

and control of such defendants, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 16673. A bill to assist in combating crime by reducing the incidence of recidivism, providing improved Federal, State, and local correctional facilities and services, strengthening administration of Federal corrections, strengthening control over probationers, parolees, and persons found not guilty by reason of insanity, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. PRICE of Texas:

H.R. 16674. A bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to increase the rates and income limitations relating to payment of pension and parents' dependency and indemnity compensation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

H.R. 16675. A bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to increase the rates of compensation for disabled veterans, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. ROBISON:

H.R. 16676. A bill to improve and increase postsecondary educational opportunities throughout the Nation by providing assistance to the States for the development and construction of comprehensive community colleges; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. ST GERMAIN:

H.R. 16677. A bill to authorize the importation without regard to existing quotas of fuel oil to be used for residential heating purposes in the New England States; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. STRATTON:

H.R. 16678. A bill authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain real property to the city school district of Canadagua, N.Y.; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. WOLD:

H.R. 16679. A bill authorizing the Secretary of Interior to convey interest in certain water rights to the State of Wyoming; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. BURKE of Florida:

H.J. Res. 1147. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RARICK:

H.J. Res. 1148. Joint resolution amending title 39, United States Code, to provide for the addition to the uniform of letter carriers in the postal field service of a special insignia constituting an exact reproduction of the flag of the United States of America, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. BROCK (for himself, Mr. BERRY, Mr. BLACKBURN, Mr. BUCHANAN, Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia, Mr. CAMP, Mr. CHAPPELL, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. DANIEL of Virginia, Mr. DENNEY, Mr. FLYNT, Mr. LUKENS, Mr. MONTGOMERY, Mr. POLLOCK, Mr. SNYDER, and Mr. KUYKENDALL):

H. Con. Res. 560. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress with respect to freedom of choice and compulsory transportation in connection with public schools; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. NICHOLS:

H. Con. Res. 561. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress with respect to freedom of choice and compulsory transportation in connection with public schools; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. MIKVA:

H. Res. 894. A resolution to express the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to troop deployment in Europe, to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. ANNUNZIO:

H.R. 16680. A bill for the relief of Anka Kosanovic; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DUNCAN:

H.R. 16681. A bill to provide for the return of certain war trophies to Jack D. McKeehan; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GUDE:

H.R. 16682. A bill for the relief of Adelaide Tamonda Griffiths; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RARICK:

H.R. 16683. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Leo R. McArdle; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII,

342. The SPEAKER presented a memorial of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to establishing a Department of Consumers Affairs administered by a Secretary who shall be a member of the President's Cabinet, which was referred to the Committee on Government Operations.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

424. The SPEAKER presented a petition of the city council of Fort Hueneme, Calif., relative to establishing the Channel Islands as a national park, which was referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE VALUE OF A PROGRAM CALLED "A PRESIDENTIAL CLASSROOM FOR YOUNG AMERICANS"

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, I wish to congratulate the many people who have given of their time and energy to make "a presidential classroom for young Americans" the success that it is.

The purpose of "a presidential classroom for young Americans" is to give American high school seniors an opportunity to study in the Nation's Capital, the intricacies of the United States Government; to enlighten these seniors by giving them the chance, through personal involvement and contact, to experience at firsthand what Government is doing in various fields; and to encourage dedication to and understanding of the American governmental system which all too often seems remote, bureaucratic and inaccessible to today's young people.

A teacher has said of this program:

The opportunity to see a practical application of our government at work, as provided by "a presidential classroom for young Americans", should give to a responsible segment of our young people a better founda-

tion from which to make decisions to ensure a better society in the future; our student was most enthusiastic over the manners in which the various sessions were conducted, and he returned to us a much more enlightened young American.

Having seen these young Americans in Washington, I have been impressed with the spirit, the capabilities, the knowledge and the resourcefulness that high school students of today will bring in later life to the all-important job of improving our society.

With a more complete understanding of the problems and functions of government, these students are better equipped to help this Nation progress without the disrupting influence of misinformed and violent protest.

Perhaps the most effective way to articulate the value of the program is through the comments of an actual participant who, after a recent stay in the Nation's Capital, saw fit to make his views known to me. Mr. Speaker, I offer for the RECORD the following letter from a proud young American from my constituency, Mr. Donald Marchese of Bronx, N.Y.

MARCH 8, 1970.

HON. MARIO BIAGGI,
Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. BIAGGI: As a senior high school student from Evander Childs in the Bronx, I was extremely proud to represent my school

in a presidential classroom for young Americans. I believe the idea for such a program of study is extremely useful for today's politically minded youth. In my opinion, a presidential classroom taught me that our system's governmental structure may not be entirely fool-proof but, by far, it is the best known to exist in the world today. It reaffirmed my belief that if change is to come, it must come from within the established system, and that nothing can be accomplished by attempting to forcibly destroy it.

The set course of study, as established by Mrs. Margery Kraus, the curriculum director of a presidential classroom for young Americans, truly depicts the pulse of the people that make up the Nation's Government. The set course of study is composed of twenty-three seminars, in which we would hear speakers representing Washington's many governmental agencies. In addition to the planned course of study, the students are permitted to hold their own evening discussions on topics of their choice.

At any one time when you are exposed to three-hundred and fifty people from every State in our great Union you undoubtedly receive three-hundred and fifty different viewpoints on various topics. I can testify to the fact that, by having this opportunity to speak and listen to people from the far corners of the United States, I have since corrected some misapprehensions about American domestic and foreign policies, which I probably would have continued to vigorously defend.

I firmly believe that the dollars expended for this program of study should not be reduced. Instead, the program should be ex-

panded to include longer stays in Washington for the Nation's youth and include a program by which a student could work for his Congressman in some capacity.

Furthermore, I firmly believe that such an expanded program of in-depth study, would also be beneficial to college students as well. If at any time there be a question as to the increase of moneterial appropriations to such a program as a presidential classroom for young Americans, let us not forget the words of President Hoover when he said, "A boy is a complete self-starter, and therefore wisdom in dealing with him consists most in what to do with him next. The priceless treasure of boyhood is his endless enthusiasm, his high store of idealism, his affection and his hopes. When we preserve these, we have made men, we have made citizens, and we have made Americans."

I want to thank you for making my brief stay in Washington so pleasant and enlightening. I shall long remember it. My thanks again.

Sincerely,

DONALD MARCHESE.

THE BUFFALO AND THE IRON HORSE

HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, in my continuing search for solutions to and comments on the state of our Nation's railroad passenger service, I came across an excellent comment thereon in the March 12 New York Times. Columnist Tom Wicker points out most emphatically that what is needed is a national transportation system. I could not agree more for this is what I have been urging as policy. We know what is needed, so let us do it.

Mr. Wicker's fine column follows:

THE BUFFALO AND THE IRON HORSE

(By Tom Wicker)

Now that the Penn Central has asked to abandon passenger service in what is almost the heart of America—the area between Chicago and Harrisburg—the scheme the railroads have been pushing for decades is nearing completion. With the collusion of the Interstate Commerce Commission, which is supposed to protect the interests of the public, railroad passenger service has been all but sacrificed to profits.

This is not because passenger trains are inherently unprofitable in the era of the jet plane and the superhighway, or because there is no railroad riding public to be cultivated and served. It is because the railroads sought to make maximum profits by concentrating on freight-hauling and defaulting their obligations as passenger carriers.

CATALOGUE OF HORRORS

At least since World War II, therefore, most lines have been deliberately discouraging passenger traffic through poor service, ill-kept schedules, filthy trains, insolent crewmen, archaic ticketing and reservations systems, outmoded station facilities, ancient rolling stock and the steadily declining frequency and availability of trains even between major cities. To this catalogue of public horrors, the railroads added outrageously contrived financial "losses" on passenger trains for the sympathetic consideration of the I.C.C.

An article in this newspaper by Christopher Lydon has detailed how accounting gimmickry made it appear that passenger trains had been losing huge sums since 1945—when in fact passenger traffic was profitable, despite

the decline in service, at least until the early sixties, and in the East until 1966. It was, of course, on the basis of the hoked-up figures that the I.C.C. permitted the discontinuance of so many trains in the fifties and sixties.

THE SUBSIDY ISSUE

And while it is true that throughout this period the Government in one way or another was heavily subsidizing air and highway travel, Mr. Lydon pointed out that it was the railroads themselves that took the lead in asking the Government to discontinue a major form of passenger-train revenue—Federal payments for carrying the mail.

Thus the railroads' disinterest in serving passengers, the complaisance of the I.C.C. and the lack of a coherent Federal transportation policy have combined to deprive the American public of what citizens of every other Western industrial nation take for granted—adequate railroad service. And this has happened at a time when the automobile has become the worst polluter of the air, when airports and the air traffic lanes around important centers are dangerously overcrowded, when technology is exploding, and when the American people are the richest in history.

The Penn Central's Metroliner has proved between New York and Washington the need for and the potential of convenient, comfortable, fast rail service in metropolitan corridors, of which there are many. The Seaboard Coast Line's Florida Special on the New York-Miami run demonstrates every winter that there is still a demand and need for first-rate long-haul service over particular routes.

But the California Zephyr, which runs through some of the most spectacular scenery anywhere in the world, is apparently to be abandoned. Like so many other things of value in America, its worth is not recognized by a careless people tragically exploited by those designated to serve them and to protect their interests. Properly operated and offered to the public, the route of the Zephyr should be a priceless asset to American tourism, to say nothing of American transportation.

The problem is not just to retain the spavined bones of an ancient and staggering passenger network as a sort of curiosity, like the few buffalo one can now see penned sadly in corners of the great range which once roamed in their vast and splendid herds. *What is needed is a national transportation system, providing safe and speedy air service everywhere needed, maintaining the great interstate highway grid, extending into similar corridors the kind of fast intercity service the Metroliner provides, maintaining and improving a serviceable minimum of long-haul rail routes to supplement air and auto travel and tourism.*

A LAST-GASP BILL

That kind of integrated national transportation network is beyond the scope of a last-gasp bill that the Senate Commerce Committee is developing. But that measure would at least preserve, like buffalo, a last few passenger trains, placing them beyond the power of the railroads to subvert, providing some operating and equipment subsidies, and keeping alive the dim hope of better, safer, more convenient travel in America.

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS

HON. GEORGE BUSH

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. BUSH. Mr. Speaker, 3 years ago in a book review for the Harvard Law

Review, Charles Alan Wright, one of our finest constitutional specialists, took issue with those who believe that Federal judges should not be appointed on a political basis. His argument is as follows:

We have come to accept the fact that judges in general, and federal judges in particular, are required to pass upon public issues of the most sensitive sort. I would think a President derelict in his duty, and unfaithful to democratic theory, if we did not endeavor to appoint to the bench men whose sets of values with regard to such issues were similar to his own. He is more likely to find such men among his political friends than among his political opponents.

The propriety of the Senate applying an ideological test to Presidential appointments is at issue in connection with the Carswell nomination.

I believe very strongly that the system would be seriously compromised if Presidential appointments are rejected when a majority of the Senate is of the opposite party or of a different ideology from the President.

The confirmation of Judge Carswell is not within the jurisdiction of the House of Representatives. However, knowing of Charles Alan Wright's reputation, I thought his comments might be of interest to our colleagues in the other body.

URBAN AMERICA—PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, Americans welcome the emphasis which has belatedly come to rest on our environment—the air, the water, and the land. We must insist, however, that all this talk does not come to pass without action and we must insist—that this concern for environment does not exclude the vital consideration for human resources and existences.

Here is where real waste can be observed and where we can least afford it. Our urban environment is being suffocated not only by smog—but by the carelessness of man which breeds the filth of ghettos, the sickness of hunger, and the cycle of poverty.

It is difficult to reach for optimism in the midst of the crises which now exist, but Howard T. Robinson, who currently serves as labor attaché in the American Embassy, Tokyo, Japan, sees hope. Mr. Robinson, during his recent fellowship at the Center for Advanced Studies, Wesleyan University, documented a course for action in urban America. Mr. Robinson's reasoning and subsequent recommendations are worthy of note.

For the attention of my colleagues who share my interest, I submit the following paper, "Urban America: Its Problems and Prospects," by Howard T. Robinson.

URBAN AMERICA: ITS PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Since September of last year and due to my good fortune of having an opportunity to accept a fellowship at Wesleyan University's Center for Advanced Studies, I have turned

my thoughts from foreign affairs to that of our domestic problems. The problem which is the most pressing is that of our urban community.

I shy away from the common term, "urban crisis". Perhaps reflecting my optimistic nature, or perhaps the nature of the problem, I prefer the word "challenge". "Challenge" is a more adequate metaphor and a better indication of the considerations required to solve these problems. Crisis implies too little, too fast. I venture to say that the solutions will arise when we find a way to commit our maximum resources to domestic problems, while at the same time continuing to protect our world-wide interest. I do not suppose, nor do I suspect you do, that our domestic problems can be totally separated from our international interest, for it is only natural that other nations will make their judgments about us on the basis of our strengths and weaknesses both at home and abroad. Our domestic problems, therefore, affect the way in which other nations see and feel about us. Though wanting to make this point, it is not my purpose in this paper to examine the international impact of our domestic troubles but instead to focus on the governmental and racial aspects of our cities. And perhaps, if you are still with me, to discuss the conflicting priorities which we must face if we are to successfully confront these particular problems.

Mr. John Gardner, President of the National Urban Coalition, says, "that human institutions require periodic redesign (if only because of their tendency to decay)".¹ Our cities are a vivid example of this decay. To confirm it we need only examine their historical neglect as they grew from small villages into towns and finally into the crowded and paradoxical edifices of technological, cultural, and social change. The city and the adjoining urban community represent over 70 percent of our population today—and it is the city that houses our major business and financial institutions, our theaters, libraries, zoos, and a score of other cultural gains. It is also the city that most widely and vividly reflects losses. The city is, and quite rightly ought to be, the showcase of both our failures and accomplishments, for like it or not, urban America is what we as a nation have become. We are no longer a rural-urban society—we are urban!!! And probably our greatest domestic problem is therefore urban decay.

There are many reasons for the decay and many obstacles to solution. One is our past failure to plan, a failure that has left us in many places with such a shambles of streets and bricks and crowding as to render absurd the kind of neatly packed immediate solutions that are currently in such demand. Nor can the blame for this lack of planning be justly placed on any one group of persons. Blaming get us nowhere in any case, since the real point is that we face what philosopher William Ledbetter tells us, "we're all sailing in the same boat, brother. You can't shake one end without you shake the other."

So neither can we find a lasting solution in the super-charged rhetoric now in use. The blacks cannot get out of the ghetto and whites cannot get away, no matter how they run. Yet current rhetoric about our urban community, focusing as it does on a "we-they" kind of analysis, misses this point, when in fact some, or even perhaps indeed our major, urban problems would probably have been with us even if there had been no "theys" to contend with.

A basic reason for our failure to plan is our concept of individual freedom, a belief which obviously restricts the government's ability to plan. Even our most militant critics, in spite of the fact that they seek immediate cures for our urban ills, demand

that maximum individual freedom be continued and expanded. A further obstacle to lasting solutions is that our most intelligent young people seeking government careers are not attracted to local government service. They want national exposure. Therefore, there are few among us with adequate in-depth knowledge of and concern for county government. And even fewer know how county, State, and Federal government relate to and compete with city government for its share of the local tax dollar and federal fund transfers. Yet, the need for people of such knowledge is great, because the ability of local government to provide comprehensive service is perhaps the most important avenue toward solving our current urban problems. This is true despite the fact that under present conditions the bureaucracies of these local governments feel forced to spend most of their time protecting their autonomy.

The many overlapping responsibilities between State, city, and county governments are a further obstacle to progress. In some instances, a city government will not have responsibility for the education and social welfare needs of its population. In others, certain taxes and areas of law-enforcement are matters left to the county, what splitting of responsibility means, of course, is that citizens are confused as to where to seek needed services—city hall, the state house, or Washington.

I want to emphasize the importance of local government despite the fact that it is intricate in its layering, overly self-protective and currently weak on services to its population. To improve local government, we must strengthen our local political base of citizen participation, not lessen or eliminate it. Again permit me to quote Mr. John Gardner. "In order to have a vital society, we must have as high a degree of participation by the individual as we can manage." With this I agree. It is only in citizen participation that we can find the *power-source* which can bring into being a more effective and concerned local government. We and our neighbors can contribute to a solution of our own problems, if only we are sufficiently motivated, and would evidence genuine respect for the rights of all our neighbors, black, white, rich, or poor.

Since our cities were largely products of individualism, they failed to take account of all of these rights. They were built by individuals and groups of men who made a profit from their efforts. Once these buildings and roads were completed, they had to be serviced. So local governments were chartered, and obviously needed money. Individual taxations were unpopular and still are, but taxation on commerce and property were acceptable partly because of the politicians' power and partly because the men who built the buildings and roads were willing to be taxed for services directly relevant to their interests such as sanitation, water, power, and transportation. But health, education, and social welfare did not seem directly related to their interests and hence were not top priorities for them then and still suffer from lack of priority now. A good portion of social welfare cost is still derived from private donation—such things as teachers' salaries, school buildings, and updated teaching materials also still suffer as well from the same lack of priority. Welfare and education, important as they are, are only part of the low priority problem. Another major part is poverty.

On this important item the history of poverty legislation is of significant interest. It did not generate from the masses of the poor in our cities. In a political sense, poverty was discovered in the 1950's in the "depressed" areas and/or regions of high unemployment. It was not considered an urban problem or a black problem per se. Kenneth B. Clark states that the "problems of pov-

erty and social change were not identified as racial (even) in the early 1960's as the anti-poverty program got underway." He notes that "the Appalachian region of West Virginia, rather than northern ghettos, served to symbolize poverty in the 1960 presidential primary race and election campaign." And that "it was only after the anti-poverty program focused on the problem of the urban Negro that the words "Negro" and poor came to seem synonymous," and that this has been "to the detriment of the white and black alike." For "as a result," he says, "the white poor often refused to participate in such programs, particularly in the northern cities, and antipoverty and community action projects in many urban areas became almost exclusively Negro."²

The point I wish to press upon you is that only as poverty is realized as a national challenge, and not exclusively an urban or racial one, can we handle it properly even as an urban problem. Once we appreciate this, *it is possible, I believe, for us to see our urban centers as reflections of what we have become and not what one or the other group within our society has caused.*

A second important aspect of the poverty problem is that while urban problems exist in all developed countries, and give rise to youth disaffection throughout the world, it is only in our Nation, the richest of them all, that we have the large scale relative poverty that is the cause of so much disaffection, as the gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen, more and more people are caught up into the poor and near-poor category: the near poor are perhaps the worst off, for they live on the fringe of social ostracism. I could go on talking about the poor and near poor; indeed I could do so from personal experiences, but as you see, I'm about to stray from my main topic, the cities, in which poverty is only one factor, albeit, a very important one.

So to return directly to urban problems—the vital point is how we think of our cities and the institutions that go into their make-up. Unfortunately, many of those who were responsible for building our cities only use them today for limited entertainment and commercial purposes. And what is worse, in spite of the fact that they gain their income from the cities, they show little interest in their improvement. And this has left a vacuum for the influx of new people, which the city could not have done without, seeking a better way of life via improved job opportunities. These people had neither power, nor money, nor urban education when they came. We did little or nothing to help them help themselves or contribute to community well-being. We merely treated the new arrivals as temporary labor. But today due to technological advancement we need a new kind of labor force, and it *must* have training. As Peter R. Drucker³ explains, between 1850 and 1870 "the center of economic gravity shifted from the industries of the industrial revolution . . . to new and different industries . . . and that . . . Now, a hundred years later: we are in the early stages of a similar and equally drastic shift. . . ." This new shift, he says, will demand a different work force. The demand, he explains, will be for "knowledge workers rather than manual workers". This fact poses perhaps our greatest educational challenge: How to develop the human resource for the age in which we live, for both personal and social well-being. As Mr. Drucker further tells us, "the transfer of marginal farmers and farm workers to urban employment has by itself probably been the largest single factor in the rise of (our) national productivity". This being true, there is every justification that public assistance and higher education as a *right* ought to be provided the urban poor because they have earned it; and if they have not, it is not altogether their fault. We must keep in mind

Footnotes at end of article.

that it is the success of our technological age which provides us our new luxury and at the same time has forced millions of our fellow citizens from jobs they themselves thought to be secure. Many of these were black.

Let me amplify on the consequences of our failure to help these people as we should have, especially the Blacks. Between the years 1940 and 1966 an excess of 3.7 million non-whites fled the south seeking their promised land in the north. Once they arrived, they needed housing and jobs. But due largely to discrimination, neither were available to the degree expected. Beyond that, the new arrival did not possess marketable skills usable in the urban context; and this was true for white workers as well. But for the Blacks there were few schools or other public services available for acquisition of marketable skills. Even if there had been, job discrimination would have still prohibited their ability to become employed. Apprenticeship programs were closed to Blacks.

Their housing had to be shared with their previously arrived uncles, cousins, or brothers. This spawned unsanitary conditions, overcrowding of available houses, schools, and other public facilities, thus creating a ghetto of that badly needed but unwanted human resource. The rise of ghettos created with it the social phenomena of school segregation, inferior education, joblessness, and crime. Much of this was not unlike the conditions that existed with previous ghetto dwellers (the Irish, Italians, Poles, etc.). The real difference was that the new poor were mostly Black, not able to assimilate: A change of name or religion could not change a skin color.

PRIORITIES

Lisle Carter, former assistant secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and vice president of the Urban Coalition recently said that "we have, in fact, two kinds of communities . . . This conflict", he said, "between the city and the suburbs is a real one. We talk of air and water pollution, mass transit, freeways, ending traffic congestion. We talk of conservation", he went on, "and preservation of open space and so forth: these are all urban problems of a kind, and they are all important urban problems. But they represent the priorities of a society that has solved most of its economic and social problems, that has jobs, that has good schools and health care and good housing". Mr. Carter says "these are, in fact, the priorities of the great middle-class suburbia that is America. In contrast, he said, "The society of the inner city has different values: not that it doesn't also approve of clean air and clean water, freeways and the like. But this inner city society has to give priorities to economic and social goals (which) suburban America now take for granted".

Mr. Carter's analysis gives us focus. A focus in which every level of our society must direct its attention: The Federal Government, the Congress, the State Legislature, and the City Council. The question is *where shall we place our priorities for the expending of public monies?* The suburbs cry for "Law and Order". The inner city cries for social justice under the law: We want jobs and better schools . . . We want social welfare as a right and with dignity. The suburbs echo that social welfare restricts individual initiatives and are give-aways, i.e., the poor are lazy. On and on the debate . . . and it can continue, unless we—you and I—take responsibility for facing this challenge. You and I, the individuals, can alter these priorities by our participation, if we are motivated and have the will to do so . . . This is an area in which our youth can constructively make a contribution: *A far more immediate and effective contribution than in national politics.* Not that I wish to suggest that na-

tional politics are unimportant in dealing with urban problems. That would be untrue, but it is true that a strong and determined local government can have reasonable quick effect on members of Congress and federal executives. The power for change is at City Hall and the County Seat, because this is where the voters live and work.

PROSPECTS

I will now turn my thoughts to a more detailed discussion of the prospects for solutions for the problems already outlined. There are of course no precise and clear answers. After a frustrating search for more precise answers to present in this paper, I came across an article in *The New York Times* which came to my rescue. The article was headlined (March 24, 1969, on page 29): "Private organizations try to come to grips with causes of urban crisis and potential remedies". One of the points the article makes is that "Even if . . . A way is found to combat white racism, the private urbanologists believe only a fraction of the problem would be solved . . . the difficulty is not so much 'conscious racism' as civic indifference and selfishness, and the universal tendency to cling to business as usual". (This is true of all races.) It is therefore a challenge confronting all of us, not just the problem of the poor, the blacks, and the unorganized. But how can we best work together? And together we must come.

Edward Sylvester, a former director of the Federal Government's office of contractual complaints and later assistant secretary of H.E.W., has one important suggestion.³ Speaking on the "emerging role of the poor, the blacks, and the unorganized", he said that . . . "the poor, the blacks and the unorganized are really in fact the ultimate clients" (of our institutions). But Mr. Sylvester says that ". . . on close analysis we'll find that just as often as not their interests are really not parallel (with the constituency) of the organized institutions. For example, he said that "our institutions . . . do . . . serve the majority of the people of this country in a very effective way." It is, therefore, the poor, the blacks and the unorganized that suffer because of their lack of organizational ties. These are the people of our inner city.

Consequently, I believe we ought to encourage the poor, the blacks and the unorganized to become active participants in our political organizations. I think we could effect such a plan, if we used our patronage system properly. In this way we could stimulate people to participate more fully in the political process. I am convinced that if the citizen knew and had faith in his ability to affect his own life in this way, he would do so. The old patronage system did provide many with hope. But unfortunately we failed to modernize and make the system of patronage work toward wider citizen participation. I do not think that corruption caused the demise of political patronage. It was, rather, our failure to see in it a source of institutional strength that led to its decay. The prospect of a revival of local political interest seems to me quite possible, if we follow the concepts laid down in O.E.O. legislation: i.e., *maximum feasible local participation.* I think we are clearly moving in this direction and I suggest that we begin to see that if we are to strengthen local Government we must increase the level of participation.

A second point of attack is on rural poverty, an attack already mounted. The March 1st *AFL-CIO News* carried an article, "rural aid programs called vital to cities". The article reports that the federation proposes to Congress that a ceiling ought to be placed on Federal income maintenance benefits paid to each farm, and that measures to help farmers bargain collectively for reasonable prices for their products be legislated. The AFL-CIO also proposed that farm workers be covered under the National Labor

Relations Acts, minimum wage law, State unemployment, and workmen's compensation laws, and other minimum Federal welfare standards. The AFL-CIO, to justify these proposals, cite that the one-fourth of the nation's total population that remains in rural America contains one-half of all the poor. This attack is of basic importance, because if we wish to dissuade people from further congesting our cities they must have opportunities of a national standard, including wages and social benefits, even if they are still living in rural America.

A third point of attack is to break the vicious circle of the social welfare, jobs and education, the unorganized poor and the blacks are caught in. *One needs welfare to survive without a job . . . in today's technological society one needs education to obtain a meaningful job. To obtain an education, if you are a mature adult, you must have an income. If you are a family man, you must have a secured income, not only while attending school, but also for a period between training and employment.* To ask our society to pay for this preparation of our citizens for economic and social independence is not a "hand-out". It is sheer social justice and social health.

We are living in a new world, one in which public responsibility of citizens is not merely desirable but required, if we are to retain a sense of social justice and health. The prospect for preparing people for a productive life and good citizenship seems to me fairly good, and we can afford it. *But will we react in time?* When one sees that states like Rhode Island have begun to couple the factors of jobs, social welfare, and education together to benefit our citizens it stimulates optimism. So has our Manpower Act. But unfortunately too much of the training is concerned with job skills that will too soon become obsolete by technological advancement. There is no need to train a person to be a welder if the likelihood is that the job will soon be done by automation. What is needed is to train drop-outs in such a way as to permit them to attend college. In other words, give him credit for his vocational training and life experience toward a college degree, i.e., engineering if he is mechanically inclined, or business if his experience and previous training are along this line. And finally, why not have continuous public education?

The prospects for this kind of program seem good. OEO seems clearly to be moving in this direction. But our institutions of higher learning must be willing to accept these potential students.

In conclusion, whatever we do requires institutional flexibility. The thoughts I have expressed, tonight, are those of hope and optimism. An optimism regarding challenges to a people who have met them before . . . although we are forced to admit that previous confrontations have not demanded so much of the individual. The demand is clear and urgent. In order to preserve the viability of our institutions that make up our cities, we as individuals must make them flexible enough, and do it now, do it in time to ward off unwarranted suppressive action. We cannot do it all, let alone in time, except by maximum personal participation in all sectors of our community.

And not the least of these is local politics, our urban centers call out today for you and me to give of ourselves in local politics, in education, in home building, in establishing the right social priorities. More importantly, the call is for a sincere sense of brotherhood and a demonstration of citizen pride—black, white, rich and poor.

We as citizens have a nation to advance. We must engage our minds and our energies in finding direction and constructive solutions to all our problems. The time when we could blame a particular group of our citizens for these ills has long passed us by.

Footnotes at end of article.

But basic to it all is the abolition of racism and the establishment of integration. Our failure to deal swiftly and effectively with our racial problems has brought down upon us a broad sense of distrust from our young people. The young blacks, unlike blacks of previous generations, have little faith in integration as a goal. But yet, we all know that by finding a solution to the problem of integration, we will free ourselves to tackle the other major institutional problems. So long as we fail to face squarely and remove the cancer of racialism . . . we will only delay our ability to establish the meaningful priorities—much less providing solutions. There are those who would refuse to be flexible and there are those, black and white, who believe that the only solution to our racial problems is separation. Black people must not be fooled by this easy way to temporary satisfaction and long range frustration. The black man's stake is in a solution to overall problems. His stake is not in racialism. His stake is in making America live up to the promises of democracy, and in being proud of his heritage—an agent and not a victim of power.

Our cities, populated as they are with people of all races, offer us a unique opportunity to meet this basic challenge. Why is it we are so slow in realizing this opportunity? It is hard to say because given the very close proximity of our citizens within the urban centers, we have a better opportunity to educate them to live, work, and play as one. It is therefore central to the solution of the urban challenge that we find a method for neighborhood improvement instead of neighborhood destruction. The destruction of buildings within center city neighborhoods displaces people and disrupts the economic flow of the neighborhood. Additionally, these empty lots become eyesores and dangerous playgrounds for children. The challenge is to find ways of utilizing our educational institutions in a manner that will provide relevant education to meet these needs and permit all our local citizens an opportunity to make continuous use of these facilities to improve their income, their social status, and their environment.

In doing this we cannot overlook the problem of sociological and psychological employment and unemployment. The poor, the black men, and women dislike the stigma we associate with them if they are employed in menial tasks. We need to have the functions performed but we must provide a decent wage level for them and learn to classify these jobs so as to meet social standards. They dislike the stigma our society has given the broom and the shovel. These people desperately need and desire jobs from which they can gain income and social dignity and we can provide it. Let us not forget how social stigma caused by servile employment can lead to unfortunate types of behavior, including crime.

Our educational institutions can be helpful in overcoming these psychological problems relative to employment. We ought to gear our education institutions to take the lead in doing so. Perhaps the best agency for this is the community college as has been suggested by Dr. Clark Kerr. Dr. Kerr notes that "the campus may approach the cities in several ways . . . location in the city . . . adult education . . . provide centers for cultural programs, to act as a base for community renewal". But he also rightly warns us that "the city is not a single interest . . ." rather, he says, it is full of tensions and conflicts, and campus involvement with the city carries implications for involvement in local politics. The danger of students and faculty members becoming involved in local politics at cross purposes with local political leaders must be guarded against. And this can be done through having the college become more relevant to the practical aspects of the local community, not by trying to direct the community's actions. I am optimistic

that we will meet this challenge and that we can establish the right priorities for accomplishing our broad social needs and at the same rebuild the cities. But again I must emphasize the basic pre-conditions: The need for individual participation and overcoming racism. Failure to deal with these questions will be, in the long run, more harmful than failure to rebuild the dilapidated buildings, because we cannot have a healthy city if we do not have maximum citizen participation and full fledged integration. The burden of long term solution lies in both the quantity and quality of our personal participation.

FOOTNOTES

¹ John W. Gardner, "We, The People" Address at California Institute of Technology, Nov. 21, 1968.

² Kenneth B. Clark, "Agenda for the Nation," Kermit Gordon, Ed. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1968.

³ Peter F. Drucker, "The Age of Discontinuity," New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

⁴ Lisle Carter, "The Problems of Communication in an Urban Society," Speech to Seminar "How Can Our Institutions Deal Effectively With Social Change?," Wesleyan University, September 30, 1968.

⁵ Edward Sylvester, "Emerging Role of the Blacks, the Poor and the Organized," Speech to Seminar "How Can our Institutions Deal Effectively With Social Change?," Wesleyan University, October 28, 1968.

⁶ Dr. Clark Kerr, "Agenda for the Nation," Kermit Gordon, Ed. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1968.

DURHAM, N.C., VA HOSPITAL LACKS FUNDS AND PERSONNEL, REACHING CRIPPLING PROPORTIONS ACCORDING TO THE HOSPITAL'S CHIEF RESIDENT PHYSICIAN

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Veterans Affairs has been in the process of conducting a comprehensive investigation in to the operations of the VA medical care program because we had received reports from many sources that many sick and disabled patients in VA hospitals were receiving inadequate care.

Mr. Speaker, our preliminary investigation of this serious problem is being brought to a conclusion and we expect to make a final determination of the overall dimension of this problem throughout the 166 VA hospital system so that enough additional funding will be added to the 1971 VA budget to help correct many of the deficiencies which we have found in the VA medical program.

We have recently received letters and telegrams from VA hospital employees indicating that the lack of funds is seriously handicapping hospital operations to the point of crippling proportions. Typical of these communications is one recently received from Dr. David L. Brewer, chief medical resident at the Durham, N.C., VA hospital, which follows:

DURHAM, N.C.,
March 3, 1970.

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. TEAGUE: We would like to bring to your attention some problems in the V.A. Hospitals which directly effect the quality

of medical care available for veterans. The lack of necessary finances has been a problem for years, but recently it has reached crippling proportions. The Durham V.A. Hospital is one of the busiest hospitals in the V.A. system and delivers a high quality of medical care, largely due to its close affiliation with Duke University Medical Center. In spite of this, we are severely handicapped because of lack of adequate personnel and finances. There is no doubt that patients suffer because of this.

Some of the more pressing problems are listed below:

(1) Wards of 41 patients, many of whom are quite ill, are staffed by one nurse on two of the three shifts daily. We are unable to have personnel ceilings raised or have budgetary support for additional urgently needed nurses.

(2) Nursing procedures cannot be done by these few hard working nurses and, as a result, vital signs are not recorded as often as ordered by the physicians; some patients are seen only once during an 8 hour shift by the nurse; patients' call lights may go 15-20 minutes before they are answered; and patients do not receive the necessary bathing, help with eating, and other nursing procedures. Physicians in the hospital find themselves doing nursing duties on seriously ill patients because they would not be done otherwise.

(3) In spite of a long waiting list of patients to be admitted and large numbers of applicants for admission (averaging approximately 100 per day), we have beds which are closed because there are no nurses available to care for these areas.

(4) Our laboratories, which perform excellent work during the day, are so poorly supplied with personnel that emergency laboratory tests at night have 2-5 hour delays and are often inaccurate and unreliable because untrained personnel are all we can afford to hire at night. Patients are sick around the clock and with increasing medical sophistication emergency laboratory determinations must be done promptly and accurately for adequate patient care.

(5) In spite of a national crisis in medical care because of a lack of well-trained physicians the V.A. has now cut the amount of money available to pay residents and interns in training by 10 per cent. This means that rather than increasing post-graduate training for physicians, the number who will be trained is less.

(6) The building is unsanitary and poorly cleaned because enough personnel cannot be hired for adequate housekeeping. This certainly is not the sort of cleanliness one would expect in a hospital.

(7) Patients must wait several days for x-rays at times because we are unable to hire enough x-ray technicians to keep up with the demands. In the long run this prolongs hospitalizations and increases overall costs.

(8) In spite of the V.A. having a program for placement of convalescent veterans in contract nursing homes there is no money available to provide this service. As a result, our beds in acute hospitals become jammed with chronically ill patients who would be more economically cared for in nursing homes. Patients who are acutely ill may not be admitted because no beds are available. (Our Medical Service runs at 98 per cent bed occupancy.)

(9) There is frequently no money to afford certain specialized laboratory tests which are needed for diagnosis.

(10) Renovation of certain existing facilities are badly needed. Many wards lack such simple equipment as high-low beds and sick patients have to crawl up to lie down. Simple renovation could create offices for students and physicians where presently there are virtually none.

There is little doubt that these problems seriously impair our ability to deliver the high quality health care that is available

today. It is evident that the primary problem that is responsible for this less than optimal health care is lack of financial support for the V.A. Hospitals. Our own hospital administrators appear to be doing their best with the limitation of funds.

Thank you for your interest in these problems. Those of us in the "field" share your concern for the welfare of these hospitals and patients.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID L. BREWER, M.D.,
Chief Medical Resident.

CHIROPRACTIC SHOULD BE INCLUDED

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Ways and Means has before it my bill, H.R. 14512, which would amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to include chiropractic services. This bill limits chiropractic coverage, not only to those functions authorized by State law, but to diagnosis and treatment of neural, muscular, and skeletal conditions.

Throughout consideration of the medicare authorization and subsequent amendments to the program I have been committed to the principle of freedom of choice on the part of medicare patients. Many thousands of persons covered under the program seek chiropractic treatment. To deny them benefits is not the answer.

I would like to submit in the RECORD at this point a resolution passed by the Bend, Oreg., Golden Age Club:

Whereas, Chiropractic is a licensed healing art in the State of Oregon as well as 46 other States and Whereas, Chiropractic is recognized by over 500 insurance companies and State Industrial Accident Insurances and Whereas, Chiropractic is the second largest healing art in the United States and millions of citizens have utilized the services of Chiropractors including many elderly citizens and Whereas, the Oregon Senior Citizens Group and many others have requested Chiropractic be included in Medicare now. Be it therefore resolved that the Bend Golden Age Group, Inc. consisting of seventy to seventy five regular members of Bend, Oregon go on record as recommending Chiropractic services be included in Medicare.

The American Association of Retired Persons and the National Retired Teachers Association, which have a combined membership of 2 million members, met in Washington January 27 to 29 and the following statement concerning improved social security and medicare in regard to chiropractic services was adopted:

We suggest the inclusion of chiropractic services under part B of medicare.

These are two of the most recent expressions I have received from elderly citizen's associations who support the inclusion of chiropractic services under medicare.

Since medicare is an insurance-type program it is reasonable that the same options be available as in other health insurance. Evidence has been received by

the Ways and Means Committee that most insurance companies provide for chiropractic coverage in their medical policies without any increase in premium.

VA FACES HEALTH CARE CRISIS

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, the ability of the Veterans' Administration to provide a quality medical program is waning. It could not be happening at a worse time.

Adding his warning to those sounded by Members of Congress, Dr. Stewart Wolf, regents professor of medicine at the University of Oklahoma School of Medicine and head of neurosciences of the Oklahoma Medical Research Foundation, has said:

The current national priorities, as reflected in the personnel ceiling policy and budget cuts imposed on the VA, threaten the quality of the veterans medical facilities at a time when they are about to be challenged by a great wave of discharged and handicapped GI's. . . .

The U.S. veteran population is over 27 million and increasing at the rate of about 75,000 per month as more servicemen are being discharged. Given such responsibility, this prediction from an American Legion magazine article deserves our attention:

Unless realistic investments of money are fed into the VA system in the very near future, the world's largest hospital system must head downhill.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert the article in its entirety:

CRISIS FACES VETERANS DUE TO SLASHES IN VA BUDGET

(NOTE.—The Veterans' Administration's ability to provide quality medical care for veterans—already hampered by money problems—was further hampered by a reduction of some \$161 million dollars from its original budget request for the current year. Thus, a crisis faced by veterans served by the VA has been heightened.)

(Before President Johnson left office the VA submitted a fiscal 1970 budget request of \$7.866 billion dollars. The Bureau of the Budget recommended this be trimmed to \$7.741 billion dollars—a reduction of some \$125 million. In April 1969, the Bureau of the Budget under President Nixon further revised this figure downward to \$7.671 billion. Late last November Congress restored some of the cuts and sent back a budget—which President Nixon signed—of \$7.705 billion.)

The downward trend in VA budget funds was fought by Congressional veterans' affairs leaders all along the line. Last year, Committees of both Houses of Congress held hearings to point up the problems which face the VA and which will worsen if its funds are slashed again in future budgets. The hearings told the story of over \$20 million in modern medical equipment standing idle in VA hospitals as of August 1969 for lack of funds to hire and train personnel to operate it; of seriously depleted staff levels; of manpower lost and services eliminated; of hundreds of thousands of pending actions and inquiries backlogged in VA regional offices for lack of staff to handle them; of cutbacks in matching funds to states for construction

and operation of veterans' domiciliaries which would help relieve the federal crush; of a veteran population that is soaring at the rate of about 75,000 a month as Vietnam Era servicemen are being released from military duty; of the 235,000 U.S. servicemen in need of care for wounds and of how modern combat casualty evacuation techniques have saved thousands of severely wounded fighting men who in other wars might not have survived, thus placing them on the list of totally disabled veterans needing continual care at a time when funds are being whacked out of the agency whose function it is to care for veterans.

Legion Nat'l Rehabilitation Director E. H. Golembeski expressed the Legion's concern with these problems on Dec. 16, 1969, before the Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

"The American Legion," he said, "is gravely concerned over the effects of repeated reductions in budget requests for the Veterans' Administration Department of Medicine and Surgery on its ability to deliver first-class health services to eligible veterans.

"As a result of the personnel reduction imposed by Section 201 of the Revenue and Expenditures Control Act of 1968; the denial of increased employee levels in the fiscal 1969 appropriation requests; and the recent Executive revision of Federal employment estimates, the VA is being forced to operate what was designed to be a second-to-none medical care program for the nation's sick and disabled veterans with inadequate and arbitrary personnel limitations."

Sen. Alan Cranston (Calif.), Chairman of the Subcommittee, had ordered the hearings to determine the effect of economy reductions on VA hospital and medical services and what it meant in human values to the nation's veterans. Golembeski presented figures showing that the VA hospital system is operating with the lowest personnel-patient ratio in the nation, averaging 1.5 personnel per patient as compared to a national community hospital ratio of 2.65 per patient and a university hospital ratio which varied from 3.5 to 4.0.

He said: "In reviewing the actions of the Executive arm of the federal government over the past several years, there is an evident unwillingness to accept the principle that the Veterans Administration is obliged not only to provide first-class medical care for veterans, but also, to the full extent of its professional and physical resources, to contribute to the advancement of medical knowledge through research, to the dissemination of medical knowledge through education, and to the education and training of sorely needed health manpower."

The VA's Administrator, Donald E. Johnson said: "The real crux of our budgetary problems, especially in our medical program areas, stems from enactment of the Revenue and Expenditures Control Act of 1968 (PL 90-364). Although the VA was specifically exempted from the expenditures limitations of the act, we were covered by the provisions of Section 201, which required us to roll back fulltime permanent employment to the number on duty as of June 30, 1966.

"From where we were as of July 1, 1968, this meant a reduction of 3,389 personnel needed to be made from onboard employment by attrition through not filling more than three out of each four ensuing vacancies. Due to the high rate of employment turnover in our medical programs, the reduction occurred by Nov. 1, 1968.

"In addition to the loss of 3,389 employees from where we were at July 1, 1968, as a result of PL-90-364, we also lost an increase of 3,376 in employment provided for in our fiscal 1969 appropriation request."

The total of those personnel figures is 6,765 employees. In the 1970 medical budget, the VA asked for 3,578 new employees. How

many of these will actually be put on the job is questionable.

Another witness, Dr. Hugh Luckey, President of the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center, said: "Are we doing all we know how to do for our veterans? The answer is definitely no. Within the limitation of funds, personnel, and physical resources, the Department of Medicine and Surgery is doing a fine job. However, we would be deceiving ourselves if we did not admit that we could do better. . . . Do we have reason to be apprehensive about the future of health care in the VA? I would say the answer must be a resounding yes. We are in the midst of a severe health care depression in this country. . . . The VA is subject to the same pressures as exists in other areas of our health care system. Salaries of VA fulltime professional personnel are not competitive. . . . Many VA facilities are becoming obsolete. Funds to support research are so limited as to restrict this important attraction of high quality personnel. . . . In the face of this health, education and care depression, the future of our VA medical care system is foreboding. As it is for the other 200 million citizens of our country."

On returning and wounded Vietnam vets, Dr. Russell V. Lee, founder of the Palo Alto Medical Clinic and Clinical Professor of Medicine Emeritus at Stanford University, said: ". . . The veterans hospitals have done a remarkably good job in rehabilitation in many of the hospitals. Some of them are really outstanding, but they are not prepared, without some extra help, for the new burden they are going to have of getting these people back to duty. That means not only physical rehabilitation of the people to their wounds, but vocational rehabilitation so that they will be fitted for some sort of useful life into the future. This money, of course, is well spent, because those who can get back to useful occupations are going to be of enormous help in the productive activities of the country. . . . This requires more money, more money than they have had before, not less. And that was one of the reasons I was seriously concerned about the cut in funds for medical help in the VA. . . ."

From Dr. Stewart Wolf, Regents Professor of Medicine at the Univ. of Oklahoma School of Medicine and Head of Neurosciences of the Oklahoma Medical Research Foundation: "I should like to emphasize . . . the danger of deterioration of what has been a vital force in modern medicine in this country. . . . The current national priorities, as reflected in the personnel ceiling policy and budget cuts imposed on the VA, threaten the quality of the veterans medical facilities at a time when they are about to be challenged by a great wave of discharged and handicapped GI's. . . ."

"In the recent past the VA has been able to attract the highest quality of professional staff. Today, however, there is a concern among potential recruits, in part because of the financial strictures, in part due to the vulnerability of the top administration to the winds of political change, but mainly as a consequence of a subtler problem, namely the feeling that the halcyon days are over. Thus, there is a real danger that the administration and the Congress are about to see veterans' hospitals revert to the mediocre status of the 20's and 30's, where tired physicians and political jobholders provided the care for the defenders of our country."

From Dr. Philip Lee, Chancellor of the Univ. of California Medical Center in San Francisco and former Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs at HEW: ". . . I believe the budget cuts and restrictions on personnel have seriously affected the improvements in patient care that are needed in the veterans' hospitals and clinics. I believe that a minimum of \$100 million is needed merely to convert the personnel deficit that has resulted from the ceilings imposed in the past several years.

"Second, funds are needed—about \$100 million annually to build new hospitals and modernize existing hospitals and clinics in order that first-rate care can be provided.

"Third, funds are needed to construct research and teaching space in the new hospitals and provide it in existing university-affiliated hospitals. The cost for both of these needs can be provided by the VA, but I would estimate the need to be \$30-\$40 million a year for the next five years. These are urgent needs. They will improve patient care as no other investment by the VA can.

"Fourth . . . emphasis should be placed on correcting the 50,000 physician shortage, the 9,000 shortage in dentists, the 145,000 nurse shortage and the 200,000 allied health professional shortage. . . ."

"Fifth, adequate funds need to be provided the VA for a major program of health facilities and health services research. There should be 10-20 such VA hospitals that are the centers for such research.

"Finally, . . . in answer to (the) basic questions, 'Are we doing all we can about this problem? Are we doing all we must?', the answer is an emphatic no. The tragic fact is that we are asking the veteran to pay in his health for the anti-inflationary policies that are followed by the administration. I think we are asking him to pay too high a price."

Expert testimony of a more personal kind came from former Army Captain Max Cleland, 27, of Atlanta, Ga., a triple amputee who lost both legs and his right arm in an accidental grenade explosion in Vietnam. Capt. Cleland was awarded the Silver Star for gallantry in action.

Among other things, he discussed the delayed psychological repercussions that affect severely wounded battle casualties. He said: "Anyone who deals with a Vietnam returnee must understand this delayed, severe psychological symptom, and, in my opinion, more effort has to be made, especially by the VA, to insure that the small but select minority of Vietnam returnees in VA hospitals have adequate social, recreational and psychological activities to help them in readjusting to American life.

"Administrative transfer from the military service to the charge of the VA is for the wounded Vietnam returnee a deep psychological move closer to the realities of civilian life. It is highly important that this shift when it occurs not be complicated with administrative problems in adjustment of pay, securing of appropriate hospital equipment, finding the correct VA hospital to go to, calculation of disability compensation, driver training, etc. . . ."

". . . This is certainly an area of interest to Congress to see that money and time are not wasted, and that a veteran can take heart from the fact that his government acts without a letter to Congress to prod it to do so."

Captain Cleland went on: "In summary, in a war everyone wishes to forget, it is too easy to forget the men who fought it, to forget that they are still this nation's charge, that they are managing more and more to survive severely disabling wounds, that they can take little comfort and find little peace in the division of attitudes concerning the war, and that finally, it is up to the agencies of this government to make an added effort in their behalf to meet their special physical and psychological problems. The American people should support with money and public concern the effort of this government to take care of its defenders. It seems the least this government can do for men who have shown their trust in this government in the most dramatic way."

The Committee on Veterans' Affairs of the House of Representatives was equally busy on the subject of the VA's budget crunch. On Oct. 9, 1969, its Chairman, Olin E. Teague (Tex.), told the House of Representatives that as of August 15 last year over \$20 mil-

lion of modern medical life-saving and life-prolonging equipment was standing idle in VA hospitals for lack of money to hire and train such personnel.

Rep. Teague said that the Revenue and Expenditures Control Act of 1968 had—and this was borne out by testimony of the VA's chief medical director and other independent experts at hearings—resulted in serious staffing shortages at VA hospitals throughout the country. He pointed out that the VA was running the largest single hospital system in the world with about half the personnel-patient ratio of the other modern hospital systems elsewhere in the nation. Compounding the problem was the huge increase in workload factors caused by returning Vietnam vets and a veteran population of over 27,000,000 (the bulk of it from WW2) grown older and needing increasing medical attention.

In the face of this, Rep. Teague noted, the budget submitted to Congress by President Nixon last April contained a recommendation that over 4,000 medical personnel be cut from the budget which had been recommended by the former President Johnson last January. On top of that, the Administration reimposed personnel ceilings resulting in the further loss of 634 more VA positions.

Congressman Teague estimated that even if the 166 VA hospitals were brought up to a minimum acceptable staffing ratio of 2.0 to each patient for general medical hospitals and 1.0 for psychiatric hospitals, over 28,000 additional hospital personnel would be needed. Under present pay scales, this item alone would cost some \$240 million and still leave VA hospitals at only half the staff/patient ratio of general hospitals.

Another facet of the problem was brought out at Senate hearings by Dr. Irving G. Brick, the Legion's Rehabilitation Division Senior Medical Consultant. Referring to the additional role of VA hospitals as medical training institutions, he noted that "There is a strain in the relationships between some of the universities and the VA hospitals because of the fact that the hospitals have not been able to keep up with the modern practices of medicine. It seems to me that if the VA hospitals, which were designed to give the best care that the country can afford its veterans, are not giving the best care, do not have the appropriate facilities and the appropriate people, that there is going to be a greater deterioration.

"Look at what the VA hospital system has contributed to the education of medical students, of interns, of residents, these people who are taking special training that have made American medicine so great," he went on. "Fully half or more of the trainees in this country, if we include sophomore medical students, get some part of their medical training at VA hospitals. This is certainly true of the postgraduate specialties." (In 1968, over 10,000 medical students and thousands of other para-medical personnel were trained in the VA system.)

Dr. Brick continued: "What I am trying to say . . . is that here is a great national resource for the production of health manpower. . . . The VA knows how to do it. It is in the education field. It has been in the education field. I think we ought to think in terms of expanding the affiliation with medical schools. . . . I think that we should be trying to expand and strengthen and make the VA hospitals a great repository of medical education and research for the benefit not only of the veterans but of the whole country, because this is what happens when advances in medicine are made.

"It is for this reason that it now becomes distressing to me, after watching this great system flourish for more than 20 years, to see a slight beginning of deterioration because of budgetary restrictions. I think it is urgent, if we do not want this deterioration to increase, to do something about equalizing some of these facilities in the best modern manner possible."

These things now are pretty clear. The U.S. veteran population is over 27 million and increasing at the rate of about 75,000 per month as more servicemen are being discharged. Close to 250,000 U.S. servicemen have received non-fatal wounds in Vietnam—approximately 120,000 of them requiring hospitalization—with about 12,000 of these totally disabled. The rate of neuropsychiatric cases has doubled since 1965.

The VA's full-time employment of nurses and doctors is at about the same level as it was in 1965, while Vietnam casualties requiring hospital care increased more than 300 percent. (Part of the job load has been taken over by an increase in the number of part-time doctors, nurses, residents and interns, but many question if this is good practice.)

The VA's budget is as much a victim of inflation as any other segment of U.S. society. Its funds are being eaten up by increasing salary levels and sky-rocketing costs of equipment, construction, drugs and supplies. The budgetary cuts serve to deny the VA's operations the opportunity to provide for satisfactory professional staffing, operating expenses, the modernization and construction of necessary medical facilities, and the utilization of life-saving and life-prolonging facilities and equipment.

The current VA budget estimate included the tenth annual installment for financing a 15-year program of modernization of VA hospital and domiciliary facilities begun in 1960 to be applied at the rate of \$75 million a year. That rate was not always met through the intervening years and the VA's problems with it increased as construction costs rose, older facilities deteriorated, and maintenance costs and inefficiency ratios climbed.

Unless realistic investments of money are fed into the VA system in the very near future, the world's largest hospital system must head downhill.

MISCALCULATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, refusal by the Nixon administration to sell Israel aircraft so vital for her defense is shocking, deplorable, and fraught with the dangers of miscalculation.

Israel is not, and has never been the aggressor in the Middle East. That nation has fought to survive, never to dominate. She has succeeded in three wars because she has known that defeat meant annihilation. The Arab States have lost three wars but their Governments survive, still calling for holy wars of vengeance. The first war Israel loses will be the last she fights, her voice forever still.

The persuasions of history have failed to impress the President and Secretary of State William P. Rogers. Rather their statements emphasize the naive hope that Moscow will cooperate in our search for a just peace, despite continuing Russian rejection of every past U.S. overture.

Last fall, U.S. negotiators thought they had wrested from their Russian counterparts an agreement on a framework for Middle East peace talks, only to be cynically rebuked.

Last week, Moscow delivered to Cairo an undisclosed number of surface-to-air missiles and 1,500 Russian troops to man them, in itself an act which badly upsets

the balance of power in the Middle East in favor of the Arabs.

This week, the administration announces it will not sell vital jets to Israel because, in Secretary Rogers' words, "In our judgment, Israel's air capacity is sufficient to meet its needs for the time being." When questioned about the administration's logic that this repudiation of an American friend and ally would make Russia more flexible despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary, Secretary Rogers replied: "But there is always hope."

Israel will not long survive on the evanescent shards in Mr. Rogers' hope chest.

Israel cannot survive without clearly demonstrated superiority in the air. A nation of 3 million cannot outman or outgun 100 million enemies on the ground.

The sale of 110 French jets to Libya, jets that will end up in Nasser's hands, and the introduction of Russian-manned surface-to-air missiles already have compromised Israel's air superiority.

This administration speaks of peace despite the experience that the risk of war increases whenever the Arabs doubt Israel's military superiority.

This administration, by raising these doubts, has increased, not reduced, the risk of open war in the Middle East, and the specter of big-power confrontation there.

The administration speaks of bringing both Arabs and Israelis to the peace table, despite the common view that the Arabs will not go to the peace table until they surrender forever their foolish dreams of military conquest.

This administration, by feeding this Arab fantasy, has encouraged Arab belligerency and dimmed, rather than brightened, the prospects for peace talks.

Finally, and I raise this point reluctantly, there is the question of responsibility to a friend and ally. Israel has not asked very much, some 125 planes for which she is willing to pay. She has not asked for troops. She has not asked for direct intervention.

To betray such a friend and ally is nothing short of irresponsible.

This administration has put much stake in its claim that Israel's air capacity is sufficient for the time being. If it were insufficient, Mr. President, Israel would now be fighting a death-struggle on the beaches of the Mediterranean. Insufficiency means annihilation.

This administration has promised to keep "a close watch" on the military balance of power in the Middle East. It is my fervent prayer that history does not demand another Dunkirk before this administration comes to understand how delicate a thread survival really is.

ARTS AND HUMANITIES

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include

therein the very pertinent remarks appearing in a recent edition of the New York Times of Hon. Barnaby C. Keeney, former distinguished president of Brown University warning Congress of the peril involved in neglecting the humanities.

Dr. Keeney's statement was delivered before the joint Senate-House subcommittee hearing held on President Nixon's proposed legislation that would double direct Federal subsidies to the arts and humanities to \$40 million next year and extend the life of the program an additional 3 years beyond June 30, 1970.

To the best of my knowledge—

Said Keeney—

there is no way to bring various opposing forces together excepting by a better understanding of the past, a better analysis of the present and a better view of the future.

He said:

The Government devises programs that order what is best for even another country without understanding its history, its institutions or even its language.

It appears that the doctor's statements must be taken to heart by everyone in the Congress interested in balance of educational and cultural programs and that Congress must recognize the urgent need for supporting the humanities as well as science in our national education programs.

The preservation and projection of our rich cultural heritage is a necessary component of our scientific advancement, as well as the progress of the Nation, and Congress must continue to have that in mind when we are legislating in these areas.

Moreover, we must extend and adequately implement and support the entire arts and humanities program, since it is of great importance to the country and the American people.

I have urged the joint committee currently holding hearings in these matters to take prompt favorable action, so that Congress can pass the pending bill for arts and humanities at an early date. It is needed to prevent the fast encroaching vulgarian takeover engineered by those who aim at the destruction of our basic moral, cultural, linguistic values, and good manners, and who work to tear up our social and economic systems and free institutions by the roots.

They will never prevail.

Excerpts from Dr. Keeney's statement follow:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 27, 1970]
EXCERPTS FROM KEENEY REMARKS ON SCIENCE STRESS

WASHINGTON, January 26.—Following are excerpts from a statement made today by Dr. Barnaby C. Keeney, chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, at a joint Senate-House subcommittee hearing on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965:

It is my own conviction that until the electorate and the persons they elect can use historical and philosophical material to help decide the major public questions of the day, we shall not solve those problems, and until the general public is capable of using knowledge of the past to solve personal problems, we shall not have an orderly society.

Certainly, many of the most important problems cannot be solved by science, which we have greatly supported and which has made many important contributions to our society. Science cannot solve these problems because scientists alone cannot decide what

to do with the knowledge that is produced. There is a great imbalance in education at every level from school through graduate school in favor of the sciences. It is obvious from even the most casual inspection of any university campus, where most of the new buildings are for scientific uses.

I support and have supported government sponsorship of scientific research and teaching, but the imbalance is now so serious that it is seriously threatening the education of our next generation.

LACK OF UNDERSTANDING

What this country, and indeed the whole world lacks, is an understanding of the past, where we have been; the present, where we are; and the future, where we are going. An historical and analytical approach is essential.

Where we are is the result of where we have been and has a decisive influence on where we are going. Where we are now is in real trouble. We have cherished knowledge of material things, but we have not given sufficient attention to abstract considerations.

We have attempted to put new knowledge together with old assumptions in the naive belief that the more one knows the better one will understand, and possibly even accept.

The result has been the destruction of our system of values, so that our people now have no real guide for their lives. New assumptions are stated as proven fact and the result is violent disagreement, and I mean violent, or passive indifference, or, worst of all, an effort to accept several value systems.

A country of this size and complexity cannot proceed successfully without consensus on major issues and we no longer have this consensus, though possibly it is appearing, and again not so much as the result of scientific but of humanistic thought.

Our physical environment is in serious trouble. A frequently overlooked part of the environment is the intellectual. This consists of the product of thought, but it also consists of the product of taste and it contains the values of which I spoke.

Here we have little, if any, agreement. We have generation faced against generation, race against race. To the best of my knowledge, there is no way to bring various opposing forces together excepting by a better understanding of the past, a better analysis of the present and a better view of the future.

[From the New York Times, Jan. 27, 1970]
CONGRESS WARNED OF PERIL IN NEGLECT OF HUMANITIES

(By Nan Robertson)

WASHINGTON, January 26.—Congress was warned today that a growing imbalance of science teaching and research in relation to the humanities was dividing the nation, destroying its values and making it impossible to solve society's most serious problems.

Barnaby C. Keeney, historian and former president of Brown University, who now heads the National Endowment for the Humanities, told a joint Congressional subcommittee that American society was "in real trouble" because of the overwhelming emphasis on science and technology.

"It is my own conviction that until the electorate and the persons they elect can use historical and philosophical material to help decide the major public questions of the day, we shall not solve those problems," Dr. Keeney said.

MAJOR CONFLICTS SEEN

He was the first witness at hearings on President Nixon's proposed legislation that would double direct Federal subsidies to the arts and humanities to \$40-million next year. The President has also asked Congress to extend the legislative life of the National

Foundation on the Arts and Humanities three years beyond its present termination date of June 30, 1970.

Dr. Keeney said the nation now has "generation faced against generation, race against race."

"To the best of my knowledge," he continued, "there is no way to bring various opposing forces together excepting by a better understanding of the past, a better analysis of the present and a better view of the future."

The witness expanded on Mr. Nixon's call last month to bring "the lessons of our history to bear on the problems of the future."

Scientists "ought to be forced to answer" the questions of what impact their technological achievements will have upon the quality of life, but so far they have not done so, even on the White House level, Dr. Keeney charged.

"We can do all sorts of things," he said, "But why do we do it? Where do we want to go? What do we want to be?"

