5 individuals for dereliction of duties and for failure to safeguard and account properly for funds.

Quite a number of servicemen with outstanding records and qualifications were assisted in receiving long delayed promotions.

A soldier in Vietnam requested a New York State Flag because he was tired of seeing "nothing but 'Ole Miss' flying over there." At ACP's request Brigadier General Francis J. Higgins, the Adjutant General in Albany sent a New York State Flag to Sfc. Frederick S. Scruggs in Vietnam.

Straightened out false charges against Tony Rickman in U.S.M.C. who was charged with AWOL but was actually in hospital recovering from injury received in combat; was also accused of attacking a sentry while he was actually in barracks watching TV. False information and false charges officially sent to mother apparently caused her to have a stroke. Also aided in Rickman's getting a hardship discharge. Sister who resides in District requested ACP's help and sent "Thank You" letter on behalf of family.

Two letters of complaint were received from Vietnam soldiers reporting a decapitation incident:

On June 5, L/Cpl Kenneth Washington wrote: "A brother in Miki Company refused to go back into the bush; he was handcuffed and taken by force . . . now that brother is dead . . . decapitated by a helicopter."

On June 6, Pfc. Ernest Sykes, U.S.M.C., wrote: "One of my brothers was handcuffed and taken out into the bush, and his head was cut off by one of our own helicopters. He wasn't awarded a court martial for his punishment, that brother is dead today because of actions that the white man takes on his own."

Requested Secretary of Defense Laird to investigate. His report states that Pvt. George Williams, Jr. was killed on May 15, 1969, when he was unloading supplies from the aircraft, and his case was not related to the two men who were being carried handcuffed to a helicopter for transportation for disciplinary action back at their respective units. He conceded that "the means employed to deliver these two Marines to the field were incorrect and not in accordance with command policies." He further stated that corrective measures were being taken.

Numerous inquiries have been made into military situations arising from the Afro hair style of Black soldiers and a number of special court martials resulting therefrom have been investigated.

Numerous complaints from civilian prisoners have also been investigated through the Bureau of Prisons.

Assistance has been given to many individuals from certain southern areas who requested it because of their inability to get help elsewhere; both civilian and military.

Requested investigation of numerous on-the-job complaints by Civil Service Commission and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commissions re alleged discrimination when documented by complaints.

A number of Black youths who submitted applications for nominations to Service Academies were given authorizations to take the Civil Service Designation Examination to evaluate qualifications, but none so far have passed the tests.

One Black youth in District was highly recommended for a nomination to West Point because of his excellent High School scholastic rating (he ranks 31 in a class of 220) and because of his outstanding record as a trackman.

On October 17, 1968, that young man: Dennis Fikes of 1641 Madison Avenue was nominated as a principal candidate to West Point from District and is now being processed for admission.

Following his complaint to the U.S. Department of Commerce on May 27, 1969, concerning the token representation of Black students at the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy, and the fact that "the faculty is, and always has been all white and all male," ACP was notified on June 19th by Maritime Administrator A. E. Gibson that:

(1) The two current openings on the faculty at Kings Point for the coming school year will be filled by Black instructors from the New York area.

One appointment has already been made. Professor Kenneth Bantum in the Physical Education Department.

(2) A special officer has been assigned to the New York area to recruit Black nominees in an endeavor to raise the ratio of Black cadets at the Academy and increase equal employment opportunity in the Maritime industry. The enrollment is expected to consequently have a larger number of Black students this year.

As a result of the special recruiting program, 5 candidates have been recommended to ACP by Mr. James R. Jackson of the Maritime Administration's Civil Service Office; three are residents of the State of New York; two are out of State.

ACP nominated all five of these Black candidates for appointments to the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy for the class entering this year:

G. William Daley, Jr., (of the District), 620 Lenox Avenue, Apt. 4N, New York City, N.Y.

Joseph A. Washington, 1089 Tiffany Street, New York, N.Y.

Allan D. Bartow, 14 Benjoe Drive, Amityville, N.Y.

Howard W. Spears, 172 Quincy Street, Springfield, Massachusetts.

Edwin Wallace, 42 Beacon Street, Hyde Park, Massachusetts.

Sponsored applications submitted by City College Speech and Hearing Center of the City University for Program Development Grants in the area of Audiology and Aural Rehabilitation and Grants for Traineeships and Fellowships in Speech and Hearing requested by the Director of the Speech and Hearing Center, Dr. Bernard Schlanger.

The application for Program Development Grants in Speech Pathology and Audiology has been approved by the Social and Rehabilitation Service of HEW and the application for Traineeships and Fellowships has been approved by the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped of HEW.

Private Bills have been introduced and de- portation stopped for:

H.R. 4110: Procerpina Alipio, 244 E. 117th St.

H.R. 4111: Wellesley C. Burns, 540 Manhat- tan Ave.

H.R. 4112: Dr. and Mrs. Manuel Cacadac, Mt. Sinai Hospital.

H.R. 4738: Oliver Thompson, 13 W. 127th St.

H.R. 7136: Lucious Edward Arnold, Wife Ann, Son Steven, and daughter Patricia, 1837 Madison Avenue.

H.R. 7137: Mario Cianciulli and Wife Candida.

H.R. 7138: Elena Foldes, 234 E. 96th St.

H.R. 7139: Joseph Howell, 540 Manhattan Ave.

H.R. 7141: Dr. Alfredo I. Sison, Harlem Hospital.

H.R. 7142: Enrique H. Smith, 192 E. 101st St.

H.R. 7143: Leticia M. Solema, 244 E. 117th St.

H.R. 7144: Jose Jesus Villalobos, 235 E. 89th St.

H.R. 7145: Ruby Williams, sister of Miss Doris Scott, 157 W. 111th St.

H.R. 8900: Herbert Styles, 1405 Park Ave- nue.

H.R. 9400: Rogelio A. Anglin, 109 W. 144th St.

H.R. 9401: Arrindell O. Thompson, 109 W. 144th St.

At the request of Walter E. White, Presi- dent of the Puget Sound Area Council of the American Federation of Government Em- ployees, Tacoma, Washington, sent a letter of support of confirmation of Arthur A. Fletcher by the Senate for the Post of As- sistant Secretary of Labor to Chairman Ralph

Yarborough and Members of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

SECTION 2: PERSONAL BACKGROUND

Born: New Haven, Connecticut, November 29, 1908.

EDUCATION

A.B., Colgate University, 1930.
M.A., Columbia University, 1932.
LL.D., Virginia Union University, 1934.
D.D., Shaw University, 1947.
D.Th., Virginia Theological Seminary, 1933.
Minister of Abyssinian Baptist Church, New York City, 1930-1970.

POLITICAL CAREER

Elected to New York City Council as an Independent, 1941.

Elected to United States Congress on all tickets, 1944.

Member of United States House of Rep- resentatives for 25 years (Democratic Party); of 435 members in Congress.

Chairman of the U.S. House Committee on Education and Labor, 1961-1966.

Received 84.4% of the total vote of his 18th Congressional District, the 8th highest of all contested Congressional elections in America.

ACTIVITIES

Spoken on 100 campuses.
Founder and Editor of *People's Voice*.

Founder and Director of the Adam Clay- ton Powell Community Center, an inter- faith and inter-racial center of 5 buildings.

Only member of any Western Civilization parliament to attend the historic Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung, Indonesia, April 19, 1955.

U.S. Delegate, International Labor Confer- ence, Geneva, Switzerland, 1961, 1963, 1964, 1965.

Life Member, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Chairman, U.S. Congressional Delegation to Independence ceremonies for West Indies, Trinidad, 1957.

Member of President's Official Delegation to Independence for Jamaica.

HONORS AND AWARDS

Decorated by His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie, Knight Commander of the Golden Cross of the Order of Ethiopia, 1954.

"Outstanding Man of the Year" Award from Veterans of Foreign Wars, for fight against communism, 1956 VFW Annual Con- ference.

"Pastor of the Year" Award, New England Baptist Missionary Convention, 1961.

"Educator of the Year" Award from the I.P.B.O.E. of W., 1961.

Personal Guest of the Emir of Kuwait in Kuwait, 1963.

Vice President, World Parliament Associa- tion.

Has had audiences with His Holiness, the Late Pope Pius XII, and His Holiness, the Late Pope John XXIII.

Also honored by: Alpha Phi Alpha Frater- nity; American Jewish Congress (Bronx and South Shore Divisions), National Medical Association; National Association of Colored Women's Clubs; Prince Hall Grand Masons; Royal Order of Ethiopian Jews; and Tau Gamma Delta Sorority.

SECTION 3: THE LANDMARK LEGISLATION THAT MARKED THE TURNING POINT IN EDU- CATION AND LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES— THE LEGISLATIVE RECORD OF REPRESENTA- TIVE ADAM C. POWELL

Attached is the legislative record of Chair- man Powell during his five years as Chair- man of the Education and Labor Committee:

During the years, Congressman Powell has successfully guided to passage 60 major laws from his Committee without a defeat.

In these years, some of the most important legislation in the history of this country passed—

Increasing the Minimum Wage and Ex- tending Coverage.

The War on Poverty.

Aid to Elementary and Secondary Educa- tion.

Barring Discrimination in Salaries paid to Women for the same work performed by Men.

Assistance for Colleges and Universities. Manpower Development and Training for More Jobs.

Anti-Juvenile Delinquency.

Vocational Rehabilitation.

School Lunch Program.

Library Services.

Fair Employment Practices Commission.

No Funds for Segregated Schools.

Following is the record of the 60 laws which were passed:

PUBLIC LAWS

89-253: Expanding the War on Poverty.

89-258: Expansion of loan service of edu- cational media for the deaf.

87-22: Amending Vocational Education laws to include and help practical nurse training programs.

87-30: Increasing the coverage of Mini- mum Wage legislation to include retail clerks; also increasing the minimum wage to \$1.25.

87-87: Increased Benefits for Longshore- men and Harbor Workers.

87-137: Provides for one additional Assis- tant Secretary of Labor.

87-262: Establishes a teaching hospital for Howard University; transfers Freedmen's Hospital to Howard University.

87-276: Providing for the training of teachers of the deaf and handicapped chil- dren.

87-294: Education of the Blind.

87-300: Study of health and safety con- ditions in metal mines.

87-344: Extension of the laws providing funds for school construction and main- tenance in Federally impacted areas.

87-399: Amending the Federal Employee's Compensation Act.

87-415: The Manpower Development and Training Act, to make more jobs available.

87-420: Amending the Welfare and Pen- sion Plans Disclosure Act.

87-581: The Work Hours Act of 1962, es- tablishing standards for pay and work of laborers and mechanics.

87-751: Educational and training films for the deaf.

87-729: Amending the Manpower Develop- ment and Training Act regarding railroad unemployment insurance.

87-823: Liberalizing formula under Na- tional School Lunch Act.

88-38: Equal Pay for equal work.

88-204: Higher Education Academic Fac- ilities Act.

88-210: Improving the quality of voca- tional education, providing for its expan- sion and strengthening.

88-214: Amending the Manpower and De- velopment Training Act.

88-269: Increasing Federal Assistance for public libraries.

88-321: President's Committee on Em- ployment of the Physically Handicapped.

88-349: Amending the prevailing wage sec- tion of the Davis-Bacon Act.

88-368: Amending the Juvenile Delin- quency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 by extending it for two more years.

88-444: National Commission on Tech- nology, Automation, and Economic Progress.

88-452: The War on Poverty.

88-508: Amending the Federal Employees Compensation Act.

88-579: National Council on the Arts.

88-582: Registration of Contractors of Mi- grant Workers.

88-665: Amending and extending the Na- tional Defense Education Act of 1958.

89-10: Improving elementary and second- ary educational opportunities.

89-15: Amending the Manpower Development and Training Act.

89-36: National Technical Institute for the Deaf.

89-69: Amending the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961.

89-73: The Older Americans Act of 1965.

87-77: Amending Public Law 815, providing for school construction in Puerto Rico, Wake Island, Guam and the Virgin Islands.

89-125: Amending the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964.

89-178: Providing for analysis of manpower shortage in correctional rehabilitation.

89-209: National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities.

89-216: Bonding Provisions of Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959.

89-286: Labor standards for persons employed by Federal contractors.

89-287: Financial assistance for students attending trade, technical, business and other vocational schools, after secondary education.

89-313: Providing for assistance in construction and operation of public elementary and secondary schools in areas affected by major disaster.

89-329: Strengthening the educational resources of our colleges and universities; and to financially assist such students.

89-333: Amending the Vocational Rehabilitation Act.

89-376: Coal Mine Safety.

89-448: Federal Employees Compensation Act Amendments of 1966.

89-511: Extend and Amend Library Services and Construction Act.

89-577: Metallic and Non-Metallic Mine Safety.

89-601: Fair Labor Standards Act Amendments of 1966.

89-694: Model Secondary School for the Deaf.

89-698: International Education Act of 1966.

89-750: Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1966.

89-752: Higher Education Act of 1966.

89-792: Manpower Development and Training Act Amendments of 1966.

89-794: Economic Opportunity Act Amendments of 1966.

The following is a letter from President Lyndon B. Johnson to Congressman Powell on his fifth anniversary as Chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee:

THE WHITE HOUSE,

March 18, 1966.

DEAR ADAM: The fifth anniversary of your Chairmanship of the House Education and Labor Committee reflects a brilliant record of accomplishments.

It represents the successful reporting to the Congress of 49 pieces of bedrock legislation. And the passage every one of these bills attests to your ability to get things done.

Even now, these laws which you so effectively guided through the House are finding abundant reward in the lives of our people.

The poverty program is rapidly paving new pathways to progress for those whom the economic vitality of this land had previously bypassed.

The education measures are being translated into fuller opportunities for all our citizens to develop their God-given talents to their fullest potential.

Minimum wage, long a guarantee of a fair return for an honest days work, has been increased and greatly extended.

And the problems of juvenile delinquency are being met and curtailed by positive and determined action.

Only with progressive leadership could so much have been accomplished by one Committee in so short a time. I speak for the mil-

lions of Americans who benefit from these laws when I say that I am truly grateful.

Sincerely yours,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

SECTION 4: FIRST BLACK ACCOMPLISHMENTS BY ME

"What you are stands over you, and thunders so that I cannot hear what you say to the contrary." Emerson.

First Black elected to New York City Council in 1941.

Conducted the first investigation of the failure of New York City hospitals to hire Black nurses. Result: Black nurses are now working in all New York City hospitals.

Launched the first investigation of the four universities of the City of New York for their failure to hire Black professors. Result: Blacks are now employed on all of these staffs with Dr. Max Yergan being the first.

Conducted the campaign to stop the gerrymandering of Harlem so there could be a Black Congressman. Result: The Harlem Congressional District was created.

First Black from the East in Congress 26 years, handles an average of 5,000 cases per year—with full-time offices in New York and Washington, D.C. Results: Jobs were obtained, pensions secured and increased servicemen and veterans assisted and more than \$20,000 in cash was refunded to constituents by the Federal Government in one year.

Obtained the first jobs for Blacks in the brewing industry such as Harry Parker in Rheingold, Pat Jackson at Schlitz and Cecil Cook with Knickerbocker.

Placed Black motion picture operators in theaters in Harlem and wiped out Jim Crow locals at the Apollo Theater and all uptown theaters.

Placed the first Blacks at bread companies with Mr. Romero being the first.

Placed the first Blacks (Joe Forbes) in the plant of Silver Cup Bread Company.

Put the first Blacks in the soft drink industry. Ace Carter with Canada Dry and Ralph Sharper with Hoffman Sodas.

The complaint against Blumstein Department Store marked the first store to be picketed to secure jobs for Blacks. This complaint was under the chairmanship of The Rev. John Johnson of St. Martin's Church who was assisted by Arthur Reid and Ira Kemp. Result: The employment for the first time of twenty-two Black salesgirls.

Dr. William Imes of the St. Joseph Presbyterian Church and I founded The Coordinating Committee for Employment. Through picketing this committee obtained jobs up and down 125th Street. Namely, Grant's, Kress, United Cigar, Liggett's Drug Store, Chock Full O'Nuts—included downtown stores—and the Loew's Theaters. These were the first jobs obtained for Blacks as sales clerks. Mrs. Hannibal was the first.

Held conferences with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company which led to the employment of hundreds of Blacks with their firm.

Successfully executed negotiations to place Blacks in jobs at racetracks—in Washington, D.C. and New York City.

The only Member of Congress to conduct investigations on-the-spot, year-after-year of segregation and discrimination against Black GIs in North Africa, Europe, Hawaii & Japan.

Started and led the fight to wipeout segregation in the Armed Forces.

Delegate to the World Conference on Parliamentarians for World Government. Elected Vice President for three successive years.

Appointed and shepherded the first Black ever to graduate from Annapolis, Wesley Brown. In 1958 appointed more constituents to Annapolis and West Point than the entire 531 members of Congress appointed in the year that he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.

Was responsible for the first Black newspaperman being admitted to the Congressional Press Galleries. He was Louis Lautier, Washington Bureau Chief of the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA).

Forced the restaurants of the U.S. Congress to admit Blacks without segregation.

Forced the Federal Civil Aeronautics Authority to end discrimination against Blacks at airports receiving federal funds.

Authorized and co-authored all the legislation which later became the Civil Rights program and is now the law.

First to author Federal Voter Registration Act.

Supported increased salaries and pensions for Post Office employees and federal workers.

At the request of a committee of doctors, spearheaded a complaint, taking with me 5,000 Blacks to City Hall to demonstrate for reinstatement of Black doctors in Harlem Hospital. Results: Black doctors were reinstated.

Was named Director of Relief for Harlem. One hundred thousand dollars was directed for food and jobs each year during the Depression.

Picketed Telephone Company and Con Edison. Placed first Blacks in those firms. These companies employ today over 7,000 Blacks with a total payroll for them of \$50,000,000 annually.

Appointed the first Puerto Rican, Alfredo Vidal, to a Congressional staff.

Appointed the first Black man to work on the subways in the U.S. Capitol.

Appointed the first Black man in the skilled labor shops on Capitol Hill.

With Hope Stevens, Arnold Johnson and G. Lester Hines, formed and led a successful picket against the New York bus companies. This action resulted in 19,000 Blacks being employed by the Transportation System of New York today.

Appointed the first Black man as Chief Investigator to the Education & Labor Committee.

Made it possible for the hiring of the first Black umpire in the American Baseball League, Emmett Ashford.

Was responsible for placing over 200 Blacks in the apprenticeship training program for the Government Printing Office, and the placement of a Black District Inspector, Hough Mason. Also, through my efforts Richard Archer was made Chief of Training.

New York Herald Tribune: "Adam Clayton Powell attempted to drive a wedge into Washington long-standing segregation policies when he introduced the Powell Amendment to the Appropriations Bill." Now the Law!

Pittsburgh Courier: "Adam Clayton Powell leads fight against (West Indian) quota system."

Chicago Defender: "Adam Clayton Powell introduced a bill to extend the benefits of the Civil Service Retirement to Panama Canal employees."

Washington Post: "The House approved amendment by Adam Clayton Powell giving first priority for occupancy of houses to persons removed from their homes by slum clearance."

New York Times: "Powell proposed an emergency program today to train more scientists and engineers."

New York Defender: "Powell led investigation of denials of mortgages to property owners in Harlem." Results: More liberalized approach by the banks and the passage of a law by the New York State Legislature.

The Springfield, Mass. Daily News: "Adam Clayton Powell held a hand-full of high cards and he played them with masterly skill. He forged a new link in the chain of freedom at Bandung yesterday and all peace-loving men should applaud him for it."

Drew Pearson: "Powell out-manuevered and out-talked his powerful Georgia colleague and won a masterful victory." Led the fight to abolish segregation in the National Guard.

Washington Post: "The House voted to adopt an amendment by Adam Clayton Powell to bar aid to states who do not comply with the Supreme Court 1954 school integration order.

Ted Coleman: "Adam refuses to let party leaders put a ring in his nose. They admire Powell's defiance and his determination to fight."

Amsterdam News: "Powell has never failed to stand up and be counted on the side of Harlem when the best interests of the Negro were in question."

Washington Sunday Star: "The measure of (Powell's) success may be guaranteed by the contempt and fear many southerners hold for him. Most of his 106 House colleagues from the South roundly despise him to put it mildly."

Cleveland Plain Dealer: (Roy Wilkins, NAACP Executive Secretary)—Powell is a fighter—sometimes right and sometimes not diplomatic; but always a fighter and fighters are what we need and fighters are what the other side doesn't want us to have."

UNION OF CONCERNED SCIENTISTS
LOOK AT AIR POLLUTION

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, last year, on two occasions, I was able to distribute to my colleagues studies made by the Union of Concerned Scientists dealing with the proposed ABM system and the MIRV program.

UCS delves into many areas, and is not limited to aspects of military programs alone. For example, last November, UCS, in conjunction with the Harvard Law Conservation Society published a valuable analysis of air pollution.

I have read the UCS report, and I find it to be of great value in furthering our understanding of the smog crisis. I now insert it into the RECORD, and I urge that my colleagues review the study and its recommendations.

The report follows:

A STUDY OF AIR POLLUTION

(By the Union of Concerned Scientists, Committee on Environmental Pollution Harvard Law Conservation Society, November 25, 1969)

[Figures referred to not printed in RECORD.]

RÉSUMÉ

A study and review of the medical, environmental, and economic consequences of air pollution is made with particular regard to the Boston Metropolitan Area. The Air Quality Standards proposed for this area by the Massachusetts Department of Public Health are studied in the light of this information and are found to be substantially inadequate. New standards are proposed with recommendations concerning implementation. Discussion of techniques for meeting these new standards is given.

THE AUTHORS

Union of Concerned Scientists, Committee on Environmental Pollution: Bruce Bailey, Gloria Bloom, Henry Kendall, James Mackenzie, chairman, subcommittee on air pollution.

Harvard Law Conservation Society: Peter Buchsbaum, Joseph Katchen, Scott Lang, Mike Last.

I. INTRODUCTION

The pollution of the air in many regions of the United States has reached levels that are now causing great concern not only among specialists in medical and health matters but also among many citizens in the population at large. A complete catalog of the economic, medical, and aesthetic damage caused in our society by the great variety of materials, many of them toxic, that are discharged into the air would make grim and unpleasant reading. No such catalog has been prepared. However, the increasing amount of information that is available suggests a problem far more acute than the public is aware of. Boston has not escaped its share of this man-made airborne blight.

In anticipation of the Air Quality Standards Hearings, the Committee on Environmental Pollution of the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) has conducted a study of some of the effects of air pollution in the nation and in the Boston area. In conjunction with the Harvard Law Conservation Society, UCS has prepared this study of air pollution. In this study, we have included our own recommended standards for the Boston area, for the levels of particulate matter and for oxides of sulfur that we believe furnish the protection to our health that is required.

In the course of this study, we have not confined ourselves simply to particulate matter or oxides of sulfur, although these alone will be considered in the forthcoming scheduled hearings. Nor have we restricted our discussion to damage, past, present and projected, to the Boston area alone. Air pollution is a national problem and much of the experience gained in other heavily populated regions of the country can aid us in protecting ourselves carefully and completely. We believe that thoughtful and adequate limitations on the levels of airborne particulates and oxides of sulfur, conscientiously enforced, are only the first in a series of steps which must be taken before we are free of man-made hazard and insult from the air about us. Among the limitations yet to come will be many that deal with our most important polluter: the automobile. In the meanwhile we must take the first step.

It is our belief that with the thoughtful support of many well-informed citizens we can ensure that it will be a correct first step, that it will be in the right direction, and that it will bring with it the adequate protection of the public health and welfare that we all seek and desire. That is why we have carried out this study.

II. THE EFFECTS OF AIR POLLUTION ON HEALTH

There is now no longer any doubt that air pollution causes death and chronic disease. In some cases, the direct evidence of excess death and illness is unmistakable, as in Donora, Pa. in 1948, or in the well known London smog episodes. There is, in addition, an increasing body of statistical evidence linking illness and chronic diseases to less spectacular levels of air pollution. In any population, there will be some people who are more sensitive to pollutants than others—the aged, the very young, and those suffering from chronic respiratory problems. These people are the most likely victims of high levels of pollutants. This is especially disturbing since long term exposure to fairly low levels of pollutants may cause chronic bronchitis later in life, putting the affected person in the category of those most likely to suffer in severe pollution episodes. Among the diseases that have been linked to air pollution are lung cancer, stomach cancer, dyspnea (labored breathing), bronchitis, and other illnesses, many of the respiratory tract.

Information about the effects of air pollution on human health comes from two basic sources: toxicological and epidemiologi-

cal data. Toxicological data is gathered in laboratory experiments on humans and animals and yields information on the effects of controlled dosages of specific pollutant materials. For example, it has been demonstrated that sulfur dioxide (SO₂) is potentiated (increased in irritant capability) in the presence of some particulate matter which is commonly found in atmospheric pollution, such as aerosols of ferrous iron, or vanadium. SO₂ acts on the respiratory tract causing broncho-constriction, one of its principal short term effects. Other experiments have yielded information on the deposition and clearance of different sized particles from the respiratory tract. Many particles are cleared from the lungs and then swallowed, demonstrating a mechanism whereby carcinogenic particles can get from the lungs to the gastrointestinal tract. Other particles make their way into the blood and lymph systems. The health effects of a given quantity of particulate matter in the atmosphere will depend upon the size of the particles, where the retained material lodges in the respiratory tract, its chemical composition, substances in combination with it, and how it is inhaled. This means that the health effects of a given level of particulate pollution can vary dramatically.

Epidemiological studies are of more help in giving clues to determine reasonable ambient air standards. These studies relate the level of pollutants to health effects resulting in the population at large. However, it is important to remember that the levels cited are indices of pollution which occurred with statistically observed changes in mortality and morbidity. An example of epidemiological data is, for example, that when SO₂ levels reached 250 ppb for one day in Chicago, there was a sharp increase in the illness rate for patients over 55 years old who suffered from chronic bronchitis. Rises in SO₂ rates generally occur with rises in particulates, so in these studies it is difficult to isolate the effect of one component from the many that are usually present.

It is possible, but now regarded as very unlikely, that the rise in mortality and morbidity found with increased air pollution and the corresponding decrease with decreased pollution is coincidental and that other factors are the causal ones. However, as statistical evidence mounts in conjunction with mechanisms for causation learned in laboratory studies, the presumed causality becomes more and more probable. Presently the amount of this type of evidence has reached a point where there is no longer serious doubt about the causal relationship. Such is now also the case with the consequences of cigarette smoking.

In addition to the general effect of particles on the respiratory tract, there are some types of particles that are directly toxic. These include asbestos, lead, and fluorides. Accidental or industrial exposure to asbestos has caused tumors of the pleura after a latency period as long as 40 years. The use of asbestos has increased greatly since the time of the first exposures and the results are just becoming known. It is estimated that 20 to 50% of the population has asbestos material in their lungs today.

Less lethal, but more immediate in effects, are odors associated with particulate pollution. In extreme cases they can cause nausea, vomiting and insomnia. Odorous particles come from engine exhausts, street paving operations (asphalt), and trash burning, among other sources. Odors have to be controlled from specific sources rather than by a general reduction in the level of particulate pollution.

The most common irritating material is SO₂, which is converted into sulfuric acid by oxidation in the atmosphere. Catalysts that speed this up appear to be always present.

There have been many studies of the effects of SO₂ and sulfuric acid on experimental subjects. SO₂ has been shown to cause constriction of the bronchial passage. It is one of the primary causes of eye irritation. It slows the motion of the cilia that line the bronchial tubes. In the laboratory these effects are noted at levels higher than those found in the outside atmosphere.

However, epidemiological data indicates that SO₂ affects health at much lower levels than in laboratory tests. In Rotterdam, a 24 hour mean concentration of 190 ppb for several days resulted in an increased death rate, and levels of 110 to 190 ppb resulted in increased hospital admissions for respiratory diseases. This study is interesting because the level of particulates in Rotterdam is generally low relative to the level of sulfur oxides, indicating that SO₂ played an important role in the effects.

What levels of air pollution are "safe"? The answer to that question is unknown. We do know, however, what levels are very likely to be dangerous. Epidemiologists tell us the lowest level at which it has thus far been possible to detect statistically, effects on health. Daily particulate levels of 750 µg/m³ and SO₂ concentrations above 250 ppb have been associated with dramatic increases in deaths and illnesses in London. A British study found increased mortality from lung cancer and bronchitis among people living in an area with pollution levels of 160 µg/m³ smoke and 40 ppb SO₂, as compared with those living at 80 µg/m³ and 26 ppb. A British study of children, over a 15 year period, showed definite increases in respiratory illnesses at smoke levels of 100-130 µg/m³ and SO₂ levels of 43 ppb.

Pollution effects are by no means confined to the elderly or those with chronic sickness. In Buffalo, N.Y., doctors have correlated hospital admissions of children for asthma with low and high air pollution levels. The number of admissions jumped by nearly 60% as pollutant levels increased. The figures for eczema were even more striking. Hospital admissions increased by nearly 850%.

There have been many other studies from all over the world, including the United States, tending to reinforce these findings. Unfortunately, we do not know below what levels no discernable (or acceptably small) health effects will occur. However, there is no doubt that air pollution increases mortality and morbidity rates. We must decide what margin of safety we want to have, based on information now available. As tests and studies of increased precision and scope become available it may become necessary to revise standards. At the present time the information we have available is disquieting enough that we believe the standards should now be set with a significant margin of safety.

III. THE COST OF AIR POLLUTION

The national cost of air pollution is currently estimated at about \$12-billion annually. This is for damage to property only. It does not account for increased health costs, production losses due to absenteeism from work, delays in transportation and subsequent loss of productive time, or degradation of real estate property values, to name a few of the many areas affected. Furthermore, the estimate of \$12-billion is based only on known expenditures. It tells nothing of damage that has gone unrepaired, or of the cost of maintenance that should have been carried out but, for one reason or another, was not. Any of us looking about our grimy urban (and not-so-urban) areas can easily believe that the real cost is very much more than this amount.

The economic evaluations of the cost of air pollution show some interesting, if distressing, facts. From these data, we can make some useful observations about the

situation here in Boston and its metropolitan area. Worcester, being perhaps the most heavily industrialized city of its size in the country, is surely affected by air pollution. Springfield, by sheer size alone, is subject to adverse conditions of pollution as is, indeed, every city of close to 100,000 or more in population. Smaller towns with various types of mills are also suffering economic loss due to the condition known as "external diseconomy"—a way of saying that industry is not made to carry the economic burden of its polluted effluent and the cost is passed on to private citizens.

The earliest comprehensive study of the cost of air pollution was done in Pittsburgh during 1912-1913¹. Table I is a breakdown of these costs as analyzed at that time—and in 1913 dollars. As dated as this information is, it is still interesting as an example of where the costs arise. This study suggested that losses to the polluters themselves amounted to about 15% of the total.

A survey conducted in two local Ohio River Valley areas of widely differing particulate pollution levels showed that it cost \$84 more per capita per year to live in a region with airborne particulate levels of 235 micrograms per cubic meter than it did where the level was 115—in 1959 dollars². Other studies of cities and towns in the upper Ohio River Valley, combined with surveys in the greater Washington, D.C. area³ show that these costs vary in a substantial linear fashion with level of particulate pollution. This is especially interesting because it allows us to estimate a cost-per-microgram per-cubic-meter of particulate matter. This works out to \$.80 per person, annually.

Let's look at what this means to Boston. During the period 1961-1965 the average level of particulate matter at the center of Boston was 135. At \$.80 per microgram per cubic meter per person, this suggests a cost of \$108 for every man, woman, and child in Boston, annually, during that period. For the entire population of 700,000 this would be \$76-million per year, or about \$380-million for that 5-year period!

To get an idea of how things compare with Pittsburgh, for which we have the earlier breakdown, let's consider the per capita costs there, in 1913. The \$10-million spent then would be \$50-million in today's economy. Since our costs, however, are based only on damages, we have to remove the loss to pollutant producers which was included in the Pittsburgh study. So, with a population of about 530,000 in 1913, the per capita cost in today's dollars would have been a mere \$80! During the 1961-1965 period, Pittsburgh was found to have a particulate contamination level of 163. This would suggest their cost for pollution to be about \$129 per person per year . . . and this, despite the fact that Pittsburgh has had one of the most advanced and rigorously-implemented air-pollution control programs in the country. While Boston doesn't begin to compete with Pittsburgh in having heavy industry, we're right up there with them in pollution costs!

Whatever our view of these numbers and their various implications, an annual cost to our citizens in Boston of between \$75- and \$100-million is far too much for the privilege of living in and breathing foul and debilitating air.

The cost to the city of Boston for currently recommended salary increases for its 3300 police patrolmen is put at \$5.2-million. This is equivalent to a reduction of only 10 micrograms per cubic meter in the level of particulate matter! The level of 50 micrograms per cubic meter recommended by this group would represent a saving to the people of Boston of more than \$15-million annually over the cost of existing with the level of 80 micrograms per cubic meter as proposed by

Footnotes at end of speech.

the Massachusetts Department of Public Health.

IV. AIR POLLUTION AND AESTHETICS

It is difficult to give a quantitative measure to the aesthetic damage caused by air pollution. The quality of the air around us, the feeling we have as we breathe it, the total effect of its presence, is nearly impossible to define in terms of numbers. However, we can measure visibility, and the amount of "junk" that is daily landing on us, from air pollution. We can also, through surveys, obtain some ideas about when pollution becomes noticeable and then offensive to the population.

Among the kinds of situations difficult to evaluate are, for example: those facing the housewife who, in cleaning her home, finds dirt that did not originate there, her husband who finds his porch and auto covered with grime that he's sure he is not responsible for, their children finding toys and playground equipment dusty and dirty, and the museum curator finding statuary grimy and eroding. Situations such as these are clearly unpleasant even though there is no index that properly describes their degree. They affect our whole lives, in unpleasant and distasteful ways.

Fifty percent of this nation's population lives on less than one percent of its land. It is this small fraction of our land that contains the sources about which we must be increasingly concerned, for most pollutants originate over that less-than-one-percent of land area! When we speak of effects of air pollution, we must do so in terms of urbanized population. The fifty percent will soon be sixty, and seventy . . . the urbanized population is rapidly becoming the great majority of the total U.S. population.

The fall of dust and grime is something we can sense, and, indeed, something we can measure. In Boston, it comes down at a rate of between 20,000 lbs per square mile per month and 200,000 lbs per square mile per month, depending on the season.⁴ It is clear that left to itself, this stuff would soon cover the city to a depth much greater than most buildings! In fact, most of it gets washed down the sewers by rain; not all of it, but a lot. The rest, though, remains to us to clear away. The street sweepers get the residue that lands in their domain. What accumulates in back yards, on roofs, cars, etc., is up to the citizen. It costs us money, offends our innate sensibilities, and indeed affects our whole feeling about life. There is now simply far too much to ignore.

Air pollution affects our ability to grow plants. Photochemical smog in metropolitan California areas has made it impossible to raise orchids.⁵ Indeed in that state every economically important agricultural product has been harmed by air pollution. We have the same situation near Boston. Injury to vegetation has been observed in every county in New Jersey, with damage noted to at least 36 crops.⁶ 60 to 100 percent injury has been observed to Douglas fir, Ponderosa pine, and forest shrubs, up to 30 miles from a smelter operation at Trail, British Columbia; the famous monument known as Cleopatra's Needle has deteriorated more since its arrival in New York in 1881 than it did in the previous 3,000 years in Egypt.

Within the past five to ten years there has been increasingly serious deterioration of statuary and other exhibits at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. It is not confined to statuary crumbling in the out-of-doors but to partial destruction of bronzes and paintings indoors also. One cannot put a dollar value on these links with the past, for when gone, as many soon may be, they cannot be replaced.

We have discussed the cost of air pollution in a previous section of this report. But it is useful to state again some of the costs as possible indices of the aesthetic damage air pollution is visiting on us. Suspended

matter in air causes corrosion effects which require, throughout the nation, more than \$700-million per year just for remedial painting; if all damages were to be repaired, in fact, it might well be three times that figure. Commercial laundering, cleaning and dyeing costs from dirty air are estimated at no less than \$4.4-billion, while damaged automobile exterior finishes are costing \$0.3-million annually. These numbers imply a tremendous amount of time and effort that must be supplied by the victims—us—not to mention the cost. Considered in the context of everyday living, they suggest the enormity of what is happening to us all.

The effect of dirty, eye stinging air on the public's attitude and morale, quite apart from concerns of health, cannot be expressed statistically. However, measurements have been made which show an "awareness" threshold of populations subjected to particulate pollution.⁹ With a level of 50 micrograms per cubic meter of particular matter in the air, apparently no one complains about it. "Awareness" increases rapidly above this level. At 120 micrograms per cubic meter, 20 per cent of the population is bothered by pollution—50 percent is "aware" of it. In the period 1961-1965, Boston registered an annual mean level of 135, at its central measuring point. It has not improved since then. The levels have now become so high as to cause widespread public reaction.

We suggest that the intangibles cited above—effects on attitude, sense of public well-being, and pleasure in living and working in one's environment, are at least as important as those factors which can be measured quantitatively in some degree. We suggest, indeed, that through its subtle erosion and degradation of our environment, air pollution is thwarting many of our citizens in their pursuit of a full and useful life.

V. THE HAZARDS OF MID-AIR COLLISIONS⁹

Boston is one of the very few major U.S. cities that has a major airport situated close to the heart of the city itself. This proximity eases airport access considerably but brings with it a hazard of very real proportions. This hazard arises from the poor visibility consequent on smoke and haze from air pollution coming primarily from electric power generating plants but contributed to by numerous other sources.

The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) has recently completed a "near mid-air collision" study. Six of the seven hazardous near misses in the Boston area during calendar year 1968 occurred in the Logan International Airport's terminal area. The FAA believes that only one quarter of these near collisions are reported to them so that we infer that approximately 24 near misses between aircraft probably occurred in the Logan terminal area during 1968. The terminal airspace lies within 32 miles of the airport and includes virtually all of the densely populated portions of the Boston metropolitan area. The overwhelming majority of hazardous near misses (85%) occur under visual flight rules, and, according to the FAA, about half of the incidents can be attributed to poor visibility. Thus we estimate that twelve near misses, twelve possibilities for a grave emergency, occurred near Logan Airport last year due to poor visibility. The visibility over Boston is seriously impaired by local air pollution and it is especially bad at and near the airport, just where aircraft, while landing, put maximum demands on the pilot's skills.

With the introduction of the "jumbo jets", carrying close to 500 passengers each, and the ever increasing passenger loads carried by scheduled airlines in conventionally sized aircraft the potential for a disaster of very major proportions is rapidly swelling. A single Boeing 747, brought down by collision

over a populated area could well give rise to damages exceeding 100 million dollars. The very real possibility that such an accident could occur over the Boston Metropolitan Area adds additional weight to the arguments for substantially lowering the particulate emissions.

VI. REVIEW OF THE PROPOSED STANDARDS AND UCS RECOMMENDATIONS

An air quality standard for a specific pollutant, such as sulfur dioxide, is a numerical expression of a goal to be achieved in a stated time through the application of appropriate preventive and/or control measures. The regulations and laws which will be needed to achieve the goals expressed by the standards are referred to as implementation plans. The characteristics which standards and implementation plans must have to be acceptable to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, are described in detail in the federal manual *Guidelines for the Development of Air Quality Standards and Implementation Plans*. In the present report we shall be considering only the proposed standards; implementation plans will be proposed by the State Department of Public Health within the next few months and will be the subject of a later analysis.

Comparison of the proposed standards with the Federal criteria and with the standards of other States

The standard proposed by the Massachusetts Department of Public Health for the annual average of particulate matter in the Boston Air Quality Control Region is 80 micrograms per cubic meter (written as 80 $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$). The federal criteria state that at this level of particulate pollution, increased death rates for persons over 50 years of age may occur. Accordingly we remark that the proposed standard for particulate matter contains no safety factor at all with respect to human health. The proposed standard clearly exceeds the concentration of 70 $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ where public awareness and/or concern for air pollution may become evident and likewise exceeds the concentration of 60 $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ at which an accelerated rate of corrosion of steel and zinc plates occurs when in the presence of sulfur dioxide and moisture.

The proposed annual standard for the Boston area for sulfur dioxide is 31 parts per billion (abbreviated ppb). The federal criteria state that at 40 ppb adverse health effects are noted. At 30 ppb one can expect chronic vegetative damage and excessive leaf drop.

The proposed maximum 24 hour average for sulfur dioxide is 105 ppb. The federal criteria state that for levels from 110 to 190 ppb there may be noted increased hospital admissions for respiratory diseases and absenteeism from work.

A visual comparison of the proposed annual limits with levels quoted in the federal criteria is presented in Figures 1 and 2. Recent annual levels of pollution in the Boston area are also presented. It is clear from this data that a hazardous air pollution problem exists in Boston at the present time.

A visual comparison of the proposed 24 hour limit on sulfur dioxide with levels quoted in the federal criteria and with recent data on downtown Boston is presented in Figure 3. The data show that on about a third of all the days in 1968 one could have expected to see increased hospital admissions for older persons; and that on about 20 days one could have expected to see increased mortality rates.

We have obtained the latest information available to us on standards from other states. Several of these states have already had their public hearings and as a result initially proposed limits have been lowered. Figure 4 shows the revised levels in those cases where hearings have been held, and the proposed levels otherwise. In Table II we

list all this information as is now available to us.

Of the ten regions for which we have data only two had proposed annual particulate standards which were higher than those proposed by the Massachusetts Department of Public Health. On the revised levels that have been recommended following hearings there is none as high as the proposed Boston area levels. Of these ten regions there is none which has a presently proposed annual standard for sulfur dioxide which is higher than the level proposed for the Boston area.

In addition to the numerical limits that we have just discussed, proposed standards must meet certain other federal criteria to be acceptable. Those proposed for Boston fail to meet several of these important criteria. The standards should, but do not, have a time table for achieving the desired goals. This is a serious defect inasmuch as the *Guidelines* state that,

"Air quality standards submitted for review by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare must be accompanied by a time schedule for their attainment; it is to be recognized that this time schedule may have to be modified when a corresponding implementation plan is fully developed."

This particular HEW guideline requirement is designed to implement the expressed intent of the Air Quality Act that attainment of air quality standards be accomplished within a "reasonable time". The HEW guidelines also state at a later point that,

"Establishment of air quality standards as goals connotes the fixing of at least an approximate time schedule for progress toward their attainment. Where it is difficult to estimate exactly how long it may take to attain the standards, States may find it desirable to adopt interim air quality objectives to be achieved in relatively short time periods, such as intervals of two or three years."

While the HEW guidelines do not have the same binding legal force as federal regulations, they are sensible and are likely to be taken seriously into account when the Secretary of HEW reviews the proposed state air quality standards. Therefore, it would be highly advisable from a practical point of view for the proposed standards to satisfy the federal guidelines by including an implementation timetable.

In addition to the federal guideline requirements, there are substantial public policy reasons for including a timetable in the state air quality standards. First is the very sensible argument made in the HEW guidelines referred to above that inherent in the notion of establishing air quality standards is the necessity of fixing some time standard for their realization.

Without such a time limitation, the enforcement of the air quality standards could be disastrously postponed. Secondly, the specification of at least an approximate timetable in the proposed standards will put all interested parties on notice of what to expect during the enforcement period. Such notice will be particularly valuable to major polluters who, being informed of where they stand, can begin to take measures necessary to conform to the standards; otherwise a polluter may be encouraged to delay anti-pollution steps in the hope that the implementation plan eventually devised to enforce the standards will be weak in its time requirements.

The standards proposed for Boston are also lacking any anti-degradation provision. Such a provision would prevent the further deterioration of air quality in those parts of the region where the air is already cleaner than what would be required by the standards. The need for such a provision is clearly recognized by the authors of the proposed standards in Section 1, as follows:

"Section 1: The ambient air quality standards as set forth in Section 4 of this docu-

Footnotes at end of speech.

ment are value judgment determinations based upon:

"1.6 A desire to provide standards which would facilitate:

"a. the preservation of a high degree of air quality where such exists." [emphasis added]

Unfortunately, Section 4 of the proposed standards does not provide for the preservation of a high degree of air quality where such exists. It says only that "air pollution shall not exist in any portion of the ambient air space of significant concern." It then proposes ambient air quality standards for suspended particulates and sulfur oxides to be applied to the whole region. The only logical conclusion to be drawn is that in those areas within the region where the level of these pollutants in the ambient air space is less than the maximum permitted by sections 4.2 and 4.3, an increase in the level of these pollutants will be tolerated up to the levels proposed for the whole region. In the absence of a specific anti-degradation policy, there is nothing to put the polluter on notice that degradation of high quality air within the region will not be permitted.

Thus, the authors of the proposed standards recognize a need to preserve existing air quality, but they fail, by their own standards, to meet this need.

Besides conflicting with the expressed intent of Section 1 of the proposed standards the failure to include an anti-degradation clause is contrary to the Air Quality Act of 1967. Section 101(b) provides in part as follows:

"(b) The purposes of this title are:
 "(1) to protect and enhance the quality of the Nation's air so as to promote the public health and welfare and the productive capacity of its population . . ." [emphasis added]

The positive nature of this statement of purpose is emphasized by the words "protect and enhance." Not only is air quality to be "enhanced," or in the accepted meaning of the word, to be improved or made greater, but it is to be protected, obviously against a loss of quality or degradation.