Any American college freshman can step on campus and instantly see by the new buildings devoted to science, where the priorities are, Dr. Keeney said. He sees that the history department is housed in a former dormitory condemned as a firetrap, "the English department is in the old physics building and the philosophy department is in what used to be the geology building. It gives a kid a sense of values very quickly."

In many ways, the would-be teacher also sees the gap, with "10 times as many fellowships awaiting the equally competent or less competent scientist" than the average humanist, Dr. Keeney added.

A PROBLEM IN HISTORY

When asked by Representative Ogden R. Reid, Republican of Westchester, why government kept making the "same mistakes" over and over, Dr. Keeney replied: "Because of an inadequate knowledge of history."

The Government, he said, devises programs that order "what is best for even another country without understanding its history, its institutions or even its language."

Dr. Keeney indicated that for these and other reasons, the National Endowment for the Humanities had shifted strongly from heavy funding of scholarship and research programs in its first year—1965—to educational programs.

The joint congressional subcommittee that heard his testimony was formed of members of the Senate Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee and the House Select Subcommittee on Education of the Education and Labor Committee.

The next witness, scheduled for Wednesday's hearing, is Nancy Hanks, chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts.

The national endowments for the humanities and the arts were created by Congress in 1965 and provide Government funds for special projects in these fields.

THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE YALTA CONFERENCE

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Stefan Kleczkowski, a former journalist for the London Daily Mail, acquired a reputation over the years for proper insight into the complications in Eastern Europe and especially Poland. Therefore, I insert into the RECORD his article which appeared in the March 1970, edi-

tion of the London Contemporary Review in which he discusses the significance of the 25th anniversary of the Yalta Conference. As we gaze at the map of Eastern Europe, the unfortunate consequences of the Yalta Conference literally stare us in the face.

THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE YALTA CONFERENCE

(By Stefan Kleczkowski)

February 11, 1970, marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the abortive Yalta Conference which decided the fate of Poland, without its consent, as it was within its September 1, 1939, frontiers, duly recognised by the whole world.

Contrary to the provisions of the Anglo-Polish Treaty of Mutual Defence signed on August 25, 1939, this conference was conducted in absence of a legal representative of the allied Polish Government then officiating in London and fully recognised and honoured by the Governments of Great Britain and of the United States of America. In other words, the Fifth Partition of Poland was effected by the three Contra-acting Powers (Britain, U.S. and Soviet Russia) without the presence of a delegate of the legal Polish Government being invited to participate in its deliberations. Thus a breach of international law was caused, and the fate of an ancient nation and 'the first and most faithful ally' (Churchill) settled without any obligatory formality, with the result that Poland, a western and Christian nation, with a population of over 32 million, was squeezed by force into the orbit of the Soviet Communist Empire. This was done despite the efforts and sacrifices of the Polish troops then fighting under the British Command, and subsequent huge losses in manpower and treasure on all the battlefields of Europe and Africa.

At the same time, the country was deprived of 46 per cent of its national territory by the establishment of an artificial frontier running from the city of Grodno in the North, along the river Bug in the centre, to the great fortress of Przemysl in the south—i.e. the so-called 'Curzon Line' which was suggested as a demarcation line for an armistice between Poland and the Soviet Union then at war in 1919. This partition and subjugation of Poland was never recognised by the lawful London Polish Government and by the Polish nation because, after the Russian troops occupied it, it never had been a free agent to express its will.

The partitioning powers took no notice of Poland's stand on this vital question, contrary to the international law, and only informed its London Representatives when their wartime ally was of no further use to them. The final blow came on July 5, 1945, when the Governments of Great Britain and America jointly decided to 'withdraw their recognition' from the London Polish Government, and sent it packing into the wilderness, in which it still remains to this day.

Thus, five years of Poland's tremendous losses and sacrifices (nearly 6 million dead and 2 million deported to the Soviet concentration camps) were cynically sacrificed by the western allies in order to appease a notoriously insatiable and treacherous Communist partner. It was in fact 'more than a crime'—a mistake as Talleyrand would put it, as the subsequent events had shown.

From the point of view of international law this tragic transaction was, of course, null and void, but in the prevailing circumstances, and in view of the unwillingness of the western allies to defend its wartime partner, it was an operation of doubtful moral standards and far less political wisdom and foresight.

To-day Great Britain is paying dearly for this 'mistake' by facing the threat of Soviet aggression right in the centre of Europe,

within only 400 miles of the British coast, a threat which is daily growing stronger and more menacing, as Soviet Russia is building up its conventional forces and nuclear power in Europe, and acquiring new advance bases in the Middle East and the Mediterranean.

For the record, it should be stated that the Anglo-Polish Treaty of Mutual Defences of August 25, 1939, was a freely concluded agreement in which Britain undertook to resort to arms in defence of Poland's independence in the event of an unprovoked German attack.

It was preceded by a one-sided declaration made by Mr. Neville Chamberlain on March 31, 1939, in the House of Commons, a declaration soon to be converted into a 'reciprocal mutual defence agreement'. So strengthened, Poland was ready to oppose Hitler's demands for a free passage across the Polish Corridor and for the incorporation of the Free City of Danzig into the Third Reich. The subsequent inclusion of the Polish forces under British command further strengthened this agreement in the name of Anglo-Polish brotherhood-in-arms.

The existence of a formal British undertaking to defend Poland was made public by Mr. M. Petheric, MP, on February 28, 1948, during the Yalta debate. The secret protocol attached to it specified that it became applicable only in case of German aggression, while section 1, paragraph 5, provided for reciprocal help in the event of such an aggression. Clause 3 further stated that 'any new undertaking which the Contracting Powers undertook under the present agreement shall neither limit nor indirectly create new obligations between the Contracting Parties not participating in these undertakings and the third State concerned'. In a further paragraph it was stated that 'should such an agreement be entered into by the Contracting Parties either the sovereignty or territorial inviolability of the other Contracting Party' shall not be affected. Sir Anthony Eden's declaration fully confirms this interpretation of the said treaty of defence.

In connection with the signature of the Polish-Soviet pact of July 30, 1941, Sir Anthony Eden wrote to the late General W. Sikorski, wartime Polish Premier and C. in C., as follows: 'I avail myself of this opportunity to inform you that in accordance with the Anglo-Polish Treaty of Mutual Defence of August 25, 1939, the British Government has not given the Soviet Government any undertaking which could affect its relationship between Poland and the U.S.S.R. I wish to assure you at the same time that the British Government does not recognise any territorial changes effected in Poland from August 1939.' This was an undertaking to defend Poland's independence and the integrity of its territory, and was in accord with the Atlantic Charter, signed by all the wartime allies on August 14, 1941.

It is, therefore, unfortunate to recall that during the Yalta debate in the House of Commons on February 28, 1945, Sir Anthony Eden should have interpreted the treaty of defence in a narrower sense, that is, by stating that it referred only to Germany, not to Soviet Russia. This new interpretation was contrary to the text of the treaty of defence, together with its secret protocol, as well as Sir Anthony's personal declaration.

Count Edward Raczyński, wartime Polish Ambassador, commenting on this in his book entitled: *The Anglo-Polish Alliance*, concludes that 'this treaty included a reciprocal undertaking of mutual help understood very widely, although it does not specify the guarantee interests in Latvia, Estonia and Rumania which tie to Poland's eastern territories.' This is an undeniable proof that both parties to the treaty of defence took these matters under their consideration which were based on the existing territorial status in the then prevailing political systems of which the Polish Republic was an essential mem-

ber within the boundaries of the Riga Treaty, recognised by Great Britain in 1923. Moreover, the Atlantic Charter signed in London on May 26, 1942, between Britain and Soviet Russia as well as other states, guaranteed that these powers would not seek territorial aggrandisement, should recognise the right of all nations for self-determination and refuse to interfere in the affairs of other nations.

Under the circumstances, the Polish Government could never agree to any changes of its national territory except after consultation with the legally elected Polish Parliament sitting in Warsaw. Since that government stayed in the U.K. throughout the war, it could not possibly condone such changes. In the absence of a parliamentary mandate, the whole transaction had no chance of being put into effect and could not, therefore, be binding on Poland.

So much for the legal aspect of the Yalta Agreement. Apart from the above-mentioned treaty obligations, the Poles relied throughout the war on Mr. Churchill's promises made in the House of Commons and elsewhere. In one of such speeches he said 'It is the earnest desire of the British Government that Poland should be mistress in her own house and captain of her soul.' Speaking in the House on February 8, 1945, he again stated that 'to break altogether with the lawful Government of Poland, which had been recognised during all the five years of war, would be an act subject to the most severe criticism in England. Great Britain would be charged with forsaking the cause of Poland.' . . .

These declarations left no doubt in the hearts and minds of the Poles fighting under British Command and of the London Polish Government as to how Britain stood towards Poland's independence, and they were therefore hopelessly disappointed when they found out, after the conclusion of the Yalta Agreement, that everything they fought for was scrapped on the altar of political expediency, contrary to international law, and to Great Britain's real interests. They remembered that Britain went to war to defend Poland on the clear understanding that by so doing she was defending herself, at least temporarily, from the threat of the German attack. Although promises were made of loans and war materials, none was kept, but Poland had stood its ground for as long as possible, until the 'Soviet stab in the back', when further resistance was useless.

Although some military commentators today question the wisdom of Poland's stand in 1939, it is now clear that it gave Britain breathing space and saved her from the German air attacks for at least a year. That Poland played its role successfully, was admitted obliquely by Herr Alfred Speer, Hitler's wartime minister of munitions, in a *Sunday Telegraph* statement that his chief 'made a mistake in attacking Poland. It should have been a military demonstration on the Austrian and Czechoslovak model.' Unfortunately for Hitler, it misfired and Germany lost at least a year before she attacked Britain.

President Roosevelt's attitude towards Poland was always ambiguous. All he was interested in at Yalta was that 'Poland will be thoroughly friendly to the Soviet for years to come', which in fact meant complete domination by Soviet Russia. All he really wanted was to find a tool with which to rope in the votes of American Poles in the forthcoming Presidential Elections. An ill and dying man in Yalta, he was no match for the bloody, cunning and treacherous tyrant who faced him across the conference table, and who twisted him around his little finger.

The result was that the Yalta Conference opened the door for Soviet Russia not only for the domination of Eastern Europe, but of the whole European Continent, with a clear threat of further aggression following

the ruthless incorporation of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Furthermore, it dealt a mortal blow to the whole structure of the British Empire because it undermined the confidence of its members in Britain's real strength, of which the failure of the 'Suez affair' was but a link in the chain-reaction which it set off.

The conclusion is that the hope of a peaceful co-existence with Soviet Russia is a myth, because she is not interested in such a pipe-dream but in the domination of the world.

REMARKS BY RICHARD J. O'MELIA ABOUT AIR TRAFFIC ENFORCEMENT

HON. ALVIN E. O'KONSKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, a former resident of my district, Richard J. O'Melia, Director, Bureau of Enforcement, Civil Aeronautics Board, delivered a very important message before the Association of Group Travel Executives in New York on March 5, 1970.

With the traffic problems being what they are, I am sure the remarks that follow will be of interest to Members of Congress and the general public:

REMARKS BY RICHARD J. O'MELIA, DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF ENFORCEMENT, CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD, BEFORE THE ASSOCIATION OF GROUP TRAVEL EXECUTIVES, NEW YORK, MARCH 5, 1970

It is a pleasure to meet with you today to discuss the functions and activities of the Civil Aeronautics Board's Bureau of Enforcement. As you may know on January 23, 1970, the Bureau, not the Board, filed complaints against five air carriers, eight travel agents, 15 organizations and 17 individuals alleging violations of the Federal Aviation Act and the Board's Economic Regulations. This action was taken as a result of the Bureau's year-long West Coast charter investigation.

There has been some misconception within the general public and in parts of the industry that our enforcement complaints sought immediate suspension and/or revocation of air carrier authority on the North Atlantic. Some have even charged that we set out to destroy a segment of the air transport industry. However, a reading of our recent enforcement complaints will make it clear that our petitions asked for suspensions only against four carriers on the North Atlantic, on the basis of alleged violations of the Act.

It should be emphasized that the filing of complaints by the Bureau of Enforcement does not constitute any action or prejudgment by the Board itself. All respondents named in our complaint have full rights to due process.

The carriers and other parties under the Board's rules are entitled to full and fair hearings before a hearing examiner who will issue his decision based on evidence submitted, subject to the Board's discretionary review. No interim relief is granted, nor can a carrier be suspended in economic enforcement cases except after a hearing and a final decision that the nature and extent of the violations justify such action.

To my knowledge, there has never been an enforcement problem which precipitated such great public interest. Our enforcement efforts to bring illegal charters under control have drawn mixed reactions from the industry, from Congress and from the general public. There are some from each of those areas who have vigorously opposed enforcement action while there are others who have just as vigorously applauded our efforts.

As to the charge that by filing our complaints we were attempting to destroy a segment of the air transport industry, let me say, that it is such a ludicrous statement I will not dignify it by denying it. But to set the record straight, the Bureau of Enforcement, as it has in the past, will file complaints against any segment of the transportation industry, whenever and wherever violations of the Federal Aviation Act and the Board's regulations are found. Let there be no doubt about that.

The Board's enforcement program, although relatively small, is an indispensable part of the Board's overall work. We have a total staff of 33 which includes 10 attorneys in our Legal Division, six investigators in our Investigation Division—the same number we had in 1952—and five professional staff people in our Consumer Complaint Section. The Bureau's function is to: (1) obtain compliance with the economic provisions of the Federal Aviation Act and with the regulations, orders, certificates, permits, exemptions, and other requirements issued thereunder; (2) prevent improper claims for subsidy and unfair and deceptive practices, and restrictive competition; (3) protect the public from unjust discrimination and mistreatment by air carriers and their agents; and (4) improve the quality and dependability of air transportation service. In the public interest, the Bureau seeks to assure that the complaints of individual travelers and shippers will receive prompt and proper consideration.

The Board's enforcement responsibilities cover 39 certificated air carriers, 12 supplemental air carriers, 136 foreign air carriers (a total of 187 airlines), 146 authorized domestic and international air freight forwarders, about 3,500 air taxi operators, who are subject to some degree of economic regulation, a number of intrastate and commercial operators who become involved in interstate or foreign common carriage, and thousands of travel agents who are subject to section 411 of the Act, which empowers the Board to investigate competitive practices among air carriers and travel agents.

I doubt that the Federal Aviation Act and the Board's regulations would have meaningful effect without the machinery to insure reasonable compliance. That is where enforcement comes in. It is our responsibility to preserve the integrity of the laws and regulations by filing complaints where necessary through appropriate enforcement processes.

I have given the above figures to show that charter violations are only one part of our workload. However, in recent months, they certainly have been taking an increasing amount of the Bureau's time. It appears from our continuing investigation, notwithstanding the recent complaints that we filed, that charter violations are like old soldiers, they never die; in fact, they don't even appear to be fading away.

Travel Age West reported last week that its editor joined a charter on the West Coast 48 hours before it departed for Europe. He paid his money, joined a group that backdated his membership card six months and off he flew. He also reported interviewing many other passengers on the flight who had just joined for the purpose of a low-cost trip to Europe and were not bona fide members of the chartering organization.

The Federal Aviation Act and the Board's regulations differentiate between charter flights by supplemental airlines and individually-ticketed operations of the scheduled airlines, primarily by requiring that charter service be offered only to bona fide charter organizations and not to travel agents, who are in the business of soliciting these customers from the general public (except with respect to ITC's and BIT's). In my opinion, the public's serious misunderstanding of the Board's charter regulations is due either to

the failure of the industry, or in some cases, to persons, who refuse to accept the fact that special conditions must be observed, to distinguish between legitimate charters and individually-ticketed service.

As you may know, the Board holds the carrier primarily responsible for screening a charter flight and for insuring its conformance to the Board's regulations. It should be made clear that the Board is not empowered to physically cancel flights. The Board's staff brings charter problems to the carrier's attention as far in advance of the flight departure date as possible. If the carrier elects to go ahead and operate the flight in the face of such notice, then it risks possible enforcement action after the flight. However, the carriers do cancel many charter flights when questions as to charterworthiness are brought to their attention.

You are all familiar with the West Coast charter complaints through the publicity given them in the press, on radio and TV and through trade publications, etc. You may also know that we are continuing our investigation on the East Coast.

If any one in this room is planning a charter flight this summer, let me tell you what you can do to make sure your charter flight is legitimate and that it won't be canceled at the last minute: You should know whether the organization you belong to is charterworthy. In making this determination in connection with your flight, you should consider the following:

- (1) How long has the organization been in existence.
- (2) Does it function for purposes other than travel.
- (3) Did you join the organization for reasons other than travel.
- (4) Has there been public solicitation of the flight in which you are interested.
- (5) How long have you been a member.
- (6) Were you a member before the flight was announced and a member for at least six months.
- (7) Is the price of the air trip based on a pro rata share of the cost of the charter or have you been asked to pay other charges such as registration fees, membership fees or special contributions.

You should also be sure to check to see that the air carrier scheduled to perform the charter has a contract with the organization with which you are affiliated.

To put it another way, our East Coast charter investigation has pinpointed the principal charter violations as (1) the acceptance of flight participants who are not bona fide members of the chartering organization, (2) the collection of charges over and above the pro rata cost of the flight, (3) the carriage of an excessive percentage of one-way passengers, (4) the intermingling of passengers between going and returning flights and (5) the back-dating of membership cards for six months.

The modus operandi on the East Coast is to conduct charter flights under an arrangement whereby participants are first sold tickets through legitimate travel agents in the New York/New England area. Transportation originally is sold for travel at somewhat less than the group fare rates on scheduled route carriers. These transactions are later liquidated when the agents transfer the passengers over to passenger consolidators who have chartered flights through various organizational fronts, some of which are identified as bona fide organizations and others which exist in name only. There are several such consolidators operating on the East Coast and it is estimated that there are more than 150 agents participating in these transactions.

We have found that the legally objectionable charters on the East Coast have operated by using large retail or wholesale travel agents who have obtained commitments from carriers for a number of charter flights. It

often comes about that the wholesaler cannot get enough charterworthy organizations to fill a large commitment, and even where legitimate organizations charter the flights, they often have difficulty in filling the planes. The wholesaler then broadcasts to the small retail agents his call for bodies.

With this information at his desk, the small retailer is ready to steer those who want a cheap trip. For his service in producing the passengers, the small agent may earn from \$25 to \$35 or more per head. Sometimes the "passenger" is charged a registration or membership fee which makes the total cost larger than the pro rata share of the charter cost. A membership card is then sent to the passenger who has purchased the seat. As a final indignity, the passenger is often required to sign a statement that he has been a member of the organization for more than six months.

The common denominator of charter problems, on both coasts, is illegal profits. If this problem could be resolved, many other abuses would disappear because there would not be the inducement to indulge in illegal charter practices in the first place. The whole effect of these abuses has been to provide cut-rate, individually-ticketed, flights to the general public through the guise of charters. Much of the general public is apathetic to the charter requirements and could care less about them, so long as they can buy air transportation substantially below scheduled airline fares.

The gross profit potential to passenger consolidators on the East Coast is from \$10,000 to \$15,000 per flight. Although we have no statistics showing the number of such flights operated, the activity indicates that there must be several hundreds.

Several cases have been developed on the East Coast to a point where formal complaints can be considered. Let me here again emphasize that our enforcement problems with charters are not limited to any one class of air carriers. The charter problems extend to all categories of air carriers—U.S. and foreign route carriers, foreign charter carriers and U.S. supplemental carriers. There is much room for educational work in apprising the public of the existence of our charter regulations, to avoid last minute cancellations which could result in the stranding of thousands of innocent people who have saved and planned for low-cost charter trips. If the charter organizations and their individual members are made aware of the regulations, we can reduce charter abuses without jeopardizing the tremendous benefits of charter transportation.

The Board's staff has been studying proposed changes in our charter regulations. The National Association of Air Carriers has submitted a rule-making proposal for suggested charter regulation changes. The Civil Aeronautics Board is expected to move forward on this front in the near future. Please be assured that any new charter regulations will be promulgated only after all segments of the aviation industry and the general public have been heard, so that there will be no misunderstanding as to what constitutes legitimate charters.

In the meantime, the Bureau of Enforcement will enforce the present charter regulations to the best of its ability.

You are all aware, I am sure, of the ever-increasing, and sometimes revolutionary, changes taking place in the airline industry, primarily because of the transitional changes in equipment, piston to jet, jet to wide-bodied jet, and soon to supersonic jets. You probably haven't given much thought to the changes which have been occurring in our enforcement activities within the industry and you may be of the impression that our enforcement process today is the same as it was many years ago. Not so. We have had our changes too and I consider them evolutionary.

For example, there is an entirely new group of entities, which command our enforcement attention today, that were non-existent several years ago. The latest in this new category is the bulk inclusive tour operator. He was brought into being just this past year through the Board's approval of an IATA resolution which established this new type of indirect passenger air carrier.

These regulations had hardly been put into print before our enforcement problems began. One formal complaint already has been filed against a bulk inclusive tour operator and it is presently being settled with a consent cease and desist order. The BIT regulation requires a large surety bond for each tour program or, in the alternative, an escrow bank account and a smaller surety bond for each flight. This particular operator failed to abide by either requirement. When a BIT operator fails to meet these financial requirements, the Bureau of Operating Rights, which processes the prospectus filed by the BIT operator, then refers the matter to us for appropriate enforcement action to ensure compliance with the regulations.

Another similar entity is the inclusive tour charter (ITC) operator which has been in existence for several years. This operator charters aircraft from supplemental carriers and sells inclusive tours to the public. He must meet requirements which are basically similar to those of the bulk inclusive tour operators. There are many such operators located throughout the country and there are thousands of travel agents who may act as subagents for these tour operators. Advertising practices, financial responsibilities and many other facets of such operations demand enforcement attention. However, with our limited staff we are obviously unable to make the total surveillance desired of all such operators.

One of the most intriguing new entities is the aircraft lease operator who also came into being only within the past few years. This operator engages in unauthorized air transportation through the guise of dry-leasing aircraft ostensibly in the manner that Hertz and Avis lease cars. However, the aircraft lease operator actually retains control of the operation and, in effect, furnishes charter air transportation without authority similar to that provided by legitimate carriers. Thus, he circumvents the economic requirements of the Board and the safety requirements of the Federal Aviation Act.

The stage was set, so to speak, for such operations when piston engine aircraft were replaced with jet equipment, thereby making available DC-7's and Constellations that could be picked up literally for a dollar and a promise. Enterprising promoters then obtained these aircraft and operated them, ostensibly under a dry lease of equipment arrangement, for any individuals and companies desiring to obtain cut-rate transportation.

The enforcement pattern showed that the operations became increasingly sophisticated and complex, obviously in an effort to preserve the guise of a private lease operation. The operators go so far as to draw up two separate sets of contracts, one for the lease of the aircraft and one for furnishing of the aircraft and one for furnishing of the arrangements appear as just a dry lease of the aircraft. To rebut this requires considerable investigative digging to show that the aircraft lessor masterminds the entire operations and, in effect, through the integration of the various services, provides a wet lease or charter flight. After considerable investigation, we developed sufficient evidence to file a complaint against one of the larger aircraft lease operators who was charged with engaging in unauthorized air transportation. Fortunately, these operations have been mostly in the cargo rather than passenger field. Otherwise, there might be some cause for concern by persons using such

air services since the flights are operated only under the general aviation rules (the same as apply to small private aircraft operations), which are much less stringent than those for air carriers and commercial operators of large transport equipment. Unfortunately, some of the public do not consider the safety aspects of such operations and are blinded by the seeming bargain of a flight price much lower than that charged by a legitimate operator who must conform to air carrier standards.

The economic effects of such operations are also devastating, and unless they are controlled, the legitimate carriers will be placed in an impossible competitive position. For example, such operators, having no tariff requirements and knowing what the tariff rates of legitimate carriers are, can underbid the price to the extent necessary in order to get the business.

The new "Truth in Lending Act" is another area which has been recently added to our enforcement responsibilities. It is our job to insure that the public is protected, under the terms of this Act, insofar as the credit sale of air transportation is concerned. This part of our activity is being handled by the Bureau's Consumer Complaint Section.

The public's growing interest in charter flight services has brought into existence all sorts of specialists. We now have with us a charter service wholesaler. He specializes in package tours based on charter transportation. Such a wholesaler blocks charter space to popular resort areas on carriers and then prepares a package using ground services he has arranged on a group-use basis.

These packages are then sold to retail travel agents to fill their needs for large groups where charter service would have an appeal. When the package is sold to a retail travel agent, the wholesaler realizes his profit from the land package and the retailer earns the commission from the carrier for the charter flight.

While this only a variation on an old theme, it shows how quickly innovators adjust in this constantly changing industry. Although we have not established, as yet, that such operations involve violations of our regulations, we are concerned that the arrangements involving the entry of a wholesaler in a controlling position in the charter field may create enforcement problems in the future.

Another new innovation in our industry involves real estate flights which are operated to carry prospective purchasers to land development sites, such as those being promoted in the Southwest, in Florida, and in the Caribbean. Many passengers sign up for these trips because of the appeal of free or reduced rate travel but fail to realize, as indicated in complaints received in our office, that they will be subjected to extreme promotional pressures to make property purchases.

I am sure that most of you have heard of the private flying clubs which purchase aircraft that are utilized to carry club members on exotic flights. So long as the flights are confined to bona fide members of the clubs, we consider the operations to be private carriage outside of the Board's jurisdiction. However, the line between private and common carriage is a fine one and through public solicitation and acceptance of persons other than their bona fide members, some clubs may have, in our opinion, engaged in air transportation. There are no definite rules, from an economic standpoint, for flying clubs so, consequently, our enforcement problems become ones of interpretation of the facts.

Recognizing that public response to enforcement action is not always favorable, I am reminded of what President Lincoln once said about "duty":

"If I were to try to read, much less answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other busi-

ness. I do the very best I know how—the very best I can, and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, then ten angels swearing I was right, would make no difference."

"WHAT HAPPENED TO THE BEAUTIFUL AMERICA?"—SACRAMENTO CHILDREN SPEAK OUT AGAINST POLLUTION

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I have recently come across a series of quite poignant statements about environmental quality. And I am deeply impressed by these remarks, not only because they come from students ranging in age from 6 to 17, but because they show the real anguish that younger persons feel over the world they will be living in.

These statements come from students in the Sacramento County school system and were compiled in the schools superintendent's bulletin for March 1970.

[From the Sacramento (Calif.) County Schools Superintendent's Bulletin, Mar. 1970]

(Recognition goes to students from the following schools. Short selections were made from a great quantity of excellent material in an attempt to convey the intense concern young people feel for their environment and their commitment to the future. All the material submitted adds to the feeling of concern and commitment and is as valuable as what you read here.)

(Cameron Ranch Elementary School; Cordova Gardens Elementary School; D. W. Erlwine Elementary School; Del Paso Manor Elementary School; John Bidwell Elementary School; Hemlock Elementary School; Bowling Green Elementary School; Woodlake Elementary School; Orville Wright Elementary School; Fairsite Elementary School; Babcock Elementary School; Sequoia Elementary School; Sutter Junior High School; Peter Lassen Junior High School; John H. Still Junior High School; Norte Del Rio High School; Mira Loma High School; Haku contributions all from Encina High School.)

WHEN I WAS YOUNG

"When I was young we used to come down here to the creek and find frogs and polliwogs and things. Now it's just full of oily water and people throw their junk here."—George, grade 6.

"People all over the country are destroying the air with smoke. People are throwing trash in the rivers. People are flooding the animal's homes. They also destroy animal's homes when they forget to put out a campfire and the forest burns. People are wasting food, water and wood."—Stanley, grade 3.

"When I went fishing the water was dirty. The fish were almost dead. Campers had thrown papers and bottles in the water."—Terry, grade 3.

"Water is polluted and smells bad. Fish are dying. Lake's are becoming the dumps and you can't swim. I wish things were beautiful and animals more alive."—Linda, grade 6.

"Did you know the water you drink has had paper, beer cans, coke bottles, oil from the smog causing car, and maybe the old car itself thrown into it?"—Allen, grade 5-6.

"When we went for a boat ride it was a

lot of fun, but the only thing was the water. It was badly polluted. It had bubbles like detergent was in it. It had paper and other litter—twigs, driftwood, and cans floating all over. It smelled very bad. There were dead fish all over the place. The bank was just as bad if not worse. It was really a miracle we got used to the smell. I wonder how the people that live there get used to it?"—Robin, grade 5-6.

"Oil sometimes gets in water from busted oil wells and from boats. This is not good for fish or any other animals. When ducks are around the oil gets on their wings and they can't fly?"—Susan, grade 6.

"Our water resources are being abused and destroyed at an alarming rate. Industries pour their waste into nearby streams or waterways because it's cheaper that way. Campers and tourists find it less bothersome to dispose of their trash into the lake. Even the so-called 'gutter flooder' is at fault. Some might say that this is a result of the public not being informed, but really it's more like a case of 'it's not my fault, somebody else is doing it.'"—Karen, grade 11.

"I bend down to sip
The cold clear water, but pause
To watch the scum pass."

—Kim Fisher.

"Our environment leaves a lot to be desired. There is too much air pollution around us. The smog around us comes from our own doings. We make it when people work in factories to make clothes, goods, etc. Smog and air pollution comes mainly from smoke. The smoke comes from car engines through the exhaust pipes into the air. Also the smoke comes from burning trash, burning houses and such."—Connie, grade 6.

"Each year tons and tons of garbage are dumped into our rivers and lakes; suds from washing machines, chemicals from factories, water so hot it kills animal life by changing their natural environment. You can walk by rivers in your own town and see debris being dumped into our water supply. Why is this allowed?"—Craig, grade 12.

"Clean water is essential to life. Yet many waterways are used as dumps for raw sewage, garbage, and industrial wastes. Water pollution comes from two major sources. First, our cities, towns, and villages dump untreated sewage and garbage into the nearest streams. Second, industries discharge wastes consisting of acids, chemicals, greases, oils, and animal and vegetable matter. Such materials poison drinking water and endanger public health. They destroy commercial fisheries. They prevent fishing, boating, bathing and other recreational uses of the poisoned waterways."—Paula, grade 8.

"Company's wastes go into lakes and rivers, factory smoke pollutes the air, and then there's the uncontrollable litter the people throw out everywhere. Exhaust fumes from cars and many other things are polluting our land."—David, grade 6.

"What happened to the Beautiful America? Now all you see in the city is dirty, filthy skies. The smog is so bad in some cities you can't even see the moon at night."—Martha, grade 8.

"It goes down river,
Hidden in all the water,
all of the topsoil."

—Terry Palmer.

"Until a few years ago people really didn't think much of air pollution as a serious problem but now some people think of it third only to Vietnam and inflation. The skies are darkening faster than the public thinks and by the rate it's going now the earth could be sterile by the 21st century. It is upsetting the balance of nature and the ability of the plants to produce their best is being impaired by the growing problem of air pollution."—Steven, grade 8.

"The problem of DDT is very bad because it causes some birds to become extinct. A man could spray a bush with DDT so that when it rains the DDT washes off into the gutter and then gradually into lakes and streams. The fish then eats some DDT and dies. Then the bird eats the fish and it causes a disease in the bird, so when the bird lays an egg the shell is soft and the bird crushes the egg, thus, the bird becomes extinct. This could also happen to Man, by spraying DDT on crops, then the cows and pigs eat the crops, then Man eats the animal and gradually builds up a supply of DDT in himself. This is one way to solve the population explosion, but not the right way."—Trudie, grade 5-6.

"The problem of litter has grown very much since the war. Industries that produce boxes, bottles, cans, cartons, gadgets, and a thousand varieties of paper products has aided our litter problems. The government is spending about \$750,000 a year to remove trash and litter from the parks."—Stephanie, grade 5-6.

"The majority of people disregard and are unaware of the destructive problem of air pollution. Never before has the air in which we live been polluted to the extent it is today. Air pollution has an adverse effect on our economy. The deterioration, maintenance and need for replacement of materials, structures and machines is greatly increased by air pollution. More tragic, the pollution levels usually observed damage vegetation. A multitude of field crops are poisoned by many of the contaminants in smog. Smog damages our forest trees. For some three billion Ponderosa and Jeffrey pines in the San Bernardino National forest smog is becoming fatal. The dying pines are the first known casualties in the conifer forests. Our resources can not last forever, and their wasting away by air pollution will surely hurt our economy."—Jeanie, grade 12.

"See the pretty coat.
It's made of pure leopard skin.
Where are the leopards?"

—Hank Tonnemacher.

"I think that we should have left the forest and the bay the way that they were before we chopped down the trees and filled up the bay. It was better in the old days when we didn't have cars and things like that."—Karen, grade 5-6.

"I know that some of the trees have to be cut down for lumber . . . so many trees are cut down when it comes to Christmas. People should stop cutting down some of them because they are beautiful. Just think if there were no trees when you go camping. If there were no trees when you woke up you couldn't hear the birds singing . . . I like to live in this world but it wouldn't be worth it if I can't see the trees in the spring and winter and summer. Trees are one of nature's gifts and they need to be saved."—Ruth, grade 4.

"I know we have to kill some animals sometimes for food, but why do people have to kill racoons, rabbits, and foxes for their fur just to have a coat or a hat of animal's furs only to look good? Why can't they let animals be free, not shoot the birds, rabbits, and foxes just for fun but for a special reason like for food and useful things? So why don't we save wild animals?"—Julie, grade 4.

"I feel very bad about the soil breaking away. Without soil we can not plant food. Cows can not eat then the cows will die and so will we and other animals, too. The plants will die and not look pretty."—Diane, grade 4.

"We have a tendency to drive valuable soil to rotten soil. We also disuse the soil. Take for example the Sacramento Metropolitan Airport. Under that airport is rich soil. They could have built it somewhere else, but no they had to put it there! Also by the levee road there is valuable soil but it is filthy—

beer cans, weeds, and other junk litter that place."—Matt, grade 6.

"Our rich land has cities and company's buildings on it and our poor land they leave for the farmers. Lots of farmers are moving to the big cities or they are selling their land to big companies and also freeways are going through them. It is not good at all!"—Danny, grade 6.

"As our population has increased at an uncontrollable rate, so have our problems of waste disposal, urban sprawl, and noise, air, water, and land pollution.

"We are making unreasonable demands upon our technology. We have asked for increased food production, and we are now faced with the problem of pesticide pollution; we have required more land to 'live' on, and we have less to enjoy; we have expected faster and faster transportation, and we have received the noise and pollution which is inherent in this. In general we have demanded progress, even at the price of life itself."—Mark, grade 11.

"There are empty buildings near my home that were zoned for business but they are overgrown with weeds. Some people and children dump trash there. If the property gets run down the value of our property will also go down. There are too many billboards and signs and old unused buildings that clutter up and spoil the scenic views. The traffic in my neighborhood is heavy and it is dangerous for the children going to school."—Barry, grade 5-6.

"DDT was the super bug killer, it was cheap and relatively harmless to man in its immediate, noticeable effects. But now it appears that the DDT family lingers in the environment, accumulates in soil, plants, and fatty tissues of warm blooded creatures and aquatic life. The heavy pesticide application causes more complex problems. Many Californians are injured by pesticides or other agricultural chemicals."—Terri, grade 5-6.

"I think that there are too many people. The more people, the more cars. And this brings up some big problems: smog, traffic, and air pollution. Because of the big increase of people there are more industries to pollute the air."—Mike, grade 5-6.

"It seems like we are sardines in a can, the houses are so close together and then you go into the city you are so crowded you can hardly move, it's horrible!"—Trudie, grade 5-6.

"A threat to nature
Many guises it assumes,
Progress is its name."—Tom Park.

"Another problem is greed! Nobody is satisfied with what they have. If we all worked together we could all be better off."—Worried.

"Sacramento is also feeling the effects of smog. During the burning of the rice fields that surround the city after harvest time is the time when it gets the most smog. Last year it was exceptionally bad because the winds brought the smoke and haze right into the city. Sacramento was left in a bubble of smoke. Cities like Los Angeles and New York may be too far gone but I hope Sacramento won't be."—Steven, grade 8.

"Scientists say that in Los Angeles children will not be able to have gym class, because they would breathe harder and need more oxygen, and there is not enough."—Carol, grade 8.

"Where is tomorrow? I think that's one question the youth of today want to know the most.

"When you sit down and read a book about long ago, you read about clear skies, clean lakes, large forests, and birds flying and singing above.

"Then you look outside. You hear noisy cars, see dirty streets, and breathe filthy air. So you ask an adult why hardly anything is being done about it and they say, 'Well, this is what comes with progress.' or 'It's

those idiotic Democrats or Republicans back east who won't let the good bills pass in the congress or the senate."

"Perhaps this is the reason why the youth of today are revolting. We're not satisfied with those answers. We want a better tomorrow! The type of tomorrow we want is one without air and water pollution, without racial prejudice or social injustice, without so many people! To do this we must have everyone's cooperation, but I believe in their hearts everyone wants a clean world."—Peggy Leichel, grade 6.

"When I grow up I hope pollution problems and wildlife problems are stopped so my children will not be ashamed of their country."—Danny, grade 4.

"I think that the water pollution problem could be helped in some places by enforcing the laws better. My generation are the people who are going to have to do something about these problems and I know that when I grow up I'm about to do all that I can."—Debbie, grade 5-6.

"If the government would ban off-shore drilling and build factories away from water it would help."—Pam, grade 6.

"I will not waste water."—Debbie, Tim, Matt, grade 1.

"We should not waste water, air or soil. We should turn the water off after using it."—Lori, grade 3.

"We could stop the pollution of air by stopping the burning of our leaves and garbage. Instead of burning leaves you could put them in the garbage can or plow them into the soil to make it fertile. Also it might help if they put some kind of device on cars to prevent so much smog. Also manufacturers shouldn't burn their wastes."—Jeanine, grade 6.

"Now if everybody would do their share by getting an electric engine when they come out, stop burning their trash, stop smoking, and write a letter to your congressman and ask him to do something about it, we would be better off and more healthful, too."—Patrick, grade 6.

"In my opinion the environmental problems are everybody's fault. Without thinking you start your car in the morning. Thus, by the simple turning of a key, you are adding to the smog."—Allen, grade 5-6.

"The silent calm night
Peaceful still and so quiet
If you're on the moon."
—Marcia Muggelberg.

"Garbage is not just a thing of the past; it's here and now. We should be able to invent a disintegrator for the disintegration of garbage. I wish people had enough sense to think ahead and clean up. We must save our species—civilization has left a trail of filth. I can't help but think what a beautiful world it must have been before people came. We must clean up this world so that there will be a world worth living in for our children and grandchildren."—Tammy, grade 5-6.

"What changes in my environment would change me? or maybe anybody? How often would you stop and pick up wrappers or cans lying around? How many people care about their environment? If we did little things to help, such as picking up our own garbage, keeping our property neat, throwing things in litter cans, wouldn't other people catch the idea and do the same? Wouldn't people be happy if their town was clean? Sure! Face up to it, people are too busy, or think they are, to do things for a better environment. But everyone can do things helpful! Why don't we all help? Come on let's change some habits and some dark moods to happy ones!"—Stacy, grade 6.

"People shouldn't treat their property disrespectfully. It's their country and if they want a clean one you mustn't litter."—Marty, grade 6.

"When you are out at the lake bring a sack or something to put your trash in."—Lisa, grade 3.

"... use only things that can be used over and over again."—Terry, grade 5-6.

"Pollution is bad
We are losing the battle
Let's work together."
—Robert Trulock.

"We need forests for camping, hunting and timber. Don't start forest fire. We can do this by drowning out our camp fires. And take other safety precautions. There should be planned cutting and replanting so the lumber is not wasted.

"Engineers must keep up with new methods of road building and other projects and try to build roads on land not suitable for agriculture."—Karen, grade 6.

"We should be careful not to leave campfires burning because we might burn down the forest and destroy the animals' homes."—Kevin, grade 3.

"One way to stop the people from killing animals is to raise the fines higher and enforcing the laws."—Danny, grade 4.

"We should try to save our animals. Do not kill animals for no reason. Help sick animals."—Lisa, grade 3.

"Soil, too, needs help. Men are building homes and factories on very fertile soil and leaving the hard dry land for farming. In the hard land it is very hard to grow anything. To stop this from going any further we should give these men a bad time and get a better planning board in all the counties."—Patrick, grade 6.

"Soil should not be wasted by building factories on good farm land. Farmers should rotate crops every year so they don't use up all the minerals. We shouldn't go building roads on good farm land either."—Kristi, grade 6.

"There are so many environmental problems. The people who can really help are the congressmen. People should get together and do something about them."—Stephanie, grade 5-6.

"There are so many people who just throw the matter aside and say 'Our government will think of something to do.' Well this just isn't true... So what are we going to do about it? If everyone went around saying, 'Who cares?' or 'it isn't really all that serious,' we would end up with no one trying to help. So how about you and me doing all that we can to help. O.K.?"—Bobbie, grade 6.

"If we can start now, I think our children will see the future with beautiful plants and flowers, having love for animals and also love for being alive themselves. I think being alive is the most precious thing in the world besides love. We can't survive without either one."—Lilly, grade 9.

"... but it will take energy within ourselves to help ourselves instead of waiting for some genius to solve all our problems. Life isn't that simple. We have to change our mind and heart and stop talking and start 'doing'."—Shelia, grade 12.

"Keep our water clean
Save our ancient forest trees
Make our country shine."
—Nancy Patton.

"We will have to make better use of our environment so many people in the future can enjoy all the world's beauty and have good things to eat and drink."—Doris, grade 5.

"I would like to change my environment by cleaning up our surroundings. Many of us are not paying attention, but letting things die, be destroyed and wasting materials. Many of our old buildings and houses are being torn down. This does not have to happen. Certainly we can do something with old buildings. If we can't restore them, we can use the raw materials as glass or pipes, or, if there is furniture we could always re-

pair the furniture and put it back on the market.

"Another thing which happens in school is we throw away paper just because we made a mistake. Probably many boys and girls do not know what paper is made of therefore do not consider it important if we waste a lot of it. If everyone threw away a lot of paper it would soon add up to quite a lot of lumber wasted and eventually our forests. I know of many things that are wasted and not used again as reusable resources. Almost everything can be used again.

"The main idea is we do not realize how lucky most of us are, and also, if we would share and give to others instead of taking everything for ourselves it would improve our environment."—Sandra, grade 6.

"Also, sometimes I think our country has too much money or else we spend it in the wrong places.

"We should ban DDT and all other dangerous pesticides."—Paula, grade 5-6.

"I feel population has a great deal to do with pollution. More people are dumping more and more pollutants in the same size environment. For example if there were less people there would be less cars to pollute the air.

"I think that if every two people would have only two children there would be a lot less pollution in the future. If people want big families they should adopt children."—Stephanie, grade 6.

"Land, water, and air are limited resources. Although our population has increased from 31,000,000 to 195,000,000 in 100 years, the supply of land, water, and air has remained the same. Unless we change our whole concept of the environment and unless we conserve our natural resources and use them intelligently, we cannot pass our civilization on the future generations."—Jeannene, grade 8.

"I think the people of Sacramento can clean up the pollution if they try."—Pam, grade 6.

"Everybody knows what people are doing to our environment. We all should know, too, that it has to be stopped. Most people are ready to do something about it but feel they're alone. They blame it on the guy next door or the politicians or the laws. The guy next door is probably as concerned as you. The laws are there. The politicians are doing something about it. We all must get together and stop it. No one person can do it alone."—Steven, grade 5-6.

"If more people wrote their congressmen or started groups or clubs things would start to happen. Who knows, someone might get a solution to end all our problems."—Karla, grade 5-6.

"Soil, water, and air
Can not stay fair forever
Without help from us?"
—BRAD MISHLER.

"If we spent as much time cleaning up the garbage as we did rioting and protesting, we would have a pretty nice place to live. The United States is a good place, but we could make it better."—Carol, grade 8.

"Perhaps if we all became involved and acquainted with the facts the problem would be half solved. Now that I am acquainted with the facts, I will become a stronger anti-pollutionist. I see the extreme and immediate necessity of preserving the beauty of the world for the future generations. Are we so selfish and narrow minded as to prevent posterity from enjoying what we enjoy?"—Peggy, grade 11.

"Conservation has become an heated issue in which taxpayers are not stopping to consider the source of necessary funds while applauding legislators who vow to stop at nothing in waging all-out war against pollution. History has shown without doubt that any war must result in higher taxes if it is to be fought effectively and won."—Laurie, grade 12.

"Flowers grow today,
Front lawns are still growing grass,
Don't blink and miss it."

—KATHY CHARLES.

"Our land is not very beautiful anymore
and when I get married and have children I
don't want them to grow up in nothing but
dense fog and smoke."—Robin, grade 6.

"Every person needs to see what he can do
to help."—Sharon, grade 6.

"A POEM ABOUT AIR POLLUTION

"Air pollution is the thing,
that flows in the air.

"It covers the city
and causes a scare.

"I see it in the blue
when I am walking the dog.

"If we can only find a clue
To stop this smog."

—Andrew Hironaka, grade 3.

"Would you like to have
A conversation about conservation,
We don't want plants to look as ugly as a
pig,
We want them pretty and big."

—Kimberli Luke, grade 3.

"We pollute the sea and air
and never seem to want repair.
Pollution is no thing of joy
all it does is to annoy.

People want their clear, clean sky
but all they do is sit, not try.
What we need is good fresh air
that we can breathe without despair.
If everyone would do their share
we could clean the dirty air."

—Lisa Vancavage, grade 4.

"Air, water and soil,
All we need to exist with.
How long will we live?"

—Scott Matthews.

"The fog, the smog,
It's everywhere,
You ought to know by now,
It's been spreading all around,
And everyone knows how.

"It's been coming from our factories,
Cigarettes and cigars,
It's been coming from all the airplanes,
and from the backs of cars.

"All the fog and all the smog,
It's been spreading through the nation,
It's been making people fight for breath,
And die of suffocation.

"So if someone doesn't hurry up,
and find a good solution,
All of us will surely die,
Of all this bad pollution."

—Dan Newman, grade 6.

"What's happened to our clear sunny waters
so sparkly and gay
And the bright clear skies I once saw every
day?

Pollution! That is what happened, it's dis-
tressing to say
The water's all muddy, the sky is all gray."

—Coleen Goin, grade 6.

"Die! You insect pest!
We'll kill you with DDT.
Maybe ourselves, too?"

—Eric Carleson.

"Air pollution can be stopped,
So we can have clean air,
I wish you'd think of other people,
It just isn't fair.

"I'd stop it if I could, but I need you, you,
and you,
To make this polluted world nicer to
breathe in, and make

Some things illegal, like smoking or burning,
Help make new burning laws, that's all it
would take.

"But I, can't make it illegal,
So you must act like it is that way,
To help end the air pollution,
That is in this world today."

—Toni Marie Tino, grade 6.

"Redwood trees are tall
At least it used to be so
I'm not quite sure now."

—Rod Bittner.

"Pollution is in the air,
But it isn't really fair.
For the people who do it
Do not really care.

"Pollution is in the sea.
It really bothers me.
Do the people who do it
Know they are bugging thee?"

—Carrie Marshall, grade 6.

"The land is ruined,
They rob earth of her beauty
People are greedy."

—Renee Veitenhaus.

". . . the wind blows
the river flows
man lives
animals try
we
make it
harder for
them
to live
on this earth
amen . . ."

—Bob Carlsen, grade 11.

"A BEAUTIFUL WORLD

"Let the forest be green,
Let the sky be blue,
Let the land be clean,
Let the water be clear,
Let the world be beautiful to everyone on it.
Let's both, you and I, keep this world
beautiful."

—Peggy Betts, grade 6.

"Win a few
Lose a few
Who cares?
Why worry?
Won't be around
when there's nothing . . ."

No water to drink
No soil for food
No air to breathe
Enjoy yourself
while you can.

"Cough, Cough, gag
Get me out of LA
Send me somewhere
where I can get fresh air.

"Lungs full of muck
with a little luck
I'll reach middle age.
Cough, cough, gag
Can't anyone see
what is happening to me?"

"Don't go to the moon
Stay home.
Help us clean up
Don't give up hope
Be a sport

It won't take long
Soil isn't bad
Water can be fixed
Air is fine

So come on back
and join the crowd.

"Help! Help! Help!
Give me water
to quench my thirst
to bathe my swollen tongue
to wash clean my bloodied throat.
Don't let me die!

Let me live!
Give me water,
fresh clean water.

"Love to eat!
Love to live!
Love to do many things!
Hate to suffocate . . .
Hate to starve . . .
Hate to die!

Won't you listen?
Can't you hear?
Don't pollute
Soil, water, and air.

"This is Whispering Pines
I said, "This is Whispering Pines . . ."
But the roads drown their tales."

—Judy Pryor.

"Air pollution is very bad
Wash your clothes and they're still drab
And all the people are very sad
If a solution we could grab
I know all people would be very glad."

—Susan Sabala, grade 5.

"Poor young lady
Don't be silly
Water is water
What's the worry?
What can happen?
loads of water . . .
won't run out
stop that crying.
blow your nose.
Time will tell
that I am right.

"Be a pig!
Be a litterbug!
This world's polluted . . .
What's a few
more trash.
Air is bad
Water smells
Soil's dry.
Be a pig!
Be a litterbug!
Be like everyone.

"Earth!
Rich, moist earth!
Beautiful earth . . .
Pregnant earth . . .
Man and earth!
dull, dry, sad.
Barren and ugly
Poor poor earth
What's the matter?
Are you dying?"

"Water, water, drink of life
Along with ambrose
Drink of the gods.
Along comes man
whose greed is great
whose carefree ways
Cloud the jewel of earth.
May a way be found
Soon, soon, soon.
Or the fountain of life
will be no more.

"Can it come to pass?
Are we to die
by our own hands?
The pollution of
Air, water, and soil
All is our doing
A race of gods
A doomed race
Unless they unite,
for that is their weakness."

—Corinne Wong, grade 11.

"HELP

"I hate pollution don't you?
In the water all that goo,
And what about up on shore?
There's all that smoke and soot galore.
In water, land, and in the air,
Pollution is positively everywhere.
I will tell you anyhow,
Something's got to be done right now."

—David Jasinki, grade 6.

"AIR, WATER, AND LAND—WHY THEM?

"Is there change in the wind,
or is it death's ugly smell?
Is there peace in the water,
or is it death's ugly taste?
Is there food from the land,
or is it death's ugly poison?
Why them? Why them? Why them?
When will man realize,
When will man stop the waste?
Will it be too late?"

—Ernest Louie, grade 8.

INFORMATIVE SERIES OF ARTICLES
ON PRISON REFORM**HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to include in the RECORD a series of six articles written on the Nation's present system of corrections. I found the series to be extremely informative. In my opinion, the articles should be required reading for every lawmaker and every corrections official—arresting, attorney, judge, prison official—in the United States.

The six-part series is written by Robert Betts of the Copley News Service. It appeared as a daily feature in the Montgomery Advertiser, Montgomery, Ala., beginning Sunday, February 22, 1970, until conclusion Friday, February 27, 1970.

Mr. Speaker, the articles cover the failure of the corrections system to effectively succeed in rehabilitation, the futility experienced when attempting to offer treatment to recidivists or repeat offenders, the lack of funds and facilities, the lack of qualified personnel, and the lack of agreement on how best to utilize the available resources. They examine the philosophy of penology. The series attempts to answer the questions: "Is punishment still a dominant need for mankind? Does imprisonment deter? Prevent? Correct? Should prisons offer social protection and/or rehabilitation?"

In brief, the six-part series takes a hard look at these areas:

First. The divergent views of the philosophy of penology.

Second. The problems faced by corrections in dealing with the recidivist.

Third. An examination of the "model" facility—the Federal system.

Fourth. The State institutions.

Fifth. The local, city and county, facilities.

Sixth. Progress in prison reform.

I urge you to read this series. At times, you will be shocked but we must make the public aware of the deplorable conditions in many of our systems that have been produced in the name of corrections. Fortunately however, there are many bright areas in prison reform that can serve as the ideal example in improving our system of corrections.

In connection with this, I also recommend that everyone should read "The Summary of the Joint Commission Recommendations for Improving Corrections" written by Bill Andronicos for the Federal Times, February 18, 1970, which I am including in the RECORD today.

[From the Montgomery Advertiser and the Alabama Journal, Feb. 22, 1970]

NO QUICK SOLUTION SEEN TO "EVERYBODY'S FAILURE"

(By Robert Betts)

A sweeping overhaul of the erratic, uncoordinated and confused system under which criminals are confined and treated in America will be attempted under a 10-year prison reform program called for by President Nixon.

The present corrections system, as the

President has emphasized clearly, is falling to rehabilitate most prisoners.

No one, from the President on down, expects to find immediate solutions to a sweeping problem which one corrections official calls "everybody's failure," extending far beyond penal institutions. It is a hodgepodge system which daily must accommodate a half million criminals accused of everything from petty theft to murder.

The number of repeat offenders is a major dilemma.

Statistics show that nearly half of all those released from prison arrive back inside sooner or later for another crime, often more serious than the one which put them there in the first place.

Crime rose 120 per cent in the last decade, and much of it was committed by repeating offenders, known to prison authorities as recidivists.

Eight out of 10 offenders sampled in a recent Federal Bureau of Investigation study had at least one prior arrest. Seven of 10 had a prior conviction.

Of those charged with burglary, auto theft or armed robbery, between 60 and 70 per cent had been arrested two or more times in the preceding seven years.

The President said a nation as resourceful as the United States should not tolerate a record of such futility in its correctional institutions.

His reform plan calls for the establishment of a task force to make recommendations on a unified corrections system. Other recommendations now being worked on include:

1. Exploration of the feasibility of pooling resources of several governmental units—federal, state and county—to set up specialized treatment facilities;

2. Federal assistance to states and localities in developing parole and probation programs and other alternatives to incarceration;

3. Replacement of local jails with a comprehensive, community-oriented facility which would bring together a variety of detention efforts, adult and juvenile court diagnostic services and treatment programs;

4. Development of programs for juvenile offenders, who make up a third of all those under correctional treatment;

5. A major new research effort by the Justice Department into better methods of rehabilitation;

6. Coordination of all federal correctional programs by the U.S. attorney general.

The subject of prison reform has long been debated among sociologists, psychologists, criminologists, lawyers, politicians, police, prison and other government officials.

There have been hearings, investigations and official reports. Some grim pictures have been painted of confinement in the United States.

Many suggestions for improvement have been made. Some have been adopted. Others have been delayed for lack of funds, lack of qualified personnel, or lack of agreement on how best to use available resources.

At the root of the controversy is the whole philosophy of penology.

Agitation for prison reform is inspired not by humane considerations alone. Many reformers feel that recidivism is due as much to present modes of punishment as to any inborn criminal bent. Some contend that confinement in itself, apart from actual physical brutality and other evils which are said to sometimes accompany it, has a demoralizing, brutalizing effect on human beings, thereby increasing antisocial tendencies.

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency has raised such questions as: "Must the offender . . . be held isolated from society, or may he remain in the community of man? Is punishment still a dominant need of mankind? Does imprisonment deter? Prevent? Correct? Is the convicted criminal so much more dangerous than his nondetected or nonconvicted fellow man?"

The 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice stated: "The ultimate goal of corrections under any theory is to make the community safer by reducing the incidence of crime."

The fact that this goal seems to be receding rather than approaching, despite increasing emphasis on rehabilitation, has caused some to feel there has been too much "coddling" of criminals and that some criminals are incapable of ever being rehabilitated.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover believes, "Our patient public, ever willing to give a person who has breached our legal code of behavior another chance, has had its capacity for patience taxed to the ultimate."

There is the other point of view that modern society itself is to blame for its indifference to a "punitive and repressive" system which only leads to more crimes being committed.

A witness told members of one of the numerous Senate subcommittee hearings on prison conditions that public ignorance and indifference had made "the institutional setting a prime source of corruption, political intrigue and human degradation."

A confidential memo to a national foundation recommending a grant for a study of the U.S. correctional system declared: "Most of the recent attention to the criminal law process has been in the nature of a preoccupation with stopping crime and catching convicted criminals . . . Once a criminal is caught and tried and incarcerated, interest wanes . . . The general public seems to care little about prisons and prisoners, wrongly assuming that the issues they raise concern only questions of punishment or deterrence."

Dr. Karl Menninger, eminent U.S. psychiatrist and author of "The Crime of Punishment," believes there is a great public apathy to proposals for more intelligent control of crime and rehabilitation of criminals "because we have a persistent, intrusive wish for vengeance."

He argues that detention in prison, which "was supposed to be a modification of the infliction of pain," is often "more cruel and destructive than beating."

In his opinion, "Before we can reduce our self-inflicted sufferings from ill-controlled aggressive assaults, we must renounce the ancient, obsolete penal attitude in favor of a modern, therapeutic one."

Another well-known expert speaks in defense of punishment.

Dr. Ernest van Haag, sociologist, psychoanalyst and author of "The Fabric of Society," says, "People act when positive desire is stronger than the desire to avoid the cost. Accordingly, the crime rate itself rises if—for whatever reason—the impulse to commit crime rises and the average cost imposed by law is not raised with it, or is reduced. The crime rate falls when the impulse to commit crime falls, or the average cost imposed by law is raised."

One-sided emphasis on conditions which are said to produce propensity to crime, and undue neglect of costs to offenders, contribute to an unnecessarily high crime rate, he asserts.

Although he agrees rehabilitation is worth trying, he believes "the best of all rehabilitation programs is not likely to affect the rate of recidivism more than marginally."

Despite the poor rehabilitative results, the weight of opinion among prison and crime preventive authorities is for more research and experiment along those lines.

Hoover himself says: "Available crime statistics clearly establish a need for greater social action to prevent and abort more careers in crime, greater effectiveness on the part of law enforcement agencies in creating crime deterrents, and improved rehabilitation programs by the courts and correctional agencies."

[From the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, Feb. 23, 1970]

ADEQUATE TO APPALLING; THAT'S QUALITY RANGE OF U.S. PRISONS

(By Robert Betts)

Recidivism—repeated criminal acts by the same offender—is the despair of the U.S. correctional system.

If the penal system could restore all or even most offenders to the community as responsible citizens, the national crime rate would drop significantly.

For a great many offenders, however, correction does not correct. The sad fact is that nearly half of them return to crime after their release, and the crime rate goes on soaring.

Some of those concerned with the problem are indeed coming to feel that the conditions under which many offenders are handled, particularly in institutions, are often a detriment to rehabilitation.

According to various investigators, the quality and conditions of the nation's custodial institutions—federal, state and county—range from adequate at best to appalling.

A parade of witnesses has painted a grim picture of confinement in all areas of the United States.

The Senate subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency has heard prisons variously described as "crime hatcheries," "monster-producing factories," places which succeed only in turning out "finely honed weapons against society."

Subcommittee Chairman Sen. Thomas Dodd, D-Conn., was moved to comment, "We do better with our animals than we do with a lot of our human beings."

Four congressmen, members of the House Select Committee on Crime, who took a look at prison conditions in the District of Columbia in 1969, concluded that a man who walks out the gate after serving his time stands little chance of staying out.

Myrl E. Alexander, director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, told them, "The endless cycle of arrest, imprisonment, release and re-arrest has plagued our society. The time to interrupt this cycle is long overdue."

The 1967 report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice stated: "Life in many institutions is at best barren and futile, at worst unspeakably brutal and degrading."

"To be sure, the offenders in such institutions are incapacitated from committing further crimes while serving their sentences, but the conditions in which they live are the poorest possible preparation for their successful reentry into society, and often merely reinforce in them a pattern of manipulation or destructiveness."

The report admits, "These conditions are to a great extent the result of a drastic shortage of resources, together with a widespread ignorance as to how to use the resources available."

There is also widespread disagreement, not only among correctional authorities themselves, but among lawmakers and penological experts outside the system.

There is little cooperation among federal, state and county authorities with a view to tackling the corrections problem on a nationwide basis. Each level of government often acts independently.

The federal government has no direct control over state corrections. The states usually have responsibility for prisons and parole programs, but frequently probation is tied to court administration as a county or municipal function.

Counties do not have jurisdiction over the jails operated by cities and towns.

The United States has more than 50 types of penal institutions. There are prisons with bars, prisons without bars, "halfway houses" (officially called Community Treatment Centers), rehabilitation homes with various

probationary and psychiatric supervision schemes, special work projects and career training programs.

The nation's correctional system handles nearly 2.5 million admissions a year, and spends over a billion dollars doing so. On any day it is responsible for some 1.3 million offenders. Two-thirds of these are on probation or parole. The rest are under confinement.

Nine out of 10 prison inmates are men. About 60 percent are under 35 years of age. Over one-quarter are under 25, and about 10 percent are teenagers.

While some distinction between crimes is made for the purpose of incarceration, the present correctional method is criticized on the ground that too little consideration is given to the differences among criminals.

"Offenders themselves differ strikingly," the President's Commission stated. "Some seem irrevocably committed to criminal careers; others subscribe to quite conventional values; still others, probably the majority, are aimless and uncommitted to goals of any kind. Many are disturbed and frustrated youths. Many others are alcoholics, narcotics addicts, victims of senility, and sex deviants."

"This diversity poses problems for correctional officials, for in most places the many special offender groups must be managed within large, general purpose programs."