If an area is designated as an air quality control region, its air quality is presumably already seriously degraded by one or more pollutants. But to the extent that it is better than what the criteria require, the protection of the public welfare would call for the maintenance of such better air quality to the fullest extent possible. Thus, if the State were to set a standard, which (as in the proposed standards for the Boston metropolitan region) would permit a more heavily polluted ambient air than that prevailing in portions of the region or within the whole region, this could result in the degradation of the region's air quality—a clear failure to protect such quality.

This interpretation of section 101(b) above is affirmed by the *Guidelines* issued by HEW, where in Section 1.51, it says:

"Air Quality standards which, even if fully implemented, would result in significant deterioration of air quality in any substantial portion of an air quality control region clearly would conflict with this expressed purpose of the law."

For the above reasons, the failure of the Proposed Ambient Air Quality Standards to include an explicit anti-degradation provision seems to us to be inconsistent with the stated purpose of the Air Quality Act.

Finally, there is lacking a comparison of the standards with the present levels of pollution in the Air Quality Control Region. This is explicitly required by the *Guidelines*:

"When submitting the air quality standards for a given type of air pollutant, States will have to show the relationship of those standards to existing levels of that type of pollutant. For this purpose, data on existing levels must accompany the air quality stand-

ards when they are submitted for review by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare."

And later on:
 "Each time that air quality standards for a given type of pollutant are submitted for review by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, data on current levels of that pollutant must also be submitted.

"It is recommended that these data be presented in a format that will facilitate comparison of existing air quality with the corresponding air quality standards."

Without such data it is very difficult to judge what levels of clear air might be obtained and how long it might take to achieve them.

Recommendations for strengthening the proposed standards

From the foregoing discussion it is apparent that the proposed standards for the Boston area are substantially inadequate.

Our recommendations are first, that the proposed numerical limits for sulfur dioxide and particulate matter be set at levels which, on the basis of the present federal criteria and guidelines, are low enough to ensure the protection of public health and welfare. *The following numerical standards are recommended as alternatives to those proposed by the Massachusetts Department of Public Health:*

Limits on particulate matter air pollution [Expressed in micrograms per cubic meter]

Presently proposed by Massachusetts Department of Public Health:	
12-month limit	80
24-hour limit	180
UCS recommendation:	
12-month limit	150
24-hour limit	150

¹ Specifically, that the geometric means of any 12 consecutive months shall be no more than 50 $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$.

Limits on sulfur dioxide air pollution [Expressed in parts per billion]

Presently proposed by Massachusetts Department of Public Health:	
12-month limit	30
24-hour limit	105
1-hour limit	280
UCS recommendation:	
12-month limit	20
24-hour limit	60
1-hour limit	250

¹ Specifically, that the geometric mean of any 12 consecutive months shall be no more than 20 ppb.

To ensure that these averages are statistically representative we recommend the adoption of a minimum number of sampling periods for computing the hourly, daily, and seasonal averages.

Our second set of recommendations consists simply of additions to the proposed standards to bring them into conformity with the federal guidelines:

The proposed standards contain no time schedule. We suggest a three year period for achieving the recommended levels.

We recommend a strong, effective anti-degradation provision to prevent any further deterioration of the air within the region.

Finally, we recommend the inclusion of current data on the existing levels of pollution to facilitate a comparison of the proposed standards with existing conditions.

VII. ABATEMENT OF AIR POLLUTION

Although it is a popular pastime these days to talk about air pollution, it is still extremely difficult to "do something about it". Some of the proposals which are currently being discussed, such as the 1% sulfur law, would unquestionably have an im-

mediate and beneficial impact on the Boston air-pollution problem. However, it is extremely unlikely that any one such scheme could lead to significant reductions in all of the pollutants that currently plague us. Hence, while 1% sulfur fuel would lead to a 50% reduction in sulfur emissions in the Boston area it would have negligible effect on the emissions of particulate matter. It is also very unlikely that in the long run such a program would be the most efficient or economical one available for the further reduction in sulfur emissions.

To see why the problem of air-pollution abatement is so complex we must consider the sources of pollution in the Boston area: Table III lists five of the major pollutants along with the relative contributions from different sources. It is apparent that the sources divide themselves roughly into two classes: those that move, with the automobile the chief contributor, and those that are stationary. It is also clear that these two different classes produce different kinds of pollution, and that the control measures that might be appropriate for one will probably be useless for the other. Let us consider then the nature of the pollution from these two general classes and the possibilities for controlling them.

The automobile

The automobiles in this country are frequently and accurately quoted as contributing upwards of 60% of all the air pollution in the United States. This means that of the 150 million tons of waste released into the air each year in the U.S. about 90 million tons come from our cars. Three fourths of this amount is in the form of carbon monoxide. Twelve per cent is in the form of hydrocarbons (unburned and partially burned fuel) and six percent is in the form of nitric oxide. On the other hand automobiles produce less than one percent of the sulfur oxides and only about six percent of the particulates. Automobiles are the chief source of lead discharged into the atmosphere. The amount of this toxic material is increasing ominously. The long range medical effects are presently unknown although lead ingestion is known to cause deleterious effects in humans.

The vast amounts of carbon monoxide produced by automobiles pose a severe environmental threat in the immediate vicinity of busy highways. Levels which are high enough to affect drivers' reactions have been recorded in slow moving traffic and in tunnels, and in several instances high levels have been monitored in apartments which have been constructed over highways. Unfortunately the local impact of the large quantities of carbon monoxide (and other pollutants) resulting from major complexes has not been adequately determined; it is our opinion that a serious effort should be made in this direction with the results seriously considered in all future highway planning.

The two other major pollutants from the internal combustion engine are nitric oxide and hydrocarbons. When these two pollutants combine in the atmosphere with the energy of sunlight we obtain photochemical smog. Although every American city with a population greater than 100,000 suffers to some extent from photochemical smog the residents of Los Angeles County appear to suffer the most. This area has been running a very interesting transportation experiment for the past twenty years and their results are important to us all. The residents of Los Angeles have steadfastly refused to build a rapid transit system and have chosen instead to build ever more highways, while simultaneously trying to control and reduce the emissions from their cars. The results have been disastrous. Los Angeles now suffers from acrid smog much of the time. The elemen-

tary and high schools have recently adopted an ozone alert system whereby children are not permitted to run, or to exercise, on days of high oxidant pollution, which are presently occurring about 20 times a year. They must sit at their desks quietly all day to avoid excessive respiratory damage from the oxidants in the air. The oxidants, primarily ozone, are direct products of the photochemical smog.

In addition to contributing to the smog of Boston the hydrocarbons from automobiles have other directly deleterious effects. Benzpyrene is the most potent cancer-causing hydrocarbon that is found in automobile exhausts; it is frequently referred to in comparisons between breathing polluted urban air and smoking cigarettes. The oft cited conclusion is that breathing air in New York City is roughly equivalent (as far as Benzpyrene is concerned) to smoking two packs of cigarettes a day.

What can we do about automobile pollution? Since the federal government has pre-empted the setting of emission standards for new automobile engines it is not presently within the power of individual states (except for California) to reduce these emissions. Nor is it technically feasible to require the installation of control devices on older cars. The best we can do in emission control is to require that cars undergo periodic inspections to detect excessive emissions. New Jersey is presently experimenting with this procedure.

There is of course another important aspect to the automobile problem. Even if the steam or electric car were perfected within the next few years the congestion on our highways would remain unchanged. The policy question therefore arises: should we continue to accommodate the increasing number of cars within the city? Must we continue to destroy homes, jobs, and open spaces for the sake of automobile commuting? If we construct the proposed inner belt and the southwest expressway are we willing also to build the expensive garages that will be necessary to house the excess automobiles in the city? Or, studying Los Angeles, will we take an alternate route toward a clean and efficient rapid transit system?

The decision clearly goes beyond the more familiar economic and political arguments that one usually encounters. But there is no question that the effects of this decision will have the deciding influence on what the environment of Boston will be like in the future.

Stationary sources

From Table III it is apparent that the stationary sources of air pollution in this area are almost exclusively responsible for the sulfur dioxide and particulate matter in the air. They also account for about half of the oxides of nitrogen. The effects on human health of sulfur dioxide and particulate matter have been reviewed previously and will therefore not be considered here.

Again from Table III, it is apparent that there are two major stationary sources of sulfur dioxide in this area. The many large office buildings, stores, hospitals, schools, institutions, and so forth, contribute about 44% of the total sulfur dioxide emissions in the greater Boston area, though about 40% of the total within the City of Boston. The electric utilities form the second major source and they account for about 32% of the total area-wide sulfur dioxide emissions, though about 43% within the City of Boston. Both of these sources burn primarily heavy Venezuelan oil which has a sulfur content of about 2.3%, by weight.

The techniques which are presently available for controlling sulfur emissions from these and other commercial and industrial sources are described in detail in the federal manual *Control Techniques for Sulfur Oxide*

Air Pollutants. An excellent discussion of the subject, as it relates to Boston, can be found in the recent publication of the Boston Air Pollution Control Commission, *Control of Sulfur Oxides*. It is our intent here to summarize what methods are now available to control or remove sulfur oxides and to indicate some of the problems that will be encountered in long range planning for air pollution abatement.

As we have mentioned previously low sulfur fuel is a simple and effective method for immediately reducing emissions of sulfur dioxide. Its prime advantage is that no new equipment is needed. The increase in fuel cost is difficult to judge in advance but it seems unlikely that 1% sulfur fuel would increase fuel costs by more than 10 or 15%. Its principal disadvantage is that particulate emissions would not be reduced simply by the change to low sulfur fuel.

A second way to reduce sulfur oxide emissions is by means of changing to different fuels. Thus for a modest capital investment large buildings could convert from residual oil to a dual system of interruptible¹⁰ natural gas and distillate oil. Since natural gas is essentially pollution free, both particulate emissions and sulfur emission would be drastically reduced by such a change. Because of federal restrictions on the use of natural gas this procedure would not generally be available to the electric utilities.

Large buildings could of course convert also to electric heating. This would eliminate their own pollution but, if widely adopted, could well put excessive demands on the generating capacity of the electric utilities.

Another possibility for the many large buildings would be the conversion to externally generated high pressure steam. At the present time such large amounts of steam are not available but the possibility exists of construction several large (perhaps municipally owned) steam generating plants as central heating units for the city. Since control equipment exists for such large installations the emissions could be almost totally controlled. There is an additional advantage to such a system: central steam generating plants could be replaced much more easily by new energy sources such as fission or fusion reactors as our fossil fuels begin to run out.

Finally, there exist procedures for removing sulfur oxides from the stack gases. There are many such processes currently being developed. Several are already being marketed, with performance guarantees, at the present time. Because of the present size of the equipment involved they are suitable only for installations such as electric utilities or institutions with large central heating plants. These processes, in addition to eliminating up to 90% of the sulfur oxides (which would be equivalent to burning 0.3% sulfur fuel with no equipment) would eliminate upwards of 90 to 95% of all particulates. The costs of these large gas-cleaning units are not prohibitive and are typically on the order of three to five million dollars per plant. The operating costs of these units are projected to be about the same as the cost penalty incurred by using 1% sulfur fuel oils.

Clearly it will take a great deal of cooperation and effort to reduce sulfur emissions below what can be obtained by using low sulfur fuel. This is even more evident for the sources of particulate pollution. From Table III it is apparent that there is no single source in this area that produces more than about 20% of the total particulate matter released into the air. Therefore in addition to the large buildings and electric utilities we shall have to work on controlling emissions from industry, solid waste disposal,

domestic incinerators, and transportation if we are to make any progress in an overall program of abatement. This in turn implies the necessity for comprehensive planning and regional cooperation between Boston and its suburbs and between the Commonwealth and the cities.

It is our conviction that the serious environmental problems that we face today are primarily the results of inadequate knowledge of the long range local and global effects of our activities. It is our further belief that future disasters can be avoided only if both citizens and their elected officials are well informed on the possible effects of urban and regional planning on the environment. We hope that this report will in some measure aid those who are concerned about air pollution in Boston in their quest for thoughtful and intelligent standards which above all else will be adequate to protect public health and welfare.

FOOTNOTES

¹ O'Connor, J.J., Jr. "The Economic Cost of the Smoke Nuisance to Pittsburgh." University of Pittsburgh, Mellon Institute of Industrial Research and School of Specific Industries, Pittsburgh, Pa., Smoke Investigation Bulletin 4, 1913.

² Michelson, I. and Tourin, B. "Comparative Method for Studying Cost of Air Pollution." Public Health Dept. 81(6):505-511, June 1966.

³ "The Polluted Air We Breathe." American Federationist, 71(2):6-11, 1964.

⁴ "Air Quality Criteria for Particulate Matter", U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Air Pollution Control Administration, Pub. No. AP-46 (January 1969).

⁵ "The Effects of Air Pollution", U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, PHS Pub. No. 1556 (Revised 1967), page 4.

⁶ *Ibid*, page 6.

⁷ "Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1967". 88th edition, U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., 1967, Table 1067.

⁸ "Public Awareness and Concern with Air Pollution in the St. Louis Metropolitan Area". U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Div. of Air Pollution, Washington, D.C., May 1965.

⁹ This subject forms the basis of a detailed written statement submitted to the Public Hearing on Proposed Air Quality Standards by Alfred C. Conrod of M.I.T. We are grateful to him for allowing us to abstract in part from his longer paper.

¹⁰ Interruptible gas is provided only when the distribution system has sufficient gas, which would probably include at least the spring, summer, and fall. For a full discussion see the B.A.P.C.C. report, *Control of Sulfur Oxides*.

TABLE I—ESTIMATED COSTS DUE TO AIR POLLUTION (MELLON INSTITUTE PITTSBURGH STUDY)¹

Cause of expenditure	Cost
To smoke maker: Imperfect combustion.....	\$1,520,740
To individual:	
Laundry bills.....	1,500,000
Dry cleaning bills.....	750,000
To household:	
Exterior painting.....	330,000
Sheet metal work.....	1,008,000
Cleaning and renewing wall paper.....	550,000
Cleaning and renewing lace curtains.....	360,000
Artificial lighting.....	84,000
To wholesale and retail stores:	
Merchandise.....	1,650,000
Extra precautions.....	450,000
Cleaning.....	750,000
Artificial lighting.....	650,000
Department stores.....	175,000
To quasi-public buildings:	
Office buildings.....	90,000
Hotels.....	22,000
Hospitals.....	55,000
Total.....	9,944,740

Footnotes at end of speech.

TABLE II.—STANDARDS FROM VARIOUS STATES

State	Particulates ($\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$)		Sulfur dioxide (PPB)		State	Particulates ($\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$)		Sulfur dioxide (PPB)	
	Before hearing	After hearing	Before hearing	After hearing		Before hearing	After hearing	Before hearing	After hearing
Massachusetts	Annual 80 24 h. 180		Annual 31 24 h. 105 1 h. 280		Maryland	Annual 65 24 h. 100	65 140	Annual 10 24 h. 50 1 h. 100	
Indiana, Illinois	Annual 75 24 h. 300	75 260	Annual 15 24 h. 200 1 h. 500	15 170 420	Washington	Annual 65 24 h. 140		Annual 20 24 h. 80 1 h. 250	
Pennsylvania	Annual 100 24 h. 300	65 195	Annual 250 24 h. 500 1 h. 20	100 250	Missouri	Annual 75 24 h. 200		Annual 20 24 h. 40 1 h. 100	
New Jersey	Annual 65 24 h. 195		Annual 20 24 h. 100 1 h. 200		Delaware	Annual 110 24 h. 250	70 200	Annual 30 24 h. 220 1 h. 20	30 130 300
Colorado	Annual 55 24 h. 180		Annual 9 24 h. 50 1 h. 100		Kentucky	Annual 65 24 h. 180		Annual 20 24 h. 100 1 h. 300	
Virginia	Annual 80 24 h. 125	60 100	Annual 50 24 h. 100	20 100					

TABLE III—EMISSION SOURCES
[In percent]

	Greater Boston area	City of Boston
Sulfur dioxide		
Large buildings	44.0	40
Electric utilities	32.0	43
Industry	13.0	12
Residential	9.0	5
Automobiles	0.7	
Oxides of nitrogen		
		National averages
Automobiles		50
Industry		11
Electric utilities		33
Space heating		5
Particulates		
	Greater Boston area	
Electric utilities		19
Residential		17
Commercial buildings		16
Open dumps		14
Incineration		10
Cars		6
Industrial heating		4
Open burning		4
Barge burning		3
Industrial processing		2
Aircraft		2
Diesels		2
Carbon Monoxide		
	Greater Boston area	
Automobiles		89.0
Open dumps		6.0
Open burning		1.0
Barge burning		1.0
Aircraft		1.0
Electric utilities		0.7
Residential		0.5
Hydrocarbons		
	National averages	
Automobiles		67
Industry		22
Space heating		5
Refuse disposal		5

THE UNITED STATES AND
LATIN AMERICA

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, last month in San Antonio, the League of United Latin American Citizens held a

celebration to mark the 40th anniversary of the founding of that organization. LULAC, as it is popularly called, is the oldest and perhaps the largest organization of Americans of Mexican descent in Texas and the United States, and is dedicated to serving the whole community.

Through the years, LULAC has pursued many programs that have been of benefit to the Mexican-American community. Today, for example, the participation in Operation SER, which is a unique and extensive service designed to provide jobs, job counseling, and job training to Mexican-Americans. This program operates in the Southwestern States, and is funded through a large contract with the U.S. Department of Labor.

The president of LULAC, the Honorable Alfred Hernandez, was among those present in San Antonio for this important celebration. He has dedicated a good part of his life to the advancement of the LULAC organization, and is widely known and respected for his many public service activities both within and outside that organization.

An address to the gathering was made by our Ambassador to the Organization of American States, the Honorable Henry E. Catto, Jr.

President Nixon selected Ambassador Catto last year for this important post. Mr. Catto is a citizen of the city of San Antonio, is bilingual, and has a wide and deep knowledge of Latin America. He is an able and perceptive man, and represents a fine choice for this post.

I believe that Ambassador Catto's speech to the LULAC celebration is worthy of note, and I include it in the RECORD. I hope that my colleagues will read it with as much interest as I did:

ADDRESS BY AMBASSADOR HENRY E. CATTO, JR., TO LEAGUE OF UNITED LATIN AMERICAN CITIZENS, SAN ANTONIO, TEX., FEBRUARY 28, 1970

Some years ago an observer of the Latin American scene commented "You can get Americans to do anything about Latin America except read about it." And in a recent article in *Atlantic* Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. said "... one cannot resist the impression—certainly Latin Americans don't—that deep down most North Americans don't give a damn about Latin America." Tonight I want to say a few words about why the North Americans had better give a damn; about what current U.S. policy is; about what the future holds; and about what YOU can do to help.

First, let's get an over-view of what Latin America as a whole is like today. Point number one is that Latin America is big and getting bigger. There are almost 250 million people living south of the Rio Grande. Did you know that Brazil is larger than the continental U.S.? Or that there are more citizens of Mexico than Frenchmen? Half of these people are under 20 years of age. By 2000, if the present growth rate continues, there will be over 700 million. Of these people, one-half cannot read or write. Thirty percent will die before they are 40 years old. Although today there are more Latin Americans by about 50 million than there are of us, they live on one-eighth of our income. Five percent of the people receive 35 percent of all the income available to them; while 70 percent live in poverty. As Schlesinger says, "Here is one part of the Western World that is underdeveloped, and the one part of the underdeveloped world that is Western."

Yet at the same time here is a part of the world which has produced a highly polished culture; moving poets; bold and brilliant painters; superb composers of serious music; a style of popular music sung and danced to around the world; innovative businessmen; skilled doctors, accomplished and subtle diplomats. As the great Colombian observer, German Arciniegas, put it, there are really two Latin Americas: the visible and the invisible. Visible Latin America is presidents, generals, newspapers, universities, cathedrals, haciendas and ranchos. The invisible Latin America is a region of mute poverty. A vast reservoir of revolution. As Arciniegas said "Nobody knows what these... silent men and women think, feel, dream, or await in the depths of their being."

As these people, "bowed by the weight of centuries", begin to stir, what road will they choose? There are, I think, four roads for them to pick from. The first of these is Communist, and one—Cuba—has chosen to go down it. It is a hard road, and although some of the young, captivated by the Robin Hoodish "mystique" of Fidel Castro would tell you otherwise, I believe it is not the wave of the future. True, the Cuban way "works" after a fashion, but only because the Soviet Union pumps \$1 million a day into its sagging economy to keep it afloat. Work though it may, it is, nonetheless, gray, drab, brutal and regimented. As a beacon for its neighbors, it offers little promise. Furthermore, there is widespread resentment over Fidel's imperialist-subversive adventures in Latin America. Most Latins don't like foreigners interfering in their internal affairs. Indeed, many specialists feel that a major reason why Che Guevara failed so miserably in Bolivia is that the campesinos simply did not like a foreigner preaching to them, no matter how attractive his gospel.

Indeed, this nationalist feeling leads us into the second open path, that of a populist-nationalist military regime. At least two countries seem to be currently following this

way. The impulse common to both involves centralized, authoritarian governments but with a pronounced difference from the old-fashioned South American "caudillo". In the first place, the leaders use the rhetoric of social reform. They promise social justice. They blame many problems on foreign exploiters (by which they usually mean the U.S.). They are usually not of the old landed traditional aristocracy. They appeal to a fierce national pride; a pride often directed against U.S. business and sometimes resulting in nationalization. It is not yet clear whether this type of government will prove viable or whether it will tend to lapse into a typical, old style dictatorship. My guess is that this second path will be trod or traveled for a long time.

In contrast to the leftist revolutionary militarists are the more traditional military governments. They too call themselves revolutionaries, yet their revolutions generally favor private investment, encourage tax reforms, and strive to blunt the ravages of inflation. Political opposition is as limited as in the first two paths, and freedom of expression may be curtailed. The gamble these people take is: can they develop with sufficient speed to a point where the economic benefits of capitalism are widespread enough to stave off a cataclysmic revolution.

Finally, there is the path of liberal democracy. Liberty, that fragile flower, is in many ways the most difficult way to follow, demanding, as it does an informed electorate, restraint, trust and tolerance of another's ideas. Nonetheless, several Latin nations are boldly so embarked. They have shaped their futures in the mold of Western parliamentary democracy, and it is with these nations that the United States most closely identifies. As President Nixon said we have "... a distant handshake for dictators, a warm abrazo for democratic leaders", and we wish our democratic neighbors godspeed.

What, then, does the situation in Latin America indicate for American policy? The Administration, believing that U.S. know-it-all attitudes have been galling to Latin America, has tried to set a new course. To plot this new course it sent Governor Rockefeller and a staff of experts to visit our southern neighbors. The result of the Rockefeller visits was a report, entitled Quality of Life in the Americas and it formed the basis for the Administration's new policy. The underlying philosophy of U.S. policy is basically this: for far too long, we have been preaching to Latin America. We have told them how to do business, how fast to multiply, how to organize their societies and their governments. Our attitude has been patronizing. Now what we need is less preaching and more listening, keeping always alert to ways to help. Out of this philosophy has come a concrete new program Action for Progress. Let me mention some of its features.

1. In the field of trade, we have proposed that all industrialized nations grant certain tariff preferences to all developing countries. If this plea falls on deaf ears, we are prepared to consider preferences to our American neighbors.

2. We will no longer change our tariff structure (as it bears on Latin America) without consulting the Latin Americans.

3. In keeping with the concept of partnership, we will increasingly channel our aid through multinational agencies such as the Organization of American States and the Inter-American Development Bank where the Latins themselves set the guidelines.

4. We will make it easier for Latin American countries receiving U.S. aid to make purchases among themselves rather than insisting they buy from us.

5. Symbolizing the end of condescension, we will submit to the same type of multinational annual economic review that all other members of the Alliance for Progress submit to. Furthermore, to symbolize our special relationship with Latin America, it

is proposed that the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America be made Under Secretary raising him above his State Department counterparts for Europe, Africa, etc.

6. U.S. Government owned patents will be shared with Latin America.

7. The President has requested funds from the Congress so that the last remaining gap in the Pan American highway—in Panama and Colombia—will be closed and goods and people will be able to travel from Canada to Argentina by motor vehicle.

8. Working through the OAS, the U.S. will increase its efforts to help promote the development of Latin science and technology.

I hope that the foregoing comments have left you with some of the feeling that indeed the U.S. must "give a damn" about our neighbors. Let me also share with you a new awakening which I personally have had since my connection with the OAS. Every day for the last eight months I have worked with people of Latin American heritage. I have spoken their language, danced their dances, read their poetry, traveled with them, and shared their food and drink. I have come to appreciate the greatness and depth of their culture. And slowly it has dawned on me that we here in San Antonio are sitting on top of an untapped cultural treasure. So many of us, although citizens of this great country, know the language and share the heritage of our sister republics to the south. From this realization, I have come to two conclusions.

First, we in San Antonio should treasure our Latin background. Being bilingual does not make us less American. It opens the door to greater service to our country. It does not diminish us, it enriches us. I cannot stress too strongly how positively our Latin American friends react when I speak in my faulted Spanish. But when the U.S. representative is named Castro or Telles or Jova, and when he speaks in faultless Spanish, the positive results are multiplied manifold. LULAC, I think, is in a unique position to serve our country by helping direct our Spanish-speaking young people to take advantage of the new openings available under the State Department's Fair Employment program, under which promising young people can serve as Foreign Service Reserve Officers without even taking the written foreign service examination, and, incidentally, if my office can be of service here, please call on me.

There is, however, another side to this coin, which seems so bright with opportunity. For you may be perfectly sure that if we in the United States fail to make participation in the American dream a reality for all our citizens, it will be well noted south of the border. If the development of our own Spanish-speaking minority is stunted, so will our relations with our South and Central American friends be stunted. They listen to what we say, but they also watch what we do. And herein lies the challenge to the Anglo community. I hope and pray we can rise to meet it.

AWARD WINNING ESSAY ON
FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

HON. JOHN MELCHER

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. MELCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following:

FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

(By Jeanne Keller, Great Falls, Mont.)

Over the entire world, the United States of America stands out as the domain of individual freedom. These freedoms which we enjoy are guaranteed to us by the Constitu-

tion and are enumerated in the first ten amendments to that document, the Bill of Rights.

Freedom is a many-faceted concept, composed of several individual rights. Freedom. The word itself is composed of seven letters, each representing a facet of freedom.

F is for flag. Old Glory. The Stars and Stripes. Her thirteen stripes remind us of the original thirteen colonies that asserted their freedom in their Declaration of Independence. The fifty stars represent the fifty states, united, an international symbol of freedom.

R is for religion. The church of your choice. Every man may worship as he so desires, free from religious persecution.

E is for equality. Civil rights without regard to race, creed, or color. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

E is for expression. Through the press, speech, or in your own mind. We have the right to tell it like it is, so long as we tell it like it really is.

D is for decision. A choice, not an echo. Every man decides for himself.

O is for opportunity. Opportunity through the Job Corps, VISTA, social security, and the welfare program. Through our outstanding primary and secondary educational systems, colleges and universities.

The last letter stands not for a right, but for a responsibility. M is for mandate. The mandate given to us by our founding fathers when they spoke of the "unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." A mandate from Franklin D. Roosevelt who said that the four freedoms were freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. A mandate from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who said, "Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy."

This is Freedom's Challenge: To accept these mandates, to insure the rights of all people.

Carl Sandburg, in his book, *The People*, Yes, said:

Now we may thank these people
Or reserve our thanks
And imply the request

Would you just as soon get off this earth?

Saying to ourselves—This costs us nothing.
As though hate has no cost

As though hate ever grew anything worth growing.

Yes we may say this trash is beneath our notice

Or we may turn to them and say

Yes, you too, you too are people.

When we finally recognize all people as our coinhabitants on this earth and appreciate and respect them for what they are, instead of deprecating them for what they are not, then freedom will no longer be a challenge, it will be a reality.

VOTING AGE?

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the problem of the 18-year-old vote is not as simple as it looks. Many Members of Congress are inclined to feel that those young men who are actually serving in the armed services overseas ought to have the right to vote regardless of age. Others contend that a fixed limit must apply to all.

The difficulty is compounded by constitutional questions indicative that for

resolution without inviting litigation a constitutional amendment will be required. In this event there would be the requirement of ratification by State legislatures—in three-quarters of the States—and in most of which by State law the 21-year limit obtains.

The following editorial appearing recently in the National Review, is of interest:

THE RIGHT TO BE 18

It is the way of parents to be surprised again and again by the alternating mental processes of their adolescent young. One day the offspring exhibits a sense of responsibility and a clarity of perception that make father and mother proud. But it might be only the next day that the parents are reminded of youth's singular perspective.

Yet, as green as they are, teen-age boys are drafted into military service. And if 18-year-olds are valued so much as warriors, doesn't it follow that they deserve the right to vote?

This is the common argument for lowering the voting age to 18 from 21. But it is a specious argument. If one believes that it is a mistake to draft boys when they are but 18, what is believed to be wrong is not set right by giving them the vote. Why not turn the argument around? If society decides that 21 is a reasonable minimum voting age, then perhaps young men should not be drafted until they are 21.

Another argument for lowering the voting age is what is said to be the quick-ripening of the contemporary teen-ager. According to this school, youngsters mature mentally sooner than their parents did. Isn't the younger generation politically oriented? Hasn't that orientation manifested itself in waves of protest.

What wriggly reasoning that is. We suspect—indeed, we have observed—that those 18-year-olds who have politics forever on their minds constitute a small minority of their age group. There are more better-educated young people than ever, but most of them are busily and worriedly planning their personal futures, just as their parents were doing a generation ago.

There is, furthermore, nothing about a political demonstration that implies wisdom, judgment, or even correct information. More likely such a demonstration reflects impatience, frustration, a misunderstanding of what kind of behavior persuades others—all capped off by an abundance of youthful energy.

One way for people over 25 to judge the political competence of 18-year-olds is simply to look back a few years. How much have you learned since you were 18? Take that amount, subtract it from what you know today, and you will have a reasonably good idea of the equipment an 18-year-old would bring into the voting booth.

No, there is no guarantee that a citizen will vote thoughtfully when he turns 21. There is no "right" age for establishing maturity. But if we have doubts about some 21-year-olds, wouldn't we have more doubts about more 18-year-olds?

Sincere men can argue either side of this voting rights issue, as we have. We are now opposed to lowering the voting age because it has not been shown that the popular wisdom would be enhanced. It is a wonderful thing to be 18 years old. It is an age when anything is possible and much is inevitable—like soon turning 21. But 18 is too young an age at which to assume responsibilities there is no need to assume.

Don't be too angry with us, all you 18-year-olds. We don't like the idea of your voting yet or becoming soldiers either. What we do want for you is the chance to be and act 18. In time—in just a short time—that transcendent privilege will be lost to you forever.

BASKETBALL OFFICIATING

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, the Washington area is the host this week for the 1970 National Collegiate Athletic Association basketball championships. In attendance are members of the National Association of Basketball Coaches of the United States and numerous basketball officials from throughout the Nation.

Among these men are some of the approximately 135,000 who officiate at basketball games throughout the country. Very little is known or recognized about this particular group of men. Recently I read an article on this subject by a distinguished educator from the District of Columbia, Mr. J. Dallas Shirley, assistant commissioner of the Southern Conference. The article was written for the Southern Conference Sportsannual.

I am pleased to include this article in the RECORD for the broad-based understanding and recognition it deserves:

DOLLARS AND SENSE

(By J. Dallas Shirley)

The now famous words of the late General Douglas MacArthur "Old Generals never die they just fade away" may be paraphrased to apply to basketball officials, to read "Basketball officials never die, they just blow away." The average official is intelligent, often a college graduate, who, if he stopped and used more sense for the dollar earned, would probably never toot a whistle.

Like generals, officials are dedicated men; men who give unselfishly of their time and energy because they love the game. It may be said "yes, they 'give' of their time for a handsome fee." While this may be true, the statement must be carefully examined to see if it is really a handsome fee when based on an hourly rate for total time involved. The average fee for officials in the eleven major conferences of the country is about \$100 per game, plus travel expenses. In some instances the fee will go as high as \$150 per game, and in others as low as sixty dollars per game.

The average spectator may say, "\$100 for forty minutes work comes to \$2.50 per minute and that's not bad." For actual playing time on the court, he is absolutely right, but let's look at the facts. The distance many men, who wear the black and white shirt, travel will vary from less than 100 miles from home to better than 1,000 miles. To cover distance takes time, time away from his business or profession; time away from his family. So, to meet the demands of the conference regulations an official many times must leave his home town the day before a game and arrive back home twenty-four hours after the contest. Most conferences stipulate in their regulations that officials may travel by plane only so long as there is time to reach their destination by other means of transportation if the plane is delayed. This means that if the site of the game is but an hour away by plane, the official cannot take the last available plane, for he has to allow sufficient time to go by rail, bus or car which will require many more hours than by air travel.

Next the official is required to report to the site of the game one hour before tip-off to hold the all important pre-game conference. Now statistics reveal that the average forty minute college game takes one hour and thirty-two minutes to play, plus the one hour required ahead of game time, plus

thirty minutes after the game to shower and dress—the total time at the arena is approximately three hours. Now the rate of pay drops down to fifty-five cents per minute, or \$33 per hour, and you still say "that's not bad" and again you are right.

But, we must remember we have only talked about the time at the gymnasium. Let us use, as an example, an official must leave his home by 8 a.m. Saturday morning for an eight o'clock game that night. Now the contest will end near ten o'clock and because of lack of transportation he must wait until 9 a.m. the next morning to leave town, which will get him home by noon (after the church hour). Now simple arithmetic reveals the rate of pay per hour has greatly reduced, being away from home for 26 hours his hourly rate is but \$3.86. This rate is far below fees paid many professional men.

It must also be remembered that the money received does not include the cost and upkeep of the official's uniform, his membership dues in various associations and federations, his travel to and from clinics and meetings—nor his cost for study materials.

I am not pleading a case for increased fees for officials, nor am I willing to agree that they are over-paid. I am only presenting the facts so the average basketball fan will be aware of the situation.

One may argue if the pay is so low, then why do professional men, men who are often leading citizens in their community, officiate? The answer is a simple one—they love the game and want to be around it and give a little back to the game, for many of them had been privileged to take a lot from the game in their college days.

What type of men go into officiating?

He is a former contestant in one or more sports.

He is interested in working with sports personalities, including coaches and athletes.

He has always been interested in sports.

He is frankly seeking an opportunity to add to his income on a part time basis.

He is interested in following officiating as a profession. This group is relatively small and is confined almost exclusively to professional sports.

Why, besides his love for the game, would he officiate?

He wants to supplement his normal income.

He wants to maintain some semblance of good physical condition.

He uses officiating as one form of recreation.

He believes he can contribute something to the game, as well as derive something from it.

Where do these men come from? What do they do for a living? Sports are proud to say that men from all walks of life are attracted to officiating; doctors, lawyers, congressmen, school people, businessmen, and the man next door.

These men are leaders in their communities; in their church; the Boys Club; Civic Clubs, etc. They are men proud of the contribution they make at home and on the playing floor. They boast that in these troubled times not a single official has ever been found guilty of being a part of a point-spread or the throwing of a game. Officiating does not attract that kind of man.

Long-time followers of Southern Conference basketball will remember names such as M. P. "Footsie" Knight; "Gummy" Proctor; Bunn Hackney; Paul Menton; Phil Fox; Arnold Heft, plus many more. Where are these men today? What are they doing? First, it is a safe bet to say the majority still love the game and frequently attend games in their area. Knight now serves as observer in the ACC. Proctor a successful salesman in Richmond, Va. Hackney just recently retired from Boy Scout work; Menton,

now deceased, was a former sports editor of the Baltimore Sun. Fox, a professor of Health and Physical Education at the District of Columbia Teachers College, and Heft, a successful real estate man in the Nation's Capitol. The same story would be told about hundreds of other great officials in all conferences in the country.

The place of these men has been taken by the well known officials of today and when the present staff moves on, the younger men on the freshmen staff and high school associations are waiting in the wings to take up their whistles.

Officiating is big business and so essential to the success of the game. The Federation of State High School Athletic Association has registered over 125,000 officials; The International Association of Approved Basketball Officials (IAABO) has in excess of 12,000 qualified men. Added to this number must be the hundreds of men who are not members of either association.

The value of the official can probably be best summed up in a statement by a former official who now holds a high place in the athletic world:

"The game is only as good as the officials who administer the contest. Without well-trained, competent officials, sports can not survive."

The old cliché of "the officials lost the game" can best be answered by a quote from the great Vince Lombardi, who recently said:

"I never criticize the officiating—the officials never lost a game for me."

Officials will never get rich from blowing the whistle, but it is a life of thrills and unexpected situations. Basketball needs the officials and the officials need basketball . . . It is a two way street. Dollars made against the senses of an official will not balance out, but . . .

WILLIAM O. WALKER

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, on March 16, 1827, John B. Russwurm, America's first Negro college graduate, published the opening edition of the Freedom's Journal and dedicated the paper to "arrest the progress of prejudice and to shield ourselves against the consequent evils." Almost a century and a half have passed since that time, but tragically, the prejudice and "consequent evils" to which John Russwurm referred still abound in our Nation. Nevertheless, during those years it has been the progeny of the Freedom's Journal, the Negro press, which has consistently illuminated the road to full equality for all black Americans.

In my home city of Cleveland, we have always been fortunate to have had a vital black press spearheading the struggle for freedom. For the past 50 years the giant of this movement has been Mr. William O. Walker, publisher of the Cleveland Call and Post. Mr. Walker's success in building the Call and Post from a tiny local publication to a position of unquestioned esteem has won him the admiration, respect, and praise of not only his fellow Clevelanders but also the national journalistic community. Nor has he been content to carry the battle for human rights from behind the editorial pages.

A dedicated public servant, he has served both his city and his State in positions of prominence. Even now he occupies the important post of director of the Ohio Department of Industrial Relations.

Last Sunday evening on the 143d anniversary of John Russwurm's first edition, Mr. Walker was honored at a banquet in the Cleveland-Sheraton's Grand Ballroom for his half-century of exemplary service to our community. Heading a list of distinguished guests were Ohio Governor James A. Rhodes, and the principal speaker was syndicated columnist Carl Rowan. In all, almost 2,000 persons jammed the ballroom to thank Mr. Walker and wish him many more years of active involvement in the cause of human dignity.

As an invited guest at the testimonial and a lifetime admirer of Mr. Walker's work, I would like to share with my colleagues a small part of this event. Last week's edition of the Call and Post included a special section devoted to Mr. Walker. Among the articles in that section was one entitled "Half a Century of Crusading Journalism"—and account of this great man's achievements. I include the column in the RECORD at this point.

HALF A CENTURY OF CRUSADING JOURNALISM

The journalistic career of William O. Walker, and the concept of providing the Negro citizens of Cleveland, Ohio with a newspaper to serve their special interests had almost simultaneous starts a little over a half-century ago. In almost the same month that young Walker decided to switch from a career as a social worker and resigned as secretary of the Pittsburgh Urban League to join the staff of the Pittsburgh Courier, a Cleveland Businessman, Garrett A. Morgan, an ambitious inventor-manufacturer, established the Cleveland Call for the primary purpose of advertising his many inventions and a widely-distributed line of beauty products.

But it was not until 1932 that the ill-fated merger of the original Call and its later rival the Cleveland Post was taken over on the verge of bankruptcy by a young and energetic entrepreneur out of Baltimore, Md., who, impressed with the Cleveland slogan "Best Location in The Nation," was lured here to pick up the pieces.

From that time, the Call & Post story and the W. O. Walker story is virtually one and the same, and that story must of necessity be one about people, for the Call & Post is a newspaper, and newspapers are the reflections of the men and women who operate them, and of the influence of the changing scene about them.

The Call & Post story is a story of trial and tribulation . . . a story of strain and struggle . . . a story of unfulfilled desires and still-to-be-realized hopes, for the story of the Call & Post is also a story of the people it serves, more than 800,000 of them, about 15 percent of Ohio's total population.

The Call & Post story is a story of America, too, for the people who operate this newspaper, and the people whom this newspaper serves, are 100 percent American in their loyalties, in their ambitions, in their mode of living, and in their pattern of religious worship.

The fact that their skin pigmentation is generally darker than that of their fellow-Americans has altered none of these basic American concepts, but it has almost inescapably surrounded their lives with a dramatic atmosphere of living, of catching up, of reaching for the peak in the ultimate satisfaction of full citizenship.

The Call & Post Story is more than a story of a successful American business enter-

prise. It is a story of a way of life for America's 22,000,000 Negro citizens, who, step by step, foot by foot, with undiminished patriotism and accelerating determination, are rising above the barriers of ignorance, bigotry, proscription and misunderstanding, toward the full democracy that creed, color, or national origin.

The Call & Post Story began in 1919, 50 years ago, and can be conveniently divided into three distinctive phases.

The first phase, from 1919 to 1932 might be termed the "era of confusion."

Its operators gave little thought to editorial policy, to concise, competent, accurate news coverage. Nor is there any evidence that they were familiar with the grave community responsibility that every publisher must assume in this nation where the freedom of the press remains dependent upon the integrity of the nation's publishers and editors.

Poorly managed, badly edited, loosely circulated, the history of the Call was foreshadowed. It produced nothing but headaches and debts, bickering and confusion among its so-called stockholders, and eventually distress financially that caused it to be merged with the Cleveland Post in 1927.

The Post had started out bravely with entirely inadequate capital to become the "voice" of a fraternal society called "The Modern Crusaders of the World." But even though it pledged to "endeavor always to present news as free from any kind based on race, creed, or color; to fight for the betterment of all citizenry; to seek to be on the side of the right whether it leads to plaudits or shouts of derision; to ever seek the truth and fight for the truth; to stand ready to retract any erroneous statements appearing in its columns," it never enjoyed financial success.

A deal, later referred to as "a marriage of misery" was engineered in time that merged the Call and the Post into the Call & Post, and the unhappy and debt-laden union went from bad to worse, with the walls of creditors mounting to shrill cries. Then, in late 1932 a visionary 36-year-old Alabama-born "dreamer" walked into the offices of the nearly-defunct merger to take charge of the "interment."

Thus ended the 13-year era of confusion. Then began the next thirty-eight of growth and progress.

Here emerged the responsible journal out of the ashes of frustration and failure.

THE MAN WALKER

The newcomer was William O. Walker. Born in Selma, Alabama, September 19, 1896, he had been educated in the public schools of that city, and in the Department of Business Administration of Wilberforce University in Ohio. He later graduated from Oberlin Business College (November 1918), financing his education by working as a Pullman Porter out of Pittsburgh, Pa., an occupation that gave him priceless knowledge of both the geography and the people of his native land.

Trained for business administration, Walker sought employment in this field with the Pittsburgh Courier. The late Ira Lewis, then managing editor of that publication had no place for him, but after Walker had accepted a job as secretary to the Executive Secretary of the Pittsburgh Urban League, Lewis came into the offices of the Courier one morning to find his two top editorial assistants had summarily quit without notice.

In desperation, Lewis called upon young Walker, and after two weeks of training, turned him loose as a full-fledged reporter. The close of the year found Walker at the City Editor's desk, where he remained until 1920 when he accepted the city desk of the Norfolk Journal and Guide.

In May of 1921 he thought he was ready for a venture of his own, and traveled to the

Nation's Capital where, with the Murray brothers, Washington, D.C. job printer, he launched the Washington Tribune, which in that era attained one of the largest circulations enjoyed by a Negro newspaper on the Eastern Seaboard.

He severed connections with the Tribune at the death of one of the Murray brothers and the resultant family bickerings over management and control, and became advertising manager of the Fair Department Store, a Jewish-owned, downtown department store, which without pressure from the then undreamed of FEPC legislation, had adopted a policy of completely integrated employment.

In 1932 the firm sent young Walker to nearby Baltimore to manage one of its newly-acquired stores.

But by then, the bug of journalism had bitten deep. Walker looked about the nation for a suitable field where his training and modest savings might offer opportunity for the building of a real newspaper. He chose Cleveland, Ohio, a midwestern city that had established a reputation as one of the nation's most liberal and potentially "the best location in the nation."

On the invitation of Atty. Norman H. McGhee, he agreed to come to Cleveland in an effort to save the almost defunct Call and Post.

Here is what he found:

The paper owed so much money to the Murrell Brothers who had been publishing it, that this firm refused to do further printing. An arrangement was made to have the type forms of the paper prepared at 2319 E. 55 Street, and have the presswork done in the plant of the American Bohemian Publishing Company.

Subscribers had not received a copy through the mails in seventeen weeks.

The corporation had lost its franchise through failure to pay the necessary state taxes. A former employee had won a judgment against the defunct group for unpaid wages and there was little, if any, unencumbered real property on the premises.

Young Walker was given an interest in the paper and a promise of \$35.00 per week in salary. Former stockholders promised to give him financial backing in the future. The group defaulted on their new editor's first week's pay then the second, and in subsequent weeks, Walker received only such amounts as he could realize from the operation of the paper, after expenses.

For months this amount averaged between five and ten dollars a week and in most cases, the new "editor-manager-advertising solicitor" had to dig down into his modest savings to keep the paper alive. Circulation had dwindled to 300 copies weekly, with a healthy slice of this going to former "stockholders" whose names were still on the "free list."

Undismayed, young Walker began to look about himself for help . . . not financial help, but for men possessed with the basic training and skill to successfully operate a weekly newspaper.

He found a pitiful few, particularly in the fields of mechanical skills necessary to develop a self contained publishing organization. But some he did find, men and women of keen insight, fierce loyalty and devotion, who, captivated by his flaming determination, helped him develop the organization which today is a source of pride and influence in the Ohio community.

The first of these was Mrs. Ida James, probably the first Negro woman in Ohio ever to operate a typesetting machine. Through her patient and untiring efforts scores of young apprentices were developed to operate the intricate typesetting machine acquired with the later growth of the paper.

Working under the theory that a well-equipped plant, capable of producing the entire newspaper from story to finished prod-

uct was an absolute "must" Walker started to cultivate new friends in this community so new, but fascinating.

Good fortune and the groundswell of intense political activity in the Cleveland community threw him into contact with a vigorous young lawyer, Lawrence O. Payne, then riding a rising tide of popularity as a Negro Republican leader.

Working with Payne and Dr. Leroy H. Bundy, both members of the City Council, Walker threw the weight of his newspaper into the bitter political battle between incumbent Mayor Ray T. Miller (Democrat) and the late Harry Davis, Republican.

Lining up with the Republicans, Walker's hard-hitting editorials and practice approach to the Negro electorate, won him financial backing. With this money he purchased, in 1933, the beginning of the mechanical equipment-owned for many years by the Call & Post—a battered, second hand linotype and crude makeup equipment.

Then Mrs. Ida James (now deceased) who in addition to combining her skills at type setting and makeup with those of the editor-manager, was called upon to instruct two teenage boys plucked by Walker from his growing army of news carrier to become future typesetters.

One of these boys, Eugene "Gene" Ivey, is still with the company as Supervisor of the Call & Post's make-up and mechanical department.

Meanwhile former stockholders repudiated their promises to make-up operation deficits or to guarantee the editor's salary.

Walker, despairing of ever collecting his accumulating back wages and personal investments in the business, found a partner in Atty. Payne. As new equipment was purchased, it was done in the name and with the funds of the new partnership, which in 1940 was incorporated as the P. W. Publishing Company.

Also, the size of the newspaper was increased from the out-dated six-column page to the standard 12-em, eight columns, and from four pages to six, then to eight, then to ten, then to twelve.

More and more it was becoming a newspaper reflecting the colorful and turbulent life of its readers and of the times. Stone by stone the mechanical edifice was being built through close operation and by plowing into the business every surplus amount over and above expenses. Payne proved an ideal partner, for he soon grasped Walker's vision of building rather than bleeding the young and growing business.

Personnel was still a problem. It seemed almost impossible to secure trained people in a community where formerly no real newspaper had existed to serve the Negro people. Walker looked to other cities.

To manage circulation, he brought to Cleveland a youngster he had met in Washington, D.C. This kid had been one of those who had haunted the offices and plant of the Washington Tribune during Walker's service with that paper. A keen youngster, he had shown a flair for salesmanship.

Harry Alexander was brought to Cleveland to join the Call & Post small family, to find and train news carriers, and to circulate the paper.

To handle advertising, Walker found two men, one of them Charles H. Loeb, a trained newspaperman who had been attracted to Cleveland by the Cleveland Eagle, and the other, Walker's brother, Felix L. Walker, whom he persuaded to give up a taxi-cab business in Washington and cast his lot with the Cleveland organization.

Brother Felix eventually assumed management of the advertising department, when Walker discovered that Loeb, imaginative and with natural flair for writing fitted better into the editorial end of the newspaper.

Today Loeb is one of the most highly respected editors in the business. He was select-

ed to represent the combined Negro Press in the Pacific Theatre as a war correspondent during World War II, chosen chairman of the Editorial Society of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, and is deeply involved in Cleveland community affairs.

During the first stages of this new growth, the entire mechanical operation of the newspaper was housed in one room of the building bought by Payne at 2319 E. 55 St. The Murrell Printing company occupied basement quarters, the rear of the building was occupied by an insurance company, another room by a representative of the Veterans Administration, and the second floor by Payne's law offices.

The paper was set on one typesetting machine by Mrs. James and her two young apprentices.

It was made up by the editor, city editor, advertising manager, and the circulation manager.

It was hauled in the editor's automobile to the American Bohemian plant where it was stereotyped and printed.

The end product was replete with errors. It was unattractive, and expensive. The cost of engravings made illustrations virtually prohibitive.

The entire newspaper field was then going pictorial. It was demonstrated by such magazines as Life and Time that the right photo was more valuable than a "thousand words", but the high cost of engraving prohibited the use of only the bare minimum of art.

Then in 1935 the struggling little company group ran across an advertisement telling of a mail-order engraving school in Aurora, Missouri. The course was sent for, and successively everybody on the staff had a fling at learning "engraving".

The equipment was crude, the lessons none too-clear, and the basic secrets of the photo-engraving process barely treated, but after several months of experiments Loeb and Felix L. proved the most adept at the process.

The Italian conquest of little Abyssinia had whetted the taste of Call & Post readers for news about the brave struggle of the little kingdom against Italian aggression, and on one glorious press night the "engraving department" came up with its first usable cut—an ink-top process cutout of a buxom Ethiopian woman soldier pointing a fearsome German Luger pistol. Crude but decipherable illustrations of local ministers, club groups, street scenes, and national personalities followed in quick succession, and the Call & Post circulation began to reach the 10,000 mark in Greater Cleveland.

The same laborious process of training members of the staff to make and develop news pictures was inaugurated. In this field Felix L., who died just a few weeks ago, the erstwhile advertising manager, showed the most proficiency, and combined his advertising solicitations with that of news photographer, with both he and Loeb working long hours in the crude darkroom producing plates from pictures.

When suitable men were found they were given the rudimentary training in engraving. Among them was William Washington, a crack cameraman, who quickly absorbed the secrets of engraving, and became the head of that department. Turned over to him for training were two others, William Crawford, a veteran cameraman from Columbus, who had served as a combat photographer during the second World War, and Clement Perry, a youngster about to graduate from Glenville High School.

While these developments were occurring, America was in the midst of the greatest depression in its history, but the circulation of this alert medium continued upward, spurred by its consistent advocacy of equitable relief and fair job opportunities.

Advertising began to cramp the news columns and the newspaper was forced to expand from 16 to 24 pages to maintain a desirable balance of news and advertising.

Meanwhile the dream of owning a complete publishing plant was slowly materializing. More and more make-up equipment was added. One more, then two more typesetting machines. Additional type faces. Delivery trucks, capable of serving the widening field of distribution points. Typewriters, and improved engraving equipment.

The Newspaper, nevertheless, remained at the mercy of its outside printers. A strike, a breakdown in the outside shop or a disagreement over price, could easily cause lapse in publication. The growing company felt the acute need of a press of its own, one capable of printing a full-sized standard newspaper, comparable with the best in the nation.

The company's small surplus, plus borrowed capital, was spent for the acquisition of a 16-page Duplex rotary press, and in November of 1939, with Edward Murrell presiding over the history-making ceremony, the first completely-self-produced edition of the new Cleveland Call & Post rolled from the press while tears rolled down the cheeks of Walker and his brave little group of workers.

It was a crowning achievement for Edward Murrell, too, for he had been on the scene during all those years of the "era of frustration," and had come into the Call & Post organization as head pressman and instructor of the young men who eventually were to acquire the skills of press operation and maintenance.

When the youngsters were qualified, Edward Murrell was ready for a pleasant retirement.

But nobody reckoned with the growing interest of Call & Post readers to the growing news coverage in its pages. Overlooked too, were the rapidly-increasing Negro residents in the past fifteen years.

Cleveland advertisers, having weathered the depression era, had discovered in this live, vigorous, militant medium, a new gateway to an expanding market. Advertising continued to grow, and the increasing lineage made necessary an increase in size of the paper to a standard 24-page publication.

Ohioans outside of Cleveland, too, were clamoring for this newlook newspaper which so intimately reflected their lives, their foibles and their aspirations; which proved their outspoken advocate against prejudice and discrimination, which was willing to fight their battles for a fuller citizenship and better way of life, and which did not hesitate to point out to them their faults and omissions as citizens.

The 24-page edition had to be printed in two sections, one of sixteen pages and the other of eight pages, then stuffed by hand before distribution to trains and news trucks that were carrying it to the remotest parts of Ohio.

A special edition for Ohio and another for Cincinnati was established.

Harry Alexander's painstaking cultivation of young newscarrriers from every Cleveland neighborhood, begun in 1936, was beginning to pay rich dividends.

The boys were taught how to sell their papers in their respective neighborhoods, how to keep accounts and how to save their money. The brightest of them were followed through grade and high schools, and wherever they showed desire and ability, were brought into the Call & Post family.

More and more, the Call & Post family was becoming an Ohio institution, with new blood from the community it serves. Hundreds of dollars spent in prizes and bonuses to stimulate sales by newsboys were paying off both in circulation and in trained personnel.

The Call & Post family continued to grow and the payroll continued to expand. As rapidly as it could afford it, the "paper that has never missed a payroll" added people to its organization.

The Call & Post has never been afraid of innovations.

It was among the first of the nation's Negro newspapers to operate its own photo-engraving plant; among the first to experiment with the use of strip film, or dry plate engraving; among the few in the country to adopt the automatic "teletypesetter."

The 16-page Duplex press of 1939 gave way to a massive 48-page Goss Press capable of turning out 25,000 copies of the standard Call & Post 32-page edition per hour.

Branch offices were established in Cincinnati, Columbus, Dayton, Toledo, Akron and Youngstown and news from every Ohio city having more than a handful of Negro residents filtered regularly into the editorial offices of the paper from correspondents who also sold the newspaper in their communities.

The Call & Post was one of the first "medium" class weeklies in Ohio to acquire membership in the Audit Bureau of Circulations, which checks carefully all members' circulation figures to guard against false claims.

In September 1959 Lawrence O. Payne died.

In 1960, Editor-Publisher Walker leaned back in his swivel chair, drew a few puffs on his pipe looked up at the ceiling of his office and made a decision.

The decision: To "offset."

The "why" of the \$250,000 decision, and the miraculous result of Walker's far-sightedness are told in an article "Begins Bold Venture Into Photo-Journalism," on the first page of his section. The article was written by Robert Schneider in the June, 1961, issue of Printing Production, the nation's top newspaper trade publication.

With the introduction of offset and the installation of one of the finest offset printing plants in the state, the Call & Post has soared into one of the outstanding examples of black entrepreneurship in the nation, employing more than 100 persons in its editorial, composing, photolab, pressrooms and business offices in Ohio's three principal cities, Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati.

Policymaking body is the PW Publishing company, a corporation headed by Walker and whose stock is restricted to company employees. The operation has expanded its services into the field of general publication, and in its shop are produced a score or more of other newspaper publications and commercial circulars.

The operation supports a payroll in excess of \$600,000 annually.

CHEAP FOREIGN LABOR IS PUTTING AMERICANS OUT OF WORK

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, this morning it was my privilege to address a rally attended by 15,000 persons at Independence Square in Philadelphia. The rally was called by the Philadelphia Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to draw attention to an increasing problem in the clothing and textile industries.

The problem is simply that because of cheap labor in Japan and Korea—hourly wage rates range between 10 and 30 cents—the American clothing and textile worker is being forced out of work. Low-price imports have made it difficult, if not impossible, for our domestic

products to compete. Recent attempts to impose voluntary restrictions on the textiles these Asian nations export to the United States have failed.

In light of this failure, the Congress must move to impose mandatory import restrictions.

In the calendar year 1969, 25,000 American workers lost their jobs in the apparel industry and another 25,000 lost their jobs in the textile industry. These men and women are skilled craftsmen, eager to work and entitled to pay scales commensurate with the American standard of living. We must not allow cheap foreign imports to force these people onto the unemployment rolls.

I insert in the RECORD my statement delivered this morning in Philadelphia at the rally of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN JOSHUA EILBERG

It is indeed an honor for me to be here with you today and join in your effort to focus national attention on the threat to American jobs, work standards, and security which has developed because of the staggering increase in foreign textile imports.

I had hoped that the Administration would have been successful in emphasizing to Japan and other nations that the time has come for voluntary, reasonable, meaningful agreement to be reached on regulation of textile trade with the United States. Last week we learned that the Japanese had rejected all attempts on our part to come to a voluntary import-export control agreement and upon learning that, I and the other Members of the Philadelphia Congressional Delegation sent a telegram to the President urging that he take immediate action and use his authority and discretionary powers to protect the jobs and working conditions of the hundreds of thousands of Americans employed in the apparel industry.

We have not as yet received a response to that telegram but I believe that the Japanese cannot be so foolish as to ignore demonstrations like this one or the fact that 47 Members of the House of Representatives and 14 Senators have sponsored legislation to provide for the orderly trade in textile products. How too can they ignore the announced intention of the House Ways and Means Committee to hold hearings on trade regulation matters in the near future. Do they not know that one of the major areas of consideration at these hearings will be proposals to impose mandatory import restrictions on textile trade?

As a Member of Congress and friend of the workingman, I can assure you that I will not stand idly by and let American apparel workers and textile workers lose their jobs. I will not stand by and watch the growing flood of foreign imports take away from our national economy a vital part of its gross national product.

I do believe that our government has left no stone unturned in an effort to secure a voluntary restriction on textile imports with the Japanese but at the same time I believe that the time for talk and cajoling is over and there is a need for prompt and effective action to be taken now to meet the problem headon. Since January of 1969, the apparel industry has lost 25,000 jobs. During the same time period the textile industry has also lost 25,000 jobs. I believe we cannot afford to let this situation go on unchecked.

I believe we cannot let foreign products produced by employees earning 30 cents or perhaps even 10 cents per hour compete equally with American-made textile products and apparel produced under humane conditions and where the employees are paid a decent wage.

Thus we have a situation now where the cotton textile imports have increased tremendously as have man-made fibers while at the same time the American economy has lost 50,000 jobs. Certainly this situation cannot be tolerated and I am honored to have had the opportunity to be with you today to lend my support to your effort. Thank you for inviting me.

THE STUDENT IN THE UNIVERSITY
AND SOCIETY OF TODAY, NO. 4

HON. ROBERT McCCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. McCCLORY. Mr. Speaker, in January this year, the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges published a summary of information provided by its member institutions on steps taken to ease campus tensions. Part I of the report is a compilation of actions directed toward increasing student participation in university policymaking. I am including part I in the RECORD as a part of my remarks today.

Part II, which I will ask to have printed in my next remarks on this subject, sets forth policies of the various universities toward disruptive demonstrations and provides examples of preparations for meeting possible disruptions.

I caution the reader to remember that the information contained in this report has almost surely been provided by an administrative official of each institution. While I have no doubt that the information in each case is factual, I would remind my colleagues that, especially with regard to part I, student interpretation of such actions might differ substantially from the establishment point of view.

Nevertheless, the report has been compiled with obvious care and is both an impressive and encouraging document. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues and to the general public.

The National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges is composed of 113 major State universities and land-grant institutions located in all 50 States, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia. In the membership are 13 major campuses of member multicampus universities. Sixty-nine of the members are land-grant institutions, designated by an asterisk in the list below. NASULGG institutions enroll nearly 30 percent of all students in higher education and in the Nation and are the Nation's major source of advanced and professional degrees and research activities.

The material follows:

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES

Alabama: Alabama A&M College,* Auburn University,* University of Alabama.

Alaska: University of Alaska.*

Arizona: Arizona State University, University of Arizona.*

Arkansas: Agricultural, Mechanical, & Normal College,* University of Arkansas.*

California: University of California,* University of California at Berkeley, University of California at Davis, University of California at Los Angeles.

Colorado: Colorado State University,* University of Colorado.

Connecticut: University of Connecticut,* Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station.*

Delaware: Delaware State College,* University of Delaware.*

District of Columbia: Federal City College.*

Florida: Florida A&M University,* Florida State University, University of Florida.*

Georgia: Fort Valley State College,* Georgia Institute of Technology, University of Georgia.*

Hawaii: University of Hawaii.*

Idaho: University of Idaho.*

Illinois: Southern Illinois University, University of Illinois.*

Indiana: Indiana University, Purdue University.*

Iowa: Iowa State University,* University of Iowa.

Kansas: Kansas State University,* University of Kansas.

Kentucky: Kentucky State College,* University of Kentucky.*

Louisiana: Louisiana State University,* Southern University.*

Maine: University of Maine,* University of Maine at Portland.

Maryland: Maryland State College,* University of Maryland.*

Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology,* University of Massachusetts.*

Michigan: Michigan State University,* University of Michigan, Wayne State University.

Minnesota: University of Minnesota.*

Mississippi: Alcorn A&M College,* Mississippi State University,* University of Mississippi.

Missouri: Lincoln University,* University of Missouri.*

Montana: Montana State University,* University of Montana.

Nebraska: University of Nebraska.*

Nevada: University of Nevada,* University of Nevada at Reno.

New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire.*

New Jersey: Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey.*

New Mexico: New Mexico State University,* University of New Mexico.

New York: City University of New York, Cornell University,* State University of New York, State University of New York at Albany, State University of New York at Binghamton, State University of New York at Buffalo, State University of New York at Stony Brook.

North Carolina: North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University,* North Carolina State University,* University of North Carolina, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

North Dakota: North Dakota State University,* University of North Dakota.

Ohio: Kent State University, Miami University, Ohio State University,* Ohio University.

Oklahoma: Langston University,* Oklahoma State University,* University of Oklahoma.

Oregon: Oregon State University,* University of Oregon.

Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University.*

Puerto Rico: University of Puerto Rico.*

Rhode Island: University of Rhode Island.*

South Carolina: Clemson University,* South Carolina State College,* University of South Carolina.

South Dakota: South Dakota State University,* University of South Dakota.

Tennessee: Tennessee A&I State University,* University of Tennessee.*

Texas: Prairie View A&M College,* Texas A&M University,* Texas Southern University, Texas Technological College, University of Houston, University of Texas System, University of Texas at Austin.

Utah: Utah State University,* University of Utah.

Vermont: University of Vermont.*

Virginia: University of Virginia, Virginia Polytechnic Institute,* Virginia State College.*

Washington: University of Washington, Washington State University.*

West Virginia: West Virginia University.*

Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin,* University of Wisconsin at Madison.

Wyoming: University of Wyoming.*

CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGES TO EASE CAMPUS
TENSIONS

(State and land-grant universities take positive steps to involve students and curtail campus disruptions.)

INTRODUCTION

This compilation deals with one of the most critical subjects in higher education today: the governance of the university. In recent years, unprecedented violence and obstruction on the campus, caused generally by small groups of students, have attracted a major share of the nation's attention. Unfortunately, the many positive activities in higher education, far outnumbering disruptive or violent campus demonstrations, have been neglected.

While many universities were admittedly unprepared for and caught off guard by the first rounds of disruption, this is no longer the case. Colleges and universities throughout the country have now designed specific procedures and policies to protect their campuses and to guarantee the rights of those engaged in normal university activities to continue their pursuit unhampered. At the same time, the institutions have moved to safeguard and preserve the traditional, critical rights of dissent and peaceful protest so fundamental to academic freedom and our way of life.

In addition, while disapproving of many of the tactics used to present grievances, universities have also been making diligent efforts to deal with legitimate student concerns, and to involve students more deeply in campus governance. Although students have participated in campus decision-making at some universities for many years, in recent years this involvement has been intensified and expanded. Similarly, in recent years, an unprecedented number of specific reforms and changes have been adopted on campuses across the country in direct response to student concerns.

In short, the universities are making firm plans to deal with dissent if it threatens to disrupt. But even more important, at the same time they are taking major steps to eliminate the causes of legitimate student discontent.

State and land-grant universities
take positive steps

To document these points, the Office of Institutional Research of the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges has collected examples of positive steps taken to produce constructive student involvement and campus reform. Using a variety of sources, including university policy statements, news releases, addresses, committee reports, and press reports, information has been assembled from institutions in 49 states and the District of Columbia. Approximately 90 percent of the Association's membership is represented in this information. The institutions not included are not omitted because they are not doing anything in these areas, but only because informa-

tion from them was not available at the time this report was prepared.

In addition, despite the large number of specific examples of positive steps cited here, this is by no means a comprehensive national survey. Not all relevant programs from NASULGC institutions have been covered again primarily for lack of information in the OIR files. There is no university in the Association that is not making significant efforts to deal with student concerns and unrest. In the future, in fact, OIR hopes to issue a supplemental report to include some of the information omitted here.

The findings of this survey are nonetheless impressive, and they significantly bear out conclusions reached in a more thorough national survey of a sample of all higher education institutions. That survey was conducted this past summer by Alexander W. Astin and Alan E. Bayer of the American Council on Education. The study, entitled *Campus Disruption During 1968-69*, states:

"It would appear that most colleges and universities are attempting to respond in a meaningful and appropriate manner to major campus protest when it occurs. Discipline has been used frequently in responding to violence. Major efforts have also been made to modify curricula and racial policies and to increase the student's freedom and power. Moreover, our data show clearly that the majority of institutions, including those where there was no major protest during the 1968-69 academic year, instituted substantive changes in rules or policy during the same period of time."

This last statement is particularly relevant to state and land-grant institutions. Because of their efforts to keep open effective channels of communication with students and for a variety of other reasons, many state and land-grant institutions have not experienced disruptive protests. All, however, are studying current student concerns and seeking positive, constructive answers to campus unrest. The American Council on Education study continues:

"Popular accounts of the campus 'crisis' may often be misleading. That is, violence and disruption are not as 'rampant' as some groups would lead us to believe, nor are institutions 'irresponsible'—in the sense of attempting to curb violence—or as 'unresponsible' in the sense of instituting major changes—as many have claimed. While the most dramatic incidents of violence or seeming institutional inaction are likely to be deemed the most newsworthy, the response to this national representative survey of institutions indicates that such incidents are not reflective of the 'typical' American college."

The study concludes with mention of a key question confronting many colleges and universities this year: "How to encourage the expression of protest and social criticism and at the same time to preserve basic democratic processes and to protect the rights and privileges of all members of the campus community."

The information which follows dramatically and clearly indicates that state and land-grant universities in every part of the country—whether previously troubled by disruptions or not—have been wrestling with this question and have been seeking positive answers. Perhaps the most significant aspects of the examples cited in the following pages is their number. It is encouraging that so many institutions have in the past and are now devoting major amounts of time and effort to strengthening our system of higher education by giving students a major role in this task.

Two major sections of this report

The information included falls into two broad categories: (1) student participation in university policy-making and (2) institutional policies and procedures on conduct and disruption.

1. Student Participation in University Policy-Making

The purpose of the first section—student participation in policy-making—is to demonstrate the genuine commitment that state universities have to meaningful involvement of students in this process, especially on matters that directly affect them. Through hundreds of examples, this section illustrates how colleges across the country have made special efforts—particularly in the past two years—to open new channels of communication between students, faculty and administrators and to enable students to contribute to institutional governance.

2. Policies and Procedures on Conduct and Disruption

The second section—policies and procedures on conduct and disruption—shows that in addition to their efforts to maintain effective channels of communication with students, state universities are taking steps to insure that minorities will no longer be able to disrupt the pursuits of the majority on campus. If there are students, faculty, staff members, or non-students who choose to ignore the channels available to them, the universities are prepared to deal with their efforts to obstruct or disrupt normal campus activities. This attitude is well summarized in a policy statement adopted this past summer by the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina:

"The University of North Carolina has long honored the right to free discussion and expression, peaceful picketing and demonstrations, the right to petition and peaceably to assemble. That these rights are a part of the fabric of this institution is not questioned. They must remain secure.

"It is equally clear, however, that in a community of learning, willful disruption of the educational process, destruction of property, and interference with the rights of other members of the community cannot be tolerated."

I. STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN UNIVERSITY POLICY-MAKING

Of major significance is the growing amount of student participation in university decision-making. Many state and land-grant universities have pioneered in giving students a meaningful voice in university affairs. Nearly all NASULGC institutions have recently taken new steps to guarantee that students are included in the policy-making process on their campus, and particularly to guarantee that students have a role in formulating policies that affect them. The examples that follow focus on student participation in university policy-making through a variety of activities and projects.

STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNANCE

Although this section overlaps with the following one on committees, the focus here is on student participation in larger, campus-wide bodies, such as university senates and faculty senates. These are often the bodies that act on committee recommendations and that have a major say in final campus decisions.

Alabama

Showing concern for a student voice in the University Senate at *Auburn University*, the presidents of the Student Government Association and Associated Woman Students were named ex-officio to that body.

At the *University of Alabama*, students now sit on university-wide standing committees. Student Government Association leaders are consulted in new administrative appointments. In addition, classes evaluate their professors and courses for publication in a faculty-course evaluation newspaper.

Arizona

A new, experimental alumni-student-faculty-administration University Council went

into operation at *Arizona State University* this year. The Council will consider broad matters of university-wide concern. Also at the University, students have an opportunity to be significantly involved in the formulation and enforcement of regulations relating to conduct through the Student Senate, Student Conduct Committee, Student Affairs Committee, other hearing boards of the University, and agencies within the colleges.

California

Revelle College, one of the three colleges making up the San Diego campus of the *University of California*, has formed an experimental governing committee to advise the provost. Composed of faculty, students, and administrators, the group will be consulted on all student affairs except budgetary matters.

Colorado

In a *Colorado State University* study of participation in academic decision-making, 61 percent of the University's academic departments reported new types of student participation since spring, 1968. According to the study, students last year were involved in curriculum revision and teaching evaluation in more than 85 percent of the University's departments, a significant increase from the year before. Other areas with major increases in student participation were advising department heads and departmental government.

Also at CSU, the Faculty Council in October, 1969 adopted a revision in the Student Social Code giving self-governing student coordinating bodies the responsibility for establishing social rules in residence halls, fraternities, sororities, and other organizations. Student Government has for a number of years had the responsibility for allocating the student activity fee collected by the governing board.

Delaware

The *University of Delaware* is going beyond the committee system this year to experiment with a "Commission" system. Commissions composed of deans, professors, and students are being created to review academic plans. The commissions will hold open hearings which students, alumni, and other interested persons will be urged to attend. Commission recommendations will go to the provost and president. If the commissions are successful in academic matters, their use may be expanded to other areas like student affairs and planning.

Florida

At the *University of Florida* the University Senate recently invited five representatives of Student Government to attend all open sessions of the Senate. The students may submit material for the agenda and address the Senate.

The Student Government sponsors a campus Rathskeller where students and faculty can meet, a book exchange, an "Accent" program of national speakers, an ombudsman for student help, a campus-wide orientation program by senior students for freshmen and sophomores, counseling on housing, and recreational activities.

At *Florida State University*, students are members of several student-faculty bodies dealing with student governance. In addition, the student body president has been named an ex-officio member of the faculty senate.

Georgia

Proposed revised University Statutes, for the *University of Georgia* recommend that students be granted membership on the University Council.

Hawaii

An All-University Agenda Committee, with representation from students, faculty, and administrative groups, has been in existence

at the *University of Hawaii* for the past year-and-a-half. The committee recently prepared a Statement of Standards for the university, which is now under consideration by governing bodies of the university. A Student Conduct Committee, with student representation on it, has been in operation since 1956. Student membership on the committee was recently increased.

Illinois

Many boards and committees of the *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign* have been restructured in the past two years to enable a greater degree of participation and authority for students. For example, in June, 1969, the Board of Trustees authorized reconstitution of the Illini Union Board to give it greater authority. Board membership is primarily composed of students.

A year ago the Urbana-Champaign Senate replaced the Committee on Student Affairs with a Policy Committee on Student Affairs. Composed of eight students and eight faculty members, it is the "policy" recommending and coordinating committee of the Senate for all student affairs.

Students are members of a number of other important administrative boards and committees, including: Athletic Council, Campus Planning, Coordinating Placement, Financial Aid to Students, Housing Review, Long-Range Planning, Transportation, and Traffic.

Students at the *University of Illinois at Chicago Circle* hold membership on important Faculty Senate Committees pertaining to: Academic Freedom, Athletics, Budget, Educational Policy, Statutes and Bylaws, Student Discipline, and Student Affairs. The Office of the Chancellor also has included 70 students on 12 of its committees involved in the formulation of administrative actions. Chicago Circle students also served on committees that prepared reports presented at the school's Long Range Planning Conference held last fall.

Indiana

Students can participate in every area of *Purdue University's* operation directly involving them. Every one of Purdue's academic units has mechanisms for student participation and consultation. Students are on many committees at Purdue.

As an example, the Council of the School of Industrial Management includes five faculty members and 22 students. The president of the Council attends all school faculty meetings. The school appeals board has two student members and the undergraduate committee, which has a voice in all academic and administrative matters, has four student members—two graduates and two undergraduates.

Students in the School of Science are represented on the faculty-student advisory board, which makes recommendations to the science faculty council.

Iowa

At *Iowa State University*, students are members of six of seven existing councils and 19 of 31 standing committees. Most of the committees in which students do not participate involve either faculty personnel matters or technical subjects like radiation safety. Committees with student representation include human relations, fraternities and sororities, student behavior, library, campus planning, and university academic standards. Councils with student representatives include instruction, international programs, and student affairs.

In addition, most departments have some sort of a student advisory committee and the dean of each college has a student advisory committee.

Within the last two years, the *University of Iowa* has approved a revised constitution of student government giving the Student Senate broad powers and jurisdiction

over all phases of student activities, including allocating student fees.

Kansas

A new system of faculty-student government is in operation this fall at the *University of Kansas*, following extensive study by a student-faculty committee and ratification by students in a referendum, the Faculty Senate at a meeting, and the Board of Regents.

The new system provides for a Faculty Senate and committees to deal with matters of exclusive faculty concern; a student senate and committees for matters of exclusive student concern; a University Senate and committees for matters of mutual faculty and student concern; and three University Boards, primarily to deal with discipline. Student and faculty membership on the University Senate committees is approximately equal. Each Senate also has a smaller elected council to act for it.

A University Planning Board, including student membership, was recently set up at the *University of Kansas*. The committee is charged with long-range planning in all areas of university life.

Kentucky

At the *University of Kentucky*, students are represented on the Board of Trustees, the University Senate, the University Judicial and Appeals Boards, and some dozen administrative committees with jurisdiction ranging from fees and student financial aid to parking and traffic control on campus.

Maine

The *University of Maine* reports that student participation in University governance has existed for a number of years, although a significant expansion of this role has taken place in the past three years. There are now five student members of the Faculty Council, for example.

Maryland

The *University of Maryland* Faculty Senate in October voted to add 29 students as full-voting members, giving them a one-sixth vote in determining major academic and social policies. The action must be approved by the entire faculty and the Board of Regents. It has the backing of university President Wilson H. Elkins. Eighteen of the students will be undergraduates, 11 graduates.

Massachusetts

At the *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, students are members (with or without voting privileges) of most Institute committees. All students may attend faculty meetings and those who are knowledgeable on issues under discussion are granted speaking privileges.

Michigan

Wayne State University students have traditionally had representation on a wide range of University boards and committees. Among them are individual student governing bodies working with the deans of the separate schools and colleges within the University, the Student-Faculty Council (six faculty members, 18-18 students drawn from all schools and colleges), the Athletic Advisory Board, and the Financial Aids Advisory Board. Last year at Wayne, a new student-faculty body, the Newspaper Publication Board, was formed to oversee the management and operation of the student newspaper.

At *Wayne State University's* experimental *Monteith College*, currently celebrating its tenth anniversary, students can help plan seminars or other kinds of courses and the college is able to set up new courses quickly. The Afro-American studies program now offered to general University students was first thought of at Monteith in May, 1968. By September, 1968 it was being taught. Students helped in the planning.

Minnesota

The *University of Minnesota* began its "consultative" policy more than 22 years ago. As explained by Edmund G. Williamson, Dean of Students, in 1967, the policy provides that "any decision affecting students or student affairs will go first to students for consultation. For example, the decision to liberalize women's dorm hours was made after three years of public discussion. . . ."

Students became members of the All-University Senate with full voting rights at the *University of Minnesota* for the first time this fall. The elected students represent the various colleges and schools within the university on a proportional basis of students enrolled in each college or school.

Mississippi

The *University of Mississippi* has student representation on its Academic Council.

Montana

At the *University of Montana*, student participation in governance has been greatly expanded by President Robert T. Pantzer through provision for equal participation and proportionate student representation on virtually every University-wide standing or *ad hoc* committee, including those concerned with curriculum, selection of personnel, physical facilities, or disciplinary matters. In addition, close liaison is maintained with elected student body officers by the president as part of the decision-making process.

The Student Body President at *Montana State University* has held a seat on the Administrative Council, chief policy-making body of the university, since 1965. This student officer is also invited to attend general faculty meetings.

Nebraska

At the *University of Nebraska*, students sit on 11 University Senate committees, including those on grading, intercollegiate athletics, and libraries.

In most cases, two students, all of them recommended by student government, sit with approximately five faculty members. In others, such as the new Council on Student Life, which concerns itself with nonacademic student affairs, eight students sit with seven faculty-staff members.

Nevada

At the *University of Nevada, Reno*, students exercise major control over many student-oriented activities. For example, student conduct and control is the direct responsibility of Student Government through an all-student judiciary. Student Government owns and operates a student bookstore. Students are free to invite any speaker of their choice. Students govern their own activities. Student publications are entirely free of censorship and governed by a Student Publications Board.

New Hampshire

Last year, the *University of New Hampshire* completely restructured its form of campus governance. A single voting body, composed equally of faculty and students, replaced the present system of separate Student and University Senates. The new assembly consists of 30 students, 30 faculty members, 12 administrators, and five graduate students. Student "senators" are elected by their fellow students according to predetermined "voting districts" within the university campus. The new system was recommended by a Committee on Government Organization composed of 13 students, faculty, and administrators.

New Jersey

At *Rutgers University*, the student body of each school or college offering degrees elects one student senator to serve with the University's faculty members and various administrators as voting members of the University Senate. Student Senators have full

rights to participate in the affairs of the Senate, including the right to hold office. Faculty meetings at Rutgers have also been opened to students.

In addition, the presidents of the student governments of the several colleges sit as voting members on the University Student Affairs Cabinet with the several deans of students and other appropriate university officers. Students participate on policy boards of the University's several degree-granting divisions in a variety of ways.

New Mexico

Three years ago, the University Faculty Senate at *New Mexico State University* voted to include student members. Two students are members of the Senate and two students are members of each of its sixteen committees. During these three years, the students have been excellent representatives, it is reported.

The Regents of the *University of New Mexico* have appointed a special committee on governance, including students, faculty, administrators, and alumni. The committee will function throughout the current year and will make recommendations for changes in governance.

A hearing board for campus disciplinary matters is made up of four members of the student body and four members of the faculty. Called the Student Standards Committee, this body may affirm or reverse disciplinary action already taken. In cases where action has not yet been taken, the committee may decide whether disciplinary action should be taken, and if so, the extent of it.

New York

In the 1968 Master Plan for *The City University of New York*, the Board of Higher Education pledged far greater participation by students and faculty in university governance and the decision-making process at all the colleges. In a far-reaching move in this direction, the Board adopted several resolutions as part of a comprehensive statement on "The Restructuring of Governance at City University":

Appointment of a Council of Overseers on each campus, composed of students, faculty, alumni, and community representatives, with increasing responsibility for governance.

A statement that it would "view with favor" the substitution of a new set of by-laws for any unit of the university which wishes to create and propose a new governance structure provided that the proposed system is (a) drafted by a joint student-faculty-administration group, (b) approved by referendum by 75 per cent of full-time instructional staff members who vote and 75 per cent of the voting student body, and (c) recommended and approved by the college president.

Establishment of two university commissions to review governance and admissions policy and to submit reports to the Board of Higher Education. The commissions are made up of faculty, students, administration community representatives, alumni, university officers and delegates from the Seek Advisory Council.

A Student Advisory Council was formed to give students an opportunity to participate in policy deliberations. The Chairman and Vice Chairman will also attend meetings of the Administrative Council of college presidents and the Council of Deans of Students.

A Constituent Assembly was set up at *Cornell University* last spring to "investigate and make recommendations for a redistribution of power, and to include all relevant constituencies within the University in its governance." The Assembly consists of faculty members, students, non-professional academic employees, other employees, administration, trustees, alumni, representatives of the black community and other special interest groups. The Assembly's Drafting Committee has come up with a proposal for

a *Cornell University* Senate which would have 131 voting members, including 60 students, 60 faculty members, two alumni, the provost of the university, one vice president elected by the vice presidents, three non-exempt employees, two exempt employees, one nonprofessional academic employee and one librarian.

A Student Cabinet, composed of the heads of student governments from 22 of the *State University of New York* campuses, met regularly last year with SUNY's chancellor. The aim of the cabinet is to promote constructive student involvement in university-wide programs. Presidents at all 68 campuses in the SUNY system report increased student involvement on major committees and increasing consultation with students in governance matters.

A new University-wide governing body including faculty, students, and administrators in the ratio of 5-3-2 went into effect this fall at the *State University of New York at Binghamton* as a result of referendums approving the proposal. At Binghamton, student committees on faculty personnel will also be created in each department, working in an advisory function parallel to faculty committees. A course and teacher evaluation system will also go into effect, with results made available to the faculty member involved, the student and faculty committees, and certain administrative officers.

For the last two years, the presidents of the five independent student associations at the *State University of New York at Buffalo* have served as full members of the President's Cabinet. Among the subjects reviewed by this body—which also includes representatives of the Faculty Senate and civil service personnel—are the roles of teaching and university service in decisions affecting promotions and appointments to tenure, overall research policy governing the solicitation and conduct of research projects, and minority group recruitment at the student, faculty, and staff levels.

Governance at the *State University of New York at Stony Brook* has been under examination by all segments of the campus community for the past year. An elected Commission of Twelve (half student and half faculty and staff) spent five months during the past school year reviewing university goals and policies. They prepared proposals, including one for a revised university governance, for submission to a university-wide referendum. Since May, 1969, negotiations and revision of the Commission's governance proposal has been going on among the existing governing bodies of the university.

Students recently participated in a number of committees that conducted an intensive review of the curriculum at *Stony Brook*.

Students hold membership on four judiciary boards, including the Student-Faculty Board on Student Conduct, the Student-Faculty Appeals Board, the University Hearing Board, and the University Review Board.

Students and faculty this fall have equal representation on the College Community Council at the *State University of New York, Geneseo*, College of Arts and Science.

North Carolina

At the *University of North Carolina* students are participating in a revision of the General College curriculum and a reform of campus judicial procedures. They are also involved in the organization of a Graduate Student Association and on *ad hoc* committees to advise academic departments on curriculum matters. In addition, students are members of the Administrative Board of Student Affairs, the Athletic Council, and the Publications Board.

North Dakota

The University Senate, major legislative body at the *University of North Dakota*, voted on October 2 to amend the University constitution to allow student representation.

The action has been approved by the State Board of Higher Education. The University Senate presently consists of 54 faculty and administrative representatives of the University. Ten student members, to be selected by the Student Senate, would be added.

Five students and five faculty members serve on the board of directors for the *University of North Dakota's* Bookstore and are trying to find a way to lower the cost of books.

Ohio

Voting membership for 18 students in the University Senate was approved by the Board of Trustees of *Miami University* in December. The action doubled the number of student members which had been originally proposed by the Senate, primarily a faculty body, last April. The board's resolution included a reminder that the action is temporary, pending further consideration of other university governance changes by President Phillip R. Shriver and various university agencies, "which shall include a permanent and continuing participation by student government." Student members of the Senate will be the holders of 18 specific campus offices. A pending proposal would have the same number chosen by general campus election.

At *Ohio University* a president's advisory council, including students, faculty, and administrators, has been appointed.

Students at *Ohio State University* now sit on the Faculty Council and the Council of Academic Affairs.

Oregon

A broad policy statement on institutional governance adopted last year by *Oregon's State Board of Higher Education* states that "students should be involved in the formulation of institutional policies, rules, and regulations governing student conduct and student participation in the affairs of the academic community." Students were involved in development of the policy statement and appeared before both the Board's Academic Affairs Committee and the full meeting of the Board at which the statement was adopted.

Students at *Oregon State University* hold membership on 32 university committees and councils that contribute to the formulation of university policy. These include the Student-Faculty Council on Academic Affairs and committees and boards dealing with examinations, intercollegiate, athletics, student conduct, student publications, and university discipline. Students also participate in the development and review of university-wide academic policies and programs through joint meetings of the Executive Committees of the Student and Faculty Senates. Discussions are also in progress for the purpose of establishing a combined Student-Faculty Senate.

Pennsylvania

The University Senate of *The Pennsylvania State University* has approved a resolution giving full voting rights to students. Students have sat on Senate committees for several years but have had a vote only within the committee. The Senate is a faculty legislative body which determines educational policy.

Rhode Island

A President's Student Advisory Council is in operation at the *University of Rhode Island*. Students also sit on many policy recommending committees which make recommendations directly to the president. These include the Student Life Committee, Housing Committee, Memorial Union Advisory Council, and Association of Women Students.

South Carolina

Following a study by a committee appointed by the Governor, there has been more participation by *South Carolina State College* students and faculty in college affairs. Students are presently on all standing com-

mittees of the college with voting privileges. Student discipline is handled by student judicial boards, except when they feel it necessary to refer cases to a board composed of both faculty and student members.

At the University of South Carolina, a student committee, under Student Government, with limited faculty help, is working with the Dean of the College of Arts and Science on curriculum revision in the college. A subcommittee of black students is working on organization of an Afro-American studies program. Student representatives also meet with the general faculty of the school.

South Dakota

At the University of South Dakota, President Richard L. Bowen recommended in his State of the University message given on September 29 that students be given full voting representation on the University Senate, which is the University's general governing body on academic affairs. The Senate is a faculty organization currently including certain administrators.

Tennessee

University of Tennessee students now serve as members of the Faculty Senate. In addition, plans are underway to add students to the University's Administrative Council, which is the ultimate appeal agency on disciplinary matters and which adopts major policies on student conduct and standards.

Texas

At the University of Texas at Austin, last spring the Faculty Council was changed to University Council, with enlarged membership including three voting student members, and to establish a new faculty senate. The new Council held its first meeting in September.

Another new organization to be activated this fall at UT is a Faculty Senate, composed of elected faculty members of the University Council having administrative duties no higher than those of a department chairman. Senate recommendations will be conveyed to the Council.

The University Council and Faculty Senate were both created through faculty legislation and approved by President Hackerman, the UT System Administration, and Board of Regents.

Utah

The major legislative body of the University of Utah, the Faculty Council, last year expanded its membership to include students and teaching assistants.

Vermont

At the University of Vermont, students were consulted prior to faculty adoption of a major curriculum revision and experimental living-learning program. Students served on the advisory committee which recommended the experimental program focusing on seminars and lectures for groups of students living together in the same dormitory.

Virginia

The Board of Visitors of Virginia Polytechnic Institute last spring approved a complete restructuring of university governance "involving close cooperation of faculty, students, and administration, and designed to include the view of all three groups." The changes involved:

Restructuring and expansion of the existing University Council and addition of two student representatives;

Creation of a 40-member Faculty Senate;

Establishment of commissions for undergraduate studies, research and graduate affairs, faculty affairs, and undergraduate affairs, with student representation on all commissions except faculty affairs.

For many years, students of the University of Virginia have operated their own Honor System under which students accused of lying, stealing, or cheating are tried by a student-elected Honor Committee. Other

offenses requiring disciplinary action are tried by a student-elected Judiciary Committee. When acting in review, the university administration usually upholds committee decisions.

Washington

At Washington State University, student members were added this year to the University Council, which advises the president on major policy and administrative matters; to the Planning Council, which is charged with developing long-range educational plans and recommending priorities, and to the all-university Budget Committee.

West Virginia

At West Virginia University, Students serve on seven committees and subcommittees of the University Senate including a subcommittee to recommend revisions in the Core Curriculum and a Special Committee on Interracial Policies and Procedures.

A new University-wide Council on Planning includes two students among its twelve members. The student body elects two students to serve on the five-member University Committee on Student Discipline. Minor violations of residence hall regulations are adjudicated by students themselves through residence hall judiciary boards that they elect.

Wisconsin

The University of Wisconsin has long had a student "input" into policy formation, mainly through full membership on faculty committees in which most academic policies originate and through an active student government and student press on all its campuses.

Recently the University's Regents have directed the faculty to "investigate and develop experimental programs based on student participation in areas such as (a) curriculum design and evaluation, (b) evaluation of present and prospective teachers, (c) student participation in education of the disadvantaged, (d) methods of financing education of the disadvantaged not now being employed. . . ."

Wyoming

At the University of Wyoming, the student body president serves as an ex-officio member of the Faculty Senate and has the same privileges as elected members except the right to vote. In addition, students are members of several university committees dealing with student governance and serve on the Appeals Board.

STUDENT MEMBERSHIP ON COMMITTEES

Student membership on committees is particularly important, for it is here that much of the preliminary work is done leading to policy recommendations and changes. Many state and land-grant universities have for many years placed students on major committees. In recent years, this trend has been accelerated.

Alabama

For many years, Auburn University students have served on standing University committees. Student Government Association members also served on *ad hoc* committees planning the Union addition, considering the ROTC issue, planning the dedication for the new Haley Center, proposing a student academic honor code, and reviewing student disciplinary regulations, as well as on others.

Students are represented on committees in the various schools and colleges at the University of Alabama as well as special committees dealing with Faculty-Student Planning, the Role of the Student, and Disciplinary Procedures.

Arizona

Students at the University of Arizona have a greater voice in policy-making this fall due to increased representation on Univer-

sity committees. The Faculty Senate has opened a number of committees which oversee various functions of the university to student membership for the first time. These include dishonest scholastic work, lecture, scholarships and awards, student grants and aids. Five committees which in the past had some student members now have increased student representation. These include personnel artist series, orientation, university relations, and student activities and eligibility. Student committee members are selected by the student government.

At Arizona State University student representation on major committees formulating policies governing the University has increased from 56 positions on 11 committees in fall of 1967 to 148 positions on 33 committees this fall.