Prison authorities generally concede that there are obvious deficiencies in the system. Not the least of their problems are overcrowding, understaffing and lack of funds needed to modernize institutions, to recruit and train more staff and to introduce recommended reforms.

About 121,000 persons are employed in the corrections system. Although rehabilitation is considered the primary task (the aim being to see that lawbreakers, after once coming under control of the system, do not return to crime), only 20 per cent of the corrections personnel are concerned with treatment and rehabilitation. The other 80 per cent are responsible for maintenance and custodial functions.

The president of the American Correctional Association, Ellis MacDougall, said prison administrators lack basic and necessary tools. But he also charged that the institutions were being made scapegoats for "everybody's failure."

"We have the failures of the schools," he said, "the failures of our families, our churches, of mental retardation programs . . . We deal with everybody's deficiencies."

The President's Commission pointed out: Correctional agencies across the country face acute shortages of qualified manpower, especially in positions charged with responsibility for treatment and rehabilitation.

"Thousands of additional staff are required now to achieve minimum standards for effective treatment and control. Many more thousands will be needed in the next decade."

[From the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, Feb. 24, 1970]

HELPFUL WORK FOR INMATES IS BIG PROBLEM IN PRISONS—CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS TEND MORE AND MORE TO HAVE OPEN DORMITORIES

(By Robert Betts)

"Prison is no picnic," said the warden, sticking his fork into a hamburger cooked by an inmate.

It was lunchtime at the Federal Correctional Institution on Terminal Island, Calif., near Los Angeles.

In the prisoners' mess hall next door to the staff dining room the inmates were eating basically the same food.

It wasn't food that the warden was talking about, but life for prisoners generally.

Everybody knows how tough it is, even if they've never been inside: all those bars,

hard beds, stern guards, no privacy and, worst of all, no freedom.

But outright brutality?

"We're long past those days," said the warden, Greig Richardson, who is chief administrative officer at Terminal Island.

Prison officers generally think the average American has a distorted view of prison—a popular picture of mutinous inmates rattling tin cups on cell bars or shooting their way out in a big break.

All was quiet in the cell block the day I looked in.

Prisoners, reclined on their bunks, reading or snoozing. Some stared stonily through the bars. A few nodded "Hi." But most didn't bother even to look up.

These were the "close custody" inmates—new arrivals undergoing a 30-day admission process, transferees from other federal prisons finishing the last few years of a long-term sentence, and a few difficult ones who were not considered fit to mingle with the general prison population.

Most of the 790 men sleep in open dormitories with an average of 62 men to a unit. With their rows of neatly made beds and lockers, the dormitories could have been sleeping quarters in any Army barracks. Each has an adjoining recreation room where the inmates can watch television till 11:30 p.m.

Two units of 78 single rooms, which once were cells, have been converted to honor dormitories for trustees and others considered to have made outstanding adjustments.

Terminal Island is a "medium security" institution. It may not be the "ideal" prison, if such a place could ever exist. At least it presents the modern example of what the Federal Bureau of Prisons is trying to achieve in fulfilling the dual function of social protection from, and prisoner rehabilitation of, the men and women in its custody.

"The harsh abuses of punishment which have characterized many prisons in the past and which have served only to degrade and brutalize the prisoner have never been part of the program at Terminal Island," said Richardson. "In fact, for many years, corporal punishment of any kind has been totally outlawed in all institutions of the federal prison system."

"So far as possible, Terminal Island is individualized. There are few written rules. Rather, an attempt is made to formulate a wholesome and flexible structure of communal living."

In the main mess hall—no drearier, even brighter than some service and works canteens—inmates lined up at the service counters and seated themselves with their food at tables for four. One or two guards stood, armed with no more than a bunch of keys. Only the guards in the two watchtowers are armed.

Outside in the large central square, men strolled in the lunchtime sunshine or sat around laughing and chatting. Others were playing handball, badminton, horseshoes or lifting weights. There are also basketball and softball games.

"One of the greatest problems faced by most penal and corrections institutions is that of providing constructive work for the inmates," said Richardson.

At Terminal Island the work program takes precedence over all other demands upon the inmates' time. They work in the furniture refinishing shop, upholstery department or metal equipment factory turning out products for other federal departments. Training also is given in plumbing, carpentry, masonry, electrical work and other skills. In the women's section vocational training is given in dressmaking, cookery, cosmetology, hospital and office work.

The 1965 Prisoner Rehabilitation Act sparked a minor revolution in federal penology by authorizing the daytime release of prisoners for work or study in nearby communities.

Currently some 35 Terminal Island inmates—the figure varies as men become eligible—are traveling to jobs outside and returning to prison after work. They walk to nearby bus stop to begin their halfway journey into society. Each is provided with a prison lunch—two sandwiches, fruit and a slice of pie.

Eligibility requirements for work release are high. The prisoner must be within six months of completing his sentence. His offense and adjustment to prison life are taken into account.

"We have had very few failures," said Richardson. "One or two failed to return, but were picked up again. One was brought back by his parents. They had persuaded him it was in his best interest in the long run.

"Another had a drinking problem. He came staggering back one night—but at least he came back.

"The support from everyone—the police, civic groups, employers—has been great. Many men have carried on in their jobs after release and turned out to be good workers, well thought of by their employers. The old reluctance to employ ex-prisoners is dying."

Money earned by prisoners working inside or outside the institution goes to support their families, for transportation and clothing. Savings go into a trust fund established by prison officials. At the commissary inmates may buy cigarettes, candy and over 150 other items. Profits from commissary operations are used for providing television sets, motion picture equipment, prizes for special recreation events and the like.

The education department has a well-stocked library of fiction, non-fiction, standard reference works and books in various technical fields. There are teaching machines where prisoner-students sit at individual desks pressing buttons and watching a lighted panel as they conduct their own individual study program. Courses enable an inmate to obtain a certificate in elementary or high school level achievement. Special courses in the trades and professions are available from the International Correspondence Schools.

Said Warden Richardson, who has been 25 years in the prison service, "Prisoners cannot be stereotyped like you see them in the movies—all smart and thoroughly evil or all dumb and talking by the side of their mouths. They're all individuals, as varied as people outside.

"Neither is it possible, with our present knowledge, to predict their future behavior with any certainty. I've seen men leave here who seemed reformed and ready to start a new life, only to have the disappointment of seeing them back in prison before long. On the other hand, where I would almost have gambled on a man landing back inside, I have learned that he has completely turned over a new leaf, is going straight and making good."

Richardson agreed that certain types of crime have a higher repetition rate—such as "paper-hanging" (forgery) and auto theft, probably because they are easier to commit, less dangerous and comparatively harmless, at least in the criminal's view.

Narcotics addicts are another problem. Terminal Island has a special research program aimed at the treatment and social rehabilitation of addicts. It claims 35 per cent success so far.

"Recidivism is a subject that no one can be dogmatic about," Richardson said. "It is a hazy, controversial subject. Recidivism rates vary from prison to prison and there is no one set of figures applying to the whole country.

"Much more research and elevation are needed. It is not enough to know that a man has been returned to prison. We need to know whether he committed a new crime or violated parole, what his previous prison or probation record was, the types of rehabilitation programs he participated in, how

serious was his crime or his parole violation.

"It takes time and the efforts of many more people than we have at the moment to accumulate, tabulate and evaluate this information. It also takes cooperation and coordination between the various correctional authorities across the country.

"We need a central information base which will give all the data on offenders and their background.

"Much progress in prison reform has been achieved over the last few years, but we still have much to learn."

[From the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, Feb. 25, 1970]

SAN QUENTIN: "DOING OUR BEST ON LIMITED BUDGET"

(By Robert Betts)

California not only boasts sunshine and good living, it has the best prisons.

So officials in and out of the state claim. Not all prisoners may agree.

At grim old San Quentin, for instance, they grouse about the food, the crowded accommodation, the guards, the routine and regimen, the monotony of it all.

There are even complaints about the rehabilitation and vocational training programs, which apparently don't come up to the expectations of some people, in and out of the prison system.

Officials admit there's room for improvement.

"We're not trying to whitewash this place," said a San Quentin officer, "but we're doing the best we can with a limited budget."

Still, most penologists—in the federal system as well—acknowledge California to be one of the, if not the most advanced state as far as corrections go.

The state's Department of Corrections officials say that one advantage is having 13 institutions which affords more opportunity to segregate the hard-core criminal from the first-time offender. There is extensive shifting of inmates from one institution to another as their personal conditions change.

Nearly half the state's 27,500 prisoners are in minimum security—no bars, no high walls, no gun towers.

The department operates a number of minimum security conservation and highway camps, ranches and farms for specially selected inmates. About 2,500 of them live in forestry-conservation camps, working on fire-breaks, fighting fires, helping conserve the state's natural resources and saving California taxpayers millions of dollars.

The California Institution for Men at Chino, opened in 1941 as the first open minimum security facility, became the model for similar institutions throughout the world. "A bit less pleasant and it might pass for a military base," commented one visitor.

At the institution's Tehachapi branch an experimental family visiting program is being conducted. This year about 200 inmates will be able to spend weekends with their families in specially provided apartment units.

California operates a number of programs to prepare prisoners for release. One is the 72-hour leave. Within 90 days of release, a prisoner is given 72 hours freedom to visit his family, interview for a job, obtain a driver's license, check with his labor union, and take entrance exams if necessary for future employment.

Another program is the work-furlough, under which some prisoners work at jobs on the outside during the day and return to the prison at night. One recent prisoner at San Joaquin County Jail was in the aircraft sales business, spent his work furlough flying charter planes, returning to the lockup after landings.

About 900 prisoners went from work furlough to parole last year.

Through a program of intensified parole supervision concentrated on the tougher cases, California claims to have cut its recidi-

vism rate from 45 per cent, before the program was begun in 1965, to 32 per cent. Of these only 14 per cent committed new felonies.

Roy K. Procunier, director of the Corrections Department, said: "We need to continue the effort to develop strong community-based corrections programs such as intensive parole supervision, halfway houses and work furloughs. These programs provide an alternative to long and costly incarceration, and appear to offer the best hope for breaking the too frequent cycle of crime and confinement."

California's more liberal approach to corrections is being adopted in more and more states.

The work furlough program is now used in 24 of them, as well as in the federal prison system. In fact the idea was first tried in Wisconsin in 1913.

It was introduced in California in 1957 when legislation provided for inmates of county jails to go out to work. In 1965, additional legislation was passed under which selected prisoners from state prisons could join the county-administered program. The same year the work-release program was introduced into the federal prison system under the Prisoner Rehabilitation Act.

In North Carolina, where 12,000 select convicts have earned \$10 million in 10 years, inmates are eligible for work release when they have served a relatively small portion of their sentences. Cancellation of work release for serious misbehavior—generally absconding—has occurred in 15 per cent of the cases.

Revocation has been lower in the federal system, where prisoners usually enter work release approximately six months before their expected parole date.

As of Jan. 1, Illinois has a separate Department of Corrections and Department of Law Enforcement, both operations of which formerly came under the one Department of Public Safety. Work release, halfway house and other rehabilitative programs are being expanded and corrections personnel increased.

"Illinois is not going to continue to run the kind of dehumanizing prisons which have created the present cycle of despair and human failure," promised Illinois Gov. Richard B. Ogilvie.

While some prisons have earned praise as well-run institutions with modern rehabilitative processes and splendid treatment programs, others have been the subject of scandalous revelations.

One of the most notorious recently (1968) concerned the Arkansas state penal system. A former superintendent told Senate investigation subcommittee that Arkansas prisons were festering with "inmate abuse and official corruption including death, threats, shooting of prisoners, gratuitous beating with rubber hoses, blackjacks, brass knuckles, ax handles, torture, stompings, lashings, kickings, sexual perversion and other forms of punishment." He also contended that he dug up bodies of inmates he believed were murdered by guards.

Arkansas Gov. Withrop Rockefeller instituted major penal reforms, including appointment of a new superintendent.

As to the theory that confinement in itself is a "brutalizing process" and that prisons can only serve as "graduate schools in crime," opinion varies widely, even among prison officials.

Superintendent of Illinois Prisons Hollis McKnight does not believe they are.

He pointed out that in his state an illiterate person entering the Illinois prison system could by the time of his discharge have earned an associate of arts degree or could have learned any of 54 different trades taught in prison.

"We seldom hear of the man on the outside who makes good," McKnight said, "because he isn't likely to publicize the fact that he has been in prison."

Paul Gaither, sheriff of Potter County in

Amarillo, Tex., for 21 years, does not believe prisons are a "brutalizing process" either, though he agrees they are "graduate schools in crime."

Vocational training programs might help a prisoner "if he'd go out and find himself a job, but most of them won't do it," he said. "That old saying, 'Crime doesn't pay' is not true. It does pay."

The nearly half of released convicts who land back in prison "don't regret going back to the pen today," Gaither said. "The first offender is scared, but the second and third timers don't mind going back at all. They say, 'We've got it made when we get back.'"

"I've taken men to the penitentiary, and on the way they'll be talking to each other about when they get out, and they can almost tell you the date. The prison authorities want to get rid of them as fast as the criminals want to get out. Facilities are crowded."

Texas, which has about 12,000 prisoners for 18 prison units, is rated with California as one of the better state penal systems. It boasts a remarkable six-week course at a relaxed center near Houston, where civilian volunteers including bankers, auto salesmen, and personnel experts, lecture felons on how to obtain loans, buy cars, apply for jobs.

"Even the prisoners now call Huntsville (state penitentiary) the 'Summer Resort,'" said Gaither. One prisoner told him, "If Huntsville is like it was when I was there before I'd break away from you. You'd have to kill me before I'd let you take me back. But now I don't mind. I've heard how it is there now."

Many penologists believe that the percentage of those prisoners who cannot be reformed is very small.

Gaither thinks the figure is nearer one in a thousand. "If criminals never think anything very tough is going to happen to them when they commit a terrible crime, what is the deterrent?" he said.

"I hate to say it, but in the United States we've been too easy on criminals after they get in the pen."

Arnold Pontesso, director of the Oklahoma Department of Corrections, said that after a person has been committed to prison three times, "He's OK—he's where he is comfortable and has no worries—sort of like being on welfare. When he's released, it's like a vacation. He gets out, has a little crime spree and then, goes back 'home.'"

[From the Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, Feb. 26, 1970]

LOCAL FACILITIES WEAK LINK IN CORRECTIONS SYSTEM

(By Robert Betts)

No part of U.S. corrections is weaker, according to critics of the system, than the county jails and other local facilities which handle persons awaiting trial and serving short sentences.

Because the inmates seem to present no clear danger to society, the response to their needs may be one of indifference.

Turnover at city and county jails across the nation is around 1.1 million annually.

Classification of prisoners as to their danger to other inmates or need for counseling has been found often to be perfunctory or nonexistent.

First offenders, juveniles, women, even those awaiting trial who may be innocent, are imprisoned with confirmed criminals, drunks and mental defectives.

Such institutions are usually administered by police or county sheriffs, enforcement authorities whose experience and concern are mainly in fields other than prisoner counseling or rehabilitation. Neither have they the time nor the staff qualified to handle these added duties.

Yet it is here, at the primary level of confinement, that such work is most important, say prison reformers.

In its 1967 report to the President's Crime and Delinquency Commission, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency suggested that definite steps should be taken to improve conditions in local jails.

The report quoted penologist Louis Robinson who said a half century ago: "From many points of view, the jail is the most important of all our institutions of imprisonment. The enormous number of jails is alone sufficient . . . to make (one) realize that the jail is, after all, the typical prison in the United States. From two-thirds to three-fourths of all convicted criminals serve out their sentences in jails."

"But that is not all. The jail is, with small exception, the almost universal detention house for untried prisoners. The great majority, therefore, of penitentiary and reformatory prisoners have been kept for a period varying from a few days to many months within the confines of a county or municipal jail . . . Important witnesses also are detained in jail, and it is used at times for still other purposes, even serving occasionally as a temporary asylum for the insane."

The Crime Council's report states, "Now, in the seventh decade, this statement by Robinson and his comments on filth, neglect and maladministration still accurately describe the role and status of jails and short-term institutions in the United States."

The council believes that because jails are at the beginning of the penal continuum, they offer perhaps the "great opportunity to restrain the offender from descending down the ladder to maximum security facilities."

It states, "The availability of qualified services at this point could result in promptly removing many from the correctional process who have been swept in unnoticed and undetected and who are more in need of protective, medical and mental care from welfare and health agencies than they are in need of custodial care . . ."

Originally intended to be short-term holding operations, county and city jails have had to cope with a growing backlog of cases awaiting court action. Unserved local prisoners are therefore being held much longer than normal.

Bulging local facilities have been described as nests of "rampant vice."

A Philadelphia judge, releasing without bail a 20-year-old accused car thief and check forger, said, "Even if he's guilty, it would be a greater crime to keep him in prison than to allow him to repeat the offense."

The youth was said to have been a victim of repeated homosexual rape while held in pretrial custody.

In Washington, D.C., where homosexual attacks have also been revealed in city prisons, a federal judge refused to send four youths to a workhouse to serve five days for contempt because he did not want to subject them to "sexual molestation in the workhouse."

Such assaults are common in many local jails, authorities say. "It's a result of warehousing a hodgepodge of prisoners in antiquated prisons where they have little or nothing to do," said E. Preston Sharp, secretary of the American Correctional Association.

The Cook County Jail in Chicago, described by one official as "a great big human warehouse," was rocked in 1967 by revelations of corrupt guards, homosexual assaults, murders of inmates and strong convict control within the prison. A new warden was appointed, a \$9-million bond issue was passed to finance jail improvements, 60 per cent of the guards

were replaced and guards' salaries were increased.

Testifying before a House Appropriations subcommittee recently Herman G. Mueller, acting director, Bureau of Prisons, said:

"The condition of the more than 3,000 local jails in the United States, without question, contributes directly to the crime problem. For more than half a century little has been done to use the jail as a correctional institution. They have meager, if any, diagnostic and treatment programs. Personnel are untrained and generally underpaid. Most jails serve largely as warehouses and crime factories—places where impressionable young offenders learn ways of crime."

Some authorities have moved ahead to improve local conditions. Bucks County Prison, 25 miles north of Philadelphia, recently has been developed into what many experts consider a model jail despite the forbidding exterior of its 85-year-old structure. More guards have been hired and at higher pay. An inmate-screening system assigns all prisoners to work or training programs within 24 hours of their arrival. There is a work release program. More than a third of the inmates attend education classes—one of the highest levels in the nation's prisons.

Multnomah County, Ore. (Portland), is among the jurisdictions which have established special facilities as an adjunct to their county jails. The program includes work, counseling, tutoring by college student volunteers, corrective surgery and dentistry.

San Diego County Jail, Calif., boasts some of the most up-to-date facilities in the country—computerized processing, closed-circuit TV to keep surveillance over all strategic points inside the building, plate glass windows instead of bars in the reception wing, piped-in music, medical and dental clinics, as well as advanced rehabilitative and job placement programs.

"It does no good to keep people merely locked up," said jail administrator, Capt. John F. Duffy. "We have to pay regard to their personal problems and needs. Some need job training. Some are already skilled but have for some reason lost their self-confidence or self-respect. They need encouragement to point them in the right direction."

"We have the cooperation of several local welfare organizations who send volunteers to work inside the jail. With the help of volunteer students and professors from the University of California we are conducting our own drug rehabilitation program, to try and do something about the increasing number of young drug offenders."

Another recent innovation at San Diego, designed to speed up inmate release, is the acceptance of checks, money orders or credit cards in lieu of cash as bail for prisoners.

The county has established five camps to which prisoners sentenced to the jail are transferred after screening.

Separation and detention facilities for juveniles was one of the recommendations of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. It also recommended that local jails and misdemeanor institutions be integrated into state correctional systems.

Arnold Pontesso, director of Oklahoma's Department of Corrections, believes the influence that the more sophisticated corrupt individuals exert over beginners is one of the chief causes of recidivism.

Pontesso, a former warden of the federal reformatory at El Reno, Okla., is very correction-minded and seriously concerned with rehabilitation.

"We're trying to take first timers, and at least part of the second-timers, and keep them from becoming professional convicts," he said. "If we have a better means of separating the starters, I think we'd have a better success."

[From The Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser, Feb. 27, 1970]

PRISON REFORM HAS COME LONG WAY, STILL MORE TO DO

(By Robert Betts)

Prison reform has come a long way since Benjamin Franklin and his friends founded the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons. But many penologists today consider it hasn't come far enough.

Philadelphia's 18th Century Quakers rejected execution, torture, flogging and other corporal punishment as a way of dealing with offenders. Solitary confinement until death or release was more human treatment, they believed.

They also introduced the notion of labor as a necessary part of penance. Visitors from Europe were amazed at what they saw in Philadelphia's new stone penitentiary—inmates working at carpentry, weaving, shoemaking. Some prisoners even slept in dormitories.

The reform movement spread, but slowly. Each state set its own standards, and some were more progressive than others.

In 1831, historian De Tocqueville wrote, "By the side of one state, the penitentiaries of which might serve as a model, we find another whose jails present the example of everything which ought to be avoided."

In the opinion of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency these words "need not even be paraphrased to describe accurately the uneven quality of prisons in the United States today."

According to council director Milton G. Rector, it is impossible to give a black and white, yes or no answer to the question of whether the states and other jurisdictions are doing their best to improve correctional care.

"Some are in the dark ages, but others follow enlightened policies," he said.

As reforms have been introduced so has the whole correctional system become far more complex. Correctional authorities across the country, already working on a limited budget and lacking qualified personnel, have been called on to provide a wide range of extra services mainly connected with rehabilitation—educational programs, work programs, vocational training schemes, counseling and various forms of medical and psychiatric care.

Attempts to improve prison atmosphere have resulted in notable changes in the physical features of many federal and state institutions. Barred cells have given way increasingly to rooms or dormitories with locked doors and windows. Dreary mess halls have been brightened up. The old long wooden tables and benches have been replaced by separate tables.

Fences rather than high walls and gun towers now surround many modern institutions, other than maximum security prisons. Prison grounds have been replanned with gardens, sports and recreation areas. Theaters, hobby and handicraft rooms, classrooms, workshops, vocational training centers and other facilities for the recreation, instruction or rehabilitation of inmates have been added, expanded or modernized.

Progress has not uniform or free from complication. Legacies from the old days still exist in much prison architecture—grim and fortresslike, with tier upon tier of individual cells arranged chiefly with a view to security.

More than a score of U.S. prisons are over 100 years old, beyond replanning on modern lines.

Neither are public funds for prison improvement easily obtainable.

"Many people feel that spending money on better jails amounts to coddling prisoners," commented Philadelphia District Attorney Arlen Spencer.

Many institutions, especially those for juveniles, have taken on more social workers, counselors, psychologists and teachers to aid in the rehabilitative process. Modern reformers who would like to see much more rehabilitation work being done complain that there are not nearly enough of them.

Another criticism is that the majority of prison custodians are unfamiliar with institutional care or do not get the on-the-job training which could improve their capability in keeping with the shift of emphasis from simple restraint to rehabilitation.

"We don't pay our people well enough to have them capable of being counselors," said Arnold Pontesso, director of Oklahoma's Department of Corrections. "Most of them are guards, regardless of what we call them."

Starting salary for a prison guard in Oklahoma is \$350 per month. Requirements are an 8th-grade diploma and, says Pontesso, passing "a very simple test and being warm. Zoo keepers make more money starting with no experience."

Some states pay their guards more. Illinois offers \$415 per month to start, but makes it \$482 at the maximum security Joliet facility. The base for a correctional officer in California is \$545.

Qualifications for prison personnel also vary from state to state. In some there is no basic educational requirement for guards.

Louisiana State Warden C. Murray Henderson, responsible for the once-notorious Louisiana State Prison at Angola, said "We would like to require a high school education or at least the G.E.D. (general education degree), but we probably wouldn't get enough guards if we did."

The shortage of guards at Angola is such that inmate trustees are utilized when necessary, a practice Henderson regards as "most undesirable." The practice, however, is not unusual in U.S. penal institutions.

As for being qualified in rehabilitation work, a report prepared for the President's crime Commission stated that in 28 per cent of the prisons "one can be a 'professional worker' without having graduated from high school. In at least one (prison system) the mail clerk is called a social worker."

One of the nation's foremost pioneers of prison reform, Joseph E. Ragen, who as warden transformed Joliet-Stateville, Ill., state prison from anarchy to a model correctional institution in the 1930s, confirmed that the key to carrying out rehabilitation in prison is having qualified personnel to teach and train convicts. He regrets the lack of competent custodial officers, but sees little that can be done about the problem so long as state legislatures refuse to pay the bill for such a purpose.

"You can't get the right kind of help unless you pay for it," he said. "Society pays one way or another for crime. The offender goes to trial and the taxpayer is faced with the burden of supporting him when he is sent to prison."

It costs around \$10 a day to keep a person locked up in a federal prison.

One way of cutting the cost is to put fewer offenders behind bars and allow more to remain in the community under parole supervision and treatment. It is estimated to be 10 times cheaper than keeping a person locked up.

"Even allowing for the substantial improvements in salaries and personnel needed to make community programs more effective, they are less costly," stated the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice.

In fact there has been a recent trend toward more parole and probation rather than confinement, not merely for reasons of economy but because of the widening acceptance of the belief that incarceration is in itself an inhuman method which can do nothing to rehabilitate a person.

More and more judges, forsaking the old rule, "Let the punishment fit the crime" for the new maxim, "Let the treatment fit the needs of the offender," are putting defendants on probation rather than sending them to prison.

Of the 1.3 million people now under correctional authority two-thirds are on probation or parole.

"If judges are turning to probation increasingly," said Ellis C. MacDougall, president of the American Correctional Association, "an important reason is the conditions that exist in our prisons—along with indications that many more types of offenders can be helped by probation than once was thought possible."

Not all law enforcement authorities are enthusiastic about the trend, however.

In Chicago, the state's attorney for Cook County, Edward W. Hanrahan said: "There has been abroad in the land a trend toward much more leniency toward defendants, leading to a very large number of sentences of probation, both in state and U.S. courts."

"I think this trend is very harmful. Criminal prosecutions and indictments have lost a large part of their deterrence impact because offenders realize the likelihood of probation."

District Attorney James E. Hamilton of Imperial County, Calif., deplored "the practices of paroling hardened criminals who roam the streets and kill innocent people."

Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover, long a critic of freeing men he thought were likely to commit more crimes, has drawn attention to the fact that "of 87,600 offenders convicted in 1966 and 1967, over half had received leniency in the form of parole, probation, suspended sentence or conditional release on one or more occasions in their criminal career."

He deplores "attempts to justify the premature release on parole or probation of repeating offenders whose entire records emphasize utmost contempt for our legal processes." He says, "Such attitudes offer little comfort to the law enforcement officer who falls before the blazing gun of an unreformed parolee, caught committing yet another violent crime."

Questioning the attitude of some in authority that it is they who are taking the chance in granting parole or probation, Hoover said, "It appears much more reasonable to the average citizen that it is he, the possible victim of an unreformed repeating offender, who is taking the chance. Our citizens have simply become overwhelmed with what they consider unwarranted concern with the rights of repeating offenders. They demand a fair share of regard for the security of their families, themselves, and their homes."

Lately there have been signs that the Nixon administration may be putting a brake on the liberalization trend in the parole system, as part of its emphasis on law and order.

Earlier this year, President Nixon threw his support behind detention of more "hard-core" criminals prior to trial.

The U.S. Parole Board recently scrapped a year-old policy which had been designed to speed up the process under which convicts were to be considered for parole.

The number of parolees has dropped since Mr. Nixon's selection as Parole Board chairman, George J. Reed, took office last May. From May through October, latest period for which figures are available, the percentage of paroles granted to those eligible for them dropped from 39 percent compared with 44 percent during fiscal 1969.

Reed said that before returning to the board—he had held the same job under the Eisenhower administration—he reviewed with Attorney General John N. Mitchell the "alarming rate of increased federal parole failures."

The failure rate—parolees charged with violating terms of their freedom—hit an all-time high of 40.7 per cent in 1968. This, Reed noted, was the year after the number of paroles granted had climbed to a peak of 52.5 per cent.

Reed hopes to implement a complete revision of Parole Board workings "which will be more scientific in its decision-making process."

He said, "My intention of returning to the board was to increase its professional standards in decision-making to the end that the public is better served."

But it will be a long time before it will be possible to assess the ability of one man or one administration to influence or change a system which has evolved over 200 years of trial and error.

[From the Federal Times, Feb. 18, 1970]

CORRECTIONS GOALS STILL FAR AWAY

(By Bill Andronicos)

(Summary of Joint Commission recommendations for improving the corrections system)

WASHINGTON.—The major problems facing corrections today have been caused to a large extent by complacency and ignorance about the volatile nature of social problems that have been left unattended too long.

This is the contention of Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, Inc.

In a report titled "A Time to Act," the Joint Commission said that although some progress has been made over the years to arouse public interest and to remove corrections from the shadow of political patronage, "not nearly enough has been accomplished."

There are still far too many employees in institutions, probation departments and parole agencies, the report said, who are there not because they were educated and trained for particular jobs but because their appointments satisfied political needs.

The report adds that there also are far too many correctional workers who look for other kinds of jobs to satisfy economic and personal needs because they cannot earn a decent living in corrections.

Although the American public has never quite made up its mind as to whether it is more important to punish offenders, to protect society, by locking them up—or to try to change them into useful citizens, there is an increasingly growing awareness among the public of the need for rehabilitation.

Hence, reintegration of the offender into society is seen by correctional personnel as one of their major objectives.

But, seeing the objectives and carrying them out effectively seem to be two completely different things.

For one thing, there is still too little cohesion among correctional workers themselves—cohesion which could weld them into an effective force for advancing their programs and promoting corrections as a unified field of work.

Moreover, there is still insufficient federal financial support available to state and local correctional agencies, despite enactment of major crime and delinquency laws aimed at strengthening state and local criminal justice systems.

Actually, most levels of government in the United States operate some or all of the correctional programs. The federal government, for example, has institutions, probation and parole programs for offenders convicted of violations of federal law.

States, however, are the major employers in the correctional field, operating institutions, parole systems and probation agencies. Local governments, however, administer the preponderance of probation services.

Whatever the case, the complexity of the correctional scene in the United States today has raised a number of multiple problems. These include apathy, inadequate funding, piecemeal programming, insufficient opportunities for the professional and personal growth of corrections personnel, inadequate training and management development programs and a host of others.

On the heels of such findings, the Joint Commission warned that the correctional enterprise must immediately be accorded support commensurate with the magnitude of the task to which it has been assigned. Otherwise, says the report, society may have to pay an even greater price in terms of social and economic costs for keeping its offenders out of sight and out of mind.

Among other things, the Joint Commission stresses the need for greater involvement by the general public, academicians, legislative bodies, governors and others in the executive, and judicial branches of federal, state and local governments—who by virtue of position and power can significantly alter corrections' position on the nation's agenda of social concerns.

As a result of its three-year study—and upon completion of the compilation of the most comprehensive set of facts ever assembled on correctional manpower—the Joint Commission included in its report a host of recommendations which it feels will help bring about improvements in the field of corrections.

Here are some highlights from the summary of recommendations issued by the Joint Commission:

A comprehensive nationwide recruitment program using brochures, television, magazines and other mass media should be developed immediately. Recruitment should include efforts to expand opportunities for minority groups, younger persons, and women.

Patterns of supervision and administrative control must be constantly reexamined to guard against overly restrictive supervision of employees.

Corrections must make provision for greater advancement opportunities in order to attract and retain high quality personnel.

To encourage mobility, provisions should be made for relocation expenses of prospective employees at supervisory, middle-management, top-management and specialist levels.

Correctional agencies, especially those in the community should adopt more flexible work schedules in order to utilize better their manpower and facilities. A rigid nine-to-five office schedule is a needless constraint on personnel time. Greater latitude in scheduling such things as conferences, contacts, home visits and report writing can also result in a more meaningful level of service to offenders and the community.

The establishment of a national retirement fund, which would permit correctional workers to transfer from one jurisdiction to another without loss of pension rights, should be a major goal of every agency and association seeking the betterment of correctional services.

The age of entry into some correctional jobs should be lowered to 18. Many correctional tasks can be performed by persons at that age, especially when job assignments are coupled with agency training or are part of a work-study program. Consideration also should be given to a uniform mandatory retirement age of 70.

Inflexible height and weight requirements should be eliminated and replaced by appropriate physical examinations to assess physical fitness and agility required by particular positions in corrections. Persons with correctional vision and hearing defects should not

be excluded solely on the basis of these conditions.

Correctional agencies should examine their hiring policies to maximize the potential of those with physical handicaps.

Modifications should be made in prevailing civil service and merit systems policies, including: Elimination of written tests for entry into correctional work except for those positions where tests can show demonstrable evidence of measuring capacity to perform the functions required; substitution of oral interviews and evaluation of work, educational life and experience as the basic screening device; and elimination of written tests for promotions, with greater emphasis on evaluative considerations of promotion review boards.

Legal and administrative barriers should be lowered to permit the hiring of ex-offenders in corrections, as well as in other governmental agencies.

Salaries, retirement plans and other employe fringe benefits should continually be assessed and efforts made to keep them in line with comparable positions in government and industry in the same geographical area. Annual cost-of-living increases should be made an integral feature of salary negotiations.

A top priority should be given to the education and training of correctional managers in the areas of collective bargaining and labor-management relations.

The undergraduate degree should become the standard educational requirement for entry-level work in probation and parole agencies and for comparable counselor and classification positions in institutions. Preferred areas of specialization should be psychology, sociology social work, criminology, criminal justice, education and public administration.

A career ladder, which affords an opportunity for those with high school education or less to enter the field and make their way to journeyman levels through a combined work-study program, should be adopted by the field of corrections.

The two-year community colleges should expand their programs for correctional personnel. These schools are an excellent resource for corrections, particularly in the development of special programs for custodial and group-living staffs, case aides and community aides.

Correctional agencies, community colleges, four-year colleges and universities, as well as private and non-profit organizations involved in the education and training of correctional personnel should seek funds from federal programs concerned with corrections.

A comprehensive educational financial assistance program should be established in an appropriate federal agency, as a means of providing support for persons in or preparing to enter the field of corrections. Such a program should include provisions for: Scholarships; fellowships; guaranteed loans; research and teaching assistantships; work-study program; educational opportunity grants for students from disadvantaged, low-income families.

A federally supported grant program should also be created to provide sabbatical leaves for correctional administrators so that they may attend a college or university full-time for an academic year, with salaries, tuition and other instructional costs provided.

Corrections should restructure its roles so that optimal use may be made of the training and skills brought to the agency by specialized manpower.

Graduate-level training should be encouraged and supported in the academic fields from which correctional agencies draw their specialized manpower. Also, correctional agencies should press for sufficient funds to purchase the service of specialized manpower.

Correctional agencies should adopt a multi-faceted research strategy which would include: In-house evaluation projects; collaborative research ventures with institutions of higher education, private industry, and non-profit organizations; and cooperation with national, regional and state efforts to disseminate research results. Greatly increased funding at national, regional, state and local level will be required to provide correctional agencies with an adequate level of research capability.

Correctional agencies should expand their use of volunteers.

Correctional agencies should reexamine their policies and practices regarding the employment of offenders and ex-offenders. Criminal records should not automatically prevent persons from being considered for employment in corrections. Increased experimentation is encouraged to delineate further the special contributions which can be made to corrections by those who have been through the system.

Staff promotional policies should be reassessed to place a greater stress on the possession of knowledge and skills in management processes.

Correctional agencies must develop—in conjunction with colleges and universities, as well as the private sector—a range of management development programs including degree-oriented course work in administration and management seminars, workshops and institutes.

The federal government should make funds available to states to finance management development programs. Similarly, states should subsidize management development activities in local jurisdictions.

Correctional agencies at all jurisdictional levels should adopt sound management development programs.

A network of national, regional and state training centers should be created to develop training programs and materials as well as to provide technical assistance and other supportive aids to correctional agencies. Such centers should stress manpower development rather than a limited definition of training—and should develop close working relationships with colleges and universities as well as with private training organizations. Federal and state funds are urgently required for the development and support of such centers.

Federal and state funds should also be made available to agency training units to provide for the purchase and lease of modern training equipment.

Whenever feasible, future correctional facilities should be located near centers of business, commerce and education in order to facilitate linkages between offenders and the community and its resources.

Correctional agencies should contract with schools of law and individual faculty members to conduct training programs, seminars and institutes for all correctional employees who work directly with offenders. This kind of training would include basic legal concepts of due process, offenders' rights and recent legal trends.

Correctional agencies should add legal specialists to their staffs, not only to serve as agency advisors but also to provide legal assistance to offenders regarding civil matters.

A model code of correctional procedure should be formulated and its adoption pursued. The code would provide the necessary guidance for correctional decisionmaking processes involving offenders. A panel to draft such a code should include judges, lawyers, correctional administrators, academicians and lay citizens.

Correctional agencies should utilize more fully the resources of private industry—particularly in such areas as management development, research, basic education and job training for offenders—and should encour-

age private foundations to take a greater interest in the problems of corrections and in the education and development of correctional manpower.

Correctional agencies should make a concentrated effort to inform the community at large—and community groups in particular—about corrections' goals, needs and problems, and enlist their cooperation in working together to create the social climate necessary for offenders to assume meaningful roles in society.

Correctional agencies at all levels of government should establish units of community relations and public affairs staffed with public information specialists, in order to provide for a free and constant flow of information to the public.

Among other things, the Joint Commission said that the fact that 73 per cent of all correctional personnel are employed by states, coupled with the increasingly important roles being played by state-level planning agencies in criminal justice and delinquency, makes state involvement crucial in the implementation of the commission's recommendations.

While much of what must be done to improve correctional services can be done by states, local governments and the private sector, the report adds, the major changes required to upgrade correctional manpower necessitate a greatly expanded federal role.

"The resources now available to this field are so limited that any meaningful effort to develop adequately trained manpower for corrections can come about only through broad, continuing federal commitment to correctional rehabilitation," the report says.

A number of federal agencies provide support for education, training, technical assistance, research and program operations to corrections and to those colleges and universities and private organizations closely allied with the field.

For example, the Departments of Justice, of Health, Education and Welfare, of Labor and of Housing and Urban Development, as well as the Office of Economic Opportunity, all have grant programs which directly affect corrections.

But in each instance, the Joint Commission said, the level of funding at which these programs are operating is far less than that which would be required to do an adequate job—and no one agency has the authority to coordinate the total federal effort in this field.

Hence, along with its other recommendations, the Joint Commission has urged the President—as a part of current studies regarding the reorganization of the executive branch of government—to consider the designation of an appropriate agency to oversee the total federal effort in correctional rehabilitation. The commission also urged Congress to create a Correctional Manpower Development Act to help marshal and coordinate the total federal effort in the correctional field.

POLITICAL JUDGES AT WORK

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the other body is currently acting on a Presidential nomination to fill a vacancy on the Supreme Court. This matter being within the constitutional preserve of the other body, I have refrained from comment. However, an unfortunate and indeed sickening event, involving my own State,

has entered into the matter, and I feel that it is necessary for me to point out some simple truths.

During the course of debate on S. 952, the bill creating some 54 new permanent "pork barrel" Federal judgeships, I called to the attention of the House—see the RECORD at page 7912—my personal knowledge of the activities of a Federal judge sitting in Louisiana, who knowingly and willfully violated a Federal statute to usurp jurisdiction over litigation then pending in the State court over which I had the honor to preside. I did not yesterday name the judge, but reading his name in the local newspapers in another and equally uncomplimentary context, I do so now.

John Minor Wisdom, elevated by Dwight Eisenhower from his political job as Republican national committeeman for Louisiana to the bench of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals—a bench which he has discredited since his first donning of the judicial robes—is the judge to whom I had referred.

As part of the vindictive Reconstruction legislation of the last century, the Congress provided for removal from State courts to U.S. district courts of both civil and criminal actions in cases where the defendant claimed that he was unable to obtain a fair trial and the full recognition of his constitutional rights in the State court where the action was pending. Due to the abuse of this removal procedure by defendants who were able to utilize the review of Federal trial court actions as a dilatory maneuver, thus defeating the ends of justice, the Congress in 1875 expressly prohibited review of U.S. district court remands to the State courts "by appeal or otherwise."

In such a case, at the request of James Farmer and other CORE defendants who sought to avoid in public trial where they would be required to testify under oath, John Minor Wisdom signed a stay order with the names of two judges not present, and in violation of the statute. He purported to usurp the jurisdiction of the State court by granting a prohibited appeal. It is of some interest that the legal brain behind this maneuver was the same Communist mouthpiece, William Kunstler, who has been receiving nationwide publicity lately. Kunstler had personally drafted as a part of the 1964 Civil Rights Act a provision to repeal the very law which Wisdom violated at his behest.

Now we find that overworked Judge Wisdom is lobbying here in Washington against the confirmation of an appointee to the Supreme Court. Without regard to the qualifications of the nominee, I question both the ethics and propriety of a sitting U.S. judge who endeavors to influence the Senate by widely publicized statements, ignoring its committees. He had the same opportunity as other Americans to be heard on oath. Neither is it the business of a Federal judge to thwart the desire of other colleagues of his bench to submit their views in a proper manner. It is most definitely not the business of any Federal judge to act in contravention of the Constitution, to alter the public policy of the United States, or to attempt to pack the

courts by demanding a veto over nominees who do not meet his personal standards.

If Judge Wisdom wants to acquire the right to advise and consent to judicial nominations, he should first get elected to the body charged with that responsibility—an accomplishment which even he knows is an impossibility, because he could never win an election in the State where he is known. His contempt for the Constitution and the law is exceeded only by his contempt for the people of Louisiana.

It is appropriate for those interested in the removal of those elements which are polluting our judicial system to take a long and careful look at John Minor Wisdom, his conduct on and off the bench, and the evident improvement in the Federal judiciary which would immediately result from an empty chair where he now sits.

Pertinent news clippings are included in my remarks:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 19, 1970]
SECOND COLLEAGUE JOINS FOES OF CARSWELL
(By Spencer Rich)

John Minor Wisdom, a colleague of Supreme Court nominee G. Harrold Carswell on the Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, revealed yesterday that he opposes Carswell's nomination and that he helped block a letter of endorsement from the entire Fifth Circuit bench.

Wisdom's position was made known in an interview with Carolyn Lewis of WTOP-TV, who reported that Wisdom said he had doubts about Carswell from the start and had warned other members of his court that he would send a letter of opposition of his own if his colleagues went through with a plan to send a letter of endorsement.

On Tuesday, Sen. Joseph D. Tydings (D-Md.) revealed in the Senate that Judge Elbert Tuttle, also of the Fifth Circuit, had withdrawn his support of Carswell.

In a telephone interview with the Washington Post late yesterday, Wisdom said that he had never intended to endorse Carswell and confirmed that he had told WTOP-TV, "I stand with Tuttle."

The Senate completed its third day of debate on the nomination yesterday with a charge by Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) that Carswell had violated three canons of judicial ethics through his "bias and hostility toward anyone arguing a civil rights case" when he was a federal district judge in Florida.

Cranston revealed the name of another civil rights attorney who accused Carswell of bias, Theodore Bowers of Panama City, Fla., whom Cranston said he had reached by phone. Bowers did not appear before the Senate Judiciary Committee during hearings on the nomination. Several other civil rights lawyers did and said Carswell showed bias against them and their clients.

Cranston said Bowers told him that between 1964 and 1968, when Bowers argued before Carswell, the judge was "hostile even over routine matters," turned away and didn't listen, "criticized Supreme Court civil rights decisions from the bench in the midst of hearings on a civil rights case," and "verbally attacked U.S. attorneys appearing in his court on civil rights cases, as well as private attorneys."

Cranston said this conduct appeared to violate canons 5, 10 and 34, requiring a judge to be temperate, impartial, courteous and above reproach in his conduct.

In other developments on the nomination: Rep. Donald W. Riegle Jr. (R-Mich.) urged that the nomination be withdrawn or re-

jected, saying many saw it as part of a "larger strategy" against Negro rights which included a desegregation slowdown, attempts to weaken the 1965 Voting Rights Act and "the strident rhetoric of the Vice President."

Senate Minority Whip Robert P. Griffin (R-Mich.) predicted Carswell would be confirmed with at least 60 votes. He reaffirmed his support for the nominee, despite mail running "four or five to one" against him and despite a statement Tuesday from Michigan's Republican Gov. William G. Milliken opposing the nomination.

Sen. Roman L. Hruska (R-Neb.), a strong Carswell supporter, told the Senate he had not meant to call Carswell "mediocre" or suggest that mediocrity deserved representation on the court, when he told a broadcaster Monday, "Even if he were mediocre, there are a lot of mediocre judges and people and lawyers, and they are entitled to a little representation, aren't they?"

Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.), whose vote helped defeat the last Supreme Court nominee, Clement F. Haynsworth, Jr., said he was leaning toward voting for Carswell.

"How many times can I vote against an ABM and a Haynsworth and still be in the ball game?" he said, referring to several votes in which he had bucked the President.

FLAG NAMED "OLD GLORY"

HON. DAVID PRYOR

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. PRYOR of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, on March 7, 1970, I had the privilege to participate in "Patriotic Day" in Pine Bluff, Ark. Several hundred students, faculty members, and local citizens, along with scouting groups and the American Legion officials, made this day a resounding success.

One of the many illuminating messages was delivered by Miss Sarah Lynnette Hartfield, a high school student in the Pine Bluff area. It presented some new thoughts concerning our flag and was entitled, "Flag Named 'Old Glory.'" I submit Miss Hartfield's message for the consideration of my colleagues:

FLAG NAMED "OLD GLORY"

The name "Old Glory" was first applied to the United States flag by a young sea captain who lived in Salem, Mass. On his twenty-first birthday, March 17, 1824, Capt. William Driver was presented a beautiful American Flag by his mother and a group of Salem girls. Driver was delighted with the gift. He exclaimed, "I'll name her 'Old Glory.'" Then "Old Glory" accompanied the captain on his many voyages.

Captain Driver quit the sea in 1837. He settled in Nashville, Tennessee. On patriotic days he displayed Old Glory proudly from a rope extending from his house to a tree across the street. After Tennessee seceded from the Union in 1861, Captain Driver hid Old Glory. He sewed the flag inside a comforter. When Union soldiers entered Nashville on February 25, 1862, Driver removed Old Glory from its hiding place. He carried the flag to the Capitol building and raised it above the state capital.

Shortly before his death, the old sea captain placed a small bundle into the arms of his daughter. He said to her: "Mary Jane, this is my ship flag, 'Old Glory.' It has been my constant companion. I love it as a mother loves her child. Cherish it as I have cherished it."

The flag remained as a precious heirloom in the Driver family until 1922. Then it was sent to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington and there it is carefully preserved under glass today.

OUR FRIENDS—THE FARMERS

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, a few days ago I made a speech on this floor in defense of the American farmer. In my remarks I tried to point out the problems facing the family farmer today—inflation, a cost-price squeeze which shrinks, if not eliminates his profits, and recent policies of the administration which are proving to be of great disadvantage to our farm population.

In my remarks I also made a special appeal to my urban colleagues, asking them to give as serious consideration to solving the problems of our farmers as they ask all of us—and rightly so—to give to our cities and more metropolitan areas.

Last week, there appeared an editorial in an Allied Industrial Workers newspaper published in Milwaukee, Wis., entitled "Our Friends—The Farmers."

To quote directly from that editorial:

The fact is that both the family farmer—not including the new-fangled corporation style farms—and the worker face a similar fate of having to scramble hard to scrape together a living for their families.

This points out simply, I believe, the ties which truly exist between the farmer and the worker, those in our rural and those in our urban areas. It represents the kind of mutual understanding between urban and rural residents which I think we need.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this editorial to my colleagues and include it in full below:

OUR FRIENDS—THE FARMERS

For years, there has been a tendency to portray the worker as the enemy of the farmer and, conversely, the farmer as the enemy of the worker.

After all, the reasoning went, the wage increases bargained by workers increased the cost of equipment that farmers had to buy to till their land and milk their cows; and, the increasing costs of food could be blamed on the farmer and his prices.

Nothing could be further from the truth, but too often the family farmer and the worker both swallowed this hook, line and sinker.

The natural enemies of both groups are big business and big banks.

The high price of farm equipment, for instance, comes about despite increased productivity of workers. Figures show corporate profit increases of 93% after taxes from 1960 to 1968, while wage increases amounted to 35%.

And, food price increases cannot be blamed specifically on the farmer. He gets but 41c out of every dollar spent by consumers on food.

Furthermore, both farmers and workers are victimized by the high cost of interest. Farmers find their ability to buy needed farm equipment stifled because of high bank rates, and workers find themselves priced out of housing and other necessities by high mortgage rates.

The fact is that both the family farmer—not including the new-fangled corporation style farms—and the worker face a similar fate of having to scramble hard to scrape together a living for their families.

Too many workers have listened to the business-oriented press and have permitted a wedge to be driven between the worker and the farmer. Politically this fact has hurt by making most rural Congressmen antilabor.

This does not have to occur. Common sense dictates otherwise.

BLACK TRUCKER FIGHTS FOR RIGHTS

HON. WILLIAM (BILL) CLAY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, the story of only one black businessman's plight in this economy is soon to unfold before the Senate Commerce Committee—when Timothy Person, black trucker and constituent of the First Congressional District in Missouri—takes the stand. Mr. Person will relate the trials and tribulations of his attempts to secure licensing to engage in national interstate transportation of household goods. He has encountered only great difficulty trying to participate in the closed system and procedures laid down by the ICC.

More and more the suggestion to disband the ICC is heard. The agency designed to protect the public interest has evolved into a Government paid staff and mechanism for the perpetration and protection of certain private interests. There is no audience for the public interest in the ICC.

I commend to the attention of my colleagues the following comment carried by Jack Anderson who found the story of Timothy Person worthy of note. The following is taken from Mr. Anderson's column of March 20 which appeared in the Washington Post:

BLACK BIAS

A black trucker, trying to get ahead in the white man's world of long-distance hauling, has documented for a Senate committee how the federal government plays ball with white firms to exclude Negroes.

Timothy Person, president of Allstates American Van Lines, has turned his data over to the Senate Transportation subcommittee, now deep in a probe of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

This column has obtained copies of the data, including signed statements by ghetto dwellers who couldn't get the big national firms to move them. Person also has tapes, recorded in his office dictating machine, of the giant firms refusing ghetto business.

Yet the ICC has twice turned him down for a 50-state license, claiming there is no "immediate and urgent need for any of the service proposed" by Person.

A signed statement in the committee files from Queen Esther Fields of St. Louis disputes the callous ICC view. It claims that agents for Allied-General Van and Storage, Red Ball Transit, North American Van Lines and four other firms all gave her the run-around when she told them her address.

After a month and nine days, Person answered her appeal and moved her from St. Louis to Stockton, Calif. He has a license to operate in more than half the states, but must turn down jobs for others.

As a man who is making black capitalism work, Person is not asking for money, only a license to build his particular American dream.

PREVIEW OF TESTIMONY

The black fleet owner will testify later before the Senate committee, headed by Sen. Vance Hartke (D-Ind.) An advance copy of his statement, obtained by this column, details his charges against the ICC, which makes a great public fuss of its "aggressive anti-discrimination policies."

States Person: "Out of approximately 15,201 total motor carriers in his country, there are 18 blacks with very limited authority. There are 4,000 household goods carriers (but) only 16 black carriers."

"There are 18 national household goods carriers but there is not one black national carrier. Out of the tens of thousands of local agents that represent major carriers as master agents there are less than a dozen blacks so fortunate."

Nevertheless, Person said, the ICC sided with the white transport tycoons, who "protested my application on the grounds that they have more than 54,000 (trucks) and because they felt that my 12 trucks would jeopardize their investments and business."

Person's unpublished statement pointed out that none of the ten presidentially-appointed ICC commissioners are black, none of the five motor carrier board members are black and none of the 101 district supervisors are black. In fact, the ICC's white face turned red with embarrassment when this column asked who the highest ranking Negro is. They found a black trial attorney in Boston.

"The ICC could hardly indict the trucking industry for discrimination when its own record in race relations is just as bad, if not worse," Person said in his statement to Hartke.

POLITICAL DEFINITIONS

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, the economic system characterizing our society and, indeed, a fundamental element of our way of life, is capitalism. It has withstood attacks, although in a weakened condition, from the radical left for many years. Although a hindrance to the New Left in the achievement of its revolutionary social goals, capitalism is the only system which both advances and thrives on individual freedom and liberty.

In this connection, several comparative and poignant political definitions were recently brought to my attention, and I include them following my remarks for your reference. Beginning with socialism and building to capitalism, all the definitions start with the premise that "You have two cows." I am sure you will agree that capitalism is the only system with the potential for yielding more than that with which you started.

The definitions follow:

Socialism—You have two cows. The government takes one and gives it to your neighbor.

Communism—You have two cows. The government takes both and gives you the milk.

Fascism—You have two cows. The government takes both and sells you the milk.

Nazism—You have two cows. The government takes both and shoots you.

New idealism—You have two cows. The government buys both, shoots one, milks the other and throws the milk away.

Capitalism—You have two cows. You sell one and buy a bull.

STOP THE DEMAGOGUERY—TELL IT LIKE IT IS

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I am amazed at the many conflicting stories, inflammatory remarks, and pure demagoguery by various people relative to the postal strike. For that reason I wish to insert at this point in the RECORD a statement I made on Sunday, March 22, in Omaha, at the time the Omaha Letter Carriers' Union met to decide their course so far as whether or not they would strike. I am happy to advise that they voted against a strike by better than 3 to 1. But more importantly, there follows a story which was on the front page of last Saturday's Chicago Tribune, written by Russell Freeburg, and this is the story that I say tells it like it is. The statement and article follow:

WHOSE FAULT IS IT?

(A statement to Omaha letter carriers from Congressman GLENN CUNNINGHAM, a senior member of the House Post Office Committee, Sunday, March 22, 1970)

You have read many conflicting stories, many of them inflammatory and many of them written by reporters who don't know what they are talking about. We have a serious situation confronting us and all postal employees should think seriously as far as this issue is concerned. For 13 years I have championed the causes of all postal unions in bringing about salary increases, increases in fringe benefits and all things I knew were needed by our loyal and dedicated postal workers.

As you know, the strike began in New York City, and even though many of the postal workers there are militants and members of the radical Students for a Democratic Society, when the first vote was taken in one of the large Letter Carrier Locals in New York there was only a plurality of some 500 votes in favor of the strike, which, of course, you know is illegal and a violation of the Federal law.

However, strike actions have spread and evolved into a political issue. The President of the United States is being criticized for not granting salary increases. The fact is salary increases are out of the hands of the President and rest solely with the Congress.

I think almost everybody who receives mail admires his letter carrier, and many know him on a first-name basis. Because of this we have had public support from the postal patrons for the various salary increases and many fringe benefits which we have been able to effect in the 13 years that I have served as a member of the Post Office Committee, since I have been a member of Congress. Proof of this has been the testimonials given me by the Letter Carriers on various occasions in the Omaha area as an expression of their appreciation of my active support of their salary increases, improved working conditions, and many fringe benefits. I have been awarded by the Carriers a lifetime honorary membership card in the Omaha Letter Carriers Union.

I have been criticized through the years by the Omaha World-Herald for having voted for increased wages and fringe benefits for postal workers. But that newspaper has always opposed me and it did not bother me a bit because I knew what was right and what was the right thing to do.

Unfortunately, there is great rivalry among the postal unions, particularly between the Carriers and the Clerks. The Clerks have been exceptionally mean recently due primarily to the political maneuvering of Pat Nilan, the Clerks' Legislative Representative in Washington, and their National President, for the reason that Nilan is working as hard as he can in an undercover way to try to snatch the presidency of the Clerks' Union at their next national convention.

I left Washington, D.C., in the early morning hours this past Saturday in order to bring my family to Omaha so that they could be here for the Easter vacation and to allow me several days to take care of official business in my Congressional District. I am in constant contact with the Postmaster General and the White House in the event that I am needed there for any meetings, and although I had planned to stay here several days, I will drop everything immediately if I am called for any meetings on the postal crisis, and I can be in Washington within a matter of two or three hours.

I have been in constant telephone contact since I arrived in Omaha this past Saturday with the administration and postal officials, as well as the National Letter Carriers Union. In fact, I was on the telephone until 1:00 a.m. today, Sunday, and then snatched a little sleep and was again in constant communication beginning at 5:00 a.m. (C.S.T.) this same Sunday morning. In any event, in spite of all you have read in the newspapers by inexperienced or ill-informed reporters, when I stopped over in Chicago at O'Hare Field yesterday (Saturday) I picked up a copy of the Chicago Tribune and read a front-page article written by Russell Freeburg, who is the correspondent in Washington for the Tribune. He is an outstanding journalist, knows exactly what is going on and what the true facts are. In this article (identified as a "News Analysis") it carries the headline: *Postal Reform Bills Stifled by House and Senate Leadership*. This article tells it exactly as it is. It is the fault of the Congress that we have this situation today. I, as a member of the House Post Office Committee, have worked many long hours for many months to bring about true postal reform and to include increases in salary as a part of that package. I support the proposal for an 11.1 percent increase in salary and a compression of the in grade increases so that a Clerk or Carrier need not wait for some 20 years to reach the top salary, but rather can reach the top salary level in approximately 8 years.

Mr. Freeburg hits the nail on the head and tells it like it is, as I mentioned above, and I think each and everyone of you should read this article because it is truthful and according to the facts. The article follows:

"POSTAL REFORM BILL STIFLED BY HOUSE AND SENATE LEADERS

"(By Russell Freeburg, Chicago Tribune Press Service)

"WASHINGTON, March 20.—Calls for postal reform have been loud and they have been clear for three years, but a handful of members of Congress unwilling to give up their power over the Post Office wouldn't listen.

"There is a strong feeling in the Capital tonight that if these men, mainly Rep. Thaddeus Dulski (D, N.Y.) and Sen. Gale McGee (D, Wyo.), had acted the nation wouldn't be threatened with a strike of postal workers.

"WON'T RELINQUISH POWER

"But men such as Dulski and McGee don't want to give up their political power over

the Post Office. McGee is chairman of the Senate Post Office Committee. Dulski heads the Post Office Committee in the House.

"The Postmaster General has little real authority over major postal functions. It is Congress and the Committee chairmen who control the operating and capital budgets of the Post Office, dispense pay increases, and set postal rates.

"Nearly three years ago, in April, 1967, Lawrence O'Brien, then Postmaster General, first proposed abolishment of his job and conversion of the Post Office Department into a non-profit government corporation. He told Congress that the Post Office was 'in a race with catastrophe'.

"Seven months earlier, ten million pieces of mail had piled up in Chicago. For a decade, warnings of poor working conditions and mounting mail volume went unheeded on Capitol Hill, especially by Dulski and a few other members of his Post Office Committee. As recently as seven days ago Dulski voted against postal reform.

"The Post Office Department should fully reflect the genius of American management and industrial skills", said O'Brien in 1967. 'Management and employees alike should be paid according to standards of comparable industries. If we ran our telephone system the way we run our Post Office, the carrier pigeon business would still have a great future.'

"NIXON SEEKS REFORM

"The corporation idea with Dulski in immediate opposition was approved in July, 1968, by a Commission on Postal Organization set up by former President Johnson and headed by Frederick R. Kappel, retired chairman of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

"In May, 1969, President Nixon asked Congress for legislation, promptly bottled up by Dulski, to convert the Post Office Department into a government-owned, but self-supporting, corporation with only limited Congressional control.

"Nixon, as the Johnson Administration before him, said the Post Office Department should be taken out of politics. He said, 'Only a complete reorganization of the postal system can avert the steady deterioration of this vital public service.'

"The aim of his plan, Nixon said, is to 'dramatically improve working conditions, increase efficiency, and reduce costs.' One of the features of the postal corporation would be collective bargaining for postal employees, instead of Congress setting their wages.

"PAY RISES SLOWLY

"Since 1955, Congress has increased the pay of Letter Carriers from \$3,640 annually to a range of \$6,100 to \$8,442. In the same years, Congress has increased its own pay from \$15,000 to \$42,500. There also have been scandals.

"Daniel Brewster, a member of the Senate Post Office Committee while a Democratic Senator from Maryland, and officials of Spiegel, Inc., Chicago mail order house, have been indicted on bribery charges stemming from Brewster's activities on the Committee. In August, 1967, Dulski acknowledged that he pocketed \$11,000 raised from a testimonial dinner paid for mainly by mail lobbyists.

"McGee told a press conference this afternoon that he would fight to keep political control of the Post Office.

"There are signs that other members of Congress are getting restless about the stalling of fellow members like Dulski and McGee. Last Friday when Dulski voted against the Postal Reform Bill other members of the Post Office Committee finally overrode him and approved the Nixon administration plan."