Arkansas

At the University of Arkansas this fall, students have been named to all faculty-administrative committees in an attempt to improve communications on educational programs and policies. At least one student will also be appointed to each of the University Senate Committees.

The University of Arkansas College of Arts and Sciences faculty has established an experimental system to facilitate change and adaptation of courses and curriculum. Four student-faculty committees have been established and assigned to the fields of fine arts, literature, natural sciences, social sciences, and modern languages. They are authorized to experiment directly with new courses.

California

At all nine campuses of the University of California, students have become increasingly involved with service on both administrative and academic committees.

At the University of California, Berkeley, students have been appointed to most of the Chancellor's administrative committees, especially those which are intimately involved in student affairs, such as the Judiciary Committee and the KALX Radio Policy Board. In addition, student advice is sought on an *ad hoc* basis regarding matters which affect them.

At the University of California, Davis, students who serve on an academic planning committee receive academic credit.

Colorado

At the University of Colorado an extensive study on university governance conducted by a special committee of students, faculty and administrators has provided the impetus for increased student participation on a variety of committees. Joint student-faculty policy recommending boards have now been set up to deal with all significant non-academic areas of student affairs. The number of students participating on standing committees within the schools and colleges of the university has been increased. The Faculty Council has established a special student liaison committee to develop ways of relating students more significantly to the academic structure.

This fall President Frederick P. Thieme appointed a committee of administrators, faculty, and students to recommend a permanent policy on the use of the University's facilities and to serve as the approval agency for the use of facilities where approval is required. Pending the committee's recommendations, President Thieme announced interim policies.

Colorado State University students serve on the following university-wide committees: Orientation of New Students, Discipline, Educational Media, Campus Security, Housing Advisory, and Programs for Educationally Disadvantaged Students. In addition, students are voting members of six Faculty Council committees: Student Life, Undergraduate Instruction, Graduate Council, Health, Library Council, and Registration.

Connecticut

At the *University of Connecticut*, students are members, often with voting rights, of all standing and *ad hoc* university committees, except in those areas dealing directly with faculty concerns. Notable examples of the broad range of student representation on both administrative and planning groups in recent months include: The Security Division study committee, the Housing Policy Committee, the University Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities, the General Scholastic Requirements Committee, as well as several standing committees in the general areas of student-university relations and student affairs.

Delaware

At the *University of Delaware*, more students have been included on traditional faculty committees this year, including the one that screens potential professors and department heads. Students have a voice, though not a vote.

Two years ago *Delaware State College* established a highly-successful special committee consisting of four trustees, four members of the faculty, and six students. The committee meets regularly and considers any matters pertaining to student life that the students want considered. The committee is empowered to determine appropriate solutions to matters which might lead to student unrest and recommend appropriate action directly to the full Board of Trustees.

On August 14, 1968, the *Delaware State Board of Trustees* approved a policy statement authorizing and encouraging student participation in nine faculty committees: athletics, health and food services, library, student union, discipline, student personnel, lyceum, scholarship, and assembly. The Student Government Association selects the student members of the committees. The Board also authorized provision by the faculty of a student judiciary system wherein certain disciplinary matters will be handled by students, subject to appeals to a student appeals committee of the faculty.

District of Columbia

The Faculty Organization at two-year-old *Federal City College* voted during its first year to place students on all standing committees.

Florida

The *University of Florida* has 114 students serving on university committees. Two students serve as chairmen of major committees. This is a 50 percent increase over student representation in previous years.

Georgia

Students at the *University of Georgia* are voting members of committees pertaining to student affairs, intercollegiate athletics, cultural affairs, the University Bookstore, health services, housing, traffic, and a special Presidential Committee for Residence Hall Planning. They are non-voting members of committees on curriculum and admissions. A student observer also attends meetings of the Faculty Executive Committee.

Hawaii

Students have been added to virtually every major committee at the *University of Hawaii*.

Idaho

At the *University of Idaho*, each of the 40 standing committees of the faculty has from two to five students among its members. Most recently, the 15-man University Curriculum Committee appointed by the Faculty Council has been remodeled to include two upper-division undergraduate students and one graduate student nominated by the student government. This committee determines catalog changes and approves all changes in curricula as proposed by various depart-

ments. Students have long taken part in committee deliberations at Idaho, but this year the representation is at an all-time high.

Illinois

Trustees of the *University of Illinois* last spring approved recommendations of the Chicago Circle Senate and the Senate Coordinating Council authorizing student representation on committees of the Senates on all University of Illinois campuses. The student members will have Senate floor and voting privileges on matters relating to the action of the committees on which they serve "unless the Senate provides otherwise."

On all campuses of the *University of Illinois* student advisory committees are employed quite liberally. At Urbana-Champaign, each of the four deans who have statutory responsibilities for student affairs have such committees. Most colleges and schools also have or are establishing advisory councils. In addition, many departments have student members on committees on courses and curricula. At Chicago Circle, student boards are functioning in most colleges. For example, in the College of Education, the Student Caucus places its members on college committees, where they have full voting rights. This organization also evaluates courses, teachers, and college requirements, advises other Education students, and participates in the interviewing and evaluation of professors being considered for employment. Student advisory committees are now being set up at the departmental level.

At the Medical Center, the College of Dentistry, the College of Pharmacy, and the College of Medicine all have student-faculty committees, aimed at encouraging dialogue between the two groups.

The faculty of the College of Medicine has incorporated student members, chosen by election, to its standing committees on instruction, student appraisal, and student promotions.

In the *University of Illinois* College of Nursing, by-laws of the faculty specifically include students on committees on curriculum and student affairs. Student members recently participated in a thorough review of the academic advising system of the College. Through the Student Council, they surveyed the views of all undergraduate students. These were incorporated into the recommendations that the Student Affairs Committee brought to the faculty and which were subsequently adopted by that body.

Indiana

Many of *Purdue University's* administrative committees include student members. For example, students have a voting voice on the committees for commencement, orientation of new students, campus beautification, campus appeals, expanded bookstore facilities, centennial program, and the advisory committee to select a director of University libraries.

The University Senate, legislative body of the *Purdue University* faculty, includes one student member on the standing committee on educational policy. In addition, four undergraduates sit on the superior students subcommittee. Students also sit on senate subcommittees in the areas of student counseling service, student housing, financial aids, student organizations, student publications, student freedom, responsibility and integrity, student affairs, parking and traffic, visual arts, and the library.

The student-faculty affairs committee of the School of Veterinary Science and Medicine at *Purdue University* has one elected student member from each undergraduate class. Similar representation exists on the home economics council, in addition to student membership on the school's committees on student affairs, publicity, and the library.

Iowa

At the *University of Iowa*, over the past five years the central administration—under no pressures from students themselves—has initiated steps to have more students placed on committees and to appoint students to more all-university committees. In 1964 there were six all-university committees with students as voting members. The current roster of committees lists students on 20 all-university committees. Student and faculty members on committees are equally empowered to introduce topics for the agenda, to debate proposals, and to vote on all actions. Students are appointed by the University president, after receiving recommendations from the Student Senate. In nearly all cases, the nominees of the Senate are appointed by the president. Student representation on academic committees within the various colleges has also accelerated.

Kentucky

Students have been appointed to serve on four standing committees of the *University of Kentucky* Community College System. Members of the Inter-Community College Student Council were named by Dean Ellis F. Hartford to serve on the following committees: Academic Planning, Curriculum Studies, Instructional Resources and Student Affairs. Four students were named to each committee. They began their new roles by participating in the annual community college faculty conference held in Lexington this fall. The new appointments mark the first time students have been included on system-wide committees, although they have previously served on individual faculty committees within each college.

Louisiana

Several colleges at *Louisiana State University*, Baton Rouge, have appointed students to college course and curriculum committees.

Maine

Students are represented on nearly all faculty and administrative committees at the *University of Maine*. All divisions of the newly-reorganized Student Service office have student advisory committees. Most academic departments also have student advisory committees. Students also serve on a University Planning Committee making long-range determinations of missions and goals for the University.

Maryland

Starting this fall, university housing policy at the *University of Maryland* is in the hands of a student-faculty committee which will initiate policy changes, solicit student opinions on dormitory life, and facilitate communications between residence hall students and the university housing office.

Massachusetts

At the *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, students have been involved in a review of policies and operations, of the University's two special laboratories—Instrumentation Laboratory and Lincoln Laboratory. Students were included in a 22-member panel which studied the labs. They are also members of a new standing committee whose purpose is to advise the president on the laboratories' work and to inform and involve the community in the laboratories' programs.

There is student representation on the large majority of Institute committees. Students always enjoy speaking privileges and on many committees they can vote as well. On certain issues, committees hold open sessions at which a variety of student opinions can be expressed.

Students at the *University of Massachusetts* are represented on a number of Faculty Senate and University committees and subcommittees. Appointments are made by the president of the Student Senate. Students

are currently members of committees on: Academic Matters, Master Planning, Scholarships, Financial Aid, Placement, Student Affairs and Student Life among others. They also hold membership on the Athletic Council, Discipline Board, Communications Board and Student Union Governing Board. On the Student Affairs Committee, which is chaired by a student, students are in the majority, and on the Student Life Committee they have equal representation with university staff members.

Michigan

At the *University of Michigan*, an increasing number of university-wide faculty committees have voting student members. At the school and college levels, students are sitting on a growing number and variety of committees concerned with matters like curriculum and policy-making. Every school or college also has some kind of student government or committee distinct from the University-wide student government council. Both a student-faculty and a black-student committee helped to determine the allocations of contributions to the University's Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial Fund.

At *Michigan State University*, an *ad hoc* committee on Student Participation in Academic Affairs includes eight faculty members and five students.

Minnesota

Although students at the *University of Minnesota* have been full voting members of various University Senate committees for more than 20 years, the recent re-organization of the body has placed more students on more Senate committees. Among the committees on which they are represented are: Academic Standing and Relations, Printing and Publications, Social Policy, Business and Rules, Educational Policy, Liberal Education, Extension and Community Programs, Research, Resources and Planning, and Consultative. Student membership on the latter committee is of special significance because it serves as the "sounding board" to the president on educational and budgetary matters.

In addition, students have been added to many departmental, college, and school committees which have been previously limited to faculty. Each campus also has its own student-faculty Assembly and Assembly committees. The largest campus, the Twin Cities Campus, has students on all thirteen of its Assembly Committees with students in the majority on the Committee on Student Affairs.

Mississippi

At *Mississippi State University*, students have been represented on most of the standing committees for some time. Students are reported to be active participants in the committees.

Students are represented on most standing and special committees at the *University of Mississippi*.

Missouri

This year all standing faculty committees at *Lincoln University* have student members with full voting rights. Most faculty committees have had student representation for some time but now there is 100 percent student participation. For the first time the Faculty Committee on Student Personnel Services is half student and half faculty. Each academic department at *Lincoln* this year has created Student Advisory Committees to "advise with the several faculties with respect to curriculum, course requirements, examinations, etc."

At the *University of Missouri, Columbia*, students have served on some campus-wide committees for as long as ten years. They currently serve on 20 of 32 campus-wide committees, including schedule of studies and examinations, bookstore, library, government and activities, and student publications. Students have recently been added to student

conduct committees. They are also represented on several faculty committees in four divisions, including curriculum and policy.

Students at the *University of Missouri, Rolla* have representation this fall with voting privileges on 18 faculty committees.

At the *University of Missouri, St. Louis*, students are full voting members of nearly all university committees, including those on curriculum, the library, new degrees and programs, admissions and student aid, long-range planning, urban affairs and community relations, student affairs and official publications.

Montana

Students hold membership with faculty on all boards related to student activities and facilities at *Montana State University*. There are also student members on 18 standing committees responsible for the administration, management, and formulation of policy recommendations relating to general campus operations. Membership on nine of these committees has been granted in the past five years. Students also have a voice in curriculum planning through participation on departmental curriculum committees.

Nebraska

University of Nebraska students appear routinely on *ad hoc* committees. They are currently serving on a new committee to evaluate and suggest possible improvements in the ROTC program. Each undergraduate college has an elected student advisory board that regularly meets with the deans to discuss educational questions, share information, and on occasion give some forceful advice. Students sit on many other collegiate committees, including the Curriculum Committee of the College of Arts and Sciences. Students also are represented on the new University Academic Planning Committee and the Human Rights Committee.

Nevada

At the *University of Nevada, Reno*, students are voting members of most university committees. The student body president is a voting member of the Office of Students Affairs. Students are consulted and they do participate in the development of policies and regulations affecting their out-of-class activities. A student-administration Steering Committee on Co-ed Housing studied, developed, and caused the adoption of policies and procedures governing co-ed dorms. A student-faculty-administration *ad hoc* Committee on Search and Seizure developed policies on search of premises occupied by students, culminating in the adoption of a University Search Warrant. An *ad hoc* Committee on Use of University Facilities, composed of administrators and students, reviewed existing policies and procedures and proposed revisions.

New Hampshire

In 1965 the *University of New Hampshire* began to invite the participation of students on University policy-making committees with responsibility for a wide range of campus services and activities. Today, more than 200 students serve on these committees—including standing committees of the University Senate (students are chairmen of several of these committees), and joint faculty-administration-student committees, whose members are appointed by the president of the University.

New Jersey

Rutgers University has, as a matter of policy, encouraged the inclusion of students on the committees of its colleges. Although the patterns vary from college to college, students participate on such policy and operations committees as financial aid, scholastic standing, curriculum and courses of study, library, admissions, and faculty-student relations.

New Mexico

For many years, students at *New Mexico State University* have been members of the disciplinary system. Students are on discipline committees at all levels of the system.

In addition, with the construction of a new field house and student center at NMSU, advisory committees have been established to advise administration on appropriate policies for the operation of these new structures. Students have representation on these advisory committees.

Students at the *University of New Mexico* have been serving on all administrative, faculty, and joint committees on campus for the past two years.

New York

At *Cornell University* several colleges have added students to important committees. Three students now serve on the Educational Policy Committee of the College of Arts and Sciences. Agriculture students serve on committees on educational policy, petitions, and scholarships, among others. Five departmental councils within the College of Human Ecology added student representation this fall. These councils serve as sounding boards for student suggestions and grievances. Representatives to the three standing policy committees of the faculty were chosen from the members of these councils. A number of student-faculty organizations of various degrees of formality are in operation in the College of Engineering.

Three university-wide student-faculty-administrative special committees that are currently active are the Committee on Residential Colleges, the Married Student Housing Policy Review Committee, and the University Committee on Campus Planning. Students are also members of a number of faculty committees.

Students at the *State University of New York, Albany*, have representation in the policy-making councils and committees of the University's faculty senate.

At the *State University of New York at Buffalo*, the Faculty Senate, in conjunction with the student government and the president's office, provided for equal participation between students and faculty on eight of nine standing committees of the Faculty Senate. In matters concerning curriculum and "hiring and firing of faculty," students participate equally with faculty on University-wide committees.

The University College Curriculum Committee, which must approve all proposed undergraduate courses, has five voting student members selected by the Student Association.

At the *State University of New York, Stony Brook*, students are members without vote of committees concerned with teaching policy, admissions, academic standing, library, and instructional resources. Students also serve as voting members of most special or *ad hoc* university committees.

At most of the 17 campuses of the *City University of New York*, students are members of all standing college committees such as those on curriculum, admissions, and student life.

North Carolina

The *University of North Carolina* has two new student-faculty committees to deal with discipline. The Hearings Committee handles cases of disruption and the Board of Inquiry advises the chancellor regarding whether there is sufficient evidence to warrant charging an individual with violations of the University policy on disruptive conduct.

The *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill* has a long tradition of student participation in University affairs. Students are members of a number of University committees, including Space Utilization, Scholarships, Awards and Student Aid, Teaching and Curriculum, Traffic and Safety, Building

and Grounds, Minorities and the Disadvantaged, Student Supply Stores, and Student Fee Structure.

At *North Carolina State University*, students have been appointed to almost every university committee in which they have an interest.

North Dakota

At *North Dakota State University* students are members of 10 Faculty Senate committees, including the Executive Committee and committees on: Academic Affairs, Educational Development, Public Events and University Relations, Research, Student Affairs, and University Athletics. The six academic colleges have students on many committees.

Ohio

At *Ohio University* this fall, students for the first time are members of 38 university committees, including executive and priorities planning committees.

Oklahoma

At *Langston University*, 50 students elected by their classes are members, along with faculty, on every standing committee.

Oregon

Students at *Oregon State University* serve with members of the faculty and administration on 32 university committees and councils. The newly-established President's Commission on Human Rights is made up of three students and six faculty members. The commission reviews all matters to violations of the human rights of members of the university community, including those which involve alleged ethnic and racial discrimination in the university's intercollegiate athletic program.

Rhode Island

At the *University of Rhode Island* students sit on most of the major committees, especially the ones relating to those aspects of university life which directly affect the student.

South Carolina

University of South Carolina students sit as full members of many joint committees such as the Student Affairs Committee, Registration Committee, Orientation Committee, Board of Student Publications and Communications, Discipline Committee, Campus Traffic Appellate Court, and Parking Committee. Students in the School of Education sit on all faculty committees in that school.

South Dakota

For many years, *South Dakota State University* has had student representation on virtually all committees.

All major committees and most minor committees, academic and non-academic, at the *University of South Dakota* have student representation. The student representatives are designated by the Student Association on invitation of the president of the University and report back to the Student Association and general student body.

Tennessee

In an effort to bring about greater student involvement in policy formulation, *Tennessee State University* has set up 12 student-faculty committees to replace 25 former committees, which were composed largely of administrators. Student committee representatives will be elected by the student body.

Students are represented on disciplinary, regulatory, and curriculum committees throughout the *University of Tennessee*. Students also serve on planning committees for student buildings, special committees to aid in the screening of candidates for administrative offices, campus speaker committees, and study groups for ROTC programs.

Texas

At the *University of Texas at Austin*, students are voting members along with faculty

of nearly all standing committees. These include committees on Admissions and Registration, Educational Policy, Parking and Traffic, Publications, Student Living Accommodations, Discipline, Financial Aid, Advisory Council on Student Affairs, and a new committee on Ethnic Minority Affairs.

Utah

At *Utah State University*, students have for many years been members of faculty and administrative committees. These committees have been reviewed recently and, where advisable, students have been added. Students have also been assigned to other committees.

Virginia

At the *University of Virginia*, students have for some years served on a few of the administrative committees, which are advisory to the president. In the spring of 1969 a total of 120 students, selected from lists submitted both by the elected student government and by individual students, were appointed by the president to 41 of the 56 administrative committees. Students now serve on committees of most of the constituent colleges.

Students serve on all major committees at *Virginia Polytechnic Institute*.

Washington

Students at *Washington State University* have served for many years as regular voting members on most university committees. They have an equal voice with faculty on the Discipline Committee and on other committees dealing primarily with student affairs.

At the *University of Washington* student members have been added to most University faculty and staff committees and student representatives have been invited to participate in discussions of the various Councils of the Faculty Senate. Students have also been named to a large number of College and Department Committees.

West Virginia

The *West Virginia University* College of Commerce has established a committee consisting of four students and four faculty members to discuss its academic program. Similar student-faculty committees have been created in the Departments of Political Science and History.

The School of Nursing has added 11 students to serve in an advisory capacity on four standing committees and has established a student-faculty board. The College of Engineering has an Engineering Council, including student representatives, which handles all major problems of concern to its students.

WVU students also serve on a variety of other committees including the Computer Center Advisory Committee, the University Program Board, the advisory boards to WWVU-TV and the West Virginia University Magazine, an advisory council to the campus activities center, the committee that recommends names for new University buildings, and special investigating committees.

Wisconsin

In recent years, the *University of Wisconsin* has increased student representation on committees which already had students and has routinely included students as members of new committees—the black studies proposal committee, for example. In almost every department, there is a conference group that listens to, and often heeds, student advice.

Wyoming

University of Wyoming students serve on committees dealing with academic standards, academic planning, curriculum and course offerings, library, cultural affairs, student services, student financial aid, and foreign student interrelations.

STUDENT PARTICIPATION ON SEARCH AND SCREENING COMMITTEES

In this section, student participation in one particular kind of committee is singled out. These are the committees that have major responsibility for recommending individuals to be appointed to high, policy-making positions on campus—from the president on down. Participation in the selection of such individuals perhaps most dramatically demonstrates the faith which state and land-grant universities have demonstrated in their students.

Alabama

Students at the *University of Alabama* have been represented on screening committees for both academic and administrative personnel. Students are represented on a committee to search for a new Law School Dean and on a screening committee to review candidates for the position of Dean of Students. Recently, student leaders were asked to select a group of students to meet with the Trustees to express their views on the selection of a new president for the University.

Arizona

The Board of Regents has included the student body president as a member of the advisory committee on the selection of a new president of *Arizona State University*.

California

At the *University of California, Davis*, both students and faculty were active on committees that chose the new chancellor, James H. Meyer.

Colorado

Student representatives from each of the various schools and colleges were appointed to serve with representatives of the faculty, staff, and alumni on a *University of Colorado* committee set up to recommend qualified candidates for the presidency of the University. As a result of recommendations to the Board of Regents, Dr. Frederick P. Thieme was appointed president, effective September 1, 1969.

At *Colorado State University*, students have been appointed to the Presidential Selection Committee, the Academic Vice-Presidential Selection Committee, and are expected to be appointed to search and screen committee for all major administrative positions.

Connecticut

University of Connecticut students have sat on search and screening committees for the major administrative positions filled within the past few years.

Georgia

A Student Advisory Council at *Georgia Institute of Technology* helped select a new president for the college.

Idaho

At the *University of Idaho* two students were appointed to the President's *ad hoc* committee assigned the responsibility of screening candidates for the position of Vice President for Academic Affairs. This committee made the final selection for recommendation to the Board of Regents. The students prepared application materials, interviewed candidates brought to the campus, and participated fully in the final selection.

Illinois

Students in the College of Medicine at the *University of Illinois at the Medical Center* have been members of every search committee for new department heads and deans for the past 18 months. Two *ad hoc* committees with significant student representation are currently advising the chancellor in the selection of key administrators. One is involved in the selection of a Vice Chancellor for Campus Affairs and the other in the selection of a Dean of Students.

Iowa

The State Board of Regents in Iowa invited a committee of four students to assist faculty and alumni in choosing a new president for the *University of Iowa*.

Kansas

At the *University of Kansas*, six students served on the Advisory Committee for the Chancellor's Selection along with six faculty members. Students also were on the committee selecting a new Dean of the School of Education and are presently serving on the search committee for a Dean of Journalism.

Kentucky

In the summer of 1968, students served in an advisory capacity to the committee which nominated the *University of Kentucky's* current president Otis Singletary for his job and are now filling a similar role in the process that will lead to the appointment of a Vice President for Student Affairs.

Maine

Students served on the committee which appointed Winthrop C. Libby as president of the *University of Maine* last April.

Massachusetts

Three of eight advisory committees that have been set up to help conduct a search for a new president for the *University of Massachusetts* are composed of students. Two are student committees from the University's Amherst campus, one from its Boston campus. Each committee is responsible for submitting its recommendations for president to the Trustee Selection Committee. Each will also be involved again after an initial screening has been carried out by the trustees.

Student advice and opinion played an important role at the *Massachusetts Institute of Technology* in its search for a Dean for Student Affairs. Student opinion is often valuable in the matter of faculty promotions.

Michigan

Clifton Wharton, Jr., the first Negro to be chosen president of a major American university, was recommended to the Board of Trustees of *Michigan State University* by a student-faculty-administration group.

At the *University of Michigan*, a student committee was one of those concerned with the selection of R. W. Fleming as president. Students were also involved in the selection of Wilbur Cohen, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, as the new Dean of the School of Education.

Wayne State University's ad hoc Committee to Advise the University on the Selection of a Vice President for Student Affairs includes five students among its nine members. The Committee was appointed by Wayne State President William R. Keast to advise him on whether the University should have a Vice President for Student Affairs and if so what criteria should be used in his selection. It was also charged with recommending candidates if it thought the office should be filled. Since the Vice President for Student Affairs is the position at the executive level in the University which most directly affects all students, President Keast strongly believes that the heavy student representation on the committee "is indicative of Wayne State University's affirmation of the value of substantial student participation in University governance."

Minnesota

Two students were included on the search and screen committee which selected President Malcolm Moos of the *University of Minnesota*. Students are also included on the search committees for the Dean of the College of Education and the Dean of the School of Business Administration.

Missouri

Student advice and opinion were solicited at the *University of Missouri, St. Louis*, in its search last year for a chancellor. A popularly-elected committee of students served in an advisory capacity to the search committee. Student opinion played an influential role in the search committee's criteria to be considered in the selection.

At the *University of Missouri, Columbia*, students participated in the selection of deans for the School of Law and the College of Arts and Science.

Montana

Students at *Montana State University* have been given the opportunity to present their views and recommendations as part of the screening process for selection of a new president.

At the *University of Montana*, students selected by the student body president have been appointed by President Pantzer to serve on the screening committee for selection of the new Dean of Students.

Nebraska

University of Nebraska students are currently serving on three major search committees, two for undergraduate college deans and the other for a new chancellor. Students also participate in the selection of professional staff in the area of student affairs.

New Hampshire

The president of the Student Senate was among the faculty-trustee-alumni members who, in the spring of 1969, served on the search committee which nominated the new president of Keene State College, a division of the *University of New Hampshire*. During 1969, students at the University of Durham were members of committees which screened and made nominations for the appointment of a new Academic Vice President and a new Dean of the College of Liberal Arts.

New Jersey

Rutgers University students have been included in the search and screen committees that recruited for positions including a Dean of Students, a Dean of the College, an Associate Dean of the College, and several assistant student personnel deans.

New Mexico

Students are members of the Criteria and Screening Committee which has been established by the Board of Regents to assist in the selection of a new president for *New Mexico State University*.

Using students on search and screen committees is a firmly-established practice at the *University of New Mexico*. Two years ago a student was on the committee that recommended a new president for the university. Students have also participated in committees searching for a Dean of Arts and Sciences, a Dean of Business, and a Dean of Nursing.

New York

Since March, 1969, students, faculty, and alumni representatives have served on all presidential search committees for chief executives of member schools of units of *The City University of New York*. Committees have chosen or are in the process of doing so presidents for Brooklyn, City, Hunter, and Kingsborough Community Colleges.

Students are now appointed as a regular matter to all search committees for new provosts and deans of the *State University of New York at Buffalo*. Committees presently in existence include those searching for a new Provost of the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, for new deans of the Schools of Law and Pharmacy, and for a new Director of Physical Education, Recreation and Athletics.

North Carolina

At the *University of North Carolina* student members have played important roles in the past year on joint committees charged with screening applicants for the positions of Director of Athletics and Director of Admissions.

North Dakota

At the *University of North Dakota*, students participated in the selection of a new college dean.

Oklahoma

In 1967, students served on the selection committee that picked J. Herbert Holloman to be president of the *University of Oklahoma*.

Oregon

Three students are currently serving as full voting members on the 16-member Board of Higher Education Search Committee for a new *Oregon State University* president. Two students served in a similar capacity on the previous presidential search committee of 1961.

Pennsylvania

Both undergraduate and graduate students served on the advisory committee of the University Senate of *The Pennsylvania State University* in the selection of a president. The committee screened the entire list of candidates, interviewed a number of them, and made its recommendations to the Selection Committee of the Board of Trustees.

Rhode Island

Students at the *University of Rhode Island* recently served on the screening committee which was searching for a Dean of Students.

South Dakota

The student body is represented on search and screening committees at the *University of South Dakota* by delegates they appoint. Students serve on all committees set up to consider candidates for academic and administrative positions.

Texas

At the *University of Houston* last year, the student body president served on an advisory committee to aid President Philip G. Hoffman select a new vice-president and dean of faculties.

At the *University of Texas at Austin*, faculty-student nominating committees are used whenever a vacancy occurs at the presidential, academic vice-presidential, or dean level. These committees always include three students as voting members and from seven to nine faculty members. Similarly-composed evaluation committees are used for deans who have served for six years.

Washington

Students served on search committees appointed by the Board of Regents during selection of the last two presidents at *Washington State University*. A Student Government committee also was asked to interview all nominees and make recommendations to the Regents.

West Virginia

West Virginia University students have been appointed to every search committee for new academic deans in recent years including committees now screening candidates for deanships of the College of Arts and Sciences, the School of Medicine, and the School of Mines.

Wisconsin

University of Wisconsin students have served on search and screen committees for major administrators.

Wyoming

Through the appointment of the student body president to the Board of Trustees, *University of Wyoming* students have input in the appointment of faculty and major administration.

SELF-STUDIES AND EVALUATIONS

As part of their continuing efforts at reform, a number of state institutions have recently been or currently are engaged in major self-studies. Many of the studies have been assigned to joint student-faculty-administration committees. These studies are producing thoughtful recommendations to serve as a basis for future action.

Alabama

Student-faculty-administrative committees are appointed frequently at the *University of Alabama* to study various matters relating to students. Examples include a Committee on the Role of the Student, a Student-Faculty Planning Council, and an *ad hoc* committee to study the registration process.

Arizona

The Faculty Senate at the *University of Arizona* recently approved, unanimously, a report of an *ad hoc* committee on the adjudication of disputes related to nonacademic activities of students. The committee, which included students among its members, devoted its time to three activities:

1. A detailed examination of policies and procedures currently in practice at the university.
2. A careful evaluation and delineation of the rights and freedoms of students at a number of institutions, including Arizona.
3. A general statement of suggested policies and procedures which the committee felt would protect the rights and freedoms of students.

Among report recommendations was a call for clearly-defined means for students to participate in the formulation and application of university policy affecting student affairs and assigned areas of academic affairs.

California

In the summer of 1969, President Charles Hitch appointed a ten-member task force to look into all facets of student participation in campus governance on the nine campuses of the *University of California*. The task force was chaired by the Executive Vice President of the University and composed of three student body presidents, three members of the campus academic senates, and three chancellors.

Connecticut

Students at the *University of Connecticut* have been voting members of numerous self-study committees during the past several years. Of particular interest during the past several months have been: The committee to study the role of the Security Division, the Housing Policy Committee, and the Joint Committee on University Placement Policies.

Delaware

Three special student-faculty-administration committees were appointed last year at the *University of Delaware* to study special aspects of student life. A Committee on Policies, Programs, and Services Affecting Blacks and Other Minority Group Students issued a report containing 25 recommendations. Of these, 13 are now being implemented, six others are accepted, and the final six have been designated for further study. The end result will be to make the University a more hospitable place for minority group students.

Florida

At *Florida State University*, a special 77-member committee has been named to look into all facets of student life. It will report to the president.

University of Florida President Stephen C. O'Connell this summer named a 30-member Advisory Council, composed equally of students, faculty, and administrators, to examine the University's policies, programs, and philosophy. Among the topics he suggested the Council might explore are campus security officers, treatment of minority groups,

drug use and control, and maintenance of campus order. The president told the Council there is no limit on the range or depth of its inquiries, studies, and action.

The Council was established to "continue the momentum and thrust" of a 75-member Action Conference formed in May 1968 which made 41 specific recommendations for change in the university. Many of the Conference's recommendations have been implemented. Others are under consideration by appropriate committees or are awaiting necessary legislative action.

Georgia

Students will serve on major committees involved in the self-study currently underway at the *University of Georgia*.

Hawaii

A Planning Task Force of students and faculty has been set up at the *University of Hawaii* to formulate program alternatives for consideration by President Harlan Cleveland. The work of the group will culminate in a "Prospectus for the 1970's"; which will be discussed by the entire university community before adoption. Similarly, when the university revised its Academic Development Plan in 1968, students participated on the ADP Committee, and public hearings were held before the plan's adoption. Students will continue to participate directly in all future planning, because the university administration believes that planning is one area in which student involvement can be most helpful and meaningful to the university.

Illinois

The College of Medicine of the *University of Illinois at The Medical Center* has received a grant from the National Fund for Medical Education to support improved student-faculty relationships. A series of evening conferences and two off-campus conferences involving equal numbers of students and faculty has been held.

Maine

A Statement on Campus Disorder is under discussion by both the Faculty Council and the Student Senate at the *University of Maine*. Included in the statement is a review of all University policies involving student rights and discipline. In addition to the Disciplinary Code, policies under discussion are the Free Speech and Assembly Policy, adopted in 1967, and the Open Campus Policy (Job Recruiting).

Maryland

President Wilson H. Elkins of the *University of Maryland* at a University Faculty Assembly in September asked each department of the university to "engage in self-examination and to answer the pertinent questions that are being raised by reasonable people." He asked the committees of the Faculty Senate to direct their attention to issues like a "thorough study of the courses required of all students." He also asked consideration of the question of student involvement in academic governance at institutional, college, and departmental levels.

Massachusetts

At the *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, a Commission on Education has been recently set up to chart the role which the Institute should play in education, research, and service to society in the years ahead. Students play a valuable role on this key committee.

Students were represented and participated in advisory committees that directed a recently completed extensive study of the *University of Massachusetts'* organization.

Michigan

Last year, the *Wayne State University* Student-Faculty Council convened a Commission on Student Government (composed entirely of students) to study the role of students in all aspects of university governance.

The Commission report will be completed later in this academic year.

The *University of Michigan* community is in the process of reviewing and changing student participation in University affairs. Many students and faculty at the University have devoted hundreds of hours toward planning an improved method of student responsibility. Pending agreement on a new system of rule-making and judicial procedures, the student government and the individual schools and colleges have adopted interim regulations.

Minnesota

Last year, faculty-student Task Forces at the *University of Minnesota* made recommendations on the following issues: placement services, campus demonstrations, and student representation on the University Senate. At present there is a faculty-student committee reviewing the role of ROTC on campus. In addition, a faculty-student study committee is re-defining the relationship between the student and the institution as well as reviewing and evaluating current student affairs functions.

Montana

A student-faculty committee at *Montana State University* has developed a Student Bill of Rights. It is currently continuing the study and revision of the Associated Students Constitution and By-laws. Student, faculty, and administration are participating jointly in a study-discussion of current and proposed methods of evaluating instruction.

New Hampshire

Student participation—through residence hall seminars and more formal "open hearings"—in a two-year-long evaluation of the *University of New Hampshire's* educational objectives, philosophy, and curriculum stimulated undergraduate student interest in the implementation of a blue-ribbon committee's Educational Policies Report. Begun in 1968, changes based on report recommendations are still underway today. Recommendations for university-wide improvement of general education studies, for experimental programs in life studies, and for a major curriculum change which has established the four-course-per-semester pattern at the state university resulted from this committee's report. Students have also been named to serve on departmental committees with faculty so that they may have a direct voice and hand in shaping the University's academic programs.

New Jersey

Rutgers University reports student involvement in evaluative processes dating back to 1964. In that year, a self-study of the university student personnel program was undertaken with evaluations submitted independently for the several campuses by the student personnel staff, a faculty committee, and a student committee. Also at Rutgers, faculty and course evaluations have been undertaken and published by several of the student governments within the university for the past three years.

New Mexico

Responding to a recommendation this summer of a Committee on the University, the *University of New Mexico* Regents have recently approved the establishment of an all-University constitutional committee to "improve campus governance" at the University. The Committee will consist of six faculty members, six students, four administrators, and three alumni.

For the fourth year, *University of New Mexico* students are evaluating teachers who have indicated willingness to be evaluated. The results of the evaluation are published each time and made available to students. Last year, as the result of student and faculty interest, classes were dismissed for a day of "All University Dialogue." The results of

these conversations were published and many of the suggested reforms are already being put into effect. Recommendations pertained to university goals and responsibilities, entrance and degree requirements, the role of students, and evaluation of teaching, advising, and counseling.

New York

For two weeks last winter, members of the University Community at the *State University of New York at Buffalo* participated in the most extensive self-examination in the history of the university. Teach-ins were sponsored by all faculties and schools and by most academic departments. Among the issues covered were the nature and structuring of academic programs, the recruitment and retention of faculty; the relationship between the University and non-University agencies; and the University governance. The formation of a number of student-faculty study committees both preceded and followed the self-examining period.

In October, 1968, normal activity was suspended for three days at the *State University of New York at Stony Brook* for an intensive self-study by the entire university community. As a result of the conference, a commission, composed of students, faculty, and staff was set up to conduct a revision of university governance. Committees were also set up to conduct an intensive review of the curriculum.

Research groups were set up by the Constituent Assembly of *Cornell University* to delve into 11 topics pertinent to the governance of the university during the summer of 1969. Among topics studied were black studies, problems of racism and minority groups on campus, the university code and adjudicatory system, and academic freedom.

In accordance with the State Education Law, *The City University of New York* prepares a "Master Plan of the Board of Higher Education of the City of New York" for submission to the Governor and the New York State Board of Regents. The Master Plan reflects the coordinated planning activities of faculty-student committees at each of the 17 CUNY colleges as well as the planning efforts of the college administrations and the Board of Higher Education. The Master Plan, which is prepared every four years with annual revisions, is a major document of self-study which examines and evaluates the university's policies and activities and the higher education needs of New York City. Public hearings—one for faculty, students, and staff of the university and one for the general public—are held before the Master Plan is finally adopted by the Board of Higher Education.

North Carolina

Thirteen sub-committees, several of which included student members, have recently completed a two-year study on the future of the *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*. Work is underway on a study of the place and role of the ROTC on campus, with students participating.

Ohio

At *Miami University* a student-faculty-administration Commission on Student Participation in University Life has presented its final report to President Phillip R. Shriver. The group proposed the creation of a new government structure. It also asked extensive re-examination of academic requirements, improvements in communication, elimination of "red tape," and greater attention to "introduction of programs of particular relevance to black students and to women students." The report is to be distributed to the University Senate, Student Senate, and Board of Trustees and will be channeled to appropriate subcommittees for further consideration.

At *Ohio University* this year six special task forces, composed of faculty, students,

and administration representatives will review and assess the program and operations of the University. Areas included in the task force assignments are academic goals and priorities, student life, budget goals and procedures, university resources, university services, and university facilities. In addition, a president's advisory council, including students, faculty, and administrators, has been appointed.

Oregon

At *Oregon State University* the Faculty Senate has recently established a committee on Minority and Special Services Programs, charged with evaluating all aspects of the university's program for students of minority groups and others needing special tutorial and counseling assistance. Three students, selected by the student government organization (ASOSU), serve on this 10-member committee which acts as an advisory group to the University's Director of Minority and Special Services Programs. The committee will also develop additional activities and programs to discharge the university's commitment to increasing the enrollment and facilitating the academic progress of students of minority groups.

The University's Commission on University Goals, which is charged with evaluating the broad objectives and long-range goals of the university, its organizational structure, and methods of operation, and with recommending measures to effect the achievement of these goals, is relying heavily on suggestions and ideas actively solicited (and received) from individual students and from the university's student government organizations.

Pennsylvania

This past summer, eight students agreed to accept employment at *The Pennsylvania State University* to study the workings of institutional machinery. Their work was done in connection with a special student-faculty-administration commission appointed last June to examine the University's policies and procedures. The students met frequently with the faculty and administrative members of the commission to discuss their findings and lay out new lines of approach. The commission will ultimately prepare concrete recommendations for changes in the University.

South Carolina

The University of South Carolina is presently undergoing a self-study in connection with reaccreditation. Students are members of every committee engaged in this self-study.

South Dakota

The University of South Dakota and the Office of the Commissioner for Higher Education in South Dakota are in the process of comprehensive self-evaluative studies in which students are directly participating.

Washington

At *Washington State University*, 16 study councils, made up of students, faculty, and administrators, recently completed a comprehensive analysis of the educational objectives of the institution.

West Virginia

A special committee of nine students, nine faculty members, and a representative of the President's Office has been appointed at *West Virginia University* to study the desirability and feasibility of a University Constitution.

Wisconsin

As the result of a study in which students, faculty, and administration participated, the Regents of the *University of Wisconsin* in 1968 issued a report on "The University of Wisconsin of the Future." Since this report, the various campuses of the University have been involved in long-range planning to establish the future goals of each campus.

Wyoming

A special student-faculty-administration committee has been appointed at the *University of Wyoming* to study and make recommendations on aspects of student life as related to minority groups.

COMMUNICATION AND CONSULTATION WITH STUDENTS

In addition to involving students in the bodies that make campus decisions, many universities have been making special efforts to keep open the regular channels of communication with students. Through effective communications, faculty, administrators, and students share and act on matters of mutual concern, thus preventing divisive campus issues. Some examples of the specific mechanisms adopted on state and land-grant universal campuses to facilitate and encourage student-faculty and student-administration communication follow.

Alabama

At the *University of Alabama*, Student Government officials meet regularly with various officials, including the President, A Student Life Committee, composed of students, faculty, and administrators, meets every two weeks to consider matters relating to student activities.

California

A 29-member statewide President's Student Advisory Council, composed of student representatives from all nine campuses of the *University of California*, was set up last March by President Charles Hitch. The group meets quarterly with the president to discuss a broad range of topics. The agenda is composed of items originated by the President's staff and by the student representatives.

Colorado

To improve communications between all segments of the campus, *Colorado State University*, under the leadership of its new president, has established a University Forum. The Forum consists of all academic deans, principal university administrative officers, faculty government representatives and ten student leaders. They come together regularly to exchange information, to discuss university problems, goals, and programs, and to propose action. The forum is not considered a policy or decision-making body. In addition, the president consults frequently with student leaders on proposed policies that affect students.

Connecticut

In addition to standing committees such as Student University Relations, at the *University of Connecticut* special briefing sessions are held after each meeting of the University (faculty) Senate and of the Board of Trustees, at which the president and the provost report to student government leadership on the business carried out by those bodies. Each Friday afternoon, the president or the provost is available for two hours in the Student Union Building, for a session of mutual information, criticism, and suggestion, open to all students on a walk-in basis.

Delaware

At the *University of Delaware*, two student groups have been established to meet monthly with the president—a President's Undergraduate Cabinet and Graduate Student Cabinet.

Also in Delaware, the General Assembly of the state passed a joint resolution commending the efforts of University of Delaware President Trabant to avoid confrontations. He spent much time night and day last year talking with students, resulting in a better understanding at the end of the 1968-1969 academic year.

Delaware State College this year says its policy is to listen to the students and try to meet reasonable demands.

Florida

The *University of Florida* Administrative Council was reorganized last spring to include three faculty and three student members. The Council's primary function is to be a channel of communications between the president and other council members with respect to matters of general university concern. It serves in an advisory capacity to the president, rather than as a policy-making body. It provides a vehicle for consideration of and reaction to policies brought before it by the president or others of its membership.

Florida State University last year used a \$15,000 Danforth Foundation grant to help promote a series of off-campus student-faculty colloquia for informal discussions.

Georgia

The Board of Regents of the *University System of Georgia* authorized the establishment of a Student Advisory Council composed of the presidents of the Student Government Associations of the several institutions which comprise the system. The Council meets quarterly and advises the chancellor, his staff, and members of the Board of Regents on problems relating to the welfare of the students in the University System.

A Student Advisory Council at the *Georgia Institute of Technology* functions to relay information between students and the president.

Every major administrative official at the *University of Georgia* has a student counterpart within the framework of the Student Government Association. These counterparts meet on a regular basis with the administrative officials. For example, the Student Minister on Academic Affairs meets with the Vice President for Instruction on a weekly basis.

Hawaii

The "President's Round Table" at the *University of Hawaii* has brought students from 14 leading campus organizations to meet with the president and his central staff over the past few years.

Since assuming office in early September, President Harlan Cleveland has personally met with all the student leadership groups on campus and has endeavored to establish communication with students of widely differing political persuasions.

Idaho

At the *University of Idaho* there is currently considerable dialogue between the administration and the student body executive board concerning financial problems the University faces and the possible need for adjustment in student fees. Students are being given the opportunity to question the administration about the degree of need and to seek solutions more to their liking than a fee increase.

This same sort of administration-student dialogue is evident in the preliminary planning and design stages for the construction of a new athletic complex. Last year, the Athletic Complex Committee was composed of both students and faculty; this year, the University's architectural planner is working closely with interested students in determining exactly what kind of facilities should be built, how much money should be spent, and where the money should come from.

The *University of Idaho* planned a weekend retreat last year to sound out all campus voices in informal discussions concerning university matters.

Also at the *University of Idaho* last spring, two days after a campus address by Thomas Hayden, a co-founder of SDS, 4,500 University students gathered in torrents of rain before the house of President Ernest W. Hartung to express their support for him and his policies.

Illinois

At *Southern Illinois University* last year, an open forum was established to allow stu-

dents to discuss grievances openly with the Dean of Students and the student body president. A student advisory group has been set up to meet with each school or college to discuss and consider the academic program, curriculum, student relations, and faculty matters.

The chancellor of the *University of Illinois at Chicago Circle* has instituted a series of monthly open forums in which he meets with any students who are interested in learning his position on topics of current interest or who may wish to make their opinions known to him. A Chancellor's Press Conference is also held monthly, for the benefit of the student press.

Vice Chancellors at *Chicago Circle* have organized a student advisory committee, made up of representatives from the various student advisory boards serving the colleges. Students meet weekly with the two vice chancellors to exchange information and to communicate the ideas of the members of the college advisory groups.

At the *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*, for the past two years the chancellor has had informal "Chancellor's Chats," in which he visits the various housing units and has informal question-and-answer sessions with students. He also holds luncheons and other meetings with student leaders to enable frank and open discussions on matters of current interest and concern.

By action of the Senate, each academic department at the *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign* has established a grading review committee to which any student who feels that his work has been unfairly marked may appeal his case.

In the College of Medicine at the *University of Illinois at The Medical Center*, the dean meets regularly with the presidents of the various classes and the leaders of student government. During the past school year, he also held a series of open meetings to which all students and faculty were invited.

Indiana

The *Purdue University* Office of Public Communication this year is publishing a four-page weekly newsletter for Purdue students. It includes a calendar of events and factual information about university policies, procedures, and developments.

In addition to campus-wide committees, *Purdue University's* separate schools have provision for the inclusion of student opinions and suggestions regarding nearly every aspect of their program, including curricula. In the School of Humanities, Social Science, and Education, for example, three students sit on the educational policy committee and 15 are members of the student advisory council. All divisions in the School either have students as members of their advisory committees or are contemplating opening more committees to undergraduates.

Representatives from each undergraduate class, from the graduate class, and from various student organizations comprise the student council of the *Purdue School of Pharmacy and Pharmaceutical Science*, a group which meets monthly with the dean, his administrative assistant, and invited faculty members to discuss operation of the school.

Iowa

At *Iowa State University*, there are open meetings at which students may discuss problems with the Vice President for Student Affairs or other persons within his organization. This vice president has also appointed a committee of students to advise him on matters of governance and the Dean of Students has an advisory committee made up of students.

Kansas

Kansas State University's Faculty Senate this fall is opening its meetings to all persons who wish to attend, subject only to space limitations. The Senate meets monthly

to consider matters of direct faculty responsibility, such as courses, curricula, and degree awards. It also makes recommendations to the administration concerning other university matters.

The Chancellor, Dean of Faculties, and Dean of Student Affairs at the *University of Kansas* meet weekly with student leaders to discuss problems.

Maine

The *University of Maine's* new President Winthrop C. Libby has suggested that instead of a formal inauguration ceremony for himself, the university devote two days this winter to a forum broadly considering university problems. Terming this academic year as "The Year of the Mission," Libby has challenged the Maine faculty to strive for an understanding of the needs and objectives of students and for the establishment of an atmosphere of mutual respect between the component parts of the university community.

Massachusetts

The Publications Office of the *Massachusetts Institute of Technology* issues an Institute Report at frequent intervals, describing recent developments on campus to all members of the M.I.T. community. The president has set aside every Friday afternoon for an informal question-and-answer period with all interested students. Symposia dealing with crucial issues on the campus and in the nation, arranged by students, have brought about increased contacts between faculty and students.

During a recent campus disturbance, students set up an Information Center which monitored developments for the whole M.I.T. community, and, in addition, an oral report was issued twice a day by the associate provost. Almost daily faculty meetings, with students present, were also used to keep everyone informed and to open up channels for discussion of the issues involved in the disruption.

Michigan

To keep students better informed about services offered by the Student Affairs Offices, a new official publication, *Campus Comment*, has been started this year at the *University of Michigan*.

At the *University of Michigan*, all University vice presidents, all student service administrators, and some other administrative officers have student advisory committees.

In order to enhance communication and consultation with students, President William R. Keast of *Wayne State University* recently hired a student activist, who is a recent graduate of the university, as a special assistant. A recent graduate of the *Wayne State University Law School*, his particular responsibilities will emphasize communication between the general student body and the president's office.

Minnesota

For twenty years, quarterly meetings have been held between student leaders, faculty, and top administrators of the *University of Minnesota* to discuss current campus issues. These meetings are informal and "off-the-record." They are held at the home of the university president or vice president or at an off-campus location selected by students. Following the University's Consultation Policy, every effort is made to consult with students or student organizations which may be affected by a proposed policy or action.

Mississippi

The president of *Mississippi State University* meets weekly with the president of the University's Student Association to keep channels of communication open. The Division of Student Affairs, the faculty, and the president's office all make special efforts to keep channels of communication open.

At the *University of Mississippi* the chancellor and his top administrative officers meet monthly with student leaders.

Missouri

Students from all four campuses of the *University of Missouri* serve on an Intercampus Student Council which meets regularly with University President John Weaver to exchange ideas. The president of the University's Board of Curators has also expressed his willingness to meet with students and sit with the Council in order that the student attitudes may be directly transmitted to the University's governing board.

Fourteen of the 15 academic divisions at the *University of Missouri, Columbia*, now have some form of student advisory group. Seven divisions formed student advisory councils whose members are selected by students of the division.

At the *University of Missouri's School of Veterinary Medicine*, the dean, associate dean, class officers, and organization leaders hold noonday box-lunch sessions several times a semester.

Students at the College of Arts and Sciences at the *University of Missouri, St. Louis*, have opened a direct channel of communication between themselves and members of the college's administration and faculty. They formed an "Articulation Committee" last winter, composed of representatives from the three segments of the community and intended to serve as an open forum for the discussion of all aspects of the college's activities.

At the *University of Missouri, St. Louis*, a student representative body, the Central Council, attempts to keep the administration and faculty informed of student opinion and views. It also attempts to function as a grievance committee in handling student complaints.

Members of the Council representing a cross-section of the student body are invited to meet regularly with the chancellor to keep him informed of student concerns and to serve as a sounding board for student opinion.

At the *University of Missouri, St. Louis*, the Office of Student Affairs not only maintains an "open door" policy encouraging frequent meetings with students to permit a two-way flow of information, but also actively solicits student opinion through student surveys and opinion-seeking student censuses.

Montana

Ever since 1951, presidents of the *Montana State University* have held roundtable meetings with the students to discuss problems, solutions, and student desires.

Earlier this fall, *Montana State University* scheduled a two-day conference on university governance for a small group of students, faculty, and administrators. The conference was planned to review existing patterns at the University, discuss their strengths and weaknesses, consider theories of leading authorities, and examine alternative patterns.

At the *University of Montana*, in addition to the president's "open door" policy, which results in frequent consultation with student body officers, a Student Facilities Council, composed of eight students and eight representatives of the administration with equal voting and discussion rights, has been established. The Council has been charged with the responsibility of reviewing and making recommendations for all student facilities, including recreational facilities, housing, and food operations, as well as acting as an interface between students and administrators for discussion and recommendations relative to any concern expressed by any member of the Council or any student desiring to bring a matter before the Council.

Nevada

At the *University of Nevada, Reno*, students and student leaders meet periodically with the president, Dean of Students, and faculty on matters of mutual concern.

Comments UNR President N. Edd Miller, "The University of Nevada has been fortunate that no disruptions or violence have occurred on campus. Some of the factors contributing to this are the 'open door' policy of the administration, a student government that utilizes its freedoms with responsibility, and a genuine recognition that students are mature members of the University community and should be active participants in the decision-making process of the University."

New Hampshire

Student-Administration-Faculty (SAF) luncheons are convened monthly by the president of the *University of New Hampshire* to provide student leaders (including the editor of the undergraduate newspaper, the student radio station manager, the heads of various campus organizations, and other representative students) opportunity to discuss policies and issues informally with vice presidents and deans responsible for all phases of the University's academic, administrative, and financial operations.

A tradition at the University is that the door to the President's Office is always open to a student as are all meetings of the University Senate. All members of the faculty and staff and a significant number of students also receive the minutes of all Senate meetings, in addition to campus press coverage of such meetings.

New Jersey

Rutgers University reports major steps forward in the past two years in the reduction of campus communication problems. As an example, classes have been suspended on several occasions to provide time for all members of the academic community to participate in jointly-planned relevant workshops.

New Mexico

University of New Mexico President Ferrell Heady has appointed a special advisory committee to serve as "counsel" to him during times of "crises" while a new all-university constitution is being written this year.

New York

The Board of Higher Education of the *City University of New York* held hearings on the proposed 1969-70 operating budget, to which they invited faculty, students, and the public to present their views. Similar hearings were held before the Board drafted its new open admissions policy.

Presidents of many CUNY colleges have student-faculty-administrative "cabinets" which they consult regularly. Several colleges have also held conferences and weekend retreats where faculty, students, and administrators can exchange views in an informal setting.

Last year, the *State University of New York* initiated an experimental Student Cabinet, composed of the heads of student governments from 22 of the SUNY campuses who met regularly with SUNY's chancellor. The Cabinet was designed to promote constructive student involvement in university-wide programs.

Early in September 1969, the *Cornell University* Board of Trustees formally received the report of a trustee committee on campus unrest and voted to give "highest priority" to the report's recommendations. The report concluded that the University must make positive moves toward preserving order, defining and enforcing academic freedom, helping the community understand programs for black students, and communicating its goals both inside and outside the university.

At *Cornell University* this fall, an official weekly newspaper of record entitled the

Cornell Chronicle to provide detailed information about university matters has begun publication. The *Chronicle* is published by the Office of Public Information.

The "Cornell in Perspective" Program, which has been operating for several years at the University, brings together groups of students and top administrators of the university in day-long sessions aimed at improving communications between the two groups.

North Carolina

For some years at *North Carolina State University*, student representatives from Student Government, student news media, Graduate Students' Association, and international students have met with Chancellor John T. Caldwell, the provost, the business manager, and representatives of the Faculty Senate and the Division of Student Affairs in an effort to improve knowledge on matters of concern.

Meetings of the faculty's Legislative Council at the *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill* have recently been declared open to students and others.

The chancellor holds regular semi-monthly meetings with the president of the Student Body (and members of their respective staffs) to consider matters of common interest and concern.

Plans are nearing completion for the establishment of a University Consultative Council to include equal membership representation from students, faculty, non-academic employees, trustees, and alumni.

A new bi-monthly information sheet called "Steele Filings," containing general information for students, is now being published by the Deans of Men and Women.

North Dakota

The Bison Board was initiated at *North Dakota State University* to point out issues of concern, clarify issues, and exchange ideas in non-structured sessions involving the administration and students. Membership includes the president of the university, the three vice presidents, the Dean of Students, and 12 student leaders.

Ohio

A fruitful dialogue has been established between faculty members and deans who meet regularly with a group of Negro students at *Miami University of Ohio*.

Oklahoma

At *Langston University* the university president once a month chairs an informal open meeting of the University Council. The Council is composed of 25 members of the Faculty Senate and the 50 students who serve on standing committees. Council meetings take up problems or concerns which have not been resolved first at appropriate committee meetings. All members of the faculty and student body may attend these meetings and participate fully in the discussions.

In addition, every Thursday afternoon is "open house" in the president's office. Students are free to call on the president at any time, but on "open house" days students do not even need to have any special business to transact.

Oregon

An indication of improved communications between students and faculty at *Oregon State University* is the formation of the joint Student-Faculty Council on Academic Affairs in 1967. In February 1969, a Student-Faculty Conference was held at Salishan, providing an additional forum for discussion.

Pennsylvania

Acting on the recommendations of Theodore W. Kheel, prominent New York City mediator, *Pennsylvania State University* President Eric A. Walker last spring announced the establishment of an Office for Student Discussions. The Office was set up to deal with problems affecting groups of stu-

dents, faculty, or administrators. It is intended to contribute to a climate of open discussion among students, faculty, and the administration.

Rhode Island

At the *University of Rhode Island*, the president invites groups of students to dinner at his home once a month. The Vice President for Student Affairs has breakfast with various groups of students two or three times per month in order to exchange ideas and get the pulse of the campus.

South Carolina

At the *University of South Carolina*, the Student-Faculty Relations Committee, consisting of three administrators (including the president), four faculty, and ten students, meets at frequent intervals to discuss problems of mutual interest. Additionally, the Vice President for Student Affairs and the Assistant Vice President meet periodically with the Student Government Cabinet.

South Dakota

Weekly meetings are scheduled by the president of the *University of South Dakota* with the Student Body president and the editor of the student newspaper. Open forums have also been offered for informal discussion between students and key administrative officers.

Administrators at *South Dakota State University* continually discuss all matters and problems with students.

Tennessee

The *University of Tennessee* scheduled a major conference on the topic of campus reform this fall where students, faculty, and administrators were to discuss openly and frankly ways to bring about better relationships among all groups of the University community.

At *Tennessee State University* President Andrew P. Torrence and other administrative officers regularly schedule small group meetings of students and larger group meetings in residence halls.

Texas

University of Texas at Austin officials who have planned ways for dealing with unrest, should it occur, are working with student leaders to keep all lines of communication open in hopes of avoiding any trouble.

University of Texas at Austin President Norman Hackerman last year answered questions on a broad range of topics of concern to students on a weekly radio show. More than 75 students appeared on the show with the president and other administrators during the year. The show was broadcast weekly on 30 radio stations in Texas and nearby Louisiana.

Dr. Bryce Jordan, Vice President for Student Affairs at the university, has initiated a series of informal coffees with university students to hear problems and discuss university life in general. Each week approximately 250 students are selected at random from the student directory and are invited to the coffee session.

At the *University of Houston*, a University information team was named by President Philip Hoffman to provide factual information and deal with communications problems encountered by student organizations.

Utah

Utah State University has set up a "House of Critics," consisting of students and new administration leaders who meet regularly to discuss campus issues.

At the *University of Utah* last year, a "Council of 20" was formed with student leaders, administrators, and faculty members to air critical campus issues.

Vermont

At the *University of Vermont*, top administrators discuss with the officers of the Student Association the problems and projects

they are considering and indicate how they may be able to help resolve them. The students, in turn, come to the administration to point out areas of disagreement or confusion that may exist.

The *University of Vermont* scheduled this fall a Forum in which President Lyman S. Rowell and the Student Association president, along with three other students and faculty members, were to go before students and faculty to answer questions about policies and procedures in an attempt to further understanding of university operation.

Virginia

Each September, *Virginia Polytechnic Institute* holds a conference for 150 student leaders. Students are briefed as completely as possible on activities and programs for the coming year and bring up their own problems and questions. VPI officials regard this "give and take" atmosphere as most important.

The president of the *University of Virginia* and Dean of Student Affairs meet regularly with elected student leaders. In September, 1968, and again in September, 1969, about 30 student leaders met with the president, deans, and senior administrators and faculty members for uninhibited discussions and informal meals during two days and nights at the university's isolated mountain biological station.

Washington

At *Washington State University* President Glenn Terrell holds open fireside chats with students and faculty bi-weekly in a central student lounge. He also schedules regular lunch and dinner meetings with groups of students, drops in unannounced to eat at various dining halls, and maintains an "open-door" policy for his office and those of other top administrators. Student input received is given serious consideration in making decisions affecting them.

West Virginia

At *West Virginia University*, the president meets regularly with student leaders and gives appointments to students who want to see him. An adviser to black students was appointed in 1969.

Wyoming

University of Wyoming President William D. Carlson, deans, administrators, and trustees meet regularly with students to discuss matters of concern informally. The Office of Student Affairs and the Division of Communications Services cooperate in publishing a newsletter for UW students which includes factual information about university policies, procedures, and developments.

STUDENT INVOLVEMENT WITH BOARDS OF TRUSTEES

In this section are singled out examples of specific steps taken in recent years to improve student communication with university trustees, who have the ultimate responsibility for university governance. In general, there has been relatively little student-trustee interaction over the years and the steps cited here represent pioneering efforts in this area. In a few instances, students now are even members of the board of trustees.

California

The *University of California* Regents have provided that at all open meetings of the Regents' Committees on Educational Policy, Finance, and Grounds and Buildings, student body presidents and members of the Academic Council of the Academic Senate be permitted to request recognition to speak on agenda items. This procedure will be subject to review on or after June 30, 1970.

The Regents also agreed that individuals or organizations may appear before the Board with its permission, provided that at public meetings of the Board, one of the committee chairmen or the University president may request that specific student body presi-

dents and/or members of the Academic Council be allowed to speak on those agenda items in which students and/or faculty, in previous committee meetings, have indicated an interest.

Colorado

Occasional contacts between student leaders and *Colorado State University* Governing Board members are arranged, usually in connection with regular monthly Board meetings. The student body president is invited to attend Board meetings.

Connecticut

The *University of Connecticut* Board of Trustees now has a student member with full voting rights, appointed by the Governor. The student member will serve until June 30, 1972. He is a law student who was president of the Associated Student Government of the University while an undergraduate.

Student leadership at the University sits on the Trustee-Administration-Faculty-Student Committee, a joint group which meets regularly to ensure communication among these four principle bodies concerning major current university issues. These meetings serve as briefing sessions for the several representatives, and as a device for constructing agenda for the several bodies. Representatives of student groups are frequently invited to appear at meetings of the Board of Trustees to comment on matters of interest.

Florida

A Council of Student Body Presidents for Florida's seven state universities was formulated by the *University of Florida* student body president in 1967. This Council has been recognized by the Board of Regents for Higher Education in Florida and is frequently consulted on issues.

Indiana

At *Purdue University* this year, an invitation has been extended to the president of the student body to attend all meetings of the Board of Trustees with all the privileges of any member of the administrative staff. He receives in advance a copy of the trustees' agenda and may comment on any issue.

Kentucky

Student representation on governing boards of colleges and universities was pioneered at the *University of Kentucky* in 1968. The Student member of the Kentucky board is a non-voting member.

Maine

The *University of Maine* Board of Trustees now has one member who graduated from the University in June, 1969. He was appointed in May, 1969, while a senior at the University.

Massachusetts

Massachusetts recently became the first state to pass a law giving students a voting membership on state college and university governing boards, including the board of the *University of Massachusetts*.

The Corporation of *Massachusetts Institute of Technology* has set up a Trustees Committee consisting of Corporation members, faculty, and students for the purpose of considering issues of general interest to the academic community. At the quarterly meetings of the Corporation, it is common to call on student committees for reports on critical issues. In order to obtain a better picture of student affairs, young alumni have been recently appointed to the Corporation.

Michigan

Regents of the *University of Michigan* have initiated a monthly student-faculty meeting to discuss items of mutual concern in an informal setting. These meetings supplement a formal hearing process which is used by the Regents for a number of controversial issues under consideration by the body.

Minnesota

The student body presidents of all campuses of the *University of Minnesota* meet periodically with members of the Board of Regents on an informal basis. They also attend the regular meetings of the Board. Each year, a Student Affairs Seminar is held by the Regents at which time various students, representing many points of view, are able to discuss their concerns and activities.

Montana

At the *University of Montana*, President Pantzer has frequently represented the students in expressing their concerns to the State Board of Regents and has been instrumental in obtaining audience for the students themselves before that body. The Regents themselves have expressed an affirmative concern that this avenue of communication be maintained and the Governor of the State of Montana has appointed a committee comprised of members of the Board of Regents for the purpose of enhancing Board communication with students.

Lines of communication have been set up between students and the Board of Regents of *Montana State University*. Students are allowed personal audiences before the Board.

New Hampshire

Faculty and student representatives from the campuses of the *University of New Hampshire* and the State Colleges at Keene and Plymouth attend the monthly meetings of the University's Board of Trustees, receiving agenda materials in advance of the meetings. They have the privilege of speaking to matters under consideration by the Board. In January, 1970, the Board will be host to 35 campus leaders at its monthly luncheon, engaging in informal discussion of trustee-student roles in campus policy-making. Several of the Board's standing committees regularly invite student participation when policies are being considered which have a direct bearing on student interests and concerns.

New Jersey

Since the establishment of the Board of Governors, *Rutgers University* regulations have provided that the monthly meetings of the Board be open. Students have had access to the Board on many occasions. At times, students have requested that items be included on the Board's agenda. On other occasions, the Board has requested that students be present, and there have been special meetings of the Board which have focused completely upon student concerns.

New Mexico

In November 1968, the Board of Regents of *New Mexico State University* established the University Community Council to be a sounding agency for the Board. One of the Council's four members is the president of the Associated Students.

A pattern of student attendance at meetings of the Board of Regents has been established at the *University of New Mexico*. Regents spend much time listening to and deliberating over problems brought to them by students.

New York

Ezra Cornell, a senior at *Cornell University* and oldest lineal male descendant of the university's founder, took his traditional place on the University Board of Trustees following his twenty-first birthday in November. He became the first student member of the Board.

In addition, there has been substantial effort during the past three years to increase communication and understanding between the trustees and the student body. When attending meetings in Ithaca, trustees have met and dined with groups of students. At one of their most recent meetings in New York City, they invited over 100 students to

dine with members of the Board. Several receptions have also brought the two groups together.

Using funds from a special gift, this summer a *Cornell University* Trustee committee engaged a professional independent survey organization to sample attitudes of faculty, administrators, students, and alumni on "issues of major importance in planning for Cornell in the days and years to come." These issues include student unrest and dissent, black students and race relations at Cornell, the basic purpose of Cornell as a university, academic freedom, the role of the faculty, and restructuring of the University. The survey was part of the committee's desire to listen to campus opinion.

The chairman of the Student Advisory at *The City University of New York* attends all meetings of the Board of Higher Education. Students have also attended all meetings of the Board of Higher Education's Law Committee, which has been discussing and drafting policy in the areas of academic due process, student rights and responsibilities, and confidentiality of student records. Students have also been represented at all meetings of the Board's Committee on Expanded Educational Opportunity.

Mayor John Lindsay recently appointed two young alumni to the Board "in harmony with the course already set by the Board and Chancellor Bowker to make governance of the university more responsive and relevant to the need of New York's youth."

North Carolina

Trustees of the *University of North Carolina* have expressed their willingness to hear spokesmen from the student body at their regularly scheduled meetings. The Visting Committee of the Board visits the campus every other year to provide members of the faculty, staff, and student body an opportunity to voice their concerns.

Oregon

Largely through the efforts of the president of the *Oregon State University* Student Government Organization (ASOSU) and with the support of the University's executive office, an Interinstitutional Union of Students has been formed (subject to ratification by the institutions' student bodies) to represent the students and student government groups at each institution governed by the Oregon Board of Higher Education. Its purpose is to present to the Board, its members and officers, to the legislature, and to the Governor, student views on all pertinent issues which affect the student both as a participant in the state's system of higher education and as a citizen of the state. The ASOSU president has also proposed to the Governor the appointment of a student to the nine-member State Board.

Pennsylvania

The Board of Trustees of *The Pennsylvania State University* will consider (at its January, 1970 meeting) a proposal that three students be added to the Board of Trustees as ex officio members with full voting powers. The students would be the presidents of the Undergraduate Student Government, the Graduate Student Association, and the Organization of Student Government Association, which represents students on Penn State's Commonwealth campuses.

Rhode Island

University of Rhode Island students have been invited to attend meetings of the Board of Trustees and address the group on a number of occasions.

South Carolina

A Trustee-Student Liaison Committee for the *University of South Carolina*, consisting of three trustees and three students (appointed by the Student Body president), has been set up and meets periodically. Addi-

tionally, a student sits with the University's Board of Trustees.

The Board of Trustees of *Clemson University* has approved a policy providing for a dinner meeting of representative students and the Board at least once a year. Students invited to participate will be selected by the university president. The trustees feel that this will provide a chance for free and uninhibited discussion of the various problems and interests with which the students and the Trustees are mutually concerned.

South Dakota

The Regents of Education, the governing body of South Dakota's institutions of higher education, permit students to meet with them by special request.

Tennessee

The president of the *University of Tennessee* Student Government Association is invited to attend all meetings of the Board of Trustees. Students also meet regularly with the Board's Committee on Student Affairs and have floor privileges.

Vermont

At the *University of Vermont*, nominations have been received for student members to serve on trustee committees with full right of discussion. In this way, ten students are involved. The institution feels the student service on committees gives the student a far greater voice in institutional management than would be the case if only one student were serving on the Board of Trustees.

Also at the *University of Vermont*, a committee of trustees has been organized to study possible restructuring of the University's Board of Trustees. In authorizing the committee, trustees indicated that it would seek student and faculty opinion. The committee was created in response to a request by a group of about 500 students, faculty, and staff that the Board restructure its membership to include student and faculty representation. The committee is expected to report in December.

Virginia

This year the principal elected student leaders at the *University of Virginia* have been invited to present their views at regular meetings of the student activities and athletic committees of the Board of Visitors.

Washington

The *University of Washington* has two non-voting student representatives on its Board of Regents.

Last December, the University of Washington Regents announced a series of steps to assure more direct and continuous contact with students, faculty, and staff. The Board instituted a continuous series of on-campus sessions with students and other groups. It also began a series of longer, overnight meetings in an informal setting with students, faculty, and staff, at which university policies along with suggestions for change would be discussed.

Student officers regularly attend Board of Regents' meetings at *Washington State University* as observers and consultants. The Regents also set aside a regular period at each meeting for an informal discussion with a group of students.

West Virginia

In 1969, Governor Arch A. Moore, Jr., appointed a *West Virginia University* student, John Hoblitzel, to represent all university and college students on the new State Board of Regents for Higher Education. Mr. Hoblitzel serves in a non-voting, advisory capacity.

Wisconsin

The *University of Wisconsin* Regents give the president of the student body at the campus on which they meet a special place at their meeting and have him available for comments on issues that arise.

Wyoming

The student body president serves as an ex-officio member of the *University of Wyoming* Board of Trustees and has the same privileges as elected members except the right to vote.

OMBUDESMEN

The ombudsman is a special type of government official whose position originated in Sweden. He is a "people's man," a civic watchdog who is independent of governmental pressures. His job is to detect and investigate complaints of public employees' misuse of authority and to rectify valid complaints. On a number of campuses, students and faculty have been appointed ombudsmen to receive and investigate complaints against acts of university officials and faculty members. A number of towns and counties in the United States have also been experimenting with the ombudsman concept.

Alabama

At *Auburn University*, a campus Ombudsman Director coordinates a 24-hour telephone answering service sponsored by the Student Government Association. Students, faculty, and interested citizens may use the service to make complaints, suggestions, and inquiries concerning the university or its students. The ombudsman and the SGA research questions and complaints and try to respond within a week. They bring legitimate complaints before university officials.

Instead of establishing an Ombudsman Office, the *University of Alabama* recently appointed a committee, which is composed primarily of students, to obtain student comments on University practices and procedures which affect students.

Arizona

At *Arizona State University*, the president of the student body and six faculty and staff members serve as general ombudsmen to hear any outstanding grievances and to help find solutions within the existing framework of the university. Services of the designated ombudsman are available to faculty and staff as well as to students.

At the *University of Arizona*, the Assistant Dean of Men tours residence halls as a walking ombudsman, to listen to complaints and problems.

California

Last fall, the *University of California, Berkeley*, appointed a professor of engineering science as its first ombudsman. His task is to hear complaints on academic matters from students, devoting half-time to his ombudsman duties. He has the power to investigate, to recommend, and—if necessary—to publicize; but he may not directly reverse or revise decisions made or actions taken by the normally constituted authorities. His is the power of reasoned persuasion.

This summer the *University of California at Los Angeles* established the office of ombudsman to resolve some of the procedural and other problems students and others encounter. "We see the ombudsman as someone to whom students, faculty, or staff members can turn when they don't know how to solve their problems or when they have exhausted all the regular channels without a solution. It's an attempt to provide more personal concern for the individual." The first ombudsman at UCLA formerly served as pastor to the University's Presbyterian students and as Associate Dean of Students. He was recommended for the new position by a student-faculty-administration commission.

Colorado

An *ad hoc* committee established by the Faculty Council of the *University of Colorado* is currently working to set up the post of ombudsman for the university. Representatives of the faculty, student body, and administration are serving on the committee.

No ombudsman position as such is in effect at *Colorado State University*. However, a full-time Human Relations Officer was recently appointed and works in promoting ethnic and racial understanding, investigates civil rights and discrimination complaints, and develops programs to foster human relations on campus. In addition, staff in the Office of the Dean of Students perform general counseling functions similar to those carried out by ombudsmen on other campuses.

Connecticut

An ombudsman for the *University of Connecticut* was appointed this fall. He is Dr. Fred Adams, a member of the university staff, who is also chairman of the Connecticut State Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities.

The ombudsman receives or initiates complaints regarding incidents or practices alleged to have violated racial respect or human rights on the campus. In this connection, any person claiming to have been so aggrieved may file a complaint with the ombudsman's office, which the ombudsman immediately investigates. The ombudsman may make special recommendations to the President concerning disciplinary action as well as recommendations to administrative officers designed to correct practices he has certified. The ombudsman works closely with the University's Standing Committee on Racial Respect, also established earlier this fall.

Florida

The ombudsman's office at the *University of Florida* is sponsored by Student Government.

Illinois

The position of campus ombudsman has been established at the *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*. He assists students in finding the correct official to meet a particular need, and may negotiate solutions of student problems and recommend changes when necessary.

Massachusetts

The *University of Massachusetts* Board of Trustees has approved the establishment of an ombudsmen unit for the Amherst campus. The ombudsman will "assist any petitioner in the procurement of a just settlement of a grievance."

Michigan

Michigan State University created the office of ombudsman for students in 1967.

The Student-Faculty Council of *Wayne State University* has proposed that an Office of Student Ombudsman be created to expedite the handling of student complaints. It has been proposed that the ombudsman should be a recent graduate, rather than a current staff or faculty member or student, in order to provide some insurance of impartiality.

Minnesota

At the *University of Minnesota* students from the College of Liberal Arts have established a Student Ombudsmen Service (SOS). A centrally-located office was made available to them by the university.

New York

This October, acting on recommendations of a joint committee representing students, faculty, and staff, Peter Regan, acting president of the *State University of New York at Buffalo*, created two new offices "intended to improve our ability to fairly and effectively handle complaints, offenses, grievances and disputes arising in the life of our University." The new offices are University Advocate and University Ombudsman, both filled by professors. The Advocate will serve as internal counsel, responsible for bringing on proceedings to enforce university rules of conduct and standards of administrative judgment. The ombudsman will function as a mediator between the individual and the administrative and academic bureaucracy, at

times as a representative of the individual, and as a last resort for the individual who feels that he cannot otherwise obtain satisfaction. The Advocate will act both for the University community in general and, in many cases, for individuals aggrieved by violations of rules and standards.

Two years ago, an ombudsman first served students, faculty, and staff at the *State University of New York at Stony Brook*.

Two colleges of the *City University of New York* have ombudsmen. Professor Samuel Hendel, a lawyer and member of the Political Science Department, is the ombudsman at City College. His duties include overseeing the operation of the newly-reorganized government and trying to assure justice and equity for all groups and individuals. He is assisted by a student selected by the student government. Robert Clarke, assistant professor of chemistry, was named to the post of ombudsman at Bronx Community College. He serves as a mediator and consultant.

Cornell University has appointed a faculty authority on trade unions as its first ombudsman. The office of ombudsman will be independent of any existing university agency. Mrs. Alice H. Cook, the new ombudsman, will receive grievances from anyone in the Cornell community and then endeavor to bring about a satisfactory solution between the person filing the grievance and the appropriate university office.

"It will be my job to be a fact-finder and to represent the complainant in any problems he might have and to make sure he knows what avenues of redress he has. If some shortcoming is found in the present university structure for redress, it will be my job to call it to the attention of the appropriate body that can remedy it," she said.

Ohio

Kent State University last fall created a new position Dean for Faculty Counsel to give a large and growing faculty a more effective channel for solving individual problems and grievances. The position follows the concept of ombudsman and was proposed by President Robert White following a recommendation from the Faculty Senate. Appointed to the position was the immediate past president of the campus chapter of the American Association of University Professors.

South Carolina

Under a new ombudsman program at the *University of South Carolina*, students who have complaints against the faculty or administration get them heard and remain anonymous. The ombudsman at South Carolina is a faculty member in the School of Engineering. He works with a committee of ten students.

South Dakota

The ombudsman concept has not been officially adopted at the *University of South Dakota*, but the Director of Student Affairs operates within that conceptual framework.

Texas

The first ombudsman for the entire student body has been named at the *University of Texas, at Austin*. He is Carnegie H. Mims, Jr., a second-year law student. He will have an office, receive a salary, and be an independent investigator of student complaints. Last year a student served as ombudsman for the College of Arts and Sciences.

Washington

At the *University of Washington*, a faculty member serves as the university's ombudsman, with responsibility for investigating student, faculty, and staff complaints of inappropriate action by university agencies, and seeking relief where warranted by the circumstances. He may also recommend changes in policies and procedures to help protect the rights of individual members of the university community.

West Virginia

In 1968, *West Virginia University* appointed an ombudsman to work primarily with non-academic employees. The Dean of Student Educational Services and his staff function as ombudsmen for students.

Wyoming

At the *University of Wyoming*, the president and key administrators serve as general "ombudsmen" to hear any outstanding grievances and to assist in finding solutions within the framework of existing university policies and regulations.

UNIVERSITY ADOPTS STUDENT SUGGESTIONS

To demonstrate that students can be and have been heard on university campuses, just a few examples have been listed below of specific steps taken at state universities in direct response to student requests. These range from the initiation of new academic courses to changes in dormitory visitation regulations. Similar examples can be found on many other campuses too.

Alabama

The *Auburn University* administration has made many changes on campus in response to constructive suggestions and ideas presented by students. In the past year, for example, curriculum revisions have been made on the basis of new course sequences developed jointly by students, faculty, and administrators. In response to questions raised by concerned students, the University's mandatory ROTC requirement was reviewed by a student-faculty-administration committee. An experimental dormitory was set up for women. Various changes have been made in rules for women. The physical education requirement was reduced. And finally, after concern was expressed by student leaders, a Student Discipline Committee, was appointed to review policies pertaining to discipline. Students now have greater representation on discipline committees.

Through its committee structure and its Office for Student Development, the *University of Alabama* seeks out and reviews student suggestions, relative to all aspects of university life. Recently, as a result of student proposals, a pass-fall credit system was adopted, which allows students to take courses outside their field of study and receive their credit on a pass-fall basis. Students are now participating in a revision of the University's registration process, and student recommendations have been responsible for the establishment of a new system for handling student activity fee accounts.

Arkansas

A teacher evaluation program has been inaugurated at the *University of Arkansas*, giving students the chance to evaluate, on an anonymous basis, their courses and the teaching ability of faculty members.

California

On several campuses of the *University of California* new agencies have been instituted to implement setting up courses, suggested by students. On several campuses community projects have been both suggested and implemented exclusively by students.

The concept of *in loco parentis* has been abandoned by the *University of California at Berkeley* as a result of discussions between administrators and students.

Colorado

Largely as a result of student advocacy or recommendations, *in loco parentis* rules and policies have been phased out at *Colorado State University* and responsibility for the establishment of student rules has been given to student governments. In addition, student requests were instrumental in creating an ethnic studies program and for gaining student seats on major university committees, including those in faculty government

Connecticut

Students at the *University of Connecticut* have had a long list of their suggestions incorporated into university policy. Many more are now in the planning stage. In the area of race relations, student suggestions concerning curricular innovation, grievance procedures, and housing policies have already been implemented. As a direct result of students' suggestions, a campus rathskellar is now in the planning stage, student cooperative service agencies have been established, a policy has been set governing use of facilities for industrial recruitment, and all institutional policies related to the housing of students are under systematic review.

Perhaps most dramatically noteworthy has been President Homer Babbidge's recent endorsement, in his annual address to the faculty, of a complete overhaul of the university's structures of governance. The president credited Tim Jerman, Associated Student Government president, with original suggestions concerning many details of the proposed renovation.

Delaware

In November 1968, the *University of Delaware* faculty approved by an overwhelming majority a statement on student rights and responsibilities recommended for passage by a joint student-faculty committee on Student Activities. The statement gave students new rights in the determination of their social affairs and rules of conduct not involving federal, state, or local laws.

Also at the *University of Delaware* last year, student requests led to experiments in self-regulated hours for women and visitation by women in men's residence halls, and to the scheduling of a further trial period for this fall. A final decision on the continuation of these privileges will be made after January 1, 1970.

Florida

As the result of an Action Conference which had the full support and participation of *University of Florida* students and Student Government, 41 recommendations were made to the president. These recommendations resulted primarily from student suggestions. The majority of these have been implemented and the remainder are in the process of implementation, modification, or discussion.

Georgia

In response to close work together by members of the Student Government Association and members of the Student Affairs Office at the *University of Georgia*, curfews for all women students of at least sophomore standing have been eliminated at the University, and curfews for freshmen have been modified. Georgia students this year are in charge of all general disciplinary action.

Largely due to student requests, ROTC was made voluntary effective with the fall quarter, 1969. In addition, grades earned in basic physical education will not be included in calculations yielding the cumulative or graduating averages of students.

Illinois

The Black Student Association at the *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign* has contributed significantly to the establishment of the Commission on Afro-American Studies, which in turn has developed an Afro-American Cultural Program. Residence organizations, and particularly the judicial boards on campus, have provided a direct and immediate reaction to the needs of students. This has resulted in modification of the judicial processes, in creation of a visitation program, and in changes in the residence halls operations. At *Chicago Circle* a group of interested black students has formed a committee which submitted a detailed proposal for a

Department of Ethnic Studies. Several of these students were appointed to serve on a faculty committee that is currently meeting with the chancellor's staff in order to formulate a General Ethnic Program.

Indiana

At *Purdue University* last spring, black students submitted proposals for an enlarged black studies program to President Frederick L. Hovde. President Hovde appointed a special committee to review the proposals and recommend a long-term program which the university could implement immediately. President Hovde complimented these groups who "have provided the administration with sound, thoughtful and well-conceived ideas for enlarging the program of the university." *Purdue's Black Cultural Center* is in the process of organization—with major student inputs—this year.

Last December, upon the recommendation of student leaders and with the approval of the Faculty Council, the *Indiana University* Board of Trustees approved open guest privileges three days a week when students in campus residences could invite members of the opposite sex to study and visit in their rooms. Later, the policy was modified to allow students not wishing such privileges to request other accommodations. That modification was reversed subsequently in response to further student requests.

Iowa

A new Action Studies Program course scheduled at the *University of Iowa* this fall was the idea of three students. Instead of protesting about U.S. foreign policies and programs, new solutions can be sought in the course. The class is structured like the U.S. State Department, with a Bureau of Economic Affairs, a staff of the Secretary of State, and five regional bureaus covering the world. No lectures or tests are planned, but students research problems affecting their group and prepare papers supporting their policy decisions.

Iowa State University has adopted several suggestions made by students and refined by committees which included student representatives. Among them are a limited pass-fall system, revised women's hours, and revised requirements for the senior English examination.

Kansas

At the *University of Kansas*, a student-faculty committee appointed in May 1968 to consider student participation in the government of the University recommended a restructuring of both the student and faculty governing bodies to more clearly reflect the membership and concerns of each body.

Kentucky

This fall the *University of Kentucky* College of Law faculty announced the appointment of a law student to each of its committees for the first time. The action was taken following a request earlier this year by the president of the Student Bar Association.

Massachusetts

The *University of Massachusetts* this fall is decentralizing its Student Senate and developing area residence governments.

As a result of meetings between the president's office and student leaders of the Afro-American Organizations, the University has instituted a number of reforms in the area of human relations and has set up a university-wide monitoring committee to oversee implementation of the reforms. The committee includes two Afro-American representatives, a member of the Student Senate, a member of the Graduate Student Senate, a Faculty Senate member, a member of the administration.

Among the reforms agreed to by the administration were:

Stepped up efforts to recruit black faculty and staff and black members of the campus police force.

The development of a wide range of activities to make the university community more aware of black-white tensions and to find ways of dealing with them. A format will be sought to train members of residence hall and Greek-letter group governing staffs in racial orientation.

A system of campus-wide sensitivity training sessions.

The establishment of a university-wide code of human relations conduct, plus a review board of offenders and a system of penalties.

Beginning with this year's freshman class, all incoming freshmen will receive black-white encounter training as a part of freshman orientations.

At the *Massachusetts Institute of Technology* students not only suggested an increase in the enrollment of black students, but they now play a major role in recruiting disadvantaged students. In the case of classified research, students contributed to the decision to abandon classified theses. Students have also played an important role in decreasing the emphasis on war-related research in favor of research relevant to the problems of society.

Michigan

At *Michigan State University* last year, a major academic freedom report was implemented. The report was adopted two years ago following extensive study by students, faculty, and administrators.

At *Wayne State University* a student government suggestion to change policies regarding the repetition of and withdrawal from classes was implemented.

Minnesota

At the suggestion of students the *University of Minnesota* has established an Afro-American Studies Department, an Indian Studies Department, and a scholarship and loan fund for minority students. Student suggestions have also led the university to intensify the recruitment of minority students, involve more students in the governance of the university, and review policies on placement, ROTC, demonstrations, and minority workers on campus construction projects.

Missouri

Based on recommendations from students, faculty, administrators, and others the *University of Missouri* Board of Curators last year approved new rules of procedure in student disciplinary matters. The rules were designed to protect students rights and insure due process in disciplinary proceedings.

Also at the *University of Missouri*, students appeared before the Board of Curators to seek "hikes" in student fees.

At the *University of Missouri, St. Louis*, one department reviewing its curriculum asked for student critiques of its program through an article in the student newspaper. At the request of student groups, two new courses were scheduled: a non-credit experimental course in student government and a three-hour credit course in Negro history.

Montana

Student suggestions which have been affirmatively acted upon at the *University of Montana* include: A change in the age at which women can live off campus; a coeducational dormitory; discontinuance of a mandatory dormitory sign-out procedure for women; a change in the policy of visitation privileges in the dormitories; changes in traffic and parking regulations; changes in student disciplinary procedures, and changes in curriculum.

Montana State University has changed many of its residence hall regulations as the result of suggestions from the student governing bodies within the halls.

New Hampshire

In 1968-69, the Senate of the *University of New Hampshire*, following up recommen-

dations originally initiated by students, took major steps to expand and to improve UNH's College Opportunity Program Experiment (COPE) for disadvantaged students. The Senate's action, with initial emphasis upon providing additional college opportunities for black students, led to a consolidation of the existing COPE and Martin Luther King student-aid programs, with increased resources and a more direct involvement on the part of both students and faculty.

A visitation program, devised and proposed by students, provides guest privileges for students of the opposite sex to visit other students in their living quarter in university residence halls, fraternities, and sororities. Functioning on a seven-day-per-week basis, the program is supervised and its rules enforced by house councils, the student Judiciary Board, and the Office of the Dean of Student Affairs.

A joint faculty-student-administration committee at the university is engaged with the UNH Residences Office in proposing innovations in campus housing which will enable students living in university residence halls to identify their living areas with the institution's educational programs. One of the first projects is an effort to have a faculty husband-and-wife team live in a residence hall. Another effort seeks to encourage professors to hold meetings of their classes in residence hall lounges and meeting rooms.

New Jersey

In response to student demands that the university better serve students from communities surrounding its three campuses, *Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey*, has moved to admit more economically deprived students.

In addition, residence hall policies at *Rutgers* are student-initiated. They are established by the Inter-Residence Hall Association, which is a student body.

New York

The open admissions policy, which will go into effect at *The City University of New York* in September, 1970, was not originally scheduled to begin until 1975. Earlier implementation was called for by the Student Advisory Council and other student, faculty, and community groups, and the Board of Higher Education approved an advance in the target date for start of the new admissions policy. The university will offer admission to all graduates of New York City high schools.

Students suggested the formation of the Chancellor's Student Advisory Council, which is now a functioning body, representing student interest to the chancellor, the Board of Higher Education, and the Administration Council of college presidents. Requests from the Council resulted in student representatives being named to attend meetings of the Board and the Administrative Council.

A group of students on the Agriculture campus at *Cornell University* formed an "Agriculture Reform Committee" to work for more flexibility in the curriculum. The group lobbied within channels and the school's Educational Policy Committee approved three of their demands: The elimination of the practice requirement; reduction in the number of required hours of Agriculture courses, and an end to the mandatory Orientation 101.

A group of 30 Cornellians concerned with finding ways the Cornell white community could educate its members about racism in personal, institutional, and national relationships came up with the idea for a new course. The student-run course, entitled "Education Issues in a Democracy," was introduced this fall.

At the *State University of New York at Albany*, the University Council last spring approved modification of regulations for entertainment of visitors and the use of alcohol on the campus. Under general guidelines

to be set by the Living Area Affairs Committee, students in various living halls will set their own rules.

North Carolina

Within the last year, based on initiative taken by *University of North Carolina* students, a Visitation Program within the residence halls has been authorized. Parietal rules have been modified, and steps have been taken to eliminate discriminatory requirements concerning housing of women students.

To some extent, as a result of student initiative, a Black Studies curriculum has been developed, and an active effort is being made to recruit black students and students from disadvantaged segments of society.

Oregon

In April, 1969, at the request of *Oregon State University* Student Senate and with the approval and support of the Faculty Senate, the president of the university approved the adoption of the document commonly referred to as the Student Bill of Rights, entitled "Student Rights, Freedoms and Responsibilities at Oregon State University." Student recommendations have also been adopted in many areas relating to housing regulations, curricular matters, and registration.

South Carolina

In response to suggestions by residence hall government, the *University of South Carolina's* regulations concerning possession and consumption of alcoholic beverages on campus have been changed to permit such in conformance with state laws. As suggested by Associated Women Students, all curfew hours have been removed for women students above the freshman class who have parental permission. Student Government established a Metropolitan Education Foundation, which now involves faculty, students, and townspeople in a comprehensive program of education and recreation in the disadvantaged areas of the city.

South Dakota

As a result of direct student influence, the University Senate of the *University of South Dakota* has approved:

A Student Bill of Rights.
Improved housing regulations and policies.
A student disciplinary system (Student Court System).

Tennessee

The administration of the Knoxville campus of the *University of Tennessee* responded favorably to student proposals concerning the operation and management of residence halls, especially in the adoption of a more liberal policy on hours for women students above the freshman year and in the adoption of a policy concerning off campus living by women students.

Texas

At the *University of Texas at Austin*, student dissatisfaction with the food in university-run cafeterias housed in the Student Union resulted in the management of the two cafeterias being turned over to the student-dominated Texas Union Board last summer.

Vermont

The *University of Vermont* Board of Trustees in October named a committee to consider additional funding to aid recruitment of black students. The committee was created in response to a request by Student Association President Brooks McCabe.