Jim Rademacher, your National President, is a close personal friend of mine and we have worked closely to finalize the Postal

Reform Bill, which includes salary increases as well as what postal unions have long sought, namely employee-management bargaining on wage and fringe benefits by law rather than by Executive Orders. Your National President told me a few days ago that he would do whatever is necessary to remind you of my dedication to your cause and that we have seen eye to eye throughout this very trying period so far as your future is concerned. But this same cooperation has not been forthcoming from the Clerks' Union. All of you should be mighty proud of Jim Rademacher. He is one of the truly sincere, honest, dedicated labor leaders in the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I also find other responsible and knowledgeable reporters who "tell it like it is" and I refer to an article written by columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak which appeared in Wednesday morning's Washington Post. The article follows:

UNION INTRANSIGENCE ON REFORM LAID GROUNDWORK FOR MAIL CRISIS

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

Although Democratic politicians are having a field day blaming the postal crisis on President Nixon's intransigence, the groundwork for disaster was laid over the past three years by the stubborn opposition of postal union leaders to long-overdue reform.

Ever since President Johnson's postmaster general, Lawrence F. O'Brien, began pushing basic postal reform in 1967, the union bosses have stubbornly resisted not only reform but even gentle compromise out of fear it might undermine their power. Their adamant opposition was renewed when President Nixon's Postmaster General, Winton F. Blount, backed reform with an iron tenacity in refusing to surrender to implacable union opposition.

The fact, admitted privately by realistic congressional Democrats, is that there would be no postal crisis today—and postal employees would have a more nearly decent living wage—had the unions not refused to consider reform. What ever mistakes the Congress and Mr. Nixon have made the past six months could not have occurred but for that refusal.

The reason for this short-sighted opposition is found in the unique nature of the unions. Because Congress itself determines postal pay, postal unions do not engage in collective bargaining but in Capitol Hill lobbying. Their chiefs are not really labor leaders but high-priced Washington operatives, dispensing campaign contributions around Capitol Hill.

O'Brien's proposal for an independent postal corporation would have ended all this, establishing wage procedures ending in compulsory arbitration. Afraid of the unknown, the postal union leaders reflexively opposed reform—with the backing of AFL-CIO President George Meany.

As the Nixon administration took office in 1969, coincidental developments contributed to a turmoil in postal politics. The two major unions, the Letter Carriers and the Clerks, had new leadership and their once warm relationship grew frigid. There was feuding inside the Clerks, with the new president and legislative director in conflict. The Senate Post Office Committee had a brand new chairman, Sen. Gale McGee of Wyoming.

Most important was the nature of the new postmaster general. Unlike O'Brien, Blount was no politician willing to bend but a stiff-backed millionaire Alabama businessman appalled by inefficiency he found in the Post Office Department.

It was Blount's vigorous recommendation last autumn that led to President Nixon's warning that the 11 per cent postal pay raise passed by the House would be vetoed.

Blount's implicit offer: pass reform and you'll get your pay increase. Faced with this hard-boiled ultimatum, President William Rademacher of the Letter Carriers broke the solid union facade against reform.

A compromise pay-reform bill worked out by Rademacher, Blount, and Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona (foremost Democratic advocate of reform) finally cleared the House Post Office Committee on Feb. 12—to the amazed chagrin of its chairman, Rep. Thaddeus Dulski of New York, mouthpiece of the postal unions. Although the bill called for only a 5.4 per cent pay increase, it contained a provision—quietly agreed to by the White House—virtually guaranteeing a much bigger boost effective July 1.

But like so many union chieftains today, Rademacher had lost his rank-and-file. Just as they were about to get their delayed pay increase, the letter carriers revolted in wildcat strikes and the crisis was born.

It is a crisis for Rademacher as well as President Nixon and the U.S. Officials of other postal unions, having maintained their opposition to reform, bitterly resent Rademacher. They communicate with him only in formal communications (addressed "Dear Mr. Rademacher"). They can take pride in having maintained the proper degree of militancy.

Indeed, "with the pressure now on the President, Congress and Rademacher, the other union leaders are off the hook with their past record obscured. Lost in the shuffle, for example, is the fact that postal union leaders have long and unwisely opposed geographical distinctions in pay—a major grievance of hard-pressed New York City workers who began the walkout.

The result is impasse. With an atmosphere of lawlessness pervading the country, there is strong sentiment in both the White House and Congress against capitulation to the postal workers, inviting illegal strikes by municipal workers nationwide. All this could have been prevented had the unions accepted postal reform, but that simple truth is lost in the chaos.

Also, Mr. Speaker, I am including an article entitled "Nixon Acts To Move the Mail," which appeared as an editorial in the Washington Daily News on Tuesday, March 24:

NIXON ACTS TO MOVE THE MAIL

President Nixon had no other choice than to call out federal troops to move the mail in New York City. His promise to take similar action in Chicago, Detroit and other cities if the postal strike continues is a clear indication that Mr. Nixon intends to see that the mail is delivered—as a President must.

Any other course of action would be an invitation to anarchy.

Federal employes are forbidden by law to strike against the public. If the postal workers can strike—and win benefits that way—so can every one of the three million government employes in this country.

Neither the President nor the Congress is likely to approve pay raises until the strike ends—and the strikers are simply fooling themselves if they think otherwise.

As it stands, only about 20 per cent of the nation's 750,000 postal workers are taking part in the strike—the first since the postal system was organized by Ben Franklin in 1775.

Without question, many mailmen are underpaid, especially those working in cities where the cost of living is high.

As the President pointed out yesterday, the postal system "no longer serves its employes, its customers or its country as it should."

The Post Office Department should have been taken out of politics and operated like a business years ago. Unfortunately, it wasn't.

But this does not justify an illegal strike that cuts off Social Security checks, inter-

feres with tax collections and disrupts countless other functions of commerce and government.

Mr. Nixon has asked the mailmen to come back to their jobs. If they hope to retain any semblance of public support, they should take his advice.

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, one of the newspapers I read regularly and with a great deal of interest is the weekly *St. Cloud Visitor*. I find some of its columns particularly thought provoking.

One such column, "Rights and Responsibilities" is very appropriate at this time.

With your permission, I would like to insert this column by Father James D. Hogan in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD* and commend its reading to my colleagues:

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

We are living in an age of rights. Voices from every side proclaim human rights, student rights, women's rights—and in many cases the arguments are right! Yet we see activists for various causes heedlessly trampling others' rights. . . .

There is another side to the coin of justice. While obtaining and safeguarding rights are vitally important in a Christian society, there is more. Obligations only begin when we get and enjoy rights.

Responsibility is the duty of freedom. Slaves—and small children—have few responsibilities and few rights. With a very limited freedom, a person has few worries. If he fulfills simple tasks, he is taken care of. His obligations are almost nonexistent. The complexities of long-range planning and interaction with others are not the concerns of slaves or children.

But, once a man lifts up his head into the stimulating air of freedom, he is obliged to think of others. If he is free to act, he must act with regard for others—or he is unworthy of his rights. He is free of the heavy hand of serfdom or totalitarianism, but he assumes the obligation of responsibilities.

For an example, let's consider student rights and responsibilities.

A student has the right to receive an adequate education from the society in which he lives. If he is to benefit most from this training period, he must receive his greatest support from his family and from the taxes placed on productive citizens. But the student then has a responsibility to use, for society's benefit, the opportunity given him. School taxes are not designed to finance twelve-year vacations.

A student has the right to express his views. Still, he has the responsibility of allowing—and even encouraging—other opinions to be voiced. If he has the right to speak, he has the responsibility of helping others speak.

A student has the right to meaningful instruction. He should not be required to waste his time with useless trivia. In accord with this, he has the responsibility of using his own time well. If he demands the best, he has the corresponding duty of producing his best.

A student has the right to a widening social life. His contacts with others should be increasing both in number and variety. At the same time, his responsibilities are increasing. A boy's obligation to a girl he dates are

greater than to a girl he merely passes in the hallway. Members of a team have a right to each other's support, but each member becomes responsible for all of his team.

Such a list can be endless. Wherever rights exist, there are corresponding responsibilities. Perhaps the truest test of a person's ability to enjoy rights is his reliability in meeting responsibilities.

Responsibilities stir up less passion and noise than rights. But I believe the steady, determined fulfillment of obligations—albeit at times with reminders—will advance Christian civilization further than preoccupation with one's own rights.

THE JOHN HANSON STATUE IN THE U.S. CAPITOL

HON. J. GLENN BEALL, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. BEALL of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, in advance of the April birthdate of John Hanson, I would like to share with my colleagues the story entitled "The John Hanson Statue in the U.S. Capitol" which was written by Judge Edward S. Delaplaine of Frederick, Md.

John Hanson is one of Maryland's most distinguished patriots and statesman. He was a Delegate to the Continental Congress from 1780-83, and during that period served as President of the United States in Congress assembled. Along with Charles Carroll of Carrollton, he was designated by the Maryland Legislature to be honored by having a statue placed in the Capitol of the United States.

Judge Edward S. Delaplaine is also a very distinguished Marylander who served for a number of years on the Maryland Court of Appeals, which is our State's highest tribunal. Since retirement he has done yeoman service in collecting information and writing about matters of historical significance in our State and particularly in Frederick County. His story of "The John Hanson Statue in the U.S. Capitol" follows:

THE JOHN HANSON STATUE

The life story of John Hanson, whose home in Frederick, Maryland, was located on West Patrick Street west of Court Street while he was serving as President of the United States in Congress Assembled begins at Mulberry Grove in the year 1715.

The story of the statue of John Hanson—a seven-foot bronze in the Capitol of the United States—does not begin until more than 80 years after his death, which occurred at Oxon Hill Manor in the year 1783.

This story begins on April 19, 1864. Antietam and Gettysburg, were horrible memories. The battle of the Monocacy had not yet been fought.

The scene opens in the spacious new hall of the House of Representatives. Speaking on the floor of the House is a Congressman from Vermont, Justin S. Morrill, who is discussing a resolution he had introduced to make use of the old House chamber as a Statuary Hall. Mr. Morrill, in early life a merchant and farmer, eventually served 12 years in the House and nearly 32 years in the Senate.

The Capitol, as Mr. Morrill explained, had been built in five separate sections. "The expansion of our country from the old 13 to 36 states," he said, "imposed upon us the burden as well as the privilege of building

and extending a structure for the accommodation of the legislative branches of the Government and appropriate for the Capitol of the foremost Republic in the world."

The first section to be erected was the original North wing. The cornerstone was laid in 1793 by the President, George Washington, assisted by Thomas Johnson of Frederick, who had been the first Governor of the State of Maryland, now head of the Board of Commissioners of the Federal City.

When the original North wing was completed in 1800, the members of Congress moved from Philadelphia to Washington, as the Federal City became officially known in 1791.

The original south wing was completed in 1807, and this was then occupied by the representatives.

In 1814 the British invaders set fire to the Capitol and also the White House. As soon as the South wing was reconstructed, the representatives moved back into it.

The Rotunda of the Capitol was built in 1827. Some years later the Congress decided to build another South wing for the House of Representatives and another north wing for the Senate. The new wing for the House was completed in 1857, the new wing for the Senate in 1859.

The Senate chamber in the old North wing was thereafter used for sessions of the United States Supreme Court.

For seven years after the Representatives moved into the new south wing, the old House chamber, which had been in use during a period of nearly fifty years, was put to no use whatever. So it happened that Mr. Morrill of Vermont was recommending to Congress that the old House chamber be used as a hall for statues of distinguished patriots.

Mr. Morrill's resolution provided as follows: "Suitable structures and railing shall be erected in the old Hall of Representatives for the reception and protection of statuary * * * and the President is hereby authorized to invite each and all of the States to provide and furnish statues, in marble or bronze, not exceeding two in number of each State, of deceased persons who have been citizens thereof and illustrious for their historic renown or for distinguished civic or military services, such as each state may deem to be worthy of this national commemoration; and when so furnished the same shall be placed in the hall of the House of Representatives, in the Capitol of the United States, which is set apart, or so much thereof as may be necessary, as National Statuary Hall for the purpose herein indicated."

In support of the resolution Mr. Morrill said: "The extension of the Capitol has added so much space to existing accommodations that the old Hall is not required as a warehouse or for committee rooms, and it is impossible to divide and distribute it, if it were so required, in any manner that will be satisfactory, or that will not disclose an awkward, ill-begotten, ill-born, second-handed purpose; while if it shall be left whole and unmarred as it now is, and only decorated, as now proposed, with works of art, it will appear as imposing and perfect as though the idea sprung from the brain of the architect at the foundation of the Capitol."

In conclusion he predicted that the gifts from the States would speedily furnish, without any cost to the National Government, a collection of statutory that would reflect honor upon the illustrious patriots and upon the Republic.

The resolution was passed by the House and the Senate and was thereupon presented to President Lincoln in the White House.

Lincoln gave his approval to the resolution on July 2, 1864—exactly one week before what was doubtless to be the most exciting day in the history of Frederick, the day when the municipal officials with the cooperation of the banks paid \$200,000 as a ransom to

prevent the burning of the city, and when the troops led by Jubal A. Early were delayed in their march toward Washington by the troops commanded by Lew Wallace along the Monocacy River three miles from Frederick.

It cannot be said that the states furnished the statues speedily. Rhode Island, it is true, was prompt, presenting a statue of General Nathaniel Greene in 1870 and one of Roger Williams in 1872. But action by other states was not so prompt. It was not until 1903—thirty-eight years after the death of President Lincoln—that the two Maryland statues were installed in Statuary Hall.

In 1896—thirty-two years after Congress set apart the old hall of the House of Representatives for use as Statuary Hall—the Legislature of Maryland took the first step toward placing two statues in the National Capitol. In that year a resolution was introduced to request the Governor to appoint a commission of five citizens to report to the Legislature which two Marylanders were, in the judgment of the commissioners, most worthy of national commemoration in Statuary Hall.

A unique feature of the resolution was that, although Maryland had been known for her many patriots, who had achieved distinction sufficient to make them worthy of being entered in the Hall of Fame—such statesmen as Thomas Johnson, John Hanson, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton; a Chief Justice of the United States, Roger B. Taney; Luther Martin and William Pinkney, famous lawyers; and notable military officers including John Eager Howard, William Smallwood, Otho Holland Williams, and Tench Tilghman—there was a mention of only one distinguished Marylander in the resolution. In it was a provision that it should be the particular duty of the commission to "report whether or not in the judgment of such commissioners one of such statues should be of Francis Scott Key, the author of our immortal national ode, 'The Star-Spangled Banner.'"

Presumably this suggestion for the members of the commission was a hint that recommendation of Francis Scott Key for one of the statues would be agreeable to the Governor and the members of the Legislature.

There could be no doubt that the choice of Key for one of the statues would be pleasing to the Governor, Lloyd Lowndes, who was a resident of Cumberland, for Lowndes was a descendant of Governor Edward Lloyd 5th, whose sister, Mary Tayloe Lloyd, became Key's wife in 1802.

The resolution was undoubtedly pleasing also to the Senator from Frederick County, Frank C. Norwood, a forty-year-old member of the Frederick bar. Mr. Norwood, who was unusually fond of Maryland history, was personally acquainted with members of the Francis Scott Key Monument Association, who were raising funds for a monument over Key's grave in Mount Olivet Cemetery in Frederick. To many of his friends Senator Norwood had told how proud he had been while on a trip to the Pacific Coast to see the Francis Scott Key Monument in Golden Gate Park, which had been unveiled before the erection of the monument in Frederick.

After the resolution was passed by the Senate and House of Delegates, Governor Lowndes named the members of the commission. Their report was presented to the Legislature at its session of 1898, but Key's name was not mentioned. The report recommended:

(1) That Charles Carroll of Carrollton be commemorated by one of the statues.

(2) That for the other statue, General John Eager Howard be commemorated, if military services are preferred for recognition; but if civil services are preferred, then Thomas Johnson, the first Governor of the State, be commemorated.

The commission also reported that an appropriation of \$12,000 for each statue would not in their judgment be excessive but

would probably approximate the cost of the sculpture.

The Legislature rejected the recommendations of John Eager Howard and Governor Thomas Johnson, and ordered that the statues should be made of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and John Hanson.

The Legislature appropriated the sum of \$24,000 to pay for the two statues and directed the Governor to appoint a commission of five to carry their law into effect. The law was approved by the Governor April 14, 1898.

Governor Lowndes named on this commission former Governor John Lee Carroll, Douglass H. Thomas, General Thomas J. Shryock, Richard K. Cross, and Fabian Franklin, Ph.D., editor of the Baltimore News.

Mr. Carroll, who had served as Governor from 1876 to 1880, was a great-grandson of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. He was born at Homewood, now a part of the campus of Johns Hopkins University, but when he was three years old, his father moved to ancestral Doughoregan Manor. The future Governor was educated at Mount St. Mary's College and at Georgetown. While he refused to seek any further political office after his term as Governor, he cheerfully agreed to serve as chairman of the commission to arrange for the sculpture of the statues of Carroll and Hanson.

The commission selected as their sculptor a young native of Massachusetts, Richard E. Brooks, whose father was born in England and mother in Scotland. The sculptor had grown up in the vicinity of the granite quarries of Quincy. He was only in his thirties, but he had studied sculpture in Boston and his first important work, a bust of Governor Russell, was so satisfactory that he was encouraged to go to Paris to devote himself to further study. There his first Salon subject brought him honorable mention in 1895. His next important work was the statue of Thomas Cass, which was installed in the public gardens in Boston. This statue was acclaimed to be "as fine a statue of a quiet, soldierly figure as any which an American sculptor has yet produced."

Sculptor Brooks worked with great diligence on the statues of Carroll and Hanson. He was impressed by the fact that he was carving statues that would be installed in the Nation's Hall of Fame in the Capitol, where they would be seen by countless millions of Americans as well as hosts of sightseers from all over the world.

And so he worked with meticulous care and with all the skill at his command. Fortunately there were several portraits of the patriots. One early portrait of Hanson had been painted by John Hesselius, but the sculptor evidently relied more largely on the later painting which Charles Willson Peale had made for Independence Hall.

Governor Lowndes was no longer in office when the statues were completed. He had campaigned for re-election in 1899 but was defeated by John Walter Smith of Worcester County. Smith was inaugurated in 1900 and it was he who was notified in 1902 that the statues were cast in bronze.

Shortly before Congress adjourned for Christmas in 1902, Governor Smith signed two letters, one to the United States Senate, the other to the House of Representatives, giving official notice that Maryland was ready to present the statues of Carroll and Hanson to the National Government.

At that time the Senators from Maryland were George L. Wellington of Allegany County and Louis E. McComas of Washington County.

McComas, the junior Senator, a graduate of Dickinson College and a member of the Washington County bar, handled the arrangements for the ceremony in the Senate. It was scheduled for Saturday afternoon, January 31, 1903.

McComas made the first address in the

Senate. Before commencing he presented a concurrent resolution that the thanks of Congress be presented to the State of Maryland for providing the bronze statues of Carroll and Hanson, and that they be accepted and placed in National Statuary Hall.

The crowning service of Hanson's career, Senator McComas said, was his unalterable determination to oppose ratification of the Articles of Confederation until all the States had surrendered their claims to the Northwest Territory. He asserted that Maryland, in leading the way for the acquisition of the National domain, laid the foundation for the Federal Union.

For this one stand alone, the Senator said, Hanson was worthy to be placed in Statuary Hall. It determined for all time, he said, that "the after acquired territory of the United States should in due time by Congress be fashioned and admitted as States, augmenting the power of the Republic and the grandeur of the American Union."

Four Senators from the States—George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, Jonathan P. Dolliver of Iowa, Chauncey M. Depew of New York, and Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia—added praise for the patriotic services of Carroll and Hanson.

Senator Wellington delivered the final speech. Although he had started to work at the age of twelve, and thus was mainly self-educated, Wellington had become successful in Cumberland as a banker and industrialist and he was a forceful orator.

In his tribute to John Hanson, Wellington said:

"He was the first President of the United States in Congress Assembled, and his hand guided the fortunes of the new Nation in the year which brought the final success of American arms, after a long period of vicissitudes and changeable fortune.

"He was not a man of selfish ambition but became active in the affairs of his native Colony by reason of his love of country and steadfast purpose to stand by and for the right. Only a high sense of duty kept him for five and twenty years constantly engaged in public service, and allowed him to retire only when his fondest hopes had been realized in the consummation of freedom and self-government for native land."

Upon a motion made by Wellington, the Senate adopted the resolution offered by McComas.

The arrangements for the ceremony in the House of Representatives were made by Congressman George A. Pearre, a graduate of Princeton, West Virginia University, and the Law School of the University of Maryland, and a member of the Cumberland bar.

Mr. Pearre spoke at length on Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and was followed by Congressman John Dalzell of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Pearre had invited his colleague, Charles R. Schirm, of Baltimore, to pay the tribute to Hanson.

Mr. Schirm said that after the French and Indian War the tide of immigration turned to the fertile regions of Frederick County, and thither in 1773 John Hanson followed the long train of sturdy home builders. His sound judgment and honesty of character, he said, won for him the respect and confidence of the people.

After mentioning that Hanson held the highest Federal office ever conferred upon a Marylander, Mr. Schirm paid tribute to other members of the Hanson family, who had rendered public service:

"His grandfather, Colonel Hanson, fell at Lutzen for the cause of religious liberty; his oldest brother, Judge Walter Hanson, was Commissary for Charles County; his brother Samuel was a patriot and presented to General Washington 600 pounds sterling to provide shoes for his barefoot soldiers; William, his youngest brother, was Examiner

General of Maryland; his son, Alexander Contee, was a patriot and intimate with Washington, was one of the first Judges of the General Court and Chancellor of the State; and an Elector for Washington, and compiled the Laws of Maryland; his son, Samuel, was a surgeon in the Life Guards of Washington; and his son, Peter Contee, of the Maryland Line, was wounded at Fort Washington."

Upon motion of Mr. Schirm, the House adopted the concurrent resolution introduced by Mr. Pearre thanking the State, accepting their statues, and ordering that they be placed in Statuary Hall.

The statue of Carroll is in Statuary Hall, but after thirty years Hanson's statue was moved to another location in the Capitol. The reason for the change of location was that as States were added to the Union and new statues were presented by the States, some of the members of Congress were apprehensive that the concentrated weight of marble and bronze might possibly cause a structural collapse. Following an investigation by an engineer, the Congress passed a resolution in 1933 directing that the statues be relocated in order to relieve the congestion in Statuary Hall. The work of relocation commenced in 1934.

Today three of the statues that belong to the Statuary Hall Collection are in the Rotunda. The others in the Rotunda were not gifts from any State, but were acquired otherwise.

The statues comprising the Statuary Hall Collection are now installed in the following seven locations in the Capitol:

- (1) Statuary Hall, the original chamber of the House of Representatives.
- (2) The Rotunda.
- (3) The small House Rotunda.
- (4) The House Connecting Corridor.
- (5) The Senate Connecting Corridor.
- (6) The Vestibule of the old Supreme Court Chamber.
- (7) The Hall of Columns on the first floor of the House wing.

The statue of John Hanson was moved out of Statuary Hall and given a location in the Senate Connecting Corridor. However, it will always be considered as a part of the Statuary Hall Collection. Moreover, the location of the statues is not of paramount importance. Their significance lies in the lessons taught by the careers and characters of those who are commemorated in the Hall of Fame.

Senator Wellington spoke with eloquence of their influence in his peroration in the United States Senate on the last day of January in 1903. Just before moving the acceptance of the statues of Carroll and Hanson, the senior Maryland Senator paid this tribute to their immortality:

"They have passed away, but they shall be ever remembered, and their fame will extend into the distant future. Their influence has not ceased. True it is, the principles which they evolved and for which they struggled seem at present to be obscured by an eclipse. If it be so, would it not be well upon this occasion to call a halt in the fateful march, would it not be well to look backward, and, if necessary, retrace our steps until we may stand again in that altitude where our vision will become bright and clear * * * and in its stead we shall see again that light which led us for a century and a quarter in honorable history and glorious achievement as a nation?"

"We shall march to the music of the song of the great Declaration for which Charles Carroll and John Hanson lived and labored throughout many years, and realize, as did they, that our strength as a Nation depends upon the exemplification of the grandest doctrine ever promulgated to men—that they shall be free and govern themselves, under God, according to their own consent and pleasure."

ALCOHOL-GASOLINE FUEL WOULD CUT POLLUTION, FARM SURPLUSES

HON. THOMAS S. KLEPPE

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. KLEPPE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I had the privilege of testifying at a joint meeting of the Subcommittee on Air and Pollution of the Senate Public Works Committee and the Subcommittee on Energy, Natural Resources, and the Environment of the Senate Commerce Committee on the feasibility of blending gasoline with alcohol made from grain to provide a cleaner burning motor vehicle fuel.

I include in the RECORD my testimony, together with the text of a statement on the same matter submitted by Mr. Dwight L. Miller, Assistant Director of the Northern Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Peoria, Ill.:

TESTIMONY BY REPRESENTATIVE THOMAS S. KLEPPE

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee. I appreciate this opportunity to testify on air pollution control legislation.

My testimony today relates exclusively to the advantages of combining gasoline with alcohol made from grain to produce a cleaner burning motor vehicle fuel. I believe a strong start in this direction could be made within the framework of amendments to the Clean Air Act proposed by many Members of Congress, including myself.

On February 16, 1970, I wrote to President Nixon, suggesting that he instruct affected Federal agencies to investigate the possibilities of utilizing the alcohol-gasoline blend as a means of combatting air pollution.

There is nothing new about the basic idea. For many years it has been extensively discussed, studied and tested. Today, with the great national interest in our total environment and with the serious air pollution caused by motor vehicle exhausts, it may be an idea whose time has finally come.

There isn't any question that an alcohol-gasoline blend will work efficiently in present-day motor vehicles. It will measurably reduce hydrocarbon exhaust emissions, by as much as 50 per cent, some tests show. It will prolong engine life. It will provide extra power, without a tetraethyl-lead additive. It has long been used successfully in other countries.

The obvious question is: Why aren't we using it? The answer, up to now, has always been: Cost.

Back in the middle-1950's, President Eisenhower appointed a commission to study increased industrial uses of agricultural products. Then the principal objective was to expand markets for surplus farm products. The projected cost of producing alcohol from grain led the commission to conclude that it would be "impracticable to recommend an alcohol motor-fuel program."

The urgent need to control air pollution—to regulate automobile emissions of carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons—places the cost factor of converting grain to alcohol in a different perspective now. Moreover, large-scale conversion of grain to alcohol could literally save billions of dollars of farm program costs.

In his Message to Congress on the Environment, the President pointed out that "Most air pollution is produced by the burning of fuels. About half is produced by motor vehicles."

The proposed amendments to the Clean

Air Act would empower the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to "establish standards respecting the chemical or physical properties of any (motor vehicle) fuel or fuel additive to assure that such fuel or fuel additive will not cause or contribute to emissions which would endanger the public health or welfare. . . ."

Even though new engine designs, more lead-free gasolines and improved exhaust control devices will come during the 1970's, millions of motor vehicles now on the road and to be built in the next few years will be operating well into the 1980's. It would appear on the basis of what we already know, that immediate implementation of an alcohol-gasoline program is fully warranted. We could begin on a limited basis almost overnight. The mood and the money were not there in the past but they are today.

I believe what is needed now, to get a large-scale alcohol-gasoline fuel "on the road," is convincing proof that it can be done economically. We must look not only at the first cost of extracting alcohol from grain but also at the value of the high protein by-product which remains as a food and feed source. We must consider what a cleaner-burning lead-free motor vehicle fuel would be worth from both a public health and dollar standpoint.

We must consider the savings in farm program and price support costs which would result from the elimination of production controls and payments to farmers for diverting wheat and feed grain acreage. This would be in the neighborhood of \$2 billion a year and there would be further savings of perhaps half a billion dollars in storage, interest and administrative costs borne by USDA.

In other words, we must look at the many "offsets" against the cost of producing alcohol from grain. Viewed that way, I am reasonably convinced that alcohol can be made from grain at relatively low cost—low enough to make it economical and practical as an automotive fuel.

Although the petroleum industry opposed this concept in the past, for obvious reasons, we have a far different situation today. Like it or not, the industry will have to come up with a much cleaner-burning and probably lead-free fuel or alternative power sources will inevitably be developed. The State of California is now buying automobiles powered with bottled gas. Battery-powered automobiles (we had some years ago) are being considered again. Some say we should go back to the Stanley Steamer. And it has even been suggested, facetiously I am sure, that a 100-mile-long extension cord could be hooked up to the dream car of the future.

Alcohol is also made from petroleum products. This certainly gives the petroleum industry a major stake in the development of alcohol-gasoline fuels. Moreover, the petroleum reserves of the United States are neither unlimited nor renewable. Alcohol from grain is, of course, a renewable resource.

Although industry now has the capacity for producing considerable amounts of alcohol, a mammoth expansion would be required to convert three or four billion bushels of grain into this form each year. Several hundred plants, costing several billions of dollars, would have to be constructed. If the petroleum industry shifts from tetraethyl-leaded gasolines to the more costly refining processes necessary to produce higher-octane, non-leaded products, the transition would be at least as expensive.

The President of Union Oil Company says on this:

"Several years will be required to construct the needed new refining equipment. The total capital cost of installing new refining equipment nationwide to add 7 octane numbers is estimated to be between \$5 billion and \$6 billion. Because of limited construction capacity, it is impossible for all major refineries to add such needed equipment in a

time schedule that may be required by law"

So, I ask, why not go the other route? Why not start now with production of the alcohol-gasoline blend?

The implications of this for the Nation's farm economy would be enormous. For years we have sought to obtain new industries for rural areas. Certainly it would make sense to locate alcohol extraction plants where the grain is produced.

If we "freed up" our millions of retired acres for all-out grain production, both the farm economy and the total economy would get a much-needed boost. It would take more machinery, more gasoline (blended with alcohol). More fertilizer, more labor, more transportation, more of everything that goes into farm production and the transportation and utilization of agricultural commodities.

It would open the way for tremendous increases in the development of higher-yielding wheats and other grains which might not meet present-day milling standards but which would be entirely suitable for conversion into alcohol. Today there is advanced experimentation on a durum wheat-rye cross—Triticale—which has tremendous yield potential, as much as 200 bushels per acre on a dryland farm, according to some reports.

There is no doubt in my mind that by putting our idle acres to work and, at the same time, utilizing more fully the higher-yielding grain varieties, the United States could easily produce the extra three billion or more bushels needed to meet motor vehicle fuel requirements. There would still be enough—a safe margin—to meet both domestic and export requirements.

As of January 31, 1970, Commodity Credit Corporation had under price support loan and under actual ownership, 1,762,399,000 bushels of feed grains and 862 million bushels of wheat. Both of these totals are up substantially over a year earlier.

These quantities of grain are not all to be counted as surpluses. Conservatively, though, I would say about half of the totals could be so classified. In other words, we have more than enough grain available now to swamp existing facilities for converting grain to alcohol. By the time additional facilities were available, farm production could easily be increased sufficiently to keep them operating at full capacity.

I have received a few letters from people who say it is criminal to talk about converting grain to motor vehicle fuel at a time when there are millions of hungry people in the United States and hundreds of millions throughout the world. If this be true, then it is also immoral to impose production restrictions on American farmers today. What I am proposing, essentially, is a program under which we would continue to supply at least as much food grain to our own people and to those around the world as we are today. The grain for alcohol would come from increased American production—from our idle acres and the higher-yielding crop varieties.

Then there is the question of cost—both to the government and to the user of the alcohol-gasoline blend. When he "offsets" I mentioned are cranked into the equation, it seems to me that the government would gain, both in farm program savings and in the incalculable benefits which would result from cleaner air.

From the motorist's point of view, I believe a blend of 10 or 12 per cent of grain alcohol with gasoline will cost him little more than the higher octane, non-leaded gasoline he will be using in the future if the decision is made to rely entirely on what the Union Oil Company calls "more severe refining processes." If the "offsets" are fully weighed, it may well be less.

In fact, the motorist using the alcohol-gasoline blend would receive as a bonus, in-

stead of green stamps or a free candy bar, actual dollar savings through the longer and more trouble-free operation of his automobile engine.

It seems to me that the transition to the alcohol-gasoline blend could be made in an orderly way, without disrupting the petroleum industry, the automotive industry or the farm economy. We could start now, in a limited way, with what we have available. There is time to smooth out the bumps in the road ahead before we get there. It will take some planning, some ingenuity and some determination. But it can be done.

I am encouraged by the support I have received not only from the public but also from Members of Congress, scientists and others concerned with the air pollution problem. It is time to bring this dream, so long held by American farmers, to reality.

STATEMENT BY DWIGHT L. MILLER

Mr. Chairman, I am Dwight L. Miller, Assistant Director, Northern Regional Research Laboratory of the Agricultural Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, in Peoria, Illinois. I am a Chemical Engineering graduate of the University of Illinois, and had over 20 years experience in the fermentation and chemical industries before joining the Department of Agriculture 12 years ago. Our division conducts utilization research on corn, wheat, grain, sorghum and other grains.

In the past two or three years we have had increasing interest and inquiries concerning up-to-date information on the production of ethyl alcohol from cereal grains and its use in motor fuels. About a year ago I was requested to bring together the studies and developments and prepare a report on "Industrial Alcohol from Wheat," for presentation at the Sixth National Wheat Utilization Research Conference, Oakland, California, Nov. 5-7, 1969.

Since I presented the report in November there has recently been fuller recognition of motor fuel as an air pollutant, and the overabundant supply of cereal grains has resulted in greatly renewed interest in the whole subject of alcohol's use in motor fuels.

I will present the highlights of my research report and then be glad to answer any questions relating to the technical processes of producing alcohol from grain and some of the aspects of utilization of that alcohol in a motor fuel mixture.

Ethyl alcohol in the United States is produced both by fermentation and by chemical synthesis. Cereal grains, sugar, molasses, and other natural products, are the major raw materials for the fermentation. Beverage alcohol must by law come from these raw materials. Synthetic alcohol is produced from petroleum-based oils or gasses. Industrial fermentation alcohol and synthetic alcohol are chemically identical. The present annual United States industrial (nonbeverage) alcohol market is about 300 million gallons and the alcohol is almost entirely synthetic because it is lower in cost.

Practically all natural products high in starch or sugar could be used to produce industrial ethyl alcohol by fermentation. Corn and sugar byproducts (molasses) have been selected in the past because of low cost. Wheat, sorghum, and other materials, have had relatively minor use. However, during World War II (1942-1945), when alcohol need was critical for synthetic rubber production and cost was of lesser importance, about 250 million bushels of wheat were used for alcohol production. The alcohol yield from all these materials is theoretically in direct ratio to the contained starch or sugar per unit weight. In practice, the chemical and physical properties of each natural raw material affect the production to some degree. The most important byproduct of the grain fermentation operation is residual, distillers

grains, containing all of the original ingredients, except the starch or sugar. This byproduct has a protein content of 20 to 30 percent depending on the type of grain and its original protein content. This high protein byproduct has been used as animal feed.

Synthetic alcohol has developed since 1929 and now supplies the industrial alcohol market. Most of this alcohol is produced from ethylene obtained from petroleum and natural gas. Newer synthetic alcohol plants are relatively large with minimum annual capacities in the order of 50 million gallons.

Ethyl alcohol has had use in some countries as a component of motor fuels. In the United States petroleum products have generally been the least expensive fuel and therefore furnish the best motor fuel. It is possible to use gasoline-alcohol blends in present engines with acceptable performance. A blend should contain at least 10 per cent (by volume) alcohol to prevent handling and separation problems and must be anhydrous alcohol. Lower proportions of alcohol might be used, but would necessitate dual or more expensive carburetor systems.

The basic problem hindering this utilization has been unfavorable economics. Legislative action that would require the use of alcohol blends with alcohol produced from cereal grain (i.e., wheat) would be required for a significant volume motor fuel alcohol market. Through such legislative action, all motor fuel could be required to contain at least 10 per cent ethyl alcohol, produced from United States cereal grain (types and ratio could be specified) in U.S. plants. The market for grain created by such legislation would be very large. The annual U.S. consumption of automobile fuels is about 85 billion gallons. Over 3 billion bushels of cereal grains would be required annually to produce the 8.5 billion gallons of anhydrous alcohol for a 10-percent blend.

Capital investment for the approximately 500 fermentation plants necessary to produce this amount of alcohol would be in the order of \$6 billion. Practically all the fermentation plants would be new.

About 25 million tons of high protein byproduct distillers grains would also be obtained. The effects of this quantity of byproducts on the animal feed market have not been evaluated. The feeding value of these distillers grains varies, according to F. B. Morrison's book, "Feeds and Feeding". According to Morrison, insufficient data are available on distillers grains from wheat for comparison, although Morrison implies that the wheat product should be comparable to that from corn.

The effect of alcohol blends on motor fuel costs depends on many factors, including grain prices, conversion costs, byproduct feed values, profits, and other expenses. Assuming such a program were legislated, the alcohol blend would add about one cent per gallon plus the grain cost. Grain at \$1.00 per bushel would add 4 cents per gallon, making a total increase cost of five cents per gallon. The effect of grain prices on the alcohol cost is shown in the attached table. In all cases, the costs do not include any allowance for profits, packaging, and sales expense.

Tetraethyl lead (TEL) is now used in more than 97 percent of all motor fuels. Its proposed removal for pollution control will require major revisions in petroleum refining procedures, automotive engine design, and fuel blending. The economics of producing the engines and lead-free fuels is now a major and unresolved subject. Increased fuel costs by refining, as reported in several journals, have been in the 2.5 to 4.0 cents per gallon range and the required capital expenditures have been estimated at \$4.2 to \$6.0 billion. The use of an alcohol-gasoline mixture in automobiles would be a lead-free fuel that would eliminate lead pollution from auto emissions.

Ethyl alcohol could have an important role also in controlling hydrocarbon pollution from automobile emissions but apparently would not completely eliminate pollution from this source. The Southwest Research Institute reported (Air Pollution Control Association Meeting, Houston, Texas, June 1964) that 25 percent alcohol-gasoline blends resulted in average reductions in exhaust hydrocarbons of 25 to 30 percent; and a few individual tests showed greater reductions. More complete information on modern engines is needed for definite conclusions.

For maximum reduction of pollution from exhaust emission, catalytic converters to remove the products of incomplete combustion appear to be a favored approach. Tests with catalytic converters have indicated the lead in present gasoline that passes through the exhaust poisons the catalyst and destroys its ability to control hydrocarbon pollution. It is most probable that the combustion products of gasoline containing 10% alcohol would not poison the catalytic converter. These converters are being perfected by automobile manufacturers and scheduled to be installed on all cars in the future. Converters would presumably last much longer with the alcohol mixture than with the present lead additive. This prospect could be substantiated through research in a relatively short period of time and should be initiated immediately if plans are made for the use of alcohol-gasoline blends in motor fuels.

EFFECT OF WHEAT COST ON ETHYL ALCOHOL COST

[Basis: 2.6 gal. 200 proof alcohol/bushel/

Wheat price/bushel (dollars)	Alcohol cost/gallon, cents		
	Wheat	Conversion	Total base cost
1.00.....	38.5	21	59.5
1.25.....	48.0	21	69.0
1.50.....	57.7	21	78.7

Note: These costs do not include profits, packaging and sales, expenses.

BYELORUSSIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, today in the State of Byelorussia officials will celebrate the observance of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin, former head of the Soviet Government.

I would like to convey to my colleagues, however, what Lenin and his policies have meant to the Byelorussian people as expressed to me by Mr. John Kosiak, president of the Byelorussian Congress Committee of America. He states:

By introduction of his own totalitarian communist regime in Byelorussia, Lenin deprived Byelorussian people of all its human rights and freedoms, the rights recognized by the Western World at this time, and proclaimed earlier by the Byelorussian Democratic Republic. Those rights being: freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of press, freedom of association, freedom of worship, freedom of economical activity, freedom to elect one's own government, freedom to choose one's habitat and travel abroad, immunity of home, independence of judiciary, etc. . . Freedom of activity was given to the Bolshevik Party only, which was executing orders from the central government in Moscow. The leadership of this party

in Byelorussia was composed of non-Byelorussians. It was a reliable instrument for domination over the Byelorussian nation.

The last 50 years in Byelorussian history have indeed been tragic. This country has seen the annihilation of over 6 million of her inhabitants, the systematic Russianization, deportation, and colonization of her people.

Mr. Speaker, the designation of today, March 25, 1970, as the day to honor Lenin in Byelorussia, is certainly a crowning insult. For today among the Byelorussian people is commemorated as the 52d anniversary of independence. It honors that day in 1918 when these wonderful people at last tasted the freedom we take for granted. It was so short lived, and yet there continues to be hope among the Byelorussians that they may one day again join the family of free Nations. I would like to join my colleagues and Byelorussians everywhere in marking this 52d anniversary of independence. May my Byelorussian friends know I support them in their struggle. Let us hope and pray that they will once again set their country free.

NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S GOALS FOR THE COUNTRY

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I am today placing in the RECORD what I consider to be the best statement of the Nixon administration's goals for the country which I have yet seen.

This statement is an address delivered by the Secretary of Labor, the Honorable George P. Shultz, before the management conference of the Graduate School of Business of the University of Chicago.

The Secretary, who used to be the dean of the Graduate School of Business at Chicago, was on familiar turf. It was not necessarily pro-Nixon turf. It was an ideal time and place for a high official of the administration to set forth the goals and fundamental operations of the Nixon administration. This the Secretary did with his customary style, logic, and clarity.

By having the central, National Government set standards and the State and local governments carry out operations, it is the purpose of the "new federalism" of the Nixon administration to achieve, in Secretary Shultz' words: "New standards of fairness, new respect for diversity, and a new spirit of confidence in our system of government."

Mr. Speaker, I commend this eloquent address by Secretary Shultz to every Member:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF LABOR GEORGE P. SHULTZ

I don't think the Nixon Administration is being well enough criticized.

I did not say we weren't being criticized enough. I said not well enough. Here is what I mean:

In domestic as well as in foreign affairs, the President is pursuing a strategy. You may not agree with his strategy; but I think you owe it to yourselves to come to grips with that strategy, to try to understand this Administration's philosophy, so you can criticize it fairly and constructively.

One of the clichés of this Administration is a phrase taken from professional football—"game plan." Whenever I make a proposal, or whenever we come up with a new tactic, we have to show how it fits in the overall game plan.

Today, I would like to go beyond the confines of being a spokesman in the field of labor, to try to explain what our Administration game plan is. There are some who will call it madness, but even they will have to admit there is some method in it.

Let me begin by suggesting what our method is *not*. We are not professional zig-zaggers. We are not trying to sell liberal principles with conservative rhetoric, or vice versa. We are not trying to heal the nation's differences by "splitting the difference."

Our preference for a theoretical underpinning shows in many ways. At a Washington Redskins football game last season, there was a blatantly bad call by the referee on pass interference. Edward Bennett Williams, owner of the team, yelled "Bad call!" Former Chief Justice Warren, sitting next to him, said in a dignified way "Poor judgment." And Henry Kissinger rose to his feet, shook his fist at the referee, and shouted "On what theory?"

We ask ourselves "on what theory?" all the time. The theory, or political philosophy, that has emerged after one year has been called the New Federalism. I submit to you that it is more than a catch phrase; it is a new approach, one that has evolved from the national experience, one deserving careful analysis by thoughtful men.

To grasp the new approach, you have to cast out one of the basic measurements of political ideology—the idea of liberal versus conservative, the old political spectrum of left and right. It will be a wrench to set aside this familiar caliper, but it does not measure what is going on in government today.

That is because, in the past decade, liberals and conservatives found themselves using the same language in describing their common complaints.

Liberals were complaining that government was becoming unresponsive—that there was a greater need for local and citizen involvement. This sounded like the old conservative demand for decentralization.

Conservatives, on the other hand, were saying that our welfare system and our educational establishment were in need of fundamental reform, to correct the unfairness built in over three decades of trying to cure social ills. Liberals found little to argue about in that.

It was as if the nation had gone through a gigantic half-time and the old opponents had switched sides, each now marching on the other's former goal.

But the change is deeper than that. The change centered on a unique area of agreement. As a Labor Secretary, it is my job to discover areas of agreement in what appear to be positions of great dispute, and I can certainly see one here.

Liberals and conservatives agree on the need for a new fairness in American life. And hopefully, through this new sense of fairness we can achieve greater efficiency in the administration of domestic affairs.

Liberals and conservatives agree on the need for a selective decentralization of government.

Liberals and conservatives agree on a reform of our institutions that makes the setting of national standards a national affair and makes the detailed administration of government programs a very local affair.

The New Federalism broadens and deepens these areas of agreement. In essence, the New Federalism calls upon us to act as one nation in setting the standards of fairness, and then to act as congeries of communities in carrying out those standards. We are nationalizing equity as we localize control, while retaining a continued federal stewardship to insure that national standards are attained.

The best way to explain any theory is to cite examples. And the examples are there, in the field of labor and in many others.

Take welfare. A national sense of fairness says that a man who is working ought to make more than a man who is not working. A national common sense says that a working man who makes less than a man on welfare across the street will be inclined to stop working.

To introduce that element of fairness in our family assistance proposal, we aim to assist the working poor in a way that will always make it profitable to work.

But to permit diversity, to encourage localities and States to make their own decisions on the degree to which they want to help the less fortunate, we provide an income floor but no ceiling. It is up to the States and cities to administer large portions of this program consistent with national goals and to decide for themselves how much more they are able to do.

Thus, we have a *national minimum* on family assistance—as the President puts it, "no child is worth more in one State than in another," as far as the Federal government is concerned. At the same time, we have *local participation* in administration and local say-so on what more should be done. National fairness, local diversity.

Take manpower training, really a classic example of this New Federalism. On the national level, we recognize the need for training people for new and better jobs, and the need to fund this activity. But most labor markets are local in scope—this is where the action is and this is where the best judgment concerning the use of resources should be. The basic way we have proposed to handle this situation is to provide incentives for State and local government and private sponsors to get into the act—providing more money and more local control in specific stages, as localities develop the means to put these programs into action. Again, national fairness, local assumption of control.

Another example in the labor area—safety standards. Two million workers a year are injured on the job. On the Federal level the President's proposal would set up a national Occupational Safety and Health Board; its standards are to be adapted and administered by the States, as they demonstrate their capacity to take this over. The enforcement of safety standards is local, with national monitors. The Federal government pays 90% of the State's planning costs, then shares the administrative costs on a 50-50 basis. Again, national standards, local administration and enforcement, a reserve federal "clout."

Attaining our national goal of equal opportunity in employment is another example of the New Federalism. Where Federal funds are used, affirmative action can be used to eliminate discrimination in employment on the part of management or labor. In our Philadelphia Plan, we put this into practical action in the construction industry for the first time—and not without considerable controversy. But there is no necessity for the mechanical application of Federal standards if the local people can work out a strong agreement among themselves. In this case, as in so many others, there is no solution like a hometown solution—provided it works toward our national goal.

I could cite a dozen other examples of this New Federalist approach—in our environmental program, that sets anti-pollution

standards and provides for local enforcement and a sharing of the financing of treatment facilities; in tax policy, that removes seven million poor from the tax rolls and provides a greater incentive to start working; in our computerized job bank, that looks toward a national information system with local and regional participation and control.

In case after case, the pattern is clear—a concern for fairness as a nation, a concern for diversity as a people, a recognition of federal stewardship.

But while it is a clear pattern, it is not a simple one. You cannot label this "decentralization"—because the establishment of so many national standards, in so many fields, is a form of centralization. But this is done in a way that does not dehumanize and depersonalize government, resulting in alienated people and ineffective bureaucracy. It is done in a way that decentralizes administration and encourages local participation, bringing about the best of both worlds—fairness and citizen involvement. At least, that is what we are hoping to do.

By taking this tack, we hope to reestablish in the American people their faith in the responsiveness of their government to what they consider to be fair.

By following this method we call the New Federalism, we hope to reestablish self-reliance on the part of individuals and strength in the institutions of local and State government and voluntary agencies.

And by pursuing these principles, we hope to achieve a society more pluralistic in its operation and more equal in its opportunity. We do not believe that equality of opportunity is the enemy of diversity.

If we are successful with our philosophy—in actually bringing about this realignment of power between the levels of government, what sort of nation will we become?

We will no longer be divided by the fear of centralized domination and the personal alienation such domination always brings.

At the same time we will not be a nation where tranquility and calm and harmony reign supreme. A national nirvana is not in the cards for America.

We have seen what happens in the arena of labor relations when strikes and lockouts and sabotage are replaced by orderly grievance procedures. Labor and management do not become sweethearts; opposing economic forces do not merge their goals. What does happen, in the best of times, is that the force of the antagonism is channeled through an institution that permits progress for all the antagonists.

In the same way, under the New Federalism, the relatively poor will not lose their envy of the rich. The States will not lose their reluctance to part with power to either the local or national government. The federal bureaucracy will not lose its capacity for either initiative or inertia. Tensions will continue to exist, and indeed they should exist—provided we can build those institutions that channel these tensions into progress for all. We are not slicing a pie, we are building a cathedral. Productive tension, the modern descendant of "divine discontent," is the mortar we need to build it.

One job of government in the final third of this century is to encourage competition among the centers of power without allowing it to become cutthroat competition and without taking the easy way out toward the monopoly of centralization. To abolish all tension would be to lose our freedom; we intend to harness tension and make it productive.

On the basis of the examples I have given you this evening I believe you can discern a strategy that is being put into action. It may be helpful to those who like to plot our future moves, because the New Federalism approach of this Administration has built in to government not only credibility, but predictability. It will be useful in doing what I said

was needed at the beginning of my talk: in criticizing us about how well we do what we have set out to do.

The credo of the New Federalist, as I see it, is this:

We must act as one nation in determining national goals;

We must act as a federation of States and localities in meeting those goals, providing leeway for local option and individual diversity;

The Federal government and the courts must provide checks against any unfairness inflicted by local government, and local government must be able to provide checks against unfairness caused by national standards;

Power must be permitted to seek its own level of efficient response, flowing to that level of government closest to the people and willing and able to exercise it;

Local innovation and voluntary action must be aggressively encouraged, which limits the liability of the failure of worthwhile experiments and raises the chances of finding practical solutions;

We must reestablish a new respect for individual responsibility and personal freedom, recognizing that the dignity of work is the counterpart of human dignity.

The individual citizen must think and act on two levels: He must contribute to the determination of our national goals and then must involve himself locally in making those goals a reality where he lives.

This may not seem like a revolutionary credo, but if it is followed in our time, it could have the same revolutionary impact that followed the acceptance of the ideas of the original Federalists.

In spelling out the fundamental principles of a new approach to government, I have had to oversimplify. In actual operation, it is infinitely complex—far more complex, I submit, than a doctrinaire liberalism or conservatism.

These are some of the questions we face in putting these principles into practice:

What issues or problems lend themselves to national standards and which do not? For example, air and water pollution, crossing interstate lines, calls for a national approach—and an interstate highway system can hardly be developed on the basis of purely local initiative. On the other hand, a broad range of municipal and States services are better dealt with entirely at that level, assuming that these services can be adequately financed. That is what the President's proposed Revenue Sharing Plan is all about. Nevertheless, the question is a tough one and the answer is as tough, or perhaps complex, as the question itself.

Another complex question: How can we be sure, in the process of decentralization, that the local government can handle the job? To paraphrase a revolutionary slogan, decentralization without preparation is abdication. For example, we know it would be far more effective for local government to administer our manpower training programs. When you sit in Washington and pull the strings, you discover an awful lot of slack in almost every string. On the other hand—there's that phrase again—when you sit in Omaha and a Federal program is dumped in your lap, you are not likely to have the organization to make use of it effectively. What we have done in this situation is to set up a phased-in decentralization. Planning money is provided 90% by the Federal government; as soon as a State shows it has a plan to handle program administration, it gets administrative control of part of the program; as soon as that plan reaches a certain level of success, it earns a larger slice of control, until, at its own pace, it is ready to handle the entire administrative job.

Another complexity: How do we decentralize when local political boundaries make little economic sense? A labor market does

not live within a city limits, and a transportation system doesn't end at the county line. For this reason, in many cases we have been encouraging metropolitanism, or regional planning, in an effort to help make the political system fit the problems it is called on to meet, and not the other way around.

Let me conclude with a reference that illustrates in a different way the spirit of the New Federalism.

Those of you who are familiar with industrial relations know about "the Hawthorne effect." Some years ago, experiments were conducted at the Hawthorne Works of the Western Electric Company in Chicago. These experiments dealt with the effect of different physical variables on productivity. One of these variables was the intensity of the lighting. The workers were told that the light level of their work area would be raised to see if productivity increased. It was, and it did, to the accompaniment of much attention to the experiment and the workers involved. The light was increased some more, and again productivity rose. Then somebody had the bright—or dim—idea of telling them the lighting would be lowered to its original level and, surprisingly enough, productivity still rose. This experience led to the identification of the so-called "Hawthorne effect". The level of lighting wasn't nearly as important as the active participation and sense of importance of the workers in the experiment.

I have not told this story merely to revalidate my academic credentials. In government today, we are involving the people in an experiment to replace the deadening "Washington effect" with a constructive "Hawthorne effect". The very fact of our effort to try a new approach, a new experiment in government, involving the people in this experiment, should have a stimulating effect of its own and help make that experiment succeed.

That is what we, as a nation, are searching for. When this Administration is over—hopefully, in the year this nation reaches its 200th anniversary—we hope to have introduced new standards of fairness, new respect for diversity, and a new spirit of confidence in our system of government.

TO REDUCE U.S. TROOP STRENGTH IN EUROPE

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, it is no secret that our massive military commitments abroad and our corroding domestic economy are intimately enmeshed problems. Both questions have taken up much of our time in these Chambers. We have fretted over the nature of our military goals overseas—how many troops, what kind, what for? We have dredged for sources of money to fund vital programs at home while decrying the dollar drain abroad. How many times we have talked and harangued and agonized about these problems, and felt helpless to really deal with either one.

Solutions are obviously not easy. But a beginning is possible. I am introducing today a resolution which calls simply and forthrightly for a reduction in numbers of our troops permanently stationed in Europe. It is similar to Senate Resolution, S. 292, introduced by Sena-

MANSFIELD and cosponsored by 48 Senators.

The security of the North Atlantic community from now on must depend on the responsible efforts of all its members, no longer on a disproportionate burden—both military and economic—carried by the United States.

From a military standpoint, this resolution does not imply a weakening of our position in NATO, nor is it any form of abandonment of our allies. Our support is still complete. It means only, and rightly so, that it has come time for European nations, after two decades now strong and able, to assume a greater share of responsibility for their own defense.

From an economic standpoint as well, this resolution acknowledges the incredible drain on our balance of payments by military and personal expenditures—\$1.5 billion a year—into an already strong and growing European economy.

There is no justification at this stage of history, to have over a half-million troops, dependents and supportive personnel stationed in Europe. The political climate has considerably warmed from the time of our initial deployment. Transportation technology alone, not to mention advanced weaponry, has made such a massive deployment of men and supplies both unnecessary and untenable.

We must begin now to redeploy our troops to domestic bases from where, if they were needed anywhere in the world, they could be quickly transported. Not only would this greatly reduce the balance-of-payments deficit abroad, but could, with rational organization, pave the way for large total manpower cutbacks throughout the services. And I repeat, with rational organization, such a move would not at all have to weaken our international position, or threaten our ability to fulfill military commitments.

The point is, rational organization in the military, as in Government, does not come about overnight. And we have been too long overextended, and I might say, exploited on the European front. The sheer weight of our military contingent there is now not only obsolete, it has become a hindrance to our own national progress.

That meaningful planning for this European troop reduction might finally begin, I ask my colleagues to join in support of this resolution. I insert the text of the "sense of the House" resolution at this point in the RECORD:

H. RES. 894

Resolution to express the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to troop deployment in Europe

Whereas the foreign policy and military strength of the United States are dedicated to the protection of our national security, the preservation of the liberties of the American people; and the maintenance of world peace; and

Whereas the United States, in implementing these principles, has maintained large contingents of American Armed Forces in Europe, together with air and naval units, for twenty years; and

Whereas the security of the United States and its citizens remains interwoven with the security of other nations signatory to the North Atlantic Treaty as it was when the treaty was signed, but the condition of our

European allies, both economically and militarily, has appreciably improved since large contingents of forces were deployed; and

Whereas the means and capacity of all members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to provide forces to resist aggression has significantly improved since the original United States deployment; and

Whereas the commitment by all members of the North Atlantic Treaty is based upon the full cooperation of all treaty partners in contributing materials and men on a fair and equitable basis, but such contributions have not been forthcoming from all other members of the organization; and

Whereas relations between Eastern Europe and Western Europe were tense when the large contingents of United States forces were deployed in Europe but this situation has now undergone substantial change and relations between the two parts of Europe are now characterized by an increasing two-way flow of trade, people, and other peaceful exchange; and

Whereas the present policy of maintaining large contingents of United States forces and their dependents on the European Continent also contributes further to the fiscal and monetary problems of the United States: Now, therefore, be it resolved, that—

(1) it is the sense of the House of Representatives that, with changes and improvements in the techniques of modern warfare and because of the vast increase in capacity of the United States to wage war and to move military forces and equipment by air, a substantial reduction of United States forces permanently stationed in Europe can be made without adversely affecting either our resolve or ability to meet our commitment under the North Atlantic Treaty.

POSTAL WORKERS AND THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION

HON. ROBERT N. C. NIX

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. NIX. Mr. Speaker, the Philadelphia delegation feels that it is imperative that the public know its disagreement with what is being done to postal workers by the Nixon administration and we take our stand in these words.

We regret that the postal strike occurred, only because it is contrary to law. At the same time, we admire the courage of postal workers who believed they had no other recourse but to strike in order to bring their indecent wages to the public's attention.

Postal workers earn approximately \$2,000 less than garbage collectors each year in many of our major cities.

We think it is important that the public know that President Nixon caused this strike when he threatened to veto any pay raise legislation for postal or Federal workers. He did say in December that he would agree to a small postal pay increase for some postal employees if employee unions would support his semiprivate postal corporation. This meant that he demanded that postal unions reverse their position before Congress and bring pressure to bear on their friends in Congress regardless of the fact that they opposed turning over a Government agency to a board of directors appointed by Nixon.

Mr. Nixon in his desire to turn the Post Office Department over to a semi-private corporation, attempted to blackmail the Congress and postal unions.

His threatened veto of any decent pay legislation delayed any action on pay legislation for 4 months by a conference committee of the House and Senate until today, March 25, 1970. A decent pay bill, H.R. 13000, had passed both Houses of Congress in mid-December 1969. Only the Nixon veto threat made action by a House-Senate conference a worthless act. Now the Congress has decided to pass a pay bill regardless of a Presidential veto.

It is not necessary to talk about the injustice of Mr. Nixon's threats and acts. It is apparent.

Mr. Nixon's answer up until this time to the postal strike has been to send troops to New York City. A soldier who was working in the post office in New York described this act as a token gesture.

It is a token gesture standing for the employee-management policy of a President who is neither sympathetic or concerned about employees of the Federal Government.

We urge that the Congress pass H.R. 13000 delayed this past 4 months by President Nixon's threats. If he vetoes a decent pay bill, we will fight to override that veto. All of American labor is being challenged by President Nixon. He has shown once and for all his attitude toward American labor, through his actions against postal employees. If he is successful against employees of the Government he leads, he will set an example for corporate executives of intransigence that will lead to the worst work stoppages since the Second World War.

We must win. We will win together. The American people understand the plight of postal workers. Let President Nixon do his worst, while we do our best.

THE PROBLEM OF FOREIGN IMPORTS

HON. DURWARD G. HALL

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I have long been concerned about the impact of foreign shoe imports on the economy of the American shoe industry.

Imported shoes, made by low-paid workers earning as little as 60 cents an hour, have increased their share of the U.S. market to nearly 30 percent. This poses a threat to our entire shoe industry, including the jobs of thousands.

This is just one example, of the harm to one industry, caused by an almost unrestricted flow of low cost and in some instances foreign national subsidized imported merchandise.

I am sure that many other American industries are feeling these same pressures. I have long felt the reciprocal trade and tariff agreement as amended by us, delegated our responsibility, and was the "root of all evil."

To those Members who are concerned about the whole problem of foreign imports, I offer the following article by O. R. Strackbein, president of the Nationwide Committee on Import-Export Policy.

The article follows:

REMARKS OF O. R. STRACKBEIN, PRESIDENT, NATIONWIDE COMMITTEE ON IMPORT-EXPORT POLICY

The foreign trade policy of this country has been running on a single one-way track for thirty-five years. The so-called Reciprocal Trade Program was first enacted in 1934. Under it our average tariff level has been reduced upward of 80%.

Far-reaching economic changes have occurred in this country and in other parts of the world during this long period of time. Yet the national trade policy continues with very little change, thus ignoring the altered conditions that have in the meantime greatly affected international competition.

The President seeks further tariff-cutting authority even though our average tariff is less than 20% of what it was thirty-five years ago, when the tariff-cutting was inaugurated. The full cuts agreed to under the Kennedy Round still have 60% of the way to go before their final installment is completed. Therefore the full effects of these cuts have not made themselves felt. Why then extend further authority now to cut what will be left of the tariff in 1972?