Following his receipt of two petitions one calling for an end to ROTC and the other asking for its continuation—President Lyman Rowell of the *University of Vermont* announced that he would ask student and faculty committees to study the matter and that he would call a University Forum this fall to provide an opportunity for full and open discussion. The Forum included stu-

dent, faculty, and administration participants, including Rowell, and dealt with housing, black students, and Kake Walk as well as ROTC.

Virginia

At the University of Virginia suggestions made by elected bodies of the student government have been regularly put into effect in recent years. Rules regarding housing have over the past three years been amended expressly to follow student desires, concurrently with establishment of responsible student administration of the rules. Programs for recruitment of black students have been instituted on a cooperative student-administration basis.

Washington

At Washington State University, a portion of student fees is now used to finance a new Center for Social Research. This is the result of a student suggestion at an informal meeting with the president. The University's policy on military recruiting on campus was reviewed by a committee of three students, three faculty, and two administrators; a student referendum was held on allocation of part of the Student Activities Fee; hours were eliminated for all women except first-semester freshmen; and parking regulations, fee structure, and allocations were studied—all following suggestions and recommendations from student groups and individuals.

West Virginia

There is a tradition of strong student government at West Virginia University. For instance, students initiated actions that led to adoption of a limited pass-fall grading system and abolishing residence hall hours for sophomore, junior, and senior women.

At the suggestion of black students, WVU arranged for six Negro professors on the West Virginia State College faculty to fly to WVU and deliver two lectures each in a course concerning black experiences in 20th century America. The WVU College of Commerce developed a course dealing with contemporary economic problems at the request of two students.

Wisconsin

The Madison campus of the University of Wisconsin is now laying the groundwork for an Afro-American Studies Department and a major in Afro-American Studies. The Milwaukee campus expanded course work in this area and established an Afro-American Center. Both campuses instituted these programs as the result of requests by students.

Wyoming

Upon the recommendation of the Student Senate and with the approval and support of the Board of Trustees, the Wyoming legislature in January, 1969, adopted a bill providing for appointment of the student body president to the University of Wyoming Board of Trustees. Students have initiated a teacher evaluation program which has been of assistance in reviewing courses and the teaching ability of faculty members. In response to student requests, trustees have eliminated a rule making it mandatory for upperclassmen to live in university dormitories. Trustees, following student suggestions, have appropriated funds to support a pilot program for the admission of more economically-deprived students.

LETTER FROM CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

HON. ALLARD K. LOWENSTEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. LOWENSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the following is the text of the letter sent to

each Member of Congress by the American Civil Liberties Union. This is the document to which I referred during debate on the District of Columbia crime bill.

The letter follows:

MARCH 16, 1970.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The House District Committee has just reported H.R. 16196, the District of Columbia Court Reform and Criminal Procedure Act of 1970. Although the bill does contain some welcome and long overdue reforms of the District court system, many of its provisions constitute deeply disturbing inroads on fundamental rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution.

Once again a majority of the members of the House District Committee have shown themselves willing to authorize serious invasions of liberty on the voteless residents of the District of Columbia which they would never tolerate, much less support, against their own constituents.

In discussing the disturbing features of this bill, I should like to begin with the most offensive of them—preventive detention, "no-knock" search warrants, warrants to compel physical evidence, and almost unlimited wiretap authority. It should be noted that this dreadful collection of police-state measures has been hidden by the drafters at the end of Title II in a section innocuously labeled "Codification of Title 23." Neither the bill's title nor the table of contents, therefore, gives an inkling of the wide-ranging police powers which this single section of the bill would permit in the District of Columbia. We find it difficult to believe that this at-first-blush invisibility is accidental.

PREVENTIVE DETENTION

Much has already been said and written on the subject of "preventive detention" to demonstrate that it is both unconstitutional and undesirable. The American Civil Liberties Union joins these other voices in urging you to reject this proposal which, in authorizing detention on the basis of mere guesses about future behavior, cannot be distinguished from a sixty-day jail sentence imposed without a crime having been committed. Moreover, the cumbersome hearing procedure written in by the drafters to muffle its otherwise bluntly unconstitutional impact will further clog the already terribly overburdened court system in the District of Columbia.

Thus preventive detention, which its supporters say is necessary because of the present long delays between arrest and trial, will result in even longer delays. The burdens caused by these hearings will sharply reduce the beneficial effects anticipated from the addition of new judges. The risk of police-community friction and potentially explosive confrontation over this provision—which can be so easily interpreted as an attack on Washington's black community—cannot be underestimated. We urge you to resist efforts to undermine the Constitution and to avoid these dangers by rejecting preventive detention and concentrating on improving the courts in order to end once and for all the present long delay between arrest and trial.

"NO-KNOCK" WARRANTS

Although a great deal has already been written about the unconstitutionality of "no-knock" searches, in general, I would like to urge you to look very closely at § 23-591 which appears in § 209 of Title II) because of the degree to which it undermines the Fourth Amendment. The ACLU firmly believes that all "no-knock" authorizations which expand the traditional common law circumstances under which this has been permitted must be rejected as unconstitutional. Section 23-591 is a flagrant example of such expansion. It expands the permissible use of "no-knock" entry so greatly as to become the rule rather than the exception to the Fourth Amendment.

Section 23-591 authorizes "no-knock" searches with or without a warrant where notice "may" result in evidence being destroyed, disposed of, or concealed. Since almost any evidence could fall under this loosely drawn standard, the effect will be to permit "no-knock" searches in almost every case. Moreover, the police are not required to give notice where notice would be "a useless gesture." Nothing prevents the police from concluding that the simple fact that the occupants might object to a police visit makes notice "useless" since they will have to use force anyway.

There is nothing which prevents such unannounced entries from taking place during the middle of the night. Imagine the reaction of even a peaceful law-abiding citizen to the unannounced forcible entry of the police into his home on a quiet evening or in the middle of the night. The danger to police officers who make "no-knock" entries into homes in the middle of the night cannot be minimized.

The "no-knock" authorization contains no limitation on the type of crime to which it will be applicable. It is not limited to felonies. It applies to all crimes. There can be no doubt that the police will seek to use this authority to deal with any and every violation of the law where they wish to enter without notice. It will indeed become the rule. Citizens, supposedly protected by the Fourth Amendment will be forced to accept the "no-knock" entry into their homes as the normal situation. This cannot be so in a democracy under law.

COMPELLED PHYSICAL EVIDENCE

Section 23-251 (which also appears as part of § 209 of Title II) authorizes government officials to detain people to take "physical or other impressions" or other "chemical, scientific, medical, or other tests or experiments." Although it purports to require "probable cause" for the issuance of a warrant for this purpose, it defines that term in such a way that a person will be forced to submit to this detention even when the government lacks sufficient evidence to arrest him or even to search his house. The drafters of this provision are undoubtedly relying on a tentative suggestion in *Davis v. Mississippi*, 394 U.S. 721 (1969), that it might be permissible to require a person to agree to be fingerprinted in the absence of probable cause to arrest. The Court's opinion does not however support the broad grant of authority to detain in this bill. Especially in light of the total failure to provide limits and safeguards the provision cannot be constitutional. Moreover, the provision is an invitation to indiscriminate police dragnets. The existence of unsolved crimes will of itself be enough to authorize the police to pick up and detain unlimited numbers of persons without any evidence to relate them to these crimes. This freedom to detain citizens where there is no probable cause to arrest or search is totally inconsistent with our constitutional system to which the individual's freedom to be free from unwarranted invasion by the police is so central.

WIRETAPPING AND SURVEILLANCE

In 1968 Congress enacted the Omnibus Crime Control Act which authorized eavesdropping and telephone taps against certain specified crimes. Again buried in § 209 of Title II, this bill's authorization for even more eavesdropping and wiretapping covers an enormous range of crimes, including such offenses as robbery, arson and destruction of property, many of which are individual acts requiring no concerted action or conspiracy.

The bill contains no safeguards. There are no limits on the places, public and private, which may be subject to electronic eavesdropping and wiretapping. The number of innocent persons and conversations which will now be subject to government surveillance cannot be underestimated. Serious

harm can result to third parties mentioned in intercepted conversations. Yet such persons are given no remedies and are deliberately excluded from the list of those who may move to suppress such evidence. Those defendants who are permitted to move to suppress illegally obtained evidence may well have to do so without full disclosure of the material to the defense.

The proposed wiretapping and eavesdropping law is a perversion of what we believe Congress intended to permit in the way of state legislation under the 1968 Crime Control Act. It is one-sided, expanding to the fullest the wiretapping and eavesdropping powers of the police, but keeping at a minimum the protections against illegal wiretapping and eavesdropping. The drafters of the bill have totally ignored the 1967 report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. We urge you to remember its words in considering this provision:

"In a democratic society privacy of communication is essential if citizens are to think and act creatively and constructively. Fear or suspicion that one's speech is being monitored by a stranger, even without the reality of such activity, can have a seriously inhibiting effect . . ."

TREATMENT OF JUVENILES

I should now like to turn to another area of the bill (Part B of Title I) which, despite its not being hidden in § 209, makes some serious and retrogressive changes in the operation of our juvenile court system.

The bill would exclude altogether from juvenile court jurisdiction any child sixteen or older *accused* of a serious crime. The result will be to exclude a child simply on the basis of the charge, without any reference to his past record (good or bad) or the strength of the evidence against him. The juvenile court judges will have no discretion since they will not even have jurisdiction over these youths. In addition, the bill provides for waiver of juveniles fifteen or older and accused of a felony to the adult court. In so doing, the bill presumes waiver in each case and places the burden on the defendant to show why he can still be rehabilitated in juvenile court. Once a juvenile is waived to the adult court, the jurisdiction of the juvenile court ends, *even with respect to future misconduct of any kind, including minor offenses.*

These provisions are totally inconsistent with our concept that juveniles may be more susceptible to rehabilitation than older persons committing crimes and that, as a result, juvenile court treatment of an offender should be highly individualized and geared to his rehabilitation. The provisions in this bill will affect many more than those juveniles impervious to rehabilitation. There is no evidence that the punishment delivered to them in adult court will be any more swift and certain. And any hope for rehabilitation will be destroyed by abandoning the juvenile to the well-known corrupting influences of the D.C. jail.

In those cases remaining under juvenile court jurisdiction, the bill establishes a *civil* standard of "preponderance of the evidence" to govern a finding of guilt for law violations in juvenile court, instead of the criminal standard of "proof beyond a reasonable doubt." The criminal standard has long been a required element of due process in adult criminal cases. A number of state legislatures and courts have adopted this rule for juveniles. The Supreme Court in *In re Winship*, 38 U.S. Law Week 3153, is about to decide whether this standard is constitutionally required in juvenile court cases as well. It makes no sense to adopt the *civil* standard by legislation when the entire trend, both as a matter of constitutional law and sound policy, is moving toward a higher standard of due process of law in juvenile proceedings.

RIGHT TO RESIST ILLEGAL ARREST

Section 206 of Title II deprives the citizen of the right to resist an illegal arrest. If there were realistic civil remedies for clearly unlawful arrests and if the District rigorously punished police who engaged in such arrests or other illegal arrests, then it might be agreed that citizens should not have a right to resist a *peaceful* illegal arrest. The right of a citizen to resist "excessive force"—or to say it more plainly, police brutality—should not be questioned. Yet this bill deprives the citizen of the right to resist even under these conditions. It will encourage police brutality because of the knowledge that at last the citizen has been deprived of the right to defend himself. This change in the law could well be used to deprive the citizen of any civil remedy as well. This small change in the law is a clear example of the second-class citizenship which is being imposed on District residents by this bill.

MANDATORY MULTIPLE OFFENDER SENTENCES

Under existing law in the District of Columbia, persons committing a crime of violence may be given an indeterminate sentence in addition to the punishment for the crime itself. Section 205 of Title II of this bill would require that a person who commits a crime of violence while armed be given an additional sentence. Moreover that sentence has a mandatory minimum sentence of not less than five years. It can extend to life imprisonment. A person previously convicted of two violent crimes would have to be given a mandatory life imprisonment sentence. Similar penalties are established for narcotics offenders.

We believe that the imposition of additional penalties should be left to the discretion of the judge. We also believe that the legislatures should not require mandatory minimum sentences. Our penal system is based upon rehabilitation. Sentencing in such a system must be, of necessity, an individualized matter. The judge should be given the authority to impose lengthy sentences where the legislature feels it necessary, but they should be left the flexibility to respond to signs of rehabilitation or the prospect of it in a convicted person.

IN CONCLUSION: AN OVERVIEW OF THE BILL'S IMPACT

As disturbing as each of these provisions is by itself to anyone concerned with the continued existence of civil liberties, even more troublesome to contemplate are the serious inequities and harassment which can and will be inflicted upon District residents as the police begin to realize the uses to which these techniques can be put in combination. Imagine the innocent citizen who, never having even been arrested before, is wrongly suspected of committing a crime. His phone—both home and business—can be tapped. He can be picked up and detained by the police to be fingerprinted and forced to submit to other physical tests even though the police could not arrest him. If the police should wish to search for evidence, they can do so without warning by breaking into his home in the middle of the night. And if the police, knowing full well that they lacked probable cause to arrest, decided to arrest him anyway, this bill would rob him of the right to resist—no matter how illegal or brutal the police's methods. Should he be charged with a so-called "dangerous crime" (which in this bill is defined broadly to include attempted robbery and the sale or even the use of marijuana) and should a judge decide, perhaps because he threatened the officers who broke forcibly into his home, that his release would jeopardize "the safety of any other person," he could be placed in preventive detention.

This sounds disturbingly like a police state, rather than the seat of democratic government—our nation's capital.

The American Civil Liberties Union urges you to amend H.R. 16196, to eliminate these unconstitutional and dangerous provisions so that the bill focuses its attention primarily on court reform. In this way, H.R. 16196 could mark a departure from the unfortunate trend of the last few years toward passing increasingly harsh criminal legislation in the District of Columbia, where the voteless citizens have no real power to object. Such legislation deprives these citizens of the very basic protections which the Constitution provides them against unwarranted and unlimited government invasions of their privacy.

In many respects, H.R. 16196, aside from its court reform provisions, reflects a Congressional desire to stop crime in the District, but a complete unwillingness to devote the resources really necessary to make the fight successful. I call upon you to take steps to turn the full attention of the Congress toward the real solutions of the crime problem—more efficient courts, vastly improved penal systems, and elimination of the reasons which cause people to commit crimes.

Sincerely yours,

LAWRENCE SPEISER,
Director, Washington Office, ACLU.
ALLISON W. BROWN, Jr.,
Chairman, National Capital Area
Civil Liberties Union.

ENTHUSIASM OF YOUNG PEOPLE FOR ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

HON. HOWARD H. BAKER, JR.

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, March 20, 1970

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, one of the most hopeful aspects of the current enthusiasm for environmental quality is that the great energies of many young people are being brought to bear with characteristic fervor on the problems of environmental degradation. Such energy will no doubt continue to provide a visible prod for effective public and private action.

As an example of such responsible interest, I am proud to note that the Pi Kappa Phi Fraternity, of which I have been a member since my college days, has resolved at the national level to encourage all of its members to join in the fight for a quality environment.

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

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

ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION

Whereas, in our nation today there is a great concern among our people for the condition of the environment in which they live, and

Whereas, the health and well-being of human beings is the issue at hand, and

Whereas, the very essence of Pi Kappa Phi Fraternity is no more nor less than a select portion of that race of human beings, and

Whereas, many are joining together to bring about a cessation of the unwarranted and deadly pollution of our environment, and

Whereas, the Pi Kappa Phi Fraternity cannot fail to likewise be concerned,

Now therefore be it resolved, that this fraternity does request of each undergraduate chapter and each member, both student and graduate, to become fully involved, both physically and financially, in every possible

instance of individual and collective effort to eliminate the continued pollution of our environment.

CHARLES TOM HENDERSON,
National President.
WILLIAM L. BRINKLEY, Jr.,
National Secretary.

SMOG MAJOR FACTOR IN DEATH OF PONDEROSA PINES

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, by now most of us realize that smog ranks as a major health hazard to humans, but so far, few people have become acquainted with the effects of air pollution on other life forms.

Now, as scientists become more aware of overall dangers caused by smog, it is evident that unless we reduce air pollution as soon as possible—without regard to the purely dollar costs of this action—that smog may cause significant changes in overall ecological balance.

As an example of the threat caused by smog to ecology, I would like to refer to a series of studies relating to the ponderosa pine trees in the San Bernardino Mountains of southern California. These studies indicate that air pollution affects plant growth, which in turn left the pine trees open to attack by pine beetles who destroyed the trees.

What is particularly alarming about these studies is that fact that the San Bernardino Mountains are some 60 miles from Los Angeles. The prospect for trees nearer Los Angeles—or near any major city these days—must be quite dim.

These studies are an initial indication of the intricate ecological changes which can be brought about by continued pollution. And the longer we procrastinate in delay, the greater these changes will be—and these are not minor alterations in life forms.

Air pollution becomes more dangerous each day to this entire planet. What are we doing to stop it?

I now insert into the RECORD these important studies detailing the effect of smog on the ponderosa pines:

DECLINE AND MORTALITY OF SMOG-INJURED PONDEROSA PINE

(By Fields W. Cobb, Jr., department of plant pathology, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.; R. W. Stark, department of entomology, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.)

ABSTRACT

Over a three-year period 36 trees in a 150 tree plot in the San Bernardino Mountains of Southern California were killed by the western or mountain pine beetle. Thirty-three of these exhibited advanced disease symptoms caused by atmospheric air pollution. Of the 114 trees living, 85 showed an increase in disease symptoms. The average disease rating in the three-year period almost doubled. It is concluded that should air pollution continue unabated virtual elimination of ponderosa pine from the forest stands in this area will occur.

Smog injury is a disease of plants caused by photochemical reduction of pollutants in

the atmosphere. The reduction process generates ozone and other oxidants which cause a rapid loss of chlorophyll. When excessive, the photosynthetic capacity is reduced below that necessary to sustain plant growth. Photochemical air pollution injury to ponderosa pine results in premature chlorosis, senescence, stunting and casting of foliage.

In 1965, observations indicated that smog-injured ponderosa pines in the San Bernardino Mountains were frequently attacked by the western pine beetle, *Dendroctonus brevicornis* (LeConte), and the mountain pine beetle, *D. ponderosae* (Hopkins). Studies were initiated on the San Bernardino National Forest in 1966 to determine the relationships between air pollution injury and bark beetle attacks.

These studies (1-4) showed that ponderosa pines exhibiting advanced smog-injury symptoms were more frequently attacked by bark beetles than those with less severe symptoms. Only 3.5 percent of the most healthy trees (all trees were affected to some degree) were infested compared to 46.0 percent of the severely affected trees. The mountain pine beetle was not found infesting any of the healthy trees (4).

These studies also showed that smog injury reduced tree growth and caused significant reductions in the live crown ratio (length of live crown/total height). In addition, smog injury reduced oleoresin exudation pressure, resin yield and rate of flow of resin. Crystallization rate, on the other hand, was increased (1). These effects are believed to facilitate invasion of the trees by bark beetles (2).

Further effects of smog injury included a reduction in sapwood and phloem moisture, reduction of phloem thickness and of phloem carbohydrates. Phloem pH and oleoresin quality (based on major monoterpene constituents were not affected) (3). Reduction in moisture content was also believed to enhance the probable success of beetle attack, but it was speculated that the reduction of phloem thickness and amount of carbohydrates would be unfavorable for bark beetle broad development (2).

Methods: During the 1966 studies a plot of 150 ponderosa pines was established. Fifty of the trees were relatively healthy, 50 had light to moderate injury symptoms (intermediate), and 50 had severe symptoms (advanced). The classification was based on a scale of 0 to 9 using branch mortality, needle retention, color, length and complement as indicators (4). These trees were re-examined approximately three years later in late June, 1969. Trees that had died were examined for evidence of bark beetle infestation and the condition of living trees was updated using the same rating scale.

Results: Thirty-six of the 150 trees were killed during the three-year period (Table 1), all of which were infested by bark beetles prior to death. Thirty-three of these trees were in the advanced disease category in 1966, and 3 were in the intermediate category. All trees with the most advanced or severe symptoms were killed. Mortality became progressively less as severity of symptoms decreased; none of the healthy trees or least diseased of the intermediate group were killed.

Tree diameters ranged from less than 10" to greater than 32"; 107 trees were less than 33 greater than 20" (Table 2). More of the lower diameter trees (27.1%) were killed than those in higher diameter classes (21.2%).

Sixteen of the killed trees had been removed during sanitation-salvage operations. Of the remaining 20 trees, 11 were infested by the western pine beetle, five by the mountain pine beetle and four by both bark beetle species.

TABLE 1.—MORTALITY AND CHANGE IN DISEASE RATING OF SMOG INJURED PONDEROSA PINE BETWEEN 1966 AND 1969

Status and change in disease rating	Disease rating		
	Healthy	Intermediate number trees	Advanced
Status July 1966.....	50	50	50
Change to intermediate.....	21
Change to advanced.....	1	34
Mortality.....	0	3	33
Status June 1969.....	28	34	52

TABLE 2.—MORTALITY IN RELATION TO DIAMETER CLASS OF SMOG INJURED PONDEROSA PINE

Diameter class (inches)	Number of trees	Number of trees killed	Percent mortality
9 to 12.....	11	7	63.6
13 to 16.....	49	14	28.5
17 to 20.....	47	8	17.0
21 to 24.....	25	4	16.0
25 or more.....	18	3	16.7

These proportions of attack by beetle species are roughly equivalent to those found in 1966 (4).

Of the 144 trees still living in 1969, only 29 had the same numerical symptom rating as in 1966, 15 of these were healthy trees. Another 29 trees had increased symptoms but stayed in the same disease categories (healthy, intermediate or advanced) assigned to them in 1966. The remaining trees exhibited enough increase in symptom severity to move from healthy to intermediate or advanced or from intermediate to advanced (Table 1). Thus, despite the death of 33 advanced diseased trees, there were 52 trees in this category in 1969. The 1966 intermediate trees showed the greatest increase in disease severity with an average change in numerical rating of +2.5, compared to +1.1 for healthy trees and 0.5 for advanced disease trees. The overall average rating for the living trees increased from 2.1 in 1966 to 3.7 in 1969.

Discussion: These results confirm the conclusion that air pollution injury predisposes ponderosa pines to bark beetle infestations (4). They further show that, under the conditions prevailing in the Lake Arrowhead area of the San Bernardino Mountains, most trees are infested by beetles only after injury has become severe. Even the three intermediate diseased trees had time to develop the more severe symptoms of advanced diseased trees before being infested by beetles, probably in fall, 1967 or spring, 1968.

The results also indicate that the rating system based on needle length, color, retention and overall complement and on branch mortality can be used to predict those trees that will become infested by bark beetles. Such a system could be used in choosing trees for cutting, thus removing poor risk trees for beetle infestation.

The oleoresin exudation pressures (OEP) of all and the moisture contents of sapwood and phloem tissues of many of the plot trees were determined in 1966. When these data from trees with a disease rating of three or more are related to the results of the current study, we find that 63 percent of the tree with zero OEP were killed compared to only 31 percent of the high (125 psi) OEP trees. Also, the moisture contents of both sapwood (108 vs. 118% dry wt.) and phloem (54.8 vs. 60.0% saturation) were less in those trees subsequently killed.

The mortality and increase in severity of smog injury in ponderosa pine that have occurred during the period 1966-1969 indicate the threat of air pollution to forest stands. Mortality in certain areas of the San Bernardino Mountains has been high for at least 10 years, and many of the more sus-

ceptible ponderosa pines were killed prior to 1966. Thus, the trees being killed at the present time are probably the more resistant to air pollution. Yet, only about one-half of the trees classified as healthy in 1966 can still be considered as such; and only 11 of 41 trees with a disease rating of zero in 1966 have maintained that rating.

If the present level of mortality continues, it can be expected that only a small number of highly resistant ponderosa pines will be alive within 10-15 years. Ponderosa pine is the predominant species in most stands in the area, but there are other conifers such as sugar pine, incense cedar, white fir and Douglas fir which appear to be less susceptible to pollution injury although they are also beginning to show symptoms of injury. If the air pollution from the Los Angeles basin continues unabated, there will be a conversion from the originally well-stocked ponderosa pine stands to poorly-stocked stands of the less susceptible species. Only rigorous control of pollution or reforestation with highly resistant species can retain the area as a productive forest region or even as a favored recreation area. As air pollution increases in other areas of the country, similar results can be expected especially if the forest species are as susceptible to smog injury as is ponderosa pine.

No attempt was made to estimate the actual and potential loss of timber, nor the cost of removal of beetle-killed trees in the highly developed recreational area.

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SMOG INJURY, ROOT DISEASES, AND BARK BEETLE DAMAGE IN PONDEROSA PINE

(By R. W. Stark and F. W. Cobb, Jr.)

(NOTE.—Photochemical oxidants (smog) are causing serious injury to ponderosa pine in the San Bernardino Mountains of southern California. Apparently, smog injury also renders the trees more susceptible to attack by two species of destructive forest insects, the western pine beetle, *Dendroctonus brevicomis*, and the mountain pine beetle, *D. ponderosae*. Recent studies have shown that photochemical oxidant injury to ponderosa pine results in reduced oleoresin yield, rate of flow and exudation pressure, sapwood and phloem moisture content and phloem thickness, all of which are believed important in the defense of the tree against bark beetles. Smog injury also affects growth rate and probably wood quality. Soluble sugars and reserve polysaccharides were reduced in diseased trees. Current studies indicate that

similar injuries to ponderosa pine, with resulting increase in bark beetle attack, occur as a result of infection by root disease fungi, notably *Fomes annosus* and *Verticillium dactylophorum*.)

The disease of ponderosa pine caused by atmospheric pollution has been called X-disease, chlorotic decline, and ozone needle mottle. Gradual discoloration or mottling of needles exposed to smog is associated with premature chlorosis, which can lead to senescence and finally death and casting of needles (see photo). The disease is apparently associated with increased ozone in the atmosphere produced by photochemical reduction of air pollutants. There is a rapid loss of chlorophyll in foliage exposed to ozone which suggests that chlorotic decline results from a reduction in photosynthetic capacity below that necessary to support tree growth.

Older needles are affected first; discoloration generally begins at the needle tip and progresses toward the base. Where smog is persistent and severe, as in the Lake Arrowhead area of the San Bernardino Mountains, discoloration and defoliation continue until the tree is dead. All ages of trees are affected. Death can occur within two years but normally occurs at least five years after the onset of noticeable symptoms.

In 1965, U.C. plant pathologists noticed that smog-injured ponderosa pines in the San Bernardino Mountains frequently were attacked by the western pine beetle, *Dendroctonus brevicomis* LeConte, and the mountain pine beetle, *D. ponderosae* Hopkins. These beetles are the most destructive insect pests of pines in western U.S., causing an estimated loss of ponderosa pine alone in excess of \$100,000,000 in the Pacific coast states between 1921 and 1945. The western pine beetle attacks Coulter pine in southern California and ponderosa pine throughout its range. Although its attacks when its population is low are normally restricted to slow-growing, decadent or unhealthy trees, it can kill apparently vigorous fast-growing trees of all ages. The mountain pine beetle is more destructive in lodgepole, western white and sugar pines, but it often attacks ponderosa pine in substantial numbers as well.

INFESTATION MEANS DEATH

In southern California, the western pine beetle may have two to four generations per year, whereas the mountain pine beetle usually has one or two per year. Successful infestation of a tree by either of these species usually results in death of the tree. Occasionally, the mountain pine beetle may kill only a portion of some trees, but such trees usually succumb to the attacks of succeeding generations of beetles. These two insects are undoubtedly the major forest insect pests in southern California and are the object of major control efforts by state and federal agencies. The losses in high-use recreation areas such as Lake Arrowhead are often incalculable.

Beginning in 1966, scientists from the University of California at Berkeley and the U.S. Forest Service began studies to determine the relationships between air pollution injury and bark beetle attacks. An extensive survey of the area in the vicinity of Lake Arrowhead was made. A total of 1,072 ponderosa pines, 103 of which were attacked by bark beetles, were intensively examined for symptoms of smog injury. Fifty-five per cent of the trees had noticeable symptoms of injury, and many of the apparently healthy trees were being affected by smog to at least some degree. Graph 1, above, shows the observed relationship between degree of injury and incidence of bark beetle attack. Only 3.5 per cent of the apparently healthy trees were infested, compared with 41.2 per cent of the most severely affected trees. [Graphs not printed in RECORD.]

COMBINED ATTACK

Of the 103 beetle-infested trees, 65 were attacked by *D. brevicomis*, 22 by *D. ponderosae*, and 16 by a combined attack of both species (graph 2). None of the apparently healthy trees were successfully attacked by *D. ponderosae* alone, a result which agrees with the hypothesis that the mountain pine beetle is less "aggressive" than the western pine beetle. Neither smog injury nor attack by bark beetles was related to height, diameter or the position of the trees in the stand. A relationship was not unexpected with the western pine beetle (because it is an aggressive species which may attack almost all age classes), but the mountain pine beetle is usually found in suppressed, weakened or damaged trees. The attack of all tree sizes in the advanced-disease category by the mountain pine beetle indicates that these trees were reduced in vigor to a state where they were easy prey for the beetle. Thus, the results show that trees exhibiting chlorotic decline symptoms are more frequently attacked by bark beetles than are those exhibiting less severe or no decline symptoms.

Critical examinations of 100 living trees in each of three disease categories, healthy, intermediate and advanced, were made to determine incidence of attempted attack. In the advanced disease category, 36 trees showed evidence of attempted attack by bark beetles, in the intermediate-disease category, 19 trees showed evidence of attempted attack and in the healthy category only five showed such evidence. These and the other observations suggest that trees subjected to smog injury not only are more frequently attacked by bark beetles but actually may be more attractive to the beetles.

After it was established that there is, indeed, a relationship between smog injury and bark beetle attack, studies were made to determine how air pollution injury affects the tree to make it more susceptible to bark beetle invasion. Characteristics of the tree studied included diameter and height growth, relative size of crown, oleoresin exudation pressure, oleoresin yield and rate of flow, crystallization rate, sapwood and phloem moisture content, phloem thickness, monoterpene and resin acid composition of oleoresin, phloem sugars, starch and nonstarch polysaccharides, and phloem pH.

MORE SUSCEPTIBLE

These studies gave some evidence about the mechanisms by which the trees may have been rendered more susceptible to bark beetle attacks. Chlorotic decline reduced tree growth both in height and diameter. The most obvious external effect on the tree which seems to be related to incidence of bark beetle attack was the short crown, expressed as the live crown ratio (length of total live crown divided by total height). Smog injury killed an excessive number of the lower branches of the tree, thus reducing the live crown ratio.

The oleoresin system of pines is believed to be a major source of resistance to bark beetle attacks. The resin in trees is maintained under various pressures, and differences exist between pines as to resin quantity and rate at which oleoresin crystallizes. Pressure, yield, and rate of flow are physical barriers to entry by the bark beetle. Crystallization rate may have an effect once a wound is made in the tree; a rapid crystallization rate would probably improve the possibility of successful attack by bark beetles. Trees with a low oleoresin exudation pressure seem to succumb more readily to attacks by both the western pine beetle and mountain pine beetle—particularly the latter. Smog injury reduced oleoresin exudation pressure, resin yield and rate of flow significantly. Crystallization rate, on the other hand, was increased.

Sapwood and phloem moisture contents of the smog-injured ponderosa pines were also

reduced. Since the moisture content of the tree is a reflection of the physiological condition of the host affecting oleoresin exudation pressure, it is possible that a reduction in moisture content and oleoresin would further encourage successful bark beetle invasion. The effects on brood development in the tree also might be advantageous to the beetles. On the other hand, inner bark (phloem) thickness and phloem carbohydrates were also reduced in severely injured trees. These reductions may not be favorable for brood development because the nutritional value of the phloem for the feeding larvae may become limiting. Phloem pH and quality of the sapwood oleoresin, based on the major monoterpene constituents, were not affected by smog injury.

SMOG INJURY

Although there has been no apparent increase in the bark beetle populations in the Lake Arrowhead area, smog-injured trees may serve as a focus for future outbreaks of bark beetles. Bark beetle populations in the southern part of the state have been relatively static for several years. The weakened stands in the San Bernardino Mountains may act as a reservoir and cause future damage by bark beetles to be concentrated in this valuable recreational area. Even if bark beetles remain low in number, mortality of ponderosa pine from photochemical atmospheric pollution injury is continuously increasing.

Current studies at the University of California Blodgett Research Forest and other areas of northern California indicate that a similar disease-insect relationship exists between root-infecting fungi and bark beetles. In the Blodgett area (El Dorado County), approximately 80 per cent of the bark beetle-infested ponderosa pines that were examined had been infected by root-disease fungi prior to beetle infestation. None of an equal number of living uninfested trees chosen at random from the general area were diseased. The major root-disease organism was *Verticillium dactylophorum*, a fungus that moves from tree to tree via roots and causes a prominent dark stain in the infested tissue. The most common insects that occurred in these diseased trees were the western pine beetle and the mountain pine beetle. However, some of the trees also had been attacked by the red turpentine beetle, *Dendroctonus valens* LeConte and by flatheaded borers (Coleoptera; Cerambycidae).

PRIOR INFESTATION

At the Boggs Mountain State Forest (Lake County), at least 60 per cent of the bark beetle-infested trees had been infected by *Fomes annosus* prior to beetle infestation. The insects were the same as those occurring in association with *V. wagnerii*. *Fomes annosus* is another potentially serious pathogen of conifer roots and is widespread in California. It occurs in natural stands undisturbed by man, but usually becomes a serious problem only after logging. The fungus commonly invades freshly cut stumps, moves down into the roots and then infects roots of adjacent trees by contact.

Surveys have shown that both *V. wagnerii* and *F. annosus* occur in association with bark beetle infestations in other areas of northern California as well. Other root disease fungi, *Armillaria mellea* and *Polyporus schweinitzii*, also have been found to infect ponderosa pine prior to beetle infestation, but these appear to be relatively unimportant in the overall root disease bark beetle association in ponderosa pine at the present time. Preliminary studies of white fir, *Abies concolor*, indicate that root disease fungi, especially *Fomes annosus*, also may be important in weakening the resistance of that species and predisposing it to bark beetles such as *Scolytus ventralis*.

Studies are in progress to determine the effects of *Verticillium dactylophorum* on the physiology of ponderosa pine. There is evi-

dence that oleoresin exudation pressure, resin yield and rate of resin flow are reduced in diseased trees. Moisture content, especially of the foliage, also appears to be reduced. However, there appears to be no effect upon quality of the turpentine fraction of xylem oleoresin or upon phloem pH. Resin crystallization rate actually may be reduced in diseased trees, an effect which would be the reverse of that found in smog injured trees.

PREDISPOSING TREES

Our studies have shown that, in addition to such direct losses as reduced growth and mortality, air pollution injury and root disease organisms have a greater effect than had been generally recognized by predisposing trees to attack by bark beetles. These studies will also aid in analyses of the population fluctuations of bark beetles and thus in the control of these serious pests.

Current studies on the effect of air pollution injury and root diseases on the physiology of ponderosa pine hopefully will elucidate the mechanisms by which disease predisposes forest trees to bark beetle infestation and, conversely, the mechanisms of tree resistance to bark beetle attack.

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PHOTOCHEMICAL OXIDANT INJURY AND BARK BEETLE (COLEOPTERA: SCOLYTIDAE) INFESTATION OF PONDEROSA PINE

I. INCIDENCE OF BARK BEETLE INFESTATION IN INJURED TREES

(R. W. Stark, P. R. Miller, F. W. Cobb, Jr., D. L. Wood, and J. R. Parmeter, Jr.)

Introduction

Many workers have observed associations between diseased trees and bark beetle infestation, and speculated that disease is a factor predisposing forest trees to bark beetle attack. Although observations concerning such a relationship between disease and insect have been numerous, few studies have been made to determine the degree of the relationship.

A disease of ponderosa pine, variously called X-disease, chlorotic decline, or ozone needle mottle, has been prevalent in pine stands of the San Bernardino Mountains since the early 1950's. Examination of weather records coupled with observations that affected trees occurred randomly on north or south slopes, valley bottoms or ridge tops, along lake shores or in well watered yards, indicated that drought was not a prominent factor (Parmeter, et al., 1962). Subsequent studies showed that injury was associated with photochemical air pollutants (Miller, et al., 1963; Richards, et al., 1966). A chronic bark beetle problem has existed for several years in the same area. Preliminary observations suggested that beetle attacks might be associated with trees injured by air pollutants, but no investigations were made to determine whether the disease might be predisposing trees to beetle infestation.

This study was undertaken to determine whether those trees showing decline symptoms were attacked in greater numbers by bark beetles than were nonaffected trees. If trees were being predisposed, the second objective was to determine the stage of disease when most beetle attacks occurred.

Methods

In July 1966, an intensive examination of forest stands in the San Bernardino Mountains was made by three crews, each consisting of an entomologist and a plant pathologist. Each crew searched for ponderosa pines under attack or infested by the previous (spring) generation of the western pine beetle (*Dendroctonus brevicornis* LeConte) or the mountain pine beetle (*D. ponderosae* (Hopkins)). Identity of beetles was determined by removing the bark of the lower boles of standing trees and examining them for brood or characteristic

galleries. Each beetle-infested tree and nine uninfested, nearest-neighbor trees were carefully examined and the following data recorded:

1. Diameter breast height (dbh) ± 2.5 cm.
2. Crown Class: Suppressed (S), Intermediate (I), Codominant (CD), Dominant (D), and overmature, flat-top dominant (FTD).
3. Total tree height ± 1.5 m.
4. Length of live crown: the length of the living crown from the top of the crown to the lowest living limb ± 1.5 m (before beetles killed the tree).
5. Total crown length: length of the total crown including dead branches ± 1.5 m.

In addition, the following scoring system was applied to five tree characteristics which were considered the most sensitive indicators of damage caused by oxidants (particularly ozone) of photochemical air pollution. Binocular telescopes were used to evaluate needle condition throughout the crown. Many trees under attack at the time of examination had some living foliage, but the foliage of most trees infested by the previous generation of beetles had been killed.

Characteristic:	Score value*
1. Needle (foliage) retention:	
Only current year needles.....	2
Current and preceding year's needles	1
Current and two or more year's needles	0
2. Needle color:	
Chlorotic mottle—complete chlorosis	1
Green, no detectable mottle.....	0
All foliage killed.....(dead)	0
3. Needle length:	
Pronounced length reduction....	1
Normal length.....	0
4. Branch mortality:	
Pronounced mortality (from bottom up).....	1
Normal mortality.....	0
5. Needle complement (based on entire crown):	
Less than 25 percent of normal... 4	
25-50 percent of normal.....	2
50-80 percent of normal.....	1
80 percent of normal.....	0

* The maximum possible score indicating a severely damaged tree was 9; the minimum score of 0 indicated a healthy tree.

Any other abnormality of the tree was recorded, such as dwarf mistletoe infections, root pathogens, or lightning scars. Wherever possible, the tree was carefully examined to determine all insect species present, regardless of whether or not they were instrumental in causing the death of the tree.

In addition to intensive examination of forest stands, a critical evaluation of insect activity in a permanent sample plot was conducted to determine whether insect activity was higher on living trees in various stages of disease. This plot consisted of 150 living trees carefully classified according to the degree of damage caused by air pollution. Fifty trees were considered to be healthy or unaffected, 50 were in an intermediate stage showing some degree of chlorotic decline symptoms, and 50 showed advanced symptoms. Each tree was carefully examined with binocular telescopes for evidence of attempted or successful attack by an identifiable insect. This portion of the study was repeated in February, 1967, on a similar sample of trees in a pine stand near the permanent plot.

Results and discussion

Examination of insect-infested and nearest-neighbor trees

A total of 1,070 trees, 107 infested and 963 noninfested nearest neighbors, were examined. The infested trees were scattered throughout the ponderosa pine type of the San Bernardino Mountains from Cedar Pines Park in the west to the vicinity of Arrowhead Village and Skiforest in the east.

A comparison of the scores of insect-killed trees versus nearest neighbors indicates clearly that trees exhibiting chlorotic decline symptoms are more frequently attacked by bark beetles than those exhibiting less severe or no decline symptoms (table 1). Almost 62 per cent of the insect-killed trees had disease ratings of 5 or greater but less than 15 per cent of the noninfested nearest neighbors were in this category.

Of the insects involved in killing ponderosa pine in westside Sierra Nevada stands, *D. brevicomis* is considered to be the more aggressive, capable of attacking and overcoming more vigorous trees than is *D. ponderosae*. This difference in attack vigor is reflected in the number of trees infested and killed by *D. brevicomis* in the healthy and intermediate classes (table 2). A total of 14 trees had combined attacks, with both *D. brevicomis* and *D. ponderosae* present in the same trees. Both insect species, however, appeared to prefer trees in advanced stages of chlorotic decline.

TABLE 1.—COMPARISON OF THE TOTAL SCORES INDICATING SEVERITY OF CHLOROTIC DECLINE SYMPTOMS OF INSECT-KILLED TREES AND THEIR NINE NEAREST NEIGHBORS

Chlorotic decline symptom score ¹	Insect-killed		Nearest noninfested neighbors	
	Number of trees	Percentage of total	Number of trees	Percentage of total
0.....	14	13.1	301	31.3
1.....	3	2.8	160	16.6
2.....	8	7.5	137	14.3
3.....	10	9.3	100	10.4
4.....	6	5.6	121	12.5
5.....	12	11.2	67	6.9
6.....	9	8.4	24	2.5
7 or more.....	45	42.1	53	5.5
	107	100.0	963	100.0

¹ 0—healthy tree; highest possible score: 9—severely damaged tree.

TABLE 2.—PERCENTAGE OF HEALTHY INTERMEDIATE AND ADVANCED CHLOROTIC DECLINE TREES ATTACKED BY EACH BARK BEETLE SPECIES SINGLY OR IN COMBINATION

Chlorotic decline symptom score ¹	Insect species attacking tree		
	<i>D. brevicomis</i>	<i>D. ponderosae</i>	Combined attack
	Percentage of total		
Healthy (0-1).....	22.2	0	13.5
Intermediate (2-4).....	19.1	13.6	30.4
Advanced (5+).....	58.7	86.4	56.1

¹ 0—healthy tree; highest possible score; 9—severely damaged tree.

The proportionate number of trees in each of the four crown classes was approximately the same in the insect-killed and nearest-

TABLE 3.—PERCENTAGE OF INSECT-KILLED AND NEAREST-NEIGHBOR TREES IN EACH CROWN CLASS AND DECLINE SYMPTOM SCORE

Crown class	Total number of trees	Decline symptom score ¹ (percent of trees)			Percentage of of total trees	Average decline symptom score ¹
		Healthy 0-1	Intermediate 2-4	Advanced 5-9		
Suppressed:						
Insect-killed.....	11	18	27	54	10.3	4.2
Uninfested.....	97	46	32	21	10.1	2.4
Intermediate:						
Insect-killed.....	23	26	13	62	21.5	4.5
Uninfested.....	208	42	38	20	21.5	2.4
Codominant:						
Insect-killed.....	23	13	27	62	21.5	5.0
Uninfested.....	324	52	36	11	33.7	2.0
Dominant:						
Insect-killed.....	50	12	24	64	46.7	4.3
Uninfested.....	334	50	38	14	34.7	2.3
Total:						
Insect-killed.....	107	16	23	61	100.0
Uninfested.....	963	48	37	16	100.0

¹ 0—healthy tree; highest possible score: 9—severely damaged tree.

neighbor groups of trees. Thus, there was no indication that the insects preferred suppressed trees over dominant trees. However, the average disease rating of the insect-killed trees was higher in each crown class (table 3).

Excessive mortality of lower branches which develops acropetally is a symptom of oxidant injury. However, length of live crown did not appear to be correlated with incidence of bark beetle attack. On the other hand, live-crown ratio (length of living crown/total tree height) of dominant and codominant trees was markedly reduced (table 4) and should serve as an indicator of both oxidant injury and host susceptibility to bark beetles. The average live-crown ratio of dominant and codominant, noninfested nearest-neighbor trees was about 58 whereas that of beetle-infested trees in the same crown classes was 48. Through excessive branch mortality, the live-crown ratio of dominant and codominant beetle-infested trees had been reduced to that of suppressed trees.

Disease rating of the insect-killed trees was higher than that of the nearest neighbors regardless of diameter or height class (tables 5 and 6), except possibly for trees taller than 39 meters. No apparent relationship existed between photochemical air pollution injury and either tree diameter or height.

TABLE 4.—RELATION OF LIVE-CROWN RATIOS WITHIN CROWN CLASSES TO BEETLE ATTACK

Crown class	Live crown ratio of—	
	Beetle-killed trees	Nearest neighbors
Dominant.....	47.8	60.1
Codominant.....	47.5	57.0
Intermediate.....	54.0	54.0
Suppressed.....	48.0	49.6

TABLE 5.—FREQUENCY OF TREES BY DIAMETER CLASS AND AVERAGE CHLOROTIC DECLINE SYMPTOM SCORE OF INSECT-KILLED AND NEAREST-NEIGHBOR TREES

DBH (cm)	Number of trees	Percentage killed by beetles (percent)	Average symptom score ¹	
			Beetle killed trees	Nearest-neighbor trees
<25.....	297	6.4	4.6	1.9
25-37.....	299	11.4	3.8	2.3
38-50.....	214	13.1	4.5	2.2
51-63.....	123	5.7	3.8	1.7
64-76.....	67	9.0	5.2	1.8
77-89.....	35	6.0	6.0	2.5
>89.....	36	33.3	3.6	1.9

¹ 0—healthy tree; highest possible score: 9—severely damaged tree.

TABLE 6.—FREQUENCY OF TREES BY HEIGHT CLASS AND AVERAGE CHLOROTIC DECLINE SYMPTOM SCORES OF INSECT-KILLED AND NEAREST-NEIGHBOR TREES

Height class (meters)	Number of trees	Percentage killed by beetles (percent)	Average symptom score ¹	
			Beetle killed trees	Nearest-neighbor trees
3-9.....	200	7.0	4.8	1.6
10-15.....	300	6.3	4.8	2.2
16-21.....	291	11.0	4.8	2.3
22-27.....	175	16.0	4.0	2.1
28-33.....	63	14.3	3.5	2.2
34-39.....	33	15.1	5.0	1.4
>39.....	9	33.3	4.7	4.3

¹ 0—healthy tree; highest possible score: 9—severely damaged tree.

Estimates of chlorosis were based on 713 nearest-neighbor trees which were affected to some extent by air pollution. The severity of needle mottle was inversely related to the degree of needle retention (table 7). In all

TABLE 7.—FREQUENCY OF CHLOROTIC MOTTLE CAUSED BY CHRONIC EXPOSURE TO PHOTOCHEMICAL AIR POLLUTION BY NEEDLE AGE IN RELATION TO DEGREE OF NEEDLE RETENTION

Length of needle retention	Number of trees ¹	Percentage of trees with chlorotic mottle of needles			
		Year in which needles were formed	1966	1965	1964
2 years.....	500	24.2	100.0
3 years.....	173	1.7	58.4	100.0
4 years.....	40	0	10.0	57.5	100

¹ Based on 713 nearest-neighbor trees which exhibited injury caused by air pollution. Data recorded July 24-30, 1966.

cases, the oldest needles were most affected whether the tree retained two, three, or four years of needles. The reason for this is probably not a greater inherent susceptibility of older needle tissue but the longer period of exposure to photochemical air pollution (Miller and Parmeter, unpublished data).

Comparison of Bark Beetle Activity on Equal Numbers of Healthy, Intermediate-Diseased and Advanced-Diseased Trees

Examination of the 150 trees in the permanent sample plot strongly indicated that trees in an advanced state of chlorotic decline were more frequently selected by bark beetles than either intermediate or healthy trees. A total of 27 trees showed evidence of abortive or current attack by bark beetles. Eighteen were in an advanced state of chlorotic decline, eight were in an intermediate state, and only one was healthy. Of the 18 trees exhibiting advanced chlorotic decline, ten had many pitch tubes while eight had only a few. In the intermediate category, only one of the trees had many attempts, seven had a few. The healthy tree had only a few old, scattered pitch tubes.

An examination of 150 trees in a nearby comparable stand in February, 1967, yielded

similar results. Thirty-three trees showed evidence of attempted bark beetle attack. Of these, 18 were in the advanced, 11 in the intermediate, and four in the healthy category.

Only three trees were attacked by *Dendroctonus valens* LeConte, and there was no correlation with chlorotic decline symptoms.

Summary

A total of 107 beetle-killed and 963 nearest neighbor ponderosa pines were examined to determine the association between severity of atmospheric pollution injury and infestation by bark beetles. Trees exhibiting advanced symptoms of pollution injury were most frequently infested by the western pine beetle, *Dendroctonus brevicomis*, and the mountain pine beetle, *D. ponderosae*. The degree of injury and incidence of bark beetle infestation were not related to total height, diameter, length of live and dead crown or crown class. As severity of oxidant injury increased, live crown ratio decreased and incidence of bark beetle infestation increased.

One hundred noninfested trees in each of three disease categories, advanced, intermediate, and healthy, were examined for evidence of prior beetle attacks. Thirty-six per cent of the advanced-diseased trees versus only five per cent of the healthy trees were attacked. Thus, the beetles may discriminate between healthy and diseased trees at a distance, upon contact with the host, or both.

These studies indicate strongly that atmospheric pollution injury predisposes ponderosa pine to bark beetle infestations.

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II. EFFECT OF INJURY UPON PHYSICAL PROPERTIES OF OLEORESIN, MOISTURE CONTENT, AND PHLOEM THICKNESS

(F. W. Cobb, Jr., D. L. Wood, R. W. Stark, and P. R. Miller)

Introduction

A high degree of association between disease caused by atmospheric pollution and incidence of bark beetle (*Scolytidae*) infestation in ponderosa pine, *Pinus ponderosa* Laws., has been demonstrated (paper I). Results also indicated that bark beetles can select severely diseased trees. Thus, an understanding of the influence of disease on host physiology may elucidate mechanisms of host resistance to bark beetles.

Studies were made during the summer, 1966, to determine the effects of atmospheric pollution injury (i.e., chlorotic decline) of ponderosa pine on various factors related to tree physiology. This paper reports the results of such studies on the following factors: (a) oleoresin exudation pressure; (b) yield and rate of flow; (c) crystallization rate; (d) sapwood moisture content; (e) phloem moisture content; and (f) phloem thickness.

The field aspects of the studies were carried out in the vicinity of Crestline in the San Bernardino Mountains. The area is about 1,550 meters above sea level at the northeastern edge of the Los Angeles basin. Photochemical air pollutants diffusing over the mountains from the basin have resulted in chronic, severe pollution injury to ponderosa pine.

Methods

A second-growth, all-age stand of ponderosa pine with most trees 65-85 years old was chosen for the study. Because susceptibility to atmospheric pollutants varies in ponderosa pine, we were able to select 50 trees in each of three disease classes—healthy, intermediate diseased, and advanced-diseased. Trees with disease rating of 0-1, 2-4 and 5 or greater, were classified as healthy, intermediate- and advanced-diseased, respectively. The rating of intermediate-disease was difficult, and overlap between this class and the two extremes occasionally occurred. Diameter, height, length of crown, and crown class were recorded for each tree. No suppressed trees were selected.

Measurement of oleoresin exudation pressure (OEP)

Standard hydrostatic pressure gauges (200 psi maximum) with specially constructed fittings (Bushing and Wood, 1964) were used to measure oleoresin exudation pressure of all trees. Holes approximately 13 mm. in diameter and 3 cm deep were drilled into the boles of the trees 1 to 1.5 meters above ground. The gauges were immediately screwed into the holes to a depth of approximately 2.5 cm. The first pressure readings were taken the day following installation of the gauges. Previous studies (Vitè, 1961) have shown that diurnal fluctuations in OEP occur. Thus, three readings per day were taken, the first before sunrise, approximately at 5 a.m., the second at noon, and the third at 4 p.m. The early morning reading was made when OEP was at its highest, and the two later readings provided an estimate of the OEP at its lowest point. Low OEP measurements were taken only from trees with a morning OEP of 80 psi or greater. A fourth reading was taken before sunrise on the second morning for comparison with the pressure on the first morning. If the reading did not rise at least 10 psi above the low of the previous day, the gauge was taken out and another was placed into the tree. Any gauge which did not read at least 80 psi at the first reading was removed and another was inserted into a freshly drilled hole. As many as five or six gauges were installed in the trees during a one-week period to obtain an accurate, replicated reading.

Measurement of oleoresin yield, flow rate and crystallization

Glass tubes were used to measure both resin yield and flow rate in each tree.

They consisted of two parts: (a) 9 mm outside and 1 mm inside diameter capillary tubing 15 cm long bent to a 90 degree angle at the center; and (b) a tube 20 cm long with an inside diameter of 9 mm. The latter tube was sealed at one end, and a small hole was made in the side wall 3 cm from the open end to allow escape of gases as resin collected in the tube. Two elbow tubes were positioned on opposite sides of each tree 1 to 1.5 m above ground. They were inserted into holes 1.5 cm deep and 8 mm in diameter to a depth of about 1 cm. One of the larger diameter tubes was then inserted over the open end of the elbow and taped into place (figure 1). [Figure not printed in RECORD.]

After installation, linear measurements were taken at 15 to 30 minute intervals for the first four to six hours to establish rate of flow. Less frequent measurements were made for 24 to 72 hours or until the tubes became filled. Flow rate was expressed as ml of oleoresin per hour, yield as ml of oleoresin collected during the first 24 hours. Measurements for the two tubes of each type were averaged unless the measurement for one of the tubes was obviously inaccurate because of blockage. At the time of each measurement, the resin was carefully examined for the presence of crystals. The time of the first observation of crystal formation and an estimate of percentage of volume

represented by crystals was recorded at that time and at all subsequent examinations.

Determination of sapwood and phloem moisture contents

Samples of sapwood and phloem were taken between 4 and 7 p.m. from four sides of each tree, 1 to 1.5 m above ground. Sapwood samples 4 cm in diameter and 5 to 8 mm thick were cut with an arch punch, removed with a chisel, and wrapped immediately in aluminum foil to prevent water loss. The foil-wrapped samples were weighed two to four hours after collection; then the foil was removed, dried and weighed. The samples were dried at approximately 100° C for 12 to 24 hours and weighed. The moisture content, expressed as percentage of dry weight, was then calculated by dividing the weight of water in the fresh sample by the dry weight of the sample.

The phloem samples, approximately 4 cm in diameter, were removed from the trees with a knife following removal of the bark and wrapped in aluminum foil. Fresh weight and moisture content were determined as for sapwood but moisture content was also determined on a percentage of saturation basis (Bier, 1959).

Measurement of phloem thickness

Samples of phloem were taken from all trees with an increment borer and the phloem thickness measured to the nearest half-millimeter. In February, 1967, phloem measurements from an additional 60 trees in a nearby, comparable stand were made in the same manner. The latter sample included 20 trees in each disease class.

Results and discussion

Relation of tree characteristics to disease severity

Diameter at breast height ranged from 24 to 93 cm, and total height ranged from 11 to 36 meters. Disease severity appeared to be related to the differences in tree size (table 1). The ratio of total crown length (living plus dead) to tree height was approximately the same for trees in all three disease classes. However, the live crown ratios (length of living crown/total tree height) became progressively less as disease severity increased, thus reflecting the excessive mortality of branches in the lower crowns of diseased trees.

Oleoresin exudation pressure

Then oleoresin exudation pressure was progressively reduced in ponderosa pine as severity of injury by atmospheric pollution increased. Some zero-pressure and low-pressure trees can be expected in a natural population of healthy ponderosa pines (Vitè and Wood, 1961). Six of the healthy trees in our study had zero OEP, and an additional seven had low pressures (5-75 psi). However, the number of zero-pressure trees increased to 13 in the intermediate-diseased group and to 19 in the advanced-diseased group. The number of low-pressure trees also increased as disease severity increased, and there was a corresponding decrease in the number of high-pressure trees (80 psi and above). The average high OEP of all healthy, intermediate-diseased and advanced-diseased trees was 105, 78 and 46 psi, respectively. A χ^2 test on the differences between the distribution of trees in the healthy and intermediate-diseased groups and between the intermediate- and advanced-diseased groups was significant at the 99 per cent confidence level ($\chi^2=12.11$ and 9.75, respectively).

The effect of air pollution injury on the average low OEP and magnitude of the diurnal depression was determined for all trees with a high OEP of 80 or more (table 2). While the average diurnal low OEP of trees in the advanced-diseased group was 13-14 psi less than that in the healthy or intermediate-diseased groups, the magnitude of

depression was also less. This can be related directly to the lower "high" OEP of advanced-diseased trees which was 118 compared to 141 and 139 psi for trees in the healthy and intermediate-diseased groups, respectively. Because trees with an OEP of less than 80 psi were not included and trees

in the 80-120 psi range yielded relatively few valid lows (table 3), the averages in table 2, which are based only on valid lows, are higher than those for the original population.

Differences in the numbers of trees yielding valid low readings may have significance. Greater success was achieved in deter-

mining the low readings of trees with an OEP of 131 psi or more (table 3). Also, when the intermediate- and advanced-diseased trees were grouped (OEP 131 and >) and compared to the healthy trees, success in determining low pressures was 88 and 95 per cent for the diseased and healthy groups,

TABLE 1.—RELATION OF TREE CHARACTERISTICS TO SEVERITY OF DISEASE CAUSED BY PHOTOCHEMICAL AIR POLLUTION

Disease category	Average diameter (cm)	Average height (m)	Live crown ratio (percent)	Crown class (number of trees)		
				Dominant	Codominant	Intermediate
				Healthy.....	50	25
Intermediate.....	44	23	52	6	36	8
Advanced.....	39	20	35	3	30	17

TABLE 2.—RELATION OF LOW OEP DEPRESSION TO INJURY OF PONDEROSA PINES BY PHOTOCHEMICAL AIR POLLUTION

Disease class	Number of trees ¹ tested	Percentage with valid low	Average low OEP ²	Average depression ²
Healthy.....	37	76	psi 94	psi 47
Intermediate.....	27	52	93	46
Advanced.....	16	38	80	38

¹ The low OEP was determined only for trees with an early morning high OEP of 80 p.s.i. or greater.
² The average low OEP and the average depression of OEP are based on the number of trees for which a valid low OEP was obtained.

respectively. This difference could be caused by increased propensity of oleoresin from diseased trees to crystallize.

OLEORESIN YIELD, RATE OF FLOW, AND CRYSTALLIZATION RATE

These characteristics were determined for 21 healthy trees and 19 trees in each of the two classes showing disease symptoms.

The yield of more than 50 per cent of the trees in the advanced-diseased group was less than 2.0 ml compared to 16 per cent and 29 per cent of the intermediate-diseased and healthy trees, respectively (table 4).

Conversely, more than 60 per cent of the healthy and intermediate-diseased trees yielded more than 4.0 ml of resin compared to only 15.8 per cent of the advanced-diseased trees.

The average yields for trees in the healthy, intermediate-diseased and advanced-diseased classes were 4.1, 4.2, and 2.1 ml, respectively. The averages for the two groups were conservative because the value of 5.9 ml was assigned to all filled tubes; tubes on 11 of the healthy and nine of the intermediate-diseased trees were filled before the end of

the 24-hour period. There was no significant difference between the yield of healthy and intermediate-diseased trees. However, the difference between yields of these two groups and that of advanced-diseased trees was highly significant (0.01 level; F = 7.64, df = 58).

The rate of resin flow had a trend similar to resin yield (table 5). No difference existed between the flow rate of healthy and intermediate-diseased trees, but the flow rate of advanced-diseased trees was significantly reduced (0.05 level; F = 3.70; df = 57).

TABLE 3.—RELATION BETWEEN MAGNITUDE OF THE HIGH OEP (80 PSI AND GREATER) AND SUCCESS IN OBTAINING A RELIABLE LOW MEASUREMENT FOR PONDEROSA PINES INJURED BY PHOTOCHEMICAL AIR POLLUTION

Disease class	High OEP (p.s.i.)							
	80-100		101-120		121-130		131-160	
	Valid low	No low	Valid low	No low	Valid low	No low	Valid low	No low
	Number of trees							
Healthy.....	0	3	1	2	6	3	21	1
Intermediate.....	1	2	1	3	1	2	11	6
Advanced.....	0	3	2	5	0	1	4	1
Total.....	1	8	4	10	7	6	36	8

TABLE 4.—OLEORESIN YIELD DURING THE 1ST 24-HOUR PERIOD IN RELATION TO INJURY OF PONDEROSA PINES BY PHOTOCHEMICAL AIR POLLUTION

Disease class	Total number of trees	Resin yield (ml)					Average resin yield (ml)
		0	0.1-1.9	2.0-3.9	4.0-5.8	5.9 (full)	
		Number of trees					
Healthy.....	21	0	6	2	2	11	4.1
Intermediate.....	19	1	2	3	4	9	4.2
Advanced.....	19	2	8	6	3	0	2.1

Unlike oleoresin exudation pressure which apparently was reduced gradually as severity of disease increased, flow rate appeared to remain relatively constant through the intermediate stages of disease development. No difference in oleoresin yield appeared to exist between healthy and intermediate-diseased trees but, because of the limited capacity of the collection tubes, this cannot be stated with certainty.

Crystallization of oleoresin increased with increase in disease severity (table 6). Greater than 10 per cent crystallization of oleoresin

occurred in samples from 47 per cent of the advanced-diseased trees, 39 per cent of the intermediate-diseased trees and only 19 per cent of the healthy trees. The difference between the amount of crystallization in samples from healthy and advanced-diseased trees was highly significant (0.01 level; F = 13.93, df = 37). However, differences between healthy and intermediate-diseased and between intermediate-diseased and advanced-diseased trees were not significant. The wide range of variability and relatively small sample size may account for the absence of significant differences between these classes.

SAPWOOD AND PHLOEM MOISTURE

The moisture content of both sapwood and phloem tissues showed a marked decrease in both classes of diseased trees (table 7). The differences in sapwood moisture content between healthy and intermediate-diseased trees (F=16.0, df=29) and between healthy and the advanced-diseased trees (F=10.4, df=29) were significant at the 0.01 level. However, the difference in sapwood moisture content between intermediate- and advanced-diseased trees was not significant. Thus, much of the moisture decrease in sap-

TABLE 5.—RELATION OF OLEORESIN FLOW RATE OF PONDEROSA PINES TO INJURY BY PHOTOCHEMICAL AIR POLLUTION

Disease class	Total number of trees	Resin flow rate ml./hr. (number of trees)					Average rate of flow (ml/hr)
		0-0.2	0.3-0.5	0.6-1.0	1.1-1.5	1.6 flow	
		1.6 flow					
Healthy.....	20	7	6	3	3	1	0.6
Intermediate.....	19	7	7	1	3	1	0.6
Advanced.....	19	12	7	0	0	0	0.2

TABLE 6.—OLEORESIN CRYSTALLIZATION OF PONDEROSA PINES DURING THE 1ST 24 HOUR IN RELATION TO INJURY BY PHOTOCHEMICAL AIR POLLUTION

Disease class	Total number of trees	Crystallization (percent)					Average crystallization (percent)
		0-5	6-10	11-20	21-40	41>	
		Number of trees					
Healthy.....	21	13	4	2	2	0	7.3
Intermediate.....	18	5	6	6	1	0	9.7
Advanced.....	17	7	2	3	4	1	13.9

wood apparently occurred early during disease development. Reduction in water loss by transpiration associated with reduced foliage of severely diseased trees may have been a factor.

The differences in phloem moisture content, based on dry weight, between healthy

and intermediate-diseased (F = 6.56, df = 31) and between healthy and advanced-diseased trees (F = 16.5, df = 32) were also highly significant; again, the difference between intermediate and advanced-diseased trees was not significant. However, when phloem moisture content was determined on

the percentage saturation basis, the difference between the intermediate-diseased and advanced-diseased groups proved to be highly significant (0.01 level; F = 4.9, df = 32). Possibly, phloem from trees with severe disease symptoms is more porous and can absorb more water per unit weight of tissue.

TABLE 7.—RELATION OF PONDEROSA PINE SAPWOOD AND PHLOEM MOISTURE CONTENT TO INJURY BY PHOTO-CHEMICAL AIR POLLUTION

Disease class	Sapwood moisture ¹ (Percent dry weight)	Phloem moisture ²	
		(Percent dry weight)	(Percent saturation)
Healthy.....	138.2	287.2	64.8
Intermediate.....	109.9	263.6	61.7
Advanced.....	116.7	252.7	54.4

¹ Averages of four samples from each of 15 trees per disease class.

² Averages of 4 samples per tree from 16 trees in the healthy and intermediate-diseased classes and from 17 trees in the advanced-diseased class.

Phloem thickness

Phloem thickness decreased progressively with increase in disease severity. The average thickness of the phloem of healthy trees, measured in 1966, was 2.4 mm (range 1 to 6 mm); that of intermediate-diseased trees was 1.9 mm (range 1 to 4 mm); and that of advanced-diseased trees was 1.5 mm (range 1 to 5 mm). These differences were highly significant between healthy and intermediate ($F = 8.0$, $df = 99$) and between intermediate- and advanced-diseased trees ($F = 36.7$, $df = 99$). Results from the second plot, measured in February, 1967, substantiate these differences. The average phloem thickness of healthy trees again was 2.4 mm (1.5 to 4.0), that of intermediate-diseased trees was 1.4 mm (1.0 to 2.5), and that of advanced-diseased trees was 1.1 mm (0.5 to 2.0).

Summary

The results of these studies show that disease caused by photochemical atmospheric pollution affects certain physiological properties of ponderosa pine that may be related to increased susceptibility to bark beetles. Oleoresin exudation pressure, yield, and rate of flow were substantially reduced in severely affected trees, but crystallization of resin increased as severity of disease became greater. Both sapwood and phloem moisture contents were less in diseased trees. Phloem thickness in advanced-diseased trees was less than 60 per cent of that in healthy trees. The significance of these differences associated with oxidant injury is discussed in relation to host susceptibility to bark beetles in paper IV of this Hilgardia.

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III. EFFECT OF INJURY UPON OLEORESIN COMPOSITION, PHLOEM CARBOHYDRATES, AND PHLOEM PH

(P. R. Miller, F. W. Cobb, Jr., and E. Zavarin)

Introduction

The first paper in this Hilgardia has shown that disease caused by chronic exposure to photochemical atmospheric pollution predisposes ponderosa pine, *Pinus ponderosa* Laws., to bark beetle (Scolytidae) infestations. The second paper has shown that the

disease affects certain physiological properties of ponderosa pine which may be associated with increased susceptibility to bark beetles. Other possible effects that may be related to increased beetle susceptibility include changes in the chemical composition of oleoresin and/or phloem. These possibilities are strengthened by results showing an increase in resin crystallization with increased severity of disease (see paper II in this issue) and by recent studies indicating that various turpentine constituents differ in their effects upon bark beetles (Smith, 1966). Phloem pH has been suggested as a factor in bark beetle-host relations (Miller and Keen, 1960), and phloem carbohydrates may be important both in beetle nutrition and in host attraction (Person, 1931).

The present study was made to determine the effect of atmospheric pollution injury to ponderosa pine on (a) monoterpene and resin acid composition of oleoresin, (b) sugars and reserve carbohydrates of phloem, and (c) phloem pH.

Methods

Ponderosa pines were studied in an area of the San Bernardino Mountains of southern California commonly subjected to atmospheric pollution. Samples for oleoresin, phloem carbohydrates and phloem pH analyses were collected in July, 1966. Additional samples were collected in February, 1967 for phloem carbohydrate analyses and in July, 1967, for oleoresin analyses. Trees in three disease classes, healthy, intermediate, and advanced, were included in the study. Descriptions of the disease classes and of the study areas are reported in the two previous papers.

Oleoresin analysis

Oleoresin samples were collected in two 0.5 dram, screw-cap vials positioned on opposite sides of each tree 1 to 1.5 m above the ground. The vials were inserted into 8 mm diameter holes extending into the xylem about 1.5 cm. After four to eight hours, the vials were collected and immediately capped. They were refrigerated during transit and stored in the laboratory at -10°C until analyzed. Monoterpenes and resin acids were analyzed by gas-liquid chromatography. An Aerograph Hy-Fi Model 600C chromatograph was used in combination with a Sargent Model SR recorder. Quantities of individual compounds were calculated from integrated peaks using a disk chart integrator.

A column 3 m long with an inside diameter of 1.5 mm filled with B, B-oxydipropionitrile (10 per cent) on acid-washed Chromosorb W 60/80 was used for monoterpene analysis. The column was maintained at 65°C (flow rate of 10 ml/min for both H_2 and N_2). About 0.2% of oleoresin was injected directly after diluting it 1:15 with carbon disulfide. A 15 per cent solution of isopropylbenzene in mineral oil was used as the internal standard to determine the total terpene content of each oleoresin sample (Mirov, et al., 1966). Isopropylbenzene, with a retention volume of 4.4 relative to α -pinene, appeared on the chromatogram a few minutes after β -phellandrene.

A column 4.6 m long x 3.2 mm inside diameter, maintained at 220°C (flow rate of 40 ml/min for H_2 and N_2) and filled with 10 per cent DEGS (diethyleneglycol succinate) on acid-washed, dimethylchlorosilane-treated Chromosorb W 60/80, was used to determine the resin acid composition. The oleoresin was first methylated with an excess of diazomethane for 5 minutes at 0°C in a solution of 10 per cent methanol in ether. The resulting mixture was dehydrated with potassium hydroxide and decanted; the unreacted diazomethane and solvent were then removed by evaporation. The residue was dissolved in 2 ml ether, and 0.2% was injected into the chromatograph. Resin acid composition was then determined by the method used for monoterpenes.

Carbohydrate analysis

Four phloem samples were collected from each tree in early evening by the method described in paper II for phloem moisture samples. Within three hours after collection, the samples were weighed to determine fresh weight, immediately placed in bottles containing 80 per cent ethanol and boiled for 20 minutes. The bottles were then sealed until analyses were made. Additional phloem samples were taken adjacent to those above for determination of percentage moisture content. These moisture contents were used to calculate the dry weight of the carbohydrate samples.

The samples, preserved in 80 per cent ethanol, were thoroughly macerated in a VIRTIS homogenizer. Samples collected in July were then transferred quantitatively to the cellulose cups of a Soxhlet extractor. Extraction with 80 per cent ethanol was completed after 24 hours. In February, samples were macerated as before but placed in a 200 ml centrifuge bottle and held for 20 minutes in a water bath at 100°C . The samples were then centrifuged, and the supernatant decanted and retained. The procedure was repeated three times to collect all sugars from the residue. The extracts were diluted to a constant volume with 80 per cent ethanol. Each extract was further diluted to obtain a quantity of sugars within an optical density range facilitating measurement with the anthrone test (Adams and Emerson, 1961).

The quantity of reserve carbohydrates, including both starch and non-starch polysaccharides, was determined by extraction of the sugar-free residue with 52 per cent perchloric acid (Adams and Emerson, 1961; Hassid and Neufeld, 1964). The perchloric acid extracts were diluted with 80 per cent ethanol and reacted with anthrone reagent. Fresh anthrone reagent was prepared daily and standardized with known glucose concentrations.

An attempt was made to separate starch from nonstarch polysaccharides with the method described by Hassid and Neufeld (1964). However, interference from other materials in the samples precluded accurate analyses of the separate components.

The sample from each tree was analyzed average glucose equivalents for 80 per cent three times. The results were expressed as ethanol soluble sugars and 52 per cent perchloric acid extractable materials.

Phloem pH determinations

Four samples of phloem were taken from each tree at the time samples were collected for carbohydrate analysis. These samples were placed in containers with 25 ml distilled water immediately upon removal from the tree. All substances exuding from the phloem were thus collected in the water. After allowing the samples to stand in water for eight to 12 hours, the pH of the resultant solution was determined with a Beckman pH meter.

Results and discussion

Oleoresin analysis

Oleoresin samples from only healthy and advanced-diseased trees were analyzed. In 1966, the number of trees from which samples were analyzed for monoterpene constituents was limited to seven in each disease class because several of the diseased trees that were tapped failed to yield enough oleoresin for analysis. Oleoresin from 20 additional pairs of trees (one healthy and one advanced-diseased) was analyzed in 1967.

The combined results of the 1966 and 1967 analyses showed no significant differences between disease classes in any of the terpene components (table 1). Thus, we must conclude that atmospheric pollution injury does not lead to qualitative changes in the major terpene components of ponderosa pine sapwood oleoresin.

The monoterpene analyses did show a marked difference in the relative amounts of

limonene and Δ^3 -carene in all but one of the sampled trees compared to those reported for ponderosa pine from other areas (Mirov, 1961). This difference may indicate a unique population of ponderosa pines in southern California (also observed by R. H. Smith, personal communication).

Studies reported in paper II have shown

that oleoresin crystallization apparently increases with increase in disease severity. Since resin acids may be important in determining rate and amount of crystallization, an analysis of these constituents was made (table 2). Samples from only two trees in each disease class were analyzed. The relatively small differences between disease

classes cannot be considered significant. Except for the higher percentage of laevopimaric + palustric acid and the lower percentage of abietic acid, the relative amounts of resin acids from the sapwood of ponderosa pine in southern California were generally similar to those from ponderosa pine heartwood (Riffer and Anderson, 1966).

TABLE 1.—RELATIVE AMOUNTS OF MONOTERPENES IN THE XYLEM OLEORESIN OF HEALTHY PONDEROSA PINES AND PINES INJURED BY ATMOSPHERIC POLLUTION

Disease class	Monoterpene constituents of xylem oleoresin					β -phellandrene
	α -pinene	β -pinene	3-carene ¹	myrcene	limonene	
	Percentage of total terpenes ²					
Healthy	10.3	50.3	Trace	11.2	27.4	0.6
Range	(7-19)	(37-61)		(2-19)	(20-39)	(0.1-2.0)
Diseased	9.5	49.4	Trace	10.0	29.3	0.9
Range	(7-16)	(33-65)		(2-18)	(13-44)	(0.1-2.0)

¹ Although the turpentine of ponderosa pine in other areas of the geographic range are composed of large amounts of 3-carene, only trace amounts of this terpene were detected in most of the trees included in our analyses. 1 tree, in which 22 percent of the turpentine fraction was 3-carene, is not included in the table.

² Based on the average of 27 trees in each disease class. None of the differences between healthy and diseased trees were statistically significant.

Phloem carbohydrates

Samples were collected from nine healthy, ten intermediate- and ten advanced-diseased trees in July, 1966, and from 16, 18, and 25 trees in each disease class, respectively, in February, 1967. The results (table 3) indicate that chronic exposure to photochemical atmospheric pollutants may cause a reduction in the quantity of both soluble sugars and reserve polysaccharides. The difference between healthy and diseased trees appeared to be greater in summer than in winter, and the effect on soluble sugars appeared to occur earlier during symptom development than that on reserve polysaccharides. However, only the difference in reserve polysaccharides between intermediate- and advanced-diseased trees in summer was statistically significant (0.05 level of probability).

Results of analyses of the samples collected in February indicate a lower concentration of sugars and polysaccharides, especially the latter, than in July. These results do not agree with those of Hepting (1945) who, by using the takadiastase test, found that reserve carbohydrates (principally starch) in the "stem bark" of healthy shortleaf pine were higher in the winter. Possibly, the difference may be a reflection of the stress under which the trees in our study were growing.

TABLE 3.—THE CARBOHYDRATE CONTENT OF PONDEROSA PINE PHLOEM IN RELATION TO SEVERITY OF SYMPTOMS CAUSED BY CHRONIC EXPOSURE TO PHOTOCHEMICAL AIR POLLUTANTS

Time of sampling and disease class	Carbohydrate content expressed as glucose equivalents (mg/g dry weight)	
	Soluble sugars	Reserve polysaccharide ^a
July 1966:		
Healthy	1409±12	230±20
Intermediate	364±16	232±13
Advanced	367±14	174±13
February 1967:		
Healthy	331±8	70±5
Intermediate	305±7	104±7
Advanced	309±3	83±3

^a 95 percent confidence limits of the mean.

Phloem pH

The pH of phloem samples from 12 ponderosa pines in each of the three disease classes was measured. The average pH and pH range were as follows:

Healthy: 5.49 (5.30-5.70).
Intermediate-Diseased: 5.59 (5.28-5.80).

Advanced-Diseased: 5.51 (5.33-5.80).

Thus, there was no apparent effect of disease caused by photochemical atmospheric pollution on the pH of phloem exudates, nor any relation between pH and susceptibility of ponderosa pine to bark beetle attack. However, it should be emphasized that the phloem was not macerated and the pH, as measured, may not reflect possible changes in cell pH.

Summary

Results of oleoresin analyses indicate that changes in relative proportions of monoterpenes do not occur in diseased trees; nor is there evidence of change in resin acids. Both soluble sugars and reserve polysaccharides were less in diseased trees, and lower in both healthy and diseased trees in winter than in summer. Reduction in quantity of sugars apparently occurred at an earlier stage of disease development than that of polysaccharides. Phloem pH did not appear to be affected. The significance of these results is discussed in paper IV of this Hilgardia.

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TABLE 2.—RESIN ACID CONSTITUENTS OF PONDEROSA PINE OLEORESIN FROM 2 HEALTHY TREES AND 2 TREES SEVERELY AFFECTED BY ATMOSPHERIC POLLUTION

Resin acid	Disease class (percent)				Relative retention volume ¹
	Healthy		Advanced-diseased		
	Tree No. 1	Tree No. 2	Tree No. 1	Tree No. 2	
Dihydropimaric	0.5	1.0	0.5	Trace	0.94
Pimaric	8.0	6.0	7.5	9.0	1.00
Tetrahydroabietic	5.0	4.5	6.0	4.0	1.11
Laevopimaric + Palustric	29.5	31.5	29.5	35.5	1.24
Isopimaric	16.0	22.0	20.5	15.5	1.38
Abietic	14.5	14.5	13.0	10.0	2.00
Dehydroabietic	4.5	3.4	3.5	6.0	2.07
Neobietic	17.5	14.5	13.5	16.5	2.29
X ²	3.5	3.0	4.5	2.5	1.45
Y ²	1.0	Trace	1.5	1.0	1.82

¹ Retention volume relative to pimaric acid (=30.5 minutes).

² Unidentified.

IV. THEORY ON THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN OXIDANT INJURY AND BARK BEETLE INFESTATION (F. W. Cobb, Jr., D. L. Wood, R. W. Stark, and J. R. Parmeter, Jr.)

Introduction

Certain relationships between insects and tree-invading fungi have long been recognized (Schmidberger, 1837; Hartig, 1878) and provide well-established ecological concepts. Ambrosia beetles serve as vectors for various fungi and feed upon them (Batra, 1963; Franke-Grossmann, 1963; Graham, 1967), apparently in some cases using them as the sole source of nutrition. Other insects feed upon sporophores and mycelia of plant pathogenic fungi (Paviour-Smith, 1960; Lawrence, 1965) or upon diseased tissue such as galls caused by rust fungi. Various insects serve as vectors for plant pathogens (Leach, 1940; Carter, 1962; Stillwell, 1966), and others have a major role in spermatization of heterothallic fungi, including the rusts (Craigie, 1931). Some insects can also be important in pollination of dioecious higher plant parasites such as mistletoes (Hawks- worth, 1961). Through their activities, insects may create wounds that can serve as infection courts for aerial (Craighead, 1916; McLarty, 1933; Graham and Harrison, 1954) or subterranean (Thomas and Wright, 1961) pathogens, and there may be synergistic relationships between insect and pathogen.

The above examples relate to the effects of insects in the epiphytology of plant pathogens. The influences of disease on the population dynamics of insects are less obvious and less clearly established. Evidence suggests that blue-stain fungi associated with bark beetles might alter the environment of the tree to favor the beetles (Craighead, 1925; Nelson and Beal, 1929; Leach, 1940; Mathre, 1964a). These fungi have often been thought to be instrumental in causing the rapid death of infested trees (Nelson, 1934; Craighead and St. George, 1940; Thatcher, 1960), and inoculations have shown that they are capable of causing death of the host in the absence of beetles (Craighead, 1928; Bramble and Holst, 1940; Mathre, 1964a, 1964b).

The possible relationship of diseases as predisposing factors for bark beetles has been suggested by a number of researchers. Rudinsky (1962a) associated the occurrence of heart rot caused by *Fomes pini* (Thor) Lloyd with increased susceptibility to these insects. Ehrlich (1939), Hetrick (1949), and Thomas and Wright (1961) observed *Armillaria mellea* (Vahl.) Quel. infecting the roots of various conifers prior to beetle attack. Franke-Grossmann (1948, 1954), Jorgensen

and Petersen (1951), Bega, *et al.* (1966), Wagener and Cave (1946), and Gohrn, *et al.* (1954) have associated root infection by *Fomes annosus* (Fr.) Cke. with bark-beetle infestation. Wagener and Mielke (1961) noted the association of beetle outbreaks with occurrence of *Verticicladiella wagneri* Kendrick. Both Lorio (1966) and Hartigan (1964) have associated beetle attacks with root disease caused by *Phytophthora cinnamomi* Rands. Struble (1957) and Miller and Keen (1960) have observed an increased incidence of beetle attacks on trees with dwarf mistletoe. The latter also noted the occurrence of beetle infestation in foreign stands severely infected by *Elytroderma deformans* (Weir) Darter, a needle pathogen. However, many of these reports have been based on observations alone. Studies to determine the effects of disease on the host that may help to elucidate the mechanisms of resistance are also lacking.

Recently we studied the relationship between disease caused by photochemical atmospheric pollution and the occurrence of bark beetle (Scolytidae) infestations (paper I), and the effects of this disease on host physiology (papers II and III). The effects of photochemical air pollution (chlorotic decline) on ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa* Laws.) described in the three previous papers may be transmitted through the host to the beetle in various ways. This paper describes the importance of these effects in terms of bark beetle epidemiology.

The behavior of bark beetles culminating in an "infested" tree is for convenience considered in three phases. The first is the dispersal phase, which begins with emergence from brood trees and ends with initial boring activity in the selected host. The second is termed the concentration phase, in which successful penetration through the outer bark into the phloem tissue occurs. This activity results in the production of an attractant and subsequent mass attack. The third phase, establishment, includes the construction of egg galleries, oviposition, and development of the brood from egg to emerging adult.

Relationship of atmospheric pollution injury to the dispersal phase

Trees in an advanced state of chlorotic decline are attacked more frequently by both the western pine beetle and the mountain pine beetle than are healthy trees. The latter, *D. ponderosae*, showed a greater "preference" for diseased trees than did *D. brevicomis* (see paper I in this issue). The question arises as to whether these trees are "selected" by the beetles and, if so, does perception occur at a distance from or in contact with the host. Our study indicates that selection of diseased trees does occur (paper I). However, the lack of external evidence of attack on healthy trees may result from inhibition of boring activity by some unknown host factor such as a repellent or the absence of a phagostimulant.

An attack stimulus might be perceived at various distances and probably involves at least vision and chemoreception. Thorsteinson (1960), reviewing insect host selection, attaches little significance to host shape or color except at "close range" on the grounds that they are too variable and lack identifiable uniqueness which could explain the discriminating capability of insects.

However, recent studies indicate that vision could play an important role in host selection. Some emerging bark beetles are photopositive within certain temperature limits (Rudinsky and Vité, 1956; Graham, 1959; Perttunen, 1959; Rudinsky, 1962b; Atkins, 1966; Tsao, 1966). Shepherd (1966) has shown that the mountain pine beetle is photopositive at most prevailing temperatures (<35-37° C) and shows a positive response to black objects on a white arena or white objects on a black arena. This suggests

that a flying beetle may respond to a strong color contrast, e.g., the chlorotic foliage of advanced-disease trees against a background of darker green. He further found that *D. ponderosae* responded positively to vertical stripes rather than to a mosaic, suggesting that the beetle is responding in its search for a host to the "vertical striping" of tree trunks against the background of underbrush or filtered light. Other authors have shown the importance of "striping" or vertical images in host selection by other scolytids (Chapman and Kinghorn, 1958; Henson, 1962; Vité and Gara, 1962; Gara, *et al.*, 1965).

Beetles may also be responding to a characteristic wave length of the electromagnetic spectrum. Kimmins (1966) showed that *Ips confusus* (LeC.) adults react positively to the regions between ultraviolet (3600Å) and deep-red (7000Å). Ultraviolet radiation is generally much more attractive than other wave lengths. Other authors have shown that many insects respond to infrared (Callahan, 1966; Evans, 1966). Measurable differences in infrared emissivity may exist between trees under stress and healthy trees (Weber, 1965; Heller, *et al.*, 1966). Therefore, it is possible that insects respond to these differences. Although the spectrum of ponderosa pine injured by atmospheric pollution has not been determined, such differences undoubtedly exist.

Long-range reception of olfactory stimuli by bark beetles has not been proven. Most researchers seem to agree that reception is "relatively shortrange" (Thorsteinson, 1960). Selection by bark beetles of hosts in various physiological states is well established. Trees under stress from drought (Craighead, 1925; St. George, 1930; Hall, 1958) or injured by fire (Furniss, 1965), lightning (Johnson, 1966), wind (Jacobs, 1936; Bedard, 1950; Massey and Wygant, 1954), defoliation (Wallace, 1944; Wickman, 1963) or in other "subnormal" physiological conditions (Anderson, 1944; Lejeune, *et al.*, 1961; Rudinsky, 1962b; Goeden and Norris, 1964) are more subject to attack by insects. This may be due to the formation of specific attractants (Person, 1981; Adlung, 1958), creation of visual stimuli as discussed above, or by providing susceptible material which is found by some random process (Vité and Wood, 1961; Wood 1963). Considerable evidence now exists that bark beetles respond to odors of cut host material during dispersal (Vité and Gara, 1962; McMullen and Atkins, 1962; Chapman, 1963; Atkins, 1966; Rudinsky, 1966b). The possibility that bark beetles are responding to specific odors produced by trees injured by atmospheric pollution must be considered.

There were no apparent changes in relative amounts of the major xylem monoterpenes in trees injured by air pollution (paper III). However, other undetected changes which may influence host attractiveness to bark beetles could be associated with disease. Bark beetle species are attracted or repelled by whole oleoresin or its various components (Perttunen, 1957; Vité and Gara, 1962; Chararas, 1962; Kangas, *et al.*, 1965; Heikkinen and Hrutford, 1965; Rudinsky, 1966b). The terpenes presently thought to be involved in host or primary attraction are α - and β -pinene, limonene, camphene, geraniol and α -terpineol. The Douglas fir beetle, *D. pseudotsugae* Hopkins, is attracted most by α -pinene, limonene and camphene; less by β -pinene, geraniol and α -terpineol (Rudinsky, 1966b). Perttunen (1967) showed that species of *Hylurgops* and *Hylastes* also respond to α -pinene and Kangas, *et al.* (1955) have shown that α -terpineol is attractive to *Blastophagus piniiperda* L.

Respiratory fermentation products not directly related to the oleoresin system may also play a role in attraction (Person, 1931). Reduction of phloem carbohydrates in pollution-injured trees (see paper III) may affect their quantity and quality.

Heikkinen and Hrutford (1965) suggest that the quantity and character of vapors emanating from Douglas fir vary with the condition of the tree and may be associated with the water regime. During transpiration in healthy trees, a mixture of needle oils repellent to the Douglas fir beetle may be emitted whereas during subnormal transpiration caused by drought, defoliation, etc., more attractive concentrations may be produced because of an increase in temperature, absorption and/or a decrease in photosynthetic activity. Air pollution injury to ponderosa pine may have the same effect.

Relationship of disease to the concentration phase

The concentration phase of bark beetle attack is better understood than dispersal. Feeding activity associated with the establishment of initial galleries produces a pheromone which concentrates the population on host material. This phenomenon has been established for *Ips pini* (Say) (Anderson, 1948), *I. confusus* (Wood and Vité, 1961), *Dendroctonus brevicomis* and *D. ponderosae* (Vité and Wood, 1961; Vité and Gara, 1962), *D. pseudotsugae* (McMullen and Atkins, 1962; Rudinsky, 1963), and *Trypodendron lineatum* (Oliv.) (Rudinsky and Daterman, 1964; Chapman, 1966) among others.

The stimuli which induce boring activity may be olfactory, tactile, gustatory, or may involve the absence of an inhibitor or repellent. It is difficult to assess how air pollution injury may affect this process, but the reduction in yield of oleoresin observed in this study could be important. Certain monoterpenes reportedly repel the Douglas fir beetle (Heikkinen and Hrutford, 1965; Rudinsky, 1966b) at close range in the laboratory. If this occurs in nature, a change in its relative concentration may lessen its repellent action. Such repellency for other *Dendroctonus* is not known. The quantity and composition of attractant precursors or stimulants present in phloem (Wood, *et al.*, 1966) may also be influenced by disease.

Oleoresin in living trees is a major obstacle to successful establishment of bark beetle galleries (Schwerdtfeger, 1955; Miller and Keen, 1960; Chararas, 1962; Rudinsky, 1962a; Stark, 1965). Resistance may manifest itself through oleoresin exudation pressure, rate and quantity of flow, propensity to crystallize, chemical composition, and possibly other characteristics which may, individually or together, affect the boring beetle.

Oleoresin exudation pressure (OEP) has been considered to be a decisive factor in the success or failure of the attacking pioneer beetles of some species (Vité, 1961; Vité and Wood, 1961; Rudinsky, 1966b). Our observations indicate that high OEP has little effect on the establishment of *D. valens*, a moderate effect on *D. brevicomis*, and a marked effect on *D. ponderosae*. These studies (paper I) reveal that 86 per cent and 59 per cent of the trees killed by the mountain pine beetle and the western pine beetle respectively were in the advanced-diseased group. Advanced- and intermediate-diseased trees were shown to have consistently lower OEP than healthy trees (see paper II). A similar effect was noted in Douglas fir infested with *Fomes pini* (Rudinsky, 1962a).

There is also evidence that OEP affects infection by blue-stain fungi thought to be important in bark beetle establishment. Mathre (1964b) showed that large ponderosa pines with OEP of 35 psi or less were susceptible to both *Ceratocystis minor* and *C. ips*, while large trees with OEP greater than 35 psi were resistant. Small diameter trees were susceptible regardless of OEP. However, the exact role of OEP as a resistance mechanism is still not clear. In a second-growth ponderosa pine stand, *D. brevi-*

comis infested the trees at the same rate in high- and low-pressure classes (Stark, 1965).

Rate of oleoresin flow and yield may be important in host resistance. Our study (paper II) has shown that severe air pollution injury reduces the rate and quantity of flow. This may also be related to the higher mortality rate caused by the mountain pine beetle in the advanced-disease class. We have also observed that mountain pine beetle appears to infest ponderosa pine of low resin yield in westside Sierra stands. Struble (1965) observed the same phenomenon in second-growth sugar pine. However, in the dense, second-growth ponderosa pine stands of the eastside Sierra, and in sugar pine generally, resin flow does not appear to impede this insect's success (Smith, R. H., personal communication).