The principal economic changes that have transformed the competitive standing of this country in point of both imports and exports in recent years can no longer be successfully concealed, as they have been over the years by false governmental reporting of trade statistics. The competitive tide has been running so strongly against us in recent years that efforts to conceal our weak international competitive standing have come a cropper. Today the handsome trade surplus that measured from \$4 to \$7 billion annually until the past two years has all but disappeared despite the padded statistical device used by the Department of Commerce under which it included Foreign Aid shipments as exports.

The inclusion of goods paid for by the American taxpayer as exports made it possible to point to our trade policy as a great success whereas we were falling increasingly behind in our competitive exports. At the same time the official statistics showed our imports at their foreign value without including ocean freight and other charges. This practice is contrary to that of nearly all the other leading trading nations. The practice understates the actual costs of our imports by some 10%.

Today what appears to be a trade surplus of the magnitude of about a billion dollars is really a deficit in terms of competitive goods. This deficit is in the magnitude of \$4 to \$5 billion.

By hiding or ignoring these uncomfortable facts, the present Administration is able, no less than the preceding Administration was able, to propose further tariff reductions, as if other countries needed further inducement to increase their sales in this country. That no such inducement was or is necessary may be concluded from the upward surge of imports in recent years, especially in the form of manufactured goods.

One of our heaviest export items consists of machinery. From 1960-68 our exports of this item doubled (moving from \$4.4 billion in 1960 to \$8.8 billion in 1968). Imports of machinery, by contrast, increased over 5-fold, (moving from \$0.7 billion in 1960 to \$3.7 billion in 1968). This still left a high margin in favor of exports, but the trend is unmistakable, and it has been running very rapidly. Indeed machinery, including the

sophisticated products of electronic origin, together with chemicals and aircraft, represent the only important surplus items in exports. An astoundingly wide variety of other products are incurring deficits in varying degrees. The public is little aware of our very weak competitive position.

Such buoyancy as our exports show today is virtually confined to the narrow sector just mentioned. In 1968 we enjoyed an export surplus in these few products of \$9.3 billion. Little wonder that some of these industries support the continuing tariff-cutting program!

Compare this record with that of the products classified by the Bureau of the Census as "Other Manufactured Goods." In that group, which includes iron and steel mill products, textiles, clothing, paper and manufactures, rubber manufactures, metal manufactures, photographic supplies, glassware, pottery, boots and shoes, clocks and watches, bicycles, toys, sporting goods, motorcycles, etc., a deficit instead of a surplus was shown in 1968. This deficit was one of \$5.473 billion. As recently as 1960 this deficit was only \$760 million or about 1/7 of its 1968 magnitude. (Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1969.)

At the same time our surplus in the machinery, chemicals, aircraft exports grew only a little over 60% from 1960-68.

This simply means that while we had a moderate increase in our trade surplus in the front-running group we suffered a disastrous increase in our trade deficit in the much broader group of "Other Manufactured Goods."

These realities of our changing trade trends are wholly ignored by the thrust of our continuing trade policy.

In 1968 the number of workers employed in turning out the "Other Manufactured Goods" was nearly 2 million higher than those engaged in manufacturing machinery, chemicals and aircraft. Yet it was in the former group that we suffered the heavy trade deficit. A deficit of this magnitude (i.e., of over \$5.4 billion), having widened since 1960 so dramatically (seven-fold), reflects a sharp deterioration of our competitive position.

Evidently the trade advisers of the White House have failed to bring these facts to the President's attention. Otherwise the President could not propose further tariff reductions.

Beyond the trade trend in recent years represented by the statistics cited here, which pose a threat of disaster to industries that employ over 7½ million workers, another shift in our trade mix has taken place. It too carries ominous implications. In 1950 only 27½% of our imports consisted of manufactured goods. During the 1936-40 period the share was \$32.8%. In 1968 the share was approximately 65%. In other words, our imports have shifted heavily toward goods incorporating a full complement of labor application. The impact on unemployment is therefore twice as great as formerly. In this country employment in manufacturing is of a ratio of about 3½ to 1 in relation to employment in agriculture, mining, fishing and lumbering, which produce our raw materials. Our imports today therefore offer a sharper threat to our employment than in the past.

Measured in relation to exports of all other countries American exports, including foreign aid, have lost ground in recent years. This means simply that exports of other countries have expanded more rapidly than U.S. exports. In turn this suggests that their goods are more competitively priced in world markets. In 1960 our share of world exports was 15%; in 1967 it was 14.5%. Had our exports in 1967 enjoyed the same proportion of world exports as in 1960 we would have exported \$4.6 billion more in 1967 than we did export, or \$35.8 billion instead of \$31.2

billion. (See United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1968.)

The irrefutable fact is that we are in a weak competitive position in world markets and in our own market *vis a vis* imports.

The trend since 1960 is unmistakable. A trade policy that was based on competitive conditions as they existed before 1960 is no longer in focus. It is unrealistic.

What does our weak competitive position suggest with respect to our trade policy?

The problem of import competition would be more acute than it is were it not for the \$30 billion annual boost to our economy provided by our Viet Nam involvement. Since our tariff has been cut to an ineffective level without present hope of reversal some other instrument for control of our market-and-employment erosion attributable to imports must be provided.

The establishment of import ceilings with a backstop of import quotas as provided in the Fair International Trade bill, represents both a reasonable and a moderate and effective approach. That bill provides for expansion of imports in proportion to domestic consumption, and in most instances, calls for acceptance of the attained level of imports.

It has been introduced in the Senate by the Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and in the House by over 45 Members, including four Committee Chairmen.

Enactment of this legislation would provide assurance that imports, despite their cost advantage resulting from lower wages, will not be allowed to run wild and thus disrupt industry after industry. Instead of relying on first aid ministrations in the form of adjustment assistance, the injury to our employment and industrial expansion would be controlled ahead of time. Imports would not be awarded the right of eminent domain in our market but would be given the opportunity to grow in proportion to domestic consumption.

We face an opportunity to adopt a trade policy that would achieve the undoubted benefits of world trade without incurring its unfair and destructive impact on a widening front.

PRESIDENT OF THE CHICAGO BOARD OF TRADE SUPPORTS LIBERALIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, President Henry H. Wilson of the Chicago Board of Trade is widely respected as an expert on international trade.

His views on agricultural trade, as reported in the Journal of Commerce on Tuesday, February 17, 1970, should be of interest to all Members of Congress. The article follows:

LIBERALIZING OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE, END OF FARMING PROTECTIONISM URGED

(By Henry H. Wilson)

CHICAGO.—The agribusiness leaders, opinion makers, and politically influential men of the world have a responsibility to liberalize international trade and to end agricultural protectionism.

That is the opinion of Henry H. Wilson, president of the Chicago Board of Trade, world's largest commodities exchange, where 80 per cent of all world grain futures are traded.

"The agricultural sector of our own country has always been in the forefront of the movement to liberalize our trade policies.

This is readily understood when one looks at the impact of exports on agricultural products throughout the United States."

EXPORTS PROVIDE EMPLOYMENT

Every state in the United States, with the exception of Alaska, exports agricultural products. Production of one out of every four crop land acres is exported. Exports provide employment for one out of every eight farm workers and account for 17 cents out of the farmer's market dollar.

"We have found from time to time, that such a liberalization policy may have a self-destructive effect—but only in the short run," Mr. Wilson said. "Over the long term, a free trade policy has been most effective on political and economic levels at home and abroad."

Looking at the Japanese-American grain trade policy, Mr. Wilson said: "It is common knowledge that, while the United States' exports to Japan have increased over the past decade, Japan's exports to the U.S. have increased at an even greater rate. The result has been a balance of trade surplus in favor of Japan of about \$1.4 billion during 1968, and the surplus in 1969 was even greater.

"REASONS FOR TRADE DEFICIT

"One of the reasons for the large U.S. trade deficit is that agricultural sales to Japan in 1968 were down from the prior year, totaling approximately \$900 million. This is, of course, of particular concern to the agribusiness community.

"In 1968, agricultural sales totalled 32 per cent of all U.S. exports to Japan and recent reports established by the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry indicate that Japan's need for agricultural imports will continue to rise," he said.

"This is due to the fact that in Japan there are now 100 million people living on a land area smaller than that of the state of Montana and that this land is only 15 per cent arable. These reports indicate that, by 1977, the rise in import needs will include 86 per cent more soybeans, about 22 per cent more wheat, 67 per cent more feed grains, and sharp increases in many other products. The increase expectations are due, in part, to a higher intake of animal-protein foods.

JAPAN'S MEAT CONSUMPTION

"Still, Japan's per capita meat and poultry consumption remains below 25 pounds a year—near the average for all of East Asia, but far below that of Western Europe and of the United States," he added.

He explained that, by comparison, the average American consumed 228 pounds of meat and poultry last year.

"If Japan's per capita meat consumption were raised just to the 31 pound per capita average in Taiwan alone, an additional 825 thousand tons of meat would be required. At existing grain-meat rations, Japan would need approximately 4.7 million tons of feed grain. It would be, of course, presumptuous of us to ask the Japanese to 'eat more meat,' but that may well be a natural response to the Japanese unparalleled real per capita growth," he said.

GROWTH IN JAPAN

In 1967-68 that growth in Japan was 12½ per cent. Japan's increased livestock and poultry industry activity has been only one result, he said.

All these factors combined to support an estimate that Japanese grain import needs by 1985 could be more than double those in 1966, which were 11 million tons. And, if trade conditions were to remain constant until 1985, our supply of grain to Japan would double, as well, benefiting our agribusiness outlook, he said.

"The fact is, of course, that conditions rarely remain so constant, and the United States is faced with stiffening competition from other countries to supply Japan's needs.

FEED GRAIN EXPORT MARKET

"In recent years, the United States has held 50 per cent of the world's feed grain export market. Our share declined last year with exports at a level of only 18.2 million short tons—out of total world exports of 44 million tons. The export picture would be much brighter except for the over-supply of wheat in the world," Mr. Wilson said.

Carryover stocks of wheat in the five principal exporting nations totaled about 2 billion bushels at the end of the 1968-69 marketing year—an increase of some 620 million bushels from the previous season. This is the third straight year that world stocks have increased.

"The oversupply of wheat in the world is creating a multitude of problems in the international wheat trade. There has been price-cutting by all exporters and the United States has had to make adjustments in its own pricing under the International Grains Agreement.

"Complicating the wheat trade situation has been the fact that the EEC is providing 50 cents a bushel to subsidize greater feed-use of wheat. This subsidization has cut sharply into their traditional grain imports. In fact, feed manufacturers in some countries have begun to substitute cheap wheat rather than corn or sorghum for feed," Mr. Wilson said.

He indicated that soybean production has had tremendous growth in the U.S. for the past 15 years, due in large part to the many new uses found for soybean products.

In Illinois alone, the harvested acreage of soybeans has increased in 15 years from around 4 million acres to around 6½ million acres.

GOVERNMENT'S POLICY

"Our government's policy has been to encourage this growth with price supports, and in 1966 the price support was established at \$2.50 a bushel. This proved an unrealistically high price support, and soybeans lost potential markets to competitive products," he said.

"A decision was made in 1969 to lower the price support and make the price more competitive, a long-term benefit to soybean farmers. The anticipated result of this reduction for soybeans will be that, during the present year, 100 per cent of the crop will be utilized, whereas two years ago, only 87 per cent of the crop was utilized," Mr. Wilson said.

He feels that a free international trade is essential for our country's soybean market, and the price support reduction of last year should further stimulate utilization.

33 CENTS PER BUSHEL LEVY

"With the hope that the advantage of our lower price support could be passed on to consumers throughout the free world, it is very important that other governments remove their levies on soybeans. Returning again to our example, Japan has such a levy of 33 cents per bushel," he said, adding:

"During the Kennedy Round negotiation, under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, such levies were under discussion and Japan obligated herself to remove half of the levy by 1971. It would be advantageous to all if even more of the levy were removed, and if other countries followed suit.

"In order, then, for a truly free international market to exist, it would be necessary for all countries of the free world to take two vital steps: First, subsidization of agricultural products should be reduced where possible. Secondly, import levies should be lowered to the point that exporting of grains and feed would be stimulated."

REVISED REGULATIONS

Steps by the U.S. government to ease free international trade are already underway, and the U.S. Department of Commerce re-

cently revised its regulations to eliminate the requirement that applications for licenses to export agricultural commodities to Communist Bloc nations in Eastern Europe must include a statement that the sale of such commodities does not include barter.

Late last year, Mr. Wilson said, the Department of Agriculture added Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary to the list of countries to which agricultural commodities may be exported under the barter program. This revision had no meaning until the Commerce Department provided that licenses would be granted on exports to these countries under barter arrangements.

"This step in freeing restrictions on trade in grain and other agricultural commodities with the nations of Eastern Europe is a modest one," Mr. Wilson said. "But it is a step in the right direction. A greater step, taken by many countries appears to be unrealistically optimistic at this time, but there can be no doubt that all countries participating in such a program would benefit greatly."

"The steps recommended here must be enforced by our own nation, before we can ask the cooperation of others, and leaders of the U.S. agribusiness community must first deal with our own government to both reduce the burden of other nations from which we are importing and to lessen the assistance to our farmers, in order to put them in a more competitive situation in the free world trade," he added.

JUDICIAL QUALIFICATIONS

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I have been deeply disappointed in the continued delay and apparent lack of action by the California State Judicial Qualifications Commission in considering the serious allegations of improper conduct and gross ethnic discrimination made against Judge Gerald S. Chargin of the Superior Court in Santa Clara County, Calif.

The allegations arose as a result of statements made by Judge Chargin at a juvenile court hearing held in San Jose, Calif., of September 2, 1969.

According to the court reporter's official transcript of the hearing, which I have had an opportunity to review, Judge Chargin's remarks from the bench amounted to what can only be called an outrageous and insulting ethnic slur against the entire Mexican American community in the United States.

I have communicated repeatedly to the chairman of the Judicial Qualifications Commission to protest in the strongest terms possible the intemperate bigotry and bias shown by Judge Chargin, and to urge his immediate removal from judicial office as having disqualified himself from continuing to sit on the bench.

The inexcusable and offensive language used by Judge Chargin, which I will not dignify by repeating in this forum, is simply unacceptable to the people of this country, and has no place whatsoever in a civilized court of law.

His remarks attempt to perpetuate profound misunderstanding about the Mexican American community, its rich cultural heritage, its highest aspirations,

and its many significant contributions to American life.

In my opinion, Judge Chargin stands convicted by his own words as clearly unfit to serve in any judicial capacity, and he should be removed from the bench forthwith.

IT IS ESSENTIAL IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST TO REDUCE INTEREST RATES NOW

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, the people of America are pleading for Federal action to reduce interest rates, and although it is never easy to predict the judgment of history, Congress must take action now. There can be little doubt that economic historians of the future will look back upon 1969 as a year of the most painful inflation since World War II and the Korean war. In some respects it was even more serious than the inflations of the latter 1940's and early 1950's. This was particularly true with respect to the staggering increase in interest rates. As the Economic Report of the President coldly sets forth, page 35:

In fact interest rates did soar in 1969. By the end of 1969, most interest rates had climbed around 4 percentage points above their 1965 level. One must consult records for the Civil War and earlier to find comparable interest rates. And the steepness of the advance, on long-term as well as short-term securities, may well have been unprecedented.

Paradoxical as it may appear, these high interest rates can be considered in part as contributing toward inflation, and in part as a weapon to combat it. To the extent that high interest rates effectively shut off certain segments of the economy, such as housing, from ready access to the money market, their demand for funds were of course curtailed. However, segments of the economy which had reason to believe that they could profitably push up prices even more than the hike in interest rates, those with monopolistic power, or those with a virtually guaranteed market, could take advantage of the higher interest rates, at the expense of the economy as a whole.

That high interest rates have, thus far, not had any appreciable effect in slowing down the rise in consumer prices is clearly demonstrable. That they have had a severe effect on housing is equally clear. The combination of steadily increasing building and land costs on the one hand and of shrinkage of mortgage money on the other has led to a serious shrinkage of the housing market. It is hardly surprising therefore, that new housing starts in 1969 were 4 percent under the total for 1968, and that January 1970 housing starts were a full 36 percent under the total for January 1969. And the outlook for the rest of 1970 is bleak indeed. This is a particularly serious matter when we reflect on the large and growing unsatiated de-

mand for decent housing. The situation has long been critical in many central cities, and among low income families everywhere. Now with a surge in new family formations, the demand will be severe even at middle- and higher-income levels.

High interest rates have also had a serious impact on construction of essential public facilities, Federal, State, and local. The crisis of the cities has been too loudly proclaimed to require elaboration here. The call for massive public expenditures to preserve and enhance a healthy environment is only just beginning in intensity. Clearly, governments are not in a position, in community after community across the land, to float bond issues needed to undertake the projects essential to their health, education, and economy. The Federal Government itself is finding it necessary to cut back on assistance to many undertakings which have become unconscionably expensive as a result of high interest costs.

Now we are finding that high interest rates are having an increasingly severe impact on other segments of the private economy, beyond housing and construction. February unemployment rose to a seasonally adjusted 4.2 percent of the civilian labor force, up from 3.5 percent only 2 months earlier; this was the sharpest rise since the 1957 recession and the highest rate since October 1965. Demand for automobiles has slackened appreciably, and the picture is similar for other consumer durable goods and, of course, consequently for such raw materials as steel.

There is no doubt that the economy has reached a point where an imminent recession is more than outside chance. If the stringencies imposed by existing interest rates continue, it will become close to a certainty.

Therefore, it is important for the Government, and in particular the Federal Reserve Board, to take steps promptly to insure a lowering of interest rates to a level more appropriate to the present needs of the economy. Arthur Burns, the new chairman of the Board, indicated to the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency this week, March 18, that he believed that the bank prime interest rate would come down this year, and hoped that "it comes fairly soon." In view of the deteriorating economic situation, it is important to do more than hope. Action to make funds more readily available for essential purposes at a reasonable cost needs to be taken now.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 25, 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 1400 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

TESTIMONY OF ARTIST ROBERT MOTHERWELL ON ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the Select Subcommittee on Education has just completed its first 2 days of testimony on H.R. 14753, the Environmental Quality Education Act.

This measure authorizes support for curriculum development for environmental education courses in elementary and secondary schools, programs of environmental education for community leaders, and a variety of other programs to provide greater knowledge of environmental problems to our citizens.

Our first 2 days of testimony have produced some extraordinarily eloquent testimony from ecologists, students, artists, and theologians on the subject of environmental deterioration and its consequences for all Americans.

Because the remedies for our environmental crisis will necessarily involve changes in the attitudes which many of us have toward our surroundings, the first day of hearings was concentrated on questions of the values of human life.

A particularly eloquent statement was that of the distinguished American artist, Robert Motherwell, who discussed the world we have made for ourselves and the effect of the physical environment on human behavior and attitudes.

I believe that Members of Congress will read with great interest Mr. Motherwell's observations. I, therefore, insert the text of his testimony, delivered on March 24, 1970, at this point in the RECORD:

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, MARCH 24, 1970

(By Robert Motherwell)

I am sure that scientists have or will testify to the relevant facts here, and know them far better than I. I speak only as an artist, but to speak as an artist is no small thing. Most people ignorantly suppose that artists are the decorators of our human existence, true aesthetes to whom the cultivated may turn when the real business of the day is done. But actually what an artist is is a person skilled in expressing human feeling, and if the "real" business of the day has led to a distortion or petrification of human feeling on the part of the participants—as for example, when a bulldozer mows down the trees on a tract of land because it is easier and cheaper to build houses on barren ground, and the worker who drives the tractor that plows down the trees to do his job in order to race home for a Budweiser and a TV Western does it oblivious of the hurt to the landscape, and the hurt to the ultimate house buyer who, if he has sensibility and limited means, will plant saplings that will take a generation or two or three to reach the stature of the trees torn down in a few

minutes—then we are dealing with a business of the day that makes the building and the worker looking later at a masterpiece of landscape painting—say, a Constable or Monet—in a museum, a cultural transaction so grotesque and absurd that the most extreme plays of Ionesco or Samuel Beckett are less absurd than everyday life itself.

A great modern playwright has said that he has only felt happy when drunk, as millions of younger people now seem only happy when drugged. Which are two ways of contending with the nausea that a person of sensibility must feel when he looks at the waste of modern civilization covering the landscape like a slimy coating of vomit. What kind of a race of men is it who can rape or vomit on the landscape by the millions, like drunken soldiers in a conquered village, or destructive and greedy little boys let loose in an enormous toy and candy store, to break and gorge as they like? While other little boys in other parts of this planet that we Americans are turning into a garbage dump stand with a piece of string and an orange rind as their treasures.

THE ARTIST'S RESPONSE TO THE ENVIRONMENT

As an artist I am used to being regarded as a somewhat eccentric maker of refined but rather unintelligible objects of perception. Actually those objects contain a murderous rage in black and white forms at what passes for the business of everyday life—a life so dehumanized, so atrophied in its sensibility that it cannot even recognize a statement as subtle and complicated as the human spirit it is meant to represent—as well as at other times an expressor of adoration for the miracle of a world that has colors, meaningful shapes, and spaces that can exhibit the real expansion of the human spirit, as it moves and has its being. But as every artist knows, this is expressed in the middle of, and despite the vomit that surrounds us, a nauseous waste that makes the incessant and endless chewing down of trees by beavers seem amateurish and almost benign, said they do not have the technology that we humans do to destroy on a huge scale. If we gave beavers our tools, the forests of the world would disappear in one day. We are slightly more sensitive; it might take us a generation or two. Or again, perhaps not. We are also capable of destroying the forests of the world, of destroying everything that is not already covered with vomit, as well as everything that is, in one day.

NO MORE FRONTIERS

I suppose America began as a few people on a vast tract of land, so vast that one could be as greedy and wasteful as one wanted, and there was still more. That time is gone. Now there are millions of people and millions more in the offing, and that vast land is becoming more like the scale of a park humanly speaking, but a park filled with waste—rusting cars, bottles, garbage, enormous signs seducing you to buy what you don't want or need, housing projects that don't show a rudimentary sense of proportion in any shape or line or material—suburbs that are a parody of the barrenness of the Bronx and the gaudiness of Las Vegas. Indeed, if God had said to a group of men, "Here is a vast park of millions of square miles. Let's see how quickly you can cover it with everything that is an affront to the human spirit, and above all be certain that it is done on a scale of such extravagance and waste and lack of regard for the sensibilities of the inhabitants of the other parks in the world, then we might by definition call that group of men that God so addressed Americans.

THE RESPONSE OF YOUTH

No wonder our youth are up in arms! They are so to preserve their sanity, in the midst of a vulgarity, a waste, a contamination without precedent in the annals of

mankind. We talk about a "generation gap". I am more optimistic. I prefer to think of it as a "sanity gap," of a young generation saying in the interests of a growing sensibility that they certainly did not inherit from their parents, to their elders, "The way you go on covering our natural park with filth, waste, and vomit for the sake of monetary gain and monetary economy is insane." If most of the members of Congress think that they are either leading or in touch with the young, I would remind them of a masterpiece of Renaissance painting by Peter Brueghel the Elder called, "The Blind Leading the Blind." Congress may be leading or mirroring the so-called "silent majority," but all persons of human sensibility are regarding this scene of vomit with the only sane response, nausea, and no man, if they can cure it, will endure a state of nausea for long.

I do not know how you legislate the growth of human awareness, or how you can make shameful insensitivity to our landscape. But if the present bill can in any way do either or both, who could not favor it? Each of us lives a brief moment in what was once a primordial beautiful park that could only elicit a sense of ecstasy and natural music that of a virgin place. Does that moment for us now have to be spent surrounded by our own filth? So much of it that it is a problem to cast it away? What kind of a human existence is that? A gift to our children? No, it is a dirty joke and a senseless one, and not God's but our own. The old cliché, the word "mess", is now taking on a vivid and literal meaning. The American landscape is visibly and literally a mess, outsiders and the young know it. Let us give them all our positive knowledge. It is little enough, compared to the mess we have given them. For if you want to drive anyone insane, rear them in an environment without a sense of limits. Because even our vast reality is limited indeed.

THE ABSENCE OF FEELING

One's mind reels at what men without an esthetic sensibility have been capable of. Far from being merely decorative, the artist's awareness, with its sense of proportion and harmony, is one of the few guardians of the inherent sanity and equilibrium of the human spirit that we have. Keat's famous line that "truth is beauty, beauty is truth" should be regarded as an obvious fact, not an enigma. What is enigmatic is that a whole society—and our modern technological one, which we cannot lose if we would, is the first such one in human history—that a whole society can think it flourishes, when in fact its mountains of waste matter reveal a paralyzed and psychopathic—in having no feeling—lack of response to the wonderously complex and sensitive perceptions that are the human spirit itself. What have we gained in conquering a virgin piece of nature if, in the process, we have destroyed the sensibility with which the human spirit perceives the world, that is, if we have destroyed our capacity to feel? Everyone knows that absence of feeling is the prime characteristic of death. A lot of what we observe among the young these days is their various reactions to moving about in an environment devoid of basic feeling so as to better manipulate nature in the interests of greed. In short, from moving about in an environment that is deathlike. If they go to extremes in their efforts to revivify our environment, it can only be because of the mortal threat to their lives and states of being that our landscape represents.

The French Surrealists liked to think of themselves as Super realists. In fact they were sub-realists in their realism, compared to the nightmare of the aesthetic reality that we patriotic Americans have made for

ourselves, without sensibility or plan. The French have managed to ingrain into a whole culture a sensibility to what one eats. Each meal is a job. I would that we would do the same in relation to the American landscape. How enhanced all our individual lives would be!

BYELORUSSIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, today we pay tribute to a dream. March 25, brings the celebration of the 52d anniversary of Byelorussian Independence. Unfortunately, this is no longer a celebration of fact, as is our 4th of July, but it is rather the remembrance of a fact, and the celebration of a hope.

During the decade prior to World War I, the Byelorussian people, who had been ruled by the Russians, began to redevelop their own nation culture and language. This cultural revival was later to have distinct political relevance as well.

The outbreak of World War I created unique opportunities for those non-Russian peoples residing along the borderlands between the Russian Empire and Europe proper. The Byelorussians, like the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Estonians, and others within the empire, seized the opportunity provided by the confusion of war and revolution, to establish their own national independence.

Despite German occupation during the war, the Byelorussians were able to carry on their political work, as well as continuing the rejuvenation of their culture and language. These brave people developed a new sense of nationalism, and felt able to once again hold their heads high in national pride and effort.

During 1917 and 1918, the Byelorussian people developed a democratic constitution and, on March 25, 1918, they declared their independence and set up a government at Minsk, the capital city. After the declaration of independence, the government and the people set to work, and made significant advances in the fields of education, culture, and social welfare. This was accomplished at great risk, and despite the fact their fragile independence was dependent upon the fortunes of war and the occupying military forces.

With the end of the war and the dissolution of the German armed forces, the Red army advanced into Byelorussia, and on December 10, 1918, seized Minsk. In 1921, the Treaty of Riga divided the Byelorussian territory and the efforts of the Byelorussian National Republic were defeated.

Today, however, the 8 million Byelorussian people still hope that they will once again have the opportunity to develop and take their place as a free nation among men. We must, as we give thanks for our own freedom, continue to pray that this captive nation may once again share in the freedom which we believe to be rightfully theirs.

COMMUNISM—JUST HOW MUCH IS THE FACE CHANGING?

HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, the historic confrontation between West German Chancellor Willy Brandt and East German Premier Willi Stoph in Erfurt, Germany, March 19, produced a side effect the Communists had not counted on.

As described in a concise article by Christian Science Monitor staff correspondent Harry B. Ellis, the East German officials in this first of its kind meeting "perceived clearly how much pro-Brandt—and quite possibly anti-Communist—sentiment has been waiting an opportunity for expression among East Germans."

Mr. Ellis continues, writing that the Communist official, taken back by the spontaneous outpourings of warmth for Brandt:

Hastily arranged for a counterdemonstration of party faithful, calling for recognition of East Germany and for an end to the ban on the Communist Party in West Germany. But the damage, from the East German point of view, had been done. Dozens of Western reporters had been engulfed by the people calling for Willy Brandt and had recorded their enthusiasm on film and tape.

Here was the tip of an iceberg of emotion, suddenly exposed. This was the first opportunity in years which ordinary East Germans had had to express how they felt about Mr. Brandt and, by implication, about their own regime and German unity.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the Christian Science Monitor account of the "Dialog of the Germans—Act 1" in the RECORD with my remarks at this point:

IALOGUE OF THE GERMANS—ACT 1

(By Harry B. Ellis)

ERFURT, GERMANY.—Thousands of East German citizens chanting "Willy Brandt" changed the character of the historic all-German summit just concluded in Erfurt.

Surging through police lines and demanding a glimpse of the visiting West German leader, the cheering crowd hinted at the pressures bubbling below the rigidly controlled surface of East German life.

Obviously taken aback, Communist officials hastily arranged a counterdemonstration of party faithful, calling for recognition of East Germany and for an end to the ban on the Communist Party in West Germany.

But the damage, from the East German point of view, had been done. Dozens of Western reporters had been engulfed by the people calling for Willy Brandt and had recorded their enthusiasm on film and tape.

An East German woman in the crush behind me simply whispered "Willy, Willy," when the Chancellor appeared briefly at a window in the Erfurter Hof, the hotel across from the railroad station where Mr. Brandt conferred with his host, East German Premier Willi Stoph.

The Chancellor stood quietly, sober-faced, by no motion of hand or body trying to excite the crowd.

His restraint was proper. No one knew better than Mr. Brandt that there was nothing he could do to help these people, once his special train had pulled out of Erfurt and crossed the border into the federal republic.

Indeed, his desire to lighten human bur-

dens in divided Germany may have been struck a blow, by the very enthusiasm with which he was greeted by ordinary people in Erfurt.

East German officials perceived clearly how much pro-Brandt—and quite possibly anti-Communist—sentiment had been awaiting an opportunity for expression among East Germans.

"NEXT ACT" IN WEST GERMANY

All along Mr. Brandt's journey through East Germany, observers on the train reported, people waved handkerchiefs from windows and at grade crossings.

The Walter-Ulbricht-Willi Stoph team is highly unlikely to give Mr. Brandt and East Germans direct exposure to each other again, much less allow East German citizens to travel freely to West Germany, as the Chancellor would like.

Mr. Ulbricht is the veteran Moscow-trained Communist who, as chief of state and first secretary of the Socialist Unity (Communist) Party, has led East Germany since its establishment in 1949.

The next act in the developing all-German dialogue will unfold on West German soil, when Mr. Stoph travels to the town of Kassel to meet with Mr. Brandt on May 21.

A continuation of the dialogue had been Mr. Brandt's chief aim at the Erfurt meeting, the first time since World War II that government chiefs of the two Germans had met face to face.

All indications were that Mr. Stoph, during the six hours he conferred with his West German guest, stuck closely to the familiar list of East German demands, centering on full diplomatic recognition of East Germany by Bonn.

Mr. Brandt, in return, suggested the formation of "commissions" by both governments, to continue technical discussions at the beginning of what the Chancellor called the "long and arduous road" that lay ahead.

He offered to make available to such an East German commission "appropriate permanent working possibilities" in Bonn.

On his return to Bonn Mr. Brandt told the West German Parliament that the Erfurt meeting had been "important, necessary, and useful."

For those who witnessed the surging crowd of young men and women, workers and students at Erfurt—not "hippies and old ladies" as one East German source put it—the human drama was high.

Here was the tip of an iceberg of emotion, suddenly exposed. This was the first opportunity in years which ordinary East Germans had had to express how they felt about Mr. Brandt and, by implication, about their own regime and German unity.

OPPOSING G. HARROLD CARSWELL FOR THE SUPREME COURT

HON. ABNER J. MIKVA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. MIKVA. Mr. Speaker, I have spoken out before in opposition to the nomination of Judge G. Harrold Carswell to the Supreme Court of the United States. But like so many others who have spoken on this issue, I fear that I have not really touched the central objection. In all the debate and discussion, the real problem with Judge Carswell has been politely obscured. Perhaps out of deference to the man's feelings, perhaps out of an understandable desire to focus the de-

bate on a man's record rather than his personality, we have been passing over the central reason that Judge Carswell is unqualified.

Mr. Speaker, Judge Carswell is too unknowledgeable to sit on the Supreme Court of the United States. I have chosen my words carefully here. I use unknowledgeable not as an epithet, not to cast doubt on the man's college or his law school, but in the purest sense of the word. Judge Carswell is too unknowledgeable for the Court because he is, to use Webster's words, "uninstructed, uninformed, unaware."

When I assert that Judge Carswell is unknowledgeable, I do not mean to limit that to matters of law. Certainly the man's judicial qualifications have long since been shown inadequate—the endorsement of 12 members of the ABA committee on the Federal judiciary notwithstanding. As this morning's Washington Post indicated, a man with an affirmance rate on appeal of civil cases of 34 percent simply does not know the law. So the question of Judge Carswell's ignorance of the law is well documented.

But what is even more distressing is the nominee's ignorance of the society and the world around him. To use two of Webster's synonyms, the judge is both uninformed and unaware. A man who can tell a blatantly racist joke after the agony of the civil rights struggle in this country is uninformed about the spirit of this Nation. A Federal district judge who would participate in the organization of a segregated golf club after the supreme judicial tribunal in the land had declared that equal protection of the law prohibits such activities is unaware of the responsibilities of his office.

The tragedy of nominating an unknowledgeable man to the Supreme Court of the United States is heightened in the case of Harrold Carswell. The tragedy is heightened because of the history of the seat for which this unknowledgeable man has been nominated. As former Justice Arthur Goldberg said last weekend, this is one of the original seats on the Supreme Court. In this seat sat men such as Joseph Story, author of treatises on constitutional law and equity which are still cited today more than a century after they were written, one of the first teachers at the Harvard Law School. In Story's seat later sat perhaps the finest intellect ever to serve on the Court, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes: A scholar, the long-time chief justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, a writer of judicial opinions so profound and so far ahead of their times that today we are still citing Justice Holmes' dissents long after the majority opinions he opposed have been forgotten. After the "Yankee from Olympus" there came from New York the Justice with the finest command of language on the High Court in this century: Benjamin Cardozo. Cardozo, distinguished legal scholar, author of the justly celebrated work on "The Nature of the Judicial Process," and New York State court judge, brought his robust, stately prose to the service of the Nation for an all too brief 7 years. What lawyer will ever for-

get the ringing phrases of Cardozo in cases like *Paulsgraf* and *Palko* against Connecticut?

After Cardozo came Harvard Law School professor and legal activist Felix Frankfurter. By the time he was appointed to the Court, Frankfurter had written his defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, had argued cases before the Supreme Court, had staffed the New Deal with brilliant lawyers from across the Nation. Frankfurter had helped to draft the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act. Frankfurter was the Justice who, upon taking the seat vacated by Cardozo, founded that school of judicial interpretation which has now become so venerated by those who would destroy everything for which Felix Frankfurter stood. Frankfurter was the father of the philosophy of "judicial restraint," a philosophy so important that it dominated an entire era of the Court's work.

These, then, are the predecessor's that Harrold Carswell has been nominated to succeed. These are the men who have through the years sat in that high place. When we think back over the history of that seat, who can honestly disagree with the judgment of former Justice Goldberg who also sat in that seat: Harrold Carswell is not fit to serve in that seat.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that we as a Nation are benefitting from the delay in the Senate's consideration of the Carswell nomination. We are benefitting because every day that passes heightens the disgust of the American people with this cynical political trifling with the stature of our Supreme Court. With every day that passes more people are realizing what it will mean if this unknowledgeable man is confirmed to sit on the Court. And with every day that passes more people are letting their Senators know the revulsion they feel about this nomination.

I urge the Senate to reject Judge Carswell's nomination. We have no need of unknowledgeable men on the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, I include pertinent newsclippings at this point:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Mar. 24, 1970]

JUDGE CARSWELL: A LOOK AT THE REVERSAL RECORD

There has been a lot of talk in the Senate in recent days about Judge Carswell's 11 years of service as a federal trial judge and how well that fits him or does not fit him for service on the Supreme Court. Those opposed to his confirmation point to the rate at which his decisions have been reversed as a demonstration that he is, at best, a run-of-the-mill judge. Those who support confirmation claim that the reversal rate presents a "distorted and unreal" picture. "Like so many of the charges against him (this one) dissolves when exposed to the light of day," Senator Gurney said the other day, claiming that the judge has been reversed in only 33 out of the more than 2,000 civil cases he has handled and in only eight out of more than 2,500 criminal cases.

These figures are totally irrelevant, not to say blatant distortions.

The numbers of 2,000 and 2,500 represent all the cases filed in Judge Carswell's court and only about 15 per cent of these ever went to trial. What matters is what the Court of Appeals thought of the far smaller number

of decisions it actually had an opportunity to review. There are fewer than 200 of these, according to the reports of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, but no one has produced a list of all of them. Compiling such a list is difficult since the cases are spread over tons of volumes of law books. But we have looked at all those we could find in the reports of the Fifth Circuit since July 1, 1964 and report the following concerning the record of the last half of his trial judge experience:

In criminal cases, Judge Carswell was upheld in 21 of 25 decisions, an affirmance rate of 84 per cent. All the other judges in his circuit were upheld 81 per cent of the time during the last five fiscal years.

In civil cases, Judge Carswell was upheld in 18 of 53 cases, an affirmance rate of 34 per cent. All the other trial judges in his circuit were upheld 72 per cent of the time.

In habeas corpus and similar cases, included in the civil category above because the courts list them that way, Judge Carswell was upheld in 5 out of 15 decisions, an affirmance rate of 33 per cent. All the other judges in Florida were upheld in 67 per cent of these cases during this period.

In the other civil cases—the disputes over contracts, accidents, and so on that are the bread and butter of the federal courts—Judge Carswell was upheld in 13 of 39 cases, a rate of 33 per cent. The other judges in the South having a batting average in such cases of about 75 per cent.

The key that may explain this record seems to lie in the reputation Judge Carswell has among some lawyers of not wanting to try cases. Each habeas corpus reversal came because he denied a petition without a hearing. More than half of all the other reversals in civil cases came because he granted pretrial motions to dismiss, or for summary judgment, in situations which the Court of Appeals said required trials. It seems remarkable, for instance, that he was reversed several times over several years in negligence cases involving such things as auto accidents, a swimming pool accident, and a boat collision. These are cases in which the facts almost always determine the outcome and the law is clear that disputed facts cannot be resolved in summary judgments.

Judge Carswell's inclination to dispose of cases summarily does help clear court dockets when he is right. But it also helps clog them when he is wrong. And it seems that those who believe a jury ought to decide the facts must pay the costs of an appeal to win a reversal and a trial. The desire of a judge to be bold and to dispose of cases without trial might be understandable if he presided over an extremely busy docket. However, the caseload in Judge Carswell's court was regularly below the average per judge in his circuit and after 1962 was the lowest per judge in that circuit.

This record is not what could be called a good one. It is not, we suspect, even mediocre, as Senator Hruska would say. Nor can it be explained away, as some of the judge's supporters would have us believe, by arguments about the cases that were not appealed, about laws or court interpretations that had been changed in midstream, or about partial reversals. Among the 35 reversals in civil cases, three were partial, and no more than half a dozen came because of intervening court decisions and new issues of law. The others were decisions by the Court of Appeals that Judge Carswell was simply wrong—wrong 12 times because he ruled without hearing the facts. What all this means, it seems to us, is that the claim that Judge Carswell has been "an outstanding federal judge," to use Senator Gurney's words, evaporates when it is exposed to careful scrutiny.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 23, 1970]

THE AMERICAN BAR: A FAILURE OF RESPONSIBILITY

(By Anthony Lewis)

LONDON.—Some of us have an instinctive respect for the legal profession. We believe with Holmes that "the practice of law, in spite of popular jests, tends to make good citizens and good men." But the performance of the organized bar of the United States is making it hard to sustain that view.

The constitutional rights and legal traditions that protect Americans from arbitrary treatment by authority are under intense attack these days. Lawyers, of all people, might be expected to understand and speak out. But with some honorable exceptions, the voice of the bar is unheard.

RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK

For example, it has long been a fundamental assumption that the police may not invade a man's house or his person without some notice and some showing of cause. Now, in the name of fighting crime, legislation is being pushed to let policemen break into homes, and take blood or fingerprints or other physical evidence from suspects without their consent.

The Nixon Administration has sought, and the House has passed, legislation authorizing the "preventive detention" of men accused but not convicted of crime. There may be good arguments for the idea. But at the least it faces weighty objections in a constitutional system based on the assumption of trial first, sentence after.

The American Bar Association might have discussed some of the pressing issues of official power and individual freedom at its meeting last month in Atlanta. Instead, the delegates debated genocide—and managed to find dangers in the notion of a stand against mass murder. A small majority opposed the Administration's request that the United States join every other major country in ratifying the 1949 treaty on genocide.

Twenty years ago Philip L. Graham, late publisher of *The Washington Post* and a lawyer himself, told a group of lawyers that their profession had "substantially failed to meet its proper obligation of supporting individual freedom." It had silently acquiesced, he said, in restrictions that not long before "would have raised the collective hairs of this association straight on end."

Mr. Graham happened to be speaking to one legal group that did and does take a serious view of its public duty: The Association of the Bar of the City of New York. But for most of the profession his judgment is even more painfully true now than when he spoke.

THE BAR'S RESPONSIBILITY

The bar surely should feel a special responsibility toward the Supreme Court of the United States. In Britain it would be unthinkable for the profession to stay silent in the face of a political assault on the judicial process, yet that is what in fact is now happening in the United States.

Worse yet, the American Bar Association is playing a supporting role in what must be taken as a calculated effort to demean the Supreme Court. That is the nomination of Judge G. Harrold Carswell to the Court.

The A.B.A.'s Committee on the Federal Judiciary has found Judge Carswell "qualified." This of a nominee whose supporters have been unable to find a single opinion, a speech, a professional activity to which they can point as evidence of the slightest legal distinction. While Judge Carswell sat on the Federal District Court, his decisions taken to appeal were reversed 59 percent of the time. If he was "qualified" to sit on the Supreme Court, it would be simpler for the A.B.A. committee to do its work by keeping current

a list of lawyers who would be "unqualified"—possibly about five.

The irony is that the president of the A.B.A., Bernard G. Segal, must know as well as anyone what an insult to the Court and to the American legal profession the nomination of Judge Carswell is. Mr. Segal is an enlightened man who was for years dedicated chairman of the A.B.A. Judiciary Committee. One understands the restraints upon him but still wishes he would speak out.

In failing to fulfill its public function the organized bar is surely inflicting wounds upon itself. Bright young people already question the outlook of the legal profession; the big firms are having a very difficult time attracting the best law graduates. If lawyers want to retain their traditional place of honor and influence in American life, they will have to remember, and live by, those other words of Justice Holmes: "The law is the witness and external deposit of our moral life. Its history is the history of the moral development of the race."

[From the New York Times, Mar. 23, 1970]

RATING JUDGE CARSWELL

The Senate, in its desultory debate over whether to confirm the nomination of Judge G. Harrold Carswell to the Supreme Court, is giving an uninspiring demonstration of its sense of responsibility on an issue of grave national concern.

President Nixon, in his weekend press conference, urged Senators to weigh, not the mail, but the evidence. It is precisely on the evidence that Judge Carswell emerges with a mediocre judicial record and with questionable attitudes toward social justice.

Senator Roman L. Hruska, Republican of Nebraska, in apparent contempt for excellence in American institutions, championed the right of all who are mediocre to be represented by mediocrity on the Supreme Court. Application of this view to the Senate is bad enough; to extend it to the highest court is intolerable. Yet, this appears to be the intent of those who deliberately spurn all honest assessment of evidence unfavorable to Judge Carswell.

For example, it has now become known that Elbert F. Tuttle, the retired Chief Judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in the South, who originally backed the nomination, subsequently decided to withdraw his endorsement. But Judge Carswell's supporters let the impression of Judge Tuttle's approval be used as continuing support for him.

A group of distinguished lawyers, including Francis T. P. Plimpton, president of the New York Bar Association, as well as the deans of leading law schools, have charged that the "qualified" rating, given Judge Carswell by the Federal Judiciary Committee of the American Bar Association, is seriously misleading. They consider the issue sufficiently grave to demand that the committee reopen the case and provide a more explicit rating, as it does in the case of other Federal judges.

Judge Carswell's supporters have used the A.B.A. rating as a judgment of high merit, when it is little more than an evasive rubber stamp. Attorney General Mitchell, who undoubtedly knows the real meaning of the A.B.A.'s faint praise, has stated publicly that his nominee comes "highly recommended" by the association.

These misleading tactics amply justify the demand for a more enlightening reappraisal. An explicit rating would do much to help the Senators when they ultimately cast their vote on the dictates of both fact and conscience. The legal profession surely has a responsibility to offer credible guidance and, at the very least, make sure that its testimony cannot be abused in ways that might demean the Supreme Court.

SGT. HARRY CHINN OF HPD—
A NEW KIND OF COP

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the undue emphasis in recent times of depicting in news media scenes of alleged police brutality has left many Americans with an erroneous impression of the work of law-enforcement officers.

Too little attention has been focused on the many responsible and dedicated policemen who are quietly working in communities throughout the Nation in efforts to strengthen the forces of justice, law, and order.

One such policeman is Sgt. Harry Chinn of the Honolulu Police Department. For some time now Sergeant Chinn has been teaching an experimental "law and justice awareness" class at the Waianae Intermediate School, on the leeward side of the island of Oahu, and the response from the students has been highly enthusiastic.

Sergeant Chinn is now in the second of three semester-long classes at Waianae, and Honolulu Advertiser staff writer John Bilby recently wrote an excellent feature article for his paper on this "teaching experiment that works."

The article sets forth the specific objectives in Sergeant Chinn's lesson plan as follows:

(To) develop awareness of the extent to which law violations affect the community, develop a positive attitude toward upholding law and order, explain the process of establishing laws, explain why there are laws in a democratic society, and instill faith and confidence in the administration of justice.

Sergeant Chinn utilizes other innovative techniques in his classes, such as dramatic skits and musical plays, to which the young people can meaningfully relate in their daily lives.

Written essays on "Why We Should Get Involved" are required, and the students also participate in debates on apathy as they make an in-depth study of their roles and responsibilities to the community.

I know that my colleagues would wish to join with me in commending Sgt. Harry Chinn on his remarkable achievements. Today's students at Waianae will, no doubt, be better citizens tomorrow because of his dedicated efforts.

I commend this refreshing story on the work of a police officer to my colleagues. I am sure that it will be an inspiration to many as we seek to restore confidence and respect in our peace officers and to find effective ways to combat the wave of lawlessness in our Nation.

The article, "Policeman Harry Chinn Makes Sense to Kids," from the March 17, 1970, issue of the Honolulu Advertiser, follows for the RECORD:

A TEACHING EXPERIMENT THAT WORKS—
POLICEMAN HARRY CHINN MAKES SENSE TO
KIDS

(By John Bilby)

Some of the kids call Harry Chinn a beautiful cat.

He wears a blue uniform, and a badge, and even a gun on his hip, and sergeant's stripes,

and shined black shoes and a friendly smile, really gentle as well as firm.

He has been doing a job that must raise many questions, and doing it in such a way that he seems to be getting lots of earned credit. Chinn has been pushing law and order with the kids at Waianae Intermediate School.

A city policeman, he has been teaching a Law and Justice Awareness class.

It's an experimental class. This is why I say it must raise questions. Our country is founded on many principals which oppose our becoming a police state, and many other principals which oppose anarchy and disregard of the laws.

Most observers agree that there is an understanding gap between police and young people today. There are many differing opinions about why, including, even, the opinion that law enforcement in the U.S. has made the problem worse.

Chinn seems to be the sort of policeman-teacher who recognizes his own responsibilities in trying to teach responsibility to intermediate school children.

Chinn is the sort of policeman-teacher who is not afraid or ashamed to say that love is where it's at, which puts him many jumps closer to communicating with young people than most good and brave men who wear the badge.

The second of three semester-long classes in law abiding have been taught by the sergeant now. He has to commute from the city to the country daily for the job.

Chinn's mimeographed lesson plan sets forth such specific objectives as: "develop awareness of the extent to which law violations affect the community," "develop a positive attitude toward upholding law and order," "explain the process of establishing laws," "explain why there are laws in a democratic society," and "instill faith and confidence in the administration of justice."

In early sessions, students report on their own experiences with losses through theft and as victims of crimes. They are advised on safeguards against burglary.

They are taught to recognize concepts like "character assassination," and how false statements can harm others unjustly, much as labels (for instance, the lesson plan mentions "fuzz") can limit one's thinking.

Family and community responsibilities are devoted to studying the kind of apathy which allows citizens to stand by without helping or doing anything when others are being attacked in their presence.

The students write an essay, "Why We Should Get Involved." They have debates on apathy. The role of the police officer is examined.

Students are divided into groups and act out situations, such as giving and receiving traffic citations, dealing with and being dealt with as boisterous, or intoxicated or law-breaking persons.

When, for instance, the student has to figure out how to deal, in his role as policeman, with a boisterous group, he gets a new perspective on that kind of happening. "They feel what it's like to be a policeman," the teacher said.

Sgt. Chinn gets into how laws are made, reviews different social systems—communism, socialism, fascism, anarchy.

Other law officers visit the class and lecture. "Every one has walked out with a completely different picture of the younger generation," Chinn said.

The class makes a field trip to the Capitol and various courts. There is class time devoted to airing personal criticisms of laws that exist. The sergeant says the students are outspoken.

"At times they've come up with some very constructive possible revisions of laws," he said. "And I had kids who wouldn't stand up in class and say anything who now can go up on the stage before an audience."

Chinn was outlining all of this shortly after the standing ovation that he and three dozen of his Law and Justice Awareness class had received after putting on an evening assembly program and skit before an audience of 300 at Waianae Intermediate School.

They called it a skit, but it was really a play, "Who's Guilty?"

A disturbance is created in a nightclub by Miss Jones, played admirably by Charlotte Kaopua. An officer arrives. "Well, well, here comes the fuzz," says Miss Jones, bringing down the house. "Hi! You're kinda cute," she tells the hapless officer, Calvin Corpuz, before decking him in one of the most convincing fight scenes ever staged.

She is finally subdued, then handcuffed. A crowd gathers. "Hey! What are you doing to her?" someone in the crowd demands.

The officer is eventually brought to trial on charges of police brutality. At first, during the trial no witnesses will come forth to testify in his behalf. Finally, out of conscience, one couple comes before the judge, Raymond Meyers, and clears the officer's name.

The program began with introduction of police officers and other VIPs, and remarks by Raymond Miyasato, principal of Nanakuli High, and Police Captain George Kisin.

In the play, students played roles ranging from streetwalkers and "old maids" to lawyers and hula, Tahitian, Samoan and Maori dancers.

Officer Joe Kamai assisted Chinn in getting the production together. Chinn played guitar and composed the final song sung by the cast. I asked him for the lyrics.

"You look like a hip guy," he said to me. Somehow I expected that with the badge riding there on his chest, my long hair and bell-bottoms were going to result in his talking down to me. On the contrary, he meant that he thought I would understand the art of his poetry.

"When you're on a ferris wheel, everything seems so different and beautiful," he said. I couldn't tell when he was just rapping and when he was reciting the lyrics.

"When you're on the top and look down, watching the crowds below, people laughing, children shouting. This is the way the world should go.

"Round and round on the ferris wheel, everything's aglow. Hand in hand they seem to stand. This is the way the world should go. Why can't this world always be like today, people sharing their dreams along the way.

"No cares or sorrows, no hate and no fears.

"Sounds of love ringing in our ears.

"Up above on the ferris wheel, round and round we go. Feeling fine, love's on our mind. This is the way the world should go."

About half of the play's cast had gathered around Sgt. Chinn as I interviewed him, including a couple of girls who had cried on stage when he announced that this was to be their last dramatic performance together.

"Did some of them start out with hostility toward you?" I asked.

"Definitely," he said.

"Are there a few that still feel that way?"

Chinn reflected and finally said, "What do you think, Ray?" to the boy who had played the judge.

"Everybody likes him," Ray told me.

"I am amazed at times at the potential warmth and love," Chinn said. "At times I scold them. I'm not afraid to bring out their faults directly, but when they leave, there are no hard feelings. There's love.

"These are the most beautiful kids I've ever worked with," he said. "You can quote me on that, please!"

"You're a beautiful cop, man," I said. The circle of kids around us nodded in thoughtful agreement."

RECESSION, PLEASE GO AWAY

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, Columnist David Lawrence, editor of U.S. News & World Report, writes in the current issue of the magazine of signs pointing to a recession.

As evidences of this downturn in the economy he cites increasing unemployment, high interest rates, and inflation, among other factors.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important subject I place the Lawrence column in the RECORD herewith.

The column follows:

RECESSION, PLEASE GO AWAY!

(By David Lawrence)

"Recession" is an unpleasant word No Administration likes to concede that an existing economic condition is a recession. But as unemployment begins to rise, as profits start to fall, as interest rates soar, as mortgage rates reach unprecedented heights, and as the cost of living is at record levels, these economic facts cannot merely be dubbed "inflation."

When the President of the United States, moreover, orders \$1.5 billion of government funds—which he previously had withdrawn from building programs—to be reallocated now to aid the construction industry, it means that the national economy is feeling some of the pangs of a recession.

The President appeals to labor and management to hold down wages and prices, but says not a word about any controls to be imposed by the Government.

The business and financial community has been given hope that interest rates will soon be lowered, and that this particularly will make money available for more activity in new housing. Nobody in the Administration, however, is predicting specifically just when the high interest rates will come down.

Paul W. McCracken, Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, in a press conference on March 17, said that he does not believe the country is running into a recession. But it all depends upon whether a serious recession is meant or one that is slight, yet painful just the same. Mr. McCracken realizes that price levels are not easily changed. He commented thus:

"The price level objective is not, of course, a lower price level. The price level objective is to achieve a new stability of the price level. It might have been better if we had never gotten this far, but we are here and consequently it cannot be the objective of policy to try to drive back down the general price level. All we want is a new stability. That is not inconsistent with the fact that specific prices, of course, may go down and there will always be the inevitable churning around."

Another way of saying this, to be sure, is that, when the Vietnam war began, the Government might well have insisted upon applying wage and price controls. The price level could thereby have been maintained at a lower stage. It certainly is going to be difficult to attain stability at a high price level when many wage and price adjustments remain to be made.

Arthur Burns, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, has been hinting that the tight money policy will have to be relaxed in order to prepare the way for a decline in interest rates. He told the Senate Banking and Currency Committee a few days ago:

"The downward interest rate adjustments that have taken place reflect primarily a

recognition by market participants that the economy is slowing, that inflation expectations are beginning to be replaced by more sober judgments about the outlook for prices, and that some easing in monetary policy might soon take place."

Mr. Burns added that a number of important economic indicators have been pointing downward recently, "thereby giving rise to concern that the corrective measures taken by the Government may go too far and perhaps lead to a business recession." He also declared:

"It is still our view (on the Federal Reserve Board) that the current economic adjustment lacks the pervasive and cumulative characteristics of a recession and that, in any event, the economy will resume its upward course later this year."

It is apparent, however, that uncertainty prevails even in Government circles, and that experimentalism rather than a reliance on past experience in dealing with wages and prices has been the reason why the nation has been drifting into a recession.

Evidently there will be no effort to impose wage and price controls because the political consequences are feared. So the prospects are that the Administration will try a new method—to manage what it considers a slowdown by allowing just a little more inflation. This is a risky way to handle an economy which has a gross national product of more than \$950 billion.

Meanwhile, big strikes are possible for the year 1970. These will have a far-reaching effect even on unrelated industries. For wage scales have a way of being paralleled by workers in different kinds of businesses. Management, on the other hand, has no choice. Either it gives in to labor's demands or undergoes strikes.

Heretofore Congress has enacted laws authorizing wage and price controls whenever the United States has been engaged in any war involving the expenditure of large sums.

The real question now is whether the ill effects of a disrupted economy can be cured by the Government itself and how much of a recession is going to be necessary in order to achieve some form of stability in wages and prices and to bring about the lowering of interest rates to workable levels.

Officials hope that their corrective measures will stop the slowdown in business and that the economy soon will adjust itself. So, in effect, the soft-spoken plea of Government today is: "Recession, please go away!"

RONNEBERG, HAGERSTOWN GI, IS KILLED IN VIETNAM ACTION

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Pfc. Hugh J. Ronneberg, a fine young man from Maryland, was killed recently in Vietnam. I would like to commend his courage and to honor his memory by including the following article in the RECORD:

RONNEBERG, HAGERSTOWN GI, IS KILLED IN VIETNAM ACTION

HAGERSTOWN, Md., March 23.—The Department of Defense announced today that PFC Hugh J. Ronneberg, of Hagerstown, has been killed in action in Vietnam.

Private Ronneberg, 20, was killed March 18, while he was driving a military vehicle that hit an enemy mine, the Pentagon said.

WORKED AT RACE TRACKS

The youth had entered the Army last August and received his basic training at Fort Bragg, N.C. and Fort Knox, Ky.

He was assigned to Vietnam January 8. He attended South Hagerstown High School until age 16 when he became a stable groom, and was employed at race tracks in Laurel and Bowie, Md., as well as in Delaware.

In addition to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. John Ronneberg, of the 900 block Lanvale street here, he is survived by five brothers, John H. Ronneberg, Jr., of North Plainfield, N.J., Nicholas T. Ronneberg, of Laurel, Frederick W. Ronneberg, of Phoenix, Ariz., and Robert F. Ronneberg, 18, and Conrad J. Ronneberg, 14, both at home, and three sisters, Mrs. James Morris, of South Bound Brook, N.J., Mrs. David Whelan, of Watchung, N.J., and Cheyl Ann Ronneberg, 11, at home.

A SALUTE TO CAPT. ROBERT M. WILBUR, JR., WHOSE COURAGE AND CALM BROUGHT 70 PEOPLE TO A SAFE LANDING

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, 1 week ago, Capt. Robert M. Wilbur, Jr., of Fair Lawn, N.J., performed an act of skill and courage for which he has been praised throughout the world. I join with other residents of New Jersey's Seventh District in saluting our neighbor.

His extraordinary performance reflects the quality of his training and the capability of airline pilots throughout America who carry us across millions of accident-free miles each year. But, the most significant note of Captain Wilbur's achievement is his own self-control and determination in bringing 70 people safely to earth.

The following story from Newsweek magazine unravels the facts to date of his heroic act:

HIJACKING: MURDER IN THE SKY

It was the most routine of flights—the Eastern Airlines 7:30 p.m. shuttle from Newark, N.J., to Boston—and Sandy Saltzer and Christine Peterson, two pretty stewardesses, were collecting fares while the DC-9 made its descent to Logan International Airport. When the girls approached a slender young man sitting all alone in the next to last row of seats, he handed Miss Saltzer \$18—\$3 shy of the full fare. She asked for more, and the passenger reached into a black valise only to pull out not the expected dollar bills but a .38-caliber revolver. "I want to see the captain," he said.

Coolly, Miss Saltzer asked the gunman to put the weapon inside his shirt so as not to disturb the other 65 passengers. After he complied, she led him to the rear-cabin intercom. "I'm busy," retorted Capt. Robert M. Wilbur Jr., on being informed of the gunman's request; but when the stewardess mentioned the gun, co-pilot James E. Hartley stuck his head out of the cockpit and asked what the trouble was. Into the cockpit went Miss Saltzer and the gunman. Out came the stewardess, doing her best to look unruffled. Minutes later, shots were heard.

Tableau: "They sounded like a cap gun," Miss Peterson said later, but the gunfire was real. By now some passengers knew trouble was afoot. The jet made an abrupt but smooth landing at Logan airport, and the cockpit held a grisly tableau: co-pilot Hartley was slumped unconscious in his chair, the gunman lay wounded on the floor, and Captain Wilbur sat wearily at the controls, both arms bleeding heavily from gunshot wounds.

At Massachusetts General Hospital, resuscitation efforts failed to revive the 30-year-old Hartley, but the assailant and Captain Wilbur were soon pronounced out of danger. As investigators probed the affair, the following picture of what had actually gone on in the cockpit emerged. Unlike other recent U.S. aerial hijackers, the intruder did not want to go to Cuba. "I don't really have any place to go—just fly till the plane runs out of gas," he ordered Wilbur. But then the aircraft went into a turn, and the gunman started shooting. Hartley jumped up, and though mortally wounded, succeeded in grabbing the gun and shooting the attacker. In the next few minutes, Wilbur, 35, not only subdued the still active gunman, but radioed for emergency landing clearance, an ambulance, a doctor and the police, and even remembered to flick on the "No Smoking" sign.

The armed passenger turned out to be a 27-year-old unemployed bachelor named John J. DiVivo, who lived with his widowed mother in West New York, N.J. At the weekend, about the only light police could shed on the episode was the fact that DiVivo had tried to commit suicide twelve years ago by shooting himself in the head. The bullet lodged in his brain and, according to his mother, it was never removed.

VISITING NURSE ASSOCIATION AND MEDICARE

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. O'NEILL of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, on February 25, the Visiting Nurse Association of Boston held its annual meeting and announced the serious and often tragic results of a reinterpretation of medicare regulations. This new interpretation and a utilization review procedure have resulted in a major decrease in medicare payments for service to the elderly.

I have called this a tragic situation because the Visiting Nurse Association estimates that between 20 to 30 percent of elderly patients who presently are served by the VNA will no longer have their expenses paid by medicare.

Most elderly people are on fixed incomes and are the most severely hurt but the massive inflation presently plaguing our economy. Medicare has meant to many of them the difference between life and death and the difference between adequate medical care and no medical assistance at all. The Visiting Nurse Association intends to continue to serve these people, but it cannot afford to continue at the present rate on its limited budget. Patients themselves or their families will have to provide some reimbursement. The welfare department of the Commonwealth will have to provide the rest.

I am enclosing a press release from the Visiting Nurse Association of Boston for the benefit of my colleagues. I ask that particular attention be directed to the three examples of the people who will not be covered by Medicare under the new ruling. All of these people definitely need the service of the VNA, and it seems to me to be absolutely arbitrary and unreasonable to exclude them from the coverage.

I have contacted the Director of the Social Security Administration protesting this action, and have included a copy of my letter. I urge my colleagues to do likewise.

The statement and letter follows:

[Press release of Visiting Nurse Association of Boston, Feb. 26, 1970]

MAJOR CUTS BEING MADE IN MEDICARE COVERAGE, FOR PATIENTS NEEDING VISITING NURSE SERVICES

The Visiting Nurse Association of Boston announced at its annual meeting on Wednesday that a reinterpretation of Medicare regulations and a new utilization review procedure by the fiscal intermediary (Massachusetts Blue Cross Association) have resulted in a major cut back in Medicare payment for service. An estimated 20-30% of elderly patients presently served by the V.N.A. under the program will no longer have their expenses paid by this federal government health insurance program.

The current interpretation of the rules means that only patients whose condition will definitely improve or who are in the terminal stage of an illness are eligible for Medicare services from the V.N.A. (home health agency). These patients also must be homebound, have a definite functional limitation, and require skilled nursing, physical therapy or speech therapy services on an intermittent basis to be eligible.

What will happen to the one hundred or more patients no longer eligible for their service to be covered by Medicare? Although the V.N.A. of Boston will continue to provide care, patients who can pay all or part of the cost will be billed for the service rendered. Patients who cannot afford to pay should apply to the Welfare Department for Medicaid which will reimburse the V.N.A. at partial cost for services not covered by Medicare. The V.N.A. is presently attempting to estimate the financial impact of this new development on its budget. During this period the Agency's endowment fund is being used to finance the care not covered by other payment plans. The V.N.A. will receive \$242,500. United Fund Money through U.C.S. in 1970, but this is already budgeted to pay for services to other patients not eligible for either Medicare of Medicaid and unable to pay for their care. If additional funds cannot be obtained, the V.N.A. will be forced to curtail its services.

We strongly urge either a change at the federal level in the interpretation of "skilled nursing" on an "intermittent" basis which the law specifies as required for covered home health services, or new legislation to encompass the types of home health services urgently needed by the elderly. The V.N.A. of Boston will communicate its concern to the Social Security Administration which administers the Medicare Program and do everything it can through the National League for Nursing and other channels to bring about the necessary changes so that elderly patients can be cared for in their own homes with the comfort and dignity to which they are entitled.

The following are examples of patients whose V.N.A. service will no longer be covered by Medicare:

1. The elderly cardiac patient with a pacemaker implanted to regulate his heart beat and for whom the doctor has requested professional nursing assessment weekly to detect any beginning malfunctioning of the pacemaker which would require prompt hospitalization, does not meet the criteria for covered service.

2. The patient with pernicious anemia who requires an intramuscular injection of Vitamin B12 monthly indefinitely to maintain a satisfactory blood count does not meet the criterion for "intermittent" service and the V.N.A. claim for payment is rejected.

3. The blind diabetic who has been

taught to give himself insulin with a special tru-set syringe but requires weekly checking of the syringe to see that it is set for the correct dosage, and weekly assessment of the patient's general condition including foot care and skin care so crucial for a blind diabetic patient if he is to remain in his own home alone no longer meets the criterion of a need for skilled nursing as the services "could have been adequately and safely self administered or performed by the average non-medical person."

The major health needs of the majority of elderly people living in their own homes who are homebound because of one or more chronic illnesses are on-going, assistance with personal care; supervision of a special medical regime including diet, medications, and physical activity; professional nursing assessment of patient's condition and reaction to the medical regimes; emotional support of patient and family faced with chronic illness; and periodic reporting to patient's physician. This service is provided by the V.N.A. of Boston through its nursing and home health aide staff, and frequently is the service which keeps patients from developing complications which would require more extensive medical and other professional skilled care. This service also makes it possible for patients with chronic illnesses to live and die in their own homes rather than in more costly and depersonalized nursing homes and hospitals. Actually only a small percent of the elderly patients require the type of skilled services currently recognized by Medicare as "covered services" from home health agencies (V.N.A.'s).

Patients and their families cannot accept the fact that the Medicare Insurance will not pay for needed service. From all the literature and publicity, they were given to understand that Medicare was the answer to their health care needs and that they are entitled to 100 home health visits a year. They are very upset by this recent interpretation of more limited service.

ALICE M. DEMPSEY,
General Director.
MRS. PHILIP EISEMAN,
President.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., March 25, 1970.

ROBERT M. BALL,
Commissioner, Social Security Administration, Washington, D.C.

DEAR COMMISSIONER BALL: Enclosed is a press release from the Visiting Nurse Association of Boston with regard to the effects of a re-interpretation of Medicare regulations. An estimated 20-30% of elderly patients presently served by the V.N.A. under the Medicare Program will no longer have their expenses paid for visiting nurse service.

I believe this is absolutely unfair and contrary to the intent of the program and in contradiction to hopes fostered by the previous rulings under Medicare.

I would greatly appreciate knowing what you intend to do about this, and when these people might again be brought under Medicare coverage.

With every good wish,
Sincerely,

THOMAS P. O'NEILL,
Member of Congress.

TV SHOWS ON OIL IMPORTS

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of the House to an important two-part television program on oil import policy scheduled for Sun-

day, March 29 and Sunday, April 5 at 10 p.m.

The National Educational Television network program "The Advocates" will deal with the question "Should the United States Eliminate All Tariffs and Import Quotas on Foreign Oil?"

It will be seen here in Washington on WETA, channel 26.

ENVIRONMENTAL NEWSLETTER

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, here is the text of a recent newsletter I am sending out to many Californians:

ENVIRONMENTAL NEWSLETTER

CONCERNED CALIFORNIANS WANT STRONGER GOVERNMENT ACTION ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

Over a half-million Californians responded to my recent questionnaire on a broad range of environmental issues, and the overall indication is that tougher, more positive government action should be forthcoming.

In addition to over 500-thousand questionnaire replies, my offices have been flooded with detailed letters from citizens with suggestions and comments on various environmental problems. Many of the recommendations are quite valuable, and could lead to new legislative and administrative proposals.

Already, the overwhelming show of support for strong government direction and action has influenced my legislative program. I have been drafting and introducing almost a dozen new proposals to augment what I already consider the strongest package of environmental legislation before the Congress, and next month's newsletter will go into greater detail about these new measures—all of which reflect the questionnaire results.

While we have not added up the individual tallies on question 8 which asked for a listing of national priorities for 1970, the top two issues by far were Vietnam and pollution. Here now is the final statewide breakdown of answers on the questions:

Do you favor proposals to ban the internal combustion gasoline engine unless it meets stringent exhaust emission standards?

Yes: 80 percent.

No: 20 percent.

Do you feel the oil companies and automobile manufacturers should be required to act more quickly to solve the problems of air pollution?

Yes: 96 percent.

No: 4 percent.

Do you favor a Federal Regulatory Commission on Environmental Quality?

Yes: 77 percent.

No: 23 percent.

Do you favor stronger government efforts to regulate shoreline use in order to substantially increase the amount of beach property available for public use?

Yes: 83 percent.

No: 17 percent.

Would you support stronger government efforts to regulate use of undeveloped open spaces, including advance acquisition of land for public use?

Yes: 82 percent.

No: 18 percent.

Would you support a complete ban on all federal offshore oil drilling except in national emergency?

Yes: 77 percent.

No: 23 percent.

Do you favor much stronger governmental efforts to educate the public as to the problems of over population?

Yes: 87 percent.

No: 13 percent.

SCIENCE COMMITTEE HOLDS ENVIRONMENTAL HEARINGS

Questionnaire results aided recent hearings conducted in Los Angeles and San Francisco by the Science, Research and Development subcommittee of the House Science and Astronautics Committee.

I acted as hearing chairman in the two days in San Francisco, and during the four days we heard from over 50 witnesses who gave their views on the topic, "Technology Assessment and Environmental Problems."

Certainly it became amply evident in the hearings that we need to develop an "ecological point of view" as well as new institutions to enable us to see more clearly the full range of factors involved in environmental planning.

The hearings also highlighted what appears to be increasing skepticism with the traditional and conventional beliefs that progress and economic growth are, in themselves per se, good. As Dr. John Dyckman of Berkeley noted at our hearings in San Francisco:

"For over a generation we have pointed to our National Income and Gross National Product as proud measures of our accomplishment. Now we may face the necessity of reevaluation of that output, perhaps by subtracting the costs of environmental clean-up from our output, and the massive transfer payments to the poor from our income."

It is clear that if we in California—and in this nation—are to achieve the kind of life to which we aspire, we may have to make some fundamental changes in our own life styles; in our views toward resource utilization, the application of our technologies, and the increasing growth of our population.

As one witness noted, the probability of some particular environmental catastrophe occurring is "proportional to the power of our technology, to the number of people on whose benefit that technology is exercised, and to the haste with which that technology is applied to ill-considered goals."

Dr. Willard Libby, the Nobel Prize-winning Chairman of the Department of Chemistry at UCLA, called for the development of new career category, that of Environmental Doctor. Dr. Libby testified that this new professional would be analogous to the Medical Doctor (M.D.). His patient would be the natural and human environment. Dr. Libby, in cooperation with Drs. A. J. Haagen-Smit and Chauncey Starr of UCLA, is presently developing an interdisciplinary curriculum for this new professional area. Final decision on the future of this concept as a formal degree will have to be made by the UCLA Administration and the State Board of Regents.

Dr. John Rodman, Professor of Political Studies at Pitzer College, had some cautionary words about the involvement of youth in environmental problems and the trends toward Pop Ecology:

"Pop Ecology is the religion of a coming generation of voters, and I think this will fundamentally change the nature of the political ballgame. It is terribly important that people in positions of authority in science, industry, and government not simply take offense at the Luddite mood—its symbolic destruction of machines, its "return to nature," etc.—but that they respond sympathetically and imaginatively to the concerns that animate it and to the legitimate questions it poses . . ."

Many witnesses at our hearings, such as Dr. Philip Lee, Chancellor of the University of California at San Francisco, called for large scale Federal reorganization to meet present and future environmental crises. As Dr. Lee noted:

"I would suggest that a further step must be taken in the Executive Branch in relation to programs affecting the environment. I believe a single agency should be established, either along the lines of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) or the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) to administer federal programs related to the quality of the environment."

I believe that it is imperative for the Congress to equip itself to assess technological developments, predict the probable consequences, and act to protect the American people against adverse results while assuring the nation of all possible benefits. To this end, our Subcommittee on Science, Research and Development—after three years of study—introduced recently a bill to establish within the Congress an Office of Technology Assessment (OTA). I believe this bill is of major historical significance both to the Congress and American people.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

A Washington, D.C., television station devotes part of three weekly newscasts to pictorial reports of who local polluters are and what they are doing. Area residents get in touch with the station, and the station takes it from there.

I like that idea. It involves local citizens in the environmental crusade, and it vividly points out just who are the major offenders.

I have decided to ask that you, as members of the Action Committee on Environmental Quality, participate in a similar project. We can compile a list of the California polluters—both public and private—with your cooperation.

To do this, we will need a photograph of the offender and the pollution it is causing. It is imperative that we have pictures if we are to prove our cases. Send the photos, with a very brief description, to the Action Committee, Box 69, Los Angeles, 90028.

ITALIAN-NASA AGREEMENT SIGNED

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I am very happy to report to the House of Representatives that the Italian National Research Commission and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration have entered into an agreement for the launching of Italian scientific spacecraft.

This is not the first such agreement and it indicates the fine cooperation which exists between this country and Italy in developing the techniques of using outer space for the benefit of mankind.

Following is a news release of the event:

ITALIAN-NASA AGREEMENT SIGNED

In an agreement signed today, the Italian National Research Commission (CNR) and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration set forth conditions under which NASA will provide reimbursable launchings for Italian scientific spacecraft.

The first spacecraft expected to be launched under the agreement will be the Italian satellite SIRIO to be placed in a 22,000 mile stationary orbit by a Delta rocket in 1972. The satellite, which will be designed and made in Italy, will carry telecommunications, technology and scientific experiments

which will be carried out with ground stations in Europe.

The agreement provides that separate launch contracts will be entered into for each launching requested by CNR and sets forth responsibilities of each party in connection with launchings.

CNR will provide the spacecraft and its experiments, will inform NASA of the spacecraft's design and mission, and will reimburse NASA for the launch vehicle and associated services.

NASA will furnish a rocket which will meet the mission requirements and will provide the launching, tracking and data acquisition and other services as needed.

The agreement was signed by Professor Giampietro Puppi of CNR and NASA Administrator Thomas O. Paine.

The present agreement is the second memorandum of understanding concerning reimbursable launchings entered into by NASA. The first was concluded with the European Space Research Organization Dec. 30, 1966.

149TH ANNIVERSARY OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, today marks the 149th anniversary of the struggle for Greek independence. It is a fitting occasion to salute those of Greek origin here in America who are among our most valued citizens, and it is also fitting to extend our hand of friendship across the sea to those in Greece who have pledged themselves to deter the forces of any despots who would rob their nation of its liberty and national independence.

Greece gave birth to the principles of freedom and democracy. Our Founding Fathers adopted these concepts to frame our Constitution, and we have continued to thrive on the basic philosophies handed down to us by the ancient Greek.

Out of the show of 400 years of oppressive rule under the Ottoman Turks, the first blow for Greek independence was struck by a small band of patriots headed by Ypsilanti on March 25, 1821. This bloody struggle for national independence lasted 7 succeeding years over land and sea before the Greek people finally managed to extricate themselves from Turkish rule.

Since the time the Archbishop of Patras raised his standard of the cross over his monastic establishment in 1821, we, here in America, have followed the course of dramatic events in Greece with heartfelt sympathy and interest.

We truly admire the traditions and history of this land across the sea whose brave people formed the true cradle of Western civilization. In fact the whole Western World has adapted Grecian art, Grecian architecture, and the paths and drama of the Greek theater. Grecian philosophy and arts run through the threads of American history, tightly interwoven and intermingled with the American way of life.

The Greek people are loved for their spirit and fire, and foremost for their

courage. From the time of the ancient Greek gladiators to the patriots who fought in the hills after World War II, Greeks have strived for the principles of liberty and freedom that we cherish in America. In fact the very principles of a sense of independence and freedom were ideals first conceptualized, fought for and died for in Greece.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot begin to recount the many contributions Americans of Hellenic extraction have made to this Nation. The list, which begins with such great names as Mitropoulos in music, Papanicolaou in medicine, Anagnostopoulos in education, Zachos in literature, and Vice President SPIRO T. AGNEW, runs on in a seemingly endless line.

To these great Americans, and to my brothers in the Order of the Ahepa, which I am proud to be a member of, and to all my friends of Hellenic extraction, I would like to extend my warmest best wishes on this day of celebration. I salute the 149th anniversary of Greek Independence Day.

FIFTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF AMERICAN LEGION

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, the American Legion, longtime champion of the American servicemen, longtime supporter of numerous youth programs, longtime watchdog of this Nation's liberty and democracy, observed its 51st anniversary early this month.

Since its beginning on March 15, 1919, by members of the first American Expeditionary Force in Paris, France, the Legion has expanded, until today it spreads across the face of the Nation. It includes more than 16,500 individual posts with more than 3 million members.

The accomplishments by the Legion have been vast and far flung. It has proven to be far more than an organization where returning servicemen gather to swap war stories. It is an organization which has spent more than half a century impressing upon individual citizens their obligation to safeguard this Nation's belief in justice, freedom, and democracy; to protect all we hold as sacred.

The Legion has helped servicemen adjust to their return to civilian life but it has done far more than that alone. It has assured the veteran of the welfare of his widow and children. The GI bill not only enabled veterans to further their education, thus bringing a tremendous return in benefits to the Federal Government for the money spent, but it also insured the right of veterans to many rehabilitation and compensation programs. The Legion worked tirelessly to extend these benefits to those who served in the Korean war and the Vietnam conflict.

The Legion has always been in the forefront of the fight against the spread of communism on all levels. It has initiated programs to inform the public of the insidious means used by this political

philosophy to undermine American principles.

The Legion has carried its belief in its motto, "For God and Country," into working with the youth of the Nation, guiding and instilling in them the ideals which have made America great.

It has spent approximately \$200 million since 1925 to protect the welfare of veterans' children; it has sponsored more than 4,000 Boy Scout units; thousands upon thousands of youth have taken advantage of its athletic programs. The best example of the latter, I believe, is its American Legion baseball program but there are others.

Outside the realm of athletics, the Legion has taken an active role in other youth activities. It has programs such as the Boys State and Nation, the Girls State and Nation, the National High School Oratorical Contest, and various scholarship awards.

The Legion and its work, I feel certain, has exceeded the dreams of its founders and the occasion of its 51st anniversary should not pass without official recognition from a grateful Nation. I take great pleasure to extend congratulations to all Legionnaires in all posts. I wish them the greatest of success in their future endeavors.

CENSUS BUREAU ISSUES CHINESE AND SPANISH LANGUAGE 1970 QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDES

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, as the Members know, one of the early and continuing concerns of the Subcommittee on Census and Statistics has been the adequacy of the procedures being developed by the Census Bureau to insure, in the 1970 census, a complete and accurate count of the population—particularly as regards our ethnic minorities, for, historically, these are the groups which have been most difficult to enumerate.

As chairman of the subcommittee, I have made an especial effort to keep the Congress informed of the Bureau's progress toward its goal of making the 1970 census the best ever enumerated. Recently, for example, I reported to the House that information about the census is being made available in 24 different languages to make certain that minority groups will be accurately enumerated.

Today, I wish to report on still another step taken by the Census Bureau to improve the census—a step which our subcommittee has long encouraged.

Special followup questionnaire guides, printed in Spanish and Chinese, will be made available to enumerators in applicable geographic areas, to be used when the householder indicates that he was unable to fill out the regular census questionnaire because of an insufficient understanding of the English language.

Since this is an important innovation in census methodology, and one in which

the entire membership has a direct interest, I will be glad to make available to the Members copies of these questionnaire guides.

THE 52D ANNIVERSARY OF BYELORUSSIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, for centuries the peoples of Russia suffered under the heavy yoke of Russian tsarism.

The outbreak of World War I created unique opportunities for those non-Russian peoples residing along the borderlands between the Russian Empire and Europe proper. Russia's distress created political advantages for these peoples that otherwise would have been denied them. The Byelorussians, like the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and others within the empire, seized the opportunity to establish their own national independence.

The first all-Byelorussian Congress met in Minsk on December 5, 1917, and adopted a resolution by an overwhelming majority which endorsed the right of nations to self-determination and called for the establishment of a democratic government to be designated the Byelorussian National Republic—BNR.

Sensing the danger to their own revolutionary interests, the Bolsheviks, who had seized power in November, surrounded the place where the Congress was being held and with a display of armed power broke up the meeting. By this action, Byelorussia became one of the first victims of Communist aggression.

On March 25, 1918, the Byelorussian Government proclaimed its total independence and set to work expanding its activities in all fields of national life. It was granted recognition by many states, but this was to be short lived.

On December 10, 1918, the Red army seized Minsk and established a government of military revolutionary committees. Byelorussia's efforts to establish an anti-Bolshevik force failed, and with the Treaty of Riga in 1921, ending the war between Poland and Bolshevik Russia, Byelorussia was partially divided between her neighbors, and the remainder came under Soviet control.

We can take little satisfaction from the fact that Byelorussia gained reunification after World War II, since she is still a slave under the Soviet Communist Government, in reality an extension of the czarist system.

Nor can we take satisfaction from the fact that in the U.N. General Assembly, the U.S.S.R., Byelorussia, and the Ukraine each have a separate vote as free and independent nations. Neither Byelorussia nor the Ukraine is free or independent, but merely married in bondage to a totalitarian system permeating all of eastern Europe.

Today, we have 1 million people of Byelorussian origin living in the free world, primarily in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Aus-

tralia. The fate of their countrymen and the fate of the other captive nations serve as testimony to remind us of those words spoken so accurately by J. Reuben Clark, Jr., former Ambassador to Mexico and Under Secretary of State, when he stated:

Tyranny has never come to live with any people with a placard on his breast bearing his name. He always comes in deep disguise, sometimes proclaiming an endowment of freedom, sometimes promising help to the unfortunate and downtrodden, not by creating something for those who do not have, but by robbing those who have. But tyranny is always a wolf in sheep's clothing, and he always ends by devouring the whole flock, saving none.

Mr. Speaker, let us pay homage to the country of Byelorussia and her people on this day, their 52d anniversary of independence. Let us all hope and pray that one day soon, we can truly celebrate the independence and freedom of Byelorussia as we did briefly in 1918.

YOUNG STUDENT PROMOTES DRUG EDUCATION

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, in our concern over drug education, we sometimes forget that mature teenagers can communicate better than adults. The following story illustrates this fact, I believe it might be of interest:

[From the Deseret News, Mar. 19, 1970]

SUSAN, 13, IS BAD NEWS TO BAY'S DRUG PUSHERS

NEWARK, CALIF.—Susan Dusio, 13, is bad news to local drug pushers.

The 4-foot-7, 70-pound eighth grader at MacGregor Junior High School is almost entirely responsible for arranging a week of drug-abuse education that taught 640 teenagers what the drug scene is all about.

"The response was indescribable," says Vice Principal Kenneth Strange. "She had help, of course, but Susan carried the ball from the very beginning and virtually handled the thing by herself. It wouldn't have happened without her."

The fact that Susan knew some teen-agers on drugs led her to choose that topic for a special report in history class.

"A lot of kids smoke, but cigarettes are not as bad as drugs. A lot of kids picked air pollution, but that's not as bad as drugs, so I picked drugs because it's the worst problem."

She sent for some literature and learned that speakers, exhibits and movies were available. Her teachers responded enthusiastically to her suggestion for a week of programs.

"It's important that kids get the right information on drugs, not lies and exaggerations," says Susan, who politely refuses whenever she is offered drugs, usually out of school.

She got on the telephone—to the state Narcotics Bureau in San Francisco, Alameda County authorities, the private Synanon House in Oakland, and to Headway, another volunteer group in Oakland working to stop the spread of drug abuse.

Susan lined up a list of speakers, exhibits, and movies, and a week in March was set aside by the school for the show. Local service

clubs and banks chipped in \$150 to help with expenses.

At the conclusion of the week of discussions, she was pleased with the results.

"A lot of kids seem to know more now about what it means to take drugs," Susan says. "I think some of them have a different point of view about it now. I hope so."

PLYMOUTH, MICH., YOUTHS PRODUCE BILLS IN SIMULATED SESSION

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, all too often the youth of America are judged by the headlines which a few destructive and revolutionary young people are able to engender. On the whole I believe that today's young people are the most interested, informed, and concerned generation our Nation has seen for a long time. They do more than talk about the issues. They look for constructive solutions and then work for the adoption of their proposals.

An excellent example of the constructive nature of today's young people was the simulated congressional session held by the Plymouth, Mich., American history classes. These students, who represent a cross section of students throughout the Nation, produced some very thoughtful "bills" during their session.

Because I believe all of us as Members of Congress are interested in the thoughts and ideas of America's young people, I submit their bills at this point in the RECORD:

AN AMENDMENT TO AUTHORIZE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL MINIMUM VOTING AGE

SECTION 1. Every citizen of the United States of America shall be qualified, after registering, to vote in any election in the United States when reaching the age of eighteen years, on or before the day of that election, with the following exceptions.

1. Those persons who are declared to be mentally incompetent shall not be accorded the right to vote, regardless of any and all other qualifications.

2. Those persons who are convicted of any felony shall forfeit their right to vote, regardless of any and all other qualifications, for the duration of their imprisonment.

SEC. 2. Any election is defined as all Federal, State, and local (municipal, county, and parish) elections, except when stated otherwise in this Constitution.

1. "State" as used in this amendment includes the District of Columbia.

SEC. 3. In regard to local elections, all persons qualified to vote shall be a resident of that locality (municipality, county, and parish), in which the election takes place, in accordance to that locality's required length of residency.

SEC. 4. In regard to State elections, all persons qualified to vote shall be a resident of that State, in which the election takes place, in accordance to that State's required length of residency.

SEC. 5. In regard to registration requirements, all States shall define those requirements necessary for registration within that State, with the following exceptions:

1. No State or political subdivision (counties, Municipalities, and parishes) may re-

quire the use of any test or device as a prerequisite for registration or voting.

2. No State or political subdivision may deny any qualified voter, formerly a resident of that State or political subdivision, the right to vote in any presidential election, if that person does not meet the residency and registration requirements of that State or political subdivision in which that person resides at the time of that election.

3. No State or political subdivision may require any other minimum voting age than eighteen years of any qualified voter, as previously defined, in any election.

THE PIKE BILL—1970 EDUCATION ACT

PART I

An act to provide subsidies for inadequate public education facilities on the Federal level.

SECTION 1. The Federal Government of the United States shall provide financial assistance to those school districts which indicate the necessity.

1. The above aid shall be distributed in ratio to the tax base thereof.

2. The said tax base of each district shall be rated on a national scale having those districts that rate in the bottom 30% (percentile) of the said scale shall be eligible for application of Federal subsidies of part one of this section.

3. After the said application has been approved by the committee on Health, Education, and Welfare, funds shall be directed to and under the auspices of each accepted district through the Board of Education of that district.

PROPOSAL 796: VIETNAMIZATION POLICY

SECTION I. DE-ESCALATION OF TROOP SUPPORT IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Act I

Effective February 1, 1970, and continuing for 18 months, the Defense Department of the United States shall withdraw 29,700 American troops monthly, from fighting in Vietnam.

Act II

That withdrawn American troops shall be replaced by the South Vietnamese Army. To assist South Vietnam in withstanding opposing forces, the United States shall instruct military advisors to train the South Vietnamese Army in strategic warfare, during the withdrawal period.

SECTION II. UNITED STATES POLICY AFTER WITHDRAWAL

Act I

That the United States shall support the financing of the war, after the troop withdrawal until such a time that a truce has been ratified in Vietnam. United States shall continue to attend the peace talks in Paris on behalf of the government of South Vietnam.

Act II

That the United States shall reinstate troops in South Vietnam, at such a time that a major foreign power declares war or sends troops to Vietnam to assist the North Vietnamese in an act of aggression against the country of South Vietnam.

PROGRAM FOR DEESCALATING THE VIETNAM CONFLICT AND TO PROVIDE A PROGRAM FOR ECONOMICAL SUPPORT OF VIETNAM

ARTICLE I

SECTION 1. A speedy withdrawal of existing offensive armed forces in Vietnam shall be accomplished by a timetable set on the basis of two years as a deadline. The years to accomplish this task shall be divided into four quarters, each a separate but equal time of six months.

(A) the first quarter—forty percent (40%) of the existing Army combat units shall be withdrawn

(B) the second quarter—an additional twenty percent (20%) of the original Army forces shall be withdrawn as well as forty percent (40%) of the Marine force and ten percent (10%) of the Air Force

(C) the third quarter—an additional thirty percent (30%) of the Army, thirty percent (30%) of the Marine Corps shall be withdrawn

(D) the fourth quarter—the remaining armed forces of the United States of America shall be withdrawn that are offensive in purpose

(E) any forces still stationed in Vietnam at the end of two years shall be only for defense of noncombatant personnel and to train the Army of the Republic of the South Vietnam. Under no circumstances will these forces become offensive in nature or purpose

(F) this timetable is affective immediately as the bill is passed.

SEC. 2. This section is to provide for a volunteer support group in Vietnam that will be supported by the government of the United States. The purpose of this support group will be:

(A) define any noncombatant personnel on mission in Vietnam by approval of the United States Government and the South Vietnamese Government

(B) train and instruct the Army of South Vietnam with approval of both governments—any member of this force shall be under the U.S. Army and Congressional Committee on Vietnam Affairs.

If the conditions of support group as stated below exist, the following steps shall be taken:

(A) if the support group is not strong enough for its purpose the difference of needed men shall be made up with regular Army personnel. The sole purpose of this force is to define noncombatant personnel on mission or duty by the approval of the United States Government.

(B) If the support group is too strong, an adequate force will remain to protect the said personnel. The remainder may either return to the regular U.S. Army, or by their choice become a unit of the South Vietnamese Army (with South Vietnam's approval) and thus severing all ties and support from the U.S. Army.

ARTICLE II

SECTION 1. The establishment of a Congressional-Civilian Committee known as the Committee on Vietnamese Affairs (C.V.A.). The committee shall be composed of ten (10) members and a chairman. Present on the committee will be:

(A) Two members of the House of Representatives who shall be chosen by a majority vote in the House.

(B) Two members of the Senate who shall be chosen by a majority vote of the Senate.

(C) A military tactician who has the knowledge to realize the needs of the South Vietnamese Army so that training and equipping the army shall be conducted in an orderly and intelligent manner.

(D) Five members shall be representing the Vietnamese Government.

(1) one shall be an economic expert of Vietnam.

(2) one shall be an agricultural expert of Vietnam.

(3) one shall be a financier who recognizes the financial problems of South Vietnam.

(4) two shall be representing the President of South Vietnam as his advisors.

(E) All committee members belong to the committee for its duration unless:

(1) they resign.

(2) they are voted out by a two-thirds majority vote by the committee.

(3) they no longer hold their political seat in the United States Government.

(F) The duration of the committee is to be ten (10) years.

At the end of that time, if there is still a need for the committee, the existing committee shall continue until both Houses of Congress feel it is unnecessary.

SEC. 2. Purpose for establishing the Committee on Vietnam Affairs will be:

(A) Overseas troop withdrawal.

(B) Release funds from the war to be channeled to the committee for purposes of:

(1) equipping and training the South Vietnamese Army

(2) developing a suitable agricultural program for South Vietnam

(3) help the Government of South Vietnam care for its citizens by the following means:

(a) medical—to set up health and medical needs

(b) providing food, housing, and etc.

(c) develop a practical education system through the Peace Corps.

SEC. 3. Any American in Vietnam is responsible to the committee, with the exception of regular combat army units (not the volunteer support group) who are stationed in Vietnam for Defensive action only. Any person not an American, but working for the Government of the United States is also responsible to the C.V.A.

SEC. 4. All official meetings of the C.V.A. are open to the public. The minutes of the meeting are to be printed and posted. Mailing lists will be available to any interested citizen who subscribes to it. The meetings will be held in Vietnam for three months out of the year, and the remaining nine months the meetings will be in Washington D.C.

SEC. 5. The committee has the power to establish study groups at any time for any specific problem in Vietnam. At any time the financier must have the use and amount of allotted funds available. The committee is open at all times for investigation by the President, Vice-President, and Congress. All study groups must be approved by the President, Vice-President and Congress.

JOINT ACT OF 1970

I. It shall be unlawful for any person to manufacture, possess, have under his control, or compound any narcotic drug.

II. If convicted for dealing with marijuana the accused will not lose his public rights of: right to vote, right to hold public office, and the right to receive a passport.

III. Maximum penalties for possession of marijuana will be as follows: (1) First offenders will be sentenced to 1 to 5 years probation and an additional \$200 to \$500 fine. (2) Second offenders will be subjected to 1 to 5 years in jail and \$500 to \$1,000 fine.

IV. Maximum penalties for sale of marijuana will be as follows: (1) First offenders will be subjected to two to ten years or \$2,000 to \$5,000 fine. (2) Second offenders will receive a mandatory 7 to 15 years or \$5,000 to \$10,000 fine.

V. It is proposed that the government of the United States set up and finance a Government Drug center and hospital.

SMITH BILL—PROPOSED BILL ON NEW FEDERAL MARIJUANA LAW

(A) Marijuana, (scientifically called *Cannabis sativa* in the plant form) in the United States of America shall be legal and federally controlled and taxed. It will be permissible for any enterprise, which is in accordance with federal and state governments to engage in the purchasing, selling, and advertising of marijuana. The tax put on marijuana shall be 30% of total retail cost.

(B) However, it will be illegal for any individual under the age of seventeen years to be in the possession of, or under the direct influence of, marijuana in any of its forms.

(C) Penalties by law, for first and second offense, the individual (under the age of seventeen) discovered in possession of mari-

juana will be 1, no more than a fine of one hundred dollars minimum to no more than five hundred dollars maximum. 2. The third offense shall be a fine of one hundred dollars minimum and five hundred maximum plus one year probation. 3. For subsequent offenses a minimum of three months to a maximum of twelve months detention and fine as specified in section a paragraph C.

EMERGENCY

HON. WILLIAM LLOYD SCOTT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, on March 24, an editorial appeared in the Richmond Times-Dispatch, a daily newspaper published in the capital city of Virginia and which serves my congressional district, entitled "Emergency." This editorial is related not only to the postal strike but also to possible strikes by other public and quasi-public workers. It brings out the fact that a strike by public employees is not only illegal but a felony and states that if the right of public employees to strike and to shut down essential government activities in defiance of law is permitted, the state of emergency can pass to a state of ruin.

In my opinion, this is a very thoughtful editorial alerting us to the danger of any change in thinking that would shift public opinion away from the rule of law upon which this and all orderly societies are based. While I do not advocate making an example of the postal workers who went out on strike or dealing harshly with individual workers, I do believe the Government has an obligation to see that the leadership is taught that defiance of law will not result in personal benefit to individuals or organizations.

The editorial is set forth below:

EMERGENCY

President Nixon is only partly right. A state of emergency does indeed exist in this nation, but it was not created over the weekend by the outrageous postal strike that has crippled a service essential to the life of the country.

The postal strike is but the latest, and most dramatic, manifestation of an ugly, virulent attitude that has been spreading through the United States for the past several years. It is an attitude that holds established processes of government in utter contempt and favors coercion as the principal instrument for achieving a particular goal. This pernicious doctrine is gnawing at the very fabric of our society, making it ever more susceptible to lawlessness.

Our legislative bodies, designed to represent all the people, not just groups with power and pressure, are too slow for some members of the Now Generation. So are our courts. Rather than work through such bodies to promote their causes, some impatient organizations take to the streets and attempt to force governments to accede to their demands. The rights of the majority may be overwhelmed by the wishes of a minority.

Civil rights activists helped to popularize such tactics in the years following the United States Supreme Court's school desegregation decision 16 years ago. Opponents of the war in Vietnam have used them. So have students, foes of public work projects and oth-

ers. Is there a program or a project or a law that displeases somebody? Well, there's an excellent chance that eventually there'll be an organized extralegal or illegal move against it. Even Richmond's City Council was told that unless it rescinded a ban on leaf-burning, some residents of the newly annexed area might stage a "burn-in" to show their contempt for the law.

That illegal tactics are sometimes used to promote a noble cause or to discredit a bad law does not justify them. Mobs of the Old West occasionally lynched a guilty horse thief, but who would attempt to defend lynching?

The postal strike is illegal, no question about that. At least 15 years ago, Congress enacted a law making it a felony for a federal worker to strike. Each striking postal worker is subject to a \$1,000 fine and up to a year and a day in jail.

But the view that public employees should not strike is older, much older than that law. When he was governor of Massachusetts in 1919, Calvin Coolidge supported the dismissal of some striking Boston policemen, saying "there is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime."

But strike the postal workers did. What inspired such audacity? Successful displays of force by other groups, including other public employees, that's what. New York City especially has a history of appeasing illegal strikers—garbage collectors, transit workers and others. If these men could defy the law and profit as a result, postal workers must have asked themselves, why can't we?

Now the nation faces a severe test. It cannot allow the postal workers to bully it into action on postal pay increases, no matter how desirable such increases might be, and it cannot allow those responsible for this challenge to the no-strike law to get away with what they have done.

Even if President Nixon succeeds in delivering the mail with troops, and even if postal workers do return to work promptly, the United States government—and established authority throughout the land—will be in deep trouble unless somebody is punished for this illegal strike. Other groups of public employees throughout the United States, seeing that they can strike with impunity, might be encouraged to follow the postal workers' lead. And special interest groups might be more convinced than ever that the best way to get action from a government is to threaten to disrupt it in some serious way.

Unless this notion is squashed immediately, the United States will pass from a state of emergency to a state of ruin.

BYELORUSSIAN INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATION

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, freedom of the individual is the highest goal of man. It is to this end that all should aspire. Those already enjoying the fruits of liberty and democracy must work for those still restricted and oppressed. It is with this in mind that I rise today to pay tribute to the people of Byelorussia who today celebrate the 52d anniversary of the Byelorussian Declaration of Independence. I urge the continuance of the pursuit of the liberty and freedom of all people.

LABOR SECRETARY SHULTZ ON THE NEW FEDERALISM

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of Labor George Shultz addressed the management conference of the Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago, last week.

His speech is excellent and one of the best presentations of the new federalism of the Nixon administration I have seen.

I intend to insert the full text at the end of my remarks, but because it is a lengthy address I would like to highlight one particular section.

The credo of the New Federalist, as I see it—

The Secretary said—

is this:

We must act as one nation in determining national goals;

We must act as a federation of States and localities in meeting those goals, providing leeway for local option and individual diversity;

The Federal government and the courts must provide checks against any unfairness inflicted by local government, and local government must be able to provide checks against unfairness caused by national standards;

Power must be permitted to seek its own level of efficient response, flowing to that level of government closest to the people and willing and able to exercise it;

Local innovation and voluntary action must be aggressively encouraged, which limits the liability of the failure of worthwhile experiments and raises the chances of finding practical solutions;

We must reinstall a new respect for individual responsibility and personal freedom, recognizing that the dignity of work is the counterpart of human dignity;

The individual citizen must think and act on two levels: He must contribute to the determination of our national goals and then must involve himself locally in making those goals a reality where he lives.

This may not seem like a revolutionary credo, but if it is followed in our time, it could have the same revolutionary impact that followed the acceptance of the ideas of the original Federalists.

The complete text follows:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF LABOR GEORGE P. SHULTZ

I don't think the Nixon Administration is being well enough criticized.

I did not say we weren't being criticized enough. I said not well enough. Here is what I mean:

In domestic as well as in foreign affairs, the President is pursuing a strategy. You may not agree with his strategy; but I think you owe it to yourselves to come to grips with that strategy, to try to understand this Administration's philosophy, so you can criticize it fairly and constructively.

One of the cliches of this Administration is a phrase taken from professional football—"game plan." Whenever I make a proposal, or whenever we come up with a new tactic, we have to show how it fits in the overall game plan.

Today, I would like to go beyond the confines of being a spokesman in the field of labor, to try to explain what our Administration game plan is. There are some who

will call it madness, but even they will have to admit there is some method in it.

Let me begin by suggesting what our method is *not*. We are not professional zig-zaggers. We are not trying to sell liberal principles with conservative rhetoric, or vice versa. We are not trying to heal the nation's differences by "splitting the difference."

Our preference for a theoretical underpinning shows in many ways. At a Washington Redskins football game last season, there was a blatantly bad call by the referee on pass interference. Edward Bennett Williams, owner of the team, yelled "Bad call!" Former Chief Justice Warren, sitting next to him, said in a dignified way "Poor judgment." And Henry Kissinger rose to his feet, shook his fist at the referee, and shouted "On what theory?"

We ask ourselves "on what theory?" all the time. The theory, or political philosophy, that has emerged after one year has been called the New Federalism. I submit to you that it is more than a catch phrase; it is a new approach, one that has evolved from the national experience, one deserving careful analysis by thoughtful men.

To grasp the new approach, you have to cast out one of the basic measurements of political ideology—the idea of liberal versus conservative, the old political spectrum of left and right. It will be a wrench to set aside this familiar caliper, but it does not measure what is going on in government today.

That is because, in the past decade, liberals and conservatives found themselves using the same language in describing their common complaints.

Liberals were complaining that government was becoming unresponsive—that there was a greater need for local and citizen involvement. This sounded like the old conservative demand for decentralization.

Conservatives, on the other hand, were saying that our welfare system and our educational establishment were in need of fundamental reform, to correct the unfairness built in over three decades of trying to cure social ills. Liberals found little to argue about in that.

It was as if the nation had gone through a gigantic half-time and the old opponents had switched sides, each now marching on the other's former goal.

But the change is deeper than that. The change centered on a unique area of agreement. As a Labor Secretary, it is my job to discover areas of agreement in what appear to be positions of great dispute, and I can certainly see one here.

Liberals and conservatives agree on the need for a new fairness in American life. And hopefully, through this new sense of fairness we can achieve greater efficiency in the administration of domestic affairs.

Liberals and conservatives agree on the need for a selective decentralization of government.

Liberals and conservatives agree on a reform of our institutions that makes the setting of national standards a national affair and makes the detailed administration of government programs a very local affair.

The New Federalism broadens and deepens these areas of agreement. In essence, the New Federalism calls upon us to act as one nation in setting the standards of fairness, and then to act as congeries of communities in carrying out those standards. We are nationalizing equity as we localize control, while retaining a continued federal stewardship to insure that national standards are attained.

The best way to explain any theory is to cite examples. And the examples are there, in the field of labor and in many others.

Take welfare. A national sense of fairness says that a man who is working ought to make more than a man who is not working. A national common sense says that a work-

ing man who makes less than a man on welfare across the street will be inclined to stop working.

To introduce that element of fairness in our family assistance proposal, we aim to assist the working poor in a way that will always make it profitable to work.

But to permit diversity, to encourage localities and States to make their own decisions on the degree to which they want to help the less fortunate, we provide an income floor but no ceiling. It is up to the States and cities to administer large portions of this program consistent with national goals and to decide for themselves how much more they are able to do.

Thus, we have a *national minimum* on family assistance—as the President puts it, "no child is worth more in one State than in another," as far as the Federal government is concerned. At the same time, we have *local participation* in administration and local say-so on what more should be done. National fairness, local diversity.

Take manpower training, really a classic example of this New Federalism. On the national level, we recognize the need for training people for new and better jobs, and the need to fund this activity. But most labor markets are local in scope—this is where the action is and this is where the best judgment concerning the use of resources should be. The basic way we have proposed to handle this situation is to provide incentives for State and local government and private sponsors to get into the act—providing more money and more local control in specific stages, as localities develop the means to put these programs into action. Again, national fairness, local assumption of control.

Another example in the labor area—safety standards. Two million workers a year are injured on the job. On the Federal level the President's proposal would set up a national Occupational Safety and Health Board; its standards are to be adapted and administered by the States, as they demonstrate their capacity to take this over. The enforcement of safety standards is local, with national monitors. The Federal government pays 90% of the State's planning costs, then shares the administrative costs on a 50-50 basis. Again, national standards, local administration and enforcement, a reserve federal "clout."

Attaining our national goal of equal opportunity in employment is another example of the New Federalism. Where Federal funds are used, affirmative action can be used to eliminate discrimination in employment on the part of management or labor. In our Philadelphia Plan, we put this into practical action in the construction industry for the first time—and not without considerable controversy. But there is no necessity for the mechanical application of Federal standards if the local people can work out a strong agreement among themselves. In this case, as in so many others, there is no solution like a hometown solution—provided it works toward our national goal.

I could cite a dozen other examples of this New Federalist approach—in our environmental program, that sets anti-pollution standards and provides for local enforcement and a sharing of the financing of treatment facilities; in tax policy, that removes seven million poor from the tax rolls and provides a greater incentive to start working; in our computerized job bank, that looks toward a national information system with local and regional participation and control.

In case after case, the pattern is clear—a concern for fairness as a nation, a concern for diversity as a people, a recognition of federal stewardship.

But while it is a clear pattern, it is not a simple one. You cannot label this "decentralization"—because the establishment of so many national standards, in so many fields, is a form of centralization. But this is done in

a way that does not dehumanize and depersonalize government, resulting in alienated people and ineffective bureaucracy. It is done in a way that decentralizes administration and encourages local participation, bringing about the best of both worlds—fairness and citizen involvement. At least, that is what we are hoping to do.

By taking this tack, we hope to reestablish in the American people their faith in the responsiveness of their government to what they consider to be fair.

By following this method we call the New Federalism, we hope to reestablish self-reliance on the part of individuals and strength in the institutions of local and State government and voluntary agencies.

And by pursuing these principles, we hope to achieve a society more pluralistic in its operation and more equal in its opportunity. We do not believe that equality of opportunity is the enemy of diversity.

If we are successful with our philosophy—in actually bringing about this realignment of power between the levels of government, what sort of nation will we become?

We will no longer be divided by the fear of centralized domination and the personal alienation such domination always brings.

At the same time we will not be a nation where tranquility and calm and harmony reign supreme. A national nirvana is not in the cards for America.

We have seen what happens in the arena of labor relations when strikes and lock-outs and sabotage are replaced by orderly grievance procedures. Labor and management do not become sweethearts; opposing economic forces do not merge their goals. What does happen, in the best of times, is that the force of the antagonism is channeled through an institution that permits progress for all the antagonists.

In the same way, under the New Federalism, the relatively poor will not lose their envy of the rich. The States will not lose their reluctance to part with power to either the local or national government. The federal bureaucracy will not lose its capacity for either initiative or inertia. Tensions will continue to exist, and indeed they should exist—provided we can build those institutions that channel these tensions into progress for all. We are not slicing a pie, we are building a cathedral. Productive tension, the modern descendant of "divine discontent," is the mortar we need to build it.

One job of government in the final third of this century is to encourage competition among the centers of power without allowing it to become cutthroat competition and without taking the easy way out toward the monopoly of centralization. To abolish all tension would be to lose our freedom; we intend to harness tension and make it productive.

On the basis of the examples I have given you this evening I believe you can discern a strategy that is being put into action. It may be helpful to those who like to plot our future moves, because the New Federalism approach of this Administration has built in to government not only credibility, but predictability. It will be useful in doing what I said was needed at the beginning of my talk: in criticizing us about how well we do what we have set out to do.

The credo of the New Federalist, as I see it, is this:

We must act as one nation in determining national goals;

We must act as a federation of States and localities in meeting those goals, providing leeway for local option and individual diversity;

The Federal government and the courts must provide checks against any unfairness inflicted by local government, and local government must be able to provide checks against unfairness caused by national standards;

Power must be permitted to seek its own level of efficient response, flowing to that level of government closest to the people and willing and able to exercise it;

Local innovation and involuntary action must be aggressively encouraged, which limits the liability of the failure of worthwhile experiments and raises the chances of finding practical solutions;

We must reinstate a new respect for individual responsibility and personal freedom, recognizing that the dignity of work is the counterpart of human dignity;

The individual citizen must think and act on two levels: He must contribute to the determination of our national goals and then must involve himself locally in making those goals a reality where he lives.

This may not seem like a revolutionary credo, but if it is followed in our time, it could have the same revolutionary impact that followed the acceptance of the ideas of the original Federalists.

In spelling out the fundamental principles of a new approach to government, I have had to oversimplify. In actual operation, it is infinitely complex—far more complex, I submit, than a doctrinaire liberalism or conservatism.

These are some of the questions we face in putting these principles into practice:

What issues or problems lend themselves to national standards and which do not? For example, air and water pollution, crossing interstate lines, calls for a national approach—and an interstate highway system can hardly be developed on the basis of purely local initiative. On the other hand, a broad range of municipal and State services are better dealt with entirely at that level, assuming that these services can be adequately financed. That is what the President's proposed Revenue Sharing Plan is all about. Nevertheless, the question is a tough one and the answer is as tough, or perhaps complex, as the question itself.

Another complex question: How can we be sure, in the process of decentralization, that the local government can handle the job? To paraphrase a revolutionary slogan, decentralization without preparation is abdication. For example, we know it would be far more effective for local government to administer our manpower training programs. When you sit in Washington and pull the strings, you discover an awful lot of slack in almost every string. On the other hand—there's that phrase again—when you sit in Omaha and a Federal program is dumped in your lap, you are not likely to have the organization to make use of it effectively. What we have done in this situation is to get up a phased-in decentralization. Planning money is provided 90% by the Federal government; as soon as a State shows it has a plan to handle program administration, it gets administrative control of part of the program; as soon as that plan reaches a certain level of success, it earns a large slice of control, until, at its own pace, it is ready to handle the entire administrative job.

Another complexity: How do we decentralize when local political boundaries make little economic sense? A labor market does not live within a city limits, and a transportation system doesn't end at the county line. For this reason, in many cases we have been encouraging metropolitanism, or regional planning, in an effort to help make the political system fit the problems it is called on to meet, and not the other way around.

Let me conclude with a reference that illustrates in a different way the spirit of the New Federalism.

Those of you who are familiar with industrial relations know about "the Hawthorne effect." Some years ago, experiments were conducted at the Hawthorne Works of the Western Electric Company in Chicago. These experiments dealt with the effect of different

physical variables on productivity. One of these variables was the intensity of the lighting. The workers were told that the light level of their work area would be raised to see if productivity increased. It was, and it did, to the accompaniment of much attention to the experiment and the workers involved. The light was increased some more, and again productivity rose. Then somebody had the bright—or dim—idea of telling them the lighting would be lowered to its original level and, surprisingly enough, productivity still rose. This experiment led to the identification of the so-called "Hawthorne effect". The level of lighting wasn't nearly as important as the active participation and sense of importance of the workers in the experiment.

I have not told this story merely to revalidate my academic credentials. In government today, we are involving the people in an experiment to replace the deadening "Washington effect" with a constructive "Hawthorne effect". The very fact of our effort to try a new approach, a new experiment in government, involving the people in this experiment, should have a stimulating effect of its own and help make that experiment succeed.

That is what we, as a nation, are searching for. When this Administration is over—hopefully, in the year this nation reaches its 200th anniversary—we hope to have introduced new standards of fairness, new respect for diversity, and a new spirit of confidence in our system of government.

DEFOLIANTS IN VIETNAM

HON. JOHN DELLENBACK

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, on February 9, I inserted into the RECORD Thomas Whiteside's excellent New Yorker article concerning the effects of defoliants upon the people and environment of Vietnam. In the March 14 issue of that magazine, Mr. Whiteside has amplified his previous effort by comparing the concentrations of chemical herbicides used in Vietnam with those permissible in the United States.

There is overwhelming evidence that defoliants produce extensive skin eruptions, disorders of the nervous system, fatigue, and depression. It is our domestic practice that, when doubt is cast regarding the safety of a substance produced for human consumption, the Food and Drug Administration immediately withdraws that product from the market. The dioxin contaminants in 2,4,5-T produce birth deformities, yet this herbicide continues to be used in Vietnam. Moreover, the rates of concentration are 13 times greater than those considered safe and effective by the manufacturer.

In October 1969, Dr. Lee DuBridge restricted the use of 2,4,5-T to those areas of Vietnam remote from population. In addition, he ordered the FDA to find a safe level of concentration of 2,4,5-T or cancel permits for its domestic use on January 1, 1970. I was very pleased to learn of Dr. DuBridge's position. My colleagues might be interested to know that today I addressed a letter of inquiry to Dr. DuBridge concerning discrepancies between U.S. policy and practice with regard to potentially dangerous chemical

herbicides. In addition, I commend the following most recent New Yorker article to the Congress:

DEPARTMENT OF AMPLIFICATION
NEW YORK,
March 5, 1970.

The EDITORS,
The New Yorker.

DEAR SIR: In an article that appeared in *The New Yorker* on February 7th, I wrote that Dr. Lee DuBridge, the President's science adviser, issued a statement last October at the White House saying that because a laboratory study had shown a "higher than expected number of deformities" in the fetuses of mice and rats exposed to the herbicide 2,4,5-T, agencies of the United States government would take action to restrict the use of that substance in this country and in Vietnam, where it was being used in extensive military defoliation operations. This action, Dr. DuBridge announced, would include the cancellation, by January 1st of this year, of Department of Agriculture permits for the use of 2,4,5-T on some American food crops unless the Food and Drug Administration had by then been able to determine a safe concentration of the herbicide in foods. Dr. DuBridge further announced that the Department of Defense would thenceforth "restrict the use of 2,4,5-T to areas remote from the population" in Vietnam. His statement added that these actions and others "will assure the safety of the public while further evidence [of the alleged harmful effects of 2,4,5-T] is being sought."

Four months have passed, and 2,4,5-T is still being used as widely as ever. The Department of Agriculture has yet to cancel its permits for the use of the herbicide on food crops in this country, and the Department of Defense is continuing to use it in populated areas of Vietnam. In the meantime, officials of the Dow Chemical Company, which is one of the largest producers of 2,4,5-T, have been maintaining that the samples of 2,4,5-T used in the study cited by Dr. DuBridge, which was done by the Bionetics Research Laboratories, of Bethesda, Maryland, were uncharacteristic of the 2,4,5-T currently being produced, because the material tested by Bionetics—which did not come from Dow—was contaminated to an unusual extent by a toxic substance identified as symmetrical 2,3,6,7-tetrachlorodibenzo-p-dioxin. This contaminant, usually called dioxin, was alleged by the Dow people to be present in the Bionetics samples at a concentration of approximately twenty-seven parts per million, and they claim that the 2,4,5-T that Dow is currently producing contains the dioxin contaminant in concentrations of less than one part per million. The Dow people maintain that their currently produced 2,4,5-T does not appear to have the effect of deforming rat fetuses. In January, a Dow official told the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "We strongly urge that action concerning the status of 2,4,5-T be held in abeyance until [Dow's] testing program is completed [in] April." The United States government's failure so far to place the promised restrictions on the use of 2,4,5-T in this country may in part be attributed to this plea.

Because of the seriousness of the issues involved, it seems to me that the government's failure to act on the use of 2,4,5-T here and in Vietnam calls for much fuller public discussion. Even though the dioxin contaminant may now be present in 2,4,5-T in what the Dow Chemical Company apparently considers to be no more than tolerable amounts, the substance is of such potency that its release even in small concentrations must prompt deep concern. In the presumably more heavily dioxin-contaminated samples of 2,4,5-T that were used in the Bionetics work, the smallest dosages of 2,4,5-T that the test animals were given caused extensive deformities in fetuses. In more recent

studies of the dioxin contaminant, conducted by Dr. Jacqueline Verrett, of the Food and Drug Administration (who earlier was responsible for revealing the carcinogenicity of cyclamates), extensive teratogenic, or fetus-deforming, effects were discovered in chick embryos when the dioxin, or a distillate predominantly consisting of it, was present at concentrations of little more than a trillionth of a gram per gram of the egg. The magnitude of this effect on chick embryos may be gathered from the fact that, according to Dr. Verrett's studies, the dioxin appears to be a million times as potent a fetus-deforming agent as the notorious teratogen thalidomide was found to be in tests on chicks. Of course, chick embryos are far down the biological ladder from human fetuses, and they are also extremely sensitive to many substances.

But even if, for theoretical purposes, we reduced the teratogenic power of the dioxin, as shown in Dr. Verrett's chick-embryo studies, approximately a million times, we would still have to consider that we were dealing with a substance as teratogenically potent as thalidomide. That the United States government permits, the presence, even in minute amounts of such a substance in herbicidal mixtures to be sold for spraying on food crops and on suburban lawns—where some of the chemical may enter shallow wells and other drinking-water supplies—is hardly reassuring. And it is particularly disturbing when one reflects that in the quarter of a century in which 2,4,5-T was used prior to Dr. DuBridge's announcement not a single regulatory agency of the United States government, nor the Department of Defense—which has been spreading huge quantities of 2,4,5-T on vast areas of Vietnam—and not, as far as is known, the researchers for any one of the half-dozen large American chemical companies producing the material had ever so much as opened up a pregnant mouse to determine whether 2,4,5-T or the dioxin contaminant in it did any systemic or pathogenic harm to the fetus. Several studies of the sort are now under way, but the United States government still seems to take the position that the 2,4,5-T produced by Dow and other large chemical companies should be considered innocent until it is proved to be otherwise. Meanwhile, 2,4,5-T is being sprayed on certain crops and on areas where it may come into contact with human beings, cattle, and wildlife. In Vietnam, it is still being sprayed by the military in concentrations that average thirteen times as great as those that the manufacturers themselves recommended as safe and effective for use in this country.

It is true that the teratogenicity of dioxin—as distinct from dioxin-contaminated 2,4,5-T—has not yet been established in tests conducted on experimental animals of mammalian species. However, the direct toxic, or body-poisoning, effects—as distinct from fetus-deforming effects—of dioxin are known to be very high both in animals and in human beings. In past studies on rats, dosages of forty-five millionths of a gram per kilo of the mother's body weight have been found to kill fifty per cent of the offspring. When dioxin was given orally to pregnant rats in recent tests, it was found, on preliminary investigation, to kill all fetuses with dosages of eight millionths of a gram per kilo of the mother's body weight, and to damage fetuses with dosages of a half-millionth of a gram per kilo.

Further, the effects of dioxin on human beings, even in small dosages, are known to be serious. In the past, in plants manufacturing 2,4,5-T an illness called chloracne seems to have been widespread among the workers. In the mid-sixties, Dow was obliged to close down part of a 2,4,5-T plant in Midland, Michigan, for some time because about sixty workers contracted chloracne as a result of contact with dioxin, which seems to be always present in varying degrees during

the process of manufacturing 2,4,5-T and in the finished 2,4,5-T itself. The symptoms of this disease include extensive skin eruptions, disorders of the central nervous system, chronic fatigue, lassitude, and depression. Workers at a 2,4,5-T plant in New Jersey run by another company suffered similar symptoms in the mid-sixties, and six years later some of them were reported to be still suffering from the effects of the disease. In Germany, since the mid-fifties, workers in factory after factory producing 2,4,5-T and polychlorophenolic compounds have been afflicted with chloracne after absorbing apparently only minute amounts of the dioxin contaminant; their symptoms have been described in several medical papers as including liver damage, nervous and mental disorders, depression, loss of appetite and weight, and markedly reduced sexual drive.

A few weeks ago, when a reporter approached an official in Dr. DuBridge's office for information on 2,4,5-T he was told that he would be given White House cooperation "only to a certain extent," because the official didn't want "wild speculation" stirred up. He cited as an example of "wild speculation" the recent controversy over the birth-control pill, which, he said, had "caused millions of women to get hysterical with worry." The reporter replied that he didn't think the analogy between 2,4,5-T and the Pill was a particularly good one, for the reason that a woman using the Pill could employ alternative methods of contraception, whereas a Vietnamese woman exposed to herbicidal spray put down by the American military had no choice in the matter.

But perhaps the comparison between 2,4,5-T (and its dioxin contaminant) and commonly used pills is worth pursuing. Suppose that such a dangerous substance as dioxin were found to be contained in a pill offered for human consumption in this country, and suppose that the contaminant were present in such minute amounts that an adult following the prescribed dosage might ingest a hundredth of a millionth of a gram of the contaminant per day. There is no doubt whatever that, according to existing Food and Drug Administration standards, the F.D.A. would immediately ban production and sale of the pill on the ground that it was highly dangerous to public health; in fact, the amount of such a potent contaminant that the F.D.A. would permit in a pill under the agency's present policy on toxicity would almost certainly be zero.

While 2,4,5-T, with or without the dioxin contaminant, doesn't come in pill form, it may be worthwhile to try to calculate, on the basis of a hypothetical pill, how much 2,4,5-T (and dioxin) a Vietnamese woman living in an area sprayed by the American military might ingest in a day. It has already been calculated by reputable biologists that, if one takes into account the average amount of 2,4,5-T sprayed per acre in Vietnam, and also takes into account a one-inch rainfall—such as is common there—after a spraying, a forty-kilo (about eighty-eight-pound) Vietnamese woman drinking two litres (about two quarts) of 2,4,5-T-contaminated water per day could be ingesting about a hundred and twenty milligrams (about two-hundred-and-fiftieth of an ounce) of 2,4,5-T a day. If the 2,4,5-T contained the dioxin contaminant at a level of one part per million—which is what the Dow people say is the maximum amount present in the 2,4,5-T they are currently producing—the Vietnamese woman would be absorbing a little over a tenth of a microgram of dioxin per day, or ten times the amount of dioxin entering the system of an adult from the hypothetical pill that the F.D.A. would certainly find dangerous to human health.

Further, if this Vietnamese woman were to conceive a child two weeks, say, after the spraying, the weight of the dioxin that by these same calculations would have then accumulated in her system (the evidence

thus far is that dioxin accumulates in mammalian tissue in the same manner as the chlorinated hydrocarbons, such as DDT) would be more than the weight of the just-fertilized ovum. Considering the existing evidence of the frightening degree of teratogenicity of the dioxin in chick embryos and its highly toxic effects on mammalian fetuses, the presence of this much dioxin in a mother's body at the very beginning of a human life surely has ominous implications.

Now, what about the safety of 2,4,5-T itself? Admittedly, the dioxin contaminant seems to be a residue from one stage of its manufacture. But if by some future chemical miracle the very last trace of dioxin could be removed from the finished 2,4,5-T, would the resultant "pure" 2,4,5-T be harmless? The fact seems to be that even then 2,4,5-T, as produced in this country, would have to be viewed with suspicion, for the breakdown products of 2,4,5-T, when subjected to heat and other conditions, are themselves capable, according to a number of responsible biologists, of producing dioxin. Given this potential, the ultimate folly in our defoliation operations in Vietnam was possibly achieved during 1965 and 1966, when the military made large-scale efforts in two defoliated areas to create fire storms—that is, fires so huge that all the oxygen in those areas would be exhausted. The apparent intention was to render the soil barren. (A fire storm would also, of course, have the result of burning or suffocating any living beings remaining in the area.) Operation Sherwood Forest, conducted in 1965, was an attempt to burn a defoliated section of the Boi Loi Woods. In October, 1966, the military began Operation Pink Rose, a similar project. Neither of the projects, in which tons of napalm were thrown down on top of the residue of tons of sprayed 2,4,5-T, succeeded in creating the desired effect; whether they released into the atmosphere dioxin produced by the breakdown products of the 2,4,5-T will probably never be known.

There are also less spectacular ways in which conditions suitable for the release of dioxin in Vietnam may have been created. For example, after areas accessible by road have been defoliated, woodcutters move in to chop up the dead timber, which is then carted off to nearby towns and sold as firewood. Large quantities of it are said to have been entering Saigon for years. Since the fires are customarily tended by Vietnamese women, and since many of them are certainly pregnant, the hazards to health and to the lives of unborn children surely cannot be ignored.

In the United States, the potential hazards from the present use of 2,4,5-T are considerably less than they are in Vietnam. In the first place, the recommended concentrations of 2,4,5-T for spraying here are, as I have pointed out, about a thirteenth of what the Vietnamese population is sometimes subjected to. And, in the second place, a great deal, if not most, of the 2,4,5-T that would otherwise have been sprayed on American crops and grazing areas has for several years been sent to Vietnam. However, the shortage of 2,4,5-T in this country does not necessarily mean that the potential hazards are at a minimum. The substances known as the trichlorophenols and compounds of pentachlorophenol, which officials of the F.D.A. believe may be chemical precursors of dioxin under certain thermal and other conditions, are used widely in the manufacture of a large variety of consumer products, ranging from paper to laundry starch and hair shampoo. Dow Chemical puts out a whole line of polychlorophenolic chemicals known as Dovicide Products. Monsanto Chemical also puts out a line of pentachlorophenol substances, known as Penta Compounds. Since a very great many consumer products wind up being burned sooner or later, and since the polychlorophenolic compounds are suspected

of being capable, under particular thermal and other conditions, of releasing dioxin, the alarming question arises whether, and to what extent, dioxin is being released into the environment through the atmosphere. Pentachlorophenol, used in certain herbicides, is readily decomposed in sunlight, and in its breakdown process a number of products, including chemical precursors of chlorodibenzo-p-dioxin compounds, are produced. Because of these factors, a whole range of pesticides, as well as of herbicides, now must come under suspicion of producing dioxin compounds.

Although the chemical companies that manufacture 2,4,5-T have long taken pride in pointing out that 2,4,5-T itself is quite readily decomposable in soil, the crucial matters of how stable the dioxin contaminant is and to what extent it is cumulative in animal tissue have apparently been neglected. Consequently, the fact that traces of compounds virtually indistinguishable from dioxin have already been detected in this country in the human food chain—in the livers of chickens and in edible oils—clearly indicates that dioxin should be considered a hazard to man. Why, under all these inauspicious circumstances, the production and the use here and in Vietnam of 2,4,5-T has not summarily been stopped by the United States government is hard to understand.

Sincerely,

THOMAS WHITESIDE.

GALLAGHER SEES JERSEY CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY AS "SHOW-CASE FOR THE NATION"

HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, it has been one of my great privileges during my terms in the Congress to work with the Jersey City Housing Authority of Jersey City, N.J.

The Jersey City Housing Authority has demonstrated itself to be one of the most effective, creative, and successful agencies of its kind in the United States.

It has led the battle for more and better quality low-income housing, for better facilities for our elderly citizens, for improved recreational centers in low-income areas. Last year, I was pleased to join with the authority in bringing a "meals-on-wheels" program to Jersey City. We have provided for school breakfast programs through the authority. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, the list of accomplishments are endless.

As our Nation attempts to grapple with the problems of urban America, I can think of no example more worth following than that of the Jersey City Housing Authority; it truly is a showcase for the Nation.

Thus, in order that all of our Members may learn for themselves of the authority's structure and programs, I am pleased to insert an article covering those topics at this point in the Record:

JERSEY CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY "SOCIAL GOALS" PROGRAM IS SHOWCASE FOR THE NATION

"Housing the low income families means more than collecting rents, and seeing that heating and utilities are available." So declared Ettore Vignone, executive director of the Jersey City Housing Authority.

The housing official in a statement said "the involvement of our people with new social goals in mind is paramount if a total housing job is to be done. Complete cooperation of all community agencies, both public and private, is important", he said.

Under the terms of the cooperation agreement cities have with the federal government, communities are responsible for such services to public housing as police and fire protection, educational programs, medical facilities, garbage removal, recreation, and the availability of utilities and related items.

"Beyond these services, however, we find that all low-income families, not only those living in public housing, need a consideration of social programs which will bring them programs improving their health, and those of social, cultural, and educational enrichment," said the housing official.

"Accompanying the necessity of tying in social programming with public housing families, this agency began more than 15 years ago to develop needed programs. At that time when Mayor Kenny was in office, we started the first of our Baby Keep Well Stations which provides preventative maintenance for the pre-school child," he said.

"It has been in the last ten years, however," said Vignone "that our public has really gone to fore through the activity of our tenant service and tenant relations office."

Noting that the Jersey City Housing Authority is the second largest in the state with over 4,000 families containing more than 14,000 individuals, Vignone reports they have almost 7,000 children among their families. Among the 4,000 families there are more than 1,500 of the senior citizen classification.

Developing the programs for the Jersey City Housing Authority is the direct responsibility of Tenant Services Director Conrad J. Vuocolo and his staff. Programs are developed in the fields of economic opportunity, education, recreation, health, arts and crafts, community responsibility, consumer education, nutrition programming, planned parenthood, mental health, and cultural enrichment, which includes visits to parks and playgrounds. Most of the programs are sponsored in conjunction with an assisting community agency, for example, there are eight Head Start classes using public housing facilities committing more than 150 children from in and around the neighborhood to attend the pre-school classes. This program is sponsored by Jersey City Can Do.

The Jersey City Board of Education has six classrooms for children in the housing area from the Kindergarten to the 8th grade. About 225 children attend these classes which are located on the first floor of one of the buildings in Montgomery Gardens. The placing of these classrooms in the public housing location is unique in the area and the program is now entering its sixth year. It began at the request of the Jersey City Board of Education to allow the children to attend a full class day and relieve over-crowding in the neighborhood school.

The State of New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies operates a Day Care Center, the first of its type in public housing in the state in the Booker T. Washington developments where 50 children attend classes everyday which allows working mothers of those in need of some assistance in the care of their children. This program is under the direction of the Bureau of Children's Services of the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies and is paid for out of state funds.

The Jersey City Division of Medical Services operates Baby Keep Well Stations for the pre-school children at the A. Harry Moore Apartments, Currie Woods, Cerosky Apartments, in the Marion section, and Montgomery Gardens. Thousands of chil-

dren receive immunizations and weekly attention from pediatricians.

The same facility is used on alternate days by the Hudson County Planned Parenthood Association which operates clinics on alternate days in several of these locations.

Another day brings the Mount Carmel Guild and the Jersey City Department of Health under the supervision of Walter Lezynski into the clinical area with a family counselling team to assist those with emotional and other family problems. Almost 200 attend these clinics, many of them in the senior citizen category.

At Berry Gardens, The Jersey City Division of Medical Services under the direction of Dr. Patrick F. McGovern provides a geriatrics clinic one day a week as part of Mayor Thomas Whelan's neighborhood community health program.

Last year a nutrition clinic was directed by Mrs. Hanna Waterman, City Nutritionist, who worked at Berry Gardens Health Clinic, striving to tie in nutritional needs with extra food programs available through Food Stamps and Commodities Distributing programming sponsored by the United States Department of Agriculture.

This month several hundred senior citizens received free vaccines in the Health Clinic at Berry Gardens.

Job opportunities is a primary goal of our public housing agency said Board Chairman Frank Tedesco. Six years ago we started Project Job (Just One Break) and since then more than 1,000 of our tenants had some economic enrichment through programs we sponsored in the work field for the young and old, plus white collar and blue collar positions made available in the maintenance and management divisions of our agency. Tedesco said in addition to these jobs, we constantly contact those we do business with in private industry striving to map their needs with the talents of one of our tenants.

This agency has been funded by the United States Department of Labor for the last five years with a Neighborhood Youth Corps program which has permitted more than 3,000 Jersey City youngsters to work during the summer and after school at jobs in public and private community agencies whereby they can earn about \$1,500 per year.

These programs are known as Project Learn-Earn and Operation Step-Up. For the past two years the Housing Authority has received grants from the State Department of Economic Development which has permitted children to make bus trips to parks and playgrounds and places of historical interest. "This has been incorporated with Operation-Take-A-Trip which was started in 1958 by the Housing Authority and has resulted with more than 75,000 children being involved," said Frank Berrell, director of finance for the agency.

The agency also received the very first senior citizen work program in the nation when Operation Service was funded which permits 39 of the over 65 year old set to earn \$1.60 per hour working 25 hours a week in various community services.

Through Jersey City State College the agency has a contract for the last five years which allows students from that institution to work in and around the housing developments in the College Work-Study Program. They work as clerical aids, in recreation programs, as tutoring aids, and some are assigned to agencies which cooperate with the housing administration. More than 300 college students have obtained experience in working with the inner city youth while earning money during the summer and after school.

There is a senior citizen recreation program which is sponsored by the Jersey City Department of Recreation in five of the developments, which has a high number of the elderly under the direction of Miss Carla Edwards teaching the elderly on the prepara-

tion of seasonal articles which are put on display in an annual senior citizen hobby show which is sponsored each May by the Housing Authority.

For the youngsters, Jersey City State College students and Neighborhood Youth Corps high school students through Operation Step-Up bring a vast array of recreational programs during the summer. Last year over 5,000 took part in the various types of programs, which include arts and crafts, track and field events, baseball and basketball competitions, and swim meets.

In cooperation with Jersey City Can Do, the Housing Agency has provided space in Hudson Gardens for the Jersey City Meals On Wheels. This program is designed to bring hot, nutritional meals right into the homes of the confined elderly under the direction of Mrs. Mary Johnson and since it was started in June 1967 almost 40,000 such meals have been served, according to Housing Commissioner Samuel DiFeo.

Dr. William G. Wilkerson, vice-chairman of the NAACP said he is of the opinion that social involvement programs have helped to keep the community stable. "I especially liked the attitude of our employees toward the tenants. We are pleased that all the Jersey City Housing employees attended a 13 week seminar on Human Relations several years ago sponsored by Jersey City State College", said Wilkerson. "To my knowledge ours was the first agency in the United States to have such a program with a college or a university," he said.

High on the priority list with the local agency is serving our ever-growing senior citizen population, according to Commissioner Stanley Shableski. More than 100 employees and tenants have been trained in a Friendly Visitors program which under the direction of the New Jersey Department of Chronic Illness Control has given us a program which brings comfort and assistance to many of those who are shut in and alone. They visit in the apartments upon invitation and sit down helping with cooking, house maintenance, going to the store, accompanying a person to a hospital, reading to a blind person, or writing a letter for an arthritic victim. "These services which are voluntary in nature help provide some glimmer of hope to our people who have these problems," said Vignone.

The housing agency has cooperated with high school counselors, and the three local universities, St. Peter's College, JCSC, and Rutgers University, in their Upward Bound Programs. "More than 100 public housing youngsters are now attending colleges, which would have been impossible a few years ago," said Commissioner Rafael Bou. "Our community is pleased," said Bou, "to learn of the close cooperation between the Tenant Service Office and ASPIRA, a nonprofit agency which is making college opportunities for youngsters of Puerto Rican extraction." Bou added this would have a decided effect on our future generation.

Other programs that the Housing Authority involved itself with is that of drug abuse with the leadership provided by Commissioner Frank Gilty. Employees and tenants groups have visited the Liberty Park Drug Abuse Center in Jersey City, and gained information on the problem.

To help provide for large families the local agency has gone into a program of leased housing and 200 units are being developed for families in more than 30 locations in the city. A program of preventative maintenance is to be given to the families by Peter Kenny, director of maintenance.

Family counselling is provided at least once a year by the housing managers under the direction of Howard J. Curry, department director, and John Connelly, his assistant. "In order to keep abreast of the tenants needs and abilities we maintain a Tenant Analysis Card for each one of our families," said Curry.

This card tells the managers at a glance what a family needs are and gives us an opportunity to advise and serve them. In charge of each of the developments management offices are Isiah Oliver, Lafayette Gardens, Andrew Witruk, Cerosky Apartments, Jeanne Donnelly, Booker T. Washington Apartments, Helen McCaffrey, Hudson Gardens, Margaret Kelly, Holland Apartments, Joseph Tyrell, Montgomery Gardens, Andrew J. O'Connor, A. Harry Moore Apartments, Joseph P. Flessey, Currie's Woods Gardens, and Sadie Dohrman, Berry Gardens.

"The newest need we are attempting to fill is in the field of nutrition," said Vuocolo. "Due to the lack of a school breakfast program in Jersey City, we have undertaken a program of trying to bring some nutritional assistance to the thousands of children living in and around the developments." "Last summer with a grant from the New Jersey Board of Education Surplus Commodities from the United States Department of Agriculture and personnel provided by Jersey City State College Work-Study program, senior citizens working in Operation Service, and high school students from Operation Step-Up, plus tenant volunteers, we served more than 54,000 breakfasts in our developments from July 1st to August 30," he said.

"We were pleased," said the housing official "to receive authorization to have an after-school snack program which has been in effect since September 1st. More than 1,200 children get a snack comprised of milk and a sandwich, or bakery product, everyday." He indicated that a dozen mothers are involved in helping to bake for the children each afternoon.

Vignone said that the problem of communication with our tenants is so paramount that we have developed a house organ which is distributed to 5,000 of our tenant families, our employees, and friends each edition. In addition to some of the programs above mentioned, we use this medium to advise of the various children's contest sponsored at Christmas, Easter, Thanksgiving, and Halloween, which provides an outlet for the younger set who are invited to color appropriate pictures.

Of far reaching impact was the opening last November of a PROOF Office which is a new community concept in harnessing resources and programs to aid persons referrals from the New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies. This resource center is the first of its type in the nation according to the state office and is funded round the clock through an appropriation by the New Jersey Legislature.

Community responsibility is another important theme of ours, said Alan Kraut, counsel to the agency. We urge the people to take part in community programs serving the less fortunate than they, taking part in community fund drives, and to register for voting. Kraut reports the success of the "Senior Power Program" developed by the Tenant Relations Office which helps the silver-haired set to become involved and to register their needs and abilities with all echelons of government. A special registration drive last summer resulted in more than 200 of the elders voting for the first time.

Vignone reports that excellent community service is also undertaken by the Jersey City Public Library who provides a Bookmobile service which services these developments. More than one-half million books have been circulated since the Bookmobile was provided by Mayor Bernard J. Berry and William Rohrenbeck, City Librarian over 10 years ago. In addition to the traveling mobile unit, senior citizens working under the direction of Mrs. Mary Leary, coordinator of Operation Service, bringing large print books directly to those elders who are infirm or incapacitated. A cart is utilized to carry the books which are well received by the seniors.

An Information Center is provided in the

Tenant Services Division which gives up-to-date information regarding Social Security, Veterans Administration, Food Stamps, recreation facilities, and related items to the elderly. This Senior Citizen Information Center was started by this agency in 1952.

A small but important program on beauty culture was organized by this agency and the Jersey City Women's Job Corps located in the Medical Center. Within the last year more than 500 seniors have visited the Cosmetology Department of the Job Corps where they have received free hair, skin, and beauty treatment, provided by the enrollees. This program was established in cooperation with the National Council On Aging with the details cut by John Sheenhan of the NCOA and Vuocolo.

Of special significance to low income families in what seems to be a never ending battle is to stabilize living costs. In this vein the housing agency conducts a continuing consumer education program which in addition to having a 55 week course on consumer problems was held in Montgomery Gardens as a monthly information program.

Government pamphlets are provided on the subject of marketing, food preparation, medical care, and related subjects, by Representative Cornelius E. Gallagher and Dominick V. Daniels. More than 200,000 booklets of this variety have been furnished free to the housing tenants.

Last year State Senator Frank J. Guarini Jr. started a program of obtaining booklets of interest from the New Jersey State Department of Health and other offices.

"Movies and programs on the possibility of our low income tenants taking a giant step toward private home ownership is also planned," said Vuocolo, "as this is our goal for all our families."

Vignone said the 70's should be of interest to our families as we plan further programming which will add to their economic enrichment through our work with the federal job developer in the area plus the Urban League Skills Bank Manpower Development Training Administration under the direction of Frank Cioffi, an affiliated agency. We also hope to have prenatal clinics established in our developments and are planning for community kitchens which will bring low cost meals to our needy and worthy low income senior citizens. We also hope to have a closer tie with a credit unit operation to instill programs of saving and financial programs for our tenants.

In conclusion, Vignone said, "Public housing is intended to be a steppingstone for low-income families and with continuing and expanding interest of public agencies including those in the private variety, public housing will truly reach its goal."

AN ADDICT'S PLEA: A VIABLE APPROACH

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, entirely too many youths of the United States suffer from a terrible affliction: they are addicts—misusers of pills, narcotics, LSD, and such. For a multitude of reasons they ignored various warnings on the dangers involved and succumbed to the lure of taking these materials.

Drug abuse was once thought to be almost exclusively done by those of the inner city. To some extent this complacency has contributed to the problem's growth and now few areas of society

can say, "It cannot happen here." It is occurring everywhere, among all segments of the population.

This point was made emphatic to me when a friend's daughter, an honor student at college, was arrested. As her letter shows, she is an addict.

TEMPE, ARIZ.,
March 6, 1970.

EDITOR,
The Arizona Republic,
Phoenix, Ariz.

DEAR SIR: For the past three weeks or so you have finally had some very intelligent and true articles on drugs and their abuse in the valley. It is way past it's time—and yet there is still so much to learn that the average person doesn't know or even realize.

I know—because I'm an addict or junkie, whichever. I've been taking drugs for five years—pills (amphetamines and barbiturates), marijuana, LSD, methadone, experiments in which I had no idea what I was taking, and finally to heroin for the last year. I was arrested recently and possibly am facing five years or more in the state prison. (By the way I'm only a 22 year old girl). Is it worth it? Most definitely no. Not only because of prison but for myself. I ask myself each day if being an addict for the rest of my life is what I want to look forward to—oh my God—how could it be.

I'm paying for my mistakes now. I've broken by parents hearts, I may go to jail, and I have a monkey on my back that will not let go very easily at all. If I never take another bit of heroin in my life I will still be a junkie because when I do take that first one it will start all over again. It isn't quite that easy to stop. It takes time, patience, strong will, and God.

Whether people want to face it or not Arizona is probably second or third in the U.S. for the amount of drugs. And it is about time someone in this state did something about this problem. CODAC has finally emerged—but it needs the help and support of the people in this community to realize what a crucial point drug abuse is today.

I am in a rehabilitation program at St. Lukes. For me and many like me it has been a life-saver. Unfortunately people have only condemned the program for giving outpatient therapy with the use of methadone tablets, a truly miracle drug. People have made such an uproar about giving addicts drugs to use on their own. (You must realize that this drug not only kills pain of withdrawal without a high, but also stops the physical and mental craving for heroin when used sensibly.) Sure, some of the tablets have been found on people who were busted. Not all the people on the program are going to be honest—But that's true of anything.

The main point is that some people are realizing that drug addiction is a sickness like alcoholism—and these people need help. Some doctors, lawyers and those of CODAC are trying to help—but we have to reach the judges, police and the people. When they finally see that if you send an addict to prison you're sending him right back down—to a junkie. There is more heroin and an easier accessibility to it in prison than on the street. And prison is the best school in the world for a criminal. An addict is basically not a criminal but forced there by his addiction.

"Help," cries a junkie. His heart is that cry—only who can help? You can help. But only when you understand the problem and realize most addicts (not hard-core pushers) are humans. Not Animals!

Please support CODAC, and the hospitals and people who understand and know that are trying to help.

CXVI—595—Part 7

I would sincerely like to sign my name, but the reasons are very obvious why I can't. It's very sad that we people can't be a little more understood and free.

Very sincerely yours,

AN ADDICT.

The CODAC mentioned refers to the Community Organization for Drug Abuse Control—1807 North Central Avenue, Phoenix, Ariz. Recognizing the needs in Arizona for a major effort to curtail drug abuse and rehabilitate to the extent possible those who were addicts, representatives from various government and nonprofit agencies and groups gathered together to form CODAC.

The inclusive, wide-ranging nature of this program deserves to be followed throughout the country. It is truly a prototype of the kinds of efforts needed to solve this problem. Arizona is taking the necessary steps in this regard.

In June of 1969 the Drug Abuse Committee of the Maricopa County Medical Society issued a statement that the drug abuse problem among Phoenix area young people had reached epidemic proportions.

Studies made during the past year have shown that an increasing number of young people are experimenting with drugs and an increasing number are becoming addicted to opiates. Figures from these studies show up to 50 percent of our high school age youths experimenting with drugs. And hospitals report a growing number of addicts are coming to them for help.

An indication of the scope of the problem is gained by looking at the record of a typical month's drug activity recorded by the Phoenix Police Department. During the month of September 1969, they confiscated the following: 113 pounds of marijuana; 21 growing marijuana plants; 10 ounces, 2 grams heroine; 7 ounces, 5 grams speed; 164 tablets LSD; 1,255 tablets Benzedrine; 11 ounces peyote; 123 tablets Seconal; 178 tablets other miscellaneous dangerous drugs.

In addition, they participated with the Federal Bureau of Narcotics in the confiscation of 92 kilos of marijuana and 14,000 tablets of LSD.

There are many needs that must be met in our community if we are to effectively combat the abuse of drugs. These needs can be grouped as follows:

First. The need for community involvement and support if programs to combat drug abuse are to be successful.

Second. The need for educational and referral resources.

Third. The need for the establishment of priorities in the development of drug abuse programs.

Fourth. The need for eliminating the fragmentation and duplication of existing programs by a variety of agencies and groups in Maricopa County and the State of Arizona.

Fifth. The need for rehabilitation resources for drug users in Maricopa County, an area which has become even further depleted since the community mental health center had to severely decrease its staff.

In order to combat the abuse of drugs

in our community and provide help for those drug-involved individuals desiring it, the Community Organization for Drug Abuse Control, Inc.—CODAC—was formed. CODAC is a compilation of representatives from various governmental and nonprofit agencies and groups working in the area of drug abuse in Maricopa County and the State of Arizona. It functions as an umbrella agency for coordinating the efforts in the area of drug abuse control, and through its affiliated agencies, intends to establish a total program of drug abuse control for Maricopa County and eventually the State of Arizona.

The objectives of CODAC are:

First. To eliminate duplication of efforts in the drug abuse area through coordination of existing and potential programs.

Second. To establish priorities in the following areas and assure that these priorities are met: Education and prevention, treatment and rehabilitation, and training and research.

Third. To stimulate community support for programs to combat drug abuse.

In order to meet our objectives, the following methods will be utilized:

First. CODAC will hold regularly scheduled meetings and mail newsletters to all interested persons with the goal of eliminating duplication and fragmentation of efforts.

Second. Priorities have already been established in the aforementioned areas of education and prevention, treatment and rehabilitation, training and research, and are as follows: They are not arranged in order of importance; rather it is felt that these are priorities which must all be met if we are to effectively combat our problem.

Education and prevention: classroom programs, community-oriented sessions in local areas, seminars for administrators and educators, inservice faculty training courses, professional panels, and dissemination of educational materials.

Treatment and rehabilitation: contact referral centers for young drug users—both actual and potential addicts, detoxification facilities in conjunction with local hospitals, halfway houses for rehabilitation of drug addicts, long-term rehabilitation center for reconstructing individuals whose lives have been deeply disturbed by drug usage, outpatient groups for various kinds of drug-involved individuals, and parent anonymous groups for parents of drug-involved children.

This is, obviously, the most expensive phase of our program and will call for a great deal of financial and planning assistance from Federal, State, and local officials.

Training and research: Training of professional and paraprofessional staffs for treatment and rehabilitation centers, and drug abuse library and information system—computerized retrieval.

An in-depth series was recently run by the Phoenix Gazette on drug abuse and CODAC. I am including it at the end of my remarks in the hope that others will find the information helpful.

The series referred to, follows:

DRUG ABUSE AMONG YOUTHS HERE REACHES "FRIGHTENING PROPORTIONS"

(By Carol Schatt)

A Valley psychologist who has found a rather sudden increase of drug addicts among his patients says of the drug scene in Phoenix:

"Well, it's a disaster."

"It's a phenomenon that has reached such frightening proportions in the last 2½ years," the psychologist said. "Three to five years ago, we didn't have a problem. Today it has devastated homes and lives."

One year ago, a survey of Valley high school students indicated that 30 per cent of Phoenix teen-agers had tried or were using marijuana or drugs.

Today, close observers as well as members of the drug subculture itself say that figure has reached 50 per cent. The percentage of addicts is estimated at 15-20 per cent. And, they add, almost any kind of drug—marijuana, heroin, speed, STP, barbiturates, cocaine, LSD, you-name-it—is readily and easily available.

Even to grade school kids.

Probably first to take note of the leaping incidence of illegal use of drugs were the Phoenix Police Department and state narcotics officials, and the courts.

Law enforcement and court action seemed no more able to control the increase than a twig can stop water gushing from a broken reservoir.

Other organizations developed separate programs to help curb drug abuse. Among them was Dope Stop, designed to offer help to drug abusers, provide answers about drugs and dope, and put the finger on pushers. Dope Stop, the first more-or-less community effort, has since moved into an emphasis on educating high school and grade school students about drug abuse.

Members of the Maricopa County Medical Society's Committee on Drug Abuse recognized, however, the need for a central body to coordinate programs and eliminate duplication of efforts.

Hence in June 1969 the Community Organization for Drug Abuse Control (CODAC) was incorporated to coordinate the efforts of 30 organizations—governmental, professional and business—concerned in the drug war.

Since that time the list of member organizations has grown, and CODAC officials welcome participation by an interested group.

CODAC, at 1807 N. Central, Suite 114, is squaring off against a strong opponent: Drug abuse: Members of the drug subculture are no longer only the poorer area, substandard elements of society. A substantial portion—some say the majority—are the children of affluence.

"They're in the suburbs and Paradise Valley," said one member of the drug subculture. "They have money, cars. They have better education, better clothes, they have better everything and everything isn't where it's at."

"It's not an escape," he said. "They aren't really escaping anything because they have everything. They're looking for something else."

CODAC has no precedent in battle plans to follow. U.S. cities and towns—in fact the very web of American society—have never faced so fearfully and desperately what their children embrace so readily.

BIG ORGANIZED FORCE OFFERS HOPE, HELP TO DRUG ADDICT

(By Carol Schatt)

In the face of a mushrooming dilemma of drug abuse, more than 30 organizations have linked arms to confront the situation with all available resources.

Their coordinating creation, Community Organization for Drug Abuse Control (CODAC), at 1807 N. Central, Suite 114, ties

together facilities, funds, manpower and concern of government, businesses and professional groups.

"CODAC is working to wipe out the problems of drug abuse," said Don Jackson, executive director.

Dr. Eugene C. Ryan, one of CODAC's guiding lights and first president of its executive board, explained its four-pronged aims: Education and prevention.

Treatment and rehabilitation.

Training and research.

Coordination of efforts by various organizations.

Dope Stop, initiated last year by the Maricopa County Mental Health Association, is a preventative education arm of CODAC and utilizes high school volunteers.

"Our chief emphasis is on teen involvement," said Dope Stop voluntary director John French, "in a program aimed at involving high school students to educate grade school students."

Response has been excellent, with more than 1,000 high schoolers now working in the program, he said.

The high school, volunteer "counselors"—non-users of drugs themselves—visit an assigned grade school classroom once a month, discussing sniffing glue and marijuana, in particular, and the pros and cons of taking drugs.

The program emphasizes honesty. If the high school student can't answer a question from his own monthly training sessions (and they're finding the fifth- through eighth graders knowledgeable and sophisticated about drugs), he says so and returns with the answer next session.

"The subtle value of the program," French said, "is to give an image. The grade school kids are realizing that everybody up in high school isn't smoking pot."

"Our sole purpose is educational and aimed at the non-user . . . We present all the facts, ask the children to weigh them and make a decision whether or not to use drugs."

"Not making a decision beforehand is almost a decision to use drugs. When they are faced with the temptation—when they are with friends smoking marijuana, for instance—they will likely make the decision to use drugs."

Dope Stop personnel also coordinate a CODAC speaker's bureau which provides education for the public in the forms of community-oriented sessions, seminars for administrators and educators, in-service faculty training courses, professional panels and dissemination of educational materials.

Another educational arm of CODAC is the Arizona Alcoholic and Narcotic Educational Association.

The second and most expensive thrust of CODAC involves treatment and rehabilitation through five types of facilities.

Contact referral centers, such as Terros House on First Street, where drug users having a bad trip or seeking help may phone 253-3118 anytime.

At Terros, manned by former drug users and an adult supervisor, long-haired counselors "talk down" the drug abuser from a bad trip or arrange emergency medical treatment for him.

Valley hospitals have offered beds for those emergency drug cases. They charge only as much as the patient can pay. Good Samaritan Hospital, the first to cooperate, has spent several thousand dollars of special funds for this purpose.

Terros has been credited with saving 40 lives last fall, and takes about 1,000 phone calls a month.

Detoxification facilities will be provided by hospitals, offering a drug addict the medical care to get his system cleaned out.

Halfway houses where a drug addict can pick himself up in a protected environment. Two have already been established, both

near hospitals. They offer the drug addict an environment out of the drug culture while providing job training through the State Department of Vocation and Rehabilitation.

Psychological counseling and group therapy during an addict's stay at the halfway house help him adjust to life and resolve the psychological problems of dependency on drugs.

One halfway house is being used for narcotic addicts. The second, established only last week, is for pill users (speed freaks, etc.).

A longterm rehabilitation center for reconstructing individuals whose lives have been deeply disturbed by drug usage CODAC is trying to establish such a facility for 1-2 year patients in an isolated area such as the desert or mountain country.

Outpatient groups for various drug-involved individuals as a follow-up to other treatment.

Thus, a drug user conceivably might experience a "bad trip," call Terros and be referred to a hospital for emergency treatment and detoxification, spend a year or two at the longterm rehabilitation center undergoing psychological readjustment, return to a halfway house for a few months as a buffer between himself and society, and get vocational training, and then emerge at last—ready to rejoin society as a self-strong member without the crutch of drugs.

The third thrust of CODAC is the training of personnel to staff the many facilities and do research in drugs. Many physicians today find their medical training outdated and that "the kids know more about drugs" than they.

Putting all this together is a board of directors (about 25 members), helped by a large advisory board and under an executive board of officers.

Up to this point CODAC has been funded strictly from private organizational contributions. Jackson said expenditures have been under \$20,000.

CODAC PULLS TOGETHER LOOSE ENDS IN GROWING BATTLE ON DRUG ADDICTS

(By Carol Schatt)

Programs have sprung up all around the country groping their way toward effective control of the misuse of drugs.

Phoenix' program is Community Organization for Drug Abuse Control (CODAC), at 1807 N. Central, Suite 114. It appears to have struck a responsive chord with the community.

"There are lots of programs in the country," said Dr. Eugene Ryan, who served as CODAC's first executive board president. "The thing that amazes them all—in Washington and elsewhere—is the cooperation and coordination CODAC is getting from all groups involved."

Those cooperating in CODAC range from government on all levels to business organizations to professional associations to individuals in the community and members of the drug culture itself. Persons representing those facets of the community serve on CODAC's board of directors and advisory board.

Among groups offering the most cooperation, said Don Jackson, executive director of CODAC, is the Phoenix Police Department.

"I feel sure that CODAC has done two things in the community," said Lt. Hugh Ennis, of the department's bureau of special investigations. "They've helped focus citizen interest and support on the drug problem. And through the work at Terros House, they've saved some lives that wouldn't have been saved otherwise."

Terros House is a facility run by long-haired exopders who receive calls from persons seeking emergency medical help from a "bad trip." Terros gets about 1,000 calls a month, and its staffers are often instrumental in helping a youngster get off drugs.

Terros, known widely in the dope subculture by word of mouth, advertises "no

heat," meaning a youngster in trouble with drugs can get help there without fear of arrest or being turned over to the authorities.

"The police department doesn't ask Terros for any information," Lt. Ennis said, "and Terros doesn't volunteer any."

"Terros is not privileged," he emphasized. The police insist that no drugs can be kept there or used there except under a doctor's administration.

"Everybody wants to help solve the drug problem," Ennis said. "But they're going in different directions. CODAC is pulling them together."

Before CODAC and the Dope Stop educational program in the schools, said Capt. Ralph Milstead, director of training for the department was carrying the load by itself as far as education is concerned."

Previously, police were not only busy with law enforcement of drug abuse, but were doing the only educating against drug abuse.

Sister Francesca Fischer, S. M., administrator of the Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Act program and assistant administrator of the mental health program at St. Joseph's Hospital and Medical Center, pointed to shifts in the history of drug abuse. The first pattern of drug abuse, she said, was use of marijuana leading to addiction to heroin or new morphine. Now, she said, drug users play with a whole range of drugs, particularly amphetamines, barbiturates and the like.

NARA, one portion of St. Joseph's outpatient mental health program and one arm of the CODAC effort, is a pilot program created by the federal government in 1966 and implemented in 1968. It involves initial evaluation and examination of an addict, followed by hospital treatment at federal facilities in Lexington, Ky., or Ft. Worth, Tex., after which NARA patients are returned to Phoenix for after-care.

NARA, a 36-month program for the ex-addict, has handled 50 to 60 patients, Sister Francesca said, and has met with 30 to 40 per cent success in rehabilitation and cure.

At the turn of the century, she said, middle-class whites were getting hooked on drugs, i.e., through prescriptions and pills. It was later that the heroin problem developed in ghetto areas, "and we weren't too concerned," she said.

Now, however, the hard-drug problem is shifting back to middle-class, white areas while hard drugs are fading in the ghettos and a serious war against abuse begins, she noted.

In fulfilling his campaign promise, Mayor John Driggs said plans are under way to link the City of Phoenix more closely to the CODAC campaign.

"We were working even before the administration took over with many discussions with CODAC officials laying the ground work for action by this city council to implement an expanded drug abuse campaign," Driggs said.

"We have great hope that the efforts of CODAC can be expanded through increased participation by the City of Phoenix," he said.

A state legislator and member of the board of directors pointed to the combination of government and private citizens as the key to success in CODAC's drive.

"I think for the first time we have a blend of government and civic cooperation," said Rep. Timothy Barrow, R-Maricopa "Alone neither could do it sufficiently effectively because there's a good deal of suspicion of government in this area and the public doesn't have the funds."

The campaign against drug abuse is not only that of the "establishment." Twenty-one-year-old Tim Walters, spokesman for Terros House, said, "The whole answer to getting people off drugs is the peer group."

"It's not so much the drugs, it's the

subculture," he said. "Young people can wind up in the drug scene for several reasons among them a sense of alienation from parents and closer identification with friends."

They're not in drugs to make money. Lots of kids buy some and sell enough to supply their own stash. They don't sell enough to make money," Walters said, and if they have any extra they might treat a friend.

Young persons are expected, he said, to study 1 to 18 years, to listen, to live in the often-easy environment provided by parents, to strive for goals that are those of their parents but which may not interest them. In such an atmosphere of waiting and preparation, those of the "do it now" generation feel they're parked, worthless, on a shelf.

"It's necessary for the people to feel they are somebody," Walters said.

DRUG CONTROL HERE SEEN IN 5 YEARS WITH ALL-OUT EFFORT
(By Carol Schatt)

"The effort to control drugs is just getting started in Phoenix," said Don Jackson, executive director of Community Organization for Drug Abuse Control (CODAC), at 1807 N. Central, Suite 114.

For the drug abuser or addict, CODAC hopes to offer full treatment and rehabilitation services, including:

Contact referral houses such as Terros House, where persons in trouble with drugs can come for help.

Emergency medical treatment and hospitalization.

Out-patient clinics for therapy and counseling.

Halfway houses where ex-addicts can live and help each other kick the habit.

Long-term rehabilitation center operated by professional medical personnel and ex-addicts to provide a proper environment for one- to two-year stays during which time an addict can be helped in reconstructing his personality.

Such facilities are expensive, Jackson said. CODAC hopes to establish two or three referral centers, seven or eight halfway houses and one long-term rehabilitation center.

Terros is one contact house operating and there are now two halfway houses, but doctors and hospitals find their hands tied by the lack of any rehabilitation facilities.

"Once they hit the street they go back to drugs," said one doctor. "There is no intensive follow-through to a cure."

Jackson said CODAC has spent \$18,000 since its inception in June 1969 in getting Terros and the halfway houses—and CODAC general organization—under way.

"The expensive part is in the organizational phase, getting things operating," he said. "Maintaining the program doesn't cost nearly so much."

The \$18,000 came from private donations by firms, associations and clubs, he said.

"Now we're looking for future funding in the hundreds of thousands of dollars."

They will come from the city, county and state and will be used as matching funds to bring in federal dollars, he said. And interest on all levels of government promises enough inducement to get those federal grants.

"In addition to seeking government funds, we're looking for local support and contributions from individual citizens and organizations," Jackson said.

CODAC's tentative budget is in the half-million dollar bracket, with the bulk provided through federal monies.

Federal grants, however, are diminishing; the government decreases such grants gradually over a period such as five years.

Where will CODAC get its funds when it has exhausted its federal checkbook?

"By that time we feel the community could and should support the program," Jackson said. "We'll have a program they can support. And if the community doesn't feel

it is good enough or important enough, then the program probably is not worth having."

Among civic groups helping CODAC this year are Valley Kiwanis clubs. Kiwanis International has declared its main project for the year to be Operation Drug Alert, said Russell Williams.

"Locally," Williams said, "this means that each club will be spending time and money on educating parents as well as kids . . . What most clubs will be doing besides raising funds and contributing to CODAC is working through high school Key clubs."

Williams, area coordinator for Kiwanis' anti-drug program, said the 20 Maricopa County clubs will probably contribute \$20,000 or more "to be spent one way or another" in the drug war.

"It was no selling effort at the clubs to get their support," he said. "The most difficult thing is to figure out how everyone can put their shoulder to the problem."

What about the future of CODAC and the drug problem?

"Unless an all-out effort is done now, I don't see any end to the drug problem in the foreseeable future," said Dr. Eugene Ryan. "By 'foreseeable future' I mean 5 to 10 years."

"However with the momentum gained by CODAC in the past six months and with the continued and increasing community support, I honestly believe we can control the drug problem in our community within five years."

"Hopefully, during this five-year period we will have action going in all directions, and, particularly, promote stringent action in regard to the pushers."

"We have to get legislative and judicial action to deal with these people."

"Now that we're getting recognized with more and more groups participating, we probably will be able to go to the legislature and also the judicial branches and get that across," Williams said.

Meanwhile, many observers see CODAC's greatest contribution as preventive education.

Parents of youngsters involved in drugs or those who want to know about drugs and communicate with their children are being invited to "parents anonymous" discussion groups now being formed. Interested parents may telephone CODAC at 252-7655.

BYELORUSSIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the gifted and gallant people of Byelorussia have shared the misfortunes of all other peoples of Eastern Europe. Being relatively less numerous—about 10 million—than their powerful neighbors, Byelorussians have been subjected to the oppressive rule of Russia's czarist autocracy and Communist tyranny. As a matter of fact their modern history is almost totally overshadowed by Russian history, because during nearly all that time their country—east of Poland and west of Moscow—was part of Russia's czarist empire. Thus for centuries Byelorussians suffered under the heavy Russian yoke. On their part the Russians did their best to assimilate these people by eradicating all Byelorussian national traits. But these sturdy descendants of their stouthearted forebears, always aware that they have

had a longer history as a nation than the Russians themselves, were never willing to forgo and forget their distinct identity, were never reconciled with their lot under the Russian czars, and have always yearned for their freedom and independence. The opportunity for the attainment of their goal came in 1918.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 overthrew the decrepit and detested czarist autocracy in Russia, and freed, for the time, all subject peoples in the Russian empire. Freedom reigned from the Baltics to the Caucasus, and many national groups asserted their freedom by proclaiming their national independence. The Byelorussians did this on March 25, 1918, and established the Byelorussian National Republic. In a joyful and optimistic mood, it was then hoped that these ruthlessly oppressed people, having thus attained their independence in their historic homeland, would be allowed to enjoy their freedom in peace. Unfortunately that was not to be; they were destined to enjoy peace and freedom for only a short time, and then suffer even more under Soviet totalitarianism.

Early in 1921 aggressive Soviet forces attacked and overran Byelorussia, thus putting an end to the Byelorussian National Republic. Since then, for nearly 50 years, their homeland has become one of the constituent republics of the Soviet Union, and unhappy Byelorussians are unwilling toilers there, working largely for the benefit of the Russian rulers. These gallant people, however, have not given up their hope for their freedom, and even under the tyranny of communism they continue their struggle for liberty. It is my ardent wish to see the day when these fighters are freed from Communist totalitarian tyranny and enjoy the blessings of democracy in their own homeland.

DENIAL OF JETS TO ISRAEL CONDEMNED

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the Nixon administration's refusal to sell Israel Phantom jet fighters is no contribution to world peace.

Not only will it jeopardize the future military planning of Israel so essential to keeping militant Arab States at bay; but it will also fan the aspirations of Arab fanatics and encourage their aggressive acts which could lead to the outbreak of a full-scale war.

We all know what a serious threat such an event would pose to the prospects for world peace. In addition, the Nixon administration seems willing to gamble Israel's very existence on the remote chance that withholding the Phantoms will appease the Arabs' bellicose tendencies.

When Richard Nixon was running for President, he urged the maintenance of Israel's overwhelming air superiority over the Arabs. Yet at a press conference 5 days ago, the President declared:

What we must understand in the Middle East is that when one side gets an enormous advantage over another, or a significant advantage, the danger of war coming escalates.

Not only has the President appeared to discard the concept that Israel's overwhelming military superiority is essential to prevent the eruption of full-scale hostilities; he also has suddenly coupled the Arab militants and the Israelis in the same breath when it comes to lust for revenge, desire for territorial expansion, and disdain for a negotiated settlement.

To make things worse, at the very time Washington was disclosing intentions to withhold weaponry from Israel, the Russians were busily sending military personnel and new sophisticated rockets into the United Arab Republic.

The President should show by actions and not words that our commitment to help preserve the sovereignty of Israel remains intact. Let him reverse his refusal to supply the Phantoms and thereby fulfill one of the promises on which he campaigned for the Presidency.

WALK FOR MANKIND

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, in our world today, we hear a great deal of talk, but not much action, about aiding the poor, the sick, and the down-trodden. I would like to pay tribute to a group of unselfish individuals who have put their words into action through dedicated service to their fellow men.

Project Concern is a San Diego-based, nonprofit organization which is providing desperately needed medical care in Mexico, Appalachia, Hong Kong, and South Vietnam. There is a pressing need for additional funds to enable Project Concern to continue and expand its humanitarian work, for Project Concern is completely dependent on public contributions for its support.

One of the most worthwhile and innovative fundraising projects initiated by Project Concern is their "walk for mankind." Through these "walks," young and old, rich and poor, are able to make a meaningful and personal contribution to serving others and I wholeheartedly endorse the unselfishness and devotion of the thousands of men and women who have participated in these "walks." I would like to share with my House colleagues the details of these "walks" which benefit this very deserving cause.

WALK FOR MANKIND

WHAT IS IT?

Walk for Mankind is Project Concern's newest national plan for involving schools, organizations and communities in a rewarding fund-raising effort to help the helpless—the sick of all ages who desperately need medical aid, food and basic sanitation. Operating without government subsidy and entirely dependent on public contributions, Dr. Jim Turpin has taken his organization, Project Concern, into neglected areas to help where the need is greatest. Funds to operate are needed. *Walk for Mankind* is an

easy fund-raising project designed for Project Concern Committees, Jaycees, Women's Clubs, churches, schools and other organizations. Essentially, the project is a fun hike through the most interesting sections of your hometown!

CHALLENGE TO YOUTH

Walk for Mankind offers an exciting, challenging activity for the young people of your community. The Walk is primarily for them. It gives high school and college students a chance to become concerned about the less fortunate—a chance to protest against misery and sickness. There will be some hardy adults too, but most of the Walkers will be teenage students. Bands and banners, "way-out" costumes, free food and drink—all these make the Walk a great outing and colorful affair.

Here's the simple procedure. Each Walker is preregistered (usually at his school), given a Project Concern brochure or a locally developed flyer with information about Project Concern's international medical relief work, as well as instructions for the Walk, and Sponsor sheets. He then rounds up as many Sponsors as possible—family, friends, businesses, and others. He negotiates with each Sponsor for a certain sum per each mile walked. Naturally the higher the amount the better! Perhaps the Sponsor agrees to pay 10 cents—or maybe \$10.00—for every mile completed of the established Route and verified by Walk Marshals at each checkpoint. After the Walk, each Walker is responsible for returning to all of his Sponsors, collecting the amount due, and depositing the total at a specific Bank or local *Walk for Mankind* office. Tax deductible receipts are given Sponsors upon request.

WHY WALK?

More than 200,000 ill—and often starving—children and adults will be helped through Project Concern this year in its six clinics and two rural hospitals in Hong Kong, South Vietnam, Mexico, and Appalachia, U.S.A. Dr. Turpin and 147 volunteer doctors, nurses, technicians and other staff work in physically depressed areas where the need is acute. Along with medical and dental aid, feeding programs provide children with soup or milk and vitamin-packed wafers ward off malnutrition.

A village self-help program in Tuyen Duc Province of South Vietnam trains local young men and women to give basic medical aid in their own villages.

Dr. Turpin's organization is made possible by the interest and good will of private citizens who care enough to send contributions personally or to help stage a fund-raising event. *Walk for Mankind* is an opportunity for those concerned about humanity.

HEADQUARTERS' ASSISTANCE

Walk for Mankind materials will be sent without cost to organizations planning a Walk. A *Walk for Mankind* manual with instructions, information kits for workers, publicity kits, Project Concern brochures and "Walk for Mankind" buttons will be provided by Project Concern. Other promotional materials such as posters, and a local flyer with Walk route, Sponsor sheet, et cetera, may be developed by the sponsoring group.

Responsible officers of interested organizations may write for free materials to the nearest office:

Project Concern International Headquarters, P.O. Box 2468, San Diego, Calif. 92112.
Project Concern Development Office, Stone-Brandel Center, 1439 So. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 60605.

Project Concern Regional Office, 44 Linwood Ave., Ardmore, Pa. 19003.

Walk for Mankind, Santa Rosa, California, was the first American city to hold a Project Concern "Walk." Saturday, September 6, about 500 Santa Rosans led by Dr. Jim Turpin, public officials, and inspired by

Sparky Schulz's "Peanuts" character, hiked over a 21 mile route in the picturesque Valley of the Moon area and earned \$12,000.

SEADROME

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, with the ushering in of the 1970's, we truly find ourselves in a space age. Man's endless quest to reach the heavens has been partly satisfied with our conquering of the moon, reminding us of those immortal words of Robert Browning:

Ah, but a man's reach should exceed
his grasp,
Or what's a heaven for?

But back down on earth, man's immediate quest is to reach his destination faster and in the shortest period of time, which is by air. With more people traveling by air than ever before and with airplanes getting bigger, such as the newly unveiled Boeing 747 and a supersonic transport in the planning stage, our airports are congested and many are too out of date to accommodate more people and bigger airplanes.

It is obvious that we need larger and more modern airports, but this is a very expensive undertaking when we consider the cost of land, construction, noise, transportation and other related factors. One proposal that I consider highly feasible is to build new airports on water.

Mr. A. J. Harris, senior partner of the London consulting engineers firm of Harris & Sutherland, has outlined design considerations for a seadrome, an offshore floating airport, which would alleviate many of the problems of building an airport on land.

The article written by Mr. Harris is pellucid and his design outline for a seadrome seems most practicable for future new city airport locations. His ideas should be given the most serious consideration, and I highly recommend them to my colleagues.

Mr. Speaker, the article follows:

SEADROME

(By A. J. Harris)

Of the earth's surface, 73% is water. Many of the great cities are near the edge of open water.

As available space inland grows both expensive and remote, and as take-off and landing over houses becomes more and more objectionable, cities turn their eyes seaward and speculate whether they cannot find there the space they need for their airports. Already a number of airports have extended marginally over the sea on filling or piles—Hong Kong, Kingston Jamaica, La Guardia New York, Nice. What about taking the plunge and putting the airport afloat?

The idea is not new—ideas rarely are. The navies of both Britain and the USA tried it out in World War II, using various shapes of steel pontoon hinged together. Then there was the famous Habbakuk scheme for a floating staging post in mid-Atlantic, to be built of 'Pykrete', a mixture of water and sawdust frozen to form a sort of durable iceberg. But wars come to an end and civilian needs are

different; it is only recently that the expansion of air transport has reopened the question.

That such a proposal has its problems needs little emphasis. Water is not for walking on—at least, not in the common run of affairs. On ordinary earth, we need a foot or so of concrete to spread the load of an aircraft; when the sustaining power is so much less, how much more structure shall we then need! Furthermore, it must be made to float. Whatever else happens to a floating airport, it may not sink. Seas can get rough; waves might break up the structure. Even if the structure resists, the waves might slosh over runways, rendering them unusable; the movement of the slab could be dangerous during landing and take-off.

Not all is loss, of course. Concrete as a material is always expanding and contracting slightly under the influences of temperature, moisture, loading and age; contraction predominates. When laid on the ground, these movements are restricted by friction between ground and concrete; either the concrete cannot expand and it buckles and bursts, or it cannot contract and thus crack and breaks into pieces.

These dangers are countered by splitting up a runway into a patchwork of small squares, with gaps between them filled by something black and sticky. The gaps are expensive to construct and require continual maintenance; a runway cut up in this manner is very much less strong than it would be if made of one piece. But a slab resting on water suffers no such restraint. It is completely free to expand and contract and the size of a single piece is in consequence not limited.

Again, while water is weaker than earth, its characteristics are at least the same everywhere and need no exploration to determine them—and there are no soft spots. Finally, water lies flat. Those extensive earth moving operations demanded at many airports to move hills and fill hollows have no parallel here.

TWO IDEAS

Our proposal incorporates two technical ideas:

The ability to form a floating slab of indefinite extent from separate elements precast on shore by prestressing them together, and

The ability to shelter the runway so formed from rough seas by a floating breakwater.

Let us take the runway first.

We all know how a shelf load of books can be picked up as a single unit after pressing in with a hand at each end. This is essentially prestressing—the inward push of the hands is a prestressing force holding the books together, and while the force is applied they act as a beam.

Imagine, then, that buoyant hollow slabs of concrete 100 ft. square are cast on shore. Ten of them are placed end to end, and high strength wires are fed through the whole length, tensioned up and anchored; we now have a strip 1000 ft. by 100 ft. held together as were the books. In practice, very high forces can be so applied, and the permanent compression created gives very high strength to the assembly.

A number of these strips may then be placed side by side, and again wires are passed through transverse holes, tensioned and anchored. We now have a large extent of concrete stressed together in two directions, made up from a number of identical square slabs. In fact, it is often inconvenient to have very long wires. The same effect is therefore obtained by shorter wires anchored at intermediary points with further lengths, overlapping with them or spliced to them, stressed in their turn. There is no limit to the size of floating slab that can be built up in this way.

The slabs themselves are rather like egg boxes made of concrete, with a top slab, a bottom slab and concrete partitions running in two directions parallel to the sides. Such a box will clearly float provided that water is kept out of the voids.

Now, properly made concrete is a water-tight material for all practical purposes. Yet it is essential to ensure that the runway continues to float under any circumstances and after no matter what lapse of time. Even a remote possibility of slow seepage into the voids must be guarded against. Accordingly, they are filled with expanded polystyrene, a very light foamed material comprising a vast number of very tiny closed cells of plastic which permanently exclude water. This material has a further advantage; it can be fabricated beforehand to the exact shape of the void, and used as formwork for the concrete.

The capacity of a runway formed of such slabs to carry load can be predicted with some precision. In contrast, the support given to a slab on dry land by the ground beneath it is always a matter of doubt; the way ground defects under load can vary enormously, and with any given ground the assumption that deflection is proportional to load is true only for very small deflections. With water we profit from one of the earliest of scientific observations, that of Archimedes, to the effect that the upthrust on a floating body is equal to the weight of water displaced. This is rigorously exact, whatever the depth of immersion, and provides the basis for a confident analysis of stress.

The behaviour of a prestressed assembly is of interest.

At a value of load where the tension caused by the load is greater than the compression caused by the wires, cracks will open at the bottom of the joints. Under bigger loads than this, deflections will increase rapidly; very large deflections will be needed to cause permanent damage to the slab. Removal of loads will result in cracks closing up and the structure returning to its original condition.

The slab is, in fact, calculated not to crack under any foreseeable combination of load and temperature difference, and its large deflection before rupture provides an attractive fail-safe feature.

The various techniques employed in this structure are familiar and well-tried; their use in harbour works has been common for the last 30 years. Only the application is novel.

THE BREAKWATER

In many places, sheltered water is available. It will consequently be enough to build the runways with no supplementary protection. A monolithic slab 15,000 ft. x 1,000 ft. is a very stable object; it will also by definition be very strong, since it must support aircraft weighing, say, 1,000,000 lb. Quite minor expedients such as thickening the slab towards its edges, or adding a wave wall, will enable the runway to operate in moderate exposure such as exists at a large number of offshore sites.

But there will always be cities whose only airport site is the open sea, where the incident wave height must be reduced. Unless it is, storms may cause damage or—in less extreme weather—salt water flooding over the surface may make the runway unusable.

Floating breakwaters have a long history. I was engaged on them on the coast of France during the 1939-45 War, and witnessed both the brief success and final failure of our biggest attempt—it failed because the moorings broke. Most schemes have hitherto run into this difficulty because they sought to offer a vertical barrier to a wave.

Now if one is faced with a roaring drunken bully (a reasonable simile for a rough sea), one may punch him on the nose, though to

do so requires careful calculation of the consequences. On the other hand, one may with advantage trip him up. The floating breakwater proposed here acts by tripping up the waves; instead of a vertical barrier, we have a horizontal barrier on which the waves break as if on a beach and spend themselves.

There is no sudden violence; the dissipation of energy is progressive along the breakwater, and mooring forces are small.

The performance of such a breakwater has a number of peculiarities. In the first place, the broader it is in the direction of the wave, the more effective; if it were very narrow, it would just ride the waves like a cork. In general, it continues to be of significant effect against a wave whose length is about twice the width of the breakwater, when it halves the height of the waves. For shorter waves than this, the performance is progressively better, until with wavelengths of half the breakwater width, hardly any wave action penetrates at all. Width, thus seen to be closely related to effectiveness, is also closely related to cost.

Measurements of mooring forces and bending stresses show that they reach a peak value near this upper limit of effectiveness; with longer waves, they diminish substantially. An automatic fail-safe behaviour is thus built in that transforms design.

Let us examine this. With a classic rigid breakwater, we must make it capable of resisting the worst conceivable conditions with an adequate factor of safety; it provides either complete protection always, or it collapses. But complete protection may not be necessary. A storm water sewer system is a parallel case. Sewers capable of taking the worst conceivable storm are not worth the cost and complexity of building them. It is accepted that roads get flooded momentarily and at rare intervals—the water then flows away and roads and sewers are left as they were before.

So it is with the floating breakwater. Exceptional waves pass through it, but the breakwater remains intact. With a breakwater of given characteristics, the number of days every year during which the facility protected by it is unserviceable may be estimated, and the loss of production set against the economy in breakwater cost. Clearly, complete protection may be obtained if it is desired; but if it is not, then the savings can be substantial.

When the breakwater is used to protect a floating runway, the particular circumstances need appraisal. In one location, the worst sea state may occur during a hurricane, when aircraft will be grounded anyhow; in another, a heavy sea may be caused by a storm hundreds of miles away even though the local weather is fine. The capital feature is that there is flexibility in design; it is not an all-or-nothing situation.

This, then, is the second of the basic technical ideas seen as necessary to the floating runway concept. The first, prestressing, is part of the standard practice of civil engineering; the floating breakwater is novel. During its development, it has been tested very extensively in different tanks at about 1/100th scale (assuming full scale to be big enough for effectiveness in the open ocean), including tests in a model of an actual harbour installation. It has also been tested at about 1/10th scale in the large wave-tank at the UK National Physical Laboratory, and a trial section of breakwater for less exposed conditions (which may be considered as being about 1/8th scale relative to the open ocean) has been in position and functioning for more than 18 months.

These tests have provided information on wave attenuation (discriminating between reflection and dissipation), movement of breakwater, and mooring forces for both wind and paddle generated waves. During the larger tests, bending stresses have been measured. The tests at different scales and in different tanks show very good agreement.

FURTHER AIRPORT REQUIREMENTS

There is, naturally, more to an airport than a runway. Let us look at some of the other factors.

Drainage

In principle, this presents no great problem—a hole in the runway is enough. It is conceivable that a pattern of closely-spaced holes would succeed in stopping rainwater from lying on the runway, thus avoiding the risk of hydroplaning. Such a measure would be highly convenient, and may one day be adopted. For the moment, classic crossfalls have been incorporated in the runway proper, draining away to a line of holes on each side.

Services

For service runs, the whole of the underside of the slab is available. A 'way-out' solution would doubtless provide for a regular pattern of sockets in the bottom surface, to which cable racks could be fixed; access would be by frogmen through manholes regularly spaced in the slab, and the services would be led up through holes broken out as need be.

It is, however, not necessary to be condemned to work underwater. In the first scheme a regular pattern of ducts is cast-in, passing through every cell in two directions and connecting up with main service trunks; all services can thereby be installed in the dry.

Navigational aids

The only apparent problem is with Category 3 landing approaches, for which the ILS aerials must be very accurately located relative to the floating pavement. This is not easy. But there are several possible solutions and the problem is not seen as insurmountable.

Terminal buildings

The load imposed by one large aircraft is about equivalent to the load of a moderately light-weight, three story building of some 50 ft × 50 ft in plan. Thus the runway structure itself can support extensive terminal accommodation.

Naturally, the raft cannot be treated entirely as though it were terra firma. It carries aircraft only because it spreads their weight over a wide area; attention must therefore be paid not only to the weight of building, but to its extent as well. Many facilities—for example, those for aircraft maintenance—will require special treatment and would probably need founding on special buoyant caissons. Not all of this is wasted expenditure, however. The buoyancy chambers constitute a basement that can be put to a useful purpose, such as for stores and workshops.

Access

There is no general solution to the access problem—it depends on the site. All means are open, from the most classic (the piled viaduct) to the most modern (the Hovercraft), either individually or in combination. Large rise and fall of tide will usually be an embarrassment, since it necessitates a long articulated span somewhere to accommodate the change in level. But the difficulties are minor.

Mooring

The forces on the runway are caused primarily by the drag of wind and current. Their total can be very substantial. There are two basic approaches to resisting these forces. In the first, the runway is held by a multiplicity of flexible cables each ending in its own anchor, which may be either just an anchor or alternatively a pile driven in the sea bed, or a large mass such as a sand filled caisson. In the second approach, a few very large supports are provided, such as large concrete caissons prestressed into the sea bed and supporting the runway rigidly through sliding joints or rockers.

The choice of solution will largely be dictated by such considerations as the depth of water and the nature of the bed.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

The present scheme has been designed to satisfy the requirements of ICAO Annex 14, certain of whose provisions invite reappraisal if they are to be applied to floating runways.

Perhaps the most important is that for clear space at runway level. This has been taken as a requirement to permit aircraft to run off the runway without danger, and structure capable of supporting an aircraft extending over the full clearance width has accordingly been provided in the scheme.

Such provision is expensive. It is noticeable that many runway extensions over water (New York, Hong Kong) where structure is costly do not, in fact, provide the full clearance width. We may expect that a rational statement on the needs of safety will allow some less expensive treatment of the areas alongside the runway, possibly incorporating devices either to decelerate aircraft or to direct them back onto the runway.

As far as the breakwater is concerned, work is now in hand to see whether it could be made monolithic with the runway structure. It would thus become a specially shaped fringe along the edge of the runway, and would benefit in performance from the enormous stability of the runway itself.

MANUFACTURE AND COSTS

The runway would be manufactured in 100 ft square elements in shelter on the coast. A sheltered beach would be ideal. The very large numbers to be cast, together with their general uniformity, would provide the opportunity for rationalised mass-production processes.

In a typical situation, a casting bed some 8000 ft long would be prepared at the top of a beach a few feet below high neap tide level, behind a bund wall. The casting bed would be divided into six sections each with 12 units; one section would be one day's work, and the whole six sections would be completed every week. Each section would be flooded separately at high tide, and the 12 units contained in it floated out through a collapsible gateway such as a butyl rubber bag filled with water. With this installation, the casting of a two-runway airport to international standards and comprising some 5 million square yards of pavement could be completed in 1.5–2 years.

A concreting machine developed from present-day paving equipment and spanning the full width of the section would run the length of the casting yard on rails, with a separate track for return. The machine would carry its own roof. The bottom slab would be cast, a prefabricated cage of reinforcing steel dropped on, the polystyrene blocks placed, and the webs and then the top flange cast in turn. The top surface would then receive its final non-skid finish.

On floating out, the elements would be moored near the foreshore, from where they would be towed away to the runway site. At the site, the first step would be to construct the necessary protecting breakwaters. Even if none are required for the final structure, a small mobile floating breakwater might well be of value as special protection during the actual assembly.

After the rafts have been floated into position they are seized by erection beams and held, the joints are made and allowed to set, and the tendons threaded through, tensioned, anchored and grouted up.

In considering economy, the significant figure is the cost per unit area of raft. This is the major item of special expenditure in a floating runway.

A detailed estimate of a specific project, that for the two-runway international airport at Foulness in the Thames Estuary, gives a cost per square yard of the structure alone, including drainage, of £10 12s 0d (\$25.50). The moderately exposed site at Foulness needs protection by floating breakwater at a further cost of £2 4s (\$5.30) per square yard. In a fully exposed site, this addition

could be doubled or trebled. The total area at Foulness for runways, taxiways, hard standings and aprons is 5 million square yards, giving a structural cost of £64 million (\$153.6 million).

The equivalent figure for a land based runway would have to cover the purchase of land, levelling and consolidation, the laying of the runway slab and its drainage. To these items must be added the more imponderable sums for convenience of access, noise nuisance, social amenity and many related factors, depending upon the location of the site in question.

NO MAD BOMBERS

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the March 23 issue of Barron's, the weekly organ of the business and financial world, carried a provocative article on the danger of subversion especially to the American businessman. As is noted in the article, Barron's has consistently publicized material on the various radical and extremist groups whose goal is the destruction of our constitutional system.

Periodically, articles by Mrs. Alice Widener, a syndicated columnist of long standing, have reported on the various activities of these elements. Now perhaps, with the burning of the Bank of America bank at Isla Vista, the business world will realize that the vast commercial system in our country is a prime target.

The article entitled "No Mad Bombers" outlines the program of destruction which has been taking place against the businessman in recent years and I insert it in the RECORD at this point:

NO MAD BOMBERS

To the handful of bankers who stand up to be counted (Barron's, March 16), albeit belatedly or reluctantly, add the names of Messrs. A. W. Clausen and Louis B. Lundborg, president and chairman of the board of directors, respectively, of the Bank of America. At the annual meeting of the largest commercial bank in the U.S. last week, both executives, in response to the sniping of a few dissident shareholders and to outside radical attacks, succeeded in taking a stand of sorts. Mr. Lundborg ruled out of order a resolution offered by a group of respectable peaceniks urging an immediate, total withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Vietnam. He also defended the bank's financial activities in that embattled land, and refused "positively" to consider shutting up shop in Saigon. Mr. Clausen, in turn, assailed the "pernicious propaganda" spread by "agitators" from Isla Vista, small community near the University of California campus and site of a Bank of America branch which "rampaging demonstrators—students and nonstudents"—burned to the ground late in February. At that time Bank of America, in full-page advertisements, broke the majority's silence on the issue of violence, which it urged all its countrymen, heedless of differences, to join hands in shunning. "We believe that at some time and in some place Americans must decide whether they intend to have their decisions, indeed their lives, ruled by a violent minority. We are but one bank, but we have decided to take our stand in Isla Vista."

Nothing like a burning branch to make one see the light. Or perhaps coercive picket lines flung around the homes of executives, demonstrations on company property and dynamite blasts at offices and plants will do just as well. If so, business and banking alike can scarcely fail to realize that they are under seige. Last spring, Barron's warned: "Enlightened" or otherwise, capitalism has come under direct assault from a hit-and-run coalition of radical students and alienated members of minority groups who seek not to achieve higher wages, improved working conditions or more jobs, but . . . to shake the Establishment and ultimately bring it down. Scorning such bourgeois expedients as collective bargaining, they opt for tactics like infiltration, intimidation, boycott, sabotage and violence." Since then the plot, so to speak, has thickened. In one labor dispute after another, left-wing extremists have sought to forge an alliance between students and workers. To judge by what happened last week at the Bank of America and Hercules Powder—as well as by disclosures in the underground press of plans for a widespread campaign against "war profiteers" and "polluters"—the annual meeting, like the campus, is destined to become a battleground. Corporate headquarters, after a spate of recent bombings, already have wound up on the casualty list.

Along with the office equipment, furniture and files, the explosions should have shattered a few pervasive myths about the origins of revolution and the means needed to combat it. Communism is supposed to spring from misery and poverty, yet the most ruthless of the plotters emerge as daughters (and sons) of riches. "Workers of the world unite," cry Students for a Democratic Society (obscene misnomer); if they succeed, however, all power will be wielded by so-called intellectuals, who, from secure command posts deep in the groves of academe, push the buttons. Neither free enterprise nor freedom, finally, can long endure without learning how to protect itself. As Eastman Kodak and Ford, two early targets found out the hard way, corporate statesmanship and a social conscience are open invitations to trouble; IBM, showcase of enlightened capitalism, is still cleaning up the bomb-blasted rubble. Instead, commerce and industry should close ranks behind internal security legislation (now pending in the Senate Judiciary Committee) which would rebuild the nation's defenses against sedition and subversion. Full-page ads denouncing violence are all well and good as expressions of moral indignation and righteous wrath; amidst a clear and present danger, survival demands more.

The thrust at the corporate jugular takes many forms, some, at the outset at least, little more than harassment. Last week, for example, 30 young militants picketed headquarters of Hercules, Inc., handing out leaflets accusing the company, which supplies the military in Vietnam, of "war crimes." Radical "agitators" denounced the Bank of America as capitalist "profiteers," charges which the top executives indignantly denied. During the next six weeks or so, other strategic annual meetings throughout the country are targeted for demonstration, invective or worse. Here are the militants' marching orders, as disclosed in the latest issue of "New Mobilizer"; "April is seen as the time to focus on the economic issues of the war around the theme 'Who Pays For the War? Who Profits From the War?' . . . In East Hartford, Conn., on April 14 we will bring publicity to bear on United Aircraft. In Seattle, Washington, on April 27 we will confront Boeing. . . . Plans for April 15 in Cleveland are moving ahead well. A lot of work has gone into demonstrations at the annual stockholders' meeting of AT&T to be held at the Public Auditorium in Cleveland on the 15th . . . Buffalo . . . A detailed

scenario has been mapped out. Leafleting will take place at three local steel plants early in the week of April 15: Bethlehem, Republic and Allegheny-Ludlum . . . On April 28 we will be demonstrating at Gulf Oil in Pittsburgh and Honeywell, Inc., in Minneapolis . . . Honeywell, Inc., makes the anti-personnel fragmentation bomb, the most hideous weapon presently used against the Vietnamese."

Violent words, moreover, long ago escalated to deeds. In February of last year, hundreds of students from riot-torn San Francisco State College joined the picket line of refinery workers striking against Standard Oil Co. of California. In Seattle the University of Washington SDS pinned a United Fruit recruiter against a wall and forced him to watch a film purporting to depict his company's depredations in Latin America. In Washington, D.C., nine anti-war demonstrators broke into the offices of Dow Chemical Co., ransacked the files and splattered blood on the walls. At Ford Motor Co.'s assembly plant in Mahwah, N.J., a group of workers known as the United Black Brothers staged a wildcat strike, and, with SDS help, set up a picket line that temporarily disrupted production. During the prolonged shutdown at General Electric, a cause which SDS and its allies in the Progressive Labor Party promptly embraced as their own, student activities sought to run GE recruiters off college campuses at Michigan State, Princeton, Rutgers and the University of Chicago. "The revolutionary assault on American universities and industries," warned Representative William E. Brock (R., Tenn.) at the December Congress of the National Association of Manufacturers, "is a calculated attempt to weaken and eventually destroy private enterprise in America. Students for a Democratic Society and their allies are trying to forge a Marxist student-worker alliance which will create disruption in industry."

Violence inevitably has led to destruction of property, personal injury and death (which fate, with fine irony, so far has reserved for the radicals). Last August an explosive device with the force of 24 sticks of dynamite ripped through the Marine Midland Building in New York City, devastating the eighth floor and injuring 19; "It was a miracle," said one victim, "that nobody was killed." Others were hurt in mid-November, when bombs went off in the Chase Manhattan, General Motors and RCA Buildings. Two weeks ago bombs caused extensive damage in offices of General Telephone & Electronics, IBM, and Mobil, while an accidental detonation recently destroyed a bomb factory (and killed several activists) in a town house in Greenwich Village. Repeated bombings also have occurred in San Francisco, Seattle and Detroit.

The first explosions were something of a mystery—The New York Times even speculated that they might be the handiwork of some new Mad Bomber. Subsequent events soon disclosed the method in the madness. In November an anonymous letter to the newspapers, denouncing "the giant corporations," acknowledged the deed. This month a group which calls itself "Revolutionary Force 9" claimed the credit. "IBM, Mobile (sic) and GTE are enemies of all life," said the market communique. "All three profit not only from death in Vietnam, but also from American imperialism in the Third World. They profit from racist oppression, from the exploitation and degradation of employes forced into lives of antihuman work, from the pollution and destruction of our environment."

Beginning to get the picture? A closer look at those who have been arrested in connection with the bombings, or managed to blow themselves up, reveals a clear-cut pattern of left-wing extremism. Not that squalor is

much in evidence—on the contrary, two of the victims found in the ruins of the Greenwich Village townhouse, as well as one of the survivors (whose father owned the \$250,000 dwelling), come from wealthy families. They were graduates of "good" schools (notably Swarthmore and Bryn Mawr, which, on the basis of the fragmentary evidence to date, assay remarkably high in radicalism; Bryn Mawr last fall appointed as Professor of Black Studies Herbert Aptheker, noted "theoretician" of the Communist Party, U.S.A.). Most of them had traveled to Cuba, rioted in Chicago or elsewhere and belonged to the "Weathermen" or some other ultra-violent wing of SDS, which J. Edgar Hoover, in the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin for June 1969 has described as "rapidly gaining a definite Marxist-Leninist coloration."

Such disclosures seemed to astound both the so-called communications media and the public. They should have come as no surprise to readers of Barron's, who, thanks to the skill and courage of crusading journalists like Alice Widener, have long been alerted to the growing menace of the New Left and their Old Left mentors. Year-by-year Mrs. Widener, virtually single-handed, has covered the annual conferences of Socialist Scholars, at which blueprints for the radicalization of American college youth have been unveiled with increasingly open arrogance. At the first such affair (held, fittingly, at McMillin Theater, Columbia University, scene of bloody student riots several years later) Prof. Staughton Lynd, then of Yale University (and then and now associated with organizations cited by the U.S. Attorney-General as subversive), urged his fellow scholars to be ready at any time to put aside their books and go for "the jugular." "I wonder whether every teacher who calls himself a Socialist," he mused, "doesn't have the duty to become a professional revolutionary."

The Second Conference played host to a meeting of leaders of the Radical Education Project, an enterprise of SDS, which outlined a proposed "network of people in the U.S. and abroad who will serve the movement as quick, incisive sources of intelligence . . . such a network, including scholars, journalists, leftist youth leaders, government officials, guerrilla leaders etc. can provide us with first-hand reports of the action of insurgent movements, the workings of the foreign policy apparatus, impending developments. . . ." Guest of honor at the Third Conference was Owen Lattimore, whom the U.S. Senate Internal Security subcommittee has labeled "a conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy," while the Fourth, held at Rutgers in September 1968 featured an address by Ernest Mandel, Belgian Marxist and a chief strategist of the bloody French student revolts (for which he has been banned from France). Mandel advocated "mass strikes and mass movements," with students as the 'detonators in the formula for triggering a social explosion, creating a revolutionary situation."

Barred from the U.S. as well, he used blunter language in a taped message to a rapt audience in New York's Town Hall last fall: "As a revolutionary Marxist you must know that you cannot destroy capitalism piecemeal. You can abolish the structure only by overthrowing it." Yet The New York Times denounced his ban as the "blacklisting" of a distinguished person who only sought to participate in "academic discussions," while last week, it reported, "six American Scholars" (in point of fact, four of them Socialist Scholars) brought suit in federal court to restrain the Attorney-General from barring M. Mandel and keeping him from a scheduled "lecture tour."

Finally, at the Fifth Annual Conference, the Socialists dropped all pretense of scholarship. According to the official program, they plan the widespread reproduction and distri-

bution of SSC papers in pamphlets "for assignment in the college classroom of materials written from an explicitly socialist perspective. . . ." As Mrs. Widener summed up (Barron's, September 15, 1969): "There you have it. Sure of immunity, the Socialist Scholars no longer need the 'convenience' of dissimulation concerning aims, methods and acts. They no longer need put on a false front of academic objectivity; they no longer need pretend that there is a separation between activities off-campus and on-campus, out-of-classroom and in-class."

Whence comes such immunity? Why, largely from the U.S. Supreme Court, which, under the influence of Earl Warren and his fellow-traveling associate, William O. Douglas (whose new book openly sanctions violent revolution) over the years has systematically gutted the nation's internal security laws. It would come to an abrupt end if Congress enacted various measures now in committee. One bill, supported by Rep. J. Herbert Burke (R., Fla.), would restore the power of the Secretary of State (stricken down by the High Court in 1967) to limit the travel of U.S. citizens to hostile countries, notably Cuba; Fidel Castro, charged the Congressman, "is operating a university of revolution in the hills of Pinar del Rio, where new left Americans receive training in bombing tactics and guerrilla warfare." A more comprehensive piece of legislation, currently in the Senate Judiciary Committee, would prohibit, without regard to the immediate effect thereof, the willful or knowing teaching or advocacy of the duty or need to overthrow by force or violence the government of the United States. If such statutes were passed and enforced few Socialist Scholars or SDS members would be walking around loose.

McCarthyism, some will cry, repression! We say that actions—notably dynamite bomb blasts—speak louder than words. The Preamble to the U.S. Constitution, following "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice," sets forth as the next high purpose "to insure domestic tranquility." Today no task is more compelling.

LET THERE BE LIGHT SHED ON THIS PLAN

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, on February 24, 1970, I introduced with the co-sponsorship of 11 colleagues H.R. 16139, providing for a study and trial period of year-round daylight saving time.

Joining me on this measure were Mr. CLEVELAND, Mr. FRIEDEL, Mr. GALLAGHER, Mr. GUDE, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. LOWENSTEIN, Mr. MOORHEAD, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. PETTIS, Mr. WHITEHURST, and Mr. HALPERN.

I am pleased to note that the initial public reaction to this bill has been extremely favorable. The Long Beach Independent, Press-Telegram on March 16 carried an editorial supporting the measure.

I am including this editorial in the RECORD with the hope that the Department of Transportation will promptly forward its comments on this measure.

LET THERE BE DAYLIGHT SHED ON THIS PLAN

Rep. Craig Hosmer (R.-Long Beach) and 10 other members of Congress have intro-

duced a bill authorizing a preliminary study and trial period of year round daylight saving time throughout the country. We're inclined to go along with it.

The bill directs that the secretary of transportation conduct a three-month study of the feasibility and desirability of the proposal. If the results are favorable, a two-year trial period will ensue to assess its effects.

Among claims made in behalf of the proposal. The change would get the bulk of the nation's urban workers and shoppers home during daylight hours in winter. It would increase traffic safety during the evening rush hour. It would provide children a bit more after school playtime and it would reduce the incidence of street crimes.

Above all, it would end the twice yearly confusion and expense surrounding the time changes.

For these reasons—and because more than sufficient time is provided to determine if there are disadvantages—we think Congress should enact the measure.

MOVING THE MAIL

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the Wall Street Journal on Tuesday had some very sensible comments on the postal situation which I wish to include in the RECORD for the consideration of all who are concerned. The article follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Mar. 24, 1970]

MOVING THE MAIL

The first priority in the current mail strike is to get the mail moving. President Nixon recognized as much yesterday when he ordered military personnel to handle essential mail in New York City, where the tie-up started and where the Post Office was still shut down.

At the same time Mr. Nixon stressed that the "overwhelming majority" of postal employees had refused to join the illegal walkout and instead were carrying out their responsibilities. To these workers, as well as to those on strike, he promised full discussions of all grievances—but not while thousands remain off their jobs.

As the President conceded, the economic problems of postal workers in some cases are severe. Still, those problems should be kept in perspective.

The top pay of letter carriers, \$8,442, obviously is not high in these inflated times. Perhaps it's worth remembering, though, that the median income for all U.S. families is only about \$8,000. Whatever the problems of the postmen, in other words, around half of all Americans are worse off.

Federal employees, moreover, have a degree of job security seldom attainable in private employment. This security is especially great in the Post Office, where the chief change over the years has been a growing demand for service—and personnel.

The real problems the postmen do have run much deeper than money. Ironically, most of the postal workers' unions have been fighting tooth and nail to preserve the politics-ridden system that is mainly responsible for their members' troubles.

Some critics claim the Administration precipitated the mail crisis by tying a postal pay raise to sensible postal reform. If the Administration did in fact link the two, it was showing much more compassion for the workers' real grievances than their leaders were.

It is, for one thing, perfectly clear that \$8,442 is a lot more money in some parts of the nation than it is in others. But Congress, setting postal wages largely for political reasons, hasn't been inclined to fix higher wages for one member's constituents than for others.

A semi-independent postal authority, of the sort the Administration proposes, would be flexible enough to take living costs into account. At the same time, of course, it could shear away the political appointees who still occupy many top postal positions, and thus leave many career postal workers stuck in dead-end jobs.

If the postal unions really wanted to help their members, all of them would have been working hard for reform. An \$8,442 wage wouldn't look discouraging anywhere if an ambitious postal worker knew that it did not need to be the end of the road.

However serious the problems of any of the workers, they do not justify illegal strikes. The fact that the strikes started in New York is unsurprising; postal workers there have watched while other public employees pulled illegal walkouts—and usually wound up being rewarded with higher pay.

New York has long been known as a "good" labor town, meaning one where the politicians generally knuckle under to the unions. At the state level this shows up in the fact that New York actually pays unemployment benefits to workers who go out on strike. Since the benefits are financed by employers, the companies thus subsidize strikes against themselves.

The Federal Government simply cannot permit itself to get in that sort of predicament. If the postal strikers get away with this power play, there are many other Federal workers only too likely to follow the leaders.

What is at issue, as President Nixon said, is survival of a Government based upon law. If the strikers begin to see that is so, there will be no need for the President to order troops into cities other than New York. He made it clear, though, that he would not hesitate to take whatever steps become necessary.

It was the sort of decision no political leader enjoys making. The postal strikers, however, left a President of the United States no other choice.

NOMINATION OF JUDGE CARSWELL SHOULD BE REJECTED

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 24, 1970

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, today's Washington Post carried a letter by Dagmar S. Hamilton, instructor in government, University of Texas, about the nomination of Judge G. Harrold Carswell to the Supreme Court. Miss Hamilton's letter, which I append at the end of this statement, raises what I think is the real core of the issue before the other body—can responsible action on its part gibe with approval of this nomination?

The Constitution makes clear the Senate's responsibility. Article II, section 2, clause 2 provides:

The President . . . shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate shall appoint . . . Judges of the Supreme Court. . . .

Two words stand out—they were capitalized by the framers themselves: ad-

vice and consent. The duty of the Senate is two-fold, then. It must render or withhold its consent to the nomination which the President makes. And—and notice that this world comes before "consent"—it must tender its "advice." This advice is the real crux of the responsibility at issue here.

The Senate is obliged by the Constitution to advise the President; rubber-stamp consents will not do. What are the considerations which should be taken up in rendering this advice? First, there is the question of the person who has been nominated—what does he stand for; what has he stood for? Second, there is the nominee's likelihood of being a contribution to the highest tribunal. Third, there is the nominee's impact on the social fabric of society—does his placement on the Supreme Court signal rejection of some groups or some people?

When we look to Judge Carswell's record of accomplishment off the bench, we see a man who has not just once, but in several instances, espoused views totally at odds with morality, with the 14th amendment of the Constitution, and with the forward progress of those who seek equality and justice for all.

We all know, by now, of Judge Carswell's 1948 statement—made before he became a judicial officer, but when he was already a mature man of 28—that "segregation of the races is proper and the only correct way of life in our States."

In 1956, then U.S. Attorney Carswell joined others in arranging to convert the Tallahassee public golf course into a private club. Affidavits from black and white citizens affirm that this private country club arrangement was commonly known to be a ruse to evade compliance with the Supreme Court's rulings. Thus, Judge Carswell's disclaimer of any knowledge that a discriminatory intent lay behind his actions is hard to accept. It is even more so in light of the fact that U.S. Attorney Carswell was then a Federal officer, responsible for knowing the developing law of the day.

Thus, as a private citizen, G. Harrold Carswell has espoused views which are alien to the premises on which this Nation was founded.

As a judge, Judge Carswell stands as a man unsuited to be placed on the Supreme Court. Men who have achieved the highest eminence in the legal profession have said that his judicial career has been mediocre:

Prof. William Van Alstyne, a supporter of Judge Haynsworth's nomination, testified that Judge Carswell shows no promise of ability or judicial capacity—

To warrant any expectation whatever that he could serve with distinction on the Supreme Court of the United States.

Dean Louis Pollak of Yale testified that Judge Carswell:

Has not demonstrated the professional skills and the larger constitutional wisdom which fits a lawyer for elevation to our highest court. . . . With all deference, I am impelled to conclude that the nominee presents more slender credentials than any nominee for the Supreme Court put forth this century.

Dean Derek Bok of Harvard has written that Judge Carswell has:

A level of competence well below the high standards that one would, presumably consider appropriate and necessary for service on the Court.

Professor Charles L. Black, Jr. of the Yale Law School has written:

(T)here can hardly be any pretense that he [Carswell] possesses any outstanding talent at all. On the contrary, all the evidence I have seen would lead to the conclusion that mediocrity is an independent valid objection to his appointment.

Twenty members of the University of Pennsylvania Law School concluded "that he is an undistinguished member of his profession, lacking claim to intellectual stature." Nineteen members of the faculty of the University of Virginia School of Law concluded that Judge Carswell is a "judge whose legal abilities and judicial background are so sadly wanting." The list of names of law professors throughout the country would run on for hundreds if all those who have publicly expressed their rejection of Judge Carswell were published here.

And this rejection is not limited to professors. Lawyers throughout the country have as well expressed their view of Judge Carswell's lack of competence to serve on the Supreme Court. Among them, I would note, are Bruce Bromley, former judge, court of appeals, State of New York; Francis T. P. Plimpton, president, the Association of the Bar of the City of New York; Judge Samuel I. Rosenman, former president, the Association of the Bar of the City of New York; and Bethuel M. Webster, also a former president of the association.

The Ripon Society has made a comprehensive study of Judge Carswell's 11 years as a district judge. Using five relevant criteria—reversals on appeal, reversals in general, citation by other courts, elaboration of opinions, and use of authority—the Ripon Society concluded that "they form a most impressive indictment of Judge Carswell's judicial competence." Their report states:

1. Reversals on Appeal: During the eleven years (1958-1969) in which Judge Carswell sat on the federal district court in Tallahassee, 58.8% of all of those cases where he wrote printed opinions (as reported by West) and which were appealed resulted ultimately in reversals by higher courts. By contrast in a random sample of 400 district court opinions the average rate of reversals among all federal district judges during the same time period was 20.2% of all printed opinions on appeal. In a random sample of 100 district court cases from the Fifth Circuit during the 1958-1969 time period the average rate of reversals was 24.0% of all printed opinions on appeal.

2. Reversals in General: Carswell's rate of reversals for all of his printed cases was 11.9% as compared to a rate of 5.3% for all federal district cases and 6% for all district cases within the Fifth Circuit during the same time period.

The majority of cases before any federal district judge ordinarily do not result in appeals, hence precluding the possibility of reversals in those cases. It is significant however, that Carswell's overall reversal record for his printed cases is more than twice the average for federal district judges. When additional unprinted opinions are included, Carswell is found to have an overall reversal rate of 21.6%.

3. Citation by Others: Carswell's 84 printed opinions while he was serving as a district court judge were cited significantly less often

by all other U.S. judges than is the average for the opinions of federal district judges. Carswell's first 42 opinions during his first five years on the federal judiciary (1958-1963) have been cited an average of 1.8 times per opinion. Two hundred opinions of other district judges randomly chosen from district court cases spanning this same time period have been cited an average of 3.75 times per opinion. The 42 most recent of Carswell's printed district court opinions have been cited an average of 0.77 times per opinion.

Two hundred opinions of other district judges randomly chosen from cases spanning the same 1964-1969 time period have been cited an average of 1.57 times per opinion.

4. Elaboration of opinions: Carswell's printed district court opinions average 2.0 pages. The average length of printed opinions for all federal district judges during the time period in which Carswell sat on the district bench was 4.2 pages.

5. Use of authority: In the 84 above-mentioned Carswell opinions the average number of citations of cases is 4.07 per opinion, and the average number of citations of secondary source material is 0.49 per opinion. The average for all district judges during the 1958-1968 time period was 9.93 case citations per opinion and 1.56 citations of secondary source material per opinion.

Judge Carswell's lack of judicial distinction is sufficient reason for rejection of his nomination.

Perhaps an even greater indictment against him lies in his antipathy toward civil rights. Numerous attorneys have attested to the judge's hostility toward them and their clients—a hostility clearly showing a lack of the impartial temperament required of every judicial officer. Prof. Leroy Clark of New York University, who supervised the NAACP Legal Defense Fund litigation in Florida between 1962 and 1968, called Judge Carswell:

(T)he most hostile federal district court judge I have ever appeared before with respect to civil rights matters. . . . Judge Carswell was insulting and hostile. I have been in Judge Carswell's court on at least one occasion in which he turned his chair away from me when I was arguing. I have said for publication, and I repeat it here, that it is not, it was not an infrequent experience for Judge Carswell to deliberately disrupt your argument and cut across you, while according, by the way, to opposing counsel every courtesy possible.

It was not unusual for Judge Carswell to shout at a black lawyer who appeared before him while using a civil tone to opposing counsel.

Prof. John Lowenthal of Rutgers University Law School recalled attending a session in Judge Carswell's chambers in 1964 in which he—

Can only describe his [Judge Carswell's] attitude as being extremely hostile.

He expressed dislike at Northern lawyers . . . appearing in Florida, because . . . (they) were not members of the Florida bar.

Norman Knopf, a Justice Department attorney, who had worked with Professor Lowenthal in 1964, corroborated Professor Lowenthal's recollections:

Judge Carswell made clear, when he found out that he was a northern volunteer and that there were some northern volunteers down, that he did not approve of any of this voter registration going on. . . . It was a long strict lecture about northern lawyers coming down and not members of the Florida Bar and meddling down here and arousing the local people, and he in effect didn't want

any part of this, and he made quite clear that he was going to deny all relief that we requested.

Finally, Judge Carswell's decisions show full well his antipathy toward civil rights. Delay, failure to follow controlling precedent, and hostility mark his decisions. To cite just one example:

On April 22, 1963, Judge Carswell ordered a grade-a-year elimination of dual attendance zones in *Steele v. Board of Public Instruction of Leon County*, 8 RACE REL. L. REP. 934. On three separate occasions in 1965, he denied plaintiffs' motions for changes in this case. 10 RACE REL. L. REP. 607. Yet, on February 24, 1965, months before Judge Carswell denied these motions, the Fifth Circuit outlawed grade-a-year plans in the circuit in *Lockett v. Board of Education of Muscogee County School District, Ga.*, 342 F. 2d 225 (5th Cir. 1965).

Mr. Speaker, Judge Carswell's record as a judge leaves little doubt that in terms of temperament, intellect, ability, and prejudice, he is unsuited to sit on the Supreme Court.

Finally, one must look at how confirmation of his nomination would affect the social fabric of our society. In view of Judge Carswell's racial prejudice, in view of his actions as a private citizen to actualize this prejudice, and in view of his judicial actions giving governmental imprimatur to this prejudice, I think there can be only one conclusion: Judge Carswell's nomination is an outright, unabashed insult to the 20 million black citizens in this country. And it is equally an offense to those whites who believe in, and will struggle for, equal rights and equal justice for all men.

Confirmation of this nomination would constitute senatorial signature to this outrage. It would endorse the regression which this administration has encouraged by its posture toward school desegregation. I, for one, hope my colleagues in the other body will do better. I believe that they cannot afford to do any less.

The letter of Dagmar S. Hamilton, instructor in government at the University of Texas, follows:

[From the Washington Post, March 24 1970]

JUDGE CARSWELL'S NOMINATION

Every spring, in a beginning government class my students discuss the theory of checks and balances in the American system. This year, it has been very difficult to explain that the Constitution apparently does not mean what it says, when it limits the presidential "power to appoint . . . justices of the Supreme Court" by adding, "subject to the advice and consent of the Senate."

The students are disposed to take this qualification literally (strict constructionists) and to believe that the Founders meant that the Senate has the *duty* (not just the right) to reject nominees it finds unqualified. They do not think that it means the Senate should be a rubber stamp; they see nothing to indicate that if the Senate rejects a president's nominee, it must as a matter of courtesy accept the second time around. They argue that it would not be much of a check if a president could (simply by pulling identical substitutes out of a hat) eventually nominate the sort of person the Senate first rejected.

When a president's second selection is, as many senators will privately admit, "worse than the first," students find it even more difficult not to be cynical about the whole

system. They know that Carswell is worse than Haynsworth in terms of his legal competence (reversed frequently, described as the weakest nominee of the century by the Dean of Yale Law School, criticized sharply by a majority of people teaching in his field). And they know that Carswell's judicial philosophy is worse, in the sense that it ignores both the spirit of the 14th Amendment and the basic premise that "the Constitution is colorblind."

Having learned also that the Framers intended the Court to be above partisan politics (e.g. lifetime appointments), students think it an insult to the Court even to insinuate that it should respond to the silent majority. They know that the Court needs men who are responsible—not necessarily to a fickle majority—but to the highest principles and ideals of the rule of law.

In the matter of Carswell, if any Senator abdicates his responsibility to vote his conscience, in favor of expediently going along with the President then *he*—that Senator—must be responsible for the failure of our system of checks and balances; not the disillusioned students, and not that small group of dissidents who attack the system for the most part much less effectively.

DAGMAR S. HAMILTON.

A NATION'S CONCERN FOR ITS MILITARY WIDOWS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the sad plight of widows of career military personnel is attracting nationwide attention, evidenced by several bills introduced in this body. It is a tragic oversight on the part of the Congress that these women today are largely ignored on the matter of annuities.

Why, people are asking, is the widow of a retired military careerman not entitled to a pension as are the widows of civilian Federal retirees?

To correct this gross inequity, Mr. GUBSER has introduced H.R. 6226, which is now pending before the Committee on Armed Services. Last year, I introduced H.R. 2087, which would accomplish essentially the same objectives.

One of the leading editorial columnists of the Long Beach Independent Press-Telegram, Mr. Larry Collins, Sr., has written an excellent article on this problem, urging immediate congressional action. He indicates that H.R. 6226 has wide support within the Armed Services Committee, including the distinguished chairman.

I am hopeful that the Department of Defense can promptly make its views known on this matter so that the Congress may proceed forthwith.

I am including Mr. Collins' fine article in the RECORD:

MILITARY WIDOWS LEFT WITHOUT PENSIONS

(By L. A. Collins, Sr.)

About the only widow today who is left without a portion of the pension the husband had received is the widow of a retired military career man. The widow of a man receiving Social Security is entitled to a portion of the husband's pension. But the widow of a retired career service man finds her husband's pension cut off at the time of his death.

Former National President of the Fleet Reserve Association, Bernard P. O'Hare of Long Beach tells of efforts to have this inequity changed by Congress. In my opinion it is an issue that each of us should support in fairness to the wives who have been associated with our military forces.

It would be realistic if each local retired member of our military forces wrote to his congressman urging a vote in favor of the bill referred to in the following outline of the problem. It would also be helpful if they wrote to the congressmen from the area which was their former home. Mr. O'Hare outlines the issue as follows:

The widow of a military retiree is the victim of a cruel inequity which exists today. She is the only widow of a federal retiree who does not receive an annuity based on her husband's retired pay. The widow of a civilian federal retiree can receive an annuity equal to 55 per cent of the retired pay her husband was receiving at the time of his death.

Contrary to common belief, the military widow receives no money from the Service in which her husband served. If her husband was a veteran, the Veterans Administration will, under certain conditions, pay her a widows pension ranging from \$17 to \$74 a month. However, the widow of every veteran is entitled to such a pension. To be a veteran, a person must have served on active duty for a minimum of 90 days and be honorably discharged. There are no special provisions for career servicemen.

The military retiree does have a survivors benefit program available to him. It is entitled the Retired Serviceman's Family Protection Plan (RSFPP). It is an actuarially sound program and receives no government financing. The participants pay the total costs of the program. For example, a retired chief petty officer (E-7) with 20 years of active service may contribute \$13.77 monthly from his military retired pay and in the event of his death his widow will receive \$83.75 a month.

Under federal law the civilian federal retiree in a comparable pay grade pays only \$5.92 a month and his widow will receive \$130.50 a month.

The federal government pays almost 80 per cent of his survivor's annuity cost. It is because of this gross difference and other restrictive provisions that less than 15 per cent of all military retirees participate in RSFPP. Yet, more than ninety per cent of all civilian federal retirees participate in their survivors benefit program.

The fleet reserve Association, an organization of more than 75,000 career sailors and marines, has launched an intensive legislative program to correct this inequity. The association has conducted a comprehensive, eighteen-month study of survivor benefit programs offered to employees of the government and private enterprise. This study has been published in the revealing 64-page pamphlet entitled, "Widow's Equity."

The FRA drafted corrective legislation which provides for military retirees to receive the same survivor benefits that are offered to civilian federal retirees. Representative Charles S. Gubser, of California's Tenth Congressional District, introduced the legislation, H.R. 6226, on February 5, 1969. H.R. 6226 is now before the House Committee on Armed Services and the committee has been patiently awaiting the Department of Defense's position on the measure. The principle of the bill is widely supported by members of the House, including Chairman L. Mendel Rivers.

Each day more military retiree wives join the rolls of widows. The majority of these widows are in their senior years and in dire financial need. They are too proud to accept charity as they have always earned their keep through faithful service to their nation. They do not understand why they are denied

the fruit of their husband's dedicated and self-sacrificing labors; nor do we!

Under the provisions of H.R. 6226 they will receive no more than what the widows of federal civilian retirees are receiving. Benefits they should be receiving now! H.R. 6226 should be enacted into law immediately.

NEW SMITHSONIAN MAGAZINE

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. FULTON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the announcement of the sending of the new Smithsonian magazine.

We strong supporters of the Smithsonian Institution welcome this fine new venture and will participate heartily for its success.

I am sure this fine article from the Washington Evening Star, Monday, March 23, 1970, by Herman Schaden will be of interest to my colleagues and to the American people:

"SMITHSONIAN" MAKES DEBUT

(By Herman Schaden)

The Smithsonian has a new baby measuring 8¼ by 11 inches and weighing 7 ounces—tiny as human infants go, but quite a bundle if it is your first national magazine.

Wrapped between covers of two courting elephants and a book ad, the youngster is off to homes from coast to coast christened simply "Smithsonian" by parents who can't resist bragging about its sparkling four-color pictures and 76 pages of articles and advertisements.

Godfather S. Dillon Ripley, who long envisioned the magazine as an inducement for millions to join the national Smithsonian Associates, greeted the newcomer enthusiastically.

"He was ecstatic," one editor said of the Smithsonian secretary. "I hope he hasn't cooled off."

General Manager Joseph Bonsignore also was happy with the product and the way it is being accepted by subscribers and advertisers. Editor Edward K. Thompson, formerly of Life magazine, expressed pleasure with the first edition but said it "did not necessarily set a pattern for future issues."

PACKAGE DEAL

The publication is being offered as one of the benefits of being a Smithsonian Associate. The package deal gives members special privileges in connection with Smithsonian museums. There are no newsstand sales.

No figures were released on current circulation, but Bonsignore said it "well exceeded the 175,000 minimum guaranteed to advertisers." The Smithsonian is determined to make the magazine self-sustaining through membership and advertising revenues.

Bonsignore is proud that production is almost totally a Washington area enterprise. For instance, the color separations are by Lanman Co. of Alexandria, whose subsidiary, Lanman Lithoplate of Washington, does the stripping and page filming. Type for the articles is set by Harlowe Typography of Washington; the offset proofwork is by Fawcett-Haynes Printing Co. of Rockville, and the high-grade paper is supplied through Parsons Paper Co. of Washington.

Volume 1, Number 1 is about 75 percent textual, 25 percent advertising. Technically

it is a superb product—with clear, easy-to-read type, lustrous color illustrations, and skillful layout and art work.

Ripley sums up the need for the magazine in his opening comments: "Even in the 'now' generation, when history has lost its dates, art its roots, when sleep research shows up the absolute necessity of the non-intellectual experience, and the new mode is a kind of abstract existentialism, man's thirst for knowledge continues unabated."

STARFISH, BLACK STUDIES

The cover story is by the National Zoo's resident scientist, John Eisenberg. It is a richly illustrated report from Ceylon on the courtship and mating habits of elephants and a survey of their ecology.

Rene Dubos writes on "Life, An Endless Give and Take with Earth and All Her Creatures." Among other features are a story on how starfish are destroying Pacific coral atolls, an examination of black studies and paintings illustrating the Metropolitan Museum of Art's centennial.

Russell Lynes writes on "The Met as Mother Hen." Frank Sartwell visits a laboratory in which crowded mice evoke images of overcrowded man. The scope of subjects is representative of the magazine's aim to cover the sciences, arts, and humanities with emphasis on current problems of the environment.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S EDUCATION REFORM MESSAGE

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 25, 1970

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's education message of March 3, 1970, challenged the theory and effectiveness of school aid programs funded under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

In a letter to the Washington Post, Roger A. Freeman, Special Assistant to the President, expanded on the President's message.

On March 15, 1970, the Washington Post printed Mr. Freeman's letter, as well as an article by Douglass Cater, former Assistant to President Johnson, and an editorial dealing with ESEA title I.

I insert these articles in the RECORD: [From the Washington Post, Mar. 15, 1970]

BACK TO A STALEMATE IN EDUCATION?

(By Douglass Cater)

(NOTE.—Cater was a special assistant to President Johnson and worked on the Johnson education programs.)

A few days ago, the Lockheed Corporation was reported to be in serious financial trouble. Promptly, Deputy Defense Secretary Packard hastened to Congress to explore ways to bail out this great manufacturer of aircraft and missiles. Regularly, we learn of cost overrides in the defense industry totaling billions of dollars. Tanks, planes and missiles not only cost much more than estimated but perform below expectations. Our defense policy is to grimace and bear it, recognizing that weapons production is a complicated business.

To educate a child is more complicated than to construct a plane or missile, especially if that child suffers from the ugly blight euphemistically called "disadvantage."

Yet, President Nixon means to apply the policy of a prudent investor in education. "As we get more education for the dollar, we will ask Congress to supply more dollars for education," he has declared in his Message

on Education Reform earlier this month. Knowing why education works and what makes it fail, he argues, must "precede" any rational attempt to provide every student with the best possible education.

Lockheed would go bankrupt if such a policy were applied to defense. It may have less dramatic but no less destructive impact on the national education. For the Nixon budget makes explicit what his message only hints at: The federal commitment to education is being reduced. Support for higher education has received an even more severe cutback than the elementary and secondary programs. I find it hard not to conclude that Nixon policy is designed to achieve the stalemate that was the longtime condition of federal aid to education.

It may be useful to review the federal role and how we got where we are today. Since 1946, at least a dozen presidential commissions have called urgently for federal aid to education. These included the one appointed by President Eisenhower in 1954 and headed by Nell McElroy, who is now being summoned to study the subject still another time. As a result, beginnings were made in higher education. Yet, there were roadblocks to federal assistance at the lower level—segregation, church-state separation, distribution formulas—which produced 20 years of stalemate.

Finally, Congress cleared away or bypassed the roadblocks. A successful formula was worked out assigning first priority to the needs of the disadvantaged student. This formula became Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965—a major breakthrough.

There was abundant evidence that ESEA not only was good politics; it was good policy. Over the past two decades, there has been an explosion in the nation's education system. Middle-class America was moving to the suburbs and spending great sums for new school plants, teachers, etc. Overall statistics reveal this growth. But it doesn't take a statistician to measure what has been happening to the metropolitan school systems as well as to many rural ones. Most have been caught in a desperate budget squeeze.

HAS TITLE I FAILED?

Can anyone dispute the logic of ESEA's Title I that disadvantaged students have a severe impact on schools? The sad question, as we witness the desperate floundering of city school systems where the influx of disadvantaged students has been heaviest, is why government did not anticipate this impact 20 years earlier and help the schools prepare for it.

Has Title I failed? Commissioner Allen points out that many school systems have diverted Title I funds to other purposes. This is grievous folly on their part and points to a lack of controls in the federal system. It won't be corrected by President Nixon's promise of revenue sharing with the states.

President Nixon's aides have cited the Coleman Report to prove that the size of classes don't have a measurable effect on learning achievement. They come precariously close to arguing that dollars don't make a difference in education.

To anyone who has watched a child in school, the Coleman findings are not that surprising. While learning cannot be measured by student-teacher ratio, learning does depend on student-teacher relations. Even in the age of technology, the best kind of education may still be "Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a student on the other." You can't buy inspired teachers like Mark Hopkins with dollars alone. But it takes dollars to expand the Teacher Corps and other programs which offer incentives to attract our best teachers to the hardship posts in education.

Prof. Coleman and others have rightly pointed to the need for basic reforms in the

public school systems. But I doubt very much that they meant their words to be seized by the politicians to justify stalemate on federal aid to education. Coleman, for example, calls for increased action to break down *de facto* segregation as the best way to achieve equal educational opportunity. To have the remotest chance of success, this will cost a great many more dollars.

President Nixon's aides mention numerous failures and few successes in programs of compensatory education. They claim that these programs have not paid off in improved reading norms. Even if this were a fair summary, what does it prove? What would have happened to reading norms in New York or Washington if there had been no attempt to cope with the disadvantaged students crowding into the schools? Perhaps it was an achievement merely to prevent total collapse of the public school system.

But the fact is that there have been notable breakthroughs. The Nixon aides fail to mention the latest Hawkbridge study which cites some of the success stories of Title I. The Kingsbury Center here in Washington has pioneered in overcoming severe learning disabilities, including those of children from the black ghetto. Operating costs run about \$3,500 per student. A fearful cost. Almost as much as it costs to keep a youngster in a reformatory or a mental institution.

We need to know more. That is why President Johnson's first education message in 1965 put such heavy stress on research. Congress multiplied many times the budget for research in the Office of Education. Regional education laboratories have been established in leading universities. But President Nixon is right in saying we need more and better research. I support his proposal to create a National Institute of Education.

But research alone can never provide the answer. It is faulty to use the analogy of the National Institutes of Health. We cannot expect to discover miracle drugs to cure learning disability as we hope to cure cancer. We can't inoculate a kid against ignorance. Our chief frustration today is in transforming what we already know into effective action. It is going to take trial and error, success and failure. To open the mind of a child, especially one scarred by his life outside the classroom, is an independent miracle each time it happens.

Can we prove compensatory education will pay off? Of course not! Can President Nixon prove that putting a \$1,600 floor under income will enable a family to break out of the rut of poverty? Of course he can't! Conceivably, it could lead to an inflation of the ghetto economy that would quickly soak up all the benefits. It may take a floor of \$6,000 or \$8,000 to have a measurable impact in a city like New York, just as it may cost much more than was anticipated to make New York's education programs succeed. But this is no reason to delay the new commitment to welfare. The alternative of standing still is unbearable.

Education, like welfare, is a dynamic enterprise in America. It can't be made to lie dormant while waiting for reform several years in the future. To cripple the momentum of our nation's commitment to equal education opportunity is a greater gamble than to delay spending billions of dollars on the ABM. For the dangers of the education gap are more clearly demonstrable.

In the struggle over priorities in the federal budget, education has great disadvantage in competing against defense programs. Education has to fight harder for its claim on the federal dollar. If the President tries to whittle away the education budget, if he fails to set clear and purposeful priorities, this fight for dollars could turn into a bitter struggle among vested interest groups. For example, the programs for federally impacted areas, though grossly inequitable, will claim a lion's share no matter what the President

says. Strong interest groups will rally selfishly around tax credits for tuition, costing billions in federal revenue and mainly benefiting the higher income families.

While this savage struggle goes on, the programs to bring equal opportunity could die of neglect, and a great national commitment be forgotten. The Nixon message and the Nixon budget seek to freeze these programs until there is positive proof of "more education for the dollar." If this policy succeeds, the nation's education is in danger.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 15, 1970]
EDUCATION: A "NEW TIME" THE WHITE HOUSE

The aim of criticism says something about its merits. There is much to find fault with and to improve in the public school system and in the pattern of federal financial aid to that system. But it makes a mountain of difference whether an attack upon it comes from a source seeking to help it succeed or from a source convinced that it is doomed to failure. Roger A. Freeman, whose critique of our editorial on the President's recent education reform message was a bit long for the regular Letters space on this page and accordingly appears on page 5 of today's Outlook Section, has been telling the world for 15 years that federal aid to education won't work. It affords, in our judgment, a lugubrious commentary on the point of view from which President Nixon approaches the public school problem that Mr. Freeman is now signing letters on White House stationery over the title, "Special Assistant to the President."

As long ago as 1955, Mr. Freeman took the position—in a pamphlet titled "Federal Aid to Education—Boon or Bane?"—that "if federal aid should be enacted during the second session of the 84th Congress—and this is quite possible, 1956 being an election year—then it will not be done because the states are unable to provide for the schools or because the American people wanted it. It will be done because organized pressure was brought to bear upon individual members of Congress with threats of reprisal, because insufficient effort was made to get the facts to the American public in order to counteract the distortions and propaganda, and because, faced with a clamor for more of the easy money, many congressmen were afraid to vote their convictions in an election year which is always conducive to passing pork barrel legislation. Mr. Freeman's unswerving adherence to this view is a tribute to his sincerity and we welcome his sudden public re-emergence in the thick of the education debate; he is, of course, as entitled to his own opinion as any other man. But it is still a little numbing to find him serving as a special assistant to a President who said as a candidate: "I pledge my administration to be second to none in its concern for education."

Convinced that federal aid is undesirable, Mr. Freeman quotes a passage from the celebrated Coleman report saying that "the physical and economic resources going into a school had very little relationship to the achievements coming out of it"—which, taken entirely by itself, sounds like a suggestion that the states and localities as well as the federal government should abandon support of the schools altogether. But Dr. Coleman's important study was focused on "Equality of Educational Opportunity," and it's preeminent point was that school achievement is significantly conditioned by a child's background and early childhood training. "One implication stands out above all," Dr. Coleman says: "That schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context; and that this very lack of an independent effect means that the inequalities imposed on children by their home, neighborhood, and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities

with which they confront adult life at the end of school."

This is why Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was aimed at inner city schools and at poor, disadvantaged children. But as we protested editorially a few months ago in a comment on the constructive report of the Washington Research Project and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, "Title I funds have not reached eligible children in many school districts, have not been concentrated as they should have been on those most in need and have, instead, been dissipated for general school purposes and, in some instances to replace state expenditures."

Mr. Freeman dazzles us with a lot of figures intended to show that expenditures for better buildings and more teachers are of no avail and a lot of figures to show that expenditures for schools have been munificent. His statistics all involve national averages. It makes a lot of difference to a child, however, whether he attends an urban or a suburban school. In New York City itself, the per pupil expenditure in 1968-69 was \$1081; in Scarsdale, it was \$1628. In Los Angeles \$434 was spent for each pupil, while \$1131 was expended for each in Beverly Hills. In Cleveland, it was \$630 as compared with \$968 in Shaker Heights. So it goes. Professor Herbert Klesling of the University of Indiana is quoted in a report on *Schools and Inequality* prepared for the Urban Coalition as saying that "the relationship of expenditure to performance in large urban districts is quite strong."

One additional contrast between schools for the poor and schools for the well-to-do is illuminating—and in an area where the President has been particularly myopic. "In addition to the tendency for low SES (socio-economic status) schools to be old and crowded, they seem to be less well equipped," according to the Urban Coalition study. "Moreover, low SES schools have available fewer library books per 1000 students. At the extremes of social class, the inequity of available library books is especially great. The lowest SES schools are able to provide 1.7 library books per child while the highest SES schools provide 5.4 library books per child."

The first function of federal aid to education is to redress these monstrous imbalances. That is what Title I is all about. To say that we cannot do anything at all about this situation because we do not yet know everything about the learning process—and to say it to inner city children whose learning time and opportunity are irrecoverable—seems to us an unconscionable irresponsibility. We must do the best we can, the most we can.

Remarking just a few days ago that drug addiction in the schools is "increasing at an alarming rate," President Nixon said he was releasing frozen federal funds and initiating new programs to tackle the problem. Well, there's a lot we don't know about drug addiction; but we are glad the President is not holding back those funds until another commission is established and another study is completed. It is imperative to live today. If Mr. Nixon's and Mr. Freeman's strictures on the shortcomings of federal aid to education were presented in the context of an effort to perfect the program and make it more effective, we would join them unreservedly. Inaction seems to us the counsel of defeatism and despair.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 15, 1970]

A COMMUNICATION

Your March 7 editorial "The Never-Never Land of Education" charges that "There is hardly a platitude ever uttered about education that is not contained in the President's special message to Congress on educational reform. It is as though someone

snipped sentences from all the annual school reports ever written—on a frequency of their recurrence." From there you advance a program of your own which you desire the President to recommend. Your program has one clear advantage over the President's—not only has it been proposed in hundreds of reports over many years in "all the annual reports ever written"—your proposals have been carried out. That they did not produce the promised results apparently does not deter you from repeating over and over again, as you have for years, the same old tune, like a stuck gramophone needle.

Your six points were:

1. School buildings are "antiquated, desperately overcrowded and hazardous . . ."
2. The pupil-faculty ratio is unconscionably high and "it is indisputable that a high ratio of pupils to teachers impedes learning."
3. "Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, designed to aid disadvantaged children in disadvantaged areas of the big cities, has abundantly proved itself in practice. It works . . ."
4. School libraries are an invaluable aid . . .
5. Schools need more professional aides besides teachers . . .
6. The Headstart program should be pushed.

This adds up to little more than the conventional wisdom that our educational problems can be solved by pouring new billions into the same old system. If the quality of education were proportionate to the number of dollars spent—American education should have long ago entered its golden age.

James S. Coleman of Johns Hopkins, who in 1965/66 headed the most extensive examination of American public schools ever undertaken, found to his surprise: "The evidence revealed that within broad geographic regions, and for each racial and ethnic group, the physical and economic resources going into a school had very little relationship to the achievements coming out of it." He concluded that "if it were otherwise, we could give simple prescriptions: Increase teachers' salaries, lower classroom size, enlarge libraries, and so on. But the evidence does not allow such simple answers."

Reviewing the ensuing debate in the New York Times Magazine of August 10, 1969, Christopher Jencks of the Harvard School of Education summarized his conclusions: "Variation in schools' fiscal and human resources have very little effect on student achievement—probably even less than the Coleman Report originally implied."

The most thorough report on New York City schools ("New York City School Fact Book," Institute for Community Studies at Queens College, CUNY, Marilyn Gittel, Director, 1969) found that: "The evidence we have accumulated is somewhat surprising. We have recorded traditional variables that supposedly affect the quality of learning: class size, school expenditure, pupil/teacher ratio, condition of building, teacher experience and the like. Yet, there seems to be no direct relationship between these school measurements and performance. Schools that have exceptionally small class registers, staffed with experienced teachers, spend more money per pupil, and possess modern facilities do not reflect exceptional academic competence."

"Nor has the More Effective Schools Program—a saturation services compensatory education program of high cost—shown any noteworthy results in this year's tabulations. Of twenty one schools measured in the MES program, pupils in only four, mostly middle class white, read on grade level."

The fact is that over the past 20 years, while enrollment in the public schools rose slightly better than 80 per cent, school revenues increased 350 per cent in *price adjusted* dollars (from \$5.4 to \$33.5 billion in *actual*

dollars.) This is almost three times the rate of the simultaneous rise in national income or product.

Expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance jumped from \$209 to \$766 in *actual dollars*—an increase of 133 per cent in *constant* dollars.

What did this accomplish? There are now about four pupils fewer in the average classroom than there were 20 years ago. In his first education message in 1961, President Kennedy, in proposing federal school construction aid, suggested that 600,000 classrooms ought to be built during the 1960s to take care of all needs. Actually, about 700,000 new classrooms were completed in the 1960's, *without a federal construction aid program*, but you still list a classroom shortage as your first point. The ratio of the instructional staff to pupils was meanwhile reduced from 1:26.1 to 1:21.3, which means that there are now 4.8 fewer pupils per teacher than there were in 1950. Moreover, the Coleman Report—an a few hundred other research reports summarized in the Encyclopedia of Educational Research—were unable to find a correlation between class size and pupil achievement.

The nonteaching professional staff of the public schools—administrators, counselor, advisors, psychologists, librarians, etc., increased from 48,000 to 220,000 in the past 20 years (the ratio to pupils fell from 1:523 to 1:215).

Your claim that the Title I program of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 for "disadvantaged children" "works" flies in the face of all known facts. In his message, the President quoted a summary by the Office of Education of reports on Title I that a child who participated in a Title I project had only a 19 per cent chance of a significant achievement gain, a 13 per cent chance of a significant achievement loss, and a 68 per cent chance of no change at all.

The U.S. Civil Rights Commission found after reviewing the major compensatory education programs since 1957 that "none of the programs appear to have raised significantly the achievement of participating pupils." Compensatory programs have been tried for over a decade, Title I programs for almost 5 years, with an expenditure of \$5 billion. Could we not expect that at least some modest results should by now have shown up?

According to latest available reports, New York City spends about twice as much per pupil in its public schools as other large cities and it employs one-third more teachers in relation to pupils. Its teacher-pupil ratio dropped from 1:23.9 to 1:18.5 over the past six years. However, not only are pupil achievements much below norms in the city, with almost two-thirds of all pupils below reading comprehension norms in 1969—they have been coming down. One-third of the pupils are one year or more below the norm, one-fourth two years below their grade level.

The 21 schools in New York's "More Effective Schools" project have an average teacher-pupil ratio of 1:11.7 and an expenditure of \$1,275 per pupil—but their educational achievements rank below other schools and are not improving.

The number of examples could be multiplied: through thousands of compensatory education projects from "Higher Horizons" in New York, to the Banneker project in St. Louis and to the Madison project in Syracuse runs a story of consistent failure to produce the educational achievements which their sponsors promised.

What this adds up to is, of course, not that we should quit increasing school resources every year. The President made that abundantly clear. But to keep pouring additional billions into programs that have proven ineffective without trying to find methods to accomplish the desired ends provides no solution to our educational problems.

Far from repeating other reports, the President sounded an entirely new tune in his message, a tune that had not been heard before but needed airing: let us find out through research what methods will accomplish what we are aiming at—an adequate education for millions of American children who now lag one or several years behind national norms, who leave the schools, with or without a diploma, and cannot read, write or count sufficiently to meet even minimal civic and occupational requirements.

To use a comparison with health programs: intensive research has so far not produced an effective preventive or cure for cancer. This is why work needs to continue on a broad scale until victory is won. No purpose would be served by extending on a national scale a particular cancer program—until one has proven its value. This is in contrast to polio and numerous contagious diseases against which effective cures were found—and extended to cover the population.

Maybe it would be easier, from a political point of view, to pretend that several addi-

tional billions of dollars in federal funds would solve our school problems. If they could—why did boosting school funds from \$5.8 billion in 1950 to \$38.5 billion in 1970 not bring us any closer? Would we not, by holding out promises that cannot be fulfilled, generate more disappointment, frustration and violence when hopes are first aroused and then crushed—as they were in recent years?

Do honesty and a sense of public responsibility not require us to admit that money is not an adequate substitute for methods which have not yet been found? Should we not concentrate our efforts at discovering better methods than pretend that more square feet of classroom space per pupil or fewer per teacher are the answer when it has become evident that they are not?

There is probably no solution to the school problem that will not cost large sums of money. But until we learn how to apply the funds, in a manner that will produce tangible results, there is little to be gained by spending the money anyway, just so we can pretend that we have done everything.

This was the first message on education by any President that faced the problems squarely, admitted the existing shortcomings and did not promise a quick solution by the infusion of a few billions in federal money. It was the most frank and most sophisticated message ever on the subject of education. Your attempt to downgrade it and to bring efforts to improve the education of American children to the lowest denominator shows an approach that has proven futile time and again, an unwillingness to understand the nature of the problem.

The Congress and the American people have a right to expect that their President tells them a straight story, even if it hurts. This is what the message did. To create a mirage by reducing our educational problems to mere dollars, as you did, may confuse some, but not many and not for long. Most Americans now realize, or will soon, that the most urgent need at this time is to get more education for every dollar spent. This is what we are hoping to accomplish.

ROGER A. FREEMAN,
Special Assistant to the President.
WASHINGTON.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Thursday, March 26, 1970

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

This do in remembrance of Me.—Luke 22: 19.

As we continue our way through Holy Week, our Father, we would climb the stairs that lead to the upper room where we may be still and know that Thou art God, and from Thee receive forgiveness for our sins, love for our hearts, wisdom for our minds, and humility for our spirits.

Here we pray for our families whose affection and understanding make life worth living, for our friends whose faithfulness and friendliness make our existence a joy, for our Nation where freedom is a rich blessing and in whose heart we seek good will with justice for all, for the nations of the world, asking that we learn to treat them as we want them to treat us.

From this upper room of prayer send us into the world to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with Thee.

In the spirit of the Master we pray. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 14289. An act to permit El Paso and Hudspeth Counties, Texas, to be placed in the mountain standard time zone.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a concurrent resolution of the House of the following title:

H. Con. Res. 559. Concurrent resolution directing the Clerk of the House with regard to enrolling the title of the bill H.R. 4148.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed with amendments in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 13448. An act to authorize the exchange, upon terms fully protecting the public interest, of the lands and buildings now constituting the U.S. Public Health Service Hospital at New Orleans, La., for lands upon which a new U.S. Public Health Service hospital at New Orleans, La., may be located.

The message also announced that the Senate agrees to the amendments of the House to a bill (S. 2601) of the Senate entitled "An act to reorganize the courts of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," with an amendment in which concurrence of the House is requested.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 2601) entitled "An act to reorganize the courts of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. TYDINGS, Mr. BIBLE, Mr. SPONG, Mr. EAGLETON, Mr. PROUTY, Mr. GOODELL, and Mr. MATHIAS to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a concurrent resolution of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. Con. Res. 59. Concurrent resolution to provide for the adjournment of the Senate from March 26, 1970, until March 31, 1970.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM IN VIETNAM WILL HELP SAVE AMERICAN LIVES

(Mr. MOSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, this day may well be one of the great days in modern history. Today could be the beginning of the end of the war in Vietnam. This is the day that South Vietnam takes a giant step toward becoming a real functioning democracy.

In a ceremony at Cantho in the Mekong Delta, President Thieu signed into law one of the most sweeping land reform programs proposed by any government in power in the history of the world. The new law should completely abolish all tenant farming in Vietnam and give the land free to the peasant. A great national holiday has been declared in Vietnam to mark the event.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, the peasants are weeping in Vietnam. But for the first time, they are weeping for joy—not out of anguish, pain, and hopelessness. Today is the day the peasants of Vietnam are freed from economic serfdom. No longer should they have to pay up to 80 percent of their crops to landlords who have been exploiting them for generations.

This action is a body blow to the Vietcong. It may totally eclipse any military action that could be taken against the Communists. They have been able to recruit guerrillas by falsely promising to the peasants: "Give us your sons and we will give you your land." The whole history of Communist agrarian reform proves that such lands eventually end up in the hands of the state.

As chairman of the House Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee, I want to commend President Thieu for this action. It is a step our subcommittee has been championing for 4 years—ever since we made our first examination of the economy and efficiency of U.S. aid efforts in the field of agrarian reform.

Our interest in land reform progress in Vietnam has been a totally bipartisan one. The gentleman from New York (Mr. REID) and his Republican colleagues on the subcommittee strongly encouraged