Although the western pine beetle can overcome trees of high resin yield (Stark, 1965), trees of lower yield may be more easily killed. This was indicated by our results showing that mortality caused by *D. brevicomis* was significantly higher in advanced-diseased trees (paper I).

The rate of resin crystallization was increased in advanced-diseased trees (paper II). While there is no evidence that crystallization rate is a resistance factor to bark beetles, we believe that rapid crystallization of oleoresin would enhance successful establishment. Boring activity in the entrance tunnel and introduction of boring dust, fungal spores, etc., could initiate crystallization, facilitating removal of oleoresin from the gallery. The Douglas fir beetle cannot survive in liquid resin (Rudinsky, 1966b) while *D. valens* can. Dead adults of *D. brevicomis* and *D. ponderosae* have been observed in pitch tubes and galleries flooded with resin. Thus, the increased propensity to crystallize, associated with air pollution injury, could favor establishment.

Once a beetle has successfully established an initial entrance tunnel in its host, the secondary or sex attractant becomes the dominant stimulus in subsequent attack behavior. Not only is the initially attacked tree "filled in," but surrounding trees in all physiological states may be attacked. The sex attractant produced by bark beetles is so potent it may induce attack and infestation in nonhosts (Johnson, 1966; Miller and Keen, 1960) as well as apparently healthy host trees (Vité and Wood, 1961; Stark, 1965). If changes occur in monoterpene constituents in trees damaged by air pollution, the potency of the secondary attractant may be altered. Recent studies (Silverstein, et al., 1968) indicate that such hydrocarbons may be involved.

The effects of air pollution injury in reducing sapwood and phloem moisture content indicate a water "disturbance" which in turn could affect the properties of oleoresin. Because feeding appears to be necessary before the secondary attractants are produced, changes in the nutritional qualities of the phloem could affect its potency (Pitman, 1966). We have shown that reductions in phloem carbohydrates (paper III) and phloem thickness (paper II) are associated with air pollution injury and could therefore influence the concentration phase.

Relationship of disease to the establishment phase

The effects of photochemical air pollution on the properties of oleoresin affecting initial penetration may also be operative during the establishment phase. Reduction in exudation pressure, flow rate, yield and the increase in crystallization of oleoresin may affect the amount of toxic vapors to which the beetle is exposed.

Reid (1963) found that "resinosis," the formation of secondary oleoresin in callous tissue, adjacent to the parent gallery, reduced egg eclosion. Rudinsky (1968a) suggests that resinosis in Douglas fir is greater

and occurs sooner in trees with a high oleoresin exudation pressure than in trees of intermediate (and presumably low) pressure. Vité and Wood (1961) observed that in trees with an OEP greater than 1.5 atmospheres egg deposition and development were delayed. No observations were made on production of secondary oleoresin in our studies, but reduction in oleoresin yield and flow rate associated with photochemical air pollution injury may influence the degree of resinosis in the tree.

The recent discovery that growth of some species of blue-stain fungi is adversely affected by monoterpene vapors (Cobb, et al., 1967) may also be significant, especially in relation to the decreased resin flow in severely diseased trees and to the possible effects of disease on monoterpene constituents of xylem resin.

By providing a more favorable environment for the establishment of blue-stain fungi, reduction in phloem and sapwood moisture associated with photochemical air pollution (paper II) may enhance gallery construction. Various authors have indicated that drying of the sapwood and phloem may occur through beetle activity in the absence of blue stain (Hetrick, 1949; Callahan, 1955; Rudinsky, 1962b). However, considerable evidence exists to support the hypothesis that blue-stain fungi facilitate beetle invasion by disturbing water conduction (Caird, 1935; Shepherd and Watson, 1959; Reid, 1961). Reid (1961) showed that *D. ponderosae* is unable to establish broods in trees which maintain a high moisture content. Mathre (1964b) showed that moisture content of the sapwood inoculated with *Ceratocystis* spp. was greatly reduced while uninoculated wounds in control trees did not dry appreciably. He also showed that a reduced sapwood moisture content may be related to increased susceptibility to the fungi. By comparing colonization in limbed and unlimbed severed trees, he demonstrated the apparent effect of moisture on *C. minor* and *C. ips*. Thirty-five days after inoculation, the sapwood of an unlimbed, severed tree was completely "blue-stained" and dry, but infection in a limbed tree was not extensive and the sapwood was still wet. Münch (1907) believed that blue-stain fungi are most pathogenic when water content of wood is below normal, and Bier (1964) has shown that relatively small reductions in phloem moisture content are associated with increased susceptibility of trees to other pathogenic fungi.

However, air pollution injury might adversely affect successful brood establishment by severely reducing moisture content. Reid (1962) found that when inner bark and sapwood moisture content in lodgepole pine dropped below 105 per cent and 60 per cent oven dry weight respectively, oviposition of the mountain pine beetle ceased and the beetles often reemerged. Miller and Keen (1960) report that infested ponderosa pine maintains a moisture content of 200-300 per cent and drying reduces brood success of the western pine beetle.

The effect of reductions in phloem thickness and carbohydrates associated with disease on success of beetle establishment is unknown. It may be deleterious to both the western pine beetle and the mountain pine beetle, since these insects establish their galleries primarily in the phloem-cambial region, scoring the sapwood only slightly. The effect on the mountain pine beetle should be greater because both the parent and the larvae develop within phloem whereas only parents and the early instar larvae of the western pine beetle utilize this tissue.

Limited observations on gallery formation and brood production in advanced-diseased trees and healthy trees showed some indication that both gallery length and total brood production were less in advanced-diseased trees. Thus, while advanced-diseased trees seem to provide a more attractive host, they

may be physiologically less suitable for successful beetle development.

Air pollution injury increases the susceptibility of ponderosa pines to both attack and infestation by the western pine beetle and mountain pine beetle. This injury facilitates establishment of the beetle on the host but may actually reduce the suitability of such trees as breeding material. Therefore, advanced-disease trees may act as "trap trees" in the sense that they absorb the resident beetle population and may actually prevent further build-up. In spite of the great abundance of advanced-disease trees in the area of the studies, there has been no noticeable increase in bark beetle infestations.

Summary

The foregoing discussion presents our views that a reduction of oleoresin exudation pressure, quantity, rate of flow, and an increase in the propensity of oleoresin to crystallize, and a reduction in phloem and sapwood moisture content enhance successful establishment of the western pine beetle and mountain pine beetle in ponderosa pine injured by photochemical atmospheric pollution. Hypotheses are presented which relate these results (papers II and III) to host susceptibility.

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In order that the information in our publications may be more intelligible it is sometimes necessary to use trade names of products or equipment rather than complicated descriptive or chemical identifications. In so doing it is unavoidable in some cases that similar products which are on the market under other trade names may not be cited. No endorsement of named products is intended nor is criticism implied of similar products which are not mentioned.

BILL SCOTT REPORTS

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, we are mailing our monthly newsletter to each resident of the Eighth Congressional District of Virginia who has asked to receive it and I insert a copy of the March issue in the RECORD for the information of the membership:

[March 1970, volume IV, No. 3]

YOUR CONGRESSMAN—BILL SCOTT REPORTS
A NEW BILL

A number of constituents employed as Metropolitan Washington policemen have indicated their concern with a requirement that D.C. policemen reside within a 21-mile radius of the Capitol building. I have requested the District of Columbia Commissioner to waive the rule as to a specific employee but have not had a response. Therefore, a bill has been introduced to remove the residence requirement entirely. The District of Columbia Committee has been requested to hold hearings on the measure and in view of the high crime rate in Washington and the inability of the Metropolitan police to bring its force up to full authorization, I am hopeful of favorable consideration.

POLLUTION

As national concern over pollution continues to grow, it has become increasingly apparent that decisive steps must be taken on the national level to curb the activities that threaten our environment. As a result, I have co-sponsored the seven bills recommended by the President to make a fresh start in this area. These bills touch on nearly every phase of pollution and include numerous proposals of ways to combat the serious pollution problem.

HEALTH BENEFITS HEARING

The Subcommittee on Retirement, Insurance and Health Benefits of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee is currently conducting hearings on health benefits for government employees. Continued increase in the cost of hospital and medical care has caused concern among both present employees and retirees. Our Subcommittee will consider a change in the ratio of payments by the government and the employees as well as the quality of medical care under government health plans. My own preference is for a 50-50 sharing of costs regardless of the plan or option chosen and at our initial hearing the Chairman of the Subcommittee said he concurred in this position.

YOUTH GROUPS

Since the beginning of the year I have met and talked with 16 school and scout groups and have many others scheduled for the coming months. The groups have ranged in size from 6 to 120 and have come from nearby Fairfax County and as far away as Hanover. Of course, I enjoy meeting with these young people and encouraging their interest in their government. However, due to other Congressional duties, I am sometimes unable to spend more than a few minutes with them. Small groups come by the office but larger ones are met on the Capitol steps where we have a chat and have our picture taken together. When time and circumstances permit I take them on the floor of the House for a brief visit. The office also supplies group passes to the House Gallery and information on various tours conducted in Washington. If you are planning to bring a group of youngsters to Washington in the future and would like assistance in arranging your visit, please let us know.

MERCHANT MARINE

Last week the House of Representatives passed the maritime programs authorization bill for fiscal year 1971. This measure provides for the construction of 19 new merchant marine vessels in FY 71 and is the first step in implementing the President's maritime program which, over a 10-year period, calls for the construction of 300 new vessels. It is the first decisive effort in decades to rebuild our merchant marine and is designed to reverse the sharp decline in American shipping and shipbuilding by making the American merchant marine more competitive. Of course, it will also provide shipping capability for our national defense.

POSTAL REFORM

Our House Post Office and Civil Service Committee for almost a year has been considering postal reform legislation, sometimes meeting as much as three times in a week. We took up titles of a bill, paragraph by paragraph, and completed consideration of a measure which would have provided for long time tenure for the Postmaster General, eliminated politics from consideration in postal appointments, retained Civil Service protection for postal employees, provided funds for modernization of buildings and equipment, and a new method of determining postal rates. Before a vote was taken however, a substitute measure was presented consisting of 148 pages and adopted by the Committee without discussion. The substitute, which will be presented to the House, provides for a Postal Service Authority to be operated by seven part-time councilmen who shall appoint a Director General, wage and hours of employees to be determined by collective bargaining with recognized representatives of employees with appeal rights to a board of arbitration. It does combine wage increases for some workers and establishes a commission to determine postal rates. My concern is that there will be little legislative oversight or opportunity for anyone to exercise any degree of control over the corporation should the substitute measure become law.

LET ME INTRODUCE

Much of the work of the Congressional office is done by a staff which consists of nine full-time and two part-time members. They are an excellent group and in order for you to become better acquainted with them and their duties, I want to introduce one of them to you each month.

Mrs. Pearl Hancock is in charge of our Fredericksburg office and started working with me in January 1967. She was formerly secretary to the Dean of Admissions at Mary Washington College and has also worked for Historic Fredericksburg and the Virginia State Employment Service. She is active in a number of local organizations including the Eastern Star, the Auxiliaries of the American Legion and the VFW and the Grace Memorial Church. Her responsibilities include keeping the District Office open each day for the convenience of constituents, correlating her activities with the Washington office, preparing correspondence, cutting stencils for our newsletters, clipping items of interest from the area newspapers for my information and setting up appointments for constituents who wish to visit the Fredericksburg office. She is an excellent stenographer and has a wide circle of friends in the area. Mrs. Hancock is a widow and usually takes her vacations at Christmas time or during the winter when the work load is lightest. Her interest in the office was demonstrated last year when she continued to come to work daily with her broken leg in a cast. She's a Pearl.

ADDITIONAL FEDERAL JUDGE

The House recently passed a bill by a vote of 366 to 18 to provide for new federal judgeships throughout the United States and which will add a federal judge for our Eastern District of Virginia. This will increase to 6 the judges in the Eastern District. In 1965, with three judges, this court ranked second highest in the nation in the number of cases handled by each judge. Two additional judges were added in 1966, but even with this added help Virginia's Eastern District continued to rank high nationally in caseload; ninth in 1967 and 1968 and eleventh in 1969 with an increase of over 100 percent in the last 11 years in new civil cases. The new district judge when seated should help the Federal court to handle the business brought before it more efficiently and expeditiously and thus reduce the delay in handling both criminal and civil cases.

CREDIT CARDS

Unsolicited credit cards and proposed legislation to prohibit them being sent through the mails were contained in a measure sponsored during the first session of the current Congress. Hearings have been completed and our Post Office and Civil Service Committee is favorably reporting a bill. In the meantime, the Federal Trade Commission issued a ruling prohibiting, with some exceptions, the mailing of unsolicited credit cards effective in May 1970. The Commission ruling mentioned the various undesirable results of unsolicited mailing brought out in the Congressional hearings such as theft from the mails, fraudulent use, the burden placed on an individual who receives and feels obligated to return or cancel the card. The conclusion was that the practice was an unfair method of competition over a competitor who does not utilize these unsolicited mailings. While it is hoped the legislation will soon be enacted, the Commission's ruling seems to be a step in the right direction, pending final Congressional action.

BILL CO-SPONSORED

I joined with others in introducing a measure to preserve the right of elementary and secondary students to attend their neighborhood schools. This measure states that the local school system shall have the right to determine the placement of any school facility to serve the needs of the community without federal intervention so long as no effort is made through its placement to discriminate against any student or group. It also provides that forcing a child to leave his neighborhood school because of race, creed, color, religion or national origin shall be illegal. Of course, the purpose is to maintain neighborhood schools and to prevent forced busing to achieve racial balance.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CRIME BILL

We are all aware of the increasing crime problem throughout the country and specifically in the District of Columbia. However, the Attorney General has furnished information to Members of Congress indicating that during the last calendar year there was a total of 62,575 felonies committed in Washington and that it ranked first in the nation among cities having a population of 500,000 to 1 million inhabitants. The District of Columbia Crime Bill, which I co-sponsored, therefore appears to be every much in order. It is a comprehensive measure containing 439 pages. The major provisions of the bill relate to reorganization of the District of Columbia courts, changes in criminal laws and procedures and the establishment of a public defender service. Perhaps the specific points that have been given most attention through the news media are those related to pre-trial detention, the so-called "no-knock" provision for forcibly entering a residence with a court order but without prior knowledge of the occupant and the transfer of the Lorton correctional institutions from the District of Columbia government to the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. All Members of Congress, I believe, want to protect the rights of citizens but are equally concerned with preserving order. It seems improbable that anyone's rights can be protected except under the rule of law and this measure seems to be a major step in the right direction.

GI BILL INCREASES

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to have supported the conference

report on H.R. 11959 as agreed to by the House of Representatives yesterday.

As a member of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs and a strong supporter of this legislation since our public hearings in June last year, I am pleased to see that differences in the House and Senate version have been ironed out. As a result, the Nation's veterans who are pursuing courses of education and training will receive a well-deserved increase in monthly allowances when the conference report is agreed to by the other body and the compromise bill is approved by the President. The mail I have been receiving from veterans on college campuses across the country offers a striking example of the overwhelming need for increases in monthly educational allowances.

I am pleased also that the widows and sons and daughters of men who gave their lives in service will also share in the fruits of this legislation if they are pursuing programs of education or training. The bill as agreed to by the conferees authorizes a 34.6-percent increase in monthly educational allowances. Converted to dollars, this means that the veteran who is unmarried and attending school fulltime will have his monthly payments increased from \$130 to \$175 monthly effective February 1 of this year. From this monthly allowance, the veteran must pay his tuition and fees, purchase books, pay room and board and provide for other incidental and miscellaneous expenses. The increase is well-deserved and long overdue. I hope the other body will act with dispatch and that the President will speedily approve this legislation.

DILEMMA IN THE PARKS

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Salt Lake Tribune concerns the dilemma facing those charged with the administration of our national parks. As a member of the House Interior Committee, I believe the matter is of sufficient interest to bring it to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress. The editorial follows:

[From the Salt Lake Tribune, Mar. 4, 1970]

DILEMMA IN THE PARKS

According to the 1916 act creating the National Park Service, America's national parks were "to conserve the scenery and the wildlife therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations."

That's still the Park Service's goal, though it is becoming increasingly difficult to attain. So many people in these mobile and affluent times want to enjoy the parks that it is almost impossible to "leave them unimpaired for future generations."

This isn't true of all the parks. It isn't even the case in all parts of those which draw the most people. But it is a problem that will touch more and more parks, monuments and national recreation areas, too.

Solving the increased user problem by constructing additional roads, campgrounds, etc., creates other problems. At what point,

for instance, does usage cease to prove beneficial to both people and park? And how can a park be left "unimpaired" for future generations if it is criss-crossed by highways and blotched with hundreds of campgrounds, boat docks, restaurants and filling stations? Building additional national parks might prove feasible, though costly. But the most scenically unique spots have already been set aside.

Concern over present parks, ability to survive the crowds was expressed this week by Dr. Leslie L. Glasgow, assistant secretary of the interior, when he asked Congress for additional money to expand facilities at the Cape Cod National Seashore. As an alternative to expansion, he said the Park Service might have to resort to placing quotas on attendance.

Cape Cod National Seashore was opened in 1966. Now, less than four years later, it is too small to handle the four million persons who visited it in 1969. Clearly the pressure must be reduced.

Though we don't like the idea of having to make reservations to visit a national park, we fear some such emergency control is going to be necessary in the heavily used areas. Indeed, limitations on length of stay in camping areas, already are in effect in some parks.

Emergency measures have a way of becoming permanent. There is also a tendency to resort to such tactics before actual need is established. This must be guarded against while more lasting remedies are sought and applied.

We think a plan announced several months ago by Interior Secretary Walter J. Hickel holds great promise for diverting many park-bound vacationers. The Hickel plan calls for establishing a number of new, though not necessarily spectacular, parks nearer centers of population. It was designed to bring parks to people who otherwise couldn't enjoy them. But the "close to home" parks would also attract a lot of the people who are now driving several hundred miles farther along the road to a big name national playground.

More nearby parks, reasonable expansion of existing ones and emergency only use of visitor quotas could stave off the day when several years on a waiting list may be a prerequisite to seeing Yellowstone's geysers or Yosemite's falls.

DRAFT LOTTERY

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, on July 22, 1969, with my colleague from New Jersey, Mr. THOMPSON, I introduced H.R. 13025, a bill to amend the Military Selective Service Act of 1967 by instituting some 20 changes or alterations, including selection by lottery effective for all young men at age 19. In October 1969, the House passed H.R. 14001 which permitted the President to affect the latter change, and only this one change was made. It is increasingly apparent the Selective Service System continues to be plagued with virtually all of its previous ills. Even the uncertainty which the age 19 all or nothing lottery was designed to remove has remained. While one board need call upon only the low numbers, other boards with fewer eligible young men available have virtually run through all numbers, even those originally thought to be assured of exemption.

Beyond the rapid emerging problems of the lottery, the system contains inequities

untouched by the either Presidential or congressional action. These problems are individually glaringly obvious to those who encounter them as they come of draft age. Collectively they are apparent to officials of the Selective Service and to Government appeals agents across the country. The latter office is, unfortunately, all too little known for in most instances the agent, customarily a local attorney, makes little effort to publicize the fact that the Government makes available free draft counselling service. To do so, would invite great demands on the agent's valuable time in an unpaid position.

Local board No. 1, in Hartford, Conn., differs from most in the Nation in that it has the services of a young attorney, Mr. Robert F. Ludgin, who has taken his duties as appeals agent sufficiently seriously to speak before student and parent groups advising them of the options open under the law and offering his services for consultation on individual cases. This extraordinary effort has been the subject of the lead editorial of one of Connecticut's leading papers, the Hartford Times. I insert the editorial, by the editorial page editor, Don O. Noel, Jr., into the Record at the close of my remarks.

In his effort to obtain fair treatment for those who seek his advice, Mr. Ludgin has become painfully familiar with all the inequities built into the system. Some months ago, Mr. Ludgin committed his criticism and recommendations regarding prospective changes in the draft system to paper. In January he rewrote his observations in the form of a letter and forwarded copies to President Nixon and the Secretary of Defense. More recently I obtained a copy of Attorney Ludgin's critique and find both his criticism and his recommended changes to be strikingly similar to those found in my bill, H.R. 13025, the Selective Service Act of 1969. I consider this similarity of significance because Mr. Ludgin drafted his letter without knowledge of the specific points raised by this legislation.

I recommend the following editorial and letter to my colleagues in hopes that attention may soon be turned to the remaining inequities in the Selective Service System so skillfully noted by Mr. Noel and Mr. Ludgin:

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Times,
Mar. 14, 1970]

ARE DEFERMENTS ESSENTIAL? MAKING THE
LOTTERY WORK—

(By Don O. Noel, Jr.)

We defer young men from the draft to avoid a surplus of soldiers.

It's that simple. If we didn't invent all kinds of handy definitions to make young men draft-exempt, we'd have too many ready to be drafted. Then we'd be forced to make "arbitrary" decisions as to who went and who didn't. People would be angry.

The categories of draft deferment are perhaps not as obvious.

They are obvious enough that people are becoming aware of them. A Senate subcommittee headed by Senator Edward Kennedy has just proposed virtual elimination of draft deferments.

No student deferments.

No occupational deferments.

One of the early proponents of this kind of reform—and an advocate of still more sweeping reform—has been Robert F. Ludgin, a young attorney who serves as government

appeal agent for Local Board No. 1 in Hartford.

Bob Ludgin has been pressing reform for more than a year now, offending some and pleasing others.

Over lunch with him this week, I learned a lot about the draft.

Mr. Ludgin hardly fits the picture of a hot-eyed anti-war protester. On graduation from Princeton, he enlisted in the Marine Corps, somehow concealing his flat feet. After eight weeks of Marine Corps marching and hiking, a Corps surgeon politely but firmly threw him out.

He got into the draft business here by accident. Interested in public service, he told the Democratic Party he'd be glad to do something useful. When a vacancy occurred for a draft appeal agent, he was offered the job.

"I'd never heard of the position," he says. "My predecessor said it would only take two or three hours a month, and I said O.K."

It's been taking him at least five times that amount of time, but he's brought it on himself. The appeal agent is supposed to counsel with young men who have questions about the draft, explain their rights, help them prepare an appeal if they are not satisfied. Most draftees never know there is an appeal agent.

But Bob Ludgin got himself known, and he now has so many requests for advice that he holds little seminars for a dozen at a time, helping young men know their rights.

He also—and this is where he got to be controversial—began challenging the deferment system.

It's all well and good, he argued, to allow a young man to appeal an unfavorable classification.

But if another young man gets a favorable classification—that is, if he's deferred—improperly, then someone else will be drafted in his stead. Who gets to appeal that kind of decision?

The kind of deferment he went after was the kind that became permanent: The young man who parleyed college, a year of teaching, another year of graduate school, still another year of teaching, past his 26th birthday. At around age 24, he felt, draft boards ought to take a hard look at further deferments.

After prolonged negotiation with the selective service bureaucracy, he won the right to examine the files for deferments he felt were improper. He then won, again after long delay, the right to appeal them.

He appealed five cases. And after badgering the state appeal board for months, he finally had them reviewed, and won his point: All were ordered reclassified 1-A, draft-eligible.

All five were, by the time the ruling came down, past the age of 26, and as a practical matter are home free. But Bob Ludgin thinks he won a victory in principle that can be applied to future cases.

Meantime, the possibility opens for more sweeping reform. Now that the lottery system has been adopted, we have an easy way—arbitrary, but impartial—to take only a few of the young men of draft age.

Therefore, argues Mr. Ludgin—and Senator Kennedy, and others—why bother with deferments at all? Let everyone be "exposed" to the draft during the year in which his 19th birthday occurs. For one year, he will be eligible; he'll be able to guess his chances, to some extent, by the number his birth date draws in the lottery. But he'll have no more than a year of doubt.

As we've all been reading, the lottery system hasn't worked too well so far. Many boards had to use all the numbers up to 30 or 31 in January, and 28 this month. At that rate, everyone who isn't deferred will be called by the end of the year, no matter what his number.

It is, of course, the deferments that skewer the system; and June graduation may drastically change the numbers game.

But the long-range solution is to have no one deferrable. Eliminate the liaison officers for large corporations, whose job is to assure draft boards that any engineer they hire is involved somehow in defense-related work. Eliminate the men who "hide" in teaching jobs until they're 26.

Some fear that abandoning college deferments would persuade many young men to abandon college.

It might. But almost any college graduate of the postwar years will recall students—veterans, most often—who came to their studies with a purpose born of a year or so away from the ivory towers.

A year of travel, or productive work, might do wonders for many students. And if some, relieved of draft worries, never came back to college—how bad would that be?

Should we end the draft completely, and depend on a volunteer army?

No, says Bob Ludgin. The role of citizen-soldiers (and, incidentally, a citizen-dominated draft system, another reform he advocates) is an important balance on the military's role in a democracy.

Let's have a draft, he says. But make it fair.

JANUARY 20, 1970.

The PRESIDENT,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As the Government Appeal Agent for Local Board #1 here in Hartford, I am especially concerned about the need for legislation to improve and reform the Selective Service System.

Because it is likely that our Armed Forces would never request, and almost certain that they could never absorb, the services of all our nation's young men of draft age, the role of Selective Service must remain, as its name implies, the selection for mandatory military service of some men from among the total list of draft registrants. Therefore, so long as a military draft exists, the burdens of citizenship will continue to be distributed unevenly among the draft registrants. Inequities are an inherent and inescapable part of our military draft system. In addition, however, the current Selective Service Laws are responsible for intensifying the unfairness with which the draft system works.

Your interest and efforts in reforming the Selective Service System are commendable. The creation of the birthday-alphabetical lottery system is, I believe, a step in the right direction toward a draft system offering a greater measure of predictability to individual registrants. Also, it lays the foundation for building a military draft system that selects physically qualified registrants more randomly and less subjectively. But, if the draft is to be rid of much of its present unfairness, considerably more reforms remain to be carried out in the system.

Knowing that you are interested in further improvements in the draft system, I herewith humbly offer my own observations and suggestions on this subject.

Re: I-A-O and I-O Classifications, i.e. Deferments for Conscientious Objectors: The noble and humane idea of granting appropriate deferments to individuals who, by religious training and belief are conscientiously opposed to: a.) combatant training and service in the armed forces or b.) participation in war in any form and combatant and noncombatant training and service in the armed forces should be extended to recognize the dignity of every individual registrant's beliefs. These classifications should be made available to any registrant who is conscientiously opposed to: a.) combatant training and service in the armed forces; b.) participation in war in any form and participation in combatant and noncombatant training and service in the armed forces; or c.) participation in whatever declared or de facto war our military forces are engaged

in at the time his classification is being determined, and participation in combatant and noncombatant training and service in the armed forces.

Re: II-S Classifications, i.e. Deferments for Undergraduate College Students: The present system of deferring any registrant who is a full-time college student making normal progress toward a degree discriminates unfairly against those individuals who have enjoyed the least of the educational and financial opportunities available in our society.

Although scholarships and loans are available for some students who cannot afford to pay their own way through college, many young men do have the grades to be accepted for college but are unable to obtain sufficient scholarships and loans to finance their education and are unable to do so with their own and their family's resources. Thus, due only to their financial condition, many registrants become subject to induction while others from more affluent families are deferred even though their scholastic abilities and achievements are no better than their poorer peers.

More generally, II-S deferments discriminate against the registrants from the least affluent sections of our society because such registrants are least likely to be attending college as a result of their life-long environmental deprivation.

Defense Secretary Laird's recent statement that you are considering asking Congress to discontinue student deferments comes as welcome news.

I agree that student deferments should be discontinued.

Re: II-A and II-C Classifications, i.e. Occupational Deferments: Because occupation deferments also tend to be given in favor of the better-educated, better-connected and more affluent registrants, they further intensify the disadvantages of being poor.

I urge that all occupation deferments be abolished.

For too long, occupational deferments have been available for certain favored registrants as the final building blocks in their pyramiding of deferments until their 26th birthday thereby allowing such registrants to obtain permanent exemptions from the military service.

Re: III-A (a) Classifications, i.e. Automatic Deferments for Fathers: The existence of deferments for fathers reflects the hesitancy of the government to interfere with the tranquillity of family life. Such a consideration is entirely proper. What should be an overriding consideration, however, is that the existence of this classification is unfair to those males in our society who, although desirous of experiencing the joys and responsibilities of raising a family, delay the assumption of family obligations until their careers and finances enable them to provide properly for their children.

The fact that a very large number of our military men do have families should lessen our fears of drafting fathers.

I believe that deferments for fathers should be terminated.

The right of a registrant to appear in person before his Local Board should be retained by allowing the registrant the right to appear before the District Draft Commission with which he is registered.

To insure nationwide uniformity in the administration of the law, an attempt should be made to establish a system that requires the District Draft Commission to make public their decisions in every case on which a hearing was had while protecting the rights of the individual registrants to personal privacy and public anonymity.

If such a District Draft Commission system were established, I believe that the present system with its State Appeal Boards and the Presidential Appeal Boards could be replaced by one National Appeal Board. It too should be composed of full-time fully salaried Pres-

idential appointees serving overlapping terms of some 4-6 years. The decisions of this body should also be made public in the same fashion as those of the District Draft Commissions.

To insure that all the necessary facts are available to the District Draft Commissions for their case-to-case decisions, I suggest that the present use of Government Appeal Agents be replaced with a modified adversary system. In other words, the present denial by the Selective Service System to all registrants of the right to counsel should cease. A registrant should be given the right to appear in person with counsel and appropriate witnesses at his personal appearance before the District Draft Commission. Furthermore, registrants should also have the right to counsel when appealing to the National Appeal Board. Full-time staff attorneys should be hired for each District Draft Commission to serve as Government hearing officers. Their duty would be to represent the interests of the public and the Government in seeing that the laws are diligently and equally applied. Furthermore, other full-time attorneys should be hired for each District Draft Commission to serve as "advisors" to all registrants and as full legal counsel for those registrants who cannot afford to hire their own counsel.

Re: III-A (b) Classification, i.e. Deferments for Extreme Hardship to Dependents: The majority of III-A (b) deferments that are granted appear to be for extreme financial hardship. In other words, the registrant is deferred because but for his civilian wage earning capacity, one or more individuals dependent upon him for financial support would suffer extreme financial hardship. Because the Selective Service System Regulations do not elaborate on just what "extreme hardship" is supposed to mean, each Local Board is left to its own discretion in applying the "extreme hardship" standard, thereby creating a nationwide inequality in the application of the law. I think that serious consideration should be given to the idea of abolishing deferments for extreme hardship for financial reasons and replacing them with a system of financial support from the Federal Government to those individuals who are suffering extreme financial hardship due to the induction of a husband, divorced husband, father, son, grandson or brother upon whom they were financially dependent. Regulations should be issued spelling out in detail just what does constitute extreme financial hardship.

Because this classification is also used at appropriate times by Local Boards to defer registrants whose induction would cause extreme physical or emotional hardship to their dependent relative(s), I believe that this classification should be continued so long as it is specifically limited to cases of physical and emotional dependency. Here too, regulations should specify in sufficient detail what constitutes "extreme hardship."

Re: Streamlining the System: The foundation of the organizational structure of the Selective Service System is, of course, the Local Boards. The existence of the Local Boards, however, is one of the major causes of inequality in the draft system. Because each Board has the authority to apply its own standards of "extreme hardship", "necessary to the maintenance of the national health, safety or interest", etc., the law is applied unequally from one area to the next. For the purpose of achieving a more uniform nationwide administration of the Selective Service Laws, I urge that the present system of Local Boards be abolished and be replaced with a system of statewide or even multi-statewide regional administrative districts. Each regional administrative district (hereinafter referred to as a District Draft Commission) under such a system, in addition to having full-time career clerical and administrative staff employees, should also have a full-time fully salaried Commis-

sion of some three, five or seven members whose responsibility would correspond to that which is presently held by Local Board members. In other words, the District Draft Commission would have the responsibility of deciding the classification of each registrant in its district. The District Draft Commissioners should be Presidential appointees who would serve overlapping terms of four or six years.

Re: "Civilianizing" the Selective Service System: Presently our national and state Selective Service System organizations are heavily staffed by career administrators who are military career personnel. Notwithstanding their integrity, dedication and competence, I believe that public acceptance of the Selective Service System would be improved if the system were staffed completely by administrators who were Civil Service personnel. After all, the purpose of Selective Service is to provide military manpower from among the civilian population. Those who administer the program should have greater ties to the civilian segment of our population. Immediately, the Selective Service System should be civilianized by giving appropriate Civil Service ratings to the current Selective Service administrators and by requiring them to retire from the military service. Over the long run, career administrators for the Selective Service System should be recruited from the civilian segment of the population.

Re: National Guard and Reserves: No attempt at removing the inequities in our military draft system would be complete without some reform in the methods of recruitment employed by our various national guard and reserve units.

Presently the existence of programs of 4-6 months active duty followed by several years of weekly or monthly drills offers an unfair partial escape from the draft to a privileged few. Too many of our national guard and reserve programs have selection procedures that favor the well-connected and the better-educated sections of our population. Continuation of these draft-substitute programs should be predicated upon a system of selecting qualified applicants on a more random basis.

Re: Volunteer Army: Finally, in view of your publicized desire for a well-paid completely volunteer army, I urge you to consider the benefits to our national moral consciousness of having citizen-soldiers. I fear that an army made up entirely of well-paid volunteers would begin to have some of the atmosphere of an old-fashioned "mercenary" force. Such an army would be much more willing than an impressed citizens' army to fight as directed no matter what the cause involved. Our present system requiring citizens to interrupt their personal plans to serve their nation in the armed forces keeps intense pressure upon our Federal Government, both from within the military and from among the citizenry, to use our military forces in such a way that lives are endangered and sacrificed only when it is essential to our national security. I fear that with a volunteer army such pressure would be reduced.

Yours very truly,

ROBERT F. LUDGIN.

THE 18-YEAR-OLD VOTE—IF CONSTITUTION BARS—IGNORE IT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 1970

Mr. RARICK, Mr. Speaker, the action of the other body in substantially altering the character of the bill extending and applying to the Nation as a whole

the Voting Rights Act of 1965 has brought before the House a most remarkable measure—among other things a right to vote for 18-year-olds by act of Congress completely bypassing the Constitution.

For many years the question of adjustment of the minimum age for exercising the franchise has been discussed and debated. These debates have, until now, taken place in the forum reserved by the Constitution for such decisions—the legislatures or conventions of the several sovereign States. Now, ignoring the Constitution, for the simple and obvious reason that the procedures prescribed by that basic charter cannot be operated by a minority, we have the new order of things before us as a statute, and a Federal statute at that.

The determination of the qualifications of voters is a matter expressly reserved to the States in their sovereign capacity. They may, as some have, elect to grant the franchise to different age groups within the State, on the basis of the local experience and the local political philosophy. This is as it was intended to be, and there has been no valid or legal reason shown why the States should be deprived of this power.

The power in the State to regulate voter qualifications is correct and proper for the same reason that it is correct and proper that the several sovereign States should separately denounce what acts are deemed by their people to be crimes within their borders. It is also a part of the same political philosophy of a federal system which holds that such other determinations as the age at which individuals are held to be criminally responsible for their own acts, or liable in tort for their own wrongs, or free to marry or to take other important actions without the consent of their parents or guardians, is properly a determination of the several States, and can be beneficially variable among them, relating in each State to the conditions which exist therein.

So it is with such things as the age at which a child may be licensed to drive, or to hunt, or permitted to drink, or to handle explosives, or to drop out of school, or to consent to many acts which may be detrimental to him. In all of these cases we have found it wise to leave to the people of the States the control over their own destinies.

So we have done with the franchise, and experience, wisdom, and the lessons of history prove we should continue to do. Where we have elected to take national action regarding the franchise we did not hesitate to adopt the course provided by the Constitution—a constitutional amendment. We did this to provide that all citizens might vote, and that women might vote. We have done it, albeit unwisely, to abolish the payment of a tax to the state as a prerequisite to the exercise of the franchise. If we now wish to make lowering of the voting age national policy, we should again follow the Constitution—we should amend it—not abrogate it. Otherwise our action is only a dangerous nullity.

A cursory examination of some of the emotional arguments made for this vio-

lation of the Constitution indicates at once how specious and dishonest they are. I will dispose of two of the most common quickly.

18-YEAR-OLDS ARE OLD ENOUGH TO FIGHT—THEY'RE OLD ENOUGH TO VOTE

It is said that those young men of 18 who are old enough to be drafted—to fight for, to risk their lives for, and to die for their country should be allowed to vote. This is an appalling non sequitur.

It presupposes that the qualifications for both military service and voting are the same, and that all who are eligible for that service should be permitted to vote. It logically disenfranchises all of those Americans who are not eligible for military service—including all of the women of the country. It would result, carried to its own logical conclusion, in an electorate consisting exclusively of honorably discharged veterans.

I doubt that any State legislature would face up to any proposal that it amend the selection laws, or Constitution, to extend the right to vote to any man serving their country in the Armed Forces or honorably discharged—regardless of their age.

Likewise, most sensible observers have noted that the screaming mob espousing this slogan are not veterans nor fighting men but rather draft dodgers, draft card burners, and revolutionary vandals who have no intention whatsoever of fighting—at least not for the United States.

MEDIAN AGE PROPAGANDA

It is said that the median age of Americans is only 27 years—the mark of an ever younger population, and that the decreasing median age makes it necessary, as a purely democratic process, to lower the minimum age for voting. This argument is neither true nor relevant—another word which is often heard these days.

First, the median age has nothing to do with the qualifications of the electorate. It is a statistic, and as any statistic is only valuable in its proper setting.

That the median age of our population is 27 years only means that there are as many Americans under that age as there are over it. So what? There is also a median height, a median weight, a median blood pressure or red blood count, a median income, and a median almost anything else subject to measurement. Of the half of the Americans who have not yet attained the age of 27 years, a significant percentage have not attained the age of 18 years—or 15 years—or 10 years—or 5 years—some are still infants in their mothers arms. But we are not yet counseled that these children must vote—in the interests of responsible government.

On the fallacy of the decreasing median age, the most recent statistical abstract of the United States sets the matter to rest, once and for all, I hope. Instead of being a decreasing figure, it is an increasing one. True, since 1950 it dropped from an alltime high of 30.2 years to its present level of 27.7 years. But from the time of its first census significance in 1820, it has risen from 16.7 years. Thus, if the shifting age median relates to the franchise, we should be

considering raising the minimum voting age by the 11 years the median has risen, and establishing it at the age of 32 rather than the present age.

Statistical abstract follows:

STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE UNITED STATES—1968

Total resident population excluding Armed Forces abroad

Year:	Median age
Continiguous U.S.: ¹	All classes
1790	(¹)
1800	(²)
1810	(¹)
1820	16.7
1830	17.2
1840	17.8
1850	18.9
1860	19.4
1870	20.2
1880	20.9
1890	22.0
1900	22.9
1910	24.1
1920	25.3
1930	26.4
1940	29.0
1950	30.2
1960	29.6
United States: ²	
1950	30.2
1960	29.5
1967 ³	27.8

¹ Not available.

² Excludes Alaska and Hawaii.

³ Estimate as of July 1.

Source: Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; Fifteenth Census Reports, Population, Vol. II, Part 1, and Vol. IV, Part 1; U.S. Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Part 1; U.S. Census of Population 1960, Vol. 1, and Current Population Reports, Series P-25, Nos. 367 and 385.

THE 18-YEAR-OLDS TODAY ARE MORE INTELLIGENT AND BETTER INFORMED THAN ANY OTHER GENERATION

No one making this argument has ever bothered to produce the slightest proof of either of these assertions.

To the contrary, records in our public schools, the Selective Service System, and our Armed Forces show a constant decline in both intelligence and aptitude averages.

The common experience of adults—especially employers—is that today's young people cannot spell, cannot read, and cannot reason.

Yet, this is not to say that many of our young are not proficient in parroting loudly the emotional slogan programmed into them by the left-wing pseudo-intellectuals dominating our schools and the mass media.

I include in my remarks pertinent clippings of news stories and editorial comment relating to the concept of State determination of minimum voting age:

[From the Baton Rouge (La.) Morning Advocate, Mar. 16, 1970]

VOTES FOR 18-YEAR-OLDS DON'T GET WIDE BACKING

WASHINGTON.—Congress propelled by the Senate, is seriously considering lowering the voting age to 18 but the proposal has not gained wide support among the states.

Only four states now permit persons under 21 to vote, and in the 25 years since the idea first took hold, 41 states have specifically rejected it.

Perhaps of greater significance, in the last five years despite the increasing involvement

of young Americans in political affairs, 21 states have turned down proposals to lower the voting age.

While it is true that state legislatures are not often advocates of great political changes, in eight of the 21 states rejection was by the voters in a statewide referendum.

Now that the Senate has voted overwhelmingly for the proposition and done it in a way that will force the House to consider it, the argument in the House will probably turn on constitutional issues.

AMENDMENT ROUTE

Most of the bills introduced in the House over the past few years to lower the voting age have been in the form of proposed constitutional amendments. The Senate has taken the position that a federal law is all that is needed.

The Constitution specifically leaves to the states the power to set qualifications for voters and when Congress has stepped into this area it generally has done so by constitutional amendment.

In 1870, the 15th Amendment barred the states from denying anyone the right to vote on account of race or color. In 1920, the 19th Amendment gave women the right to vote, and in 1962 the 24th Amendment prohibited poll taxes as a condition of voting.

The major statutory reach by Congress into state election procedures has been in the civil rights area where it has acted on the grounds that Negroes were being denied constitutional rights.

Whether the refusal of states to permit 18-year-olds to vote is a case of discrimination prohibited by the Constitution is questionable to many House members.

If such a law is passed, they say, why can't 17- or 16-year-olds claim they are being discriminated against?

MARKS BOUNDARY

The idea that 21 marks the boundary between adolescence and maturity apparently stems from medieval days when youths were knighted at 21. At any rate the standard found its way into the early constitutions of the various states and there it remains in most cases.

Georgia was the first state to make 18-year-olds eligible to vote. It did so in 1943 under the leadership of Gov. Ellis Arnall and the spur of World War II.

Kentucky followed suit in 1955 and no state has lowered its voting age since, although Hawaii and Alaska adopted lower ages in their constitutions when they became states. Hawaii set it at 20 and Alaska at 19.

Opponents of congressional action in this area say it should be left to the states to decide, and in the quarter century since Georgia showed the way the effort has been made in most of them. Maine has rejected

the idea five times, Florida four times and Louisiana and Illinois three times.

Despite such setbacks supporters are still pushing ahead in the states and 10 states will vote this year on proposals to lower the voting age to 18.

They are Alaska, Connecticut, Hawaii, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Oregon and Wyoming. In addition the Delaware legislature has passed it and needs only to repass it this year to make it stick.

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Tribune,
Mar. 16, 1970]

THE VOTING AGE IS A STATE MATTER

The United States Senate, by a vote of 64 to 17, has approved an amendment to the voting rights bill which would lower the voting age to 18 in all elections, federal, state, and local.

Even the author of this proposal, Sen. Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.), the majority leader, implicitly acknowledged that its constitutionality is doubtful. He said he favored continued work by a Senate subcommittee on a proposed constitutional amendment to lower the voting age. This alternative will be available if the House refuses to accept the Senate amendment or if it is enacted and later held unconstitutional by the courts.

A number of senators challenged the Mansfield amendment on constitutional grounds, but the majority apparently was more concerned about the possibility of offending 13 million potential new voters than about the violence it might do the Constitution or what is left of the federal principle in our system of government.

We favor reduction of the minimum voting age to 18, but we believe this is a matter for state action. Kentucky and Georgia already have lowered the minimum to 18; Alaska has lowered it to 19, and Hawaii has lowered it to 20. No federal action is required, but if it is desired a constitutional amendment is the procedure prescribed by the Constitution itself.

The 15th amendment was adopted to give Negroes the vote, the 19th to give women the vote, and the 24th to abolish poll taxes. Altho constitutional amendments were deemed necessary in all these cases, the United States Senate now proposes to ignore the Constitution in respect to federal legislation to lower the voting age.

The Constitution is explicit. It provides that electors of senators and members of the House of Representatives from each state "shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature." For the election of the President and Vice President, the Constitution provides that "each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof

may direct," as many electors as it has senators and representatives in Congress.

Clearly then the states, and not Congress, are empowered by the Constitution to prescribe qualifications for voting. Supporters of the Mansfield amendment relied upon the specious argument that the 14th amendment guarantees, among other things, "the equal protection of the laws" for all citizens, and authorizes Congress to enforce its provisions by "appropriate legislation." Under this authority, Congress, in the voting rights act of 1965, denied states the right to require literacy tests in English for persons who have completed the sixth grade in another language. The Supreme court, in *Katzenbach versus Morgan*, upheld this section of the act as applied to a New York statute which excluded Puerto Ricans, illiterate in English, from the franchise.

This law, however, was a determination by Congress that English literacy tests deny "the equal protection of the laws" to citizens who are literate in another language. It does not follow from the Supreme court's decision that a state law classifying citizens by age for voting purposes is discriminatory. If that were the case any qualification whatsoever would be discriminatory, for some could vote and others could not.

A dissenting opinion by Justice John M. Harlan, who was joined by Justice Potter Stewart, upheld New York's literacy test law. It said the act of Congress could not be sustained "except at the sacrifice of fundamentals in the American constitutional system—the separation between the legislative and judicial function and the boundaries between federal and state political authority." An attempt by Congress to usurp the right of the states to determine the minimum age for voting would do far greater violence to the constitutional system.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 19, 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